PART II – Threads in the Tapestry

Chapter 6: "Song of Community"

We'll weave a love that greens sure as spring,
Then deepens in summer to the fall autumn brings,
Resting still in winter to spiral again,
Together, my friends, we'll weave on, we'll weave on.
A love that heals, friend, that bends, friend,
that rising and turning, then yields, friend,
like the mountain to rain, or frost in the spring,
or darkness that turns with the dawn.
It's by turning, turning, turning, my friend,
by turning that love moves on.[1]

Throughout the history of the school, students were formed not only by the educational program, but by the community fostered by residence life and in the shared experience of the student body. Development of community became more difficult in the 1980s, when many of the students commuted to the Centre for Christian Studies, and a conscious effort was required to provide that sense of community. At times, the community was broken. But no matter how community was created, relationships among students were so tightly woven that many continued throughout their lives.

The Size of the Student Body

The size of the schools expanded and shrank dramatically, depending on the mandate and opportunities for graduate employment in the church.[2] It is difficult to discern from the records of the early years the exact numbers both of those who received the diploma and of the total size of the student body. In each school, many more were admitted than completed the program. This may have been because those coming into the program were not as clear about expectations as those entering other professional schools, such as teaching or nursing. But it was also because so much more was demanded of students in terms of self-understanding and transformation than students in strictly academic courses. Over the years, many students left the program to marry, and in the early years, if a student was to be married, she had to leave the school.

Before 1907, few at the Presbyterian Home completed the full diploma program or lived at the Home. The training was for missionaries only, and most of those were women trained in other professions, such as teaching and nursing, who attended part time for the courses provided by Knox College. After the General Assembly in 1907 approved the training of deaconesses, numbers increased. In 1913, 17 women graduated, but most years the diploma was granted to between 8 and 10 women. The Methodist Training School had a larger student body. By 1905, there were 22 graduates and hopes for ever increasing numbers – hence the substantial building, which was completed in 1911.

That year there were 43 students, but then enrolment dramatically decreased. By the 1920s, when deaconesses complained to the General Conference about the school,[3] the numbers were reduced to single digits. It was during that period that the school depended on students from Annesley Hall, at Victoria College, and other faculties, to help fill the building.[4]

At the Church of England Deaconess House, numbers increased gradually until there were 17 students in 1916. Enrolment declined after the war and in 1919-20, the Board expressed concern about low numbers. However, the size of the student body increased to 22 in 1935, and students were coming from across Canada. The building on Gerrard Street was repeatedly expanded but, by the time of the move to St. George Street in 1947, students had to be accommodated several to a room.

Head deaconess Fanny Cross (middle) with some of the students and graduates on the steps of the Church of England Deaconess House, circa 1900. CREDIT: **ACC/GSA, AWTC. P7902-70**

At the United Church Training School, the large building on St. Clair Avenue became an increasing concern because there were not enough students, missionaries on furlough, students from other colleges and business women to occupy it. The opposite situation occurred when the Training School moved to St. George Street and Bedford Road, but it certainly provided a cozier atmosphere. After the move to 77 Charles Street West, all the Training School students were able to live in the same building; in fact, there was more room than was needed by students.[5] Because of a small class in 1956-57, over one-third of those living in the residence were not students of the school. Katharine Hockin commented on the impact of this state of affairs, which was to continue over the next 30 years. "It creates problems in emphasis and the assumption of interest in the sort of focus that one would like to take for granted in such a community. It means an organization of life so that the other residents feel welcome and yet not pressured at points where the Training School family are expected to participate. At the same time there is real enrichment which comes from this wider community. Priorities

International students with UCTS Principal Harriet Christie. The world came to the school with these women, mostly enabled to study in Canada by graduates serving overseas. CREDIT: **Centre for Christian Studies**

were given to people from overseas and so there is a very interesting group representing the ends of the earth."[6]

Twenty-six members of the UCTS Graduating Class, 1952. CREDIT: Margarete Emminghaus

In both the Anglican Women's Training College and the United Church Training School, the size of student body expanded dramatically during the 1950s. With the building of Christian education wings and new churches, there was high demand for church workers skilled in Christian education. The largest enrolment occurred in 1958 with 46 registered at AWTC and close to that number at the Training School. But by the 1960s, the number of students at AWTC declined dramatically, with 9 registered in 1966 and 4 two years later. Although ordination of women was still a decade away, women with academic qualifications were choosing to attend other theological colleges in anticipation of ordination. At Covenant College on the other hand, numbers remained high.[7] At CCS, the size of the student body fluctuated primarily in response to circumstances within the school itself. The excitement of the new Centre resulted in an increase from 24 students registered in 1969, to 31 in 1971. The following year, as conflict developed between students and staff about the content and method of the program, the number dropped to 14. With the institution of the "new program" in 1974, numbers increased again,[8] and during the 1980s between 45 and 50 students were registered each year.

The shift in the demographic of the CCS student body[9] had a significant effect on the numbers of students. Many failed to complete the demanding program because of the stresses of family life and of commuting. Others decided that their call was to ordained ministry and transferred to another theological school. The program elicited excitement, challenging perspectives and even the student's sense of self, but also created a sense of disease, because of the number of students who dropped out.

Student enrolment in the 1980s was consistently strong. Ten students graduated in 1989. Back (left): Caryn Douglas, Sandy Cameron, Wendy Hunt (staff), Lynda Cunningham (Appleby), Dea Hawkins, Karen (Niven) Wigston, Julie Haubrich. Front (left): Sylvia Reynolds (Thompson), Lesley Sutherland, Audrey Kaldestad (Mitchell), Linda Keeler CREDIT: **Centre for Christian Studies**

When the regional program was instituted in 1993, there were 20 students, studying primarily in their home communities, and 31 in the residential program. Between 2000 and 2004, with the new four-year program, the total number of students varied from 41 to 46 – one of the larger enrolments of Anglican and United theological schools.

Family Life in the Early Years

At the Church of England Deaconess House, with its predominant image of *family*, the students were seen as the *children* and the staff as *mothers*. The fact that they lived together in a large, old house enhanced this familial feeling. Residence included all aspects of the students' lives, including worship, shared "home" responsibilities, and social life. Gifts of provisions were received each month from local parishes, both because finances were always a problem and because it was important for the parishes to have a sense of relationship with the House. "We are much indebted to friends who remember us from time to time in so practical a way as to send us 'gifts in kind.' From New Hamburg a crate of lovely new laid eggs. Several bags of apples and other fruit from various friends. From Rev. Pogson, Hayesville, a gift of many kinds of vegetables; vegetables also from one of our graduates now married arrived last week."[10]

In 1898, there were nine living in the House, including deaconesses. In her report to the Annual Meeting that year, Fanny Cross outlined a typical Tuesday:

> After family worship, each one goes to her room for a quiet hour for communion with God and study of His word before beginning the daily work. At 10 a.m. the Probationers assemble for a lecture in elocution; at its close they separate for study and writing out their notes of lectures, with the exception of one who retires to the

> kitchen to help prepare the dinner. Cooking and bread-making being a necessary part of the training, each one takes this part of the work turn about. At noon, all gather together for prayer…special prayer is offered up for the spread of missionary zeal and for all the missionaries known to us by name in the different fields, also for the mission work in the parishes in which our probationers and deaconesses are at work—that is, for the mother's meetings, temperance work, "the Flower Mission," the sewing class, the mission band, and the S.S. teaching, and any special case of sorrow and sickness which has been brought to our notice, also for the House itself and its needs, and many have been the answers to these petitions offered up at that sacred hour. Souls saved, sick ones restored to health, sorrowing ones comforted, and pecuniary aid sent just when needed in the House and for the work…at 12:30, the dinner bell rings, after which the probationers prepare for their district visiting, and start off, carrying a basket containing their tea, which they take in the Trinity School-house, where they meet at six o'clock…Shortly after 7 p.m., Rev. T.R. O'Meara assembles the workers for prayer when they sally forth with lists of names which they have not visited that afternoon, to call the people to the mission service in the School-house, which has proved such a blessing to so many. At the close, the Deaconesses and the Probationers are there to deal with any soul needing help. On their return home they are all ready for a good night's rest.[11]

Until 1911, students at the Methodist Training School also lived in a series of houses, along with their staff and graduate deaconesses who were working in Toronto. Rosemary Gagan recounts that for the missionary candidates in 1898,

> [t]he spartan and almost cloistered routine at the home was a harsh introduction to missionary life, especially for women who had just spent three or four years at college, but once there, few women seem to have dropped out…All students were advised to bring religious books, but only one trunk, and were required to furnish for their personal use blankets, towels and soap, kitchen aprons, heavy under flannels (with sleeves), overshoes and leggings and "gossamer and umbrellas, as the work may require one to be outdoors in all weather." Clothing was to be "simple and serviceable, special attention being paid to the comfort and health of the wearer. Dentistry, shopping and dress-making should be attended to before coming that studies may not be interrupted by these matters."[12]

The students at the school held parties on special occasions such as Hallowe'en and Valentine's Day and also attended regular Saturday night prayer meetings. There, "as we met together, we came to know each other and soul touched soul as could be in no other way…Each in turn has told her Christian experience and her call to the work where subjects that have troubled some have been talked over and looked into until light has come."[13] The unusually deep and helpful fellowship of the students living in residence was understood to be due to the fact that all were united by a common life purpose. Strict regulations, however, governed life in the school. "It is expected that all students will manifest the spirit of Christ and strive in every respect to make the School a success."[14]

Setting a pattern that persisted also at the United Church Training School into the 1960s, the Methodist School class was organized into a number of offices with president, several vice-presidents, secretary, historian, prophetess, valedictorian, poetess, and musician, elected by the student body. Each year, at graduation time, there was a class dinner with a fancy menu. Speeches to the class included the president's address, valedictory, class history, class poem and class prophecy. As students organized their life at the United Church Training School in 1926, they set up three committees – spiritual, educational and recreational – each under the supervision of a senior student. The educational committee recommended that students take one educational tour per month and that the daily paper be read at breakfast for five minutes. The students agreed to continue a close relationship with the Student Christian Movement and Student Volunteer Movement. They worked on designing a school pin and composing a school song. There were picnics and wiener roasts and class parties, including some with the other two training schools (Anglican and Presbyterian) and with Emmanuel College students.

The student government, when needing to communicate with the principal, set up a committee to interview her – forming a different committee for each issue. The issues in 1925-26 included the chapel service, a sign on the corner of the school, and the examination time table. In 1927 the Educational Committee set up a monthly reading circle with the principal, and a discussion group on current events, also monthly. An issue arose in 1929 as to whether any of the students wished to share in the use of a typewriter, "But since the majority of the class write faster than they type the subject was dropped."[15] Badminton was a very popular activity, especially as the gymnasium was located right in the building. Purchasing of badminton racquets and birds, and organizing of tournaments required long discussions.

Living in community was a new experience for some students. Grace Tucker (an Anglican graduate of 1930) recalled how surprised she was when she first arrived at the Deaconess House to find that she was to have a roommate; eventually there were three in the room. They had a wonderful time together. Grace was influenced by the missionaries who came to speak or stay in the House. She applied for overseas work but was not thought to be strong enough so she went to British Columbia to work with Japanese Canadians there! She recalled life in the House: "Miss Connell had a Bible study group once a week. And we had our own student prayer groups, usually just before dinner time. And of course we had our duties. We had to set the tables and dust the chapel and dust down the stairs (which we hated), and that kind of thing before we ever went over to Wycliffe…Ours was the biggest class they'd ever had up to that year. They couldn't keep them all in the House; they had to hire an apartment across the street from us. Of course, those girls had hi-jinks; we had to behave!"[16]

> *[In] the common room where we had afternoon tea…there was a little cubby-hole in the corner where we had a kettle… [On] my twenty-first birthday they had a birthday party for me that afternoon and I wore the tea cosy for a hat…We were in quarantine once – we had a snowball fight out on the roof. We did all our exercising out on the roof of the Mildmay.* - Audrey Forster ('38)[17]

Many Anglican students undertook summer Caravan Sunday School work across the west, recruited by frequent visitors to the school, Eva Hasell and Iris Sayle. Teaming in the work with other students or graduates furthered the depth of community. CREDIT: **Centre for Christian Studies**

At the Deaconess House, from the 1920s on, there were almost always visitors, including bishops. Missionaries on furlough and deaconesses lived in the House. Board members and others interested in the House often came for dinner. In her report to the board in October 1958, Principal Scott listed recent visitors. "This will suffice to show that it may not be unreasonable when we occasionally are tempted to feel that it is becoming true of us that all roads lead to AWTC and that a sign bearing the inscription 'merging traffic' may be quite in order. We are, however, very grateful for the privilege of being the locus of converging lines."[18] Two of the frequent visitors were Miss Hasell and her friend Miss Sayle who had started their Caravan Sunday School Mission in the early 1920s and who made regular visits to recruit students for their summer "van work" in the west. Frances (Gray) Lightbourn had known Miss Hasell since she was a child, when Frances' father was Bishop of Edmonton. Frances described her as a well-to-do

There were about 25 students [at the United Church Training School] but several other women lived with us – missionaries on furlough, students in other courses, business women. Miss Rutherford tried to include them all in the community. Mealtimes, especially evening dinner and Sunday tea, were special occasions. You didn't sit for dinner until Miss Rutherford had come into the dining room and taken her place at the principal's table. Students were assigned serving duties at table. To sit at the principal's table was an awesome privilege. You could count on Miss Rutherford to keep a lively conversation going, and to include in it everyone at the table. - Jean (Baynton) Shilton, ('42)[19]

Attendance at formal meals and "Tea" were important community forming activities well into the 1960s. Here UCTS students (1957) are at tea. Foreground left: Shirley Stevens (Elliott), Betty Gilchrist, Edith Bolton, Barbara Elliott, Background left: Dorothy Moore, Marion Hu, Mary Naimool. CREDIT: **Merrill Brown**

English lady with very limited ideas about what she was doing; she never spent a winter in Canada. There were numerous stories told over the years about Miss Hasell. Principal Harriet Emery wrote to Board President McElheran in 1937, to say that Eva Hasell had no use for the Deaconess House. Miss Hasell must have recognized, however, that the students would meet her needs for women to do van work.

In her message to the UCTS 1939 graduating class, Principal Gertrude Rutherford shared some of the cherished values of that period:

> Four things I bid you cherish for your life and work, and may these ever characterize the members of the fraternity to which you now belong:
>
> First, woman's gift as housekeeper, for good housekeeping will be important in every task you undertake, in your care and use of things, and in your dealings with the people of the communities in which you live.
>
> Second, graciousness. If in other things you fall short, it will not matter greatly if this gift you possess and use always.
>
> Third, eagerness to understand human experience. If you would teach or preach, if you would help others, you must strive humbly, patiently and persistently to know and appreciate the depths of feeling and thought that lie hidden in human folk.
>
> And lastly, recognition of worth, be it fragmentary and obscure, or solidly clear; be it popular, despised or feared. Goodness, beauty, truth, mobility, dignity – uncover, reinforce, exhibit, champion these things.[20]

Wartime, and its resulting rationing, posed new challenges for both residences. At the Training School, Marjorie (Watson) Powles ('43) recalled with great admiration the way dietician Eva MacFarlane dealt with wartime shortages and served wonderful meals. "She got out a cookbook… she was so clever at using leftovers…for breakfast in the morning we had either cereal or eggs – you didn't get both – and if you had eggs, it was usually scrambled and if it was scrambled eggs for breakfast, you had scalloped corn for dinner that night with the remainder of the eggs, and it was good."[21] In October 1943, Eva reported to the Board that menu planning required extra thought. Days were spent on home-canning. That fall the staff canned 238 quarts of fruit, 124 quarts of jam, and 68 quarts of pickles!

Training School class minutes reveal the variety of issues that preoccupied the life of the community: inviting the Presbyterian and Anglican girls to "a friendly tea" (1936); forming the habit of meeting for a short social period after dinner each evening (1936); having weekly talks on various countries by missionaries staying in the residence (1937); following proper conduct of meetings (1941); and writing Prime Minister King urging rehabilitation for Japanese Canadians (1945). When Principal Jean Hutchinson met with the class in 1946, she urged the students to get more sleep, and to work out a timetable to regulate their lives. She also gave advice on what, and what not to read. The very structured class organization was maintained into the 1960s. Principal Harriet Christie considered this to be excellent training for ministry!

It was assumed that students would care about and for each other. One of the responsibilities of the nurses who were preparing to be missionaries was to nurse other students who were ill. Kay Metheral ('49), a nurse, recalled, "In those days anybody who had a cold or pneumonia was in bed. We didn't have anybody who was seriously ill, but certainly there were some who needed bed care. We ran up and down the stairs with trays and then I think I ran all the way to school every morning…"[22]

Church of England students Gertie Baldry and Daisy Shee in the 1918 uniform. CREDIT: **ACC/ GSA, AWTC. P7902-83**

Dress

At all the schools, students were required to wear uniforms. Not only did uniforms provide visibility and identity, but they inspired a strong sense of community and solidarity with the world-wide deaconess movement.

At the Deaconess House, the wearing of uniforms continued into the 1950s. Uniforms highlighted the differences between the women and the Wycliffe College men. This provoked teasing of the Deaconess House students. Georgina Wibby (Gray) ('14) told her daughter, Frances (Gray) Lightbourn ('44) that the Deaconess House students wore green uniforms in those days and the Wycliffe men would chant "Oh ye green things of the earth, bless ye the Lord."[23] The colour soon changed from green to grey. The students wore a grey dress with turn down collar and white cuffs, black or grey hat and coat and a silver pin with the words "Church of England Deaconess House." The deaconesses wore a similar uniform but with a gold pin.

Students wore the Deaconess House pin as part of their uniform. CREDIT: **Centre for Christian Studies**

Methodist probationers were not required to wear uniforms but deaconesses were to wear "a simple uniform sufficient for protection and recognition in the work …consisting of dark navy blue dress, cloak and bonnet with white silk ties, linen turnover collar and cuffs."[24] At the Presbyterian Training Home, the military analogy was explicit. "Soldiers of Christ" were recognized by their uniforms. "A uniform for soldiers is an obvious necessity, pride of uniform being always the soldier's best asset. Likewise, for those of us who are called to serve in the army of the King of Kings a special costume has great advantages. And what could be more appropriate than the simple, inconspicuous uniform of dark blue with white collar and cuffs. It resembles that of the city nurse, who does similar work among the same class of people."[25]

Marriage or Christian Service

There was a story told by most of the Training School graduates of the late 1950s about a special dinner held at the school one year to celebrate the Feast of the Epiphany. Each of the first year students arrived wearing a sparkling ring from Woolworth's on her left hand. Harriet congratulated each one on her engagement. Dorothy Naylor ('59), who had thought up the escapade, told the story: "[It] was kind of a joke…we thought that whenever one of the students was going to be married, that would be considered by the staff as a really bad thing…We never heard a staff person [say] 'Now we want to discourage you from being married because the church needs you,' but in our minds, the staff – the mothers – would not want this."[26]

In all the schools there were regulations governing students, or those graduating, who decided to marry. At the Methodist school, the women had to leave the institution or the Deaconess Order. An article by Lucy Rider Meyer, used at the school in 1916, referred to various reasons that might be given for not entering Christian service. If the reason was planning to marry, "this, too, is final and releases you entirely. If God calls you to serve Him in the little circle of the domestic family, he does not call you to serve Him in the larger family of humanity's needy ones. And do not doubt that the one call is as truly from God as the other."[27]

At the Presbyterian Home students were encouraged to remain single and commit themselves to service for life. Mary Haig (1892-1993), who received her diploma in 1920, made a journey similar to many in those years. She had thought about being a missionary when she was a child; her mother was active in the WMS and she was involved in mission band and later in CGIT. She taught elementary school for several years and then in her mid-20s, she heard the WMS secretary calling for girls to enlist for church service across Canada or abroad. That led her to the Training Home. She remained single all her life.[28]

There was ambivalence, however, about which was the higher calling. In the late 1950s, Ruth Scott, principal at AWTC, complained that Cupid had had a splendid year at the college; five students had left to get married to students from Wycliffe and Trinity! In the broader society, it was still considered the ultimate vocation for a woman to marry and have children, and as the call to service did not include marriage, there was a difficult choice to be made. Yet in both schools, there was no discussion about the vocation of being single compared with the vocation of married life.

Community Life at Anglican Women's Training College: 1940s - 1960s

The requirement that students live in residence, which was maintained until the 1970s, was the most significant factor in the development of a sense of community at the Anglican Women's Training College. Graduates from the 1940s to the 1960s remembered most vividly the closeness that developed among the students. This was due, in part, to their acts of resistance to the strict discipline in the school. Ruth Pogson ('52) spoke of the requirement that students had to be in bed by a certain time. Principal Annie Edgar would make rounds to see if the lights were off. Ruth reflected on why, of all the schools she attended, the alumnae of AWTC were the only ones to which she had any commitment: "I guess it was small enough that we got to know each other…I've often been

Residence living gave permission for a playfulness typical of younger people. This 1945 prank was also reported in the 1980s. CREDIT: **Gladys Kirk**

> *Somebody had given Miss Scott a second hand car, and she had finally got her driver's licence. I was one of the students sent to drive with her around the streets so she would get enough experience to pass her test. This car was parked in the garage at the back. So in the middle of the night (the night when Diefenbaker was elected), we pushed that car out without turning the motor on, down St. George Street and up the centre drive. There was a stone gate, a fence and an opening, and a door that was never used except for functions, and we pushed it right up there and put a big sign on it: "Are you liberal minded?" and all went back to bed. In the morning, we had to go out and push it back again.* - Edith Shore ('58)[29]

amazed that despite all this crazy stuff that was going on, there was also something that was much deeper that bound us together…our common goals and our rootedness in the faith."[30]

At a reunion held in September, 2003, AWTC graduates recalled many memorable incidents:

- The weekly trek to the Canadian School of Missions to serve tea, and the lady who said "I'll look for your name in the *United Church Observer*, dear";
- Going out at midnight to Swiss Chalet and climbing back in through an upstairs window (and fudging the late book);
- The student who, against all the rules, bought a hamster, that got loose at the very time that a gathering of alumnae was scheduled. When the hamster was found, staff member Betty Langille, offered to take the animal (as there was no rule about staff having pets) until the student graduated;
- Swimming classes with Phyl Haslam, an Olympic swimmer, and the realization that what she was really teaching the students was to be less prudish.

> *You didn't go any place else for a meal. You ate all your meals there, and we were supposed to wear our uniforms at school and then the gowns over top of them…We were very different than other people; I felt that strongly…If you were not present at chapel it was noted and at breakfast time there would be a comment.* - Edith Shore ('58) [31]

The family atmosphere was sustained when AWTC moved to 217 St. George, into what had been family homes. It was not until the new Soward House was built in the early 1960s that the setting became somewhat institutional. Residence life, however, continued to be a significant part of the student experience in the 1960s, even though most of the residents came from other university faculties. Ruth Chase ('67) reflected on the impact of the AWTC community: "There was such a diversity of people…The differences in the women coming from coast to coast – we were a different group of people, but we could come together in the chapel. The chapel meant a great deal to me…There was a great deal of support for us as individuals, no matter what kind of background we came from."[32]

It was a great place…We had great, deep theological discussions…There was no questioning of the Church's view…I do remember once… saying "I don't see why the canon of the Bible was closed. That makes it seem as though God did it." "Well, God did!" was the response. I had so little confidence in my own notions that I didn't pursue it, but I never forgot it. - Helene Hannah ('62)[33]

Community Life at United Church Training School/ Covenant College: 1940s - 1960s

A similar closeness developed among students at the United Church Training School/ Covenant College. Course work and assignments were accompanied by much laughter in the residence. The seniors initiated the juniors each fall with hilarity and creativity. The annual yearbooks were filled with poems, stories and photographs, along with predictions of what each graduate would be doing 25 years hence. There were many social occasions, both formal and informal. The social committee for 1954/55 planned "as per tradition" an

United Church students outside the school at 214 St. George preparing to board the bus for an outing in 1951. CREDIT: **Florence Poole**

There was a marvellous freedom in that community…I enjoyed the craziness and I enjoyed the friendships…I just loved the variety…the stories of why people had come and the different gifts that they brought and where they were going to go when they were through. The other thing that really stuck with me was the women's community, which I had not appreciated before…to go there and see all these women…the breadth of their interests and what they were able to do, and the amount of education and experience that they had. And to hear Harriet Christie talk about her experiences beyond Toronto, beyond Canada…and to see these wonderful models of single women… - Dorothy Naylor ('59)[34]

initiation party by second year students for first year students and first year 'theologs' from Emmanuel College, a Christmas party, a party for McMaster (Baptist Leadership Training School) students, a social with the girls from the Anglican and Presbyterian Schools, a skating party with Emmanuel College students and a closing picnic, in addition to three formal occasions: a Christmas banquet, a Christmas formal and graduation. The school was also actively involved in the Theological Society where students from theological colleges discussed papers on a variety of topics.

Just as many AWTC graduates remembered the story of Ruth Scott's car, graduates of the Training School of this era remembered a story, described by staff member Katharine Hockin, in a letter to her mother: "Monday evening was the annual visit of the alumnae. It is a nonsensical evening when the senior class dresses up as the stereotype missionary and deaconess, and pretends to be alumnae of the school returning and being shocked at the deterioration of the present generation. It is always fun and kept a dead secret from the new class, and each year they are properly surprised. This time, some of them, hearing that the alumnae were to be our guests for dinner changed their frocks and were all ready for august visitors."[35] In remembering this evening, Norma (Dick) Carruthers ('54) commented: "They all looked like they were about 90 years old. They were so prim and proper; there wasn't a smile…When we finally discovered that our "special alumnae visitors" were actually the second year students, we practically collapsed; we laughed so hard."[36]

While the Training School was located in two houses on St. George Street and Bedford Road, there were many informal get-togethers. Norma recounted the times when Katharine Hockin would cook a Chinese meal for the Bedford girls or would act out a skit. One of these was reading the story of King John, acting out all the characters. "Periodically, if we pushed hard enough, she would do this as a skit – with all the actions. She was the miserable old King John and she was all the other characters too. Hilarious! You'd look at her, and she was the same person you'd seen at dinner doing something serious about the crisis in China today, and you'd think, 'that's the same lady, sitting here in her pyjamas??' She was wonderful and we loved her."[37]

During orientation week in 1957, a meeting of all residents was planned. Again Katharine Hockin described the event to her mother:

> At dinner, Harriet announced the meeting and I piped up afterwards, "How do we come – should we wear ear-rings?" meaning to suggest that she might clarify it as an informal occasion when slacks would be in order – the gathering was called for the main common-room so that generally means something fairly proper. Harriet grinned and said, "Yes and hats too!" I knew that the jig was up with that and sure enough at nine o'clock every last resident of the building except the staff appeared with a wild variety of hats, some lovely things that just looked absurd with slacks, and others ingenious – plastic bags, coffee warmers, bathing caps, an improvisation of fez etc. etc. It started things off in a very rollicking and informal fashion, and while it meant a bit of delay in getting down to business, it did set a friendly atmosphere and there were no underground ripples as one sometimes finds.[38]

The mood of the community was changing during the 1960s, although residence life continued to be very important. There were few signs of rebellion at Covenant College, unlike many North American universities in the mid-1960s, although dissent increased toward the end of the decade and the focus of student activities shifted. The students decided that the time needed to produce the yearbook, for example, far exceeded its value.[39] However, the elaborate class structure persisted, with its many committees. Harriet Christie continued to describe the structure as a partnership between the students and the staff. Students could initiate activities with the acknowledgement of the staff, and the class meeting was a place where the student body could air concerns about the life of the college. In 1967, students told the Studies Committee that they wanted a voice when residence regulations were decided. Some also wanted the choice to live out of residence.

In this period, experiences of staff conflict were not allowed to fracture the community. Conflict between Ruth Scott and the AWTC Board was apparently kept from the students and at least a semblance of harmony was maintained. The conflict between Jean Hutchinson, Harriet Christie and Katharine Hockin likewise was kept within the trio (although each of the three had their special group of students).[40]

Reflections on Community

During these years, it is unclear whether those in leadership were aware of the contradictions in the life of both schools. Leadership training was a prime educational objective of the program – graduates were to become leaders in the missionary movement, in the work of Christian education and in the community. As well, the educational methodology focused on enabling students to think for themselves, to raise questions about authority and about the tradition. Yet absolute conformity in behaviour was expected. This was part of a more general stress on compliance which reached its height in the 1950s but was also linked to the status of women in those years. The schools did provide the possibility of exercising leadership for a few church women, but cultural restrictions often meant that those women became authoritarian.[41] Certain themes emerged in interviews with graduates of this era which illustrate the contradictions.

"They treated us like children so we acted like children"

From the 1920s through the 1950s, the *family* motif was both positive and negative, for many students. Residence life was a lot of fun but it could also be oppressive. June Bradley ('51) recalled:

> I think in many ways it was a very oppressed community…Some of those women were in their mid-thirties or maybe older…They were people who had been in charge of their lives…and it must have been very oppressive for them…We used to steal cookies! This was in my first year and was how I first went over against the principal. I was in a room on the second floor of [AWTC] Connell House with three others. Our room was at the top of the front stairs and out another door were the back stairs. At night, we used to take turns – one night when it was my turn, I had my dressing gown pockets full of cookies and I was also carrying some because they wouldn't all fit in the pockets. Coming up the back stairs, I met the principal! The disapproval was

certainly marked…At the time I thought that if you are treated as if you're five years old, you're probably going to act like you're five years old – and we did.[42]

> *We always had to wear those blooming hats. I remember being met by Annie Edgar when I didn't have it on. My impression was that she didn't know what to say. I'm sure if I had been a mere teenager she would have known what to say. But she didn't know what to do with these old characters…* - Marion Niven ('56), a student in her thirties.[44]

The inconsistencies inherent in treating students like children while training them to be independent women in leadership surfaced in stories about the uniform, and the ways in which students circumvented the requirements. Ruth Pogson ('52) said that everyone especially hated the hats: "In winter when it was cold, it was a long cold walk down to Wycliffe…So as soon as we got out of sight, off went the hats and on went kerchiefs. But if we were ever caught wearing those kerchiefs, it was bad news!"[43]

At the Training School, there were other childish pranks. Norma (Dick) Carruthers ('54) told one story about students who had remained in the house on a Saturday afternoon and exchanged all the students' dresser drawers, even moving them from one floor to another: "We laughed and laughed. Some didn't get home until 11 or 12 o'clock at night. And, when they opened a drawer to get something, it wasn't even their drawer!"[45]

Edith (Clift) Shore ('58) shared a story about tricks played on Principal Ruth Scott one April Fool's Day: "We tied all the chair legs together so when she went to pull out her chair, none of the chairs would move…and then when she sat down, there was no silverware on any of the tables…She said 'those who are responsible for this, please stand up'…We were not going to stand up and she was very upset. 'We'll sit here until you stand up'…We had hidden the spoons in Con's [Williston] waste basket. It was stupid. We used to talk about it – you treat us like children; we'll act like children…We had no say in anything."[46]

Glenys Huws ('68) had travelled around Europe during the year after her university graduation. Then she came to Covenant College and found that "there were a lot of expectations about participating in the residence life…Visitors could come no further that the sitting room on the main floor…There were formal dinners… There was a curfew. I think that was typical for the mid 60's, but this was *not* an undergraduate residence. Several of us were in our mid to late 20s. We were infantilized by the rules."[47]

Groomed to be helpers and servants

In both schools, students were formed according to an assumption that the role of those in diaconal ministry was to help the ordained priest or minister. Sister Rosemary Anne ('40) said of her training at the Deaconess House: "I suppose I was being groomed to be a helper more than a leader. I was being trained for parish work and was taught to try to carry out the wishes of the rector, perhaps not to be too full of original ideas myself, but to be especially skilled in visiting and pastoral concern for women and children particularly."[48]

Marilyn Vivian ('60) reflected on her time at the United Church Training School, saying that the students were taught how to behave deferentially towards the ministers they would be supporting as deaconesses. "If you look at gender development, that's definitely the 50s. How to be a good wife – take out *wife* and put in *deaconess*. Make sure he's rested, that everything he needs is beside him…Make sure the children are quiet and taken care of and not bothering the holy thing that's going on up there."[49]

Learning to Behave (as angels would)

Until 1970, many expectations about student behaviour were connected to the dining room, or Sunday tea time, or to the students' comportment when they were in public. The schools were viewed in part as finishing schools for missionaries or deaconesses. The churches, and the schools themselves, also understood that part of the function of the institution was to train those who would become priests' or ministers' wives. There was a general assumption that students came to the school with no knowledge of manners; they were children who had not been raised properly.

> *On Sundays we had tea and there were sandwiches made and all first year students were required to host this. We were still into the hats and gloves in those days and you'd stand at the door and welcome people and you'd arrange for someone to pour from the silver urn and to play the piano…Everybody came. I had talked it up…However, I had omitted to open the flue! This was a long room and the smoke billowed out of the fireplace. So my pianist was playing "Smoke Gets in your Eyes" and everything was in disarray. They were giggling and passing sandwiches – absolute chaos. Harriet was not pleased, because they had just had the sheer curtains cleaned…The next morning – [a student] found a scripture reference that included "and the house was filled with smoke," so we were in chapel and everybody was hysterical.* - Shelley Finson, ('64)[50]

Genevieve (Taylor) Carder ('40) struggled with the emphasis on manners, "learning how to pour tea and all that sort of thing." She recalled that she and fellow student Wilna Thomas were the only two in her class who had come straight from university. "I remember thinking, 'these are women who have had experience in a lot of other fields – look what they're trying to teach them.'"[52]

At AWTC, behaviour appropriate to a certain social class was expected. Marion Niven's ('56) analysis was that the emphasis was at least partly due to the insecurity of the institution. At the Training School as well, appropriate behaviour was important for the impression students would convey to the wider church. In 1946, when Principal Jean Hutchinson made her annual speech to the

> *I was expected to be a lady and be considerate of others. That was particularly stressed at table. We were not supposed to ask for anything to be passed, but our neighbour was to notice.* - Sr. Rosemary Anne, ('40)[51]

class meeting, she "faced us with our responsibilities to the church in respect of our studying, and urged us all to guard our tongues outside the family circle."[53]

Class consciousness at the Training School became confused with the servant aspect of diaconal ministry, as well as with manners. Before 1958, residents had assisted in waiting on and clearing their tables during dinner. The House Committee felt that they should not be "servants" in this way. The Committee felt that not having to serve at tables would "make dinner a family meal with as much grace as possible. This would be facilitated if the students did not have to do quite as much work in waiting on tables at this meal."[54] It is unclear who the House Committee thought performed those tasks in families! Both Katharine Hockin and Hilda Buckmaster (a British woman who was the dietician) were seriously concerned about the decision. Katharine wrote to her mother "that we are pushing the servants of the church into positions of assumptions of service that are really not relevant in today's world. [Hilda] said that folk in North America would soon be making all the mistakes that British folk did decades ago in expecting the 'menial' to do these jobs for them instead of moving into the heritage of our day, which is the dignity of work."[55] At the same time, the Anglican Women's Training College approached the task of serving from another perspective. There was a "privilege list" that students had to sign up for, for such tasks as setting or clearing tables.

TUESDAY, MAY 11, 1965

—Star photo by Barry Philip

HE'S FIRST MALE GRADUATE

Donald Reid of Schubenacadie, N.S., is ribbed by fellow graduates Deanna Steadman, Toronto; Donna Allen, Larchmont, N.Y., and Nora Neilson of Vancouver. He was only male among 17 graduates of Covenant College, formerly United Church training school.

By the 1960s there was ambiguity, and sometimes tension, about the roles for women and men. A male graduate (not the first as stated in the headline) still warranted the attention of the *Toronto Star*. CREDIT: **Barry Philip/*Toronto Star***

Acceptable dress continued to be strictly monitored. It was not until the mid 1940s that Training School students were allowed to wear slacks for Saturday breakfast and lunch (and also for Monday lunch to save time when going to the gym). But pin curls and bandanas were never to be worn! By 1959, the Training School students decided that slacks could be worn to breakfast any day, unless guests were expected.

While some graduates found the emphasis on proper manners to be snobbish, others could understand its importance. Marilyn Vivian ('60) was one of these. "I understand now why, if you have a class from all over the country, from all kinds of experiences, you have to do something that's a bit like a finishing school. You have to teach them the culture of the church as well as all the other stuff, because it reflects back on you and it reflects back on the college…I remember [Harriet] telling us 'you don't know where you're going to be. You could be Director of Christian Education at Timothy Eaton [a large United Church in a wealthy Toronto neighbourhood], so you need to know how to hold a cup, or you might be a deaconess in the inner city and want to go to Timothy Eaton to ask for money.'"[56]

Gender dynamics complicated the emphasis on appropriate dress and behaviour at Covenant College. In the 1964 year book, Douglas Smith ('64), the first man to graduate from the College, wrote that he and the other male student knew they were in trouble when a notice was posted about a trip to Friendly Acres Camp, telling students to "Wear a skirt and bring your slacks." Doug outlined a few rules for living in such a community that, in later years, would have been perceived as sexist. He joked about the women being in housecoats and curlers, and his male colleague wrote that he liked the fringe benefits at the College, "especially all 38 or more of them."[57]

The following year, much of the humour still focused on women's relationships with men, although with perhaps more analysis of the contradictions. At the graduation banquet that year, there was a skit about Sunday tea and why it should not be abolished: "It was so nice to get out of slacks and curlers once in a while…Why in this age of the Changing World and the Changing Church, the girls just have to know about the changing forms in jellied salads!"[58]

At the 1967 graduation banquet, Nancy Jackman (Ruth) ('67) suggested the perfect gift for the College – "The Golden Book of Church Etiquette," with chapters on formal teas, hats, gloves and skirt lengths, and language becoming to church workers. Although the focus on manners and appropriate behaviour continued into the 1970s, there was sufficient awareness by the late 1960s, to poke fun at it.

Like the students and deaconesses at the Methodist School in the 1920s, the Covenant College students in the late 1960s had to enter the building by the side door. Only guests and staff were allowed in the front door. The students muttered about it but there was no organized protest. According to Glenys Huws ('68), the practice was "insulting and offensive. I guess they didn't want the students cluttering up the lobby …It certainly wasn't a counter-cultural institution. It reinforced the middle class, authority and proper behaviour."[59] However, by this time, both Colleges had the conviction and the ability to encourage women to become leaders in church and society, and the pattern was beginning to change.

Community Life at the Centre for Christian Studies: The 1970s

Several students from the early 1970s recalled that their experience of CCS was an unhappy one. The time of transition to an amalgamated school and to a new program created conflicts and tensions.[60] There was resentment about residence restrictions; students experienced these as continuing

evidence of their being treated as children. The curfew remained in place and a bell was rung for meals and the beginning of class.

Charlotte (McLean) Caron ('72) described the environment as sometimes unhealthy, although she learned many practical skills from her field placements. "The '60s had come and gone, but they seemed to have passed the Centre by. My class worked both to constructively change the Centre and had some rebellious moments, but the class that came immediately after me pushed for change much harder than we did."[61]

Many students were now aware of the class issues involved in the attempts to teach appropriate behaviour. Some were able to articulate why they found such instruction offensive. There was so much happening in the world and in the city, and yet little of it seemed to have an impact on CCS. Anne Elliott ('73) recalled situations "where students felt a bit of a discrepancy between what the Centre said it was about and how it practised…There was certainly… [an attempt] to resolve conflict, but there are many ways of looking at this thing and looking at it now, I see it from the institution's side…We were on the cusp of a lot of social change …At the time we were saying 'oh we are so progressive because the Centre used to be the Angel Factory and the women were trained to host tea parties'…I think we felt we were radical, but looking back…"[62]

Residence Life

Students were required to live in the residence at 77 Charles Street West until the 1971-72 year. In the spring of 1971, a special committee examined the place of the residence in the educational work of CCS, including the effect on the program of the conversion to a co-educational institution. The presence of ministers taking short continuing education courses at the Toronto School of Theology also adversely affected the sense of community in the residence. In 1973, the Central Council agreed to discontinue the food service. The Council was concerned, however, that with the residence students eating their meals at Victoria College's Annesley Hall and with the continuing education participants eating at Victoria's Burwash Hall, the community was being fractured. Harriet Christie, still a member of the Covenant College Board, continued to express her concern "for the basic philosophy of eating together as an important element in community life."[63] In order to maintain the community atmosphere, the '77' building was redesigned in 1974 to include a kitchen and eating area.

As soon as CCS students were no longer required to live in residence, the character of the place changed. In 1974-75, there were 38 permanent residents, of whom only seven were CCS students. The residence staff worked to increase the sense of community among all the residents through social activities and residence meetings. They also nurtured the commitment to social justice issues shared by some of the non-CCS residents. In January 1975, Arnie Chamberlain, an Emmanuel College student, presented a petition to Central Council from residents and others at CCS to erect a sign in front of '77' reading "Justice for Farm Workers – Boycott U.S. grapes." Central Council approved the message, but since the Council did not have a policy statement on the issue, the sign was to state only that a majority of residents supported it.

In 1978, as part of an evaluation process undertaken by all CCS constituents, the residents prepared a statement of the goals of residence life. They stated that the residence responded to the difficulty experienced by University of Toronto students in finding affordable housing. As well, "the Centre provides the opportunity for interaction between students of varied backgrounds and vocations. More importantly, and related to the above, the Centre is an ecumenical Christian community in which the residents are able to grow in their own faith, while at the same time gaining better insights into other faiths. In this way, each member of the community is given the opportunity to witness to their own faith and to respond in a Christian manner to the challenges around them. As an integral part of living in a Christian community, the residents give support to and receive support from each other."[64] Almost half the non-CCS residents at the time were students at Emmanuel College.

Attitudes toward residential living were changing and students no longer wished to share rooms. The double rooms at '77' were converted into singles. The fourth floor continued to be reserved for Toronto School of Theology continuing education participants. The residence kitchen proved less than ideal. Space was very limited and it was difficult to keep clean and organized. It did, however, provide a gathering place for residents. Marly Bown ('87), a student from Herring Neck, Newfoundland, expressed gratitude for the residence; it forced her to get to know others more intimately and she formed continuing friendships. Following the pattern of earlier decades, there were a number of marriages between CCS and Emmanuel College students.

The Greenhouse

The Centre for Christian Studies had also created ten small apartments in the Greenhouse (painted green!) at 63-65 Charles Street West. The apartments were very small, and the house was in poor condition, but it provided inexpensive accommodation and a rich community life for couples and others who did not want to live at '77.' Eric and Karen King lived there for two years. "The Greenhouse was my only experience of living in an intentional Christian community. We were not covenanted in the sense of the Iona community, [an intentional Christian community on the island of Iona in Scotland] but we became quite close. That happens, I think, in any residential situation, [but] here we became very close, as families beyond that."[65]

In 1988, with news of the proposed demolition of '63-'65,[66] former residents of those houses expressed their grief. Elaine Barber ('86) wrote about the importance of the Greenhouse to her, in *The Student Voice* (newsletter):

> At the age of 43 I had the experience for the first time in my life, of having my own space in which to live. I decorated the living room of my apartment in the

The "Greenhouse" expanded residence accommodation options to include families. CREDIT: **Centre for Christian Studies**

'greenhouse' in pastel shades of green and pink. I put plants in the window, surrounded myself with my books and papers, and spent eight months (from Monday to Friday) as a full time student. Friday afternoons I went back to being wife and mother of three. That eight months was in many ways the culmination of six years of preparation for ministry and the last step of claiming my personhood as separate from my parents and my husband and children.[67]

Challenges to Community

By 1986, creating a sense of community among all CCS students was a major challenge. Staff struggled with the issue of the small number participating in regular weekly worship. With differing schedules and with so many students commuting, it was difficult to find even a common time for the weekly Anglican Eucharist and the more eclectic community worship planned by students and staff.

The demographic shift in the student body also challenged community life. At the request of women students, staff member Shelley Finson facilitated a weekly morning meeting called "Transitions," dealing with issues related to moving towards a career, and its effect on partners and families. Women were finding that the transitions they were experiencing called for changes in the understanding of both partners, of the marriage relationship. Some women students were frightened by rumours that CCS broke up marriages. Such break-ups occurred no more frequently than in other theological colleges, but as many of the women became more aware of themselves as women and as feminists, some of their male partners were threatened. Sandra Flint ('92) had heard the rumours. "When I made the decision to go to the Centre, Roger and I sat down and we had a long talk and he said, 'I'm going to support you,' recognizing that I might change, but that he might not change in response. So I went in knowing that."[68]

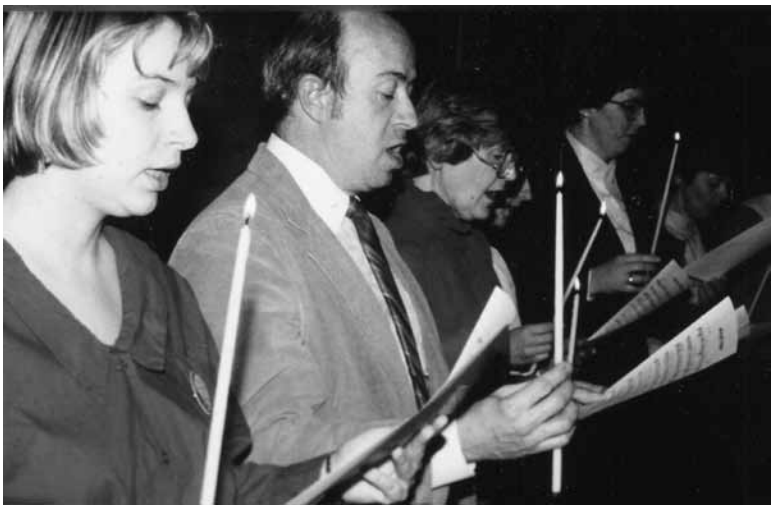
A staff/student gathering in the fall of 1982 included spouses, children and friends of students, with 60 in attendance. "Staff/Student Community Nights" became a regular part of the CCS's life, and included worship. These nights were especially important to Linda Found ('88) who commuted from Mississauga for four years. "I think community was really important for the students. I'm sure it was for the staff too, but as a student I felt connected; I never felt alone."[69]

A Singing Community

This circle opening moves with deepened faith,
Our lives to birth a living dawn.
As love renewed turns in our common way,
Creating hope, we carry on.[70]

More than ever, CCS was filled with singing. In the early 1970s, Anne Elliott ('73) and Heather Chappell ('74)

Students with musical talent often provided leadership in the school. Nancy Hardy ('68) conducted this Covenant College choir who sang for a local TV program. CREDIT: **Janet MacPherson**



The community expressed itself through formal and informal occasions for singing. CREDIT: **Centre for Christian Studies**

joined with three other residents to form a singing group that performed in various settings. Several students had guitars and songs such as "Love is Like a Magic Penny," "We are One in the Spirit" and "They'll Know We Are Christians by our Love" echoed through the residence, blending with the Catholic folk music of the era. From the 1980s on, the songs of the Klusmeiers and the Strathdees[71] were popular and women composers such as Carole Etzler, Colleen Fulmer and Carolyn McDade inspired the singing of the CCS community. Core groups, worship, and other community times were filled with music that expressed the passions and concerns of those at CCS. New words were often set to familiar tunes for student orientation and other occasions.

Students' Council

A Students' Council was formed in 1979. Although they continued to be active representatives on Central Council and its committees, students now had a formal body to which they could be accountable. In 1982, Sue Taylor ('85), one of the two student representatives on Central Council reported, "A real effort is being made to encourage students to become involved with making decisions that affect them. Wherever possible, two students are asked to serve on a committee so that the new student can serve a second year with another new student, thus assuring continuity."[72]

In December 1983, observing that student concerns were still not being dealt with in a constructive way, the staff wrote a memo to all students, voicing their concern that issues being raised by some students had not reached an open forum, resulting in "rumours of rumours." A staff member and a student designed a process by which issues could be identified and ways of resolving them developed. Students were urged to take the Students' Council more seriously, and also to raise their concerns in the appropriate place.

During the 1983-84 year, *The Student Voice* began publication. Many of the contributions (poetry and reflections) were less whimsical than those in the yearbooks of both colleges during the 1950s, but the newsletter provided another forum for students to express themselves on life at CCS, on issues affecting the community, and on world issues. The newsletter included interviews with staff, and reports on Central Council, Students' Council, and other committees.

A Frayed Community

We'll weave a love that touches our pain
that comes like the water to drought-fevered plains,
so the roots once withered sing praise to the rain,
Together, my friends, we'll weave on…[73]

In May, 1987, three couples, including four graduating students, were married. The celebrations were somewhat bittersweet as the couples publicly recognized their heterosexual privilege, both in the wedding liturgies, and in two poems in *The Student Voice.* One was titled "Haunted People."

Someone has whispered
There might be other celebrations
Would we hear the laughter of celebration
From the lesbian or gay?
Would it ring hollow in CCS halls?
Unheard, it will haunt
Until their celebration
Becomes ours.[74]

The community experienced considerable stress in 1988-89 due to combination of issues including allegations of sexual harassment by a male student living in residence, an increasing number of "out" gays and lesbians, and differing expectations regarding the degree of flexibility in the diploma program. Numerous meetings of the Students' Council and gatherings of the total community were held, and a staff/student liaison group was set up to respond to questions about decision making processes, safety, power dynamics and confidentiality. Sherri McConnell ('91), one of the student representatives on Central Council, reflected on the year: "The CCS community was often a broken, tense community last year, but the main issue was not really the residence situation [the issue of harassment]. The first year group seemed to be struggling in many diverse areas. There were many unhelpful rumours floating around about the residence situation that did seem to exacerbate the us/them feelings developing among some students and staff…Healing has been slow in our community, but I think we needed time to feel anger and pain before letting go of it."[75]

The issues that arose were complex and interrelated, and resolution was not achieved simply. The specific issue of harassment led to the development of a sexual harassment policy (see below). Some of the students who reacted against what they experienced as a lack of flexibility decided that the CCS program was not for them, and left. Others came to understand and accept the program's limitations.

What about the Men?

In the 1970s and 1980s CCS offered a number of feminist continuing study programs to graduates and to lay persons in the community. Although most of the participants were women, it was only in 1985 that an event with lesbian feminist theologian Carter Heyward was designated

"for women only." The Continuing Study and Action Committee met to consider what it meant to be both open and also safe for women. One member of the Committee, Terry Finlay, then rector at St. Clement's Anglican Church and later Bishop of Toronto, expressed his discomfort. "But Shelley, what about the men?" Shelley, who was to staff the event, looked over her reading glasses at him and replied, "Yes, Terry, what *about* the men?" There were several other men on the committee and following the meeting, they met and decided to form a men's group to support one another and deal with their responses to feminism. Other men associated with CCS joined them.

Many women associated with CCS were active in the Christian Feminist movement. As sexism was identified, life for some men at CCS became more fraught with challenge and anxiety. Other men found that CCS confirmed their view of the world. Eric Tusz-King ('78) had graduated from Mount St. Vincent University in Halifax and was one of those who was comfortable in a school that was primarily composed of women students. He realized that CCS was a place where he could continue to understand and reflect on both his male and white privilege.

It was not only male students who had difficulty with this primarily women's institution. Many husbands of women students also struggled with the changes in their spouses, especially their growing feminist consciousness. In the spring of 1983, a "men's night" for these spouses was offered, with six participating. This was repeated periodically in the following years.

The female students experienced an especially difficult period between 1974 and 1978, with what they experienced as misogyny on the part of a male academic staff member. By 1977-78, students (both men and women) were so concerned that they documented the discrimination that they had experienced and observed. They confronted him with what they perceived as his abuse of power. The students applied much of what they were learning to this concrete situation. Eric Tusz-King recalled, "To [create] structural change…we had to work with the Personnel Committee; we had to work with [principal] Marion [Niven] to help her understand this; we had to work with the Central Council (I was a student rep on Central Council); we needed to work with other students to help them see that this was more than complaints; it was incongruence. This was contrary to the way we should have been behaving at the Centre and the type of thing that breaks down the Centre's credibility. If we didn't challenge it, then we weren't being faithful to what the institution wanted or what the students needed."[76] The presentation to Marion and the Personnel Committee was so well documented that the Council had to act. After careful consideration for his welfare, and the welfare of CCS, its staff and students, Central Council terminated the staff member's services, with provision for professional career consultation.

Through their studies, many women became keenly aware of manifestations of sexism, including violence against women. Denise Davis Taylor ('82) remembered coming back to her Core group after seeing the National Film Board film "Not a Love Story," a film about pornography. "I remember debriefing from that [film]…my rage was so intense…it was the first time in my life I'd ever seen that kind of pornography and I saw it for what it was."[77]

Although several men had difficulty with any mention of sexism, others welcomed the feminist analysis in the school and worked intentionally to eradicate sexism within the community.

Hélène Castel Moussa, who facilitated many Core groups where men were participants, observed that there were some very special male students. "They were role models because they were choosing a career that is seen as a woman's job and is marginalized, whereas if they shifted to ordination they would have had status, [and the] power and authority that go with it…In many ways they were much more dedicated than a lot of the women who were there, and they were committed to why they were there."[78]

In 1984, Don Thompson, the only man on the academic staff, wrote to the four men who were currently CCS students, inviting them to get together. "We all share one important characteristic at CCS (and probably many more!) It is that we are very much a minority of men in the midst of what is predominantly an institution of women. For many of us, this is a reverse of the pattern we are used to in society. At first it comes as a shock. Then later, far deeper questions emerge – about our roles as men and women in society in general and in the church in particular."[79]

Issues of patriarchy, including sexism and heterosexism were the subjects of classroom reflection. Staff member, Don Thompson (centre) intentionally connected with male students like Mark Green (left front) and Russell Walker (right). CREDIT: **Centre for Christian Studies**

That year, Bruce Tombs ('85) wrote a letter to *The Student Voice*, the CCS students' newsletter. He compared his experience as a man at CCS to his weariness at the language of a friend who was a born again Christian. "I wholeheartedly believe in equal rights for women, as well as for all of humanity; however, when I go to my mail box and read sexist jokes against men I feel resentful…I become weary and sick and tired of the issue. For once I would like to read an article from the Centre that does not make me feel guilty for being a member of the human race."[80] A reply to Bruce's piece from one of the student editors, Robin Osborne ('87), was also printed. She compared Bruce's feeling with her own guilty feelings, in the 1960s, about being white. "In this I am suggesting that whenever the status quo is challenged and profound oppression is revealed, pain and distrust come to both sides. If you say reverse sexism-reverse hate is a step back, you're absolutely right. But if you expect people to realize and act against oppression without the fuel of anger – I say, unrealistic…You, in this time and place, are in the midst of an issue of justice…We are called to get beyond defensiveness, beyond the jokes, the buzz-words and the trivializing headlines. Can you and I do it, Bruce? Do we care enough?"[81] This was just one of such dialogues between men and women students in the newsletter.

In 1988-89 a men's group consisting of Don Thompson and six students began to meet regularly. In May 1989, they presented a letter to Central Council requesting that the Council "and both program and committee structures (especially Admissions) be mindful of the fact that in origin

and current life, CCS is primarily a community of women and, as such, may not be able to provide a helpful context for learning for some men and, possibly, some women."[82] The matter was referred to the Professional Study and Action Committee (responsible for the diploma program). Two of the six male students met with the committee to stress that the context for learning for men needed to be examined. One of them, Roland Legge ('90), stated: "CCS leads men to explore feelings as a minority, to experience feelings of anger and tension directed at them, namely that CCS is a community of women that invited men to join it; it is not a place for everybody. Admissions need to be carefully assessed. It is a place for women coming out of patriarchy, out of pain and separation. This is a place for critique and challenge, a fantastic place."[83] Roland emphasized that a separate men's group needed to continue to meet together. He also recommended that even more men should be involved as contract staff and resource persons.

Staff, students and volunteers continued to discuss issues related to men in the diploma program. Isaac Kuwaki-Mukasa was on academic staff from 1992-1995. Isaac represented three minorities in the CCS community; he was a man, he was Anglican, and he was African-Canadian. In 1994, the minutes of the academic staff recorded:

> What is unusual about men in the program is that men are aware that they will be in a minority and what that means, but it is not until they experience being the powerful minority that they truly realize how difficult it will be. Isaac is the staff person who carries the pastoral burden of difference, either of gender or colour. One of the concrete issues is in the area of touch and what it means about boundaries…We thought about a men's caucus again. Isaac said that he thought that it would be divisive…Isaac thought that his role with the men is to represent the institution, but also to give the men an opportunity to ventilate their pressures and feelings. Although the men expected Isaac to agree with them, Isaac felt that he was clear about where his loyalties lay.[84]

Shelley Finson, who was on academic staff at CCS from 1978-1985 and later on the CCS Program Committee, reflected back on the issue of language related to differences in gender, sexual orientation and denominational affiliation: "In hindsight I would say that we never changed our language [from how it was when there were only women]. Now I recognize it would have been helpful to have been much more intentional about the language when the men came in. The same too with the question of lesbian women – once women were out and visible, it could have helped to have had conversation about the heterosexist language, and how lesbian and straight women could get along… We felt at some level oppressed by the men simply because we didn't have enough conversation about what the male experience was, and what it felt for us to have men in "our" community….It's complex because there was never a critical mass either of men or of lesbians."[85]

Sexual Harassment

The issue was not only one of language. The problem of male sexual harassment also arose. In the 1970s, the issue was not well understood or articulated. Anne Elliott ('73) recalled: "When I was there…the fourth floor was rented out for continuing education and most of the people that came were [male] clergy. Some of those guys weren't safe, but nobody had the language to describe that…

Nowadays we talk about sexual harassment, sexual abuse, women's rights, but we were still in this falsely romantic, patriarchal era, and I could very easily have been a victim…The cloak of secrecy was huge."[86]

A policy on sexual harassment was approved by Central Council in 1989. Although there was more understanding of harassment in the wider community, it was not until women students and residents personally experienced harassment from a male CCS student who lived in the residence that the words were translated into actions. Sherri McConnell ('91), was one of the student representatives on Central Council:

> His inability to handle living in community and his inappropriate and often violent/abusive behaviour towards many of the women and some men created a real atmosphere of tension, fear and suspicion in the residence…Finally in February the women pulled together. We gathered, shared our stories, compared our experiences and decided to approach the institution to provide us with a harassment-free environment…Justice finally ruled and the man was removed from residence. The community went crazy. Many blamed the Centre – it was said that this proved it was a man-hating institution. Another man asked us what it was about our institution that caused the student to behave this way. Others felt the action was too little too late – their school programs had been adversely affected by the very atmosphere; they had been living in fear. There was tension around whether the institution had acted justly – and who deserved justice and protection, the women or the man.[87]

The number of male students in the diploma program remains small. Six men participated in the leadership development module of the program in 2001. CREDIT: **Centre for Christian Studies**

The labelling, by some in the church, of CCS as "anti-male" as a result of its anti-sexist, anti-heterosexist stance, exacerbated the situation. It was hoped that the clear policies and procedures on sexual harassment that were developed would prevent such a situation occurring again.

Gender issues continued to be complex following the move to Winnipeg in 1998. As the only male staff person, Ted Dodd was intentional about acknowledging his power. He observed that some of the women in the student body continued to look to him for approval and some women tended to mother him. The number of male students remained low following the move. Four men completed the diploma program between 1998 and 2008 and a number of men, including Anglican clergy, participated in the school's Leadership Development Module as continuing education students.

As awareness of the power of sexism grows and there is more equality of power and status between men and women, the situation may change. Women now constitute the majority of the student body in most theological schools. But they do not have to contend with a history and perception of their school as a women's institution. It will continue to be important to discuss the issues and to maintain clear policies related to language, harassment and other factors affecting the relationships between women and men. CCS is committed to analyzing its own functioning in order to make it both safe for women and open to men.

Male Staff

Many of the male academic staff served for short periods at the school. Alan McLachlin, Ralph Spencer and Isaac Kuwaki-Mukasa were employed for less than four years. Others, including Harry Oussoren, Thomas Harding, Bruce MacDougall, and Larry Peterson taught on short-term contracts. Many men were volunteer field supervisors and learning facilitators. Three men – Douglas Shanks, Don Thompson and Ted Dodd – served for longer periods of time.

Douglas Shanks (Academic Staff 1964 – 1982)

Douglas Shanks, an ordained United Church minister, was on Covenant College and CCS academic staff for 18 years. His title at Covenant College was lecturer (1964-69) and he taught courses to students in the diploma program (primarily in theology), some in cooperation with the Anglican Women's Training College. At CCS he was Director of Related Studies (later called Academic Studies) and delivered continuing education programs focused primarily on Church Education. Doug was also the Bursar and carried responsibility for 63-65 Charles Street West (the Greenhouse).

Doug Shanks CREDIT: **Centre for Christian Studies**

Shelley Finson, who was a staff colleague from 1978 to 1982, remembered Doug as a kind-hearted man with a lovely spirit who did not feel defensive as the only man on staff. Many graduates spoke of him as supportive and caring although somewhat traditional in his teaching methods and way of relating to students.

> *I can remember going to see the Grey Cup at his home. That was quite important – as a national group none of us were close to home and once in a while to go to someone's home was really helpful. - Eric Tusz-King ('78)*[88]

> *I found Doug helpful. He would walk through with me what I had and helped me to understand how to fit these academics together…he was supportive of my style of learning…He could see that we didn't have any money. It was his idea to offer that Jeannie and I be caretakers for the Greenhouse and we really appreciated that. - Ross White ('79)*[89]

Following his years at CCS, Doug became involved in chaplaincy and congregational ministry. He died of cancer in 1997.

Donald Thompson (Academic Staff 1982 – 1991)

Don Thompson, an Anglican priest, joined the CCS academic staff as Director of Academic Studies in 1982. He had previously been on the faculty of Montreal Diocesan College. While at CCS he designed a new theology course.

Don Thompson CREDIT: **Don Thompson**

> *I had a lot to do with Don because of Integrating Theology. It was interesting and difficult because he was an academic and a thinker, but it was important for me …So for me it was excellent discipline…I just thought "I have to struggle with this"…And he was very supportive while I did that.*
> *- Muriel Thompson ('87)*[90]

Don also co-taught the courses "Denominational Studies" and "Education and Pastoral Care." Several graduates remember his helpful methodology. He was very supportive of students who were not at ease in an academic setting and drew out even greater rigour from those who were.

> *It was tough and I would say that's where I experienced tremendous graciousness. I can remember the first paper that I did for Don. I don't even know whether it would have been a Grade 10 level. But [he demonstrated unqualified] acceptance of it, and support and encouragement.*
> *- Pat Deans ('93)*[91]

Don was appreciated especially by the Anglican students. He was key in relationship building and advocacy with the Anglican Church, where he played a leadership role in promoting lay ministry, helping to develop a canon for recognition of professional lay ministers (although it was not accepted by the church). He was also active in policy and resource development on the issue of violence against women.

After leaving CCS in 1991, Don became Provost and later President of Thornloe University in Sudbury. He was a member of the Anglican Church's Task Force on Theological Education for Ordained Ministry from 1998-2000. In 2001, Don became General Secretary of Colleges and Universities of the world-wide Anglican Communion, located in New York City.

Ted Dodd (Program Staff 1998 – present)

Ted Dodd CREDIT: **Centre for Christian Studies**

Ted Dodd joined the program staff in 1998 but his association with CCS began in the 1970s. As a supervisor for CCS students he was well formed by Shelley Finson's supervisors' training. Ted was ordained in 1980 but much of his ministry reflected a diaconal call and style. After completing a specially designed program at CCS, he became the first person in The United Church of Canada to be commissioned as a diaconal minister after working as an ordained minister.

Ted contributed to shaping the evolving dispersed community program with his keen pedagogical understanding. His influence on the overall ethos of CCS strengthened an approach to learning rooted in curiosity, abundance, giftedness and a call to compassion.

Ted has been appreciated by CCS students who have experienced his ministry. Christina Paradela ('00) spoke of his being open and accepting of the challenges of the student body. Laura Hunter ('04) reflected on all the staff from Ted's era: "[What] phenomenal role models they are – models in teaming, models in living with integrity, hard work and skills and grace…Ted was an important [model] for me… he was just so pastoral in his listening."[92]

Sexuality and Intimate Friendships

We'll weave a love that holds the despised,
the stranger who wanders, the focus of lives
We'll stand sure as mountains with earth's victimized
Together, my friends, we'll weave on…[93]

As noted in Chapter 1, intimate relationships between women, both within the school and with partners outside the school, had always been present but until recently were never discussed. As in society, there was a "conspiracy of silence" so any lesbian and gay person was invisible within the predominantly heterosexual context of the school. Graduates of the schools which formed CCS do not remember that homosexuality was discussed or that there was gossip about staff or students. Female students were not warned about spending too much time together. Instead, they were told to be on guard against improper relationships with men. That was certainly the reason why men were barred from going upstairs to the students' rooms! Much later, in the 1980s, during a discussion in the Residents' Council about whether female residents could have men overnight in their rooms, someone raised a challenge: "We can have women in our rooms; how do you know that women aren't having sex?"

In the 1970s, the silence about sexual orientation still prevailed. Linda Ervin ('73) reflected on her years as a student at CCS: "I do know there were people around who were gay and lesbian but I didn't know who they were…It was never talked about. We never talked about being single in ministry…We never talked about what it was to be in relationship and to be in ministry…What would that mean to our relationship with our partner and the people in the congregation?…And all but Doug [Shanks] of the faculty were unmarried…We didn't even talk about feminism. And what a rich place to have been able to do that."[94]

By the 1980s, as the public debate about homosexuality heated up, the subject entered the life and work of CCS. Staff and Council members struggled with the need to make a statement about sexual orientation.[95] Although the question was dealt with in task groups and Council meetings, it was seen primarily as an academic issue with little debate about the impact on the CCS community. However, the issue came to the fore in the late 1980s during the United Church's decision- making about the place of gay men and lesbian women in ministry and discussion was prevalent at CCS in the 1990s.

As the 1990s progressed and more and more students and staff were "out," some heterosexual students became increasingly uncomfortable. Kay Dean ('97) recalled that those who were straight felt like a minority, even though numerically this was not the case. Principal Trudy Lebans talked with Kay in Edmonton prior to her admission. "[Trudy] did say that the residence was a safe place for those in ministry who have a different orientation. Being straight I went with quite a bit of concern, because in my rural living and work experience I was not exposed to those who were openly 'out,' [but] in terms of my own personal sense of who I was, I was not threatened in any way." [96]

Students like Kim Brandt join the Winnipeg Gay Pride parade, which coincides annually with a CCS course, giving public witness to the acceptance of lesbian and gay people at the school. CREDIT: **Nancy Pinnell**

For decades, lesbians and gays had been invisible; now that the acceptance of homosexuality was assumed at CCS, this created difficulties for those who had questions. Heterosexual responses to heterosexism were similar to male responses to sexism; it often began with denial of personal power and privilege, as well as anger and a feeling of being personally threatened. As their consciousness developed, many men moved through denial to trivialization. If they remained open, their anger turned into energy for self-reflection, gradually leading to a desire for genuine companionship with women to address sexism. For heterosexuals, avoidance of the socio-political structure of heterosexism likewise meant a denial of the power and privilege that accompanied being heterosexual.[97]

As in society, the consequences of the new climate of consciousness of gender and sexual orientation frequently led to responses that were neither productive nor life-giving. Women were challenged to move beyond anger to a strong sense of self-determination. Gay, lesbian and bisexual members of the CCS community were challenged to move to a place of ease about their own internalized homophobia and thus come to terms with their own sexuality. As often happens, change occurred but not without a great deal of unintended hurt and pain.

During these years, CCS became a laboratory – an opportunity for students to confront and develop skills to deal with the issues and personal experiences that they would face in ministry. Some students recognized this while others felt that they had been made to endure unnecessary stress. The situation remains one where students and others involved in the school encounter the complexities of heterosexism, sexism and homophobia, and the unease of moving from the theoretical to the concrete. But CCS was always a place where members of the community were unafraid to confront uncertainty and the absence of a clear path; the institution was determined to grow.

Toronto-based and Regional Students

The nature of community changed again with the beginning of the school's regional program. Those in the 1993 and 1995 regional program groups[98] experienced intense periods of being together during the learning circles but the rest of the time their only connection was through telephone and eventually, e-mail. They also had little sense of connection with other parts of CCS. The Toronto-based students continued as they had formerly, with representation on Central Council and its committees.

The Annual Service of Celebration that was intended for CCS as a whole, including those in the regional program, still focused on those who were enrolled in, or completing the Toronto program. The final Annual Service of Celebration in Toronto in 1998 did celebrate the completion of the first regional program group who had their final learning circle in Toronto just prior to the service. That service was an important transition from the "residential" to the "regional" program.

Regional groups found community when together in Toronto. Participating together and with staff in activities like this Bread and Roses march, helped to form their sense of identity. CREDIT: **Micheline Montreuil**

In the discussions about relocation, which lasted from 1995-1998,[99] the Toronto students' chief concern was that the ethos of CCS be maintained. They wanted to participate in those discussions. Kay Dean ('97) attended some open Council meetings and came away with the sense that "something was happening at the Council level and it affected us and our program." But she felt excluded from the debate. "It was difficult. I don't blame anybody."[100] Those in the regional program did not appear to have the same concerns; their experience of CCS was limited to their own program group. Yet they knew that major decisions were being made that could affect them.

Conflict between staff and Central Council deepened, as did uncertainty about the future. It was especially difficult for the last class of students to begin the residential program not knowing if they would be able to complete it. Three students in that last class eventually transferred to the 1995 regional group in 1998. Christina Paradela ('00) was one of them. "We went into second year still not knowing…One person left and went over to Emmanuel College…There were five of us still who were asking that something continue [in Toronto]. Then [another] dropped out…[She] was so upset she decided that diaconal ministry wasn't for her. And there was no way they could plan anything for four."[101] One more student became inactive, but eventually graduated.

Deborah Vitt ('00), in the 1995 regional group, shared her perception of what it was like when the residential and regional students came together:

> I can't imagine how it was for them. We talked a lot about how it felt. Everybody came with group history. We had shared our faith stories and then all of a sudden between third and fourth year we were dropped in together. They knew each other really well; we knew each other really well…There were 18 or 20 of us and 3 of them. They didn't know either what they were coming up against. I don't think they knew

that their program was going to shift to such an extent, so the blending together of the program was at times a hard slog.[102]

Laura Fouhse (left) from Edmonton, and Young Cho Chun, Brenda Otawa and Beth Kerr, from Ontario in the second year of the new dispersed program model. Despite geographical distances, strong community was built during the times that students were together for learning circles, and was enhanced by email contact in between. CREDIT: **Centre for Christian Studies**

Beginning with the new program in 1998, the community re-formed. Laura Fouhse ('03) was a student in the first class in Winnipeg. She shared a story that illustrated for her the sense of community that developed during the learning circles. "I think one of my favourite images is when we stayed at the William and Catherine Booth College. We all had our individual rooms [off a] long hallway. I remember coming up to the area where we were staying and everybody [was] sitting on the floor – [it was] nine o'clock at night – and having a little chat time in the hall way. Every night I would say 'tonight I have to go to bed early. I'm not getting enough sleep.' And then I'd wander into Jody's room or Elaine's room. The three of us would sit and talk until one o'clock in the morning and be completely exhausted the next day."[103] This was the essence of community throughout all the decades: the telling of stories and sharing of hopes and fears, with students who came from many places.

The Changing Tapestry

We'll weave a love with roots growing deep
and sap pushing branches to wake from their sleep,
Bearing leaves burnt amber with morning's full sweep,
Together, my friends, we'll weave on, we'll weave on,
A love that heals, friend, that bends, friend,
that rising and turning then yields, friend,
like mountain to rain, or frost in the spring
or darkness that turns with the dawn.
It's by turning, turning, turning, my friend,
by turning that love moves on.[104]

The tapestry that was being woven in the last decades of the 20th century was still threaded with the importance of community. Carolyn McDade's "Song of Community" had special meaning for CCS from the mid 1980s on. At first it affirmed the changing, enduring nature of community. In the 1990s, when the whole community was frayed, it continued to be sung, possibly as a declaration of hope for a new community in the future. In the 2000s, it again affirmed a community that now spread across the country and beyond.

Summary

Throughout the long history of the school, the commitment to community has been a sturdy warp upon which the educational program has been woven. Sometimes, there was a discrepancy between what was promoted and what was practised. But even when the community fractured, in the early 1970s, the late 1980s and the late 1990s, the creating of community remained of great value. Considerable dissension erupted when the expectations of various segments of the community differed, as in the early 1970s, when conflict developed between staff and students.

Although there had been little visible rebellion in the student body in the 1960s, by the time the Centre for Christian Studies was a reality, students were eager for a more progressive education than that being offered. In the late 1980s, two dynamics contributed to the rupture in the community: radical students expected more flexibility than CCS was able to provide (partly because of requirements of the United Church); and a case of sexual harassment led to a split between those who expected the administration to move more quickly than it did and those who did not take the harassment seriously. In the 1990s, there was a breakdown between Central Council and staff, due in part to differing understandings of the role of each, and also to the stress caused by fear for the future of the school. In each case, those at the heart of the conflict moved on, but those who remained in the community worked hard to learn from what had happened, and to put in place more community supports.

In contrast with earlier periods when conflicts between various constituencies within the school were hidden, as society moved towards valuing openness and greater equality between different groups, conflicts surfaced and had to be dealt with in a different way.

Students in the school in the mid-decades of the century sensed a contradiction between a focus on training them to be leaders in the church and being treated like children needing to be disciplined and taught middle class values, such as table manners. As the profile of the student body changed from young, single women to more mature women, often with partners and children, increased mutuality developed between students and staff. An enhanced emphasis on leadership development also emerged during this period.

Until the 1970s, community was fostered by the requirement that all students (and for most of that time, staff as well) live in residence. Living together was seen to be an essential part of the training. Students accepted the hierarchical difference between themselves and staff, and all had an investment in the sense of belonging to and caring about one another. Many relationships among students continued long after graduation, nurtured by a common faith and often by the experience of marginalization as graduates.

The nature of the community changed when men were admitted, first to Covenant College and then to CCS. A new consciousness of pervasive sexism made it difficult for the men, as well as for the women. The fact that the men were entering a women's school (and were both in the dominant group in society and in the minority at the school) created different challenges than women faced when they first became students in other theological schools. The situation was, however, a microcosm of

a changing society in which women and men had to find new ways of relating to one another. The perception in the wider church community that CCS 'broke up marriages' was partly a reaction to CCS's anti-sexist and anti-heterosexist stance.

When residence was no longer required for CCS students, community was nurtured in other ways. With so many students committed to partners and children and commuting to the school, staff/student community nights and community worship helped to deepen relationships. Smaller groupings, such as the Core groups, offered profound experiences of community. Even now, in the new dispersed community program model, when students come together for intensive sixteen-day learning circles, there is a strong sense of community. New technologies mean that this essential component of the Centre for Christian Studies continues to thrive even when students remain in their home communities.

(Endnotes)

1 Carolyn McDade, "Song of Community," in *Songs for Congregational Singing* (1979).
2 See Appendix 3 for lists of graduates and special students. The list is incomplete. Between 2300 and 2500 students attended the school.
3 See Chapter 2.
4 See Chapter 2.
5 The School's 60th anniversary booklet stated that in 60 years, 1350 graduates had entered the full-time work of the church, and many others took parts of the course. In 1954, 260 graduates were in active service: 18 on the staff of the Boards of the national church, 36 in self-supporting congregations, 5 in social welfare institutions, 97 in Home Missions, and 104 in Overseas Missions. CCS files.
6 United Church Archives (Toronto). Letter from Katharine Hockin to her mother, November 4, 1956. Fonds 3132 (Hockin Family). 93.006C, Series 2. (Lily Hockin-Katharine Hockin correspondence 1918-1982). Box 9-6.
7 In the 1963-64 year, there were 40 students at Covenant College, including two men, with every United Church Conference represented. There were 16 in second year and 24 in first year. Sixteen were university graduates, most of whom were taking the combined BRE/Diploma course with Emmanuel College. (1964 Year Book)
8 1979-80 had 50 registered students, including 4 men; 42 United Church, 6 Anglican, 1 Roman Catholic, 1 Salvation Army; 30 married, 20 single; 20 from Toronto, 21 from Ontario (outside Toronto), and some from five other provinces.
9 A shift to more part time than full time, more middle-aged than young adult, more married with children than single, and more commuters than residents.
10 ACC/GSA, Deaconess House. Minutes of Board of Management, October 29, 1931. AWTC Fonds. M99-02, Box 1.
11 ACC/GSA, Deaconess House. Minutes of Annual Meeting, January 24, 1898. Head Deaconess's Report. This daily pattern may have been modelled on the life of religious communities. AWTC Fonds. M99-02, Box 1.
12 Rosemary Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence*, 60.
13 United Church Archives (Toronto). Methodist National Training School. Class Histories 1902. Fonds 532. 98.104C, Box 1-1.
14 United Church Archives (Toronto). Methodist National Training School. Calendar 1910-11. Fonds 21. 78.101C, Box 4-38.
15 United Church Archives (Toronto). United Church Training School. Class Minutes October 22, 1929. Fonds 534. Covenant College. 98.101C, Series 5, Box 18-4.
16 Interview with Grace Tucker, May 14, 1992.
17 Interview with Audrey Forster, August 7, 1992.
18 ACC/GSA, AWTC. Minutes of Board of Management, October 23, 1958. Principal's Report. AWTC Fonds. M99-02, Box 3.
19 Correspondence from Jean Shilton, January 12, 2001.
20 United Church Archives (Toronto). United Church Training School. Year Book, 1939. Fonds 534. Covenant College. 98.101C, Series 5, Box 20-1.
21 Interview with Marjorie Powles, March 8, 2004.
22 Interview with Kay Metheral, March 9, 2004.
23 Interview with Frances Lightbourn, October 7, 2002.
24 United Church Archives (Toronto). Report of Methodist Toronto Deaconess Home and Training School, 1900. Fonds 21. 78.101C, Box 4-26.
25 United Church Archives (Toronto). Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home. Martha Smith, "The Mission of the Deaconess as Expressed in Her Uniform." undated. In Minutes of Board of Management, June 28, 1908. Fonds 130. 79.175C. Box 1-2.
26 Interview with Dorothy Naylor, April 24, 2003.

27 United Church Archives (Toronto). Lucy Rider Meyer, "Why I Should Not Enter Christian Service," pamphlet, undated. c.1916. Methodist National Training School. Included in box of annual reports and calendars. Fonds 21. Methodist National Training School, 78.101C, Box 5-44. This regulation continued into the United Church Training School and Covenant College. It was not until 2006 that The United Church of Canada issued an official apology to graduates of the School who had been prevented from becoming deaconesses because of a decision to marry.

28 See Mary Haig's memoir, *Much to Share.*

29 Interview with Edith Shore, September 8, 2003.

30 Interview with Ruth Pogson, May 7, 2003.

31 Interview with Edith Shore, September 8, 2003.

32 Interview with Ruth Chase, May 20, 1992.

33 Interview with Helene Hannah, May 5, 1992.

34 Interview with Dorothy Naylor, April 24, 2003.

35 United Church Archives (Toronto). Letter from Katharine Hockin to her mother, November 5, 1953. Fonds 3132 (Hockin family 1899-1991). 93.006C, Series 2 (Lily Hockin-Katharine Hockin correspondence, 1918-1982). Box 9-3.

36 Interview with Norma Carruthers, March 9, 2004.

37 Interview with Norma Carruthers, March 9, 2004.

38 United Church Archives (Toronto). Letter from Katharine Hockin to her mother, September 29, 1957. Fonds 3132 (Hockin family 1899-1991). 93-006C, Series 2 (Lily Hockin-Katharine Hockin correspondence 1918-1982), Box 9-6.

39 It was not until the 1980s that students again decided to produce a newsletter with contributions from students. Unlike those of earlier years, much of its content then was on serious issues both within the student body and in the outside world.

40 See Chapter 11.

41 See Chapter 11.

42 Interview with June Bradley, May 19, 1992.

43 Interview with Ruth Pogson, May 7, 2003.

44 Interview with Marion Niven, May, 1992.

45 Interview with Norma Carruthers, March 9, 2004.

46 Interview with Edith Shore, September 8, 2003.

47 Interview with Glenys Huws, March 9, 2004.

48 Interview with Sr. Rosemary Anne, May 23, 1992.

49 Interview with Marilyn Vivian, March 31, 2004.

50 Interview with Shelley Finson, April 21, 2004.

51 Interview with Sr. Rosemary Anne, May 23, 1992.

52 Interview with Genevieve Carder, May 27, 2004.

53 United Church Archives (Toronto). United Church Training School. Class minutes, November 8, 1946. Fonds 534. Covenant College. 98.101C, Series 5, Box 18-8.

54 United Church Archives (Toronto). United Church Training School. Minutes of House Committee, February 20, 1958. Fonds 534. Covenant College. 98.101C, Box 3-3.

55 United Church Archives, Toronto. Letter from Katharine Hockin to her mother, February 21, 1958. Fonds 3132, (Hockin Family, 1899-1991) 93.006C, Series 2 (Lily Hockin-Katharine Hockin correspondence 1918-1982). Box 9-6.

56 Interview with Marilyn Vivian, March 31, 2004.

57 United Church Archives (Toronto). Covenant College. Year Book, 1964. Fonds 534, 98.101C, Box 21-2.

58 United Church Archives (Toronto). Covenant College, Year Book, 1965. Fonds 534, 98.101C. Box 21-2.

59 Interview with Glenys Huws, March 9, 2004.

60 See Chapter 11.

61 Written response from Charlotte Caron.

62 Interview with Anne Elliott, July 9, 2004.

63 United Church Archives (Toronto). Covenant College. Minutes of Board of Management, April 12, 1973. Fonds 535, Centre for Christian Studies. 98.102C, Box 5-1.
64 United Church Archives (Toronto). Centre for Christian Studies. Minutes of Central Council, March 9, 1978. Fonds 535. 98.102C. Box 3-1.
65 Interview with Eric Tusz-King, April 18, 2004.
66 The demolition did not occur. Victoria University gained the property in the swap of lots with Covenant College (see Chapter 4) and renovated the building for Victoria students.
67 *The Student Voice*, March, 1988. Gwyn Griffith. Personal Papers.
68 Interview with Sandra Flint, August 31, 2004.
69 Interview with Linda Found, May 4, 2004.
70 Carolyn McDade, "This Tough Spun Web," in *Songs for Congregational Singing* (1984).
71 Many of the songs by Ron Klusmeier and the Strathdees are found in the United Church's *Voices United.* They produced several song books and records, which were used at CCS from the early 1970s on.
72 United Church Archives (Toronto). Centre for Christian Studies. Minutes of Central Council, October 21, 1982. Fonds 535. 98.102C, Box 3-3.
73 Carolyn McDade, "Song of Community."
74 *The Student Voice*, February, 1987. Gwyn Griffith, Personal Papers.
75 United Church Archives (Toronto). Centre for Christian Studies. Minutes of Central Council, March 22, 1990. Fonds 535. 98.102C Box 4-1.
76 Interview with Eric Tusz-King, April 18, 2004.
77 Interview with Denise Davis Taylor, April 24, 2003.
78 Interview with Hélène Moussa, June 2, 2004.
79 United Church Archives (Toronto). Centre for Christian Studies. Correspondence, January 3, 1984. Fonds 535. 98.102C. General Correspondence, Box 14-2.
80 *The Student Voice*, Spring, 1984. Gwyn Griffith, Personal Papers.
81 *The Student Voice*, Spring, 1984. Gwyn Griffith, Personal Papers.
82 United Church Archives (Toronto). Centre for Christian Studies. Minutes of Central Council, May 25, 1989. Fonds 535. 98.102C Box 4-1.
83 United Church Archives (Toronto). Centre for Christian Studies. Minutes of Professional Study and Action Committee, September 28, 1989. Fonds 535. 98.102C, Box 10-2.
84 United Church Archives (Toronto). Centre for Christian Studies. Minutes of Academic Staff, May 9, 1994. 2004.065C (not yet catalogued).
85 Interview with Shelley Finson, April 21, 2004.
86 Interview with Anne Elliott, July 9, 2004.
87 United Church Archives (Toronto). Centre for Christian Studies. Minutes of Central Council, March 22, 1990. Fonds 535. 98.102C. Box 4-1.
88 Interview with Eric Tusz-King, April 18, 2004.
89 Interview with Ross White, March 8, 2004.
90 Interview with Muriel Thompson, July 8, 2004.
91 Interview with Pat Deans, August 31, 2004.
92 Interview with Laura Hunter, April 21, 2004.
93 "Song of Community," Carolyn McDade.
94 Interview with Linda Ervin, April 24, 2003.
95 See Chapter 12.
96 Interview with Kay Dean, April 19, 2004.
97 See Joretta Marshall, *Counselling Lesbian Partners.* "Heterosexism is the systemic, structural and often unconscious legitimation of traditional relationships between men and women in ways detrimental to women in lesbian relationships and to gay men. The structures that foster heterosexism are connected intimately to structures that support sexism," 8. "Homophobia is the internal fear of being assumed to be lesbian or gay, or disgust at persons who are in same-sex relationships, or uncomfortableness in the presence of persons of the same sex," 9.

98 See Chapter 8.
99 See Chapter 11.
100 Interview with Kay Dean, April 19, 2004.
101 Interview with Christina Paradela, March 1, 2004.
102 Interview with Deborah Vitt, January 21, 2004.
103 Interview with Laura Fouhse, January 16, 2004.
104 Carolyn McDade, “Song of Community.”