

## "ILLICIT" SEXUALITY AND PUBLIC EDUCATION IN ONTARIO, 1840-1907

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In Canada in the 1980s, the social capacities of men, women, and children, and the nature of the social institutions in and through which they relate, are in a process of radical redefinition. Propelled by changes in the labour market which have involved a redistribution of the industrial reserve army, and by increasingly sophisticated political analyses of the importance of age, gender, and sexual orientation in structures of power, political parties and state agencies have attempted to redefine the limits of legitimate male power, of licit sexuality, of family relations, and of the social position of children. Particular attention has lately been paid to what has come to be defined as the "sexual abuse" of children by adults—particularly by adult men in the family.

Children, indeed, find themselves in a peculiar political situation. On the one hand, the restructuring of the labour market has resulted in enormously high youth unemployment rates which, in connection with various kinds of state policy, prolong the period of social and economic dependence.<sup>1</sup> This is true despite the fact that many—if not a majority—of secondary school students in Canadian cities work for wages at part-time jobs. At the same time, in the industrialized countries, rising standards of health and nutrition since the nineteenth century at least have led to increasingly early physical maturation. Precocious physical maturation combines with retarded social autonomy to intensify the contradictory nature of the social stage "childhood."

This contradictory situation is heightened by legislative interpretations of the contemporary and largely feminist challenge to adult male sexual power over women and children. Feminist agitation in particular, in seeking to reappropriate rights to women's sexuality for women themselves, has created a rising awareness of "wife abuse" and "incest" and has criticized the production and consumption of "pornographic" images of women. In social legislation, this kind of agitation and criticism has produced a set of responses which, although not entirely empty of challenges to male power, has aimed mainly at the bureaucratic specification of the sexual, with a view to its management. Especially with the passage of Bill C-15, Canadian legislation against "sexual abuse" of children seems to glorify dependence as sexual "ignorance" (while other policymakers attempt to deal with rising incidences of sexually transmitted diseases). The age at which consent to sexual activity acquires legal significance in Canada has risen from 12 in the 1830s to 18 in the 1980s.<sup>2</sup>

While attempting to repress the sexual exploitation of "children" by (male) adults, Bill C-15 presents no possible model of socially acceptable sexual contact between people over the age of 18 and people under the age of 14, and outlaws certain forms of consensual sexual activity between people under the age of 18.

All forms of activity which might be defined as "sexual" by the courts between legally defined adults and children are illegal under this legislation, as are all portrayals and all advocacy of such activities. Technically, the mother who derives erotic pleasure from breastfeeding or who masturbates a crying infant, the father who touches his children's genitals, the anthropologist who approvingly describes Malinowski's sexual research, the 19-year-old female who has sexual intercourse with a consenting 13-year-old male, and those under the age of 18 who engage in anal intercourse, might be found guilty of sexual crimes under this legislation. Rather than attempting to facilitate and encourage non-exploitative sexual relations and activities in society generally—which would involve a radical reconstruction of existing relations of authority—this legislation aims simply to destroy certain categories of activity.

Even more remarkable are related efforts at the bureaucratization of sexuality: attempts to map the domain of the sexual, to create a precise geography of the gesture, to define sexual spaces with a view to their control or elimination, and to specify rational criteria for the separation of the specifically "sexual" from the range of human expression.

Implicitly as well, Bill C-15 presents a model of a fundamental juvenile asexuality. Attempts to educate children about sexual abuse have defined certain gestures in and of themselves as illicit—whatever their context or the intent of their authors. It has been assumed that children will find all forms of sexuality with adults to be repugnant in principle, and it has also been assumed that children are fundamentally naive in the domain of sexual politics. Yet, ironically, attempts by the state to combat "sexual abuse" have attributed to children a new and oddly privileged legal credibility. Children are increasingly treated as credible witnesses in cases of sexual abuse, but witnesses whose physical presence and cross-examination by defence counsel is not seen to be a necessary part of judicial process. This attribution of legal subjectivity to children has frequently involved a remarkable suspension of elements of the pageantry of the law.<sup>3</sup>

That the attribution of innocence and political naivety to children does not in fact capture the reality of their social experience has been demonstrated graphically in the last several years through a number of cases where students at school have levelled accusations of sexual assault against teachers and other staff members, accusations which were later demonstrated to be false in substance and politically motivated. Some students at least have been quick to grasp that the rising concern with sexual contact between adults and children has altered the balance of power between teachers and students as well. One consequence—for good or ill—seems to be a new circumspection and physical distance between teachers and students.<sup>4</sup>

These developments should alert us to the importance of at least two related dimensions of social organization and social experience: changes in the form and content of socially licit sexuality, and changes in the organization and administration of childhood as a social space. This article attempts a preliminary exploration of sexuality and childhood by examining recorded incidents of what would

now be called "sexual assaults" in Ontario elementary schools in the period 1846 to 1907.

This period was one of a contested but rising level of authority for state educational agencies, and a parallel contested but declining level of autonomy for the juvenile population. The duration of "childhood" was extended and its reality came to encompass more people in working-class and farming households. At the same time sexuality in schools, like other dimensions of educational experience, came to be increasingly regulated by bureaucratic, rather than by more directly communal/familial, authority structures.

About many of the cases of illicit sexuality<sup>5</sup> discussed below, insufficient information remains to allow us to re-evaluate the particular actions or decisions of administrative agencies. We are able mainly to identify the kinds of sexual activities considered illicit or problematic, to see the ways in which illicit sexuality was treated, and to identify some of the power relations involved. What is particularly to be remarked in my opinion is the decreasing power of young people, and the systematic removal from them of legal/political credibility, on the one hand; and on the other hand, the formalization of the power of teachers in a context of official sexual repression and male dominance. Unlike the 1980s, it was increasingly difficult in this period for students to bring charges of sexual mistreatment against their teachers, and increasingly difficult for students to appear to educational administrators as credible social subjects.

### **Students, Teachers, and Repressive Pedagogy**

The development of a state educational authority in Ontario took place in a political and economic context characterized in part by declining agricultural employment and the increasing practical limitation of child labour. The end of the agricultural frontier had been reached by 1850; already in the 1840s contemporary observers noticed an exodus from the agricultural sector, and a serious decline in agricultural employment provoked by the use of new machinery.<sup>6</sup> Rising social dependence for young people in the later nineteenth century was also reflected in later ages at marriage, declining family size, and rural outmigration,<sup>7</sup> as well as in rising school enrolments.

At the same time, educational administrators worked to place teachers in a politically forceful position relative to the communities in which they taught, by legal enactment, propaganda, and administrative style. Legislation imposed fines or imprisonment for people "disturbing" schools or school meetings, and enforced attendance after 1871. Administrative regulation empowered teachers to use physical violence to enforce demands directed towards students for particular kinds of comportment and attitudes, while students or other community members replying in kind were subject to legal sanction. A particular administrative style called for the public support of teachers guilty of offences, and their private admonition, in the interests of bolstering the authority of the teacher in general.<sup>8</sup>

In the schoolroom and at least in theory, teachers possessed a practical force over their students based upon knowledge of pedagogical technique and of juvenile psychology, and on their own cultivated force of character. The ideal state teacher was able to lay hold of the capacities of students, selectively to stimulate some of these while repressing others, and to do this in a way which would produce a bond of respectful love and affection. How many teachers could practically do this is debatable; the legitimate activity of the state teacher centred on manipulating students' capacities in an energetic and emotionally charged atmosphere.<sup>9</sup>

In Ontario throughout the last half of the nineteenth century, this forceful formation of student energy and character took place in a context of official sexual repression. In official documents and discussions, in the literature of educational reform and educational theory, a generalized silence about sexuality prevailed. The maintenance of such a silence demanded the expenditure of considerable effort, and there are instances in which the keen awareness held by educational administrators of the reality of sexuality peeped through. The debate over coeducation is a case in point.

While many European educators favored coeducation—at times explicitly as a means of sexual repression—official policy opposed it in Ontario. Egerton Ryerson, the Chief Superintendent of Education from 1847-1876, agitated strenuously, although not always successfully, against the immoral practice of educating men and women, boys and girls, together. One of his first acts as Principal of Victoria College in the early 1840s was the expulsion of women students.<sup>10</sup> He attempted unsuccessfully to exclude women from teacher training in the Normal School in 1847, and to exclude girls from grammar schools in the 1860s. Men and women in the Normal School were subject to a particularly repressive regime, with expulsion the penalty for any kind of social intercourse between the sexes either in the School directly or outside it. Boys and girls were educated separately in the official Model Schools, and this practice was meant as a model for the rest of the province. Where the material conditions of schooling did not allow separate schools for boys and girls—as was commonly the case in the countryside—official policy urged separate entrances and separate seating. Given the general absence of rural school toilets, both central and local educational administrators commonly also insisted upon separate recesses or intermissions.<sup>11</sup>

Educational reformers in the mid-nineteenth century also were forced to consider the question of sexuality when debating living accommodations in boarding schools and teacher training institutes. Again, while many European writers favoured boarding halls,<sup>12</sup> official policy in Ontario was opposed to these because they created opportunities for homosexuality or masturbation, and because they were less efficient for the surveillance of students than private households.<sup>13</sup> This was also echoed by American writers.<sup>14</sup> With these few exceptions—and with some others noted below—an official silence prevailed on sexual and related matters.

This was replicated in the school curriculum as well. A particularly popular form of self-education in Europe and America from about the 1830s was the study of physiology, and schoolbooks on the subject appeared from the early 1850s if not before.<sup>15</sup> Some version of physiology was taught in Ontario elementary schools from the 1880s. Yet throughout the period from 1850 until the 1930s, neither physiology books nor courses on physical culture provided students with any solid information about puberty, sexuality, the sexual organs, and the reproductive and eliminatory functions. A typical American text, Hooker's 1857 *First Book in Physiology*,<sup>16</sup> for instance, made no mention whatsoever of these things. The official school course in the 1880s and 1890s was called *Physiology and Temperance* and aimed mainly to confront the student "with the evil effects of alcohol and tobacco, the dangers accompanying their use, and the tremendous risk of tampering with such powerful agents of destruction."<sup>17</sup> No mention was made of the organs of sexual reproduction and pleasure, and only the most passing reference to the functions of elimination. The 1920s and 1930s version of this was *Public School Hygiene*, which altered the above message to reflect the germ theory of disease, the growing concern with public health, and the interests of eugenicists. A section on "Family Stock" stressed the social importance of the reproduction of the dominant classes, but provided no technical information about how this was to take place.<sup>18</sup>

After 1900, as Bliss has argued, the popular advice literature available to Canadians, while accepting the legitimacy of a moderate heterosexual expression within the bonds of monogamous marriage, was fixated by the spectre of social degeneration provoked by masturbation. Young people were provided with myths and horror stories hardly likely to conduce to an active and guilt-free sexuality or self-knowledge. This kind of message continued well into the 1920s.<sup>19</sup>

### Popular Sexual Knowledge

I argue that official sexual politics in Ontario in the second half of the nineteenth century aimed at the repression of a widespread popular knowledge and precocious sexual practice. This is a matter of some debate. A repressive hypothesis concerning the nature and extent of popular sexual knowledge, elaborated by Marcus, Barker-Benfield, and Bliss, would have the Victorians, especially in the middle classes, prey to an extreme self-repression which included an absence of sexual pleasure and knowledge for women, either replicated in men, or co-existing with a double standard under which married men sought sexual pleasure through prostitution or pornography.<sup>20</sup> Critical examination of this hypothesis by Gay has suggested that Victorian women's knowledge and experience was similar to that of modern women in the industrialized world (although it is unclear what this says about the level of pleasure).<sup>21</sup> Peterson has argued that the repressive view focusses on the views of a marginal medical figure and takes select medical views as the measure of empirical practice. On the

contrary, while mainstream medical opinion in England opposed sexual "excess," it did so on moral not medical grounds, and was not opposed to heterosexual pleasure within monogamous marriages.<sup>22</sup> Rothman shows that middle-class courting couples in the northeastern United States in the century ending with 1870 enjoyed socially accepted privacy and physical intimacy. Given the declining numbers of pregnant brides after about 1825, Rothman suggests the main change in sexual comportment was the increasing removal of coitus from the pre-marital sexual repertoire.<sup>23</sup> McLaren and McLaren have pointed to the existence of a fairly general knowledge of contraceptive technique in late nineteenth-century Canada, reflected in falling birth rates and newspaper and other advertisements for abortifacients.<sup>24</sup>

Class differences likely meant that sexual ignorance and the development of childhood dependency proceeded differentially, but I argue that the juvenile population in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Ontario possessed a general sexual knowledge from an early age.<sup>25</sup> The absence of separate sleeping accommodations in many farmhouses, home births, squat culture at toilet, the copulation of farm animals, and other aspects of material life undoubtedly presented young people with a practical knowledge of sexual organs, activities, and human reproduction. The press in the nineteenth century commonly carried detailed accounts of sexual crime, domestic violence, and such things as infanticide.<sup>26</sup> In an earlier period, the sexual proclivities of some members of the Family Compact were a matter of debate.<sup>27</sup>

At school, however, young people encountered powerful teachers charged with remaking their social and self-understandings. On the whole, these teachers seem to have accepted the official policy of imposing middle-class standards of decorum, reticence, and repression about sexuality. From my point of view, it is important both that ten-year-old Ann Pettis in 1859 *knew enough* about sexual activity to write on her slate "Henry Dunbar focked Synthey Walters in Dunbars' Barn," *and* that she was whipped violently on the face, hands, and back for doing so.<sup>28</sup> It is also important to notice that sexual matters occupied the same conflict-laden cultural terrain as did most other elements of popular comportment. In North America, as in Europe, middle-class reformers worked actively to reconstruct personal relations in the working class, insisting upon monogamous marriage and stable paternalistic domestic relations.<sup>29</sup> Legitimacy in sexual comportment was as much a subject of contestation as was legitimacy in speech. A teacher under the Pembroke Board of Public Instruction who was suspended in 1868 for allegedly saying "by my God I will be revenged on you" suffered the same fate as the teacher in section 7 of Sombra Township in 1869, who used the official hysteria around masturbation to distribute a pamphlet to the girls in the school advertising "M. La Jhune's French Preventive Powders" and promoting sexual intercourse as a safe alternative.<sup>30</sup>

## Sexuality at School

The total number of recorded cases of illicit or problematic sexual activities on the part of teachers reported to higher educational authorities between 1850 and 1907 was comparatively small. About two complaints of sexual contact between (male) teachers and (female) students a year between 1850 and 1871 came to the attention of the Education Office in some way, and County Boards of Public Instruction and their successors, the County Boards of Examiners, have left records of only an additional twelve cases in which sexual activity between teachers and students was clearly at issue in the years 1850-1907. But other kinds of sexual comportment were clearly considered problematic to school supporters and educational administrators.

The archival sources available to us present certain problems for determining the nature and frequency of illicit sexual comportment. One difficulty surrounds the vague and ambiguous official language used to describe sexual complaints against teachers. Administrative bodies dealt with many teachers charged with "immorality," "bad behaviour," "improprieties," "shameless behaviour," or "immoral conduct" and in their minutes and correspondence frequently provided no further detail. Some of these cases probably concerned drunkenness or swearing, but others probably involved sexual matters.

Again, administrative bodies typically heard only those complaints which, for various reasons, might escape community regulation.<sup>31</sup> State regulation of sexual matters was in transition in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: community regulation prevailed. Most cases which received the attention of local administrative agencies did so after community regulation failed, or because that regulation operated slowly. Most of the cases which came to the attention of the Education Office did so because complainants were dissatisfied either with local community or local administrative regulation.

In Chatham, for instance, where racist sentiment led to the establishment of a separate school for black children, school trustees tolerated a teacher of "improper character." With the support of the District Superintendent, a resident named G.H. Green appealed against the trustees to the Chief Superintendent. Green and his neighbours felt the teacher's "conduct has become so gross & improper that we cannot longer withhold from you our complaints, his intimacy with the wives[?] of his neighbours, the indecent attempts and liberties taken with the grown up girls attending his school we feel calls for his summary dismissal."<sup>32</sup>

Michael Carrol of Hunly Township complained to the Education Office in 1851. The teacher, he wrote, "has attempted a Rape on three Female Children from six to nine years old...the Magistrate is a Connection of the teachers By Marriage so that he strove to Baffle the Business there was a good many more Complaints But he Did not give Summonses." According to Carrol, the evidence against the teacher was strong. "[O]ne Boy 12 years old has Swore he Saw him on a Bench with the small girl striped and he also Striped on the Girl the parents of this child also wishes to Baffle the Business as they are Connections of the

teachers he was also seen in the same form with My Child She is not seven years old." "There was several Grown Boys and Girls that would be *Meterialy* against the teacher," Carrol concluded. "But the Magistrate would not swear them."<sup>33</sup>

J.J. Middleton appeared before the Peterborough CBPI in January 1867 charged with having "seduced" one of his female students, and with having lived with her under a forged marriage licence. However, the girl's father appeared to say Middleton was forgiven, the ratepayers wanted his return, and the Board granted him a certificate.<sup>34</sup> When Inspector Mackintosh arrived at the school at Wellman's Corners in Rawdon Township in July 1902 to investigate charges against Chas. A. Bailey of "indecent familiarities taken by him with some of his female pupils" he found that Bailey had "gone to Manitoba."<sup>35</sup> The threat of action in other cases may well have driven offensive teachers away. At least one teacher, by contrast, complained that his attempts to enforce sexual decorum in his school produced a conspiracy on the part of two female students to drive him out by making sexual advances to him.<sup>36</sup>

Finally, with one exception, all educational administrators at the County level and in the central Education Office were men.<sup>37</sup> What was seen as illicit, who could complain, and the penalties imposed resulted from administration in the masculine gender. In this sexual politics, male *teachers* were the active subjects of illicit sexuality, female *teachers* its victims, and lively debates revolved around the sexual subjectivity of female students. Aggressive or illicit sexual activity on the part of male students against female teachers was never discussed. Male teachers actively committed—or were falsely accused by "bad" women of committing—sexual offences; female teachers "fell." With one possible exception, the official records contain no cases of female teachers charged with exerting an assertive and illicit sexuality towards their students. Female teachers were accused of receiving the advances of married men, of staying out late and recounting their adventures to girl students, of sabbath breaking and dancing, of swearing, of giving illegitimate birth, and of not enforcing segregation of the sexes at recess.<sup>38</sup> Male teachers were accused of "seduction"<sup>39</sup> and rape, of indecent exposure and bigamy, of seducing and then marrying women, of premarital sexual intercourse, of fathering children out of wedlock. One male teacher stood accused of bestiality or "gendering with a cow."<sup>40</sup> The social subordination of women is reflected in both the nature of the offences with which they stood charged and in the different penalties to which they were subject.

It seems to be the case that illicit sexual comportment on the part of women was much more narrowly defined by administrative bodies, and more sharply punished as well, than was the case with men. Women teachers faced a marriage bar and hence did not have open to them the option of marriage as a means of legitimating sexual activity with students or others while still remaining in the occupation. But illicit sexual activity on the part of women seems to have been treated more rigidly by administrative bodies.

The actions of the York County Board of Examiners illustrate the point. At Thornhill in August 1878, the Board held a special meeting to consider the appeal



of W.H. Wilson against the suspension of his certificate for immoral conduct. Wilson had participated in a group rape of the widow Catherine Lyons on 13 July while drunk. The meeting confirmed both Wilson's drunkenness and his presence during the rape and upheld the suspension of his certificate. In November 1880, however, Wilson was told he could again be examined for a teacher's certificate if he could produce a certificate of moral character. George A. Chapman's certificate was suspended in April 1889 "for immoral conduct in seducing a girl named Eliza Yorke," but having given "satisfactory evidence of good conduct," he was reinstated on 12 December 1891.<sup>41</sup> By contrast, a teacher named Miss Isabella Price was suspended for immoral conduct on 22 December 1896 after the Board discovered she had given birth to two children and she was never reinstated.<sup>42</sup> Chastity for women was rigidly enforced, especially given the marriage bar, but such rules did not obtain for men.

### The Chief Superintendent and Sexual Offences

The response of the central authority to complaints about illicit sexual behaviour by teachers was usually to refer complainants to the local authority, or simply to discredit them. Administration in this, as in most other matters, was generally a politics of containment. Administrators were concerned to bolster the authority of the teacher, a process which typically involved the political infantilization of young people and the educational disempowering of most adults. Parents were repeatedly counselled by the Education Office not to believe—or not to be quick to believe—their children's accounts of school events. These accounts were "interested," and for that reason not easily credited. Local administrators were counselled to support publicly even teachers clearly guilty of misdemeanours, and to chastise them in private.<sup>43</sup>

Thus, Michel Carrol, who complained of trustees and others attempting to "Baffle the Business," was informed of the Chief Superintendent's inability to act and was referred to his township superintendent.<sup>44</sup> Henry Monroe of Blenheim Township complained at length in 1864 of a teacher named Robert McLean who, according to Monroe, had seduced a girl in Galt and then been turned out of the Ayr school for immoral acts. Monroe continued,

he then came to Rockwood where he taught two or three years when he commenced his old tricks upon a Girl about 13 years old...he begged on her not to tell of it as he would never do it again But just one year from that time we find him perpetrating the same immoral and indecent *act* upon the same girl and two others (even in School hours and while they stood by his side reading he putting his hand under their cloths and they leaving the class and going to their seats in the presence of the school)....

At first McLean claimed the girls lied, but later confessed. Still, the trustees allowed him to teach out his time, even though parents refused to send their

children to one "whose very acts are the slang of the bar Room." Ryerson referred Monroe to his local superintendent.<sup>45</sup>

In section 1 of Minto Township in the same year, a group of parents complained at least twice of the behaviour of the teacher who, among other things, had been "lifting up girls clothes and handling their persons—or taking their hands and putting them into his pants to feel his *nuts*," and of their inability to receive satisfaction from either the local superintendent or the trustees. In this case, the Chief Superintendent warned the parents to cease making charges they could not substantiate, refused in principle to believe in the guilt of the teacher, whose son was at the Normal School, and refused to override the trustees and local superintendent.<sup>46</sup>

Other correspondents claimed that investigations by local superintendents were biased in the favor of teachers, and aimed at discrediting student complainants. In section 3 of Brant Township in the winter of 1862-3 a teacher named William Chisholm was accused by Catherine Simpson and Martha Ann Friedy, two of his students, of putting his hands under their dresses while supposedly giving them lessons. Friedy's uncle was refused a hearing by the trustees on the grounds that he was not a ratepayer. When an enquiry conducted by Mr. Eckford, who was both local superintendent and the teacher's uncle, did take place, the girls' relatives claimed it was meant to intimidate and discredit the two girls. Catherine Simpson was examined first, and

Mr. E. began rather ruff, asking did she know there was a God, did she read the bible, telling the end of Annias and his wife and a third person falling dead for telling lies, her answers were direct, did she wear drawers how were they made, where did she sit and how, was her feet stretched out or under her, she said under her, showing where she sat and how, well what did the teacher do, he sat beside me with his back to the desk, what then, he put his hand under my dress Mr. E. standing in front of her put out his right foot putting his right hand on his knee, did he put his hand so far, yes sir, did he put it farther, yes sir, put your hand on my thigh and show me, I am ashamed sir, then putting his own hand on his Groin as he called it, did he put his hand so high, yes sir, on your skin, yes Sir, this ended, Martha Ann Friedy was brought, going through the same process of Enquiry....Mr. E. then asked some school boys present did they think the teacher guilty or not, with one voice they said they thought not, so the teacher got free.<sup>47</sup>

Simpson's father added in a later communication that one of the trustees for 1863 had visited the school and had told the teacher to sit alone while teaching. This was after one ratepayer was alleged to have refused to "send his daughters to such a School to be made Whores of." Simpson and Friedy's uncle also complained that declining attendance at the school was driving the rate bill higher.<sup>48</sup> Unfortunately, no reply from the Education Office has survived.<sup>49</sup>

If the central authority had not been eager to intervene in other cases to sustain teachers convicted of illicit activity, one might treat those mentioned above as evincing a principled respect for local autonomy. Even such a respect would have been problematic, given that correspondents claimed local authorities sustained abusive teachers. Yet the fact that "respectable" local correspondents could secure the support of the Chief Superintendent for convicted teachers suggests that a different politics was at work.

For example, in December of 1864, the Chief Superintendent moved to sustain the teaching certificate of Robert N. Curry, who had been convicted before a magistrate of an indecent assault upon sixteen-year-old Ella Douglass, one of his students in section 2 of North Oxford Township. Douglass had testified Curry had taken her to Ingersoll and in the hotel there had forced his hands under her clothes and kissed her. Curry's supporters, who included his trustees and a majority of the ratepayers, sent Ryerson complete transcripts of the court case and urged him to "look more to the actions of individuals than the direct testimony of witnesses who are influenced by malice, prejudice and ignorance." They claimed Ella Douglass had fabricated the charges to make herself look important, that the jury had been misled into thinking Douglass a "little innocent girl," when it was "well known to the public how she varied in her evidence from beginning to end, and her conduct after the so-called crime"—she was said to have bragged of sexual contact with the teacher to her friends—was also "well known in the neighbourhood." The trustees claimed the J.P. was "very apt to see the faults of others or to make faults without a foundation." One hundred and seventeen signatories to a petition declared their belief in Curry's "innocency of any charge of slander against his character up to the present date." Ryerson ordered the restoration of Curry's certificate and urged him to demand a new trial to clear his name.<sup>50</sup>

Again, Ryerson refused to suspend the certificate of A.C. Hay, a Normal School graduate and teacher from Cornwall, despite Hay's conviction for seducing one of his students, and despite the demand of two members of the Board of Trustees that Ryerson do so. Hay had written to Ryerson denouncing his accuser as a liar who was known to have had "illicit" relations with another person, and claiming most parents wished him to remain. Ryerson consulted the judge, heard an appeal was likely, and permitted Hay to retain his certificate.<sup>51</sup>

By contrast, the Chief Superintendent moved speedily to order the suspension of the certificate of the teacher in section 7 of Sombra Township who had distributed birth control information, and who had counselled students to prefer sexual intercourse to masturbation. Ryerson wrote in part that

a man that will set fire to his neighbour's houses & plunder their property, is bad enough; but a Teacher that will employ his position & influence to undermine & corrupt the principles of his own pupils, both male and female, & especially seek to sap the virtuous feelings and

principles of his female pupils, with the evident intention of seducing them, is worse than an incendiary and a thief.

It is impossible that a Teacher could put such papers...into the hands of girls under his charge without intending to destroy their virtue & then, as far as possible, gratify his own lusts.<sup>52</sup>

At this remove and given the often incomplete information available to us, it is not possible to judge many of these cases on their merits, nor to assess the accuracy or justice of the interventions made by the central authority. Given the moral politics of schooling, teachers were vulnerable to charges of immorality, and given the climate of emotional power and formal sexual repression in the schoolroom, a number of possible readings of the evidence could be made: male teachers using their position to make sexual advances to students, pubescent female students falling in love with male teachers, the making of sexual complaints from motives of revenge, or the administrative practice of "blaming the victim." What the interventions of the central authority tended to do in the domain of sexuality, however, was to empower male teachers and to disempower students and parents. Male teachers were vindicated, female students generally discredited, parents urged not to believe their children. This was a politics of subordination and infantilization. And even if all of the male teachers accused of unwelcome sexual advances towards their female students were in fact innocent, the making of these charges in so many different cases would point to the tactical utility of "moral" charges for those opposed to the educational project.

### County Boards of Public Instruction and County Boards of Examiners

From 1850 until 1871, the licensing of most classes of teachers in Ontario was immediately controlled by County Boards of Public Instruction composed of township school superintendents and grammar school trustees. These Boards were replaced in 1871 by much smaller County Boards of Examiners headed by the centrally-appointed County Inspector, and under the Model School system in place from 1877, Boards of Examiners examined candidates for entry to the Model Schools and candidates for third-class teachers' certificates. These Boards heard complaints against teachers as well and at times conducted quasi-judicial enquiries before which witnesses appeared under oath. They applied increasingly bureaucratic norms in the determination of charges against teachers, and they performed most of the routine policing of the occupation of teaching.

County Boards frequently heard charges of illicit sexual behaviour against teachers. Indeed, in 1897, after hearing complaints "against the character of Miss Ida M. Campbell," and after suspending Richard Harrington's certificate, the members of the Victoria County Board of Examiners moved

to express our entire disapprobation of the practice occasionally indulged in by some teachers of kissing and otherwise caressing school

children under their charge. This practice is no part of a teacher's duties, and not one of his or her rights, and should be strictly avoided.<sup>53</sup>

The Board moved to print and distribute this resolution to trustees and teachers. Other Boards had a similar experience, although the detail provided in their minutes varies considerably. The Middlesex Board confirmed the actions of a superintendent

in suspending the licence of Solomon Philander Smith one of the teachers in Caradoc on the ground of "Apparent want of veracity in having made statements that he was a Bachelor when in fact he was a married man, and also for making offers of Marriage to young ladies either Scholars at his School or in reach of his letters, with conduct indicating insanity or gross sensuality."<sup>54</sup>

Andrew Ross' certificate was suspended for "False statements... Drunkenness" and "for illicit commerce with females of ill fame."<sup>55</sup> The Hastings County Board suspended Richard Watson's Provincial class 2A certificate "in the interests of decency and morality" after he was found guilty of bigamy in 1903.<sup>56</sup> In the case of Ernest Wilkinson, a student at the County Model School "convicted of peeping into the windows of women and girls as they were undressing," the Brant County Board sought directions from the Minister of Education. The police had already been consulted and had said "the offences had undoubtedly been committed, and committed under circumstances that proved a guilty intention." The Minister instructed the Board not to permit Wilkinson to write his Model School examinations.<sup>57</sup>

By 1880, sometimes in consultation with the Ministry of Education and sometimes at considerable expense to ratepayers, County Boards were undertaking quasi-judicial hearings into charges against teachers, a number of which involved matters of sexuality, often in concert with other issues. The suspension of Ephraim Buck's certificate for "immoral conduct" by the Halton County Board in 1889 consumed three full days of the Board's time and the "P.S.I. was engaged two days at or in S.S. no. 8 Nelson collecting evidence & serving (personally) summonses to attend the trial, and one in Toronto securing advice from the Dep't as to the admission of Counsel, attendance of witnesses, &c." The Board itself was compelled to retain a lawyer, at a cost of \$15, and spent an additional \$41.50 on Buck's hearing.<sup>58</sup>

Samuel Wiggins' certificate was suspended by the Lincoln County Board "for immoral conduct" after evidence at his court trial for assaulting a student brought to light charges from a girl in his school. Despite the magistrates' ruling that this was not a case of immoral conduct, and despite a petition "from 21 ratepayers of the School Section in which Mr. Wiggins taught stating they don't believe the charges of immorality preferred by Ida Jones," Wiggins was suspended.<sup>59</sup>

A lengthy hearing and appeal before the Peterborough County Board resulted in the suspension of Ephraim McIlhnoyl's certificate on charges of seducing Maude Rogers. "From the evidence the Board found Ephraim McIlhnoyl guilty of immoral conduct," and when the Minister was asked, "has the local Board any option between cancellation and allowing him to go free," he replied that cancellation was mandatory. McIlhnoyl's application for re-examination two years later was denied.<sup>60</sup>

The secretary of the Lambton County Board kept very complete records in the 1870s and 1880s of four cases of teacher misconduct. James Tindall, a member of the Lodge of Good Templars, was suspended in 1877 after complaints that he was drunk and aggressive in a barroom where he had been "telling some of his 'love yarns'." Testimony about Tindall's incompetence as a teacher overrode his promises to reform.<sup>61</sup> Oliver Stonehouse of section 9 Brooke Township, by all accounts a particularly cruel teacher who had been heard to brag that "he could shake the devil out of any boy in 5 minutes," was suspended by the Board after a lengthy hearing in 1881.<sup>62</sup>

This Board was particularly occupied with school section 4 1/2 Plympton Township, where two cases of alleged immorality occurred involving male teachers and young girls (possibly from the same family). In 1880, an investigation into charges against W.H. Anthony of "low and immoral conduct" and of "being repeatedly engaged in street brawls, etc" consumed the Board's attention and \$20.25 of the ratepayers' money. Eleven ratepayers were sworn, among them A.Y. Anderson who testified, "I sent my children to school, had to take one, a girl of 16 years of age out of school—He kept her in school after scholars were dismissed—escorted her home—proposed to her to leave her home and run away with him—He sent her a letter after she left school...." One of the trustees had also lodged a complaint against Anthony for "paying too much attention" to another schoolgirl. This teacher had also been involved in two street fights, one with a ratepayer named Brock for "punishing his girl" and another with a ratepayer named Travis over a letter Anthony wrote. Conflicting testimony about Anthony's sobriety and moral character, combined with his own insistent denials of any wrong doing, led the Board to conclude there was insufficient evidence to suspend him. He was, however, admonished "to abstain from associating with such company as in the past, which has caused so much trouble."<sup>63</sup>

Four years later in the same section, "charges of intimacy between the teacher Mr. John T. Wren and one of his pupils Miss Alice Anderson" were laid. David Collins Anderson testified that one day at recess "when I came and looked in at the window Alice Anderson was lying down on the platform and Mr. Wren was standing up by her." One of her brothers claimed the teacher passed Alice a note—which other witnesses also saw—and that she would sometimes stay in after school alone. Minnie Woodwork swore she saw Alice go into the school alone one evening and stay for fifteen minutes, and other witnesses testified to the same effect. However, Alice Anderson claimed never to have been in the school alone at night, her sister swore Alice was with her at her house on the night

in question, Wren swore he never kept scholars in alone and had passed Alice only "a drawing of a rose." The Board ruled nothing improper had taken place.<sup>64</sup>

It should not be assumed that Boards of Public Instruction and Boards of Examiners were simply neutral arbiters of complaints against teachers. Acceptable and legitimate standards of comportment for Board members were as much at issue in this period as were those for teachers and students. The bureaucratic administration of sexuality was propelled, like other aspects of administration, out of the interaction among the conditions of administrative labour itself, and changing but class and gender-specific conceptions of justice, within the political context of state education. The almost exclusively male personnel of these administrative bodies engaged in practices these same bodies came to see as illegitimate: coaching students for Board exams for a fee, leaving the examination setting after remaining only long enough to collect their per diem allowances, marking their own students' papers, and refusing to surrender them when detected, or, as in the case of Samuel Crane, a member of the Lambton County Board and Principal of the Petrolia Public Schools, being "convicted in court of bodily assault and harm."<sup>65</sup> County Boards were labour bureaux, as well as licensing bodies, and varied the standard of qualifications they demanded of teachers in keeping with local conditions of supply and demand. Still, these administrative bodies contributed to a bureaucratization of sexual misconduct.

While County Boards acted swiftly in many cases to remove teachers clearly guilty of "immoral conduct," and while the substance of many cases heard by these bodies necessarily remains opaque, some general observations are possible, and some intriguing questions remain. Despite the overwhelming numerical superiority of women in the teaching force (72% in 1901), complaints of illicit sexual behaviour were far more frequently made about male teachers. But in contentious cases, County Boards tended to believe male teachers against the complaints of ratepayers, parents, and students. While illicit sexual comportment was rarely charged against women, women found guilty of it were barred from teaching, while at least some male teachers were at length excused. Although widowed women sometimes taught, the maintenance of a marriage bar for women teachers and men's exemption from it put in place an official politics of sexual ignorance for women and sexual knowledge for men.

Why were women less frequently charged with illicit and assertive sexual offences (remark, by male administrators)? Was it because women were by nature or training less prone to behaviour considered offensive? Was this a phenomenon of reporting? Did women, perhaps, make sexual advances which were not regarded by students or parents as offensive? Any answer at this point is necessarily speculative, but a promising line of enquiry is suggested by Walkerdine and Steedman.<sup>66</sup> These authors suggest that a key dimension of women's entry into and participation in elementary school teaching has been systematic attempts to emphasize their experience of nurturance at the expense of passion. This is clearly one significance of the marriage bar: women who had known sexual passion were seen as less capable of offering nurturance. Women

with children of their own were seen to lack the undivided devotion to their students demanded by pedagogy. Nurturance as a pedagogical practice might well have created a framework in which the hugging, kissing, and caressing of students by female teachers were read as inoffensive, while the same gestures on the part of men were read differently. Assumptions of passionless nurturance made certain kinds of behaviour innocent for women; different assumptions made the same behaviour illicit for men.<sup>67</sup>

One reason for the feminization of the teaching force—in addition to the lower salaries paid to women—may then also have been the perception of trustees and ratepayers that such teachers would not make unwelcome sexual advances to students, or engage in other forms of illicit sexual comportment. This, if true, may be more an index of women's relative powerlessness than of anything else, but it also speaks to the operation of relations of political power through gendered structures of character.

### Conclusion

The tendency of public educational administrative agencies to treat complaints against teachers as problems of containment, the silencing of students, the frequent practice of "blaming the victim," the disbelief frequently offered to complaining parents and the counselling parents received to disbelieve their own children's accounts of school events, figured prominently in the sexual politics of schooling from the mid-nineteenth century to at least the first world war. These practices worked to extend and solidify childhood as a stage of social dependency.

Educational administrative agencies did not usually sustain teachers obviously guilty of offering unwelcome sexual advances to students: when the evidence was clear, such bodies usually removed the offending teacher. There were exceptions; the Chief Superintendent sustained at least two teachers convicted of sexual offences; some administrators may have smothered complaints out of personal interest. But especially in the last decades of the nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth centuries, offending teachers were removed. Where the evidence was ambiguous, male teachers were sustained. Many of the cases for which evidence survives cannot be judged on their merits at this distance. But we should not content ourselves with facile statements about the necessity in a liberal judicial system of the assumption of the innocence of the accused until proven otherwise.

I think at least two things have changed when one compares the regulation of sexual relations between teachers and students at school in the 1980s with a century earlier. First, in the nineteenth century the solidification of state education (and the public realm it occupied) involved a radical redistribution of political subjectivity. A limited but legitimate political activity was extended to adult white men of property. Women were feminized (or the attempt was made), children infantilized, the uneducated stigmatized. Adult propertied men, then



adult educated men, were accorded subjectivity first in the bourgeois order, and through them the ruling of propertyless men, all women, and children was to be organized. Women's continuing struggle for formal and substantive social equality has increasingly invalidated male political dominance and challenges that power as it exists in the household as sexual domination. This has problematized, in a dramatic way, the political subjectivity of children, for whom in the industrialized nations the period of social dependence is rising.<sup>68</sup>

Second, largely feminist challenges to male sexual dominance have activated sexually repressive forces in Canadian society—although this is not necessarily the aim of these challenges as such. Sexual repression in the nineteenth century was based on an exceptionally narrow official definition of legitimate sexual pleasure, but at the same time the machinery of bureaucratic dominance was relatively underdeveloped. Sexual repression in the late twentieth century works in a broader context of sexual expression, but the technology of dominance is much more highly developed. This has involved systematic attempts to specify and chart the domain of the sexual in ways unknown in the past. Yet administrative regulation of the sexual is highly formalized; the cartography of the gesture does not speak to intent; it addresses the form of the gesture only. This practice assumes that the external form of the gesture entirely defines its content.

As well, the politicization of childhood sexuality from the point of view of the child can be read as an attempt to extend to children (in a limited way) the logic of possessive individualism; the attack on male power has attempted to permit a reappropriation of children's own sexuality by them. However, this possession and reappropriation is extremely limited, and exceptionally contradictory. Children's reappropriation of their own sexuality is proposed in a political context which attributes to children a fundamental asexuality and a fundamental distaste for sexual contacts—either at all, or outside a very narrow range—as well as a fundamental political naivete. Sexual contacts between categories of legal adults and children, and certain sexual acts in and of themselves, are defined as illegitimate, whatever the subjective response of children to them. Legally defined children are empowered to reject unwelcome sexual advances, but are not permitted to welcome advances; to deny exploitative, but not to express non-exploitative desires.

At issue, I think, are the contradictions generated by attempts to challenge illicit sexual practices simply through their external repression, and to challenge substantive social inequality through bourgeois forms of legality—equal rights. What is particularly problematic is male political power, itself inseparable from structures of class and ethnic relations. Some of men's gestures towards women and children are objectionable not as such, but because of this context of power. Some identical gestures by men towards female children, for instance, are seen as unproblematic because the underlying assumptions of power and interest are held to be completely different: the social access to children's bodies granted to doctors and on most occasions to parents are cases in point. Attempts to chart the illicit gesture make assumptions about the internal state of most categories of

men which are suspended for other categories of men, and these assumptions are made in a purely formal way.

But political power is substantial as well as formal, and so is human liberation. Freedom does not consist, in my view, in a regulated gestural repertoire, but in the content and intent of gestures. Under prevailing (and still contested) definitions, a caress and an assault are often indistinguishable. Tactically speaking the challenge to male sexual power through the landscape of the gesture presents serious drawbacks (which is not to suggest it be simply abandoned). We see increasingly that physical contact between adults and children is coming to be defined as suspicious in principle: the price for relief from sexual "abuse" may be lack of physical contact altogether; teachers' associations in Ontario, for instance, are already counselling their members simply to avoid touching students. This seems to me a hollow victory, although a cynical view argues that educational warmth works mainly to reconcile students to their class destinies, and should for that reason be abandoned.

#### NOTES

1. In Quebec, for example, both social democratic and liberal social welfare policy has involved age-discriminatory welfare payments, which make it exceptionally difficult for welfare recipients under the age of 30 to live alone.
2. See Ruth A. Olson, "Rape—An 'Un-Victorian' Aspect of Life in Upper Canada," *Ontario History* LXVIII (1976): 75-79; Bill C-15, amongst other things, make anal intercourse illegal for people under the age of 18.
3. As reported in "Boy testifies at father's murder trial," *Globe and Mail*, 14 September 1988, "The judge, lawyers and court clerks removed their court robes, addressing the child in shirts and ties. The judge also took a seat just to the right of the boy, who cannot be identified by court order." Also, "Toronto man is guilty of kidnapping girl, 8," *Globe and Mail*, 7 December 1988. On the pageantry of the law, Douglas Hay, "Property, Authority and the Criminal Law," in *Albion's Fatal Tree*, ed. D. Hay et al. (New York: Pantheon, 1975), 17-64.
4. Some examples: "Pupils using false charges of sex abuse, doctor fears," *Toronto Star*, 8 May 1988; "Amendment to sex law leaves teachers uneasy," *Globe and Mail*, 26 March 1988; "Janitor victim of schoolyard conspiracy," *Globe and Mail*, 7 January 1987; "Lawyer blasts CBE's policy on sex abuse," *Ottawa Citizen*, 2 September 1988; "Janitor touched her...," "Girl feared reprimand...," "Sex assault charges withdrawn...," *Globe and Mail*, 8, 9, 10 September 1988. Of course, in the same period the press also reported cases where male teachers were convicted of sexual assaults.
5. I use the term "illicit sexuality" in preference to the more current "sexual assault" and the nineteenth-century "immoral behaviour." Part of what one wants to understand, I think, is the discursive constitution of sexual comportment, and one leading dimension of what separates the nineteenth from the late twentieth-century educational administration of sexuality is the discursive reconstitution of the illicit. Thus, for instance, in one recent case in Toronto, a schoolgirl did not report the fact that a janitor had pinched her "backside" because "she did not think there had been anything wrong" with this comportment (*Globe and Mail*, 9 September 1988). One remarkable dimension of the court's consideration of

this case was a redefinition of this girl's experience of a pinch. *Partly* a discursive question is at issue here, given that the identical gesture acquires a different meaning.

6. The threshing machine, for example, was said by the late 1840s to have eliminated one of the main winter-time employments of boys and men in agriculture. For more detail, see R.L. Jones, *History of Agriculture in Ontario, 1663-1800* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1946).

7. See A. and A. T. McLaren, *The Bedroom and the State* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986); also, Suzanne Cross, "The Neglected Majority," in *The Neglected Majority*, ed. Alison Prentice and Susan Mann Trofimenkoff (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1977).

8. I detail this in *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871* (London: Althouse Press, 1988), esp. chapters 4 and 5.

9. I discuss this in "Preconditions of the Canadian State: Educational Reform and the Construction of a Public in Upper Canada, 1837-1846," *Studies in Political Economy* 10 (1983): 99-121, and at more length in chapters 3 and 6 of *Building the Educational State*.

10. This is detailed in N. Burwash, *The History of Victoria College* (Toronto: Victoria College Press, 1927), and C.B. Sissons, *History of Victoria University* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952).

11. For example, Archives of Ontario [AO], RG2, H3, vol.8, Halton County Board of Examiners Letterbook, Robert Little to trustees, 13 June 1872:

I wish to call your special attention to the necessity of providing a well and offices for the children without delay. It is of vital importance the common decencies and proprieties of life shd. be observed by children, and distinct outbuildings for the B + G at a proper distance from the school house & from each other are essential to this.

The privatization of the eliminatory functions for the individual boy or girl has not yet become a "common decency" or a "propriety." See Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (New York: Pantheon, 1978; 1982). It is remarkable that it is at toilet that differences between the sexes are most explicitly discussed in educational discourses.

12. See David Stow, *The Training System* (Glasgow, 1845).

13. See for example, RG2, C1E, Ryerson to John Macaulay, Kingston, 16 January 1850, in reply to Macaulay's request for information about the advisability of a boarding hall for the Midland District Grammar School, Ryerson was opposed because dormitories were "generally hot-beds of vice—especially to young boys" and the construction of private bedrooms would be too expensive. Ryerson urged the accommodation of students in private families. If Frank Harris, *My Life and Loves* (New York: Grove Press, 1963) Vol. I, is at all credible, "fagging" in English public schools involved homosexuality in the 1850s and 1860s.

14. In his visit to the Liverpool Blue Coat School, Alexander Bache, *Report on Education in Europe* (Philadelphia, 1839), 56, was particularly shocked at the practice of allowing the boys to sleep two to a bed.

15. See Roger Cooter, "The Power of the Body: The Early Nineteenth Century," in *Natural Order*, ed. B. Barnes and S. Shapin (London, 1979), 73-92.

16. W. Hooker, *First Book in Physiology* (New York, 1857). I have not found a contemporary Canadian text, and Wendy Mitchinson suggests there probably weren't any. I don't think the absence of information was because the student audience was pre-pubescent; *Physiology and Temperance*, for instance, was read by 15-year-old students.

17. Minister of Education, Ontario, *Physiology and Temperance* (Toronto, 1893), iii.
18. T.H. Huxley and W.J. Youmans' generally available *The Elements of Physiology and Hygiene* (New York, 1882) deviated slightly from the pattern by offering information about urination and defecation, but not about sexuality or reproduction.
19. Michael Bliss, "'Pure Books on Avoided Subjects': Pre-Freudian Sexual Ideas in Canada," in *Studies in Canadian Social History*, ed. M. Horn and R. Sabourin (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 326-46; see also R.V. Pierce, *The People's Common Sense Medical Adviser* (Bridgeport, Ontario: World's Dispensary Medical Association, 1914 and 1926), 773ff. *What a Young Girl Should Know* suggested girls masturbated because they did not move their bowels regularly. This caused fecal worms to penetrate the vagina, causing irritation which girls sought to relieve by rubbing themselves, which led in turn to the discovery of self-abuse.
20. Steven Marcus, *The Other Victorians* (New York: Signet, 1974); G.J. Barker-Benfield, *The Horrors of the Half-Known Life* (London: Harper and Row, 1976); Bliss, "'Pure Books.'"
  21. Peter Gay, *Education of the Senses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), Vol. I. For a discussion, see Carol and P.N. Stearns, "Victorian Sexuality: Can Historians do it Better?" *Journal of Social History* (1985): 625-34.
  22. M. Jeanne Peterson, "Dr. Acton's Enemy: Medicine, Sex and Society in Victorian England," *Victorian Studies* 29, 4 (1986): 569-90.
  23. E.K. Rothman, "Sex and Self-Control: Middle-Class Courtship in America, 1770-1870," *Journal of Social History* 15 (1981): 409-26.
  24. McLaren and McLaren, *The Bedroom and the State*.
  25. I am not concerned to argue that this knowledge met late twentieth-century norms of accuracy; the physiological calendar of ovulation, for instance, was only identified correctly by medical science in the 1930s.
  26. For example, Bathurst *Courier*, 12 May 1848, reported the trial of Anne Gleason for misdemeanour after a dead infant was found in Matheson's privy, in whose house Gleason was a servant. Rape cases were also reported, although reporters frequently "drew a veil around" the scene.
  27. For example, Robert Burns, "Queer Doings: Attitudes towards homosexuality in 19th century Canada," *The Body Politic* (December-January 1976-7): 5-7. (My thanks to G. Kinsman for this reference).
  28. This is discussed in *Building the Educational State*, 333.
  29. Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families* (New York: Pantheon, 1979).
  30. RG2, H3, vol. 39, Pembroke Circuit BPI, 15 December 1868; C6C, 14 July 1869.
  31. In this regard, compare Jan Lambertz, "Sexual Harassment in the Nineteenth Century English Cotton Industry," *History Workshop Journal* 19 (1985): 29-61.
  32. RG2, C6C, G.H. Green, Chatham, 23 July 1849.
  33. RG2, C6C, Michel Carrol, Huntley, 10 December 1851. See below for Ryerson's response. There were several cases of fathers finding teachers apparently engaged in sexual intercourse with very young girls in which the paternal reaction seems to have been to write a letter of complaint!
  34. RG2, H3, vol. 33, 25 January 1867.
  35. RG2, H3, vol. 12, Hastings County Board of Examiners, 1 August 1902.
  36. RG2, C6C, A. Ryan, Ramsay, 20 July 1849. A confused account.
  37. Miss Maud O. Simmons is reported as sitting on the Lambton County Board of Examiners in 1895. She is the only woman, and appears briefly. Dorcas Clarke and her

daughters did teach in the Girls' Model School, but had no relevant administrative responsibilities.

38. RG2, C6C, E. Thornbury et al, no. 15 Sombra, 23 August 1869; James Gibson, Trustee, no. 13 Markham, 8 May 1855; Local Superintendent, Pembroke, 24 May 1861; Trustees, no. 12 Roxborough, 18 September 1865; "Minutes of Examination on Arbitration," no. 16 North Crosby, 2 August 1865 [in 15 August]. For the illegitimate births see below. On the Pembroke Circuit in late 1870, Mary Anne Work, "having come forward and made confession" of the circumstances of her "fall," having "given up her certificate which was until re-called" and finally "having a school in view," was given a renewed certificate for a year by the Board without examination; H3, vol. 39, 20 December 1870. There are no accounts of men confessing about sexual matters in this way, although many did do so about intemperance and received much the same treatment.

39. Itself a crime with an interesting history; see Anna K. Clark, "Rape or seduction? A controversy over sexual violence in the nineteenth century," in *The Sexual Dynamics of History*, London Feminist History Group (London: Pluto Press, 1983), 13-25. The legislation against seduction in Ontario was passed in 1837, and has yet to be the subject of serious investigation; cf. Patrick Bode, *John Beverly Robinson: Bone and Sinew of the Compact* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), *passim*.

40. RG2, C6C, Superintendent, Lobo, 21 February 1857; Thomas Smith, Mariposa, 6 October 1852; John Hughes, Brownsville, 13 January 1863; Arch. B. Sinclair, Franktown, 10 April 1863; Trustees, no. 3 Wawanash, 28 October 1865; John Hurlburt, Euphrasia, 28 May 1869.

41. RG2, H3, vol. 45, 24 August 1878; 6 November 1880; 6 April 1889; 12 December 1891.

42. RG2, H3, vol. 45, 2 January 1897.

43. These points are discussed at more length in *Building the Educational State*.

44. RG2, C1F, Ryerson to Carrol, 24 December 1851. Since Carrol was writing *because* the local authorities gave him no satisfaction, Ryerson effectively offered him no redress.

45. RG2, C6C, H. Monroe, Blenheim, 28 September 1864; C2, Ryerson to Monroe, 8 October 1862.

46. RG2, C6C, Parents, section 1 Minto, 15 April, 3 May 1864; C2, Ryerson to parents, 26 April 1864; Ryerson to John Darroch, 9 May 1864.

47. RG2, C6C, Obadiah Simpson and Robert B. Clement, Hanover, 9 February 1863.

48. RG2, C6C, Obadiah Simpson and Robert B. Clement, Hanover, 11 December 1863.

49. The reply is listed as in Letterbook H2, no. 884. No letterbooks survive after 1859, and the draft reply is missing as well.

50. In RG2, C6C, there is a collection of documents labelled "In Re Curry," 29 December 1864 (no. 6576).

51. RG2, C6C, Messrs. Clint & Skeith, Cornwall, 29 October 1862; A.C. Hay, Cornwall, 31 October 1862; H. Campbell, Local Superintendent, Cornwall, 15 November 1862; C2, Ryerson to Campbell, 15 November 1862; Ryerson to Clint & Skeith, 6 December 1862.

52. RG2, C2, Ryerson to Secretary Treasurer, section 7 Sombra, 3 August 1868.

53. RG2, H3, vol. 43, 25 September 1897. The mention of Ida Campbell is the only case I have found of complaints of illicit sexual behaviour towards students by a female teacher.

54. RG2, H1, 7 January 1858.

55. RG2, H3, vol. 23, 6-7 January 1864.

56. RG2, H3, vol. 12, 28 May 1903.

57. RG2, H3, vol. 1, 3 December 1898.

58. RG2, H3, vol. 9, 23 July, 5 August, 12 August 1889. There is an interesting question here about the usurpation of judicial authority by these bodies. See also *Building the Educational State*, chapter 8.
59. RG2, H3, vol. 21, 18 December 1880.
60. RG2, H3, vol. 34, 7 November 1896-20 February 1897; 28 January 1899. The Minister cited 59 Vic., sec.78, c.8.
61. RG2, H3, vol. 17, 6 January 1877.
62. RG2, H3, vol. 17, 7 January-9 February 1881.
63. RG2, H3, vol. 17, 17 April 1880.
64. RG2, H3, vol. 17, 28 June 1884.
65. RG2, H3, vol. 1, 21 June 1854; vol. 43, 7 August 1880; vol. 17, 9 December 1904.
66. See Valerie Walkerdine, "Progressive Pedagogy and Political Struggle," *Screen* 27, 5 (1986): 54-60; "On the regulation of speaking and silence: subjectivity, class and gender in contemporary schooling," in *Language, Gender and Childhood*, ed. C. Steedman et al. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985), 203-41; Carolyn Steedman, "'The Mother Made Conscious': The Historical Development of a Primary School Pedagogy," *History Workshop Journal* 20 (1985): 149-63.
67. Note that what was at issue in the cases discussed above was fondling, not penetration. The possibility of different views of same-sex as opposed to cross-sex contacts is also real.
68. We should notice that historically the age of consent in sexual relations and the age of adulthood has varied enormously. In Puritan New England, and in much of western Europe until the eighteenth century, children were socially responsible at the age of seven. In rape cases in England, for much of the period before the nineteenth century, the age at which consent became an issue was ten years. The sexual precocity of children in the factory districts of nineteenth-century England was a source of dismay for bourgeois reformers. One assumes, given the literature, that it can be taken for granted that childhood is a constructed and not a biological state.