

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

**Bell & Howell Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600**

UMI[®]



Université d'Ottawa • University of Ottawa

**WITCHCRAFT AND OCCULT CRIME WITHIN A
CONTEMPORARY CANADIAN CONTEXT**

by

© Ms. Tracesandra Jade McDonald

1999

A thesis submitted to the Department of
Criminology, University of Ottawa, in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of

Master of Arts



**National Library
of Canada**

**Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services**

**395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

**Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada**

**Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques**

**395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-45239-5

Canada

University of Ottawa

Abstract

WITCHCRAFT AND OCCULT
CRIME IN A CONTEMPORARY
CANADIAN CONTEXT

by Ms. Tracesandra Jade McDonald

Thesis Advisor:

Professor Ross Hastings
Department of Criminology

This thesis deals with the place of witchcraft and occult crime within contemporary social relations, particularly in the areas of law and enforcement. The methodology combines a sampling of case law for charges laid under section 365 of the Canadian Criminal Code, outlining the crime of 'Pretending to Practise Witchcraft', as well as the surveying of a decade of Canadian media coverage, between the years of 1987 and 1997, for events associated with witchcraft and the occult. Coverage was studied for the selection of events that invoked either formal intervention by the state or some manner of informal community mobilization.

The analysis is two-fold. The case law for section 365 is examined in depth to determine how the law has interpreted the crime of witchcraft over this past century. Ten cases are reviewed to determine how the court system defined and tried the crime of witchcraft as well as to identify any major shifts or changes in this process. In the second component of the thesis, dealing

with events identified through media coverage, Jock Young's '*Square of Crime*' is used as framework for the analysis and organization of the data. Articles and events were studied in order to ascertain how formal and informal control agents defined and reacted to allegations of witchcraft and occult-related crime or deviance. Articles were also examined in order to identify the characteristics and motivations of the alleged offenders, the characteristics of their victims and the consequences suffered as a result of victimization.

The analysis conducted here provides an understanding of the actors and reactors involved in witchcraft and occult-related crime and deviance, as well as the complex relationships which exist between the state, community, offenders and victims. It also reveals that witchcraft and occult crime has come to occupy a new place within contemporary social relations -- one that has its roots in its initial criminalization within Medieval society, but which has evolved in form and function from its historical foundations.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	v
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2: The Literature Review.....	5
I. The Historical Background.....	5
A. The Structure of a Witch-Hunt.....	10
B. The Identification of a Witch	11
C. Torture.....	13
D. The Confession.....	17
E. Sentencing.....	18
F. The Witch-Hunters.....	19
II. Satanic Panics: Modern Day Witch-Hunts.....	28
III. The Canadian Context.....	36
Chapter 3: Methodology.....	38
I. The Literature Review.....	38
II. The Collection of the Case Law Data	41
III. The Collection of the Media Coverage of Events Data.....	42
IV. Using Young's Square of Crime as a Framework.....	46
Chapter 4: The Data Presentation and Analysis	56
I. The Case Law for Canadian Witchcraft Legislation.....	56
II. The Media Analysis	83
A. General Findings	83
B. The Offender.....	94
C. The Victim	110
D. Formal Control Systems and their Agents	119
E. Informal Control Systems and their Agents.....	138
Chapter 5: Conclusion.....	148
I. The Offender.....	150
II. The Victim.....	151
III. Formal Control.....	151
IV. Informal Control	153
Appendix	A1
Bibliography	B1

LIST OF FIGURES

<i>Number</i>	<i>Page</i>
1. The Process of Defining Witchcraft/Occult Crime According to Young's Square of Crime	50
2. Formal Measures to Address Witchcraft and Occult Crime.....	51
3. Informal Agents of Control and Their Response to Witchcraft and Occult Crime	52
4. Profiles of Offenders and Victims of Witchcraft and Occult Crime.....	53
5. Distribution of Articles by Year.....	84
6. Distribution of Events by Year.....	85
7. Types of Events	86
8. Distribution of Events by Province	92
9. Articles linking Crimes or Deviance with Witchcraft, Satanism, or the Occult within the Article Sample.....	120
10. Types of Offences/Deviance Associated with Events	122
11. Proportion of Articles Mentionning Police, Courts, Corrections and Child Welfare Agencies	134
12. Distribution of Articles by Media Source	147

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express sincere appreciation to Professor Ross Hastings for his assistance in the preparation of this manuscript. In addition, special thanks to Professor Sylvie Frigon whose teachings on the subject of the Witch Prosecutions in the Middle Ages was the basis for the interest in this subject area. Also thanks to Professor Michael Petrunick for directing my research into a more contemporary setting. Finally, the author would like to express her gratitude to the RCMP and the Canadian Police College for their support and assistance in accessing information and training materials for the investigation of witchcraft and occult related crime.

Chapter 1INTRODUCTION

The desire to control the practice of witchcraft and the occult dates back to Medieval society, but the underlying fears and anxieties behind it are as old as time itself. The fear of the unknown, the uncontrollable, is a very human quality. This kind of anxiety, when combined with social and communal stresses, has exploded into witch-hunts. Events are forced into a framework of explanation that attributes wrongs suffered to some external evil. The *expulsion of that evil*, to borrow a phrase from Szasz (1970), allows the community to move beyond their fear and regain some form of control over the situation.

Witch-hunting is both a contemporary phenomenon and a historical one. Witchcraft may have been replaced by such terms as the *Occult*, *Cult Activity*, or *Satanism*, but the fundamental suspicions and fears that are the basis of accusations remain relatively similar.

The objective of this thesis is to develop an understanding of how witchcraft and occult crime are defined and controlled within contemporary Canadian society. This will be achieved through a two-fold analysis. First, a review of the Canadian case law for the crime of witchcraft will be

conducted. Next, an analysis will be made of the media coverage of criminal accusations of witchcraft or the occult, in Canada, between 1987 and 1997. The analysis will be organized around Young's notion of the '*Square of Crime*' (Young, 1987). The events will be considered in terms of the actions of the alleged offender, the consequences for the victim, the reaction of formal control agents of the criminal justice system and the reaction of informal control agents, such as community and religious organizations, mental health professionals and the media.

Such an analysis will help describe the extent and nature of modern day witch prosecutions, as well as the modern construction of the witch or practitioner of the occult, and the response to them as a perceived threat to the social order. How does the law define and enforce notions of witchcraft and the occult? How do the police react when accusations are made? How are they trained to deal with this sort of crime, and what investigative techniques are used? What claims are made by those agents of social control which exist outside the formal criminal justice system? What are the underlying motives for their claims? Who is being charged for these offences and do they share a common background, such as age, gender, class or ethnicity? Who are the victims of these crimes, and do they share a similar background as well? What are the symptoms of modern day *bewitchment* and what are the consequences for the victims of these offences? These are the

questions which will be addressed through the analysis of the data to be gathered.

The next chapter, the literature review, will examine the nature of the control and formal sanctioning of the crime of witchcraft during the Middle Ages. It will endeavor, also, to draw some parallels in the literature between the Medieval witch hunts, and contemporary occult crime and the '*Satan-hunters*'. Chapter 3 of the thesis will outline the methodology used in collecting the data. Chapter 4 will review the case law for Canadian witchcraft legislation. Chapter 5 discusses Young's '*Square of Crime*' (Young, 1987) as the theoretical framework into which the analysis of the media coverage will be organized. Chapter 6 will be the presentation of the data from the media sample, and Chapter 7 will be the analysis of the findings. Chapter 7 will be divided into four sub-headings consistent with Young's four points along the square: Offender, Victim, Formal Control Systems and their Agents (the State), and Informal Control Systems and their Agents (the Community) (Young, 1987). This chapter will profile both the offender and victim, as well as explore the motivations for offending and the nature of the victimization. It will identify the laws which are most commonly invoked in these types of crimes, and examine the response of law enforcement officials, the structure of an occult investigation, and the training involved in preparing state representatives, such as the police and family services, to intervene in

these types of situations. It will also address the reaction of informal control agents to events linked to witchcraft and occult activity. The role of the media, medical and mental health professionals, as well as community and religious organizations in these events will be discussed. Finally, Chapter 8 will provide some overall conclusions regarding the findings and provide direction for further research.

Chapter 2

THE LITERATURE REVIEW

I. The Historical Background

When a child fell into her power, she killed it, cooked and ate it,
And that was a feast day with her...

Then Gretel gave her a push that drove her far into [the oven],
and
shut the iron door, and fastened the bolt. Oh then she began to
howl quite horribly, but Gretel ran away, and the godless witch
was miserably burnt to death.

The Brother's Grimm's Hansel and Gretel
(www.mordent.com/folktales/grimms/hng/hng.html)

The word witch conjures a host of negative images: brides of Satan, flying through the air on depraved missions involving devil worship, acts of sexual indecency, as well as child abduction and abuse. A witch is almost always represented in a feminine form, such as Snow White's evil stepmother the Queen, and the child-eating witch of *Hansel and Gretel*. We are taught from an early age to hate and fear her, and to celebrate her demise. "Ding-dong the witch is dead...", a song sang in *The Wizard of Oz* comes readily to mind. It was this fear of women's power, *its demonization*, that in part contributed to the witchcraze during the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, mainly in Europe,

but eventually spreading to parts of North America, most notably Salem Massachusetts. It is important to note, that while those tried for the crime of witchcraft were not exclusively women, they did represent the majority. According to Levack's figures on gender percentages from 1519-1700, in both Europe and New England, the average for women accused for all regions was between 76-79%, hitting levels as high as 95% in areas such as the Bishopric of Basel. (Levack, 1992: 124) According to MacFarlane (1970), 90% of those accused in England were women, and those few that were men tended to be the husband of an accused witch or were tried jointly with a woman. (Hester, 1992: 108)

While victims of witchcraft accusations were not exclusively female, it is relatively fair to assume that women were the intended targets in its criminalization. Bible translations were re-written to incorporate the gender-specific usage of the term witch. (<http://fox.nsm.ca/~daveman/misogyny.html>) This act was justified because the female sex was deemed to be more likely to submit to the devil's enchantments, due to their status as the weaker sex. The witch-hunter's guide to prosecuting witches, The Malleus Maleficarum, was chock-full of misogynist distortions. It described women as having the intellectual capacity of children. Women were said to be insatiate when it came to carnal lust. So nymphotic were their tendencies, they would surely consort with devils in order to fulfill this need. (www.xs4all.nl/~wyrld/witchcraft)

Larner (1981), while not going as far as describing the witch-hunts as an attempt at female genocide, does admit that, “witch-hunting is woman-hunting or at least it is the hunting of women who do not fulfill the male view of how women ought to conduct themselves.” (Frigon, 1996: 86)

This failure to meet the standard role of ‘woman’ in Medieval society resulted in what Spitzer (1975) would refer to as their candidature for ‘*deviance processing*’ by the state and church. These women represented a ‘*problem population*’ for the ruling elite, because their behaviour, their personalities, and in some cases their social and economic position, threatened the ‘*social relations of production*’. (Spitzer, 1975: 642)

Being female was not the only predisposing factor in determining who was likely to commit crimes of witchcraft. In light of Szaz’s work (1970), Frigon (1996), in her review of the literature on the witchcraze, describes four separate identities attributed to the witch of the Middle Ages:

- The Witch as Mental Patient - This is a theoretical position also held by Zilboorg (1935), who argued that one could view the Malleus Maleficarum as a modern day psychiatric manual if the word ‘*witch*’ were replaced by the word ‘*patient*’.
- The Witch as Healer - Ehreulich and English (1976) support this view of the witch and identify her as a threat to the medical profession because of the power she held within the community. She had a client base that

doctors could not access. Their new methods were viewed with skepticism.

- The Witch as Scapegoat - Szasz (1975) describes the function of scapegoats as a way of maintaining order within society. "By sacrificing some of its members, the community seeks to 'purify' itself and thus maintain its integrity and survival." (Szasz, 1975: 60) The term scapegoat is derived from a combination of the words escape and goat – escaping evil. Szasz, in The Manufacture of Madness (1970), discusses how the Jewish festival of Yon Kippur involved an actual goat. All the sins of the village were ritually applied to the animal that was then cast out of the village. Szasz describes the use of scapegoating as a societal function whereby the community is able to purge itself of evil and thereby ensure its continuation. The more a scapegoat suffers, however, the more harm is done to society as a whole:

the more the scapegoat suffers and the more blame he takes upon himself, the more guilt he may engender in those who aspire to justify his sacrifice. Christianity thus asks more of a man than he can do. In the few it inspires saintliness; in the many, it often promotes intolerance. (Szasz, 1970: 262)

- The Witch is as Sexual Deviant. Frigon (1996) describes the notion of the body of the witch as being both '*in danger*' and '*dangerous*'. She notes that the fear of the witch at this time was related to a woman's sexuality, most noticeable in those accused of witchcraft, and thus, "the fears associated

with witchcraft seem also associated with reproduction and menstruation”. (Frigon, 1996: 89) Post-menopausal women, often widows, were accused of witchcraft because it was commonly thought that the loss of their monthly period meant that evil was no longer being flushed from their system. Banner (1992) quotes a seventeenth century physician , “When seed and menstrual blood are retained in women besides [beyond] the intent of nature, they putrefie and are corrupted, and attain a malignant and venomous quality.” <http://fox.nstn.ca/~daveman/misogyny.html>)

Societal factors contributing to the mass hysteria of the witch-hunts are also detected in a review of the literature. Power struggles within the church challenged the authority of Catholic priests. The reformation, spearheaded by men like Martin Luther and John Calvin, forced a counter movement. The conflict that resulted in a war against the devil in all his forms. Tougher standards were set for the ideal of a good Christian that “meant not only attending worship services but living their lives with ‘personal piety and sanctity...Witches served as a means for the community to reassure themselves of their own moral worth.” (<http://www.u.arizona.edu/~benitez.alicia.htm>)

A. The Structure of a Witch-Hunt

A witch-hunt began with an accusation, usually by a neighbour or another accused witch, who would be asked, under torture, to name others. (Larner, 1981: 103) Accusations included physical harming or healing, demonic pacts and the celebration of the Witches' Sabbath, or controlling the weather. (Larner, 1984: 9-17) An alleged victim's claim that they had been bewitched or possessed were other forms an accusation might take. (Barstow, 1994: 33) A woman was brought before the appropriate authorities, the tribunal of judges that would try her. She was often seized in her home, which was later searched. A wise course of action was to immediately upon capture, lift the woman from the ground, and carry her out in a basket or on a plank of wood, so she could not touch the ground. According to the Malleus Maleficarum (c. 1486), the most infamous of the witch-hunting manuals, many who were about to be burned at the stake made the request that they may touch the ground with their foot one last time before death. After this petition had been denied, these women were said to have made the odd demand because "if they had touched the ground they would have liberated themselves, striking many other people dead with lightening." (Sprenger and Krämer, 1970: 215)

An accused witch was then stripped naked. All items of clothing were removed, as spells could be sewn into the material. Her hair was shaved from her body, including pubic hair. There were practical reasons for this. It made inspections for the Devil's mark easier, especially since private parts were often the area where this mark would be found. Hair also was thought to contain power. The biblical story of Samson is an example of this idea. As well, women, when braiding their hair were believed to be shaping men's destinies. Stripped, and shaven, she was led backwards into the presence of the inquisitor, so that she could not give him the evil eye (NFB, *The Burning Times*, 1990).

B. The Identification of a Witch

There were a number of techniques used to identify a witch. Physical manifestations were most common identifiers, making it rather difficult for women to defend themselves against their accusers. Birthmarks, warts, scars and other marks upon the body became the Devil's Mark. This was considered Satan's way of branding his followers. A third nipple, the Witches teat, was considered to be an indication of guilt. Witches were said to nourish their familiars this way. A woman brought forth to the inquisitors was stripped and her body searched for these signs of her compact with the Devil. Particular attention was given to her breasts and genital areas. (Klaits, 1985: 57)

The presence of tears, genuine not false of course, was considered an indication of innocence. Tears, another physical manifestation of the body, are sacred to the Catholic Faith. The following directive is given to judges in the Malleus Maleficarum (1486):

Let him place his hand on the head of the accused and say: I conjure you by the bitter tears shed on the Cross by our Saviour the Lord JESUS Christ for the salvation of the world, and by the burning tears poured in the evening hour over His wounds by the most glorious Virgin MARY, His Mother, and by all the tears which have been shed here in this world by Saints and Elect of God, from whom eyes He has now wiped away all tears, that if you be innocent you do now shed tears, but if you be guilty that you shall by no means do so. In the Name of the Father...
(Sprenger and Krämer, 1970: 227)

If methods such as these were unsuccessful, other, more extreme, measures were taken. Trial by ordeal was a popular device in determining who was or was not a witch. These came in many forms. One such application was the balance scales. Farrington (1996), in her book Dark Justice: A History of Punishment and Torture describes how this method was employed. “Giant balance scales could...help identify a witch. If the suspect was heavier than the weights – sometimes a Bible was used instead of weights – then he or she was clearly a witch. Only if a perfect balance was struck was the accused vindicated. This rarely, if ever, occurred.” (http://fox.nstna.ca/~daveman/id_witch.html)

Another popular form of ordeal was the “*ducking*” of the witch. Some very elaborate mechanisms were built upon this premise, but it mainly consisted

of tying the right thumb to the left toe, and plunging the accused into a body of water. If she floated, water being accounted holy as the medium for baptism, her body was considered to have been rejected, thus confirming her association with the black arts. If she drowned, she was redeemed to the status of innocent. (http://fox.nstna.ca/~daveman/id_witch.html)

Ellerbe (1995), who wrote The Dark Side of Christian History, describes another particularly cruel and gruesome process by which a woman was identified as witch. "Should a woman show no sign of a witch's mark, guilt could still be established by methods such as sticking needles in the accused" eyes. In such a case, guilt was confirmed if the inquisitor could find an insensitive spot during the process." (www.warmcove.com/cove/morningstar.chapter8.html)

C. Torture

If a judge could not, on first examination, extract a voluntary confession, the use of torture helped to achieve such an objective. Many have criticized the violent and particularly sexual nature of the intervention imposed upon those women accused of the crime of witchcraft. Rape and sexual torture were common. When violent defilement resulted in death, the devil was assigned blame. Men's actions were condoned as witches were believed to drive men insane with lust. Barstow (1994) suggests that the methods used to force

confession may have been a cover up for socially approved assaults on women's bodies. She argues:

the basic fact of having total judicial power over women may have fanned the propensity for violence. Because women had never before been prisoners in large numbers, men for the first time now had unrestricted access to them; given the low opinion of women in European society, there was little social pressure to restrain the court officials from taking their pleasure with the victims. (Barstow, 1994: 132-133)

A number of sadistic instruments were used to extract confession. The *rack* upon which a body would be stretched was a common feature in a witch's torture chamber, as was the *boot* that was used to crush bones in its victim's legs. *Thumbscrews* and *mouth-pears*, a device by its design meant to tear open the inside of a victim's mouth after insertion, were popular tools of the trade as well. The *strappado*, another common mechanism of torture, was said to be perhaps the most painful method of extracting a confession. The condemned was lifted from the ground with a rope attached to her wrists, which had been tied behind her, and dropped partway to the ground with a jerk. Sexual experimentation occurred as well, with instruments, such as a hot iron, frequently inserted into a woman's vagina. Mastectomy, while uncommon, was not unheard of, the most infamous case of its use in that of Anna Pappenheimer. The woman, after undergoing the *strappado*, was stripped, her flesh torn with red-hot pincers, and her breasts cut off, all in public view. Even more horrific, "the bloody breasts

were forced into her mouth and then into the mouths of her two grown sons...a hideous parody of her role as mother and nurse". (Barstow, 1994: 144)

According to Foucault (1977), torture was a ritual whereby the "*truth*", or more appropriately, a confession, was extracted. Atrocities committed through public torture and execution represented a connection between crime and punishment, the culmination of an investigation into a finding of guilt within the tortured body. Public torture and execution were the manifestation of a power that:

asserted itself as an armed power whose functions were not entirely unconnected with the functions of war...of a power for which disobedience was an act of hostility, the first sign of rebellion...of a power that had to demonstrate not why it enforced laws, but who were its enemies and what unleashing force threatened them...of a power that was recharged in the ritual display of its reality as 'super-power'. (Foucault, 1977: 57)

Those subjected to torture were commonly forced to include the names of several other witches the accused was said to have known to have practiced witchcraft or be a member of the same coven. In this manner, the witchcraze was a self-perpetuating occurrence, never allowing itself to run out of subjects to prosecute. Frederick Von Shpay, a Jesuit priest, and a confessor during this period, became quite disillusioned with the process and was quoted as saying:

Why do you search so diligently for sorcerers? Take the Jesuits, all the religious orders, torture them. They will confess. If some deny, repeat it a few times. They will confess. Should a few still

be obstinate, exorcise them, shave them, only keep on torturing. They will give in. Take the Canons, the Doctors, the Bishop, the Church. They will all confess. (NFB, *The Burning Times*, 1990)

D. The Confession

Klairs (1985) could not have said it more accurately when he wrote, “Without torture there would have been no witchcraze”. (Klairs, 1985: 128) The crime of witchcraft was very difficult to prove without a confession. Spectral evidence, or supernatural evidence in the form of spirits and visions of those bewitched, was admissible in a witch-trial, but with the exception of Salem, it wasn’t usually sufficient for a conviction. A confession validated the accusation, it validated the process, it validated the participants, the judges, the lawyers, the doctors, the clergymen, and perhaps most important it validated the Church and its method of expelling Satan from society. Without the confession, the people would have come to view the process as unjust, and revolted. The confession provoked fear, as it represented a confirmation that the devil was walking the earth. It made the witchcraze a war against evil, and it wasn’t difficult for the populace to choose sides.

A typical confession usually included one or more of the following elements. A common admission among those tried as midwives was the murder of X number of children. Along with a count of humans sacrificed to her master, she would often confess to the number of cattle and other farm animals

that she had killed. Other frequent admissions were manipulations of the weather and the bestowing of disease. The woman usually had a demon-lover. Often, when they first copulated, a woman would admit to fear, and say that she called out the Lord's name, at which point the demon would have vanished. This was probably the most common feature of a confession, demonstrating that Satan's minions were no match for God. The order of the Cosmos was thus reaffirmed. Women most often confessed, after undergoing torture, that it was their insatiate sexual desire which had led them to the pact with the demon. Barstow (1994) examines the story of Walpurga Hausmänn of Dillingen, a confessed witch and midwife. She affirmed, under duress, that her evil acts were:

taught to her by the devil, or to be exact, her devil-Lover 'Frederlin', who gave her the ointment that killed babies and caused women to deliver prematurely...when she saw and felt the devil's cloven foot and wooden hand, she panicked, calling on Jesus—and her lover vanished....But the Evil Spirit returned, made love to her again....Receiving the devil's mark below her left shoulder, she signed a pact with him in her blood as he guided her hand across the paper. (Barstow, 1994: 17)

During the Salem crisis in 1692, a confession meant a sentence reduction. Those who refused to lie were hanged. Boyer and Nissenbaum (1974) comment on this irony:

In this act of collective expiation aimed at affirming a social order based on stability and reciprocal loyalty, the only participants to suffer death were those who insisted on remaining faithful to the essential requirement for stable social relationships: simple honesty. (Boyer and Nissenbaum, 1974: 216)

E. Sentencing

The common image of a person convicted of witchcraft is the woman burned at the stake. This form of death penalty was used in Europe and Scotland but not in England and New England, where the death penalty for witchcraft took the form of hanging. Death by fire was symbolic. It represented the ultimate purging of evil. A sentence did not always mean death, either. Excommunication was usually pronounced. Life imprisonment, frequently sentenced to those who confessed their crimes as a measure of leniency, was another option, the accused to be fed on bread and water. Lesser sentences for convicted heretics involved a method of shaming and religious penance in conjunction with the use of imprisonment.

First, you shall put on over all the garments which you wear a gray-blue garment after the manner of a monk's scapulary, made without a hood either before or behind, and having upon it crosses of yellow cloth three palms long and two palms wide, and you shall wear this garment over all others for such a length of time...And in the said garment and crosses shall stand in the door of such a church for such a time for so long... (Sprenger and Krämer, 1928: 250)

F. The Witch-Hunters

“A social problem cannot be said to exist until it is defined as oneThe subjective element is inescapable.”

-Robert Nisbet (1971) (Spector and Kitsuse, 1977: 5)

“The long history of accusations against heretics, Jews and witches, tells us nothing about heretics, Jews and witches. However, it tells us about the mind-set of the claims makers.”

-Jeffrey S. Victor (Victor, 1993: 290)

In order to develop a full understanding of the witchcraze phenomenon, one must look to the claims-making activities of those who succeeded in defining witchcraft as a social problem. Spector and Kitsuse define a social problem as “the activities of individuals or groups making assertions of grievances and claims with respect to some putative condition”. (Spector and Kitsuse, 1977: 75)

The European witch persecutions were fuelled by two important groups of men: those belonging to the Catholic Church and those that were a part of the newly expanding profession of medical doctors.

Brauner (1995) identifies a theological background as a prominent feature of the authors of witchcraft texts during the European witchcraze. Despite any differences of their view of the witch, she states that “each of the authors I have

examined regards witchcraft as a serious threat to the social and spiritual order, and all agree that witches are women.” (Brauner, 1995: 113) Of the texts which the author studied, the Malleus Maleficarum (c. 1486) of Sprenger and Krämer is perhaps the most important in a discussion of the claims made by the witch-hunters. The Malleus Maleficarum (c.1486), also known as the Witches’ Hammer, was the official witch-hunter’s manual. Six editions were published before 1500, a minimum of thirteen by 1520 and sixteen by 1669, and it was translated into German, French, Italian and English. (Barstow, 1994: 171) Its authors, Jakob Sprenger and Heinrich Krämer, were charged with the development of a practical and theoretical guide to witchcraft as understood by the Catholic Church at the time. The authors were appointed as inquisitors by the pope, and set out to develop a model for a witch-hunt in Germany. Manuals were written before and after theirs, but the Malleus Maleficarum (c. 1486) had perhaps the greatest impact as it was one of the first books to receive mass distribution after the invention of the printing press. Subsequent manuals and written instructions to witch-hunters would quote extensively from it. (Barstow, 1994: 172) It was an effective ideological weapon against those who would question the authority of the Church. Sprenger and Krämer were encountering much opposition in Germany until their manual was published and given papal assent by then Pope Innocent VIII, thus legitimating their work. This was

particularly important. As historian Trevor-Roper (1969) points out : “The book thus advertised to all Europe both the new epidemic of witchcraft and the authority which had been given them to suppress it.” (Daly, 1990: 189)

The Malleus Maleficarum (c. 1486) is seen as being especially significant to the focus of hunting *women* as witches. It was the first to introduce the female noun form of the Latin word *malefica* for the word witch. *Malefici*, the plural male form of the word was still used to describe sorcerers in general, but the new use of the form *maleficia* was justified by the authors because, as they claimed, women were more likely to be witches than men. (Brauner, 1995: 123)

This justification for this identification of women as witches was that while men could still be found guilty of the crime of witchcraft, women were more readily seduced by Satan by reason of their status as the weaker sex. The Malleus Maleficarum (c. 1486) is chock-full of such misogynist notions. Part One, Question Six of the Witches’ Hammer deals with *Why Superstition is found in Women* – in other words why women are more likely to be witches. These are some of the responses mentioned by the authors:

- “When they are governed by a good spirit, they are most excellent in virtue; but when they are governed by an evil spirit, they indulge in the worst possible vices.” (Sprenger and Krämer, 1970: 42)
- “When a woman thinks alone, she thinks evil.” (Sprenger and Krämer, 1970: 43)

- “Women are intellectually like children.” (Sprenger and Krämer, 1970: 44)

What became known as witchcraft was to a great extent a Christian construct, although certain elements of witchcraft did represent certain aspects of an older pagan tradition. (www.warmcove.com/cove/morningstar.chapter8.html) The word pagan comes from the Latin *paganus* which originally meant country-dweller. When Christianity was first embraced, it was a relatively urban phenomenon. Those in rural areas were the hardest to convert, preferring to stick with their old beliefs and customs. (Simms, 1996: 32)

According to Ellerbe (1995), the ancient pagan tradition understood divinity in terms of both masculine and feminine, and the god/goddess was taken to embody both heaven and earth. This view was in direct conflict with how the Christian Church understood God, as one which was above the world, removed from mortal life, and one fashioned only in masculine form. (www.warmcove.com/cove/morningstar.chapter8.html) The feminine aspect of the deity was reduced to mortal form in the image of the Virgin Mary. Even worship of the mother of Christ became suspect as reformational fervor spread across Europe. Devotion to the Christian version of the goddess became indicative of evil.

In the Canary Islands, Aldonca de Vargas was reported to the Inquisition after she smiled at hearing mention of the Virgin Mary. Inquisitors distorted an image of the Virgin Mary into a

device of torture, covering the front side of a statue of Mary with sharp knives and nails. Levers would move the arms of the statue crushing the victim against the knives and nails.
www.warmcove.com/cove/morningstar.chapter8.html

The church succeeded not only in demonizing, and essentially criminalizing, the older pagan belief system, but it also succeeded in vilifying women in particular, lending support to the mass accusations of witchcraft against women. St. Peter referred to women as the weaker vessel. Thomas Aquinas suggested that God had made an error in creating women. The Lutherans at Wittenburg debated the issue of whether women were really human beings or not. Orthodox Christians held women responsible for the sin of all mankind because according to the Bible's Apocrypha, "Of Women came the beginning of sin/And thanks to her, we all must die."
www.warmcove.com/cove/morningstar.chapter8.html

If we are to disbelieve the claims put forth by the Church, that witches were devil-worshipers and flew through the night air on missions of destruction, what activities did this women participate in? According to Barstow (1994):

Through healing, by both spells and potions, delivering babies, performing abortions, predicting the future, advising the lovelorn, cursing, removing curses, making peace between neighbors – the work of the village healer and her urban counterpart covered what we call magic as well as medicine. This work overlapped dangerously with the priests job as well. (Barstow, 1994: 109)

This power created fear, most particularly among men working in the domain of religion and medicine because it threatened their own control over the populace. “Thus certain women were suspected of witchcraft, not because they were powerless, but precisely because they were seen to have a great deal of power.” (Barstow, 1994: 110) Again the Malleus Maleficarum (c.1486) plays an important role by putting forth claims that villanized the role of healer, most particularly the role of midwife. The manual recounts stories of midwives piercing the heads of newborn babes with needles, offering the child as sacrifice to their demon master. Barstow (1994) explains such allegations as the result of ignorance and jealousy provoked by the exclusion of men from the birthing process. (Barstow, 1994: 111) The Malleus Maleficarum (c. 1486) held midwives to be the most abhorrent of witchcraft practitioners. “By killing and devouring infants or delivering them to Satan, midwives steal new souls from the Lord and consign them to the devil.” (Brauner, 1995: 43)

The medical profession had started its attempt at the elimination of healers before the witchcraze began by barring women from studying medicine at the universities. Elimination was more direct during the fervor of the witchcraze. According to the National Film Board's presentation of The Burning Times, doctors were often instigators of accusations. (NFB, *The Burning Times*, 1990)

It is important at this point to distinguish the North American witch-hunts from those in Europe. Pudaloff (1991) criticizes notions that the crisis at Salem in 1692 was a result of religious or mass hysteria. What happened at Salem was considered somewhat of an anomaly. Unlike other witchcraft trials in New England and Europe, the Salem trials were a secular affair. Lawyers, not clergymen, were given the authority to intervene. Prayer and ministerial counseling were not featured as part of the events at Salem. These were replaced by legal procedures, warrants, indictments, trials, verdicts, executions, and other legal paraphernalia. (Pudaloff, 1991: 336)

Pudaloff (1991) argues that events at Salem are more indicative of the changes the Enlightenment brought forth, although he does not deny a belief in witchcraft or Satan did not have its part to play in the proceedings. (Pudaloff, 1991: 336) According to Boyer and Nissembaum (1974), the Salem witch crisis began with relatively innocent experiments into fortune-telling by mainly young girls in Essex County, Massachusetts, most particularly Salem. These young adolescents would meet in small gatherings to discuss their future loves and marital status. Unfortunately, this experimentation into the realm of magic began to change their behaviour most visibly. It was their parents attempt to find out why and put a name to their daughters experiences, their '*odd postures*', '*foolish speeches*' and '*fits*' that sparked the tragedy that would befall the village. (Boyer and Nissembaum, 1974: 1-2)

Upham (1971) concurs with the notion that the attempt by adults to label the girls' behaviour was the catalyst for the craze which followed:

The aspect of the evidence rather favors the supposition that the girls originally had no design of accusing , or bringing injury upon any one. But the ministers at Parris's house, physicians and others, began the work of destruction by pronouncing the opinion that they were bewitched. (Victor, 1993: 103)

Finally, in any discussion of witch-hunting, it is important to discuss its capital-generating aspect. The witch-trials were big business. Every aspect of the process generated a cost. This cost was incurred by the accused. Barbara Roberts, noted historian, explains:

She not only had to pay the bills for her own capture, imprisonment, torture and execution, but there was a whole secondary industry that sprang up around the witch-burnings. First, it provided amazing employment opportunities for lawyers, for judges, for people who would sit on the tribunals...they were well organized campaigns whereby one accusation by a neighbour set the wheels in motion. (NFB, *The Burning Times*, 1990)

By assigning ignorance, misogyny, and greed as the sole causes of the events that took place during the witchcraze we run the risk of repeating past mistakes. According to Pudaloff (1991), these interpretations serve to distance ourselves, as members of a more contemporary and more tolerant society, from the horrific events that took place in our not so distant past. He describes Salem as "the orphan no one will own and everyone can use". (Pudaloff, 1991: 333) The atrocities of the witchcraze continue today. Many countries, such as Haiti and the Cameroon, are currently places where anti-

witchcraft movements are strong and have led to the accusation and execution of witches. The Congolese Human Rights Observatory has recently announced that more than 60 people who were accused of witchcraft were burned or buried alive since 1990, including 40 in 1996 . (www.religioustolerance.org/witchcra.htm)

North American society no longer names 'witchcraft' as a major social problem. Today the quest to eliminate such demons as drugs, crime, poverty, homelessness, violence, racism, and sexism has taken centre-stage. The world has moved on. The power that the Church once held over its congregate has weakened considerably. The separation of Church and state has also meant that the role of the church in the political decision-making process has faded. Individual rights and rights of property have been enshrined in modern society. Limitations have been placed on the powers of the state and those of law enforcement officials. Yet, witchcraft and the occult have still, on occasion, been the cause of great concern, and have generated quite a bit of fear and panic within communities across North America. The next section, as well as the remainder of this thesis, looks at the modern version of the witch-hunt. Witchcraft and the occult will now be studied from their new place in contemporary social relations in order to determine their nature and functions within modern versus Medieval society.

II. Satanic Panics: Modern Day Witch- Hunts

“The great enemy of the truth is very often not the lie – deliberate, contrived and dishonest – but the myth – persistent, persuasive, and unrealistic.”

-John F. Kennedy (Victor, 1993: 291)

According to Victor’s work on the source of Satanic panics during the late eighties and early nineties, rumor-panics are like a collective of recurring nightmares; warning-signs related to deep-seated anxieties within our society. Victor analyzed media and newspaper reports of the location of 31 sites across Canada and the United States where panics occurred between 1988-1992. Not one of the 31 cases resembled what he defined as the stereotype of a “Satanic cult”, meaning a highly-organized group of individuals, committing crimes, and justifying their actions with Satanic ideology. (Victor, 1993: 61)

Theories of collective behaviour argue that rumor-panics are derived from a shared foundation of social stress within a community that causes widespread trepidation and frustration. These sources of social stress can be linked to socio-economic conditions. The images created within these rumor stories can represent symbolic messages concerning shared anxieties within a society. (Victor, 1993: 62) Victor defines a rumor-panic as:

A collective stress reaction in response to a belief in stories about immediately threatening circumstances. A rumor-panic in a community can be identified by the existence of widely occurring fear-provoked behavior. Examples of fear-provoked behavior include: 1) protective behavior, such as the widespread buying of guns or preventing children from being in public places; 2) aggressive behavior, such as group attacks on people perceived to be sources of threat, or the destruction of property; and 3) agitated information-seeking at community meetings for "news" about the threat and intensified surveillance of the community by police and vigilante groups of citizens. (Victor, 1993: 59)

An ambiguous local event is usually the catalyst for a rumor-panic. Such events can include a teenage suicide, symbolic graffiti, and church vandalism. This antecedent event to the rumor-panic epitomizes the symbolic themes of the Satanic cult legend in the community's collective imagination. The legend provides the citizenry with an explanation for an event that is not so easily explained. While there is often no real danger present, the belief creates its own reality with potentially dangerous consequences. (Victor, 1993: 67)

This process can be exemplified by the Jamestown, New York panic. The development of a punk counterculture among high school students created rumors which gradually came to embody the Satanic cult mythology. This was a product of several triggering events including a *Geraldo* talk show about the Satanic cult influence on teenagers and an national news item about a teen who killed his mother and then committed suicide as the result of

Satanic inspiration (according to the news report). Months later, on Friday the thirteenth, the pent-up community anxiety erupted into a full-fledged panic. (Victor, 1993: 66) Children were kept home from school. Over a hundred cars showed up to a wooded area which was a supposed *ritual site*. The police awaited them, and upon searching the cars found such weapons as guns, knives and clubs. Another rumored site was the object of \$4000 worth of property damage. A number of teenagers, alleged members of the cult, were victims of death threats and harassing phone calls. (Victor, 1993: 29)

Victor (1993) recognizes two factors as being highly contributive to the rumor-panics. These would be economic stress in rural areas and small towns and parental anxieties regarding the safety of their children. The author cites the loss of blue-collar jobs in small town America as a major source of stress. In 1988, a study by William P. O'Hare reported that rural areas suffered a 50% higher poverty rate than urban areas. (Victor, 1993: 64) Poverty has its links to other social problems such as alcohol abuse, juvenile crime, and depression, which have all increased proportionately more than they have in urban areas. Finally, fundamentalist Protestant organizations are stronger in rural versus urban areas, and are the most active disseminators of the Satanic cult stories. (Victor, 1993: 64) Victor states that stories about the abduction, ritual abuse, and sacrifice of children tend to be at the center of the Satanic cult rumors. This is of particular importance as the ritual abuse witch-

hunt has been able to merge with the larger child protection movement. It has joined forces with a number of child abuse organizations, and credibility has been allotted to the notion of ritual satanic abuse by reputable psychotherapists. (Victor, 1993: 293)

One of these *experts* is Dr. D. Cory Hammond, who during the Fourth Annual Regional Meeting on Abuse and Multiple Personality in 1992, gave a workshop on how to treat victims of Satanic ritual abuse (SRA). According to this nationally respected expert on clinical hypnosis, after World War II, nazi doctors were brought to America and allowed free reign to experiment on children in hospitals. These children could be programmed to commit sexual acts and forget about them afterwards. Hammond alleges that other self-destruct programs have been instilled if exposure of abusers is threatened. He states this can mean suicide, going completely crazy, or patients attempting to kill their therapists. He also declares that 50% of patients with Multiple Personality Disorder are being monitored by Satanic parents or overseers to ensure the truth is not revealed. (Victor, 1993: 294-295) Hammond is quoted as saying that “the people who say [ritual abuse] isn’t [real] are either naïve, like people who didn’t believe in the Holocaust, or they are dirty.” (Victor, 1993: 295)

In Victor’s study, one third of media accounts relied on police and in one quarter of the reports, the claims-makers were religious experts. (Victor,

1993: 68) In May of 1989 there was a state-wide conference held in New Hampshire for police “experts” on Satanic cult crime. Members of the conference were quoted in newspapers as saying that organized Satanic “criminal cartels” with a membership of over 2 million existed across America, and that these same were responsible for many of the unsolved kidnappings and murders. This provoked a state-wide rumor-panic with a number of hunts for Satanists. One police force arrested a group of youths in strange clothing gathered in the woods. These kids were in possession of an animal skull, candles, daggers, and swords. While possession of these could not be considered illegal, they were taken into custody. The police announced to the press that they had captured a Satanic cult in the midst of performing a satanic ritual. It was latter discovered that the claims by the youth that they were a group of college art students practicing a Medieval play were true. (Victor, 1993: 69)

In comparing the Satan-hunters to the witch-hunters, we begin to see how the new “experts” in the field of demon-hunting bear some similarities with their predecessors. Religious organizations are still behind most of the active dissemination of the Satanic mythology. Fundamentalist Protestant churches have taken over the role the Catholic Church served in fueling the witch-hunts during Medieval times. Admittedly, however, it does not hold the same power over the populace.

As with the events which took place in Salem, in 1692, anxieties over children's well-being have been at the root of mass hysteria with the Satanic ritual abuse movement. Women still seem to be the focus of allegations, however. Finkelhor et. al (1988) found 36 out of the 270 cases of alleged sexual abuse in daycare centers involved accusations of ritual abuse (13%). Women were accused abusers in all thirty-six cases, sometimes in conjunction with a male partner, sometimes alone. (Victor, 1993: 110)

Special Agent Kenneth V. Lanning of the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit describes Satanism as the newest form of '*Stranger Danger*'. It is a return to the notion of demonology. "The devil makes you do it. This makes it even easier to deal with the child molester who is the 'pillar of the community. It is not his fault; it is not our fault. There is no way we could have known..." (Lanning, 1992: 9) This removes the guilt the community or the parents may feel in regards to the abuse the child may have suffered.

Lanning (1992) also rebukes law enforcement agencies for their contribution to the panics. He describes how conferences on this subject have linked topics from teenage "stoner gangs", to the ritualistic abuse of children and conspiracy theory, under the same heading of Satanism, implying it is all a continuum of the same behaviour.

The information presented is a mixture of fact, theory, opinion, fantasy, and paranoia, and because some of it can be proven or corroborated (symbols on rock albums, graffiti on walls, desecration of cemeteries, vandalism, etc.), the implication is that

it is all true and documented. Material provided by religious organizations, photocopies and slides of newspaper articles, and videotapes of tabloid television programs are used to supplement the training and are presented as "evidence" of the existence and nature of the problem. (Lanning, 1992: 10-11)

Lanning believes the term "ritualistic" is problematic when discussing child abuse because it involves a spiritual belief system. He uses the example: "The mutilation of a baby's genitals for religious reasons for sadistic sexual pleasure is a crime. The circumcision of a baby's genitals for religious reasons is most likely 'not' a crime." (Lanning, 1992: 15)

As with the testimony of the girls *afflicted* in Salem, who could refuse to believe the words of a child, no matter how extraordinary the tale? The idea that children never lie about sexual abuse or exploitation is a great oversimplification according to Lanning. He describes it as the basis for child abuse movement. The result was that crusades to eliminate the necessity corroborating evidence in the 1970s were successful. Lanning cautions, however, that because a child is not lying does not necessarily indicate that s/he is telling the truth.

Children rarely lie about sexual abuse or exploitation, but they do fantasize, furnish false information, furnish misleading information, misperceive events, try to please adults, respond to leading questions, and respond to rewards. Children are not adults in little bodies and do go through developmental stages that must be evaluated and understood. In many ways, however, children are no better and no worse than other victims or witnesses of a crime. They should not automatically be believed, nor should they automatically be disbelieved. (Lanning, 1992: 34)

Then there is the issue of the role of the overzealous intervenor. Many therapists have justified their automatic belief in their patient's experience of

Satanic ritual abuse. Their belief is an integral part of the healing process. Here no independent corroboration is required. Social workers and law enforcement officers deal with the criminal justice system, however, and the consequences for their belief in the individual's allegations are far more serious. Thus, investigation manuals such as the one produced by Special Agent Lanning are important in order to debunk the current ideology of law enforcement regarding this issue. When therapists begin to conduct training, publish their work and communicate through the media, the consequences for their belief are far greater, and, according to Lanning, corroboration and proof must become their responsibility. (Lanning, 1992: 4)

Thus far, an attempt has been made to examine the nature of the witch-hunting process, both historically, and in a contemporary context. Religious intolerance, anxieties regarding the health and safety of our children, and socioeconomic factors represent underlying problems which tend to fuel mass hysteria within society. It is important to examine the source of the claims being made. It is not enough that they are presented by well respected doctors, or law enforcement agencies. Sometimes one believes because one wants to believe. It is easier to comprehend evil as an external entity instead of an individual capacity.

III. The Canadian Context

There exists a gap in the literature in regards to research into Canadian witch-trials. Salem remains the apparent focus of the North American witchcraze. According to Karlene Faith, no woman was officially executed for witchcraft in Canada. However, she admits that Native Canadian women were attributed with powers not understood by the colonizing Europeans who felt this to be witchcraft. This most likely would have led to their *unofficial* persecution or death. (Faith, 1993: 16) While we seem to look to the third world for traces of the witchcraze fervor today, little effort has been placed on examining the state of the anti-witchcraft movement in contemporary North American society. It is the lack of a Canadian context for the witchcraze within the literature that has guided the focus of this research.

Many people will be surprised to learn that a law to control the practice of witchcraft is currently on the books in Canada. While it is no longer a crime to practice witchcraft, section 365 of the Criminal Code prohibits anyone from pretending to practice witchcraft. The legislation reads as follows:

- 365. [Pretending to practise witchcraft, etc.,]** Every one who fraudulently
- (a) pretends to exercise or to use any kind of witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment or conjuration,
 - (b) undertakes, for a consideration, to tell fortunes, or

(c) pretends from his skill in or knowledge of an occult or crafty science to discover where or in what manner anything that is supposed to have been stolen or lost may be found, is guilty of an offence punishable on summary conviction.
(Martin's Annual Criminal Code 1997)

What is the difference between practicing and pretending to practice witchcraft? More importantly, how does the law interpret the term witchcraft? What kind of witch-hunts have Canadians practiced, and how have they contributed to the current understanding of witchcraft as a crime.

A simple examination of this section of the criminal code would be rather limited. Witchcraft in law must then be expanded to include other sections which are invoked when accusations of witchcraft or occult crime occur.

It is from this basis that the research question has been formed. How is witchcraft and occult crime defined by formal and informal agents of social control in Canada? These definitions are based on what kinds of acts, involving what types of offenders, causing what kinds of results for victims and the communities in which these accusations occur? *What is the essence of a contemporary Canadian witch-hunt?*

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section addresses the methods used in the completion of the literature review. The second section discusses the manner in which the case law data on witchcraft trials was compiled. The third section describes the methods of data collection used in regards to the main focus of the thesis which is the content analysis of recent Canadian witchcraft and occult allegations appearing in Canadian media reports. Finally, section four deals with how the media data was framed and presented by using Young's Square of Crime (1987) as an organizational structure for the information gathered.

I. The Literature Review

Sources for the literature review were drawn from three main library catalogues, one CD-ROM database, a search of the internet using two main search engines, and finally, as the result of the snowballing effect of searching for sources within the bibliographies of the texts and articles found along the way. Training materials designed for police investigators involved in

occult/satanic related cases were supplied by the RCMP and the Canadian Police College. The films viewed were the result of an exploration of the University of Ottawa's Media Library, as well as word-of-mouth, as in the case of Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*. The original inspiration for the current thesis topic was provided by a criminology course at the University of Ottawa, third year, entitled *Women, Crime and Justice II*. The bibliography and information of the texts and articles used in this course, as well as the class lectures on witchcraft, provided a starting point from which a review of the literature began.

The three main library catalogues searched include the University of Ottawa Library's *Orbis*, Carleton University's *Cube*, and the Ottawa Public Library's *Gateway*. Terms searched under these catalogue systems included *witches*, *witchcraft*, *Satanism* and the *occult*.

The internet search involved the use of two main search engines: *Inference Find* and *Infoseek*. Inference Find is located at the <http://www.inference.com/ifind> address of the World Wide Web. The Infoseek search engine can be found at the following locale: <http://www.infoseek.com>. Terms used to search the internet included *witches*, *witchcraft*, *wicca*, *Satanism*, the *occult*, and *ritual satanic abuse*. Links from web sites found by these search engines were used, and thus a snowballing effect in regards to sites located was the result. Many of these sites included bibliographies of texts and journal articles, and where such documents were not

available on-line, a re-searching of library catalogues would have been performed to access the material of interest. Web browsers used to surf the net included Netscape Navigator version 3.04 Gold and Microsoft Explorer version 3.02. Internet service was provided by Magma Communications Ltd.

Finally, a search for journal articles on this thesis topic was conducted using the CD-ROM *Sociofile* through Polaris at the University of Ottawa's Morrisette Library. Sociofile's electronic holdings range from 1974 to the present. It is meant as a research instrument in locating the latest international findings in the area of applied sociology, social science and policy science. Sociofile is a product of Sociological Abstracts Inc., and includes references for journal articles, dissertations, texts, chapters, association papers, as well as books, films and software. (http://eir.library.utoronto.ca/eir/detail.cfm?Resources__ID=2782&T=I) The main search terms used were *witchcraft* and *witches*. At the time Sociofile was used as a research tool, the thesis topic had not been broadened to include occult activity. No further searches of this database have been conducted in order to address this potential limitation, due to the fact that a large body of information had already been found on the topic of Satanism and the occult.

II. The Collection of the Case Law Data

In order to report the findings of the Canadian Case Law dealing with section 365 of the Canadian Criminal Code, the CD-ROM database entitled *Canadian Case Digests* was searched at Carleton University's Maxwell MacOdrum Library. Canadian Case Digests is an information database which provides users with all reported cases from the nineteenth century onwards, and all unreported cases since 1987.

The Canadian Case Digests covers summaries of issues decided in Canadian law cases, each abstract providing a brief outline of the disposition, a background of the facts of the case, as well as the case citation.

(<http://www.library.carleton.ca/data/resources/guides/maincd.html#sectionccd>)

The database was searched using the term *witchcraft*. A total of fourteen cases were cited, but only ten of these made specific reference to a charge laid under the Canadian witchcraft statute (currently section 365 of the Code).

The ten cases retrieved by a search of the database led to the inclusion of one other case. This last was added because it was listed under the annotations for section 365 of Martins Annual Criminal Code (1997), as well as being referred to in the decisions rendered in some of the other ten cases.

The full case citation was obtained for each of the eleven cases. An analysis was conducted to determine how this section of the code had been interpreted over time. The eleven cases ranged in dates from 1901 to 1993.

Patterns of decision-making by the courts, as well as changes to the wording of the statute were noted.

The eleven cases selected from the search did not represent a total picture of the cases which proceeded to court during this time period. Cases are not always cited in various Canadian Law Reports. This was confirmed when articles from the media sample contained coverage of trials held for charges laid under section 365 that were not found as a result of the search of the Canadian Case Digests.

III. The Collection of the Media Coverage of Events Data

In order to study the nature and extent of contemporary witchcraft and occult crime in this country, a media search of incidences of alleged witchcraft or occult activity was performed in order to have a collection of events from which an analysis could then be made. The selection of these reported events was achieved by performing a search of the Canadian Business and Current Affairs (CBCA) Index on-line through the University of Toronto Library Home Page (<http://eir.library.utoronto.ca/>). The U. of T. library uses SilverPlatter as the Information Provider for the CBCA index.

The CBCA contains article citations from 1982 to date. Its newspaper coverage includes the Globe and Mail, the Calgary Herald, the Financial Post, the Halifax Chronicle Herald, the Montreal Gazette, the Toronto Star, the

Winnipeg Free Press, and the Vancouver Sun. The CBCA also covers over two hundred business and trade journals, and general periodicals from both the U.S. and Canada. (<http://utcat.library.utoronto.ca:8002/CBCADBdescr.html>)

The CBCA was searched by using the following terms: Occult, Satanism, Witchcraft, Ritual, Satan, and Witch. This resulted in the terms being found 1, 275 times in 1, 249 records. However, articles cited for each term were often repeated in the findings of a search for another. Once the repetition of articles was ruled out as an issue, the records were evaluated for selection in the final sample.

Only Canadian newspaper and periodical references were selected. Academic journal articles, texts or reviews of texts written on the topic were not included in the sample for study. An article selected for the final sample had to have involved an accusation or allegation of witchcraft or occult activity that required, or might have required, a police presence or resulted in some form of community mobilization. Thus, those articles mentioning witchcraft or the occult as a criminal justice issue or as a potential community or social problem were selected for analysis. Those articles about witchcraft or the occult which were general or simply descriptive in nature were excluded from study. Only those articles depicting events that occurred in Canada were chosen for the final sample. The timeline for the sample was limited to those articles that were published between the years 1987 and 1997. The result of the

final selection, after the aforementioned criteria were considered, was a sample of 193 articles.

The Canadian Press Newswire was included in the findings of the search. In searching for the referenced record, the Canadian News Disk was queried for the date in question. In one instance, the Calgary Herald carried an article which corresponded to the Canadian Press Newswire title. In the other instance, no newspapers carried headlines relating to the story, so a transcript of a *CBC News* report was obtained instead. Some of the periodicals were difficult to obtain. Hecate's Loom: a Canadian Pagan Quarterly was omitted from the sample as the relevant issues could not be procured. The Medical Post was also a problem as most libraries only carried issues of the current year. As well a couple of British Columbia Report articles were not selected because they were not available. As all Western Report and Alberta Report articles were obtained for the sample, this was not perceived to be overly problematic.

A recognized limitation of the sample chosen for analysis was that articles selected were only covered in national newspapers. According to the literature review, occurrences of witchcraft and occult allegations are more likely to happen in small town settings. Small town newspapers and those Canadian city newspapers not mentioned in the listing of the CBCA index were not searched. Thus, events are likely to have been missed that were not picked up by the national news media. As well, national news perspectives of the

events would be conceivably different from those perspectives appearing in rural or community publications.

The sample chosen for analysis was not meant to capture all the events related to witchcraft or occult allegations over the time period selected. The objective of the research conducted here was to develop a general understanding of the nature and extent of witchcraft and occult crime in a contemporary Canadian context. It was designed to identify the players involved, the types of formal and informal controls imposed in these situations, and the important issues that were raised.

In order to establish a framework in which to analyze and organize the data, events gathered were then applied to Young's notion of the '*Square of Crime*' (Young, 1987). An in-depth examination into the explanation and reasoning behind the usage of Young's s concept of crime as the analytical coding tool for the content analysis now follows.

IV. Using Young's Square of Crime as a Framework

The analysis of the data gathered from the sample of media articles will be organized into a framework based on Young's notion of the '*Square of Crime*' (1987). The shape of crime, according to Young is multi-dimensional. A crime involves an offender, a victim, and the opportunity for these two individuals to come together. The reality is more complex than the simple commission of the deviant act. A crime is also defined by the interpretation of that act through social reaction. Young's view of the shape of crime as square helps to illustrate the four key factors in the crime equation: formal and informal control systems, the offender and the victim. (Young, 1987: 340) Formal control and informal control agents act as *definers* and *controllers* of deviant behaviour. The offender and victim represent the actors of this dyad; formal and informal control agents represent the reactors. Also important to the crime equation are the context of the crime and the passage of the criminal act through time. An understanding of witchcraft, the occult, and ritualistic crimes being reported cannot truly be separated from the context in which each particular event occurs, or disassociated from an understanding of how it has been defined and approached throughout time. Young identifies the need for criminological research to be "faithful to the phenomenon which it is studying...to be true to the actual shape of the phenomenon and the forces which have brought it into being and which will transform it over time." (Young, 1987: 337) It is within

this framework that the investigation into modern day witch-hunting will be analyzed.

The following four diagrams map the form the analysis will take, as described above. **Fig. 1** represents the overall picture of Witchcraft and Occult crime when applied to Jock Young's criminological square. **Fig. 2** provides a more in depth analysis of the formal control aspect of this square. Formal control represents a complex and extensive network of agents of the state including primarily the police, but also judges, lawyers, politicians, wardens, probation and parole officers and many others who work for the police, court, and correctional system.

Fig. 3 demonstrates how the agents of informal control interrelate. The reaction to crime is not limited to the official reactions of the State. Informal control agents not only have a role in defining crime, but also in the maintenance of social order. Members of the public support their law enforcement agencies by reporting wrongdoing and providing information on ongoing investigations. (Young, 1987: 339) The family, the community, the church, and the school all act as informal agents of control. These institutions teach the difference between what is viewed as right and wrong and thus act as definers. Yet they also act to enforce compliance to societal norms through such methods as discipline, shame, and ostracism. The media is another institution of informal control. It is able to provide an angle of interpretation

to particular events, and can also be used to encourage support or disapproval of specific actions or actors. It has often been the catalyst of moral and public panics. To understand the power of a picture on television, one has only to remember the news coverage of Vietnam, bringing home images of war to American families at suppertime. To understand the power of the spoken word, one only has to remember the effect of the radio airing of George Orwell's *War of the Worlds*. To understand the power of the written word, one only has to remember the fervor created by the publication of Kenneth Starr's report published for access on the worldwide web.

Fig. 4 presents how the action side of Young's square will be approached, identifying some concerns regarding the offender and victim. In moving to the action side of Young's equation, there is the offender and the victim. The offender is the major player in this dyad. He or she is the instigator of the event and the consequences that follow it. What is their personal motivation? The all-important answer to the question of why is felt to lie here. Why did this happen? What kind of person could do such a thing? The majority of positivist criminological theory has focused its attention on the offender. The search for the elusive criminogenic gene or quality has been led exclusively from this one point on the square.

The victim is also an important part of the act as well. The availability of a victim and their relative vulnerability can create or impede the opportunity

for a crime to occur. The consequences suffered by their victimization have an effect on the amount of both formal and informal control that will be brought to bear on the action. The victim, the family, and support systems can have a tremendous impact on how the situation comes to be seen, and in turn, how the reactors will further define and react to future events.

Figure 1: The Process of Defining Witchcraft/Occult Crime According to Young's Square of Crime (1987)

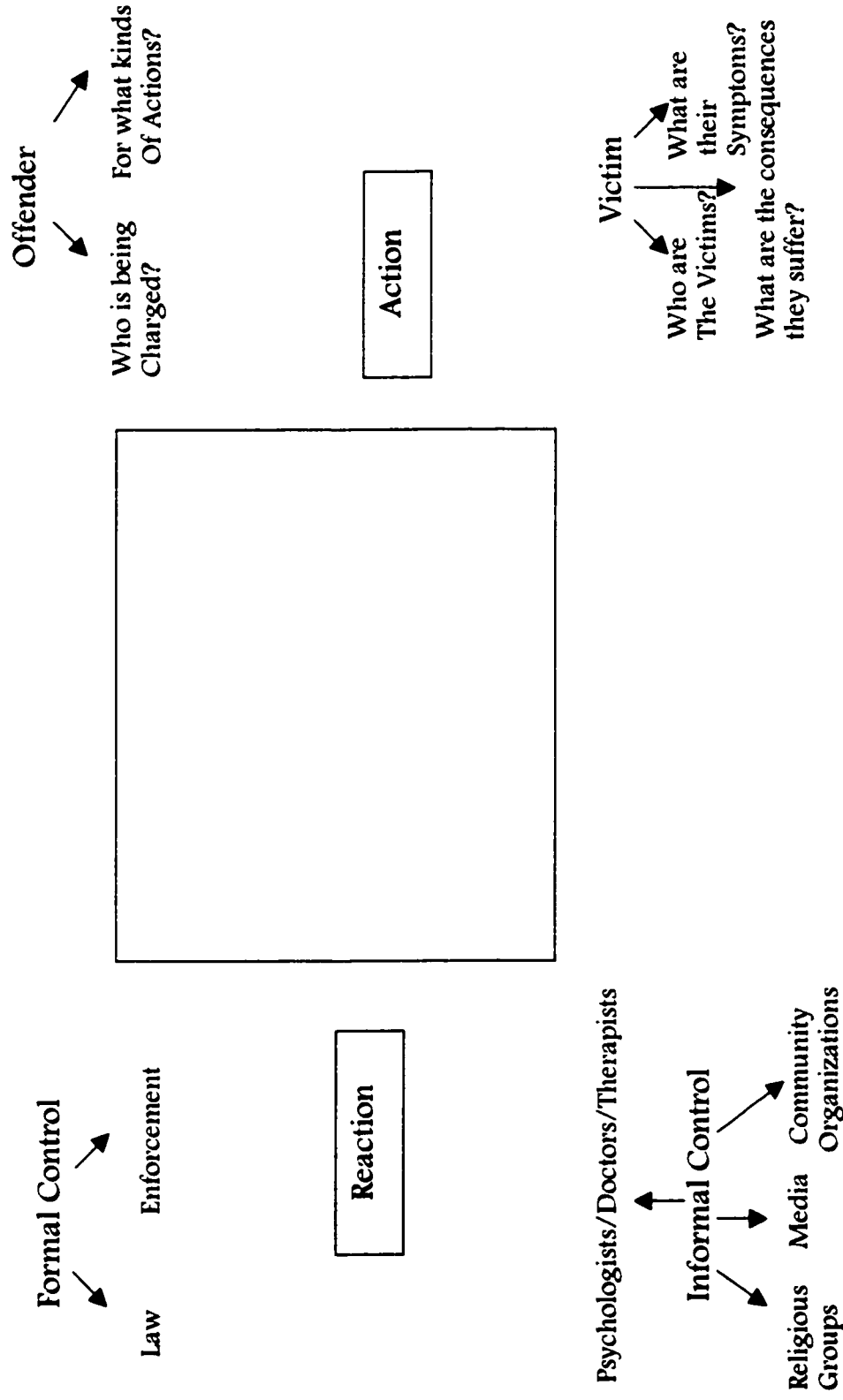


Figure 2: Formal Measures to Address Witchcraft and Occult Crime

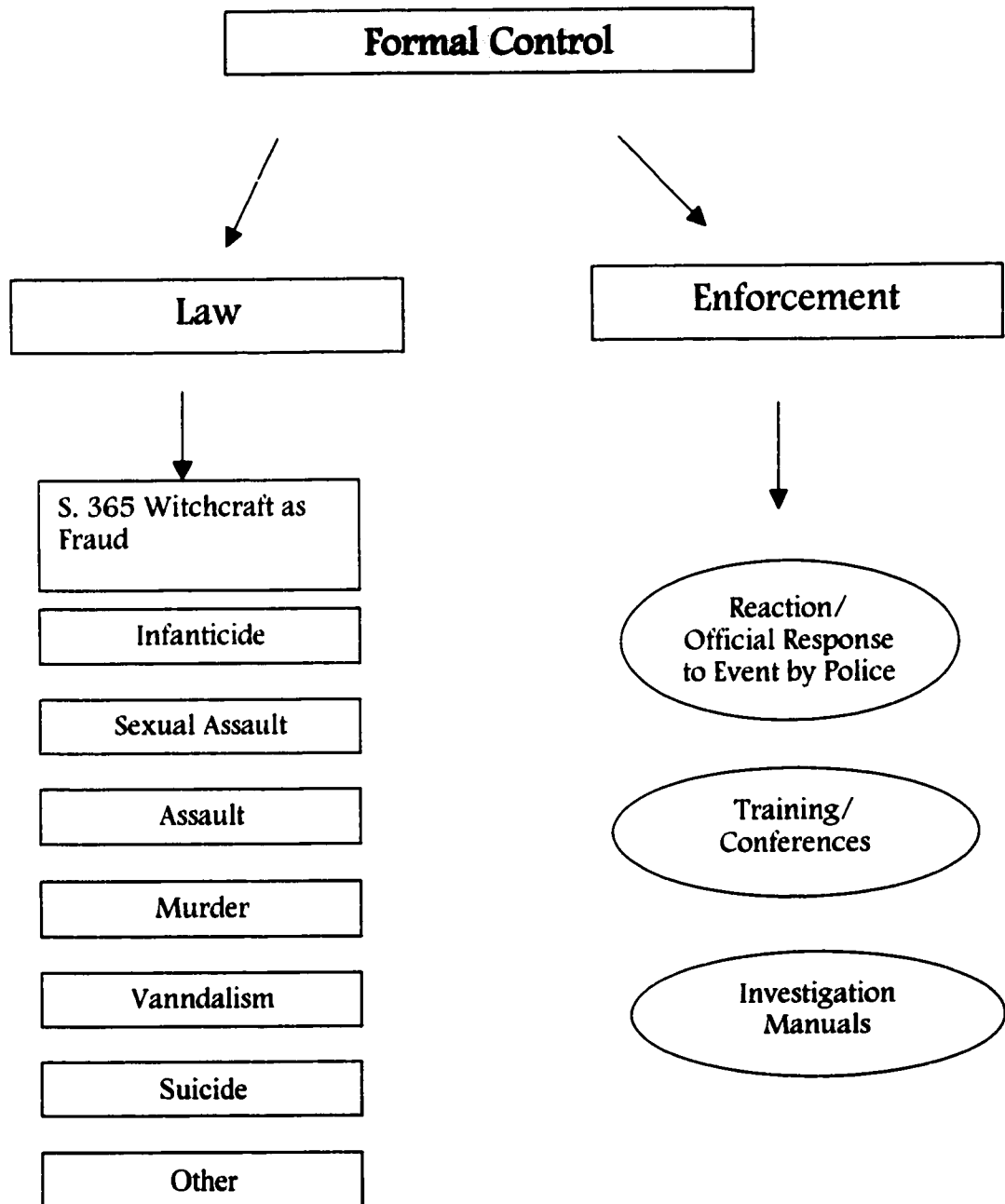


Figure 3: Informal Agents of Control and Their Response to Witchcraft and Occult Crime

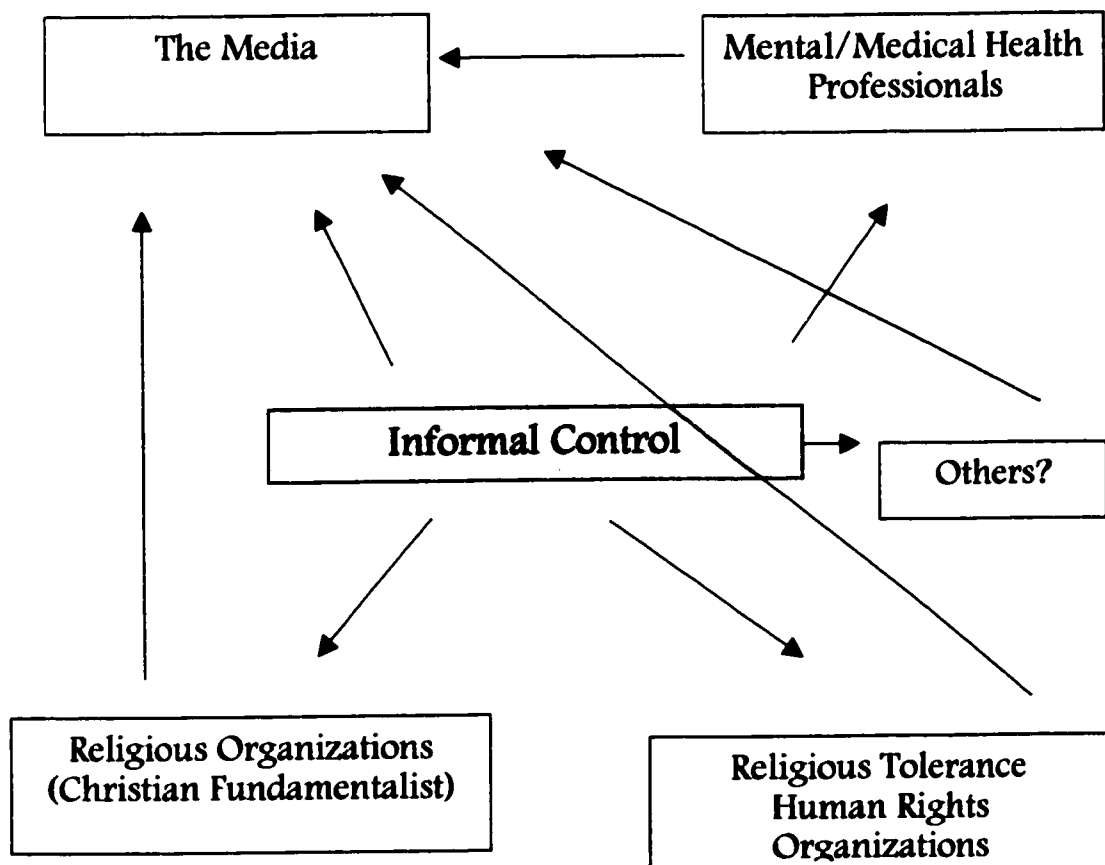


Figure 4: Profiles of Offenders and Victims of Witchcraft and Occult Crime

Offender

- 1) Who is Being Charged?
 - ◆ Women/Men ratio
 - ◆ Youth/Adult ratio
 - ◆ Class?
 - ◆ Ethnicity trends?
- 2) For What Kinds of Actions?
 - ◆ Under what sections of the Criminal Code?
(Links back to Law/Formal Control)
- 3) Motivations/Reasons for Offending?

Victim

- 1) Who are the victims (the bewitched)?
 - ◆ Children?
 - ◆ Property/Cattle?
 - ◆ Other?
- 2) What consequences/symptoms do they suffer?
 - ◆ Issue of Recovered Memory
 - ◆ Links to Reaction of Mental Health Professionals/Informal Agents

While each of the corners of Young's square have been examined on their own, they do not act without affecting and being affected by the others. The relationships between formal control agents, informal controllers, offenders and victims should not be neglected from study. The concept of deterrence involves the relationship between the offender and the justice system. Agents of formal control attempt to dissuade the offender from repeating the behaviour by reacting in a certain manner -- in some cases harshly and severely. The community has a particular relationship with the offender when it comes to deterrence, which can include various forms of shaming, social ostracism, or condemnation. The relationship between the victim and the offender is also important to an understanding of an event. What brings the offender and victim together? What is it about a person that makes them a target for the offender? According to Young, one of the major thrusts of feminist research into the area of criminology is to "stress the relationship between victim and offender and to break with the partiality which views victims as an isolated factor in the crime equation." (Young, 1987: 344)

Thus Young concludes by saying that a crime is a social relationship. (Young, 1987: 344) An event is the result of both the action taken by the offender against the victim, the opportunity for the action to take place, the reaction by agents of formal and informal control and by the complex relationships that exists between them all. Using Young's metaphor of the

jigsaw puzzle, in order to obtain the clearest picture of the events that have taken place, one must have all the pieces available in order to put it together. This analysis will therefore attempt to view the phenomenon of witchcraft and occult activity, identified in the Canadian media, and examine all the players – those whose actions have precipitated the events, those whom are harmed as a result, and finally those who respond both formally and informally to these events. Once the pieces of the puzzle can be identified, it is hoped that relationships will emerge that will help to place the pieces together in order to create a picture of the phenomenon which can be the most faithful to the reality it is meant to represent.

Chapter 4

THE DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

I. The Case Law for Canadian Witchcraft Legislation

As a result of the search of the *Canadian Case Digests*, ten cases were found that dealt with Canadian witchcraft legislation. These are: *R v. Marcott (1901)*, *R v. Chilcott (1902)*, *R v. Monsell (1916)*, *R v. Pollock (1920)*, *R v. Best (1934)*, *R v. Stanley (1952)*, *R c. Larin (1974)*, *R v. Dagenbrook (1975)*, *R v. Labrosse (1984)*, *R c. Turgeon (1993)*. The case of *R v. Corbeil (1981)*, was added to the inventory as it was cited both in cases (*in R v. Labrosse and R c. Turgeon*) and in Martins Annual Criminal Code (1997), under annotations listed for section 365. Of the of the 11 cases examined here, only one appeal went as far as the Supreme Court of Canada. The case of *Labrosse v. the Queen (1987)* was also examined for its contribution of how the Canadian Witchcraft statute has been interpreted throughout history.

Canadian witchcraft legislation has its origins with Great Britain's repeal of the Witchcraft Laws that had been the legal basis for the massive witch trials that took place during the Middle Ages. On the 24th of June, 1735 the Imperial Act of George II, chapter 5 proclaimed, "no prosecution

suit or proceeding should be commenced or carried on against any person or persons for witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment or conjuration". (R v. Marcott (1901), 2 O.L.R. 108) Yet, this seemingly grand step towards the decriminalization of witchcraft appears to have been more of a ruse, as this section was provided by section 4 of chapter 5 that read:

And for the more effectual preventing and punishing any pretenses to such arts or powers as are before mentioned whereby ignorant persons are frequently deluded and defrauded, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that if any person shall from and after the said 24th day of June [1735] pretend to exercise or use any kind of witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment or conjuration, or undertake to tell fortunes or pretend from his or her skill or knowledge in any occult or crafty science to discover when or in what manner any goods or chattels supposed to have been stolen or lost may be found, every person so offending being thereof lawfully convicted on indictment or information...shall for every such offence suffer imprisonment by the space of one whole year...(R v. Marcott (1901), 2 O.L.R. 108-109)

The history of the Canadian section dates back prior to the codification of Canadian Law. Until 1892, and the first edition of the Canadian Criminal Code, there was no Canadian legislation dealing with witchcraft. It was held in *Regina v. Milford*, 20 O.R. 306, however, that the Witchcraft Act, 9 Geo II. chapter 5, was imported into Canada by the Act of Upper Canada, 40 Geo. III. chapter 1, and that a charge could be laid in Canada under the English Act. In 1892, section 396 of the Canadian Criminal Code dealing with the offence *Pretending to Practice Witchcraft* was worded precisely as the section 4 in chapter 5 of the English Act dealing with

the subject, which is today section 365 of the Code. (*R v. Pollock* (1920) 47 O.L.R. 619)

How has the law defined and interpreted the newer charge of *Pretending to Practice Witchcraft*? The meaning of the word “pretend” has sparked much debate in the courts. In *Monck v. Hilton*, 2 Ex. D. 268, J. Channell commented that intent was included by the words pretending or professing. He felt the words meant “asserting or representing, with the intention that such assertion or representation should be believed”. (*R v. Marcott* (1901) 2 O.L.R. 111) It is also unnecessary that the professor of the powers of witchcraft, such as the knowledge of an occult or crafty science, the ability to foresee future events, or the skill of conjuration, sorcery or enchantment, knowingly professes these powers falsely. Judge Order, in his decision in the appeal of *R v. Pollock* (1920), comments that:

the meaning of the word “pretend” has in the course of time been greatly narrowed. In earlier times it meant, among other things, “to profess to have, to make profession of” some quality or skill. The element of intentional falsity now involved in the word is of modern growth...It was, in my opinion, used in the Witchcraft Act of 1736, and therefore in the Criminal Code of 1892, in the sense of “professing” or “claiming” or “undertaking,” the element of deceit being involved in the assertion of skill or knowledge in an occult or crafty science. (*R v. Pollock* (1920) 47 O.L.R. 625-626)

In this case, the defendant truly believed she had the power to commune with the dead (a knowledge of the occult or crafty science –

although she did not count it as such, being a devout Christian). Margaret Pollack was visited by John Leonhardt, a neighbouring farmer who had lost a quantity of oats, which he presumed had been stolen. He came to see the accused so she could, through resorting to her alleged powers, discover where and in what manner his grain had been taken. This she did, and the oats were recovered. The farmer had also been given, by Mrs. Pollack, a description of those parties who had taken the grain, how they taken the oats from his barn, which direction they had left after the theft, and the distance and description of the barn where they were now being held. Mr. Leonhardt was not in this case deceived, according to the defence, and was quite satisfied with what he had been told by the defendant. According to Mrs. Pollock's attorney, "It only became an offence when one pretended through that science to discover lost or stolen goods. One could not be said to pretend to discover them when in the result they were actually discovered." (R v. Pollock (1920) 47 O.L.R. 617-618) Unfortunately for Mrs. Pollock, the courts did not view the matter in the same way. Judge Ordre held that the term "pretends" cannot be torn from its context, in other words what the British Parliament in 1736 and the Canadian Parliament in 1892 meant by its use in the clause *pretends from his skill or knowledge in any occult or crafty science to discover etc.* He comments in his concluding remarks:

In my judgment what was intended was this, that Parliament, believing (whether rightly or wrongly is not material) that lost or

stolen goods could not in fact be discovered by any alleged skill or knowledge in any occult or crafty science, intended to make it unlawful for any person, whether he really possessed any such skill or knowledge (assuming it to be possible to possess it), or honestly believed he possessed it (whether possible to possess it or not), or dishonestly professed to possess it, to claim to be able to discover where any lost or stolen goods might be found. (*R v. Pollock* (1920) 47 O.L.R. 626)

Margaret Pollock considered her faculty of 'second-sight' or the ability to see spirits 'clairvoyantly' as perfectly natural. When she was a young girl, she testified that she had thought all children possessed the same capacity. Supporting her testimony at the trial was a woman who, with no faith in Mrs. Pollock's powers, had come to consult her on a lost ring. According to this woman, Margaret Pollock had "found it as the result of a communication imparted by her deceased mother to the accused." (*R v. Pollock* (1920) 47 O.L.R. 620) The trial judge had left this question for the appellate court, "The accused being possessed, as I have found, of an honest though deluded belief in her alleged power of communication with spirits, was I right as a matter of law in convicting her of the offence charged?" (*R v. Pollock* (1920) 47 O.L.R. 617) In response, Judge Ordre proclaimed his agreement with Judges Armour and Osler in *R v. Marcott* (1901) that:

The deception is that which results objectively from the assertion of the claim, and it is immaterial whether the person claiming to exercise the power honestly believes that she possesses the power, or is a mere charlatan or cheat, if the assertion of the claim is made with the intention that the person to whom it is made shall believe in the existence of the power. (*R v. Pollock* (1920) 47 O.L.R. 623)

In *R v. Labrosse (1984)*, the accused also testified that she had special powers to predict the future since childhood. (*Labrosse v. The Queen (1987)* 39 D.L.R. 639) Once again, some of her clients testified in her defence, confirming that the accused had indeed predicted events that subsequently took place. These events included the kidnaping of a child by its mother, the death of a mother living in France, and the birth of two children. These all had been foreseen by consulting cards or the lines on client's palm. (*R v. Labrosse (1984)* 17 C.C.C. 287)

The accused in *R c. Turgeon (1993)* also claimed honest belief in her powers to predict the future. When the undercover officer asked her what were the chances that her predictions would come true, Ms. Turgeon replied that all would come to pass, and that it was at the age of five that she realized she had been given the gift to foretell the future. (*R c. Turgeon (1993)* 56 Q.A.C. 278) In this case, as with the others, the affirmations of the accused as to their individual powers were taken as proof of their intent to defraud instead of being considered as evidence of their lack of intent. In *R c. Turgeon (1993)*, the appeal court found that these two simple affirmations could not be considered sufficient without other proof of fraudulent intent (that the accused knew what she was saying was false). However, due to the fact that appeals must be based on an error of law, or on palpable or overriding error in the presentation of facts, the appeal was rejected. (*R c. Turgeon (1993)* 56

Q.A.C. 278) Yet, it was also said, as point 13 of the appeal, that the judges would not presume that the accused was afflicted by a mental debility or form of insanity that would cause her to believe in her affirmation of clairvoyance, thereby insinuating that the defence of honest belief could only be accompanied by proof of mental instability. (R c. Turgeon (1993) 56 Q.A.C. 280)

Returning to the case of Lucette Labrosse (1984), the judge referred to her statements as a form of “boasting”, and their affect on her client as supporting fraudulent intent. Judge Mayrand, concerning her appeal to the Quebec Court of Appeal, commented:

In order to prove the commission of the offence, it is not necessary that the accused expressly claimed to possess the power to predict the future. Rather, in my view, it is sufficient that she acted in such a manner as to make a person believe that she possessed this power, or this gift. In the present case, everything in her attitude and in her comportment points towards that end...How could it be otherwise when, in her own evidence, she claimed to have the gift of clairvoyance, “a science which is almost indefinable”...The judge of the Municipal Court of Montreal had sufficient evidence before him to conclude as follows: “...the notion of fraud. It is a notion which applies quite readily to the present case because the essence of the fraud is convincing another person...attempting to convince that person of the existence of certain facts which don’t exist or, for which there is no basis to believe that they do exist.” (R v. Labrosse (1984) 17 C.C.C. 286-287)

Judge Bernier, agreeing with his colleague, added that the offence does not lie in the falseness of the predictions, but “in the gestures, in the actions,

and in the words spoken, to make someone believe in one's power to foresee and predict the future." (R v. Labrosse (1984) 17 C.C.C. 285)

This led to an appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada. While the country's highest court acknowledged the notion of the defence of honest belief, it dismissed the appeal because the trial judge had concluded that the accused lied about her belief in her powers of clairvoyance. The issue it was unable to decide in this case was whether an accused should be able to be convicted of fraudulently undertaking for consideration to tell fortunes if he honestly believed that he had the power. However, due to the findings of the trial judge that "what she believed was irrelevant and in any event he disbelieved her", and also that "the accused knows full well that she has no basis for her claim to be able to predict what will happen in people's futures", the Supreme Court held that the defence of honest belief was not open to the facts of this case. (Labrosse v. The Queen (1987) 39 D.L.R. 639-640)

Thus while the defence of honest belief has come to the attention of the courts, it has yet to be truly considered, as no judge has yet believed that the accused truly believes his or her claim to such powers. The indication is, from the decisions thus rendered, that if someone were to be acquitted on such a defence, they would have to prove that mental incapacity or instability was the cause of the belief in their supernatural talent. What has been most

important thus far has not been the accused's belief in their ability, but rather their actions, gestures, statements or behaviour that might convince someone else of this paranormal ability, and thereby deceive or defraud them. The courts have not accepted as proof witness testimony that has supported these women's claims as to their power. The reading a fortune-teller gives does not have to be proven false for her to be charged and convicted of the offence. Judge Osler, in *R v. Marcott (1901)*, made the following comment when addressing the defence's position that no evidence of fraud or deception had been shown and that the case should therefore not be sent to jury:

To undertake to tell fortunes, according to one of the common meanings of the word, is to assert or profess a power or ability to do so, which as Denny J. says in delivering the judgement of the Court in *Penny v. Hanson (1887)*, 18 Q.B.D. 478, is something which no sane man can believe in these times, and where such profession, assertion, or undertaking is made for reward, or as in the case just cited, with intent to deceive, the offence is complete, since the person who is undertaking must know that he has no such power...In the case at bar there is evidence that the defendant undertook for reward to tell fortunes which she must have known that she had no power to do, and that was enough to send the case to jury...(R v. Marcott (1901) 2 O.L.R. 112)

Yet, at the same time, precedent also indicates that no one need be deceived in order for a conviction to be delivered. Judge Meredith, of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of Ontario declared in the judgement decided in *R v. Monsell (1916)*, "There must be an intent on the part of the person who is telling the fortune to delude and defraud, but it is

not necessary that he should succeed in deceiving or defrauding.” (R v. Monsell (1916) 35 O.L.R. 338-339) In the case of *R v. Stanley (1952)*, a similar comment was made by Judge Boyd McBride in his concluding comments before rendering a guilty verdict against Alice Stanley.

Perhaps I should add that it is not necessary, in my view, that the person whose fortune is told, should believe what the fortune teller predicts, nor that person should actually be deceived. In the present case it is quite clear on the evidence that Miss Swain did not believe that the accused possessed the power to tell her fortune from what appears on the palm of her hand, nor did Miss Swain believe the fortune which she was told. (R v. Stanley (1952) 15 C.R. 33)

The issue of payment has also arisen in the case law on witchcraft. In the majority of these cases, the accused charged a fee for his or her services, ranging in price from 25 cents to 25 dollars. In two of these cases, the women argued that no consideration was charged. Money was received, but not as the result of a direct request for payment. John Leonhardt, the farmer who had come to Margaret Pollack to find help in finding oats which had been stolen from him, paid the accused 50 cents, not because she had asked for payment, but because “she said upon his asking her that people generally gave her 50 cents.” (R v. Pollock (1920) 47 O.L.R. 620)

A similar scenario took place in *R c. Larin (1974)*. A Montreal police officer called the accused’s place of business to make an appointment. When he asked how much the session would cost, the answer was that “*Madame Tanagra ne demande rien mais, d’habitude les gens laissent \$5.* – Mrs. Tanagra asks

nothing, but usually people leave \$5. " (R c. Larin (1974) R.L. 239) The officer, when showing up for his appointment, put a \$10 bill on the table. The defendant proceeded with her reading. A second officer testified in court, that he had entered the apartment of the accused and seized the bill left on the table in front of his colleague and which was in possession of the defendant and proceeded with the arrest. (R c. Larin (1974) R.L. 239-240)

The Chief Judge who heard the case, Judge Paul Champagne, held that the fortune had been undertaken for a consideration as the defendant had accepted the \$10 offered to her. He also made the following comment on the matter:

D'ailleurs pourquoi prendre des rendez-vous avec des étrangers et les recevoir chez elle pour lui dire la bonne aventure si ce n'est pas dans le but de recevoir une contrepartie! – Moreover, why take appointments with strangers and receive them in your home to tell them their fortunes if it isn't with the purpose of receiving compensation! (R c. Larin (1974) R.L. 244)

Of the 11 cases consulted here, 9 dealt with the charge of undertaking, for a consideration, to tell fortunes. Fortune-telling has been regulated under other Great British Statutes. Besides its roots in witchcraft legislation, it was also considered an act of vagrancy, according to the Imperial Act 5 Geo. IV., chapter 83, which reads:

Every person pretending or professing to tell fortunes or using any subtle craft, means, or device by palmistry or otherwise to deceive or impose on any of His Majesty's subjects shall be deemed a rogue and vagabond. (R v. Marcott (1901) 2 O.L.R. 109)

In *R v. Marcott (1901)*, Judge Armour expressed his opinion that the section which dealt with undertaking to tell fortunes, did not in principle differ from “pretending or professing to tell fortunes. This leads to the insinuation that not only is the act of fortune-telling considered an act of fraud by the state, it is also considered an act of vagrancy. This may, in part, be a reaction to the desire of the state in Great Britain and North America to control the Gypsy populations.

As was found by the Judge in *R v. Dazenbrook (1975)* fortune-telling has not been completely criminalized by this section in the code. In noting the type of offence as fraud, Judge McConnell of the Ontario Provincial Court had this to say: “The legislators, therefore, must have envisaged fortune-telling that is not fraudulent as being acceptable – legal. That is, the mere telling of a fortune, *per se*, is not illegal.” (*R v. Dazenbrook (1975)* 23 C.C.C. (2d) 254) This was further discussed in the comments of Judge Bernier in *R v. Labrosse (1984)*, on the meaning that should be attributed to the word “fraudulently” which was added to the section in 1955. The Judge held that the word had been added to the original text to address those individuals who are exploiting people’s ignorance or naivety, when the persons knows full well that there is no basis for their claim to be able to predict the future.

...Parliament added the word fraudulently to remove from within the ambit of the law, those cases of mere amusement at fairs or at parties, at intimate meetings, at tomboles, etc., in which it is only

amusement which is sought and not money. In the latter case [fortune-telling that is considered fraudulent], the purpose of telling fortunes is to make someone believe it is true, and serious. (R v. Lambrosse (1984) 17 C.C.C. 284)

A statement that was much more severe and extremely restrictive to the sense of fortune-telling as a legal activity was made by Judge Armour in his commentary for *R v. Marcott (1901)*:

In my opinion if a person were to say, 'I am not a real fortune teller; I cannot tell fortunes; what I am about to tell you must not deceive you in any way, but I will pretend to profess to tell you your fortune by the use of the ordinary means which people use to tell fortunes,' then no offence would be committed, because if an offence were charged, it would be a sufficient defence to prove that what was done was done simply as an amusement. (R v. Marcott (1901) 2 O.L.R. 110)

If an individual were forced to recite the above statement prior to the telling of a fortune, not only would it be hard to consider the event "an amusement", it is doubtful anyone would bother proceeding with the telling after such an endorsement as that. So much for the notion of it being entertainment! From the Judge's comments, it seems that it is the fortune-teller who must prove his or her innocence, not the Crown who must prove their guilt when it comes to the issue of fraudulence or deceit. However, there were two cases where the element of deceit or fraud was deemed not to have been established.

The first case which will be examined is the case of *R v. Chilcott (1902)*. Two witnesses, who had desired the services of a fortune teller, had gone to

the services of "*The Royal English Gypsies*", the defendants in this case, and upon payment of 25 cents in each case, had future events revealed to them by the method of palmistry. Judge McDougall held that due to the following contract, that had been signed by both witnesses prior to the telling of the fortune, no deceit had been involved in the exchange and that the prisoners should be acquitted. While not written in quite so severe a manner as perhaps Judge Armour in *R v. Marcott (1901)* might have chosen, the contract was quite specific and notified their customers to beware. The contract read as follows:

Notice to Consultants. The Royal English Gypsies hereby warn all who desire to consult them that their delineations of character, circumstances, or past life, or their attempts (if any) to define, predict, or foreshadow the future, are made according to the rules laid down in the text books on Palmistry, Astrology, Psychometry, Clairvoyance, or other arts and sciences studied by them as modified and supplemented by their own judgement, experience and personal gifts. They will act in good faith, and emphatically disavow any intention to deceive or impose upon those who consult them (which would constitute a legal offence), and their statements must be accepted as given on these conditions, and on this understanding; and persons who cannot accept such statements as made in good faith, and without any intention or deception or imposition, are requested not to consult them.

To the Royal English Gypsies: Having read the foregoing notice to the Consultants, I hereby express my desire to consult you on the understanding and conditions therein stated, and to pay your usual fees,

[Date, Name, Time of Day, Address] (*R v. Chilcott (1902)* 6 C.C.C. 27-28)

This type of contract was not considered sufficient evidence to render a verdict of innocence in *R v. Monsell (1916)*, however. The defence counsel argued the Crown had been unable to prove that the persons who had their fortune told were deceived in any way. They had signed a document which stated that they understood what was being done was “merely an examination of their palms according to rules laid down in certain books in palmistry, etc.” (*R v. Monsell (1916)* 35 O.L.R. 338)

As has been previously mentioned, the judge ruled that a person’s attempt to deceive does not have to be realized in order for the offence to have taken place. As for the contract or slip that the witnesses had signed, “it was found by the Judge that the use of it was a mere sham, and that it was not acted upon; but if it had been a real thing, it would not, in the circumstances disclosed by the evidence, have helped the defendants”. (*R v. Monsell (1916)* 35 O.L.R. 339)

In addition to the 9 cases relating to the undertaking, for a consideration, to tell fortunes, another dealt with a municipal by-law of the city of Winnipeg, Manitoba, which made it an offence to carry on the calling of a palmist without a licence. The sign at the entrance of the premises where the defendant worked read, “Psychologist, Crystal, Cards, Artist, Author, Public Speaker”. (*R v. Best (1934)* 62 C.C.C. 341) The witness testified that he had asked the defendant for a palm reading. The defendant

said she did not charge for palm readings, only works of art. The witness then was asked to sign a form stating that he was paying a dollar for instructions relating to art. She gave instructions as to art, and then proceeded to read his hand and foretell events she said would come to pass in the future. The by-law was created to control and regulate the domains of palmists, hypnotists, phrenologists and other such types of occupations. The evidence forced the Court to conclude that the defendant's charging for instructions of art was a transparent attempt to circumvent paying the municipal licence fee, which was \$250 annually. The Judge concluded with the remarks that an undertaking to tell fortunes by reading palms may be a violation of the Criminal Code. This was not in his mandate to discuss and left it for future consideration where it could become an issue. (*R v. Best* (1934) 62 C.C.C. 341-342)

This issue was raised less than 20 years later, when, in *R v. Stanley* (1952), the accused was charged with undertaking, for a consideration, to tell fortunes. The defence brought up the fact that the accused had been licenced by the Edmonton City Licence Department to carry on the business of palmistry in Edmonton. She had paid a \$200 fee for this licence. The Judge Boyd McBride acknowledged this in his comments to the Court. "Whether she had a licence or not, in my opinion, is beside the point. A municipal, provincial or other such authority, cannot licence anyone to do or

commit that which is a criminal offence punishable under the code.” (R v. Stanley (1952) 104 C.C.C. 33)

The *Pretending to Practice Witchcraft* section of the Canadian Criminal Code has changed relatively little over the past century. The biggest change occurred in 1955 when the word “fraudulently” was added to the section. The consequences of this have been two-fold in regards to the decisions made by the courts. In *R c. Larin* (1974), the Court held that the addition was merely to confirm existing jurisprudence. The Judge commented that while the cases prior to 1955 had not included the word fraudulently, it is evident that they were judged as if the word ‘fraudulently’ had indeed been there all along. (R c. Larin (1974) R.L. 244)

The case of *R v. Dazenbrook* (1975), however, resulted in a very different interpretation of the addition. Judge McConnell held that the word ‘fraudulently’ added a third distinct element to be proven by the Crown.

In the case before the court, the accused advertised that she told fortunes and charged for such services. She implied that she had the power to tell fortunes, and probably expected her assertions or representations should be believed, but it has not been shown she told fortunes with intent to delude or defraud others. In other words, it has not been shown in this case that she fraudulently undertook for consideration to tell the officer’s fortune. For this reason the charge is dismissed. (R v. Dazenbrook (1975) 23 C.C.C. (2d) 254)

The Judge in this case did admit, however, that he was not aware of any decided cases subsequent to the amendment to the Code. If he had been

aware of the decision of the Court in *R v. Larin* (1974), his ruling might have been different. As it currently stands, it appears that the Courts have sided more with the interpretation of *R v. Larin* (1974), than that of *R v. Dazenbrook* (1975), while not expressly taking a stance on the meaning attributed to the addition of the word 'fraudulently'. The case of *R v. Corbeil* (1981) addressed this issue somewhat during the prosecution of Rejeanne Corbeil. The judge acknowledge the differing interpretations of the addition of the word 'fraudulently' to the Code. The Judge concluded that the trial judge had properly instructed himself as to the law, with respect that the Crown must first prove that the accused acted fraudulently. In this case the Judge ruled that there was indeed no doubt as "to the fraudulent intention of the accused to extract money from the customer." (*R v. Corbeil* (1981) 65 C.C.C. (2d) 575) What still remains unclear, is whether the law has changed its position at all with this addition or not. The intent to delude or defraud has always been a necessary element of the offence. With the exception of *R v. Dazenbrook* (1975), this has been considered as a part of the individual's assertion to have powers that, according to the law, do not exist. It appears from the majority of findings since 1955 that the element of deceit is still coupled with the assertion or profession of the power to tell fortunes, but the case of *R v. Dazenbrook* (1975) leaves the point open for future discussion.

Only one of the 11 cases dealt with a charge other than one related to the undertaking to tell fortunes. Briefly mentioned earlier, *R v. Pollock (1920)*, was a case where the accused was charged with pretending from her skill or knowledge in an occult or crafty science to discover where or in what manner any goods or chattels supposed to have been stolen or lost may be found. Eventually, with time, the wording of this section came to read “to discover where or what manner anything that is supposed to have been stolen or lost may be found”.

The Judge, in this case, was forced to determine whether the power to Margaret Pollock had alleged to possess was considered “an occult or crafty science”. The Judge felt that in order to find a definition for occult or crafty science, he should try to find out in what sense these words had been used when they had been written into British law in 1736. He believed that the modern usage of the terms science, occult and crafty would not match the intent of the law when it had been written. ‘Science’, in its wider sense was defined as “the state or fact of knowing”, “knowledge acquired by study”, etc. (*R v. Pollock (1920)* 47 O.L.R. 621)

‘Occult’, in its wider sense, meant “hidden”, but this definition the judge felt was now rare or obsolete. The Judge appeared to prefer the Murray’s Dictionary definition as “of the nature of or pertaining to those ancient and medieval reputed sciences (or their modern representatives) held

to involve the knowledge or use of such agencies of a secret and mysterious nature (as magic, alchemy, astrology, theosophy, and the like)". (*R v. Pollock* 47 O.L.R 622)

The Judge felt the modern meaning of the word 'crafty' as "cunning, artful, wily" would obscure the original intent of the section. In earlier times, it would have meant "skillful, dexterous, clever, ingenious and the expression 'crafty science' was used by Chaucer to mean "skillful knowledge". The word 'craft' was also used to describe "occult act or magic". (*R v. Pollock* (1920) 47 O.L.R. 622)

The Judge ruled that Margaret Pollock's alleged power to "communicate with or to receive communications from, or to see, departed spirits, has always been classed as 'occult'...[and] is, therefore in my judgement, the profession of a skill or knowledge in an occult science within the meaning of the Code." (*R v. Pollock* (1920) 47 O.L.R. 622)

None of the cases within this sample dealt with the first charge of the witchcraft section, that dealing with pretending to exercise or to use any kind of witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment or conjuration. However, the appellate Judge in *R v. Stanley* (1952) commented that although the accused had only been charged with undertaking to tell fortunes, she could have been charged with professing or pretending to exercise witchcraft or sorcery because of statements she had made during her reading.

The accused here is not charged with professing or pretending to exercise any kind of witchcraft or sorcery, though that might well be the case if –as happened here– after telling a fortune, the accused person were to say, “Now make three wishes and if they are good wishes, I can make them come true”, or words to that effect, and in addition “If you bring me a spool of white thread next Saturday I will unwind it and by doing that I will be able to unravel the knots in your future life”, thereby apparently professing or pretending not merely to foretell but to be able to influence the future. (*R v. Stanley* (1952) 104 C.C.C. 32)

Of the 11 cases, 9 resulted from charges being laid against women. In the other two cases, there was more than one defendant, and it appeared that these may have been male, but it is not completely clear. While admittedly these 11 cases do not represent a complete sample of charges laid under this section over the past century, it is relatively safe to assume that the crime of witchcraft continues to be a woman’s domain.

Another interesting theme arose in the sample. Eight of the cases expressly stated that the accused was charged as a consequence of a police sting, or undercover operation. This number could have been higher, but the witnesses were not always identified as to their role in the arrest of the accused, either as complainant or as employee of a police agency. In some instances, an officer would present himself directly to the accused in need of his or her services. Other times, the police would send a female civilian employee out, or hire others to present themselves as witnesses. The Judge

had this to say in the earliest case, *R v. Marcott (1901)*, in relation to the arrest of the accused as the result of a sting.

In the case at bar there is evidence that the defendant undertook for reward to tell fortunes...even though the people whose fortunes she undertook to tell were the wretched women Arskey and Barlett who were suborned by the policeman Irwin to entrap the accused into committing a breach of the law.
(*R v. Marcott (1901)* 2 O.L.R. 112)

It appears that even after this verbal reprimand by the Court, police have still been spending time and resources in the attempting to, as Judge Osler would call it, “entrap” individuals in the business of telling fortunes for a living.

As far as the severity of the offence is concerned, a person charged with an offence under the pretending to practice witchcraft section under the Code in 1892 would have proceeded by indictment. Today, a person charged under section 365, is charged with an offence punishable on summary conviction. Only 2 of the 11 cases in the sample resulted in an acquittal. Of the 9 cases where convictions were delivered or upheld by appeal courts, 4 cases mentioned the sentence received in the law report. In *R v. Pollock (1920)*, the case where the woman allegedly used her powers of communication with the spirit world to locate Farmer Leonhardt’s stolen oats, the Judge made the following comment in regards to the penalty for her crime:

In view of the novelty of the offence and the evident good faith of the accused, the suggestion of the learned County Court Judge that sentence might be suspended, upon the accused entering into the usual recognizances, might well be carried out. (*R v. Pollock* (1920) 47 O.L.R. 627)

With the sentencing of Helen Stanley, for the offence of undertaking for a consideration to tell fortunes, in *R v. Stanley* (1952), the Judge had the following to say after convicting the accused:

The accused being 63 years of age, and never having been in trouble before, was placed on suspended sentence without objection on the part of counsel for the Crown, who stated that one object of the prosecution had been to obtain a definition of undertaking to tell fortunes as appearing in s. 443 (*R v. Stanley* (1952) 104 C.C.C. 34)

In the sentencing of Victoria Best, in *R v. Best* (1934), for unlawfully carrying on the calling of a palmist without the proper licence in the city of Winnipeg, the accused was sentenced to a fine equal to the amount of the licencing fee for a year, that being \$250. The Judge had this comment to make to city officials:

We were informed that the defendant deposited the amount of the fine. It seems to me that it would be very oppressive for the city to take this fine and also demand the license fee and it is to be hoped that the mention of this will be sufficient. As this is evidently a test case and the city has got the doubt cleared away I think there should be no costs. (*R v. Best* (1934) 62 C.C.C. 342)

Lucette Labrosse's guilty conviction was reinstated upon appeal to the Quebec Court of Appeal for the offence of undertaking for a consideration to tell fortunes, in *R v. Labrosse* (1984). The trial judgment found Ms.

Labrosse guilty of the offence for which she was charged, and sentenced her to pay a fine of \$100 and courts costs within a month, with a default penalty of eight days in jail. (*R v. Labrosse* (1984) 17 C.C.C (3d) 287)

There are number of things which have been learned from an examination of the case law. Firstly, for those whose occupation involves fortune-telling, whether that be by the method of palmistry, astrology or other means, it is important to understand that unless the fortune is told strictly for the purposes of entertainment or amusement, one is treading into areas prohibited by law. If you profess to have the ability to foretell future events, and you take compensation for your services, whether it was asked for or not, you are committing an offence under the Code. One does not necessarily have to express verbally one's clairvoyant abilities. Behaviour counts. The act of peering into the crystal ball, of pretending to see spirits (whether one actually sees them or not, or believes they see them is irrelevant) -- all of this has a bearing on how the Courts will assess fraudulent behaviour. The more one makes the session believable, the more likely one could be convicted of an offence. As for the validity of the predictions, it does not matter that the evidence shows that the predictions made are accurate. This, in fact, makes one's profession of the power to foresee the future that much more convincing, and thus that much more illegitimate, according to the law.

And what of those individual's like Margaret Pollock? This woman sincerely believed she had the power to communicate with the dead, and had proven this power to exist to neighbours who sought her out for help, like Farmer Leonhardt and the woman who had lost a ring. Ms. Pollock found the items which had been lost, and had accepted compensation for her assistance. Yet, she was still charged and convicted of using knowledge of an occult or crafty science to retrieve items that had been thought lost or stolen. Ms. Pollock most likely never read anything more spiritual than her bible. She had testified she had been born with this power, and most likely felt it to be a gift from God. No one claimed that they were duped or defrauded by Ms. Pollock. In fact, Mr. Leonhardt was extremely satisfied with the information he had been given since his stolen oats were recovered.

None of the 11 cases that were studied involved what might be considered a serious fraud. None mentioned witnesses who had felt cheated or had suffered serious or emotional harm. In fact, most of the time, charges were laid as a direct result of a police set-up. This is particularly interesting since the police have used psychics in investigating other crimes. Are these individuals not compensated for their services? How could they be when it would be considered a violation of the Criminal Code?

Pretending to practice witchcraft in essence has not changed in principle from the laws that prohibited the use of witchcraft. The same type

of people are being targeted, the only difference has been how the law has come to view witchcraft. During the massive witch-trials and executions of the Middle Ages, women, and sometimes men, were charged and convicted of the crime of witchcraft allegedly in order to protect the innocent from their destructive and evil power. Women, and sometimes men, were said to have placed curses on people and cattle, were said to make men become impotent and women infertile, and were said to have power or control over such awesome things as the weather. As the result of the enlightenment the law changed. The power these individuals were believed to have is currently discounted. Now these types individuals are sought out because they claim or profess to have an ability or power the law has decided no longer exists.

The definition of witchcraft has yet to become an issue for the courts. The implications of someone being tried under the first part of this section, *pretending to exercise or to use any kind of witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment or conjuration*, are interesting. Wicca is a recognized religion under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The religious practices of Wiccans, and other such groups as Goddess spiritualists, might be considered by outsiders and insiders both to be witchcraft. And how might this law be seen to impinge on herbalism, or such New Age practices as therapeutic touch, where healing is provided by the therapists attempt to realign the client's aura? Magicians such as David Copperfield claim their feats to be the result of magic. While

the law most likely considers such individuals more as entertainers than sorcerers, they make a lot more money than poor Margaret Pollock or any fortune-teller ever made in her lifetime, by essentially duping their audience through the use of illusion.

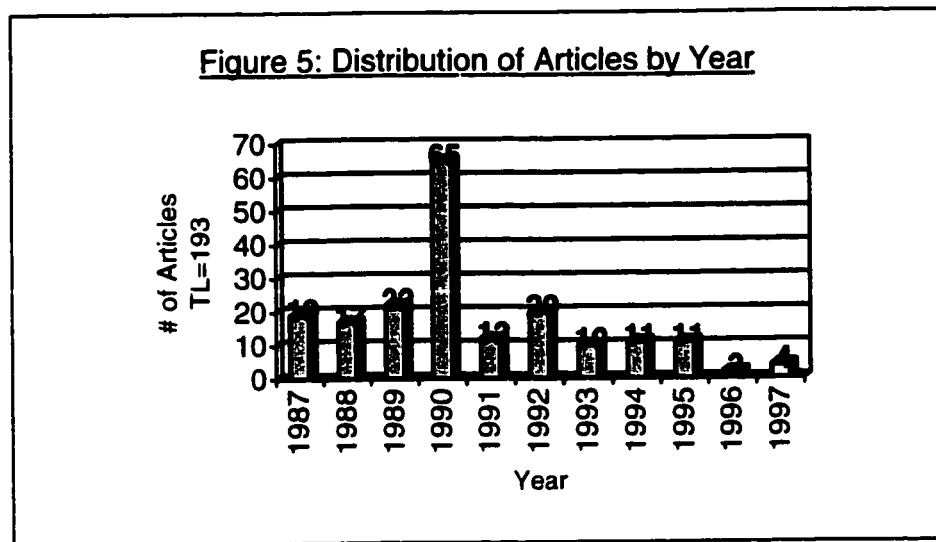
In 1984, the Criminal Code underwent a massive reorganization where such archaic offences as dueling were removed from the Code. Why wasn't this section repealed at this point? If the law wants to protect individuals from fraudulent acts that result in money being given unawares, then doesn't those sections dealing with Fraud and False Pretence cover these types of actions? While admittedly the crime of witchcraft, or pretending to practice witchcraft, is no longer considered to be a capital crime, and the penalties today far less severe than those administered in days past, the intent of the law is currently unclear, and the potential it holds to criminalize specific groups and activities evident.

II. The Media Analysis

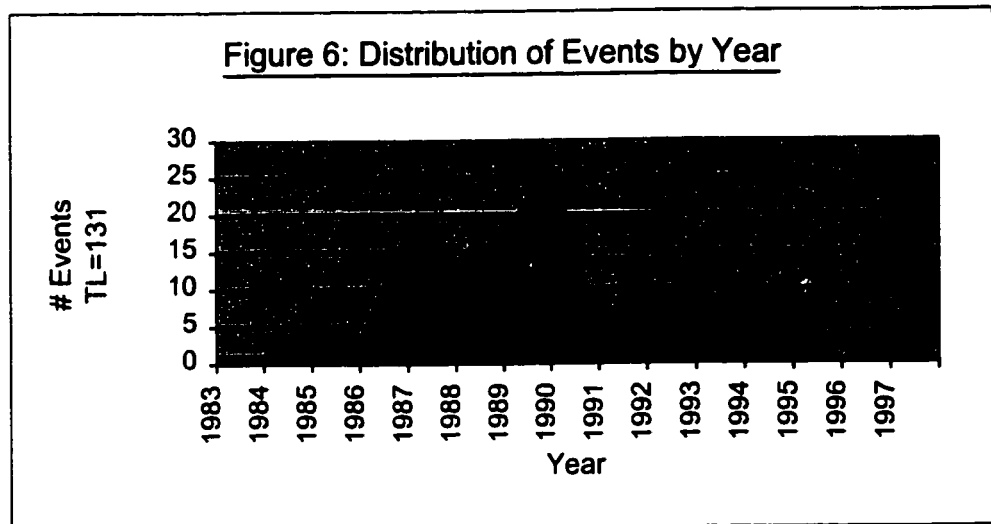
The data that was gathered for this part of the analysis came from a sample of 193 media articles published during the time period of 1987-1997 that covered events and allegations associated with witchcraft and the occult. Each of these articles was examined for content that might be applicable to one or more of Young's four points along the '*Square of Crime*' (1987).

A. General Findings

By examining the sample of articles in relation to the year in which they were published (see **Fig. 5**), it was found that 1990 represented the peak period for media coverage of witchcraft or occult related crime and deviancy. A total of 34% of the articles were published in that year. The first half of the decade represented 70% of the sample. A very small proportion of the sample was recent. Only 3% of the articles were from the years 1996 and 1997. Either allegations and incidents of criminal occult activities have dropped off lately, or their appeal to the producers of news media has diminished.

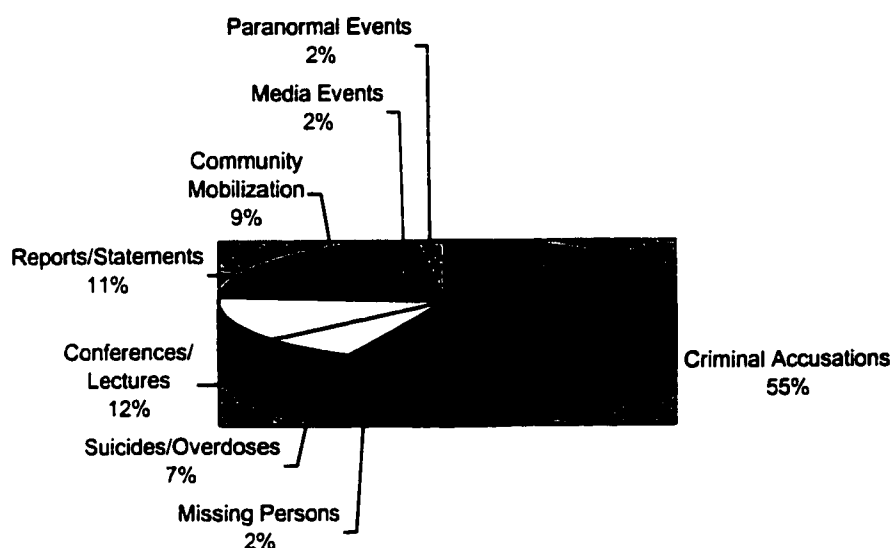


Of this sample, a timeline of events was established from information extracted from the articles. A chronological summary of these events can be found in the Appendix. The timeline for these events began in December of 1983 and continued to July of 1997. The reason the timeline of events extends further back than 1987 is due to past events being covered within articles in the sample, particularly from the earliest years. As well, the event timeline was structured as to how and when events actually unraveled, versus when they came to the attention of the media. **Fig. 6** is based on each events starting date. It appears that the peak of number of articles in 1990 shown by **Fig. 5** is at least in part due to the largest number of incidents occurring during this time period.



An inventory of events can be arranged under eight headings. The counting of events was calculated by the number of separate incidents, not necessarily the number of victims. Thus, in cases of multi-offender/multi-victim accusations, the incident was only counted once. As for suicides, if they took place at different times and different locations they were counted separately. Instances that involved an alleged criminal event, and then resulted in some form of criminal vigilantism, were counted as two separate instances (i.e. once for the act of alleged ritual violence and once for the death threats aimed at the supposed perpetrator.) The types of events, and the percentage they represented of the whole, are illustrated by Fig. 7.

Figure 7: Types of Events (TL=131)



The Types of Events:

- **Criminal Accusations** -- These incidents represent actual documented cases of witchcraft or occult-related crimes, not merely rumours. An established event would have to occur, even if the occult aspect was latter dismissed (i.e. there was a body, an animal carcass etc.). It also includes child welfare investigations, custody hearings, or other civil actions that involved

accusations of conduct defined as criminal. In a small minority of these instances, in 7% of the cases, the occult aspect of the crime was solely attributed to the victim. This included the murders of two women, two instances of death threats and one assault being perpetrated against those thought to be associated with satanism or the occult.

- In 24% of these criminal accusations, the media coverage made mention of the laying of formal criminal charges, or described proceedings of a criminal court trial.
- 17% were handled by some form of civil action or child welfare investigation instead of a criminal proceeding. Of these 12 occurrences, 10 were investigations by social services and provincial child welfare agencies which suspected ritual abuse or negligence. Of these investigations, 6 resulted in crown wardship hearings; the other 4 investigations did not turn up sufficient evidence to involve family court authorities. In at least half of the cases that were dealt with in family courts, investigations had been conducted by law enforcement authorities, but no criminal charges had been laid.
- Missing Persons -- There were 3 reports of missing persons whose disappearances were linked to occult or cult involvement.
- Suicide or Drug Overdose -- Suicide was confirmed as the cause of death in 6 instances, and drug overdose, one definitely accidental, the other two

possibly intentional, were the cause of death in the rest. Two instances of suicide were definite outcomes of cult membership. Two people in October of 1994, and five others in March of 1997 had taken sedatives to sleep while timers had activated the fires which killed them. Death by fire was the way these members of the cult known as the Order of the Solar Temple could travel to the next world, which was believed to be the star Sirius. The 1994 suicides were a part of an international mass murder-suicide, in Quebec and Switzerland, by order of the leaders of this cult. A total of fifty-eight deaths world-wide are attributed to the Order.

While satanic paraphernalia had been found at the scene or satanic involvement had been linked with the other four suicides and three drug overdoses, it was not considered the overwhelming factor in their motivation to die. Family dysfunction, school truancy, and teenage depression were also considered as contributing circumstances to the deaths in almost all these cases.

- Conferences/Seminars/Lectures/Meetings -- These types of activities were reported 16 times during the time period studied. Five of these were sponsored by government, police, probation or social service departments. Three were organized by victim organizations or prevention agencies. Three were coordinated by academic departments or research organizations. Three others had religious backing. One involved a meeting and

presentation of false memory syndrome by its advocates, and another was sponsored by mental health professionals.

- Reports/Studies/Inquiries/Public Statements -- A sum of 14 of these types of incidents was uncovered. Ten of these reports came from police or custodial sources. However, it appears that only three of these would be considered official reports. One consisted of an announcement of the identification of eight satanic ritual sights throughout the province of Alberta and the assignment of two officers from the Edmonton Integrated Intelligence Unit, a joint venture between the Edmonton Police Service and the RCMP, to monitor cult activity. The other was the release of results of a RCMP task force into the Martensville police investigation and crown prosecution. The third represented the findings of an inquiry into the suicide of a Lethbridge teenager in 1990, who had hung himself while in an open custody group home.

There were six instances where police, and an unnamed source at a youth detention centre, when interviewed by the press, made statements as to their own personal views on the level and nature of satanic or cult activity within their jurisdiction. On another occasion, an intelligence document was leaked to the Winnipeg Free Press, sparking an internal police investigation and calls for a government inter-departmental inquiry into Satanism and ritual abuse.

Other sources for the remaining four reports or statements made to the media included politicians, the director of the Winnipeg Child Protection Center, the Canadian Panel of Violence Against Women, and an academic research study.

- Community Mobilization -- This consists of protests, demonstrations or other events where groups acted to influence the behavior or policy of those in authority. These forms of citizen mobilization were reported 12 times within the sample. They included 5 book banning campaigns, a Dungeons and Dragons program protest, 2 demonstrations against the performance of the satanic band Marilyn Manson, the establishment of a hot-line for youths involved in Satanism, a successful community proposition before town council to have a Halloween night curfew enforced, a community protest against police for lack of patrols in their area, and an organized effort by the Wiccan community to familiarize law enforcement agents of their practices and beliefs to eliminate any misconceptions among those who police their neighbourhoods.
- Media Events -- Media specials were identified as specific events twice in the sample, one article a promotion of the season opening of CBC's *Man Alive*, and another which mentioned the airing of a French language documentary on the history of the Order of the Solar Temple (a cult that

was responsible for the murders or suicides of ten Quebec residents within the timeline).

- Paranormal Incidents -- These events are ones that could not be considered criminal or deviant, but resulted in some sort of harmful consequence to the community, or some of its members. A total of 3 events were classified under this heading, constituting a mere 2% of the total number of events. All three had involved incidents where youths had considered themselves possessed, by demons or Satan, and had to be medically treated , or in two cases exorcised, in order to in order to alleviate their symptoms.

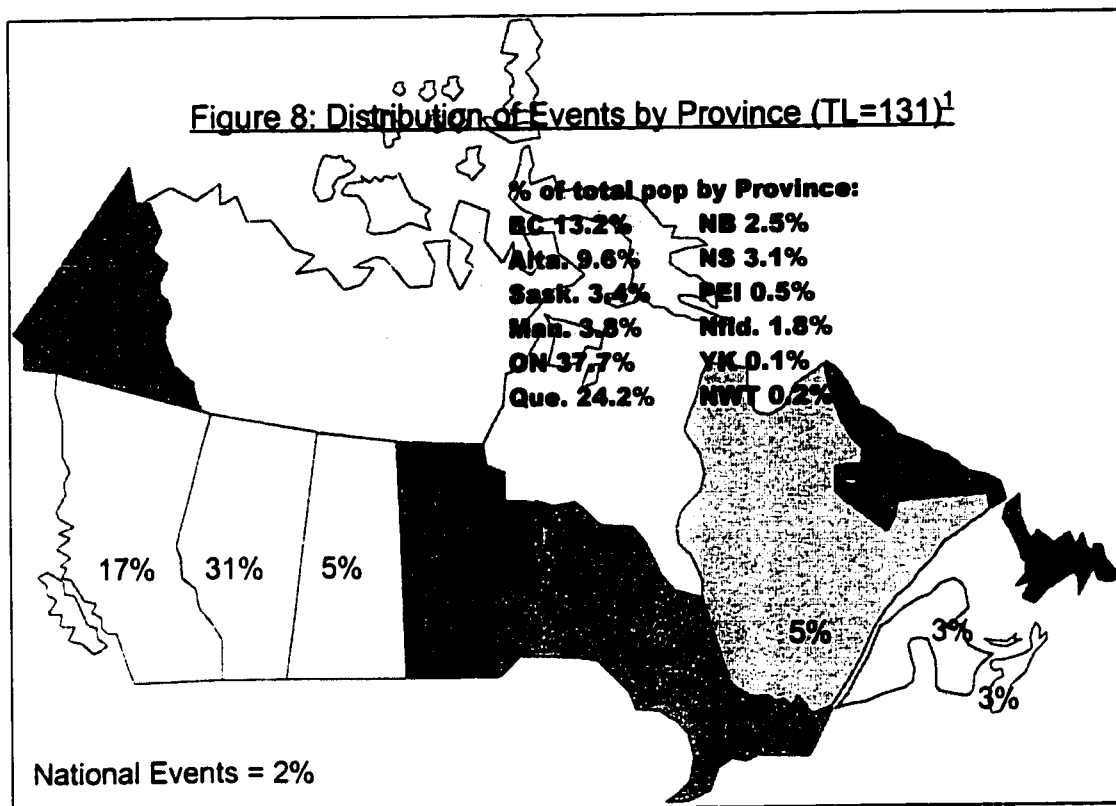


Fig. 8 represents the calculations for the arrangement of the events by province. An examination into the regional distribution of events reveals the following:

¹ The percentages do not add up to 100 as they were all rounded off to the nearest whole number.

² 1998 Figures for provincial distribution of the Canadian population derived from numbers retrieved from CANSIM, Statistics Canada On-line Statistical Database at :

(www.statcan.ca/english/Pgdb/People/popula.htm#pop)

- Western Canada -- had the largest proportion of the events, totalling 62, and comprising of 47% of all incidents or activities. Alberta had the highest number of events (40).
- The Prairies -- represented 21% of the aggregate, and totaled 27 in number.
- Central Canada -- home to 31 or 24% of the total happenings.
- The Maritimes -- represented the location for 8 events, or 6% of the entirety.

The 3 nationally covered events represented 2% of the total. Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island that the Canadian territories were not represented as any of the locations of events extracted from the sample of articles.

B. The Offender

"I'm sure everybody at one time or another has dabbled in the occult. There are degrees of interest and there are degrees of involvement."

- Charles Macleod, Project Cult (1987)
(Kinsella, 1987d: C6)

According to Charles Macleod of Project Cult, almost everybody has been to some extent guilty of involvement with the occult. Whether it consists of following your horoscope, having your palm read, playing with a ouji board, or participating in a childhood sleepover séance, people are generally attracted to the mystical and the arcane at some point in their lives. As Mr. Macleod so accurately points out, however, there are degrees of interest and involvement. More than that, one's involvement with witchcraft or the occult, does not, in itself, incite criminal activity. Both followers of Satanism and such ancient belief systems as Wicca are protected under Canada's Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms. That is not to say that a person's belief system or their involvement with Satanism and the occult cannot affect how they act or respond to a given situation. The articles reviewed in this sample clearly identify instances where tragedy and acts of depravity have struck Canadian communities, and where "Satan", or involvement with the occult, has had a part to play in the unraveling of the event. In these instances, however, paraphrasing Catherine Ford of the Calgary Herald, Satan appears to be a symptom, not the cause. (Ford, 1990: A4)

Characteristics of the Offender

The following characteristics were identified within the sample of articles. The data was far from consistent. Much of the information provided within the sample was contradictory in this regard. Overall, it appears there is little consensus as to the traits associated with satanic or occult involvement and subsequent offending.

- AGE
- GENDER
- RELATIONSHIP TO VICTIM
- STATUS
- COVERTNESS (CONSPIRACY THEORY)

Roughly a third of the articles sampled identified youth as likely offenders for this type of crime. This figure, however, does not represent the actual numbers of youth involved in offences or events that occurred, as many articles merely speculated or theorized as to the nature of the crimes being committed and the types of offenders involved. Of the list of events and crimes cataloged in Appendix A, where age of the accused perpetrator was specified, youth represented offenders in 6 criminal or deviant activities. This figure represents youth as offending in only 19% of the occurrences where the age of the offender could be determined. This compared with adults being

identified in 90% of the cases where approximate age was available. Admittedly, however there were 31 incidents where perpetrators were unknown.

The sex of offenders was not often cited. At the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association in 1989, however, delegates were informed that women were likely offenders in cases of ritual child abuse. According to Summit, the data collected by the Child Assault Prevention Project indicated that "these cases involved a high proportion of female perpetrators, who universally used fear to instill silence in their victims." (Rich, 1989: 9) Of the incidents of ritual abuse, where the offender(s)' sex was identified in the sample, women were no more representative than men as offenders or alleged perpetrators. Of the total number of criminal incidents catalogued in Appendix A, including all offences, not just ritual abuse cases, the gender of the accused was specified in only 25 of the occurrences. Women were identified as perpetrators in 12 of the incidents, or in 48% of the cases, as compared to men who were accused in 20 of the incidents, or 80% of the cases.

Another factor identified as relevant to offenders of occult or satanic cult crime was the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim. Offenders in ritual abuse are frequently described as family members. Of the ritual abuse cases encountered in the decade of news coverage sampled, almost all consisted of accusations of abuse against parents and other close family members. According to Robert Tucker, of the Council on Mind Abuse

(COMA), who was consulted by professionals dealing with ritual abuse cases, experts in the field were encountering more and more cases of multigenerational abuse. This is child abuse that is committed by family networks, from one generation to the next. It is a phenomenon that conforms to the nature of the cycle of violence, where it is theorized that violence begets violence, especially when learned within the family setting. Mr. Tucker is quick to point out, however, that the satanic or occult element of the abuse may be rather superficial: "In a multigenerational abuse system, one or two individuals may have seen movies or read about Satanism and added satanic elements into the abuse. We don't need to assume it's a satanic cult." (Marron, 1990: A9)

According to some experts in the field, no definite pattern was seen to emerge as to economic or social status, providing readers with the image of the Satanist offender as the boy or girl next door. Intelligence officer Detective James Bradley, a popular American expert quoted within the sample, and a consultant on Satanism for North American police forces, alleged that those people capable of committing acts of ritual abuse could be "your next-door neighbor, the butcher, baker, police officer, doctor, lawyer or newspaper reporter". (Cloete, 1989d: J1)

The membership of the Order of the Solar Temple, a cult that was believed to participate in the darker side of occult practices, reflected this type of heterogenic make-up. Many of the victims of a mass murder-suicide in

Quebec and Switzerland, which occurred in 1994, were well-respected, well-educated and wealthy individuals. A former mayor of the city of Richelieu, a Quebec City journalist and a Quebec Hydro vice-president were found among the dead. Leanna Boyd, the chairman of a Manitoba committee that monitors cult activity, received reports in 1993 that the Order of the Solar Temple was seeking recruits in the city of Winnipeg. She noted one stark difference between the Solar Temple and other cults: "Instead of targeting vulnerable people on the fringes of society...the Temple was trying to enlist wealthy individuals. I remember thinking at the time, that that was unusual." (Branswell, 1997: 47)

While the Solar Temple cult membership fits the profile provided by a great many articles in the sample as to the typical cult offender, many experts disagree with the boy or girl next-door image. For them, vulnerable or fringe groups on the social spectrum are the targets of cults.

A number of articles in the sample also alluded to the covert character of satanic cults. A couple of articles compared satanic cults to the highly organized and secretive structure of the Mafia. They are purported to be as skillful at hiding evidence of their activities as organized crime syndicates. The adherents of the satanic cult conspiracy assert that cults have highly sophisticated equipment and methods for destroying evidence, including

industrial ovens, cannibalism, the use of breeders, “accidental” fires, and the chemical disposal of remains. (Stainsby, 1990b: C1)

However, even members of the mob have been successfully charged and convicted due to substantial corroborating evidence. Charles Ennis, a member of the Vancouver Police Force, and skeptic of the allegations of the anti-Satanist movement, points out “in all this time, no one has been able to find any bodies or one solid piece of evidence that these crimes took place. Where are all the people who broke away from these cults? Where are all the informants?” (Todd, 1991a: B1) Experts such as FBI special agent Kenneth Lanning also doubt the lack of evidence is simply due to the covert and sophisticated nature of the alleged cults. Lanning admits that “a few occultists could conceivably get away with a crime or hiding a body, but not the thousands that anti-Satanists say are at work. It is not at all easy to dispose of a body.” (Todd, 1991a: B2)

In addressing the question of why -- the reasons behind the offenders actions -- a large number of the articles in the sample theorized as to motive. Some of the articles addressed motivational factors for becoming involved in satanic or occult related activities and some identified contributive factors that lead to active participation in satanic or occult related crime.

Motivational Factors for Satanic/Cult Involvement and Offending

- POWER
- REBELLION/SHOCK VALUE
- ACCESS TO ALCOHOL, DRUGS AND SEX
- SENSE OF BELONGING
- COVER FOR AN ABUSIVE/SOCIOPATHIC PERSONALITY
- BOREDOM/THRILL-SEEKING/CURIOSITY

The first category, motivational factors, most closely identifies the goals or objectives specifically sought by engaging in satanic or occult related misconduct. The most frequently mentioned factor in the sample was power.

Power is professed to be obtained by tapping into some higher occult power source. A greater control over life, family and peers is believed to be the result. (Lalonde, 1990b: A3) Acts that a person felt they were not capable of on their own, are seen to be possible through demonic intervention. In a Winnipeg police leaked intelligence report, he maintained that one troubled teenager sought the help of occult practices to seek vengeance upon the man who was dating his mother.

He reached a point where he could not tolerate his mother's boyfriend, soon to be stepfather, and conducted a ritual for bringing about his death. He did this ritual to leave it open so, in his own mind at least, he could be taken over by the demons and cause the death himself. (Wiecek, 1990e: 4)

Those who head satanic cults or youth gangs can be attracted to the power and control they have over their members, who can go so far in their devotion as to 'worship' them. Luc Jouret, the charismatic head of the Order of the Solar Temple, was said to inspire the feeling of power among his followers. A former member was interviewed after the mass murder-suicide within the sect. He comments on Jouret's ability to bewitch and captivate his audience: "You got to the point where you believed that you had a special power. I wanted this knowledge and I wanted the power that came with this knowledge." (Marsden, 1994: B3)

Power is also said to be sought from sacrifice and mutilation. Dan Hardock, a research counselor for the Christian Research Institute, and often quoted expert in the sample of articles studied, lends validation to this claim.

Most Satanists believe in an impersonal universe where Satan represents the ultimate in freedom. Power to do one's own will is gained by sacrifice. Sometimes contacting spirits is included and in instances such as these, sacrifice is required to get the entity to do what you want it to do. Scarring of the body...is a typical example of this. Suicide is often viewed as the ultimate sacrifice. (Hardock, 1990: A6)

Sandy Charles, a mentally disturbed and occult-obsessed youth, killed and mutilated a seven year old boy in 1995 because he believed that the fat rendered from a young virgin would confer upon him the power to fly. (Danylchuk, 1996: A5) Dan Hardock, researcher for the Christian Research Institute, admits that the idea of having some sort of supernatural power can be quite appealing,

but he warned that that feeling of power can become quite addictive. "You become addicted to the occult, frenzied by it. But there's an inevitable spiral downwards. You think you can use it as a tool, but you become *its* tool." (Hutchinson, 1990a: 33)

Rebellion and the shock value associated with the occult was another of the motivating forces identified for encouraging teenage involvement in Satanism and the occult. The need to push beyond the social standards and limits set by the community was voiced by one teenager discussing the problems of Lethbridge youth in the aftermath of three teenage suicides. Many young people became attracted to Satanism due to what she referred to as an act of desperation triggered by community intolerance. "In a little community like this, if you look or act differently, they try to push you out or they try to make you change." (Lalonde, 1990b: A3)

Alcohol, drugs and sex are linked to rebellion. The doctrine of instant self-gratification is tied to an individual's involvement in satanic or occult activity. The belief system of satanic groups or cults may provide a person with a means to indulge in drugs, alcohol, or perverse sexual gratification, all without the guilt normally associated with them. Rob Tucker, of the Council on Mind Abuse (COMA), commented that the indulgent nature of satanic preachings can "seem like the 'teenage dream' to adolescents struggling with their own

sexual and aggressive drives....It is a self-centred philosophy that can lure teens obsessed with themselves.” (Brown, 1989: A12)

Loners looking for a sense of group inclusivity can be drawn to Satanism and the occult as well. Articles within the sample speculated on the effect of such motivational factors as alienation, low self-esteem and need to secure a sense of belonging. Denis, who claimed he belonged to a satanic organization of about thirty-five youths in Winnipeg, said the bond between members was strong. “I had no one to turn to; I turned to my cousins and they were really into that stuff. It's like that for a lot of kids; they would at least have someone who would care for them.” (Appleby, 1990c: A12)

The use of Satanism or the occult as a façade to cover a generally abusive or sociopathic personality was also mentioned as a motivational factor for an offender. An individual with a propensity for sexual perversions or violence may seek out the camouflage of a dark occult-based belief system to justify their actions. Detective Ken Montgomery, who was considered an expert on cult-related crime with the Edmonton Police Service, declared in one article: “Sometimes Satanism is just a handy cloak for a disturbed mind to hide behind.” (Ingram, 1989: 44) Offenders may also feign the trappings of Satanism or the occult to either scare children into non-disclosure of the abuse, or to paint such a fantastic setting for the offence, that a victim's story will not be believed, even when told. It can also be used as a tool to control or

intimidate victims into a submissive state. Children may have been fooled into believing the animal parts they were forced fed were that of a human being, or the pig fetus ritually slaughtered on the alter, the sacrifice of a baby. (Steed, 1995: A17)

Other more minor motivational factors for involvement in occult or satanic crime, particularly by youth, include boredom, the pursuit of a 'thrill' or an adrenaline rush, or simple curiosity and faddish interest in things arcane. This type of fascination with Satanism and the occult can be natural part of adolescent experimentation, and may have no long term emotional, physical or psychological effects. Dr. Davies, a consultant psychiatrist from Alberta, confirmed the generally benign effects of such experimentation. "The idea that your average, everyday teenager, from you average, everyday family is going to get sucked in by the occult is not borne out by facts at all." (Herald Writer, 1990: A2) For a small percentage of them, however, progression into more serious transgressions can occur. Steve and Linda Taylor of Sackville Nova Scotia were concerned with their son's interest in Satanism, but were assured by psychiatrists that it was simply a phase. Unfortunately, he represented that small percentage that are 'at risk' when exposed to this type of lifestyle. Derek Shaw committed suicide at the age of sixteen because he believed that his soul belonged to Satan and that he had come back for it. Derek was also convinced that if he did not take his own life, that the lives of members of his family were

on the line. Earl Hill, an American with the St. Francis Medical Centre in Pittsburgh, commented at a conference, held in conjunction with the Taylors in 1990, in Fredericton New Brunswick, that “the majority of kids can experiment with magic, mysticism and horror and come away unscathed. But others, like Derek Taylor [sic], become obsessed, fearful and unstable.” (Canadian Press, 1990f: A2)

This is where the contributive factors come into play. What kind of influences predispose some individuals to violent or self-destructive behaviour in connection to their active participation in Satanism or other ritualistic cults?

Contributive Factors of Satanic/Cult Involvement and Offending

- MUSIC
- DUNGEONS & DRAGONS/FANTASY ROLE-PLAYING GAMES
- FILM/MEDIA DESENSITIZATION
- PSYCHOLOGICAL/PSYCHIATRIC PROBLEMS

A great number of articles in the sample identified a certain style of music with troubled youth. Heavy-mental music, tinged with suicidal, homicidal or satanic themes has long been the focus of debate over their effect on adolescent behaviour. The most infamous forum for this controversy was the civil suit launched in the United States against the band Judas Priest by parents of a teenage fan who committed suicide.

Rob Tucker of COMA was quoted in one article as saying: “we cannot say this music has no influence. Sure, most kids listen to groups with satanic references and think it's a joke. But for kids who are already troubled, or for bright kids who find it an intellectual tease, there can be some attraction to it.” (Brown, 1989: A12)

Two articles in the sample are as the result of a public protest over the rock band Marilyn Manson's concert dates in Calgary and Edmonton. The band is infamous for its satanic image, lyrics and lifestyle. The band's leader is a minister of the Church of Satan. He chose the moniker of the band, and for himself, after the beautiful, yet suicidal Marilyn Monroe, and after ritualistic murderer Charles Manson. Band co-founder, Twiggy Ramirez continued the trend, naming himself after the model Twiggy and the satanic killer Richard Ramirez. The group is also known for acts of indecency onstage, on occasion resulting in jail terms for some members of the band. Ramirez was quoted as saying: “The cops also made a big deal about a show where Marilyn put some guy's dick in his mouth onstage...But we've done much worse things than that. I had my 11-year-old brother onstage in one of the shows completely naked. It was like child pornography.” (Mullin, 1997)

University of Toronto philosophy professor Mark Kingwell had the opportunity to meet Mr. Mason during the filming of a Muchmusic special. He found the man to be deeply offensive on a number of levels and artfully

described him as “brain poison”. He also remarked on the band’s potential to influence adolescent behaviour. “Popular music, especially when associated with the kind of images you see on MuchMusic, is a very powerful cultural force...Young boys in particular are drawn to a form of devotion. It has the potential to be unhealthy.” (Mullin, 1997)

The game Dungeon’s & Dragons was also cited as a contributing factor to an adolescent’s involvement in satanic or occult-related crime and deviancy. It is a role-playing fantasy game invented in 1974, and has been associated with a number of teenage suicides in the United States. A group known as BADD (Bothered About Dungeons & Dragons) contends that “the game counsels its players to adopt a carefree attitude towards violence, [and] that it blurs the line between fiction and reality.” (Kinsella, 1987d: C6)

Film and media desensitization was also mentioned in the sample as a contributing factor. Movies, film and other forms of media output are described as being responsible for the infiltration of Satan into popular culture.

More traditional contributive factors associated with offending were also identified by the sample. A great many articles identified psychological or psychiatric problems as being conducive to offending. Depression, schizophrenia, personality disorders and other forms of psychosis were attributed to offenders of satanic or occult-related crimes and activities. Tied into this is the offender’s past history of childhood abuse. Previous

victimization was identified as being consequential to future offending. A paper on ritual abuse submitted by Dr. Wendy Cole, on the psychiatric assessment of offenders and victims in a infamous ritual abuse case originating in Prescott Ontario, confirmed the importance of the cycle of violence in multi-generational abuse. Of the eighty-six adults charged for crimes committed against an alleged total of one hundred and twenty-eight children, Dr. Cole stated that sixty per cent of the offenders "were pedophiles, with a strong background of family violence, mental retardation and dysfunction for generations in which today's perpetrators were yesterday's victims who had been 'incorporated into it as a life-style'." (Bray, 1993: A2)

Finally, in any discussion of the satanic or occult-related criminal or deviant, it is important to identify the most dangerous offender of all -- Satan himself. The personification of the ultimate form of evil is often depicted by religious groups or church representatives. Reverend Jerry Johnston warned that "he is more than just an evil cosmic influence. There is a real physical Satan and this movement is under his orchestration". (Staff Writer, 1989a: C7) Others find that placing blame on Satan, as a separate and external entity, is an elementary and ultimately unproductive way of dealing with corruption and depravity within our communities. Catherine Ford in an editorial written in the wake of three teenage suicides in Lethbridge wrote:

Looking under rocks for Satan these days? Try a mirror. Better still, everybody get a mirror. What's going on in Lethbridge says a

lot more about society than it does about the serpent of darkness. Stories about Satanic rituals and the occult take the blame and the guilt and place it beyond human reach. (Ford, 1990: A4)

Dan Hardock authored a response to her editorial. He identifies two extremes evident in perceptions of satanic or occult related crimes and activities. One views events as the result of entirely social and psychological factors, and the other as strictly the consequence of involvement with Satanism or other occult-based belief systems. He concludes his response by saying that “trying to explain the events in purely social terms will only hinder coming to a solution to the problem”. (Hardock, 1990: A6)

C. The Victim

There exists a spirited debate between professionals as to the existence of ritual abuse, and over whether or not victims' stories can be believed and accepted by health care professionals, law enforcement, and the court system without corroborating evidence. The purpose of this chapter is not to enter into this debate, but to explore these people's experiences.

To begin an exploration of the victim's perspective, it is important to have an understanding of what the term ritual abuse means. The Ritual Abuse Awareness Society (TRAANS), a support group for those who are survivors of ritual abuse, defined the term in this manner:

Ritual Abuse is a combination of severe physical, psychological, sexual and spiritual abuse used systematically with symbols, ceremonies and/or group activities that have a religious, magical or supernatural connotation. The abuse is repeated over time with the intent to terrorize victims, this ensuring their co-operation, silence and indoctrination into the anti-social, life destructive beliefs and practices of the cult.
(Waterwomon, 1991a: 70)

What is interesting about ritual abuse is that it involves spiritual abuse in addition to physical, sexual and psychological abuse. Spiritual abuse adds another target for human cruelty, by moving from violation and assault upon the body and mind, to that upon the soul.

Characteristics of the Victims

- AGE
- GENDER
- RELATIONSHIP TO OFFENDER

The most common characteristic of victims of witchcraft or occult crime mentioned in the sample was age, as it was with offenders. Children were designated the most sought after target of ritualistic cults and occult offenders. They were named as likely victims in 148 articles, representing over 3/4 of the sample. Of the 35 cases of crimes committed against persons within the sample of events, where the age of the alleged victims was identified, children were reported as victims in 67% of the cases. Adults were identified as victims in 37% of the occurrences. *(This number does not total 100%, as some cases had both adult and child victims.)*

The adults who have admitted to having recovered memories of ritual abuse are almost exclusively female, according to TRAANS founder Daniela Coates, who estimated that 95% percent of survivors who have come forward have been women. (Stainsby, 1990c: C1) Of the 27 crimes against persons within the sample of events, where gender of the victim was noted, women were victims in 77% of the cases, as compared to men in 52% of cases. *(This number does not total 100%, as some cases had both male and female victims.)*

Many of the victims who were interviewed in the media sample spoke of their oppressors as being members of their immediate and extended family. Some told of their first sexual experience as occurring at an extremely young age, at the hands of their father, or other family member, as a rite of initiation into a ritualistic cult.

Victim's voices were not represented by a large proportion of the sample. Less than fifteen of the 193 articles, approximately 8%, gave victims a forum to express their experiences in their own words. Psychologists, social workers, medical doctors and police officers were more often the 'experts' on victimization. In fact, four of the articles giving survivors space to express their own experiences came from feminist publications, which are intended specifically to provide women a voice. These publications included Canadian Woman Studies, Kinesis, and Healthsharing.

Consequences of Victimization

- FEAR
- REPRESSED MEMORY/RECOVERED MEMORY
- PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL DIFFICULTIES
- MULTIPLE PERSONALITY DISORDER
- SECONDARY VICTIMIZATION AT THE HANDS OF DOCTORS, POLICE, COURTS ETC.

Of the accounts shared by victims in the sample, the common theme was fear -- fear of not being believed, fear of remembering, fear of not remembering, and ultimately fear of retribution. One of the women who went to the media with her story feared for her life. She had gone to the Vancouver Sun to tell her story in order to protect herself, and hopefully to encourage others to come forward. She had this to say to the reporter who interviewed her:

I'm scared. I'm scared I'm going to end up dead...Going public was a safety factor...I don't feel as isolated. It makes it easier for me to feel like someone is believing what I am saying. I'm not a crazed person who doesn't have anything going for herself. Hopefully, I'll convince other people to talk about this stuff too. So many times, you just get in the obituaries. (Stainsby, 1990c: C1)

One woman who called herself 'Allison' stated matter-of-factly in one interview, "I expect they could kill me at any time." (Canadian Press, 1991d: C12) It is hard to imagine the emotional consequences of a prolonged threat to one's life. One counselor, Shirley Tervo, commented that she sees many similarities between ritual abuse survivors and some Vietnam War veterans dealing with the psychological aftereffects of battle. "There's no doubt the trauma is there...These people are absolutely terrified and the terror is real." (Canadian Press, 1991d: C12)

Some women spoke of suffering from missing memories. These memories can be repressed until adulthood, according to those who recovered them. For some, memories are uncovered in therapy, for others, psychical

trauma, such as childbirth can bring on recovery. "In many cases, the memories resurfaced 10 or 20 years later when the victim is triggered by significant events, such as childbirth. That birth acts like a mirror, forcing them to see their own childhood, and keep seeing it." (Beaty, 1993b: B4) For some, abuse was uncovered by such methods as hypnotherapy. However, some argue that this form of treatment can leave a patient in a highly suggestive state, where what is uncovered from the subconscious may not reveal true past experiences. (Beller, 1995: A3)

Some psychiatrists explain that the process of blocking out childhood abuse is a coping mechanism for victims. "To survive, the human mind dissociates itself from the event...As a result, children will out normally outside of the cult -- without remembering their experiences." (Fennell, 1992: 29)

The types of physical and emotional symptoms of abuse from which these women suffered were varied, but included high levels of anxiety, problems with relationships, aversion to sexual intercourse, convulsions followed by flashbacks, depression, self-destructive or self-mutilating behaviour, nightmares, and memory loss, as well as eating disorders such as anorexia and bulimia. Other physical consequences included scars and recurring pain and arthritis in joints, hands and other body parts that were subject to tortures like bondage and burning.

The most significant consequence, which many of the women interviewed reported, is what is known as Multiple Personality Disorder (MPD). It is considered a mental illness whereby the psyche is split into multiple parts, and where each part takes on its own life, with its own different abilities, memories, characteristics and awareness. Dr. Colin Ross, an expert in the controversial field of MPD, explained in one article that the disorder is “caused by extreme trauma during childhood -- like sadistic child abuse or ritual abuse. Of the estimated 6, 000 people in North America who have been diagnosed with MPD, about one quarter to one third have ritual abuse memories.” (Stainsby, 1990/09/29: C1) It was described in one article as providing the afflicted with a “multi-roomed emotional bunker” allowing them to disassociate from pain, fear, and their memories of severe abuse. (Stainsby, 1990c: C1)

The best descriptions of the nature of the disorder, however, come from the women themselves. Michelle LaRoche in her chronicling of her quest for healing describes her experience of the phenomenon:

I learned to cope with ritual abuse by developing multiple personalities. I split off into 155 different “Personality Fragments” -- each with a memory, skill, sex (or sexlessness), age (or agelessness), survival tactic, and set of feelings or lack of feelings. They performed precise and differentiated roles. Some were “magical,” non-human; some knew about the others; others knew nothing of each other. Each helped me to survive...My personalities coped with trauma and abuse too extreme to sustain with a unified conscious. (LaRoche, 1993: 31)

‘Mimi’, another survivor dealing with MPD, often refers to herself as ‘we’:

There are a lot of children inside...Very few of them can trust an outside adult. We’ve been told many times never tell, and if we do we’ll be killed...Kevin takes the physical pain...Jan and Carla remember the events. Jan and Carla’s plate are both so heavy, to combine them would be too much for one person to take. (Parkes, 1994: C4)

In their search to overcome their past, and their need to deal with the many effects of their abuse, including MPD, survivors have described their experience of secondary victimization at the hands of authorities and medical practitioners. Michelle LaRoche chronicled her quest for healing, where those who were supposed to help her to recover from her abuse, forced her further down the path to self-destruction. She was admitted to a hospital, after being diagnosed by Dr. Colin Ross with MPD, at the same point as his “Dissociative Clinic” was being shut down because of political pressures within the hospital. MPD is not accepted as a genuine or treatable condition by the mental health community as a whole. It is a topic that is extremely controversial within psychiatric circles, and sometimes patients can become caught in the middle of this professional conflict of opinion. Michelle was one such patient.

I found myself plunged into a vicious world of psychiatric politics, the strongest proponents of which claim MPD does not exist. Instead of the relief I should have felt in finally having my condition verified, I found myself instantly labeled a political hot potato -- not only MPD, but also a ritual abuse survivor. I was closed out of counseling agencies, outpatient programs, psychiatry, private support groups, and eventually the hospital itself. No one had the “requisite skills” to treat me. (LaRoche, 1993: 31)

She described her experience with one form of treatment as hauntingly similar to the abuse inflicted upon her in childhood. Michelle described a technique known as “flooding”, whereby patients are “broken” by overwhelming their psychological defences with overdoses of reality, so that they revert back into their original dysfunctional state, so that they may remake themselves whole.

My psychiatrists used exactly the same psyche-breaking techniques that the cult had used on me as a child. It wildly triggered my long suppressed memories. The hypnosis used to uncover more traumatic memories -- not at my own speed, but at the speed demanded by the technique -- left me terror-stricken. Too much surfaced too fast. Body pains ravaged me -- yet I was refused medication as a requirement of the therapy. I became both desperately attached to and terrified of my psychiatrists -- the same way I had been with my captors as a child. (LaRoche, 1993: 32)

Few have presented their cases before law enforcement authorities, because of fears of not being believed. Many had already made attempts to disclose abuse and been dismissed by those in authority.

Carol Corbeil outlines the institutionalized abuse present when dealing with cases of ritual violence: She describes the abuse that girls disclosed in one case of ritual abuse as appalling and shocking, but she condemns the legal process for magnifying the abuse that it should judge and remedy:

The children's experiences are horrifying, but there is horror here too in how the law, and the experts who assist the law, appear to be embroiled in a kind of obsessive, proof-oriented madness which from one perspective, looks like institutionalized sadism...The

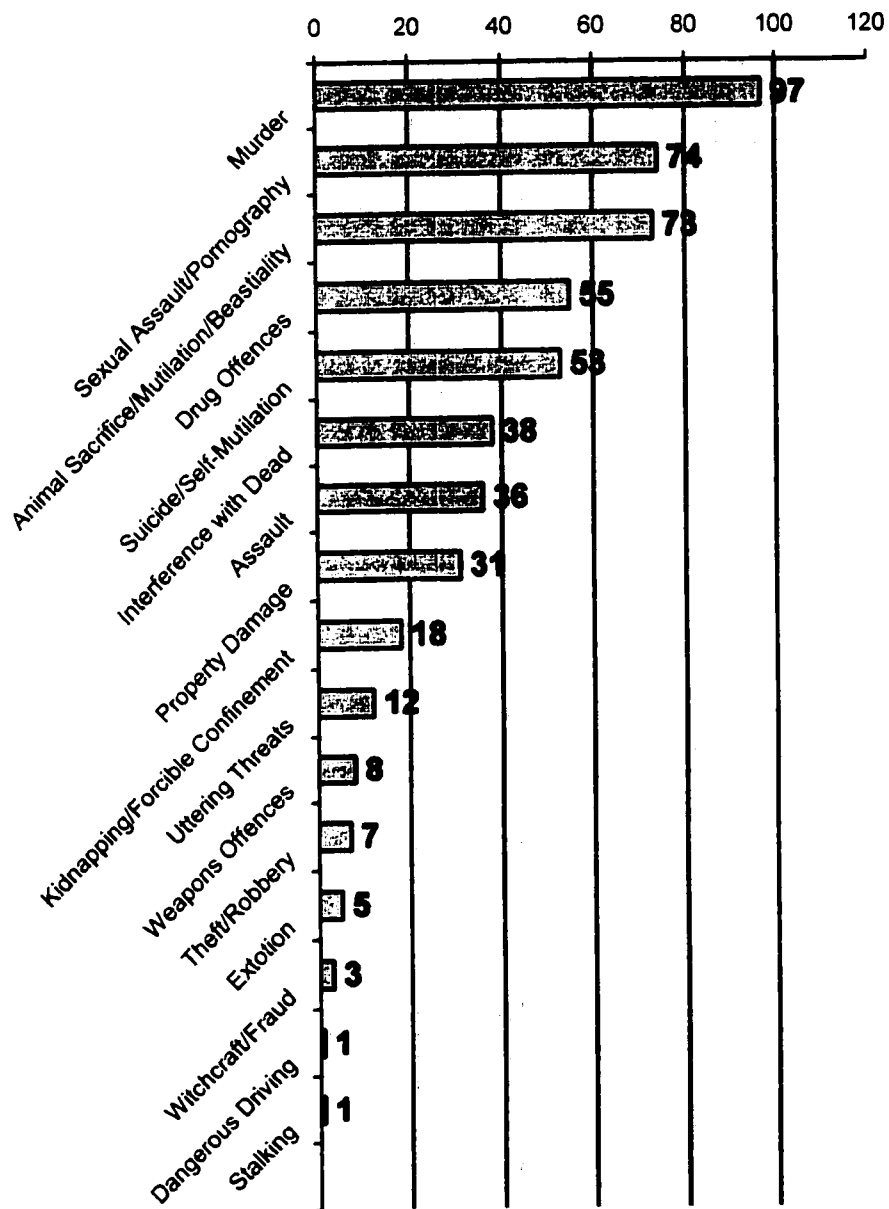
law's need for proof of abuse also meant that two little girls, five and seven, were given numerous gynecological examinations to determine whether or not they had been sexually abused. Only an adult could think that such an invasion, at such a young age, could be harmless because it was done in a hospital atmosphere. (Corbeil, 1988: 70)

D. Formal Control Systems and their Agents

Formal control systems including the state, the police, the courts, corrections and other governmental authorities, are focused on maintaining law and order within society. They are the principal definers of the rules governing proper and improper action and they represent the primary means of enforcing those rules. In an examination into how witchcraft and occult crime fits into their mandate, it is important to discover what rules are considered violated in conjunction with allegations of occult-related activities. As a result of the analysis performed on the 193 articles within the sample, a representation of the types of crime and deviancy linked to Satanism, witchcraft and occult activity was achieved, and is illustrated in **Fig. 9**.

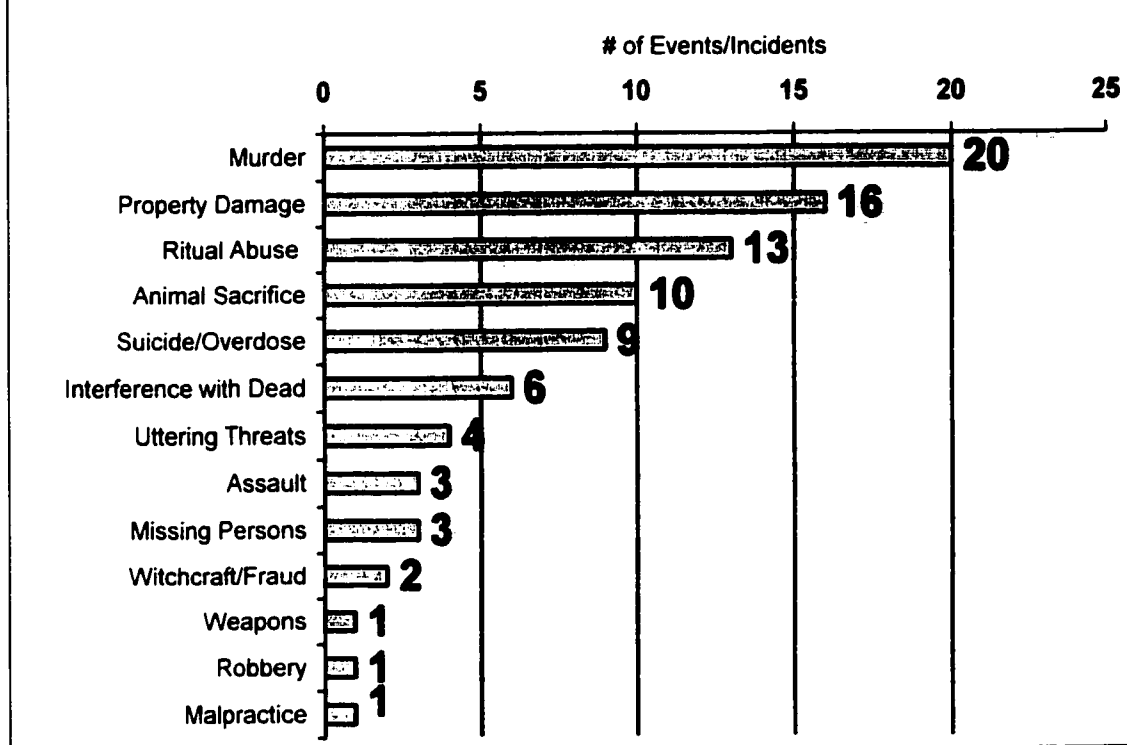
These figures do not represent actual criminal occurrences necessarily. Most, in fact, represented the conjecture of experts in the field, including police, social workers, therapists, medical professionals, assorted American specialists, journalists, clergy, and other community organizations and representatives. A comparison of the link between the occult and actual occurrences represented in the sample will be addressed next in this chapter.

Figure 9: Articles linking Crimes or Deviance with Witchcraft, Satanism, or the Occult



As has been previously mentioned, of the 193 articles, 131 events were extracted for more extensive analysis. Of these 131 events, 72 involved some kind of accusation of witchcraft or occult crime that involved a form of intervention from agents of formal control, either by police, politicians, the court system, the correctional system, the child welfare system, or by representatives of the SPCA (Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals). Subsequent proceedings took criminal or civil form. Added to these events, were the 3 incidents of missing persons, and the 9 incidents of suicide or overdose, in order to get an overall picture of the forms of deviancy and crime associated with actual occurrences, as exemplified by **Fig. 10**.

Figure 10: Type of Offences/Deviance Associated with Events
(TL=84)



Murder Investigations

Murder was the highest reported incident in the sample of events, accounting for approximately 24% of occurrences. Upon further examination of these events, however, two allegations of murder/attempted murder turned out to be unfounded. In addition, six other killings were discovered, upon further investigation, to have no connection to the occult. Of the remaining twelve, only two incidents were associated with a cult, versus individual actions.

A murder of a family and the attempted murder of three teenagers were the result of the affiliation of both killers and victims to the Order of the Solar Temple.

The remaining murders did entail satanic elements or some occultism, but it would be inaccurate to say they were the only factor, or in some cases, the most important one. While some of the crime scenes did contain satanic paraphernalia, or the reasoning of some of the perpetrators seemingly bizarre, the devil was not the only force at work. For example, in July of 1995, Sandy Charles, a 15 year old boy who was described as obsessed with the occult, killed and mutilated a 7 year old boy because of his belief that the fat of young virgin would grant him the power to fly. However, psychiatrists and a psychologists diagnosed him as suffering from a chemical disorder of the brain similar to schizophrenia. His mental illness *coupled* with his interest and belief in occult practices, as well as the possibility of a number of unmentioned variables, led him to commit murder. (Danylchuk, 1996: A5)

Property Crime

Property damage made up 19% of the total incidents. All were established offences. Of these, 88% occurred in cemeteries. The number of occurrences where there was interference with a corpse represented another 8% of the total events, with one of these cases later deemed to be unfounded. The

location of these events all occurred in cemeteries as well. Graveyards can thus be regarded as the primary site for 24% of all the crimes associated with the occult within the sample of events. Security for these types of locations was therefore an issue for municipalities, churches, and law enforcement authorities. One quote estimated the cost of vandalism in the City of Calgary in 1986 as \$45 000. (Kinsella, 1987a: E1) The city of Winnipeg encountered similar problems in 1990, to such an extent that one police officer referred to cemetery vandalism as reaching “epidemic proportions”, after a crypt was broken into, and some of the remains stolen. The incidents tended to occur in rural Winnipeg cemeteries. He commented that the proximity of the city made these areas vulnerable. There not being enough resources to guard rural cemeteries, a volunteer patrol was set up to prevent further damage and desecration. (Martin, 1990: 4)

Not one of the articles covering any of the cemetery vandalism, grave desecration, or theft of remains acknowledged the detection of suspects or the arrest of offenders. This type of crime appeared difficult to solve, and police often looked to the public for information. While occurrences cited in the press mention police dusting headstones for fingerprints and sending remains for forensic analysis, the most substantial leads for these types of investigations tended to come from tips.

Ritual Abuse Investigations

Cases involving allegations of ritual abuse comprised 15% of incidents. Four incidents represented child welfare investigations by Toronto's Children's Aid Society (CAS) which resulted in no evidence to support suspicions of abuse, and thus never required court intervention. Five other allegations of ritual abuse were dealt with in civil court actions, four of these wardship hearings and the fifth a custody battle between parents.

The remaining four cases, where proceedings were conducted in civil court, had all been criminally investigated, but there had been no information or evidence to support the laying of charges. These actions were all handled by means of a wardship hearing. One was settled out of court, the other three involving long and extensive trials. In three instances the children were made wards of the crown, the fourth ruling returned custody of the child to the natural mother, on the condition that the custody be closely monitored by the CAS. Where the children had been made wards of the crown, two of the rulings also allowed for partial supervised visitation for some members of the family.

The children's disclosures of abuse in these cases involved the witnessing of ritualized murder, sexual abuse, satanic rituals, cannibalism, animal sacrifices and other disturbing offences and behaviours. Sexual abuse was the specified justification for making the children wards of the crown in

these types of cases, the judges all reserving judgment on the satanic nature of the allegations. In one of the Hamilton wardship decisions it was reported that since “the children, both under 10 years old, were sexually abused by their parents and their mother’s boy friend...Judge Beckett said it was unnecessary for him to determine the truth behind the graveyard rituals, which they described in great deal.” (Marron and Fagan, 1987: A12) However, he also made the comment that:

To say that they ‘lied’ or that it was a ‘fantasy’ falls far short of explaining how such things could have been in their minds...the fact that such horrors were in the children’s minds was itself evidence of ‘a brutal trauma to their psyche, just as would bruises and broken bones be evidence of physical abuse to their bodies. (Marron and Fagan, 1987: A12)

Costs of these types of trials were high. An Oshawa ritual abuse case, which took more than 55 days to hear, resulted in almost 10 000 pages of transcriptions from 65 witnesses and 83 exhibits, cost taxpayers over 1 million dollars. (Wright, 1989/11/12: A15) The Hamilton wardship trial took up approximately 150 court days, the longest in Canadian history, with estimated costs at 2 million dollars. (Marron and Fagan, 1987/03/31: A12) (Marron, 1990: A9)

Only one of the cases of ritual abuse that effected the laying of criminal charges, was not condemned for its methods of investigation and or overzealous prosecution. The Prescott sex abuse scandal, while implying elements of Satanism or the occult was involved, focused more on the

problems associated with multi-generational abuse, as well as the significance small town life plays in concealing cases of child mistreatment and molestation. Dr. Wendy Cole, a psychiatric assessor in the case, maintained that 86 adults were ultimately charged with the abuse of over 128 children, with an trial conviction rate of more than 70%. (Bray, 1993: A2)

Other cases were not successfully prosecuted. In one case, a child, who was under the care of her grandmother because of her mother's mental problems, was taken away by social services because of allegations of ritual child abuse. The mother had gone to social services because she thought her daughter had been accompanied to a Satanic Church by her grandmother. What had occurred was that the little girl had gone to a Christian Church and Sunday school with her grandma and had witnessed her first communion. She had taken the references of eating the body and drinking the blood of Christ literally, so when asked by her mother how it went, the little girls said the people at Church ate body parts and drank blood. The mother, who was mentally unstable, had not questioned her daughter's claim. Social services had acted solely on what the mother said, and never bothered to question the grandmother themselves. The child was placed in foster care for over two years, was told her grandmother was a bad person, and asked to provide the names of other members of her grandmother's 'cult'. She produced a list of over a dozen names which were proved to be fictitious at trial. The

grandmother was vindicated of all charges, and the judge for the first time in Saskatchewan's history, was so incensed at with the lack of proper investigation that he awarded the defendant full compensation for the costs of her legal counsel. (Parker, 1995a: 26)

The Martensville investigation and trial of nine people for the ritual abuse of approximately a dozen of the town's children was perhaps the worst case of an overzealous and unjustifiable investigation and prosecution. The nine accused included five police officers and a prison administrator, his wife, their son, and another young girl. The total count of charges laid was 180. They consisted of sexual assault, aggravated assault, weapons violations, uttering threats, unlawful confinement, the production of pornography, administering a stupefying substance, and other related offences. The main perpetrators of the alleged offences were Ron and Linda Sterling. Linda ran a daycare out of their home. When the accusations were made public, the town became divided, with those accused, their families, and their supporters on one side, and the children, their families and their supporters on the other. The trial ended in 1994 with Ron and Linda Sterling being acquitted on all 37 charges against them. The five policemen charged in the case had their charges stayed. Only one conviction of the 180 charges presented before the courts withstood the appeal process. Travis Sterling's conviction for the sexual touching of a

minor, from a previous investigation, was upheld by the appellate court. (Parker, 1995b: 24-26)

Investigators, the Martensville chief of police, the repressed memory-recovery therapist who worked on the case, and the Crown Attorney's Office were all condemned for their mishandling of the matter from start to finish. Concern was felt, not only for those wrongly accused, but for the children who had been coerced into disclosing abuse as well. David Palframan, associate professor of child psychiatry, from the University of Ottawa's medical school, warned that when a child's first introduction to sex is through a false allegation of abuse, the consequences for them can be devastating.

The 'highly sexualized' and concentrated nature of the questioning and therapy can be 'extraordinarily damaging'...it's a terrible irony that those who claim to be protecting children from sexual abuse are actually 'subjecting them to another kind of abuse. (McGovern, 1994: 51)

Another psychologist and defence witness, Dr. Underwager, also commented on the techniques used on the children during interviews and their effect on their well-being.

It's state-caused destruction...by leading children to disregard the line between reality and falsehood and to invent abuse allegations...overly zealous investigators also "run the risk of training them to be psychotic. A young lad on the road to psychopathy is handed the perfect manipulative tool -- the power to say fantastic things and have people sit up and listen. Children can point their finger at anyone they don't like and accuse them of any outlandish thing they want." (McGovern, 1994: 51)

The methods used by investigators to obtain a declaration of abuse were the centre-theme of the defence's case. The children had been exposed to sex-education videos and grueling interrogations that did not end until abuse had been disclosed. One child had been interviewed by investigators more than 60 times. The children were rewarded when they cooperated by admitting abuse had taken place (i.e. were allowed to play with the dogs in the K-9 unit), and were made to feel guilty if they did not. Dr. Raskin, an American psychologist who often instructs the RCMP and American police departments on interviewing techniques, was an expert who testified for the defence. He reviewed the tapes made of the children's interrogation sessions and was appalled by the manner in which they had been conducted.

"The techniques used were leading, suggestive and coercive. There was an extensive amount of stereotyping of a negative sort." The accused were depicted as evil people...and the children were made to feel guilty if they did not help police get them, and that other people would be hurt if they did not. Dr. Raskin cited one interview in which Cpl. Moor asked a child to imagine putting on a Band-Aid on a cut when it bleeds to help it heal. Then he said that just like a Band-Aid, telling about the Sterlings would help them get the help they need. "I was frankly just shocked to read it...It is the most inappropriate pressure tactic with stereotyping and fear induction into children that I have ever seen. (McGovern, 1994: 49)

Cases of Animal Cruelty

Animal Sacrifices represented close to 12% of the incidents. While police were not often called in for these types of cases, the SPCA could be considered the formal control agency designed to intervene in these types of situations. As with the cases of vandalism and grave desecration, not one of the articles reporting this type of occurrence identified the existence of suspects or the arrest of perpetrators in relation to any of to the incident. One incident was deemed unfounded. Of the remaining incidents, no positive connections could be drawn to cult activity or satanic practices, although officials did believe that foul play had been involved. In one case of cattle mutilations in rural Edmonton, satanic and extraterrestrial causes were rumoured as possible causes of the animal mutilations. The community criticized the RCMP Leduc detachment for trying to play the incident down and refusing requests for all night stake-outs on local farms. Canadian Legion members offered their services for night patrols, a gesture which greatly concerned police, who thought that a number of Legion members roaming about at night, pursuing Satanists or extraterrestrial was simply a bad idea. The detachment was flooded with calls by angry residents demanding action. A number of autopsies revealed, however, that at least some of the deaths were the result of disease and infection, and natural predators could not be ruled out either. Leduc RCMP, frustrated with the growing hysteria within the community, completely

ruled out foul play, basing their conclusion on the absence of bullet wounds and signs of struggle with the carcasses. One of the detachments Sergeants was quoted as saying he hoped “local people stop calling him and telling him their neighbour is a warlock.” (Demers, 1992: 24)

Witchcraft Charges

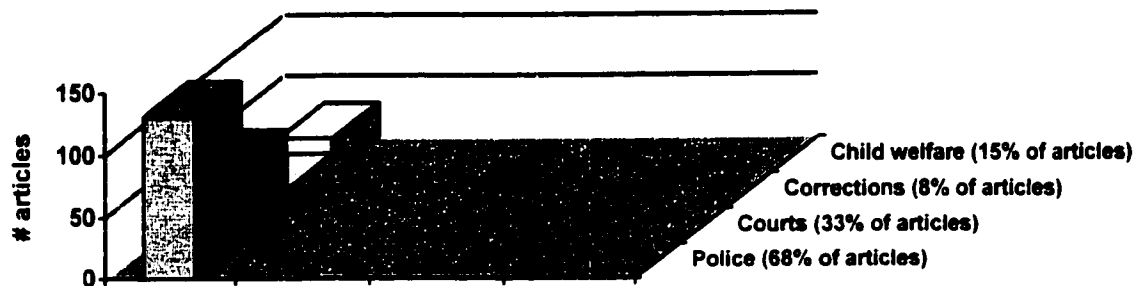
In reference to cases where charges were laid under the witchcraft section, section 365, of the Canadian Criminal Code, two incidents, or a little more than 2% of the occurrences covered by the sample of events, entailed this type of offence. Both went to criminal court. In April of 1987, Antonio Duarte, an active member of the Portuguese community and Church, was charged with “pretending to practice witchcraft”, section 365 paragraph “a” of the Code, which reads “pretends to exercise or to use any kind of witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment or conjuration...” He was arrested after treating a teenage girl with psychological problems. His spiritual remedies included herbal drinks, the use of candles, and the laying of hands for which he charged a fee. In December of 1988 he was given a two year suspended sentence. The judge said in his ruling he was concerned that Mr. Duarte’s activities might hurt someone (Kelly, 1988: A33)

The second incident dealt with a woman charged with two counts of fraud and two counts of pretending to practice witchcraft, after clients of her

'astrological boutique' complained to police. The woman, known as 'Shana' had told one woman that there had been a black aura surrounding her body, and that it would bring her bad luck, unless removed at an estimated costs of \$500. Only the arrest had been covered in the sample. No mention was made of how the court case had proceeded. Dr. Stephen Kent, an associated professor of sociology at the University of Alberta was quoted as saying that it is a crime when a psychic "places a client in stressful situations that require the counselor's intervention to alleviate the threats." (Misutka, 1991: 46)

In moving on from acts to actors involved in the formal control mechanism, an analysis was conducted on the entire 193 articles to determine what formal authorities of the state were quoted, questioned, or discussed in the stories that were printed. **Fig. 11** illustrates the coverage the agencies of formal control received from the article sample.

Figure 11: Proportion of Articles Mentionning Police, Courts, Corrections and Child Welfare Agencies



Among the other agents of formal control minimally represented in the sample of articles were politicians, mentioned or quoted in 6% of articles, and SPCA members or pound-keepers, mentioned in 2% of articles.

The Police

The largest formal control agency to be addressed in the sample was the police. The largest force represented was the RCMP, not surprising since they are they are the provincial force in the Western and Eastern provinces, and tend to police the majority of rural areas in Canada, where much of the activity is said to occur. American law enforcement official were not counted as police for this purpose, as they do not represent formal agents of the Canadian state,

being out of their jurisdiction, and act more as informal consultants. They will be addressed in the next chapter on informal control systems and their agents.

The police were generally the voice of reason in their communities. Overall, they attempted to downplay elements of the occult and witchcraft until their investigation was complete, in order to avert hysteria and potential vigilante activity. When police officers did make statements to the press regarding high levels of occult crime or satanic cult activity, it was not the 'official' position of the departments for which these individuals worked.

These types of individuals, serving their own moral crusades, often on their own time, are what Bromley, the editor of The Satanism Scare, would refer to as 'cult cops'. He feels that the "real energy behind the Satanism scare comes from a network of conservative Christians who disseminate cultic information without making their religious convictions clear." (Todd, 1991a: B2)

In March of 1987 a report written by Constable Jim Brown of the Red Deer RCMP was released to the media. The major thrust of his findings was that there existed a strong association between satanic cult activity and unsolved missing children cases in Alberta. He linked satanic cults with other crimes as well, including assault, extortion, animal mutilation, grave robbery, and the ritualistic killings of hitchhikers. Interestingly enough, the majority of the articles covering the conclusions of his research failed to mention the fact that his report was not official, and was not sanctioned by the RCMP. The 'report'

was actually a university essay the officer had written for a correspondence course he was taking with the University of Waterloo. (Kinsella, 1987b: A1-A2) (Kinsella, 1987a: E1) (Canadian Press, 1987b: A8) (Canadian Press, 1987a: A6) (Wood, 1987: 54) Jim Brown was an often quoted 'expert' on cult crime in the early years of the sample, yet it was not always made clear that his work on the problem of Satanism in Alberta was his own special undertaking, and did not represent the work he was responsible for as a member of the Mounted Police. At no point was there any indications as to the Constable's own personal motivations, either.

A report of police investigating satanic cult activity in Bear River, Nova Scotia identified a growing rift between the RCMP and town residents. Police said that while devil worship had become a growing concern among members of the community, no one had come forward with any information. At a meeting set-up between police and local residents, talks deteriorated into police-bashing, with residents criticizing the lack of police patrols in their area. Sergeant Blackman, head of the Digby detachment was unimpressed with the way the meeting had turned out. Police were supposed to join seven concerned residents in one of the town's homes because they were told they would be provided with information towards their investigation, instead they were "ambushed". "Residents want an RCMP officer to...move to the area but 'who

would want to live there given the current situation'...They blame the police but won't do anything to help." (Sullivan,1990: A2)

As for police training in the area of witchcraft and the occult, a lot of time is spent on symbolism and its meaning. Training materials identify the types of items that may be found at a crime scene, and attempt to explain the nature of their use. These items can include altars, ceremonial daggers, a book of shadows (a diary of rituals), candles, oils and powders etc. In a training video made by the RCMP, entitled *Understanding Cults: The Occult, Satanism and Ritual Abuse*, the main message was to remind officers that investigations involving occult activity should be conducted in exactly the same manner as other non-occult investigations. If the officer is faced with a homicide which appears to have occult or satanic overtones, he or she is directed to proceed exactly in the same manner, using the same methods, as any other homicide investigation. Knowledge of the occult or satanic practices is used only to help officers in their dealings with offenders, victims, and witnesses who may be involved in these kinds of activities. It is used to help officers understand where this individuals are coming from, it is used to help anticipate their reactions or responses, and generally help the officer in understanding the person's background and the effect it may have on their behaviour. (Carleton Productions, 1994)

E. Informal Control Systems and their Agents

Informal controls are important when discussing the enforcement of law, morality, and family values within Canadian communities. A number of the incidents that appeared in the sample, dealt with some form of community mobilization surrounding the issue of witchcraft or the occult, and the crimes associated with them. A total of 9% of incidents in the series of events extracted from the sample involved citizens of communities mobilizing around issues of witchcraft and/or the occult.

Five of these events were book banning campaigns. All involved the participation of parents concerned over material available to their children through libraries or as required readings in school. The issues of free speech and concerns over censorship were common.

A father in Rivers Manitoba dealt with his concerns over Satanism in his community by establishing a hot-line for Satanists wanting to find God. Based on what he called divine guidance, Andy Babiak decided to have the line installed in a tiny room inside his mobile home. He mans the phone himself, and had placed advertisements in local papers advising those involved in Satanism or the occult to give him a call. Babiak was quoted as saying:

I want to learn a lot more about what kids are into. Just because I'm older doesn't mean I have to sit complacent and do nothing...if the kids are into Satanism when they get out, where are they going to go? They aren't likely to go to the church. I think I might have a better shot at helping one of these kids out to get to know God. (Canadian Press, 1991a: C8)

Vigilantism

Not all events involving citizen mobilization could be considered positive, however. In a number of incidents, community hysteria led to acts of vigilantism. One small act can be the catalyst for community hysteria. A psychology professor for the University of New Brunswick threw a faculty party at his home, and as a result of a misconception regarding directional signs, was accused of performing satanic rites in complaints to the RCMP by his neighbours.

The allegations against him included cat and dog abductions and sacrifices, grave desecration, and the search for a blond blue-eyed virgin for sacrifice. The professor had put up signs leading to his home so that people would be able to find it. Thinking it clever, he decided to use Greek symbol for psychology, "Ψ", which people of his town mistook for Satan's pitchfork. The professor subsequently received a number of anonymous threats from members of the community.

The public's misinterpretation of events led to a backlash so severe that the town fire chief warned him to be on the look-out for arsonists. Another incident may have helped fuel the suspicions of devil worship. A local woman, who had died, had been having her ashes interred. A ceremony was being performed by two ministers in white robes at a small church approximately a mile from the professor's house. Somebody likely to see the two ministers in

white robes and mistakenly connected it to the posted symbol. Police also attributed the community hysteria to the level of media exposure given to allegations of the satanic ritual abuse of children, resulting in the community's collective imagination gearing into overdrive.

The professor was forced to write a letter of explanation and distribute it among his neighbours. He was quoted as saying, "When I heard about the rumours, my first reaction was to laugh. My second reaction (after the calls began) was to get angry and my third reaction was to be scared." (McLeod, 1989: A7)

Medical and Mental Health Professionals

The medical community, including physical and mental health professionals, social workers, and veterinarians represented the largest informal control network identified in the article sample. Individuals within this field were quoted, questioned or discussed in close to 50% of the articles in the sample. Along with law enforcement officials, they were considered the foremost experts in the field of satanic or ritualistic cult activity.

Therapists were divided on the issue of repressed and recovered memory. Some like Dr. George Fraser, an Ottawa psychiatrist, tend to support their patients' memories as real. "I'd love it to be mass hysteria because then my patients wouldn't have gone through this...You can't discount this stuff.

Something is going on out there.” (Beaty, 1990a: C1) Others advise caution but still accept the notion that painful and traumatic memories of ritual abuse can be repressed, and eventually resurface in therapy. Dr. Colin Ross, of Winnipeg, Manitoba, supported this position in one article by saying, “You have to keep an open mind as to whether every patient is telling the truth....But you get to be pretty good at telling who is pulling the wool over your eyes, especially after a lengthy treatment period.” (Beaty, 1990a: C1) Atlanta therapist Dr. George Gangway has criticized colleagues for buying into notions of satanic cult conspiracies, including those who write the books, make the rounds of talk shows and newspapers. He said that these kind of actions are providing troubled minds with fertile ground from which to plant ideas. He is quoted as saying that patients are then “finding a willing audience among the increasing numbers of therapists spending an inordinate amount of time a questionable seminars on satanic cults.” (Beaty, 1990a: C1)

One organization was founded in order to spread support and information regarding the issue of false or recovered memories. The False Memory Syndrome Foundation came about as a skeptical reaction to the growing number of individuals charging or suing alleged perpetrators of sexual assaulting them after recovering memories of childhood abuse. Pamela Freyd and her husband started up the foundation after their grown daughter accused them of sexually abusing her as a child. The foundation claimed to have 16 000

contacts from individuals who blame false memories of abuse for destroying their families. (Bellet, 1995: A3) According to Freyd, "If someone has no memory of it, then claims to remember, the question is, where does that memory come from?...in the 'absence of external corroboration we just don't know and all cases of recovered memory should be carefully examined.'" (Bellet, 1995: A3)

Academic/Educational Representatives

The Academic and educational community was a frequent source of information and conjecture in the article sample as well. School representatives, teachers, university professors, and authors contributed to over 33% of the article sample. In areas where Satanism among youth was said to flourish, principals and teachers were called upon to comment on the behaviour and problems of the community's adolescent population. Academic members of university faculties were popular experts called upon to provide their expertise in situations where witchcraft or occult-related activities made the headlines. They also sponsored some of the conferences held on the subject.

U.S. Experts

American 'experts' were consulted in approximately 18% of the articles surveyed. The main thrust of their arguments tended to be the assurance that

American trends in satanic or occult related activity would be reflected in future trends above the 49th parallel. Most of these experts were retired or active law enforcement consultants, others members of the American medical community. One article warned, however, that not all these so called 'experts' could be trusted to form objective opinions based on fact. Dr. Rebecca Brown, an often quoted medical expert from the United States, a panelist on Geraldo Rivera's show on Satanism, was said to work for an evangelical Christian group, that does not recognize Mormons or Catholics and Christians. No mention was ever made to the fact that Dr. Brown had lost her medical licence for telling patients that their cancer or brain tumors were caused by demons. She had also accused former colleagues of being devils in disguise. (Todd, 1991a: B2)

The Witchcraft and Occult Community

The witchcraft and occult community and some of its representatives were also given a chance to contribute to the discussions and coverage of the events in the sample. This group was present in almost 20% of the articles in the sample. Many testified as experts at trials, attempting to explain the nature of witchcraft, or other spiritual belief systems. Members of Calgary's Wiccan community in May of 1993 were reported to be distributing copies of the Law Enforcement Guide to Wicca to local police agencies, in an effort to clear up any misconceptions they might hold about their spiritual practices. The text,

written by a Vancouver police officer, and witch, explains how Wiccans should not be equated with Satanists. The guide, first published by the Wiccan Information Network, a group the officer helped found, is now featured as a resource in police libraries in both Canada and the United States. (Legge, 1993: C9)

Religious Groups or Associations

Judeo-Christian Church associations, groups or representatives were also present in 27% of the articles sampled. They were often sponsors of seminars and conferences of the subject of Satanism and the occult. The Calgary Evangelical Ministerial Association (CEMA) was a strong voice in media coverage of the Lethbridge suicides. CEMA president denounced the police investigation for its refusal to admit that the Satanism and the occult had played a major part in the adolescent suicides. "The devil is real....Now people are beginning to realize this. What is happening in Lethbridge is a manifestation of an increase in evil influences....It's the occult, it's the degradation of the Holy Spirit and the human body. It's Satan." (Hutchinson, 1990/03/26:32) Other religious organizations looked to their own failures to provide communities with spiritual guidance as an explanation. Daniel Hardock of the Christian Research Institute in Calgary was quoted as saying:

People are looking for spiritual fulfillment...but the church influence just isn't there. There are lots of people looking for

truth, but they have no reference point from which to start. The three dead boys in Lethbridge...may simply have reached out to the first hand that was offered them. (Hutchinson, 1990a: 34)

Other Groups/Associations

Groups such as the Council on Mind Abuse (COMA) and Cult Project were also often referred to in the sample. These groups were consulted in close to 9% of the articles studied. COMA is a non-profit, Toronto-based cult awareness organization, that provides counsel to people wanting to know more about cults. In 1989, it received about 50 calls a month from the police, medical and mental health communities, looking for assistance with cases where satanic or cult-like activity was felt to be a factor. (Brown, 1989: A12) COMA's cautious assessment of situations, in an attempt to circumvent public hysteria, resulted in the head of the organization Rob Tucker to be accused of being a Satanist in disguise. He was quoted as saying this in response:

We can't permit a climate of fear to gather around this. What it does is make it more and more impossible to find out what's going on. Fear-mongering always rebounds. My suggestion has always been, let's be very cautious and careful so we can bring the people who are doing this to justice. (Stainsby, 1990a: C1)

Cult Project, a Montreal based cult-monitoring group, was also frequently consulted for their expertise in a number of articles in the sample. It is a research and information centre founded in 1979 and is supported by the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation of Montreal. It was the focus of debate in 1988,

however, when two theologians accused the cult-research centre of conducting a witch-hunt against new religions. Michael Kropveld, director of the project, responded by saying that the centre only advocates a healthy skepticism regarding the practices of some religious orders. He said that the theologians had misunderstood the mission of the centre, which makes a strong distinction between beliefs and practice. (Curran, 1988: A3)

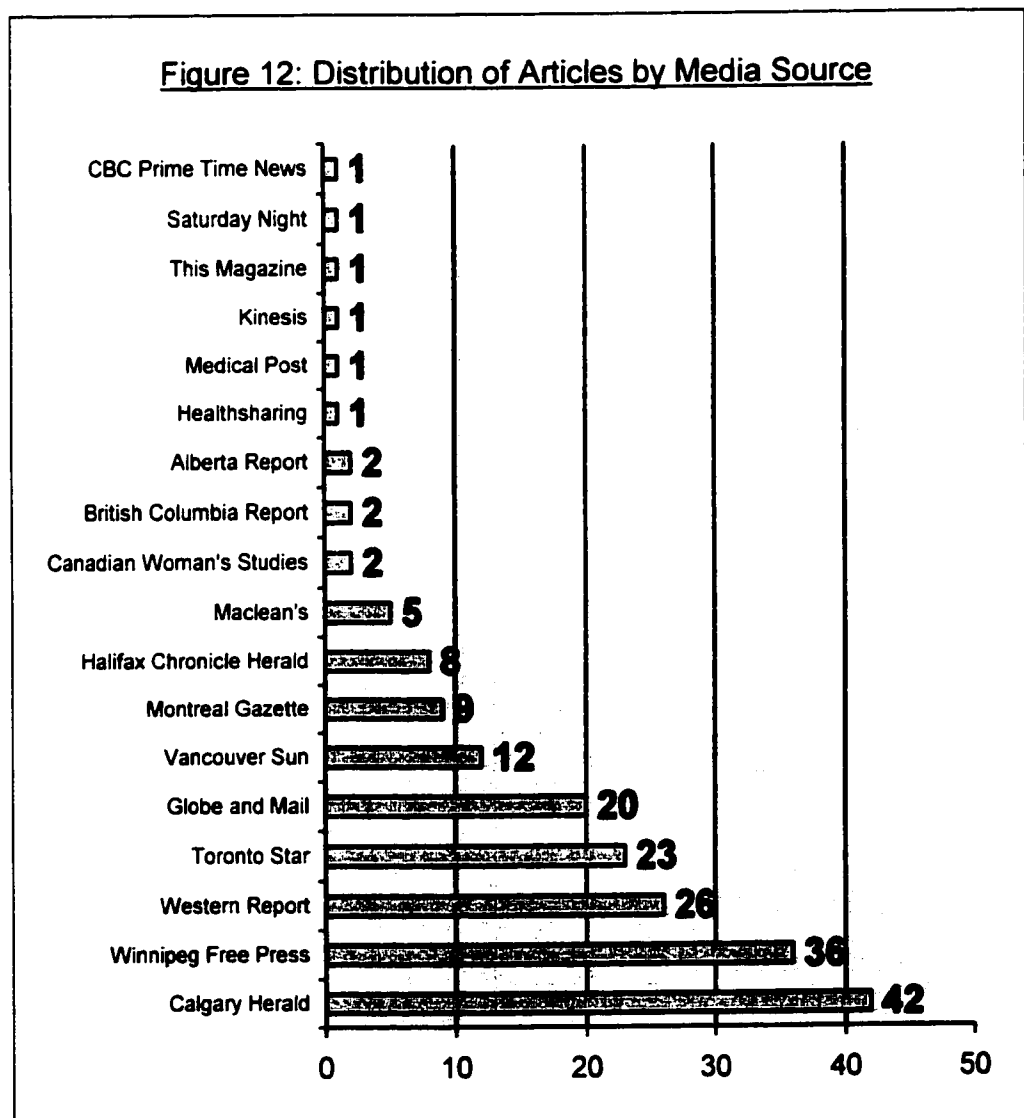
The Media

The media itself became a part of the story on a couple of occasions. In one of the articles covering the Leduc cattle mutilations, it was noted that one family farm, dissatisfied with police inaction, called on the Edmonton Journal to come out and report on the occurrences. They soon wished they hadn't, however, as a media circus descended on the farm, including newsprint reporters, camera crews, and lay-experts on animal mutilations.

Newspaper reporters descended like flies. Camera crews showed up in vans at their gate and calls came from as far away as Manitoba. Then came the "lay-experts". One old fellow claimed he had studied cattle mutilations since 1950; he blamed spacemen. A brown paper envelope arrived from someone asking if it was somehow connected to world over-population. A lake Wabamun man told the *Journal*, "People are killing and mutilating cattle in bizarre midnight attacks so they can sell sex organs to American cults in exchange for cocaine." The Verchomins found the attention as bad as the mutilations. (Demers, 1992: 24)

The articles in the sample came from 17 different media sources. Newspapers accounted for seven of these sources, periodicals for 4 of the

sources, 3 feminist publications were included, a medical journal, and the transcripts for an episode of CBC Prime Time News. The reason this last was included in the sample of media sources for the articles was due to a record of a Canadian Newswire story retrieved in the search. No print media source was found to have published the story, but the CBC had addressed it on the nightly news that day. **Fig. 12** represents the distribution of articles among these sources.



Chapter 5CONCLUSION

The Analysis of this thesis was twofold. A sample of cases extracted from a search of the Canadian Case Digests on charges laid for the witchcraft section of the code, currently section 365, was researched and analyzed for content. The following findings were noted:

- The meaning of “pretending” to practice witchcraft was defined as asserting or professing supernatural powers with the intention that one is to be believed.
- Honest belief in one’s power was not sufficient to warrant acquittal in any of the cases studied. The issue was brought to the Supreme Court in *Labrosse v. The Queen (1987)*, but while the court acknowledge the notion of the defence of honest belief, it was not debated as the trial judge’s comments revealed that the judge did not find that the accused was sincere about her belief that she could predict the future. Comments in *R c. Turgeon (1993)* suggested that the defence of honest belief might necessitate proof of mental instability.

- Accuracy of the predictions or evidence relating to abilities is not accepted as proof of innocence of intent to defraud.
- A consideration for services rendered is a necessary element of the offence. The accused does not have to expressly ask for payment.
- The intent to defraud does not necessarily have to be a verbal expression of the assertion of a power, gestures and actions can represent an attempt to delude or defraud a victim as well.
- The addition of the word 'fraudulently' to the section in 1955 has been debated. Some interpretations indicated that added another element to be proved by the crown. Prior to 1955, the assertion or profession of a power was considered proof of intent to defraud. Other interpretations of the law since 1955 have coincided with this viewpoint, viewing the element of deceit as coupled with the assertion or profession of supernatural power.

Is the law a law specific to witchcraft necessary in contemporary social relations? And if so, what functions, or potential functions, does it serve? This is a very interesting question, and an area where future research could be conducted.

The second half of the research into witchcraft and occult crime in Canada was an analysis of the media coverage of allegations of crime and deviance associated with the occult during the 1987-1997 time period. These articles were then analyzed for content and the findings then organized into the framework of the complex social relationships that exist among the four points

along Young's *'Square of Crime'* (1987): The Offender, The Victim, Formal Control Agencies (the state), and Informal Control Agencies (the community). The following is a summary of the findings.

I. The Offender

- Characteristics of offenders that were debated within the sample included age, gender, relationship to victim, status and covertness. The information gathered here tended to be contradictory. No general conclusions can thus be established, with the exception that it was generally noted and accepted that in cases where accusations of ritual child abuse were made, the alleged perpetrators tended to members of the victim's family.
- Motivations for offending mentioned within the sample of articles included the quest for power, rebellion, access to alcohol, drugs and sex, a sense of belonging found within the cult setting, the use of satanic or occult involvement to cover an abuse or sociopathic personality, and teenage boredom and curiosity.
- Factors deemed to contribute to offending were also identified. These included the influence of heavy metal or satanic music, fantasy role-playing games such as Dungeons & Dragons, film and media desensitization, as well as psychiatric or psychological dysfunction.

II. The Victim

- The most common characteristics of the victims were age, gender and relationship to the offender. Children were perceived as the most likely targets of crimes against persons linked to satanic or ritual activity. They also represented a high proportion of the identified victims of actual occurrences within the sample of events extracted from the articles. Women were identified as victims most often in the sample, those victims who told their stories to the media being almost exclusively women. Again ritual child abuse cases linked a victims relationship with the offender as being familial.
- The consequences suffered by the victims as a result of their victimization included fear, repressed/recovered memory, emotional and physical problems, multiple personality disorder, and secondary victimization at the hands of formal control agents (police and courts), as well as informal control agents (medical and mental health practitioners etc.).

III. Formal Control

- **LAW:** The top five types of crime and deviancy linked to Satanism and the occult mentioned within the sample of articles, in descending order of reference were murder, sexual assault/pornography, animal sacrifice/bestiality, drug offences and suicide or self-mutilation. This was in comparison to the offences revealed from the sample of events covered.

The topic five in descending order of occurrence within the coverage of media events was murder, property damage, ritual abuse, and animal sacrifice. It is important to note that these results are not meant to represent the actual distribution of offences linked with witchcraft and the occult. These were only calculations based on media coverage of events. It is thus quite natural that murder and other crimes of violence are more likely to be cited within the sample as they represent more newsworthy events than property crimes or other less serious offences.

- **ENFORCEMENT:** The police were the most often publicized agent of formal control. The importance of non-arbitrary investigative techniques and strategies for prosecution were highlighted in the aftermath of a number of unsuccessful prosecutions for ritual abuse cases, which resulted in lawsuits against the crown and government for malicious prosecution. The methods used to obtain a child's declaration of abuse were called into question in a number of incidents within the sample. Another theme which surfaced in the examination of enforcement was the highly dependent relationship between the police and the public in the investigation of occult crimes. In a number of incidents covered within the media sample, the community protested police inaction relating to events that were occurring, while the police voiced their inability to investigate without information or public support. It appears that the relationship between the police and the community was an issue particularly in occult-related crimes, and in a

number of instances, meetings were set-up between police and residents of the community in order to alleviate tensions and air concerns on both sides.

IV. Informal Control

- The types of community mobilization around allegations of witchcraft or occult activity consisted of protests, demonstrations, the development of community support systems, educational campaigns and prevention strategies (i.e. talks to schools), and vigilante activity.
- Active groups and representatives in the issues surrounding witchcraft, occult and ritual crime and deviance included the medical and mental health profession, the academic and educational community, American 'experts', the witchcraft and occult community (i.e. members of the Wiccan faith), Christian and other religious organizations and associations, and research oriented agencies such as COMA and Cult Project.

This thesis has examined the overall picture of witchcraft and occult crime, identifying the key players, as well as the relationships that exist between them. A more in depth study of any of Young's four points along the square would prove to be a valuable direction for future research. It would also be interesting to discover what kind of findings might be obtained from sources other than the media.

This research began with an examination into the medieval persecution of the witch. From this historical background, it was discovered that

communities, in times of crisis and misfortune, mobilize both formally and informally around a perceived or actual threat to certain values or interests.

Today communities still mobilize both formally and informally around accusations of witchcraft or occult activity, but it is now centred within a new climate of social relationships that make the current problem distinct from the one addressed in medieval times. The law still criminalizes the practices of witchcraft and the occult through such means as section 365 of the criminal code. While belief systems, such as Wicca and Satanism, are now protected within the Canadian constitution, the law separates belief from practice. As Michael Kropveld, director of Cult Project commented in one article: "I can believe that I should sacrifice a beautiful blonde every month and rip out her heart. But it's another thing entirely if I try to do something about it." (Curran, 1988: A3)

There still exists a notion of potential harm or malice associated with practitioners of witchcraft and the occult. Parental anxieties surrounding the vulnerability of society's youth is the focus of much of the community mobilization around issues of Satanism and the occult. Incidents of multiple tragedies, such as the teenage suicides in Lethbridge in 1990, can bring these anxieties to a head. Satan is not the only force at work in these types of situations, however. Other communal stresses contribute to the tragedies associated with Satanic or occult involvement. Poverty, teenage alienation, media desensitization, lack of informal support systems within the family and

the community, lack of resources for child welfare, social and police services -- these are all factors which have also contributed to the problem at hand.

Catherine Ford, in an editorial represented in the sample on the Lethbridge suicides, acknowledges that the function witchcraft and occult crime as a scapegoat for communal stresses and fears is still valid in today's modern society:

Ironically, it is the children themselves who state flatly: "Satanism is not the problem....Satanism is the result of the social problems we have"....The fact the kids are right seems to be ignored in the face of having found a handy scapegoat -- one could say the original unbeatable scapegoat. Blame Satan. (Ford, 1990: A4)

And as Doug Smith said in the end of his commentary in This Magazine in 1991, "when emergency shelters are closing, when child and family service agencies are starving for money, society must make sure the devils it is fighting are the ones that truly bedevil it." (Smith, 1991: 5) Often when the spectre of Satan is raised it overshadows the truer enemies that may be at hand.

Chronological Summary of the Major Events/Activities¹

- December 1983 (Bowden, Alta.) A woman claimed to have received a death threat after leaving a satanic coven of which she had been a member for ten years. She sought help from a pastor of a United Church in Red Deer who convinced her to seek protection from RCMP Constable Jim Brown. She provided the officer with information about the group's membership and activities. The coven, which purportedly included a number of respected individuals of the Bowden community, was said to have conducted sexual orgies, been heavily involved in drug use, and to have sacrificed animals. (Kinsella, 1987a)
- October 1984 (Vancouver, B.C.) The disappearance of Simon Fraser University student after leaving a Halloween party stirred up rumours of a link to a satanic cult. These rumours flared up four years later as this incident becomes connected with the disappearance of two University of British Columbia students under similar circumstances. (Gallager, 1988)
- January 1985 (Valleyfield, Que.) A Pregnant woman was ritualistically dismembered and burned. The accused, Raymond Steele, was a self-styled minister of the Universal Life Church of Enlightened Reason. He was convicted of murder. Police discovered satanic literature at his home. (Wood, 1987)
- February 1985 to September 1987 (Hamilton, On.) Two sisters disclosed horrific accounts of satanic ritual abuse after being placed in temporary foster care. A wardship hearing began as Hamilton-Wentworth Children's Aid Society sought custody of the two sisters (and eventually a third sister after her birth) as a result of the two girls' accounts of ritual abuse. The allegations

¹ While the sample of articles dates from 1987-1997, the timeline of events extends further back in time because of past events being referenced by articles within this sample. Only those articles that included *actual* documented crimes or events linked to Satanism, witchcraft or the occult were included in this timeline. Articles simply speculating as to the nature of crimes being committed, or those accounts which did not specify dates or locations, were left out.

included sexual abuse, ritual murder and cannibalism. In March of 1987, the judge made the girls wards of the Crown. The judge found enough evidence to establish the sexual abuse, and therefore felt that the truth of the allegations of satanic ritual abuse need not be addressed. The police had investigated these allegations and could not find enough evidence to lay a criminal charge. The mother and her former boyfriend appealed the custody decision in September of 1987, were not successful. The legal battle for a fourth child, that would be taken away at birth as well, would begin in May of 1989. (Kinsella, 1987c) (Marron, 1987a) (Marron and Fagan, 1987) (Marron, 1987c) (Corbeil, 1987) (Cloete, 1989d) (Steacy and Bethune, 1989) (Marron, 1990) (Fine, 1991) (Canadian Press, 1991c) (Canadian Press, 1994a) (Parkes, 1994)

September 1985

(Chatam, On.) Shawn Pelletier, later described as a member of a satanic cult, stabbed a restaurant employee thirty times. He was ultimately charged with second-degree murder, and sentenced to life imprisonment. The "satanic" element of the offence was not investigated until the Crown prosecutor in the case found a dead cat on his doorstep. Notes, in a confidential report leaked by a Calgary occult filmmaker, revealed that police found Pelletier had possessed a knife and wine goblet coated with dried blood, as well as a candleholder imprinted with a satanic pentagram. He also was said to have carried a "well-thumbed" copy of Anton LaVey's The Satanic Bible. (Kinsella, 1987a)

October 1985

(Red Deer, Alta.) An attempted child abduction had alleged links to a satanic cult because the incident occurred on one of the thirteen annual satanic holy days. (Canadian Press, 1987b)

December 1985

(Temple, Alta.) Property-damage occurred to a group of townhouses. The numbers "666" had been spray-painted in all of the houses. In one house a room had been painted entirely in black. In another house vials of blood were found on the mantle of the fireplace, a pentagram had been burned into the carpet, and two

- cages filled with dead cats and dogs had been discovered rotting in the basement. (Kinsella, 1987a)
- Other 1985 Events (Scarborough, On.) A family was murdered by a teenager who purportedly read from The Satanic Bible, and who had the numbers "666" carved into his chest. The youth was convicted and sentenced to the maximum penalty under the Young Offender's Act, which was three years at that time. There was a great deal of protest when he was released. According to a certain source familiar with the case, the juvenile continued to dabble in the black arts during his imprisonment. (Cloete, 1989e) (Brown, 1989) (Appleby, 1990c)
- January 1986 (Calgary, Alta.) The Sproat mausoleum break-in resulted in the removal of a middle-finger of the left hand of a corpse. This was linked to satanic-cult activity because, according to an American expert, the left hand is referred to as the Hand of Glory, and removing the middle finger from this hand is a known satanic symbol. (Kinsella, 1987a)
- November 1986 to May 1987 (Winkler, Man.) An incident of vigilantism was perpetrated against the leader of alleged satanic cult known as "The Family". The youth, who called himself Jesus, was threatened at gun-point, and assaulted by a mother and some companions. The mother was reacting to the belief that the boy was trying to lure her thirteen year old daughter into his cult. Rumours indicated that "The Family" influenced its members to self-mutilate, attempt suicide, and steal. The incident took place in a strong Mennonite community located in what is known as Canada's Bible Belt, where the fundamentalist rural setting leads to a tendency to equate teenage rebellion with Satanism. The woman and her accomplices were convicted in May of 1987 and sentenced to a fine of \$750 and a day in prison. (Murray, 1987)
- Other 1986 Events (Halifax, N.S.) A prostitute was found murdered. The victim had been tied up with ceremonial black and silver

rope and her throat and wrists had been slashed. She had also been stabbed in the heart with a knife which had the numbers "666" engraved upon it. (Wood, 1987)

February 1987

(Sackville, N.S.) Derek Shaw, a young teenager, committed suicide after he claimed he was visited by Satan who had demanded his soul. His parents said his suicide had been the culmination of their son's ever-growing fascination into devil-worship. His suicide was investigated by the RCMP, but no evidence uncovered cult activity. (Hoare, 1987) (Wood, 1987) (Staff Writer, 1989b) (Canadian Press, 1990f) (Canadian Press, 1990g) (Canadian Press, 1990h)

March 1987

(Sackville, N.S.) Cult Awareness Week (March 5th-11th), sponsored by the Atlantic Jewish Students' Federation, included lectures presented by experts on mind control and cult recruitment. Church experts were also asked as panelists to discuss these issues, including a Reverend who had counseled Derek Shaw before his suicide in February. (Hoare, 1987)

(Red Deer, Alta.) A report by Constable Jim Brown of the Red Deer RCMP was released to the media. The major thrust of this report was that there existed a strong association between satanic cult activity and unsolved missing children cases in Alberta. It stated that prosecutions of Satanists were infrequent due to the clandestine nature of the cult and their adeptness at concealing evidence. He also links the cults with other crimes, such as assault, extortion, animal mutilation, grave robbery and the ritualistic murder of hitchhikers. The majority of the articles reporting on his findings failed to mention, however, that this report was not official, and that it had been written as a university essay for a correspondence course the officer had been taking through the University of Waterloo. (Kinsella, 1987b) (Herald Writer, 1987) (Kinsella, 1987a) (Kinsella, 1987c) (Canada Press, 1987b) (Canadian Press, 1987a) (Wood, 1987)

(Calgary, Alta.) Reported vandalism and bizarre rituals in five Calgary cemeteries were linked with an alleged Calgary-based satanic cult. In Calgary's union cemetery, coffins housed in a mausoleum had been opened, and in one case, the body had been interfered with (once again a middle finger was removed). The type of vandalism included the spray-painted message "God is dead", broken tombstones, and a decapitated statue of Christ. (Herald Writer, 1987) (Kinsella, 1987a)

(Bow River, Alta.) A leak to the press by a Correctional Worker at the Bow River Young Offenders Centre revealed that most of the youths serving time there had dabbled in the occult or were active members of satanic cults. The correctional worker also declared that many youths came to the centre with satanic or occult literature, and that their artwork often depicted satanic symbolism. (Kinsella, 1987e) (Canadian Press, 1987c)

Spring 1987

(Southwestern On.) In a rural community, a group of youths was reported to be conducting satanic rituals in the attic of an abandoned barn. Things got out of hand as the children believed that their experimentation into the occult left them tormented by demons. One boy was said to have gone into convulsions, believing himself possessed. (Cloete, 1989c)

April 1987

(Nanaimo, B.C.) Stephen Heads, a youth of eighteen years, overdosed on drugs he took at a party and died later in hospital. The party had been with a gang of teenagers who were into drugs and heavy-metal music. The leader of this gang of youths was said to possess such satanic paraphernalia as works by occult author Aleister Crowley, The Satanic Bible, an inverted cross and an assortment of candles. A bottle of approximately two hundred white pills had been set out for consumption at the party. It turned out these pills were supposed to be used for heart medication. Taken as prescribed to patients with cardiovascular difficulties, three tablets a day reduced the risk of heart attack by slowing down the heart rate. It was estimated by RCMP officials that some of the partygoers had taken more

than twenty pills each. The officer first on the scene said that teenagers were dropping like flies, many vomiting, some hallucinating. In all, thirteen youths were taken to hospital. (Dutton and Cohen, 1987)

April 1987 to
December 1988

(Toronto, On.) In April of 1987 Antonio Duarte was charged with pretending to practice witchcraft after treating a teenage girl with psychological problems. Mr. Duarte was an active member of the Portuguese community and Church. His spiritual remedies included herbal drinks, the use of candles, and the laying of hands for which he charged a fee. In December of 1988 he was given a two year suspended sentence. The judge said his decision was due in part to his concern that Mr. Duarte's activities might hurt someone. As part of his probation, he was warned not to pretend or purport to have supernatural powers. (Weatherbe, 1988b)

May 1987

(Windsor, On.) A trial held into the parental abduction of two children made headlines because of the allegation that the mother had exposed her children to witchcraft. Her ex-husband accused her of keeping their children in a home filled with witchcraft, crystal balls and vials of ingredients such as dragon's blood. (Darroch, 1987)

July 1987

(Hamilton, On.) Another report of 4 children who were made wards of the Crown after allegations of murder and ritual abuse were disclosed by the youths. The situation paralleled an earlier case where three sisters were made wards of the Crown in March after an eighteen month hearing. Due to the case being settled out of court, no official judgment was made as to the accusations of abuse or ritual violence. (Staff Writer, 1987) (Marron, 1990)

July 1987 to
November 1989

(Oshawa, On.) Two children were removed from their home after allegations of sexual abuse were disclosed. A child custody case was held in February 1989 to hear the allegations of a five year old girl who claimed that she and her three year old brother were subjected to satanic ritual abuse, including sexual abuse and being forced to witness ritual murder. She told a social worker that

snakes were kept in her bedroom. The snakes were said to be used in sexual acts and for the purpose of calling Satan. The little girl stated that parents, both sets of grandparents, a great-grandmother, and other adults, including the police and Santa Claus, had been present when abuse took place. The social worker, under cross-examination by the father's lawyer, admitted that she too had been implicated by the girl as being present on two different occasions where alleged abuse, and an alleged murder, had taken place. However, the social worker said that after a talk with the girl, a week after her allegation, she admitted that it wasn't true. The father's lawyer was quick to point out that none of the others implicated in the trial had the same opportunity to question the girl closely and have her recant her story. Throughout this period between 1987 and 1989, the girl's younger brother's speech developed and he began to communicate his confirmation of the allegations made by his sister. The two children had a thirteen year old half-brother who was a witness at the trial. While he supported his sibling's belief in the allegations made, he denied being there or having any knowledge of it happening. No criminal charges were ever laid in response to the allegations made at the custody trial, as four separate police investigations turned up no physical evidence to support the children's story. The judge ruled in November 1989 after weighing evidence from 65 witnesses and 83 exhibits. In a ninety-seven page decision, the judge declared that the two youngsters should remain in foster care and be kept from their father. The mother was granted supervised access, as was their thirteen year old half-brother. The judge felt that the girl had indeed been sexually molested by her father, but dismissed a medical expert's testimony that the boy had also been sodomized. He rejected all allegations of satanic ritual abuse, particularly those made against the grandparents whom he referred to as "good god-fearing" and "doting" grandparents. The judge chastised the Children's Aid society for letting the grandparents be dragged in to the trial. Legal and court costs were estimated at over one million dollars. (Cloete, 1989a) (Cloete, 1989d) (Wright, 1989a) (Canadian Press,

- 1989b) (Wright, 1989b) (Steacy and Bethune, 1989)
(Marron, 1990)
- July 1987 to
December 1988 (Medicine Hat, Alta.) Two suicides as the result of drug overdoses occurred during this time period. In each case, the police reported that satanic paraphernalia was found at the scene. (Canadian Press, 1988 h)
- Other 1987 Events (Toronto, On.) A man was murdered and mutilated by two men who were recorded on wire-tap by police as having discussed the possibility of committing satanic acts. (Cloete, 1989e)
- March 1988 (Spruce Grove, Alta.) A Catholic couple presented students of St. Marguerite Catholic school a seminar on the dangers of Satan in rock and roll music. The McCallums discussed the issue of subliminal messaging, but also warned that it was more the lifestyles of these musicians that promoted promiscuity, drugs, alcohol, violence, and 'false' religions. They mentioned Michael Jackson as belonging to a cult because he was a Jehovah's Witness. (Burns, 1988)
- May 1988 (Medicine Hat, Alta.) A beef heart, with a dagger stabbed through it, was left of the doorstep of a local Church. The media drew a connection to satanic practices. (Canadian Press, 1988h)
- June 1988 to
July 1988 (Victoria, B.C.) A Libel Suit naming Lion Serpent Sun as plaintiff against defendants Len Olsen and Crossroads Christian Communications Inc., the producers of show *100 Huntley Street*, was launched because of the claim that Mr. Olsen attempted to further his career by defaming the plaintiff's character. Sun alleged that Olsen wrongly accused him of being a Satanist and of attempting to sacrifice Mr. Olsen and his wife during a ritual held in 1972. According to the broadcast of *100 Huntley Street*, Olsen contended that during the ritual, members of the covenant turned into demons and attempted to sacrifice him and his wife to Satan. He claimed that this sacrifice was circumvented by a series of miracles, including the declaration that

when he opened his mouth, the sound of a flute escaped and thwarted the attempt on his life. Sun denied that the ritual was satanic. According to the plaintiff, his coven practiced Wicca or witchcraft in the Druid or Celtic tradition, not Satanism. The Olsens had joined the group of their own free will. The rituals were said to be benign, and that drugs and alcohol were present. A number of witnesses confirmed that Mr. Olsen had consumed alcohol, marijuana and hashish that night. In fact, Olsen had been the coven's major drug supplier. According to plaintiff's counsel, Mr. Olsen had suffered from a bad drug trip, not demons. The trial received a great deal of media coverage due to the line-up of expert testimony. A great deal of time was spent explaining the difference between witchcraft or Wicca and Satanism. A number of witches, coven members, and an astrologist testified for the plaintiff. The defence built its case on proving the truth of Olsen's allegations. They called on a U.S. expert of Comparative Religion. Much controversy occurred over the meaning of symbols used by Sun. The most integral witness of this trial, however, was a retired police officer who testified that on the night in question, Mr. Olsen came down to the police station to complain that Sun and two other coven members had tried to have sex with his wife. No mention had been made of attempted murder. The jury ruled that the claim that Sun was a Satanist on the night in question was valid, but that Olsen's story that the coven intended human sacrifice was invalid, and awarded the plaintiff \$10 000 in damages plus costs. (Neeham, 1988) (Canadian Press, 1988a) (Canadian Press, 1988b)(Harper, 1988) (Canadian Press, 1988c) (Canadian Press, 1988d) (Canadian Press, 1988e) (Canadian Press, 1988f) (Weatherbe, 1988a)

October 1988 to
December 1988

(Vancouver, B.C.) The disappearance of two University of British Columbia students flared up rumours of a killer, roaming the city, seeking victims for rituals. The first man became missing after leaving a Halloween Party. A connection was drawn to a similar incident four years earlier involving a Simon Fraser University student who had yet to be found. The second UBC

student disappeared on the eve of an occult-related holiday in December. A panic ensued as the university switchboard became overloaded with calls from frantic parents afraid for the safety of their children. One of the students showed up later in Toronto, his disappearance related to his failing grades, and this was enough to calm the cult rumours down slightly. The police found no evidence of foul play, but admitted that the disappearances were out of character for both men still reported missing at the time. (Gallager, 1988)

November 1988

(Montreal, Que.) November 13th to the 19th was Cult Awareness Week, hosted by the Cult Project, and aimed at raising public awareness of Cults. Two theologians take issue with the centre, accusing it of conducting a witch-hunt. They feared that the cult-research centre might encourage panic or hysteria around the formation of new and legitimate religious groups. A representative of the centre believed the theologians had misread the objectives of Cult Project which makes a hard distinction between beliefs and conduct. (Curran, 1988) (Canadian Press, 1988g)

(Medicine Hat, Alta.) Satanic symbols were discovered on the walls and floors of a deserted house on the outskirts of the city. The basement wall displayed a message warning that the house had been claimed in Satan's name, and anyone entering it would die. A pentagram was also found painted on the floor. At its centre was a goat's head. (Canadian Press, 1988h)

(Medicine Hat, Alta.) South of the City, a blood-stained stone circle was found with bones nearby. Authorities believe that it may have been a site of animal sacrifice. (Canadian Press, 1988h)

December 1988

(Victoria, B.C.) It is reported that 4 minors, all runaway girls in their teens, and a twenty-two year old male were charged with tying-up, torturing, and carving an inverted cross on the forehead of another teenage girl. Police believed the mutilation was inspired by the recent media coverage of the Lion Serpent Sun trial, as satanic

symbolism, and in particular the inverted cross, was thoroughly and publicly debated. Sun commented that it may have had more to do with the Geraldo show special on Satanism which aired on October 25th. (Weatherbe, 1988b)

- Other 1988 Events (Toronto, On.) Four cases of satanic ritual abuse were reported as being investigated by Metro's Children's Aid Society, but the agency is eventually unable to confirm its suspicions. (Cloete, 1989d)
- February 1989 to October 1990 (Barrie, On.) James Tobin stabbed group-home worker Krista Sepp and was arrested. At his trial held in October of 1990, the jury was informed of his interest in Satanism. (Appleby, 1990c)
- March 1989 (Calgary, Alta.) At a criminology conference held at Mount Royal College, Ken Wooden, an American educator and producer of a international documentary on cults, said that incidents of suspected devil worship were on the rise in Canada and the United States. Satanic-related crimes such as church vandalism, animal sacrifice, and mutilations were also reported to be on the increase. Other issues discussed at the conference included educating doctors and pathologists so that bizarre deaths could be properly investigated, the allure of satanic cults for youth, and the increase of teenage crime and aggression. (Mate, 1989)
- (Toronto, On.) At a police seminar at Humber College's Center for Justice, Detective James Bradley, a satanic crime consultant for several US police forces, lectured to sixty police officers from Western Ontario. He reported that satanic cults involved in animal sacrifice, graveyard desecration, and the ritual abuse of children was on the rise in the United States, and that Canada should expect a similar increase. The seminar was organized at the request of Deputy Chief John Barrett of Halton Regional Police after three recent allegations of ritual child abuse in Ontario -- two in Hamilton and one in Oshawa. (Nunes, 1989) (Canadian Press, 1989a) (Cloete, 1989b)

(Brantford, On.) A man who was said to conduct satanic rituals in his home, confessed to authorities that Satan had made him rape and stab his sister. (Cloete, 1989e)

May 1989 to
January 1994

(Toronto, On.) A fourth baby girl was taken away at birth in 1989 from the mother who had lost custody of her three first born daughters, back in a trial decision in March of 1987, when a Judge made all three wards of the Crown. He determined that the first two sisters had been sexually abused by their parents and the mother's boyfriend. While she never regained custody of her first three children, after almost two years of court battles, the mother won custody of the fourth child in April of 1991. The judge felt that the woman had undergone a personal transformation and was ready for a second chance at motherhood. He also ordered, however, that she not be alone at home with the girl, until a review of the case, scheduled for the next year, had been completed. He also required the Children's Aid Society to provide support services to the family.

Representatives of the CAS were concerned with this decision, admitting that switching to support a family you have been fighting against in court, removes the necessary element of trust in the support relationship. Parental advocates were pleased with the decision, while child welfare supporters felt the child's best interests should have held more sway over the legal principle of minimum intervention in families espoused by the Ontario Child and Family Service Act. The foster mother, a lawyer who worked from home, provided the family with daycare service five days a week. She decided to apply to regain custody of the little girl when the child's behaviour began to change. The child started having nightmares, temper-tantrums, began scratching her face, and withholding bowel movements. The foster parents felt that her problems stemmed from living with her birth parents. After a ten week trial that spread over ten months, the judge ruled, in January of 1994, that the girl's troubles were caused by her torn loyalties to both families. The judge declared that full custody be

awarded to the natural parents, and that no more contact between the foster parents and the child be made after March 21". The legal battle for the natural parents was not at an end, however, as the CAS had petitioned the court to rule that the girl's new baby brother be classified as 'at risk' so that his care could also be supervised. (Fine, 1991) (Canadian Press, 1993b)

June 1989

(Calgary, Alta.) Reverend Jerry Johnson, author of The Edge of Evil, spoke at Calgary's First Alliance Church regarding how Satanism would become the adolescent fad of the nineties. His book was plugged on Geraldo Rivera's exposé on devil worship, which had the highest television rating for a documentary in NBC's history. The reverend commented on how two US states had recently introduced legislation banning the ritual sacrifice of animals and the ingestion of human body parts and blood, and said that this was an indication of just how ingrained the Satanist movement had become. (Staff Writer, 1989a)

August 1989 to
June 1992

(Calgary, Alta.) Mark Willis Appleby was picked up for public drunkenness after wandering out into Calgary traffic. The police subsequently searched his person and found a knife strapped to his ankle under his pant-leg. He was charged with carrying a concealed weapon. At trial, the man professed to be a practitioner of Wicca, and claimed that the double-edged knife had been worn for its magical power. His counsel argued that the knife had been carried for religious reasons, and compared it to kirpans, daggers worn under the clothing as part of the Sikh religion. In January of 1990, the judge cut the trial short and ordered the accused to undergo psychiatric examination. This order was overturned by a Court of the Queen's Bench. In September of 1990, the judge ruled that the defendant's freedom to act was limited to the laws created for the protection of society. He added that any special privilege the accused may have felt to carry a concealed weapon had been negated by his disregard for public safety. The Court of Queen's Bench upheld the trial conviction. The defence of religious freedom was also dismissed by the Alberta

Court of Appeal in June of 1992. No plans to appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada were made. Appleby's counsel also remarked that the law defining a weapon was under plans for review. The anticipated change to the Criminal Code was expected to make a defence similar to that of Mr. Appleby's case almost impossible in the future. (Lunman, 1990) (Tait, 1990) (Code, 1992)

- September 1989 (Toronto, On.) A conference on Child Abuse, organized by the Institute for the Prevention of Child Abuse, heard three expert speakers on the subject of satanic ritual violence. (Brown, 1989)
- October 1989 (Rosevalley, Sask.) One week prior to Halloween, a farmer found his mare lying dead in his pasture with her sex organs missing. The farmer, who had once worked in a slaughterhouse, claimed that the cuts were too precise to be the work of a predatory animal, and that there was not enough blood at the scene to fill a thimble. Rumours in town made satanic links to the occurrence. (Parry, 1989) (Ingram, 1989)
- (Magrath, Alta.) The town council voted to enforce a 9:30pm curfew on Halloween night as rumours circulated that an abandoned house had been burned down while teens had been conducting satanic rituals. Other rumours indicated pets were found to be missing from local homes. (Parry, 1989)
- (Leduc, Alta.) Just west of the city a grave desecration was discovered. The remains of a man buried in 1925 were stolen. The RCMP ruled out the notion of it being a prank. The grave was professionally dug. Due to the full moon the night before the grave was discovered, and the Friday before being the 13th, and the fact that Halloween was only two weeks off, it was thought to have been the work of Satanists. The reverend whose church owned the graveyard commented that the perpetrators wanted bones, not flesh, since they chose an old grave. (Ingram, 1989)

November 1989

(Dorn Ridge, N.B.) It was reported that a psychology professor at the University of New Brunswick threw a faculty party at his home, and as a result of a misconception regarding directional signs, was accused of performing satanic rites in complaints to the RCMP by his neighbours. These rites included cat and dog abductions and sacrifices, grave desecrations, and the search for a blond blue-eyed virgin for sacrifice. The professor had put up signs leading to his home so that people could find the place easier. He decided to use the Greek symbol for psychology, "Ψ", which people mistook for Satan's pitchfork. The professor subsequently received a number of anonymous threats from members of the community, to such an extent that the town fire chief warned him to be on the lookout for arsonists. Another incident may have fueled the suspicions of devil worship. A local woman had died and her ashes were being interred. A ceremony was being performed by two ministers in white robes at a small church approximately a mile from the professor's house. Somebody was likely to have seen the two ministers in white robes and connected it to the posted symbol. Police also attributed the community hysteria to the media exposure given to the recent allegations of the satanic ritual abuse of children, and the result was that it put the community's collective imagination into overdrive. (McLeod, 1989)

December 1989

(Winnipeg, Man.) Russ Heslop of the Winnipeg City Police reported that Satanism, and the crime that accompanies it, was growing at an alarming rate. He had been assigned to document the problem in Winnipeg for eighteen months. He had previously performed a similar study in Vancouver. At least four satanic ritual sites had been found outside the city. Heslop had been given the assignment after two gophers had been found ritually sacrificed and hung up on a fence post in the city. Heslop also gave seminars to social workers, school counselors and mental health professionals on satanic cult activity. (Mitchell, 1989a) (Canadian Press, 1989c) (Mitchell, 1989b)

(Winnipeg, Man.) Top officials with Provincial Child and Family Services, as well as child and adolescent mental health workers, held a one day meeting to address the involvement of Satanism in child abuse. (Mitchell, 1989a) (Canadian Press, 1989c) (Mitchell, 1989b)

December 1989 to
March 1990

(Lethbridge, Alta.) Chilton Thur, was found hanged in the basement of his girlfriend's house. The words "*To Live Is To Die*" had been formed in blood his chest or his arm (media reports were conflicting). His mother suspected the influence of a satanic cult in her son's suicide. She spoke of his introduction to the game *Dungeons and Dragons* which had been associated with teen suicides in the United States. She also said she had found a satanic bible and books on magic and witchcraft hidden in the basement of their home. She recounted that at one point she came home to find that the boy had ritually burned every bible in the house within a circle of candles. The mother of the deceased believed that the mother of the boy's girlfriend was somehow involved. She found it odd that the woman had demanded time alone with the body at her son's funeral. The woman, Terri-Ann Marco, a social worker and informal counselor for troubled teens in her neighbourhood, said it was natural for people close to the deceased to want a private period to grieve and say good-bye. In March of 1990, two other boys in the community, also friends of Chilton Thur, committed suicide. Ashley Merrick and Wayne Townsend similarly hung themselves. Ashley, in a suicide note, asked that the Metallica song *Fade to Black* be played at his funeral. The song has a strong suicide theme. Rumours were circulated that the deaths may have been counseled or aided by a satanic cult, and that adults in town may have been involved in leading youth astray. Two women were specifically accused. Terri-Ann Marco and Paula Hebert, whose homes had, in the past, been used as informal drop-in centres for youth having family difficulties, were linked to the three deaths by the families of the victims. The women were felt to have influenced the boys towards Satanism and the occult.

The police searched both homes and found no evidence of their involvement in the suicides. Talk of vigilantism spread throughout the community, and the women became recipients of threats. A meeting was set-up between the women and the families of the boys in an effort to allay tensions. Things escalated when police uncovered a collection of suicides lists, indicating there was a suicide pact between a number of teens. Some adolescents became emotionally distraught and a total of eight were placed into protective custody, and in some instances, suicide watches were set-up. The police and a number of local youth played down the connection with the occult, however, the victims' families, church representatives, and the presence of the media, all contributed to a growing hysteria within the community of Lethbridge. A public debate ensued as to whether it was Satan or social-psychological problems at the root of the difficulties facing Lethbridge teens. An inter-agency committee was established, including police, school and mental health professionals, in order to deal with the situation. (Burns and Phillip, 1990) (Mofina, 1990) (Alberts, 1990a) (Lalonde, 1990b) (Alberts, 1990b) (Herald Writer, 1990) (Canadian Press, 1990b) (Morris, 1990) (Ford, 1990) (Zimmerman, 1990) (Alberts, 1990c) (Alberts, 1990d) (Neudorf, 1990) (Hardock, 1990) (Cernetig, 1990) (Hwose, 1990) (Hutchinson, 1990b) (Hutchinson, 1990a) (Hutchinson, 1990c) (Blakely, 1990) (Oake, 1990) (Alberts, 1990e) (Appleby, 1990b) (Philip, 1990) (Todd, 1991b) (Canadian Press, 1992a)

Other 1989 Events (Alymer, On.) The Ontario Police College was reported to have held a conference on ritual abuse for approximately two hundred police officers, lawyers and childcare workers. (Cloete, 1989d)

March 1990 (Calgary, Alta.) A retired teacher protested the public library's Dungeons and Dragons program. He felt that youth were being steered into Satanism by playing the fantasy role-playing board game. He argued that it left kids like zombies, and that the game was full of gambling, satanic symbolism, and suicide. The library responded by saying if there was an actual connection

between the game and Satanism, they wouldn't be offering it as an activity. (Zimmerman, 1990)

March 1990 to
June 1992

(Prescott, On.) An investigation into the sexual abuse of at least eleven children, and possibly as many as forty-two, lead to the arrest of four adult males and two youths. Included in the charges laid by police was a count of first-degree murder against one of the men for the shooting death of an infant boy. Police were said to have speculated that a satanic cult connection might have played a role in this child sex and murder scandal. By June of 1992, a total of seventy-five people had been implicated in the abuse of one hundred and fourteen children and thirty-five adults. According to Dr. Wendy Cole, a psychiatric assessor in the case, a total of eighty-six adults were ultimately charged in the case of victimizing one hundred and twenty-eight children. (Canadian Press, 1990a) (Lalonde, 1990a) (Hutchinson, 1990a) (Hazelwood, 1992) (Bray, 1993)

April 1990

(London, On.) Western University engineering student Lynda Shaw was brutally beaten and stabbed, her body found several days later in a wooded, swampy lot east of the city of London. She had been driving back to the university, from her home in Brampton, just after Easter break, when she was killed. Speculation that the killing was ritualistic in nature spread after it was reported that her fingers had been severed and her body burned. Police dispelled the rumours, stating that her fingers had been removed by investigators as proof of the girls identity, and that the body had most likely been burned to eliminate any trace evidence leading to her killers. (Legge, 1993)

Spring 1990

(Winnipeg, Man.) St. Mary's Polish National Catholic Church cemetery was the victim of vandals. (Wild, 1990)

July 1990

(Lynn Valley, B.C.) Two youths came forward after their cult-like experience with a Christian evangelical movement. Andrea Davidson had undergone an exorcism where the pastor and his assistant held her arms and shoulders to the floor while two church

women sat on her legs. At one point after these individuals screamed "Shut-up, Satan! Shut-up" in response to her pleas that it was only her not Satan, a bible was pressed to her face and she claims to have blacked out. Davidson and her boyfriend Roger Parton left the church after a year immersed in the rituals and beliefs held by the Christian Evangelical movement. They were repeatedly told Satan was responsible for all humankind's troubles. Smoking, alcohol, music and even dancing were linked with demonic possession. The youth also stated that the pastor preached to his congregation that human rights were the lies of the devil since they allowed people to think that they were in charge of their own lives instead of God. A reporter who interviewed the pastor of the New Life Christian Center, Wayne Stilling, also noted that some very anti-Semitic and racist views were being preached during his sermons. (Todd, 1990a) (Todd, 1990b)

(Windsor, On.) A father of a boy whose body was found in the Detroit River was questioned by police as to whether he believed in Satan or practiced any form of devil worship. The questions were prompted by a tattoo of a pentagram on the man's shoulder. The man denied being involved in the occult. The residents of the community in which the parents lived gathered in a mob outside the parent's apartment building after reports of the baby's body being found. The group of one hundred and fifty angry residents had demanded the parents be punished for what happened. (Priest and Mahood, 1990)

(Bear River, N.S.) A report that the police were investigating satanic cult activity in the town identified a growing rift between the RCMP and members of the community. Police said while devil worship had become a growing concern, no one had come forward with any information. At a meeting set-up between police and local residents, talks deteriorated into police-bashing, as people criticized the lack of patrols in their area. No specific event seemed to be at the centre of the community's mobilization, although there were

purported links between cultists and animal sacrifices as well as grave robbery. Parental concern also seemed to be a factor in the dispute, the community having a large proportion of youth, which could be the target of any satanic cult influences. (Sullivan, 1990)

(Victoria, B.C.) A woman, alleged to have interests in witchcraft and the occult, and who was reported to read tarot cards, was found murdered. Her body was discovered severely beaten and only partially clothed. Police downplayed the witchcraft angle, basing their theory on the assumption that the woman had been randomly chosen for victimization. However, the media questioned the link between her death and her interest in the occult. (Colebourn, 1990)

August 1990

(Winnipeg, Man.) The cemetery of St. Mary's Polish National Catholic Church was vandalized again after a similar incident in the spring. (Wild, 1990)

September 1990

(Rural Winnipeg, Man.) A crypt was discovered opened and desecrated by unknown perpetrators. At first, the police refused to comment on the state of the remains removed and scattered from one of the crypts, but it is later revealed that the deceased's skull had been stolen. A member of the RCMP, specializing in cases entailing the possible involvement of the occult was brought in immediately. (Martin, 1990) (Wiecek, 1990a) (Wiecek, 1990d) (Stainsby, 1990a) (Owen, 1990b) (Appleby, 1990b) (Smith, 1991)

(St. Boniface, Man.) Vandals desecrated more than thirty gravestones in a local Catholic cemetery. According to reports, the vandalism marked the sixth cemetery vandalism of 1990 for the Winnipeg area. Costs were estimated at twenty thousand dollars. (Wild, 1990)

(Winnipeg, Man.) An intelligence report submitted by Constable Russ Heslop to Winnipeg City Police chief Herb Stephen in March was leaked to the Winnipeg Free Press. The report was the result of one year's

investigation into Winnipeg satanic cults and their criminal activities. The report identified five operating cults and named approximately one hundred and fifty residents of the city, ranging in ages from thirteen to fifty, believed to have ties to them. It stated that membership in these cults came from all walks of life and social class, and that a nurse, restaurant manager, and a highly placed banker, were known to be connected to a local cult. It discussed cases of ritual child abuse at length, and stated that many of the cases resulted in an absence of criminal charges because of the difficulty surrounding the credibility assigned to children's testimony. The report also named a Satan worshipper who had wanted to emulate "Jason", of *Friday the 13th* horror flick fame, and go on a killing spree. It was noted that this individual was now loose in the community. The young man had been arrested for killing the family cat and destroying his mother's house with a pick-axe. He had been found not guilty by reason of insanity and placed in a city half-way house, where, according to the report, the staff had little knowledge regarding his background. However, the report did also acknowledge that the man was under the care of a psychiatrist and was being treated with an anti-manic drug known as lithium. The thirty-two page report blamed local cults for a wide-range of yet unsubstantiated criminal activity, from assault, sexual assault, pornography, breaking and entering, theft, cruelty to animals, intimidation and arson, to drug trafficking, prostitution and possibly even murder. Soon after submitting the report, Constable Heslop was transferred to a local community policing office. While a source was quoted in the press as saying that this was due to heavy criticism by senior officers as to the merit of the report, which was not considered standard in relation to other intelligence reports, the deputy police chief said the move had been previously scheduled, and that the officer's time in plainclothes had been up several months prior to his transfer. An internal police investigation was conducted into the leak of the report, and the police refused the release of the report to other media sources. As a result of the attention given to the

report, calls were made to open a provincial inquiry into criminal cult activities in Manitoba. (Wiecek, 1990d) (Wiecek, 1990b) (Wiecek, 1990c) (Canadian Press, 1990d) (Canadian Press, 1990c) (Wiecek, 1990e) (Paul, 1990a) (Paul, 1990b) (Paul, 1990 c) (Stainsby, 1990c) (Bell, 1990) (Owen, 1990b) (Appleby, 1990c) (Smith, 1990) (Canadian Press, 1991c)

(National) CBC's *Man Alive* opened its season with a report on Satanism and its alleged effects on adolescent youth. It dealt with the Lethbridge suicides, as well as the desecration of a cemetery in Newfoundland. The report downplayed the sensational aspects of these events and approached the topic both calmly and rationally. It concluded that a problem childhood was the main factor at work in these incidents. It was promoted as a "welcome dose of rationality" on a subject that is mostly sensationalized by the media. (Blakely, 1990) (Bell, 1990)

(Windsor, On.) Four teens were convicted for robbing a church for obtaining articles they say were to be used in a black mass. (Appleby, 1990b)

Fall 1990

(Saskatoon, Sask.) Social Services took a child away from her grandmother's care after the child's mother told them that the little girl had been accompanied to a Satanic Church by her grandmother. The little girl had been in the care of her grandmother at the time because her mother was mentally ill and unable to raise her herself. What had happened was that the little girl had gone with her grandmother to a Christian Church and had witnessed her first communion. The child had taken the references of eating the body and drinking the blood of Christ literally, and so had told her mother that the people at the church ate body parts and drank blood. The mother, who was mentally unstable, had not questioned her daughter's version of the events, and had gone straight to social services. Social workers had acted with no further investigation of the complaint and did not bother questioning the grandmother. The child was placed in foster care for two years where she was

told her grandmother was evil and encouraged to name other members of her grandmother's cult. The girl gave them a list of a dozen names which all proved to be fictitious. The grandmother was completely vindicated of all charges at her hearing, and the judge, for the first time in Saskatchewan's history, awarded a defendant full compensation for the costs of her legal counsel. (Parker, 1995a)

November 1990

(Toronto, On.) At the probation officer's annual convention for the province, Satanism and young offenders was the topic of one of the assembly's seminars. In the group of approximately one hundred officers, 70% claimed to have encountered cases where a youth's interest in Satanism was cause for some concern. Officers were presented with a slide show illustrating the connection between Satanism and heavy-metal music. (Oake, 1990) (Appleby, 1990b)

(Edmonton, Alta.) The RCMP is said to have identified eight satanic cult sites throughout the province. Two officers from Edmonton's Integrated Intelligence Unit, a joint operation between city police and the RCMP, assigned to monitor cult activity, refused to comment about their duties to the media. (Oake, 1990)

(Lethbridge, Alta.) An inquiry was held into the death of one of the boys who committed suicide in March by hanging himself from a bunk-bed in the open custody group home in which he was staying. Two more teenage suicides in Lethbridge since March had revived rumours of Satanism and its effect on the lives of local teenagers. The inquiry into Wayne Townsend's suicide was held to assess the supervision at the provincial government home where he died. An official inquiry is considered mandatory whenever there is a death of a person being held in the custody of a provincial facility. Wayne's mother admitted that her first reaction to her son's suicide was the result of being caught up in local rumours and hysteria. The families of the other victims, and many local residents, were not satisfied with the investigation into the other deaths and their connection

to Satanism and the occult. (Alberts, 1990e) (Philip, 1990)

(Winnipeg, Man.) The provincial government was forced to respond to calls for an inquiry into Satanism within the province as the result of Constable Heslop's leaked report. A provincial inter-departmental effort was made in the planning of a massive conference on Satanism and ritual child abuse, with the lead departments comprising of Health, Justice, Education and Family Services. Police, lawyers, psychiatrists, social workers, teachers and government officials came together to confront the issue. It was reported as being the first step in the establishment of an inter-departmental committee that would make joint recommendations to the ministers of each department involved. (Paul, 1990c) (Owen, 1990b) (Appleby, 1990c) (Bray, 1990) (Canadian Press, 1990c) (McFarland, 1992)

December 1990

(Fredericton, N.B.) A conference on Satanism and the occult was organized by two local educators concerned that satanic cults were becoming a growing problem in the lives of troubled youth in the Maritimes. Included among the three hundred participants gathered for the conference were Steve and Linda Taylor, the parents of the Sackville youth who committed suicide in 1987 because he believed Satan had come to collect his soul. The Taylors had become the founders of PAST (Parents Against Satanic Teachings) and they had traveled throughout the Maritimes speaking out about the dangers of satanic cults. Also participating at the conference were police, parents and teachers, as well as Earl Hill, a US expert on Satanism with St. Francis Medical Center in Pittsburgh. (Canadian Press, 1990f) (Canadian Press, 1990g) (Canadian Press, 1990h)

January 1991

(Rivers, Man.) A man who believed he was being directed by God, decided to open a hot-line to offer kids refuge from Satan, and help them find God. He called it the "Line of Life". The man had placed advertisements in local newspapers asking anyone who was involved in

Satanism or the occult to please give him a call. He stated he had gotten a view prank calls, some from skeptics, but also others that were serious, and some offering their moral support. (Canadian Press, 1991a)

May 1991

(Vancouver, B.C.) City police Constable Charles Ennis went public with his investigation into the anti-Satanist movement and attempted to provide the 'other side' of the Satanism story. He detailed the lack of evidence for the large numbers of crimes alleged by so-called experts in the field. He questioned the media's role in providing these allegations a forum where they were able to gain acceptance as fact. He also identified the Christian Evangelical movement as being the source of the rumour-mongering in Canada, the United States, and Britain over the past several years. This was done in order to attract more followers to the faith. Author of The Satanism Scare, Professor David Bromley, profiled some of the key figures used to promote the notion of a satanic-cult conspiracy. He found that a number of psychiatrists and 'cult-cops' had disseminated information given to them from conservative Christian networks without making clear their own religious convictions. In particular, an often-quoted medical expert Dr. Rebecca Brown, a woman who had appeared on the Geraldo Rivera special on Satanism, worked for a fundamentalist Christian organization, that had no tolerance for Mormons or Catholics. No mention was ever made of the fact that her medical license had been taken from her as a result of her diagnosis of several patients cancers as being caused by demons. She had also referred to other medical professionals as devils. (Todd, 1991a)

August 1991

(Edmonton, Alta.) A woman was charged with two counts of fraud and two counts of pretending to practice witchcraft, after clients of her 'astrological boutique' complained to police. Patsy Mitchell, also known as 'Shana' had told a woman that there was a black aura surrounding her body and that it would bring her bad luck unless removed at an estimated cost of \$500. University professor of sociology, Dr. Stephen

Kent, explained how it is considered a criminal offence if a psychic situates a client in an emotionally stressful situation that demands the counselor's intervention in order to remove the threat. (Misutka, 1991)

September 1991

(Saint John, N.B.) At a custody trial, a mother detailed how her fourteen year old daughter had become involved in a satanic cult. She claimed her daughter, who had been inducted into the cult by a friend, had witnessed murder, sexual abuse, and child abduction. She also recounted how her daughter had drugged her mother and her siblings so that satanic rituals could be performed in the house. During one such ceremony, the mother claimed her daughter had swung a dagger at her but had not stabbed her do to the child's fear of blood. The girl was removed from the home for the safety of all concerned. The mother was in court to fight a bid by Community Services to make the child a permanent ward of the province. The mother felt that the girl's treatment was inadequate to deal with the abuse she suffered at the hands of the cult. She had been counseled for sexual abuse, but the mother wanted her to undergo therapy for the ritual abuse. According to authorities, the girl showed no signs of cult involvement. (Canadian Press, 1991b)

October 1991

(Winnipeg, Man.) A mother impaled her four year old son through the head with a broomstick and left the body in the child's room for days until her estranged common-law husband discovered it and called police. One of the boy's sisters had been witness to the killing. Police seized spiritual items, including what were rumoured to be satanic prayers. Neighbours said that satanic prayers posted on the front and back doors of the house were notorious among the neighbourhood children. The mother was charged with first-degree murder. (Wiecek and Owen, 1991) (Canadian Press, 1991c)

January 1992 to
March 1992

(Mission, B.C.) Three mothers took their views regarding a series of textbooks to the school board. They criticized the series as being violent, morbid, and

supportive of occult practices. School staff and seven other parents also spoke at the meeting in support of keeping the readers in question in the classroom. They said that the series represented the best of a very limited choice of resource options for teachers. Teachers using the readers said that their value lay in their presentation of Canadian folklore and multicultural traditions. The school board voted not to eliminate the texts from the curriculum. Over two hundred parents demonstrated as a result in February, in hopes of persuading the board to reverse its decision. The series was known to cause problems in other jurisdictions as well, however, all ministries that had dealt with complaints had subsequently come out in favour of the books. One woman, so frustrated with the school board's decision, took her children out of elementary school, and started teaching them at home. (Saenger, 1992)

March 1992

(Lethbridge, Man.) The body of murder victim Kenneth Jackson was found. He was the stepfather of Chilton Thur, one of the boys who committed suicide approximately two years previously, sparking rumours of devil worship and occult activity. Jackson and other family members of the boys had publicly voiced their conviction that there was a connection between the boy's experimentation with Satanism and their deaths. Police refused to comment whether Satanism had played a role in Jackson's death as well. (Canadian Press, 1992a)

April 1992

(Winnipeg, Man.) A victim counselor spoke at a sexual abuse conference as to the uniqueness of a ritual abuse victim's experience from that of other forms of sexual abuse. She explained how victimization was more likely to occur within the family, often with mothers preparing the children for the abuse. Children tended to be abused at earlier ages and conditioned to feel helpless and powerless. Drugs and brainwashing techniques would be used against them with the goal of making them feel there is no way out. (McFarland, 1992)

June 1992

(Regina, Sask.) Constable David Horn, a twenty year veteran of the RCMP and assigned to investigate occult

activity in the province of Saskatchewan, claimed he was convinced that satanic cults were actively engaging in criminal activity, although he was frustrated by his inability to provide any hard evidence. He claimed that crimes, including human sacrifice, were being committed by Satanists, but that people were too scared and too intimidated to go to the police with information. He also claimed that what little evidence that could be uncovered was often old and unable to provide police with clues. He believed that these cults were made up of very powerful and respected members of Saskatchewan communities. (MacDonald, 1992) (Canadian Press, 1992b)

June 1992 to
May 1995

(Martensville, Sask.) After a seven month investigation, one hundred and seventy-two charges were laid against nine people, including five police officers and a prison administrator. The total count of charges laid in the end was one hundred and eighty. The charges included sexual assault, aggravated assault, weapons violations, threats, unlawful confinement, the production of pornography, administering a stupefying substance, and other related offences. Children's allegations made reference to satanic or occult abuse. The main perpetrators of the alleged abuse were Ron and Linda Sterling. Linda ran a babysitting service out of their home. The town became divided, with the accused, their families, and their supporters on one side, and the victims, their families, and their supporters on the other. Links were drawn between this case and the McMartin pre-school trial in the US. The accused daycare director and her son, along with those who worked for them, were eventually acquitted of the three hundred and twenty-one charges laid against them. The Martensville charges sparked a debate as to the legitimacy and credibility of children's testimony, as well as child interviewing techniques used by police, therapists and parents. The situation drew hauntingly similar parallels to the Salem witch hunts of the seventeenth century. The trial ended in February of 1994 with Linda and Ron Sterling being acquitted of all 37 charges against them. Their son Travis and the juvenile who had been charged

in the case were found guilty of fifteen of the original forty-one charges against them. They were both released pending an appeal. The five policemen that were awaiting their own trial had the charges against them stayed. Investigators, the Martensville Chief of Police, the repressed memory-recovery therapist who had worked on the case, and Saskatchewan Crown attorneys were condemned for their mishandling of the matter from start to finish. Concern was felt not only for those who had been accused, but for the children who had been coerced into disclosing the abuse, subsequently subjecting them to emotional trauma and anxiety. The methods used by investigators were the centre-theme of the defence's case. The children had been exposed to sex-education videos and grueling interrogations that did not stop until a disclosure of abuse was made. One child had been interviewed more than sixty times. These children were made to feel guilty if they did not cooperate and rewarded if they did. As a result of the appeal process, the young female offender who was convicted of seven charges at trial had all of the convictions overturned. The appeal of Travis Sterling confirmed one conviction of sexual touching and overturned the other seven trial convictions. This charge, it was noted, was not a part of the main investigation, and had dated back to 1988. It was argued that this charge should have been tried separately from the rest. Thus, in the end, of the one hundred and eighty charges laid, only one conviction was validated by the court system. Lawyers and defendants called for a public inquiry into the manner in which the investigation and prosecution was conducted, however, the Saskatchewan Justice Minister denied the need for such an inquiry, claiming the courts had taken care of it. John Popovich, who was one of the police officers originally charged in the case, with the support of the Sterlings, launched a ten million dollar lawsuit against investigators of the Martensville Police Force, the Crown Attorney's Office, the provincial government, and the Saskatchewan Minister of Justice for negligence and malicious prosecution. (Fennell, 1992) (Hazelwood, 1992) (McGovern, 1994) (Parker, 1995b) (Millin, 1995)

June 1992 to
November 1992

(Calgary, Alta.) A man was denied access to his son because he was a witch. A court-hearing heard the mother's protests regarding access to the child by the father, a member of the Wiccan faith, and preliminarily denied him access to his son. He sought to overturn the ruling in November, with the help of a diverse range of supporters, including the United Church of Canada, Alberta's Pagan Affirmation Network, a High Priestess of Circle Sanctuary, and a Vancouver police officer who was the director of the Wiccan Information Network. The judgement handed down in November granted unsupervised visitation rights to the father, who had yet to meet his son for the first time. (Canadian Press, 1992c) (Legge, 1992)

July 1992

(Rural Edmonton, Alta.) After almost a year of cattle mutilations depleting the stocks of rural Edmonton's farms, farmers reported that they feared that Satanists were to blame. Other rumours circulating in the community linked the cattle slayings to UFO visitations. The satanic rumours were supported in July when vandals were said to have stuffed parts of the slaughtered cattle into rural mailboxes which were smeared with blood. Canada Post was also targeted when culprits dumped some of the slaughter into the Legal post office, thus spoiling several pieces of mail. The cattle mutilations were reported by farmers as occurring one to two days before the full moon. The RCMP was criticized for trying to play the incidents down and refusing requests for all night stake-outs on local farms. Canadian Legion members in the area offered their services in conducting night patrols, a gesture which concerned police, who thought that a number of Legion members roaming about at night on the look out for Satanists or extra-terrestrials was simply a bad idea. However, the calls made to the RCMP Leduc detachment demonstrated the public's dissatisfaction with police inaction. Autopsies performed by veterinarians on some of the affected cattle could not rule out natural predators, and some results attributed a number of the deaths to disease and

infection. Some animal scavengers are also known to remove the softest body parts and leave the rest. One family farm was so upset with what was going on, they called the Edmonton Journal out to report on the occurrences. They soon wished they hadn't, however, as a media circus descended on the farm, including newsprint reporters, camera crews, and lay-experts on animal mutilations. The family found the media spotlight as bad as their cattle problems. Leduc RCMP, frustrated with the growing hysteria in their jurisdiction, completely ruled out foul play in the cattle deaths. No signs of struggle or bullet wounds had been discovered on the carcasses. The RCMP had been swamped with calls of complainants accusing their neighbours of being warlocks. (Oake, 1992) (Demers, 1992)

August 1992

(Winnipeg, Man.) A complaint by the director of the Child Protection Center condemned the fragmented nature of services offered to victims of ritual abuse for preventing the rescue of children from satanic cults. He claimed that police and medical experts could not co-ordinate their efforts internally, let alone with each other. He also publicly criticized the police's position of skepticism in ritual abuse cases. (Paul, 1992)

September 1992

(Winnipeg, Man.) Opposition parties in the province supported the creation of a five-bed treatment centre for ritually abused teenage girls. The governing party was denounced for its lack of input on the matter. It was argued that a specialized treatment setting was required for this type of abuse. (Campbell, 1992)

Fall 1992

(Saskatoon, Sask.) In a satanic ritual abuse case, two children alleged that their foster parents and other adults had forced them to engage in forms of bestiality. They also claimed that their foster parents had eaten babies and buried the remains in the backyard. The case resulted in the laying of criminal charges against sixteen individuals, seven of them women. Twelve people had their charges stayed due to insufficient evidence. The remaining four were convicted, even though there was no physical evidence to corroborate the children's

stories, and were appealing the decision. The other twelve have filed suit against the Saskatchewan government's Social Services and Justice Departments for ten million dollars in damages for negligence and malicious prosecution. Friends of those accused were very upset about the way the police and social services had conducted their investigations and they decided to go public with their protest by carrying placards denouncing the primary investigator in the case, as well as the rest of the investigating team, outside the Saskatoon police station. The Lucases, were charged with criminal defamation and were sentenced to almost two years a piece. They planned to appeal the decision. (McGovern, 1994) (Repo, 1994) (Parker, 1995c)

May 1993

(Calgary, Alta.) Member's of Calgary's Wiccan community were reported to be distributing copies of the Law Enforcement Guide to Wicca to local police agencies, in an effort to clear up any misinformation they might have received about their spiritual practices. The text, written by Vancouver police constable, and witch, Chuck Ennis, explains how Wiccans are not equivalent to Satanists. The guide, first published by the Wiccan Information Network, a group he helped get off the ground, is now featured as a resource in police libraries in both Canada and the United States. (Legge, 1993)

(Airdrie, Alta.) It was reported that a number of youths who playing with a Ouiji board suffered physical and emotional consequences as a result. Three participants of the game became quite agitated and started punching the wall with their fists, and a fourth girl was taken to a Calgary hospital for a psychiatric assessment. Later that week the child collapsed at school, shaking a saying that she was possessed by evil spirits. The head of emergency services, which had responded to calls for assistance in the matter, felt the incident was the result of kids becoming extremely frightened. An Anglican priest was called to the home of the girl who had gone into some sort of seizure after once again playing the game. He anointed her with oil and prayed over her.

She said she was unable to speak while he did this, but that she saw a white figure approach her, make the sign of the cross, thereby driving away a small black figure. The priest said although he did not think it was a demonic possession, he did feel that he was dealing with some form of spiritual activity. (Hazelwood, 1993)

August 1993

(Round Hill, Alta.) A grave was dug up and some of the remains stolen from a small Ukrainian Orthodox Church cemetery. Police, who could not come up with any leads, turned to the public for information by approaching the media in November. The theft was not felt to be the work of adolescent pranksters. Canadian Press, 1993b)

September 1993

(Winnipeg, Man.) Dr. Wendy Cole presented a paper at the forty-third annual meeting of the Canadian Psychiatric Association which discussed her profiling of multi-victim, multi-offender, sexual abuse cases. She was a psychiatrist who assessed twenty of the eighty-six adults charged in the Prescott abuse scandal, as well as many of the victims. While no tangible evidence was found of a satanic cult connection, she stated that the victims, involving one hundred and twenty-eight children under the age of ten, suffered from severe sexual, physical and emotional abuse. Victims' accounts detailed forced witness to animal sacrifices and abuse at the hands of adults wearing masks and black robes. Whether or not the perpetrators were a part of a cult, Dr. Cole diagnosed a high degree of pathology amongst them. Offenders had been classed as pedophiles, coming from strong backgrounds of family violence and mental retardation, where one generation's victim became the next generation's offender. She also noted the significance of the rural community setting in preserving patterns of abuse by isolating families and allowing it to go undetected for long periods of time. (Bray, 1993)

November 1993

(Surrey, B.C.) An SPCA inspector found what she believed had been a goat or a deer dumped in a city park, near a children's playground. The animal's skin,

hooves, sex organs, entrails, head and tail had been sliced off. (Parton, 1994)

- Other 1993 Events (National) The final report of the Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women was released. The panel had heard from Canadian women who had shared their experiences of ritual abuse. The report identified a lack of knowledge and research in this area, and urged that these women's stories be recognized. (Parkes, 1994) (Repo, 1994)
- February 1994 (Trail, B.C.) An unknown person left a dead pregnant cat on the steps of a Presbyterian Church. It had been dismembered and pieces of it were missing. Later that night, the missing parts were found on the steps, neatly arranged in the order they would have been found if the cat had still been intact. (Parton, 1994)
- March 1994 (Vancouver, B.C.) A woman, who found half the body of the family cat left in a nearby yard, took him to the vet who initially felt the cat had been killed by another animal. Under closer examination, however, he declared that the cat had been slice in half by a very sharp instrument. Outraged, the woman decided to approach the media for help in finding the perpetrators. After being told that the cat may have been the object of a ritual sacrifice for a satanic cult, however, she decided to let it go for the safety of her family. The city pound-keeper said that the discovery of half-cats had been going on since 1989 and that the amount of mutilated corpses had risen dramatically since then. The SPCA was in agreement. A Wiccan priestess was quoted as denying that Wiccans or Pagans were at work in these slayings, explaining that life was held sacred in all its forms. Even Satanists, she believed, would not commit an act that was so high profile. (McDowell, 1994)
- March 1994 to December 1995 (Tofino, Vancouver Island, B.C.) A man murdered his former girlfriend because he had been haunted by visions of her and by the sound of her voice. The man had suffered brain damage from a near drowning in 1985, and had an auditory problem which led him to

confuse the sound of voices with his own breathing. A psychiatrist testified at his trial that he was afflicted by a form of psychosis similar to schizophrenia. He had beaten the victim to death, crushed her head with a rock, and burned her body in order to silence her voice in his mind. He claimed that he had burned her like a witch because he had believed that she was one, witches being able to haunt people and cast spells upon them. He wasn't declared fit to stand trial until September of 1994. In December of 1995, he was found guilty of second-degree murder and sentenced to life in prison, with eligibility for parole in ten years. (McDowell, 1996)

April 1994

(Edmonton, Alta.) A book entitled The Witch, by US author Shirley Jackson, was banned from County of Ponoka schools as the result of a complaint lodged by a school trustee. The book was brought to her attention when her son, who had read the story, had said it was really 'warped'. The tale describes a young boy on a train trip with his mother and baby sister, who passes the time by inventing stories about witches. A man joins them and proceeds to recount a tale about chopping up his little sister. The mother promptly asks the man to leave, and the boy laughs off the situation by saying that he was probably a witch. The editor of the book defended the story, by stating that it was meant to reveal the dark, violent, and controlling side of human nature. (Canadian Press, 1994b)

September 1994 to
December 1995

(Surrey, B.C.) A man was charged with the murder of his girlfriend's three year old son. The boy died as the result of cardiac arrest caused by a hard kick or punch to his stomach. The man was a witch, and referred to himself as Guardian of the Angelic Knights. The boy's aunt suggested that he was part of a satanic cult and that the boy's death may have been linked to ritual abuse. The man's defence lawyer, an admitted Wiccan, warned that people should not confuse Satanism and Wicca. The crown never cross-examined the defendant on his spiritual beliefs, and thus the jury never was told about his religious background. The crown prosecutor defended his position by saying that the Crown's job

was to show how the boy died, not why he died. The man was found guilty of second-degree murder and received a mandatory life sentence. (Hall, 1995)

October 1994

(Morin Heights, Que.) Five bodies were found after a fire just north of Montreal. The dead were members of a cult known as the Order of the Solar Temple. A family of three had been bludgeoned and stabbed to death. The baby was believed to have been ritually sacrificed because an influential member of the cult had considered him to be the Antichrist. Another forty-eight members of the cult residing in Switzerland were also casualties of the mass murder-suicide. Some members had been given sedatives to sleep, while others were shot, before the fire was set by timers attached to gasoline cans. According to the beliefs of the cult, death by fire was the only way one could reach the next world. (Clarkson, 1994) (Tibbles, 1994) (Branswell, 1997)

(Red Deer, Alta.) A conference on cults was held in the wake of the Order of the Solar Temple deaths in Quebec and Switzerland. Experts warned that cults and fanatical movements were on the rise, and that they had no provincial or international boundaries. Cult members, participants were told, could be living in any neighbourhood. Cults were said to frequently participate in fraud schemes that targeted the elderly, but cautioned people that anyone could be their victim. (Clarkson, 1994)

(Calgary, Alta.) A mother, who discovered her son's reluctance to do an assigned reading for school, decided to take a look at the book's content herself and wasn't pleased with what she found. An award-winning work of fiction, the book was called The Headless Cupid, and dealt with the story of four young children who gain a stepsister from their father remarrying after their mother's death. Their new sibling practices witchcraft and inducts her new siblings as novices. The plot, according to the mother, has sadomasochist undertones, involves an animal sacrifice, stealing from victims both alive and dead, and promotes dishonesty, cruelty,

seances, and occultism. She took her concerns to the staff of her son's school who did not share her view. She was directed to take the matter up with the Calgary Board of Education's superintendent for elementary curriculum. (Woodard, 1994)

January 1995

(Winnipeg, Man.) A couple took out an advertisement in the newspaper to enlist the support of other potential plaintiffs in a civil action suit against the province for its formation of an interdepartmental committee on ritual abuse. Mr. Bergen and his wife believe that Mrs. Bergen's therapist planted false memories of sexual and ritual abuse in her mind. This had a devastating effect on the couple's life. While they had already filed a million dollar lawsuit against Mrs. Bergen's therapist, they also blamed the Manitoba government for its creation of the Committee on Ritual Abuse and Youth Involvement in Cults, whose membership consisted of police, clergy, and therapists, in particular Mrs. Bergen's own therapist. The Bergens felt that this action added to a social and professional climate whereby mental health practitioners were encouraged to look for symptoms of ritual abuse in patients who had never complained of any such childhood trauma. (Guttormson, 1995)

(Thunder Bay, On.) The Ontario government contributed \$15 000 for a conference entitled "Surviving Ritual Abuse" to be held in Thunder Bay. This move was criticized by opponents of the conference who believed that claims of ritual abuse were the result of false memories. (Steed, 1995)

June 1995

(Vancouver, B.C.) The corpses of five cats were discovered, each sliced neatly in two and drained of blood. Similar finds were recovered dating as far back as 1989. People believed the cats were a part of some sort of sacrifice. (Brunet, 1995)

July 1995

(Vancouver, B.C.) An academic study was referred to in the press, where 12 000 accusations of ritual abuse or

satanic cult abuse were investigated and where not one case revealed any corroborating evidence. (Millin, 1995)

(Vancouver, B.C.) The results of an RCMP task force into the Martensville case of child ritual and sexual abuse was quoted in the press. The task force revealed that the Martensville Police Force had alleged the existence of complex cult conspiracies and pending human sacrifices in connection with their investigation. No corroborating evidence had been found by the task force that would support such wild allegations. The chief of police was also said to have engaged the support of an organization called *Cult Out Ministries* during the investigation. (Millin, 1995)

(Surrey, B.C.) A woman's ten month campaign to have a book banned ended when lack of consensus resulted in the Surrey School Board's decision to keep the book No Place for Me, by Barthe DeClements, in its libraries. In the book, a girl who has an alcoholic mother, receives guidance and direction from her aunt who is a member of the Wiccan faith. Heather Stillwell, the woman who led the campaign to have the book banned, warned parents to watch out for books that might erode family values. Opponents to this campaign stated that public schools should be based on secular and non-sectarian principles, and that their libraries should reflect a diverse and balanced view of world cultures and religions. (Eng, 1995)

(Vancouver, B.C.) Pamela Freyd, founder of the False Memory Foundation, came to Vancouver for a meeting of the Society for Applied Research in Memory and Cognition held at the University of British Columbia. She also met with a FMS (False Memory Syndrome) support group where approximately seventy-five people attended, the majority of whom had been accused of abuse by adults who had recovered memories of their childhood. She was quoted as comparing the use of recovered memories as evidence to the Salem courts who tried witches solely based on spectral evidence --

that gained from dreams, visions and hallucinations.
(Bellet, 1995)

(Maple Ridge, B.C.) The summer solstice coincided with a series of horse mutilations believed to be the work of Satanists, active in the town for a number of decades, according to local residents. Similar attacks had occurred around the summer solstice of 1989. (Brunet, 1995)

July 1995 to
August 1996

(La Ronge, Sask.) A fifteen year old boy killed and mutilated a seven year old boy because he believed that drinking the rendered fat of a young virgin would give him the ability to fly. Sandy Charles was obsessed with the occult and likely suffered from a form of schizophrenia, according to psychiatrists a psychologist assigned to the case. He was found not criminally responsible for first-degree murder due to mental illness in August of 1996. He was to be held and treated for this illness through the use of anti-psychotic drugs.
(Danylchuk, 1996)

March 1997

(Television Network Coverage) A documentary film on the history of the Order of the Solar Temple aired on a French-language television network. (Branswell, 1997)

(Saint Casimir, Que.) Five bodies were found after a fire in a two-story home. The five deaths had been suicides linked to the Order of the Solar Temple, a cult that had ordered the mass murder-suicide of fifty-three people in Quebec and Switzerland in 1994. Death by fire was considered the means by which cult members could voyage to the star Sirius. Three teenagers, children of two of the dead, had not wanted to participate in this voyage, and police found them in a nearby shed. They only found out about the plan when they survived a botched attempt a couple of days earlier, and brought up their concerns with their parents, who decided they did not have to participate unwillingly. The children were placed under the authority of Quebec's Youth Protection Branch. Police estimated that as many as forty other Quebec residents were linked to the cult. In

June of 1996, police had acted on rumours that the Order was planning another ritual killing, and had placed known members under surveillance. When nothing occurred, the police assumed that the cult was no longer active. (Branswell, 1997)

(Kamloops, B.C.) The directors of the Thompson-Nicola Regional District Library turned down a petition to remove The Satanic Bible, by Anton LaVey, from the shelves of the Kamloops branch. The petition had been signed by over eleven hundred residents of Kamloops. The library's directors saw the situation as a free speech issue, while some parents were concerned because access to the book did not have to be approved by parents. (Gainor, 1997)

July 1997

(Edmonton, Alta.) Protests arose over a scheduled concert by the rock band Marilyn Manson. The band is infamous for its satanic image, lyrics and lifestyle. The band's leader is a minister of the Church of Satan. The group is also known for acts of indecency onstage, on occasion resulting in jail terms for some members of the band. The Edmonton concert was set to go ahead as planned. (Mullin, 1997)

(Calgary, Alta.) Protests similar to those in Edmonton occurred over a concert date for the satanic rock band Marilyn Manson. The protests were successful and the event was cancelled. (Mullin, 1997)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Texts

- Allport, Gordon and Postman, Leo, The Psychology of Rumor, New York: Russell & Russell, 1975.
- Barstow, Anne Llewellyn, Witchcraze: A New History of the European Witch Hunts, Pandora: San Francisco CA, 1994.
- Boyer, Paul and Nissenbaum, Stephen, Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft, Harvard University Press: Cambridge Mass, 1974.
- Brauner, Sigrid, Fearless Wives and Frightened Shrews: The Construction of the Witch in Early Modern Germany, University of Massachusetts Press: Amherst, 1995.
- Cohen, Stanley, Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of Mods and Rockers, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972.
- Criminal Intelligence Service Nova Scotia, Cult & Satanic-Occult Related Crime, 1992.
- Cuhulain, Kerr, Law Enforcement Guide to Wicca, Horned Owl Publishing: Victoria, 1992.
- Daly, Mary, Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism, Beacon Press: Boston, 1978.
- Edmonton Integrated Intelligence Unit, Investigators Reference Manual: Cult & Occult Influenced Crime, 1990.
- Faith, Karlene, Unruly Women: The Politics of Confinement & Resistance, Press Gang Publishers: Vancouver, 1993.
- Foucault, Michel, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, Translated by Alan Sheridan, Vintage Books: Toronto, 1977.
- Gragg, Larry, The Salem Witch Crisis, Praeger: New York, 1992.
- Hester, Marianne, Lewd Women and Wicked Witches: A Study of the Dynamics of Male Domination, Routledge: New York, 1992

- Hicks, Robert D., In Pursuit of Satan: the Police and the Occult, Prometheus Books: Buffalo, 1991.
- Karlsen, Carol F., The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England, W.W. Norton & Company: New York, 1987.
- Klaits, Joseph, Servants of Satan: The Age of the Witch Hunts, Indiana University Press: Bloomington, 1985.
- Larner, Christina, Enemies of God: The Witch-hunt in Scotland, The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 1981.
- Larner, Christina, Witchcraft and Religion: The Politics of Popular Belief, Basil Blackwell: New York, 1984.
- Lanning, Special Agent Kenneth V., Investigator's Guide to Allegations of "Ritual" Child Abuse, FBI Behavioral Science Unit: Quantico, 1992.
- Levack, Brian P., The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe, Longman Group UK Limited: Harlow, England, 1992.
- Martins Annual Criminal Code Canadian Law Book Inc.: Aurora, Ont., 1997.
- Mueller, Leo, A brief Overview of the Occult for Cops and Counsellors, February 1988.
- Richardson, James, Best Joel, Bromley, David (eds.), The Satanism Scare, New York: Aldine de Gruyter Inc., 1991.
- Rosnow, Ralph, and Fine Gary, Rumor and Gossip: The Social Psychology of Hearsay, New York: Elsevier, 1976.
- Sibutani, Tamotsu, Improvised News: A Sociological Study of Rumor, New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company Inc., 1966.
- Simms, Maria Kay, The Witch's Circle: Rituals and Craft of the Cosmic Muse, Llewellyn Publications: St. Paul Minnesota, 1994.
- Spector, M. and Kitsuse J., Constructing Social Problems, Cummings Publishing Company Inc., 1977.

Sprenger, Jakob and Krämer, Heinrich, Malleus Maleficarum, Translated by Rev. Montague Summers, Benjamin Blom, Inc.: New York: 1970.

Szasz, Thomas S., The Manufacture of Madness, Delta Publishing Inc.: New York, 1970.

Thomas, Keith, Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England, Weidenfeld and Nicholson: London, 1971.

Victor, Jeffrey S., Satanic Panic: The Creation of a Contemporary Legend, Open Court: Chicago and La Salle, Illinois, 1993.

Zilboorg, Gregory, The Medical Man and the Witch During the Renaissance, John Hopkins Press: Baltimore, 1935.

Articles (Except for Those Found in Media Sample)

Archer, James, "*Campus in Crisis: Coping with Fear and Panic Related to Serial Murders*", in Journal of Counseling and Development, Vol 71: 1, Sept/Oct1992, pp. 96-100.

Best, Joel, "*Rhetoric in Claims-Making: Constructing the Missing Children Problem*", in Social Problems, 34: 2, pp. 101-121.

Brown, Peter, "*Society and the Supernatural: A Medieval Change*", in Daedalus, Vol. 4 No. 2, Spring 1975, pp.133-147.

Frigon, Sylvie, "*A Gallery of Portraits: Women and the Embodiement of Difference, Deviance and Resistance*", in Post Critical Criminology, Editor Thomas O'Reilly-Fleming, Prentice-Hall: Scarborough Ont., 1996, pp. 78-105.

Lanning, Kenneth V., "*Satanic, Occult, Ritualistic Crime: A Law Enforcement Perspective*", RCMP Gazette, Vol. 53 No. 5, 1991, pp.6-15.

Ponting, J. Rick, "*Rumor Control Centers: Their Emergence and Operations*", in American Behavioural Scientist, Vol. 16: 3, January 1973, pp. 391-401.

Pudaloff, Ross J., "*Witchcraft at Salem: (Mis)representing the Subject*", in Semiotica Vol. 83-3/4, 1991, pp. 333-349.

- Rosnow, Ralph, "On Rumor", in the Journal of Communication, Summer of 1974, Vol 24: 3, pp. 26-38.
- Rosnow, Ralph, "Inside Rumour: A Personal Journey", in American Psychologist, Vol 46: 5, May 1991, pp. 484-496.
- Spitzer, Steven, "Toward a Marxian Theory of Deviance", Social Problems, Vol. 22, June 1975, pp. 638-651.
- Szasz, Thomas S., "The Expulsion of Evil", in The Collective Definition of Deviance, Editors James Davis and Richard Strivers, Free Press: New York, 1975, pp. 60-72.
- Tatro, Charlotte R., "Cross My Palm with Silver: Fortunetelling as an Occupational Way of Life", in Deviant Behavior: Occupational and Organizational Bases, Editor Clifton D. Bryant, Rand McNally College Publishing Company: Chicago, 1974, pp. 286-299.
- Weinberg, Sanford and Rich, "Fighting Fire with Fire: Establishment of a Rumor Control Center", in Communication Quarterly, Vol. 26: 3, Summer 1978, pp. 26-31.
- Young, Jock, "The Tasks Facing a Realist Criminology", Contemporary Crises, 1987, Vol. 11: 337-334

Internet Sites

Grimm's Hanzel and Gretel
@www.mordent.com/folktale/grimms/hng/hng.html

The Witchcraze in Early Modern Europe
@<http://www.u.arizona.edu/~benitez.alicia.htm>

The Witches Archives
@<http://www.xs4all.nl/~wyrd/witchcraft>

Witchcraft and Wicca
@<http://www.religioustolerance.org/witchra.htm>

Thou Shalt Not Suffer a Woman to Live: The Reasons Behind the Hiding of Women's Sexuality During the Witchcraze

@<http://fox.nstn.ca/~daveman/misogyny.html>

The Witch Hunts: The End of Magic and Miracles from The Dark Side of Christian History, by Helen Ellerbe, Chapter 8 1450-1750 C.E.

@<http://www.warmcove.com/cove/morningstar/chatper8.html>

Canadian Population Demographics for 1998:

www.statcan.ca/english/Pgdb/People/popula.htm3pop

Case Law

R v. Best (1934) Canadian Criminal Cases (C.C.C.), Vol. LXII, pp. 340-342.

R v. Chilcott (1902) Canadian Criminal Cases (C.C.C.), Vol. VI., pp. 27-28.

R v. Corbeil (1981) Canadian Criminal Cases (C.C.C.), Vol. 65 (2d), pp. 570-576.

R v. Dazenbrook (1975) Canadian Criminal Cases (C.C.C.), Vol. 23 (2d), pp. 252-254.

R v. Labrosse (1984) Canadian Criminal Cases (C.C.C.), Vol. 17 (3d), pp. 283-288.

Labrosse v. The Queen (1987) Dominion Law Reports (D.L.R.), Vol. 39 (4th), pp. 639-640.

R c. Larin (1974) La Revue Legale (R.L.), pp. 238-245.

R v. Marcott (1901) Ontario Law Reports (O.L.R.), Vol II., pp. 105-112.

R v. Monsell (1916) Ontario Law Reports (O.L.R.), Vol. XXXV, pp. 336-339.

R v. Pollack (1920) Ontario Law Reports (O.L.R.), Vol. XLVII, pp. 616-627.

R v. Stanley (1952) Canadian Criminal Cases (C.C.C.), Vol. Vol. 104, pp. 31-34.

R c. Turgeon (1993) Causes en appel au Quebec/Quebec Appeal Cases (Q.A.C.), Vol. 56, pp. 277-281.

Media Sample

Alberts, Sheldon, (1990a) "Teens in grip of Satanic cult", Calgary Herald, 1990-03-11: A1-A2.

Alberts, Sheldon, (1990b) "Troubled teens in custody", Calgary Herald, 1990-03-13: A1.

Alberts, Sheldon, (1990c) "Despair cited as real suicide cause", Calgary Herald, 1990-03-18: C2.

Alberts, Sheldon, (1990d) "Families still blame occult for tragedies", Calgary Herald, 1990-03-18: C2.

Alberts, Sheldon, (1990e) "Suicides revive talk of satanism", Calgary Herald, 1990-11-16: A1.

Anderson, Keith, "Satanic cults exist", Globe and Mail, 1992-11-09: A14.

Appleby, Timothy, (1990a) "Teen-age interest in Satanism rising: Probation officers see more cases", Globe and Mail, 1990-11-07: A10.

Appleby, Timothy, (1990b) "In Satan's Name: Ritual Abuse and the Occult Part 1: Recurring stories make authorities believers", Globe and Mail, 1990-11-27: A1, A9.

Appleby, Timothy, (1990c) "In Satan's Name: Ritual Abuse and the Occult Part 3: 'The person they are most likely to kill is themselves' ", Globe and Mail, 1990-11-29: A12.

Appleby, Timothy, (1993) "Police stepping up Shaw investigation: Ritual abuse ruled out as a factor in brutal killing of university student", Globe and Mail, 1993-04-17: A12.

Beaty, Bob, (1990a) "Confronting Satanism: Shocking stories renew a painful debate", Calgary Herald, 1990-09-30: C1.

Beaty, Bob, (1990b) "Officers couldn't believe colleague's dark secret: Stories made men leave room in tears", Calgary Herald, 1990-09-30: C2.

- Beaty, Bob, (1993a) "Satanic Cults Real or Imagined: Calgary case typifies difficulty in probing claims of ritual abuse", Calgary Herald, 1993-05-22: B4.
- Beaty, Bob, (1993b) "Satanic Cults Real or Imagined: The Case Against: Satanic panic catching", Calgary Herald, 1993-05-22: B4.
- Beaty, Bob, (1993c) "Satanic Cults Real or Imagined: The Case For: Therapists, police face tough hurdles", Calgary Herald, 1993-05-22: B4.
- Bell, Rick, "The elusive track of the devil: Satanist speculation abounds but no charges appear to be imminent", Western Report, 1990-10-15: 45.
- Bellet, Gerry, " 'Salem witch-hunts' starting to die down in courts: U.S. mother applauds growing skepticism about child-sex tales", Vancouver Sun, 1995-07-19: A3.
- Blakely, Bob, "The subject is satanism: Man Alive team downplays aspects of sensationalism", Calgary Herald, 1990-09-24: A14.
- Branswell, Brenda, "Deadly Voyages: Experts predict more Solar Temple ritual suicides", Maclean's, Vol. 110 No. 14, 1997-04-07: 46-47.
- Bray, Allison (1990) "No area free of Satanists, seminar told: Mountie says ritual abuse reports can't be taken lightly", Winnipeg Free Press, 1990-11-30: 17.
- Bray, Allison, (1993) "Widespread ritual abuse 'startling,' paper indicates", Winnipeg Free Press, 1993-09-30: A2.
- Bray, Allison and Teichroeb, Ruth, "Satanism shrouded behind veil of normalcy: Victim's tales gain acceptance", Winnipeg Free Press, 1992-08-31: B9.
- Brown, Louise, "Alarming number of teenagers drawn to Satanism, experts say", Toronto Star, 1989-10-01: A1, A12.
- Brunet, Robin, "Summer Solstice savagery: Satanists are linked to bloody attacks on horses in B.C.", Western Report, 1995-08-07: 14-15.

Burns, David and Philip, Tom, " 'To Live Is To Die' : A mother suspects a Satanic cult in the mysterious death of her son", Western Report, 1990-02-19: 42-43.

Burns, David, "Sleuthing after subliminal satanism: A catholic couple tells kids what rock stars are up to", Western Report, 1988-04-18: 30-31.

Campbell, Don, "Opposition backs bid to help satanic abuse victims", Winnipeg Free Press, 1992-09-01: B9.

Canadian Press, (1987a) "Satan cults linked to missing children", Vancouver Sun, 1987-03-09: A6.

Canadian Press, (1987b) "Satanists may be nabbing children: RCMP officer", Montreal Gazette, 1987-03-09: A8.

Canadian Press, (1987c) "Young Offenders 'turn to Satan' ", Halifax Chronicle Herald, 1987-03-30: 4.

Canadian Press, (1988a) "Occult trial fascinating glimpse into witchcraft", Calgary Herald, 1988-06-13: A3.

Canadian Press, (1988b) "Witness says wicca ritual was just nudity and dope", Calgary Herald, 1988-06-16: A16.

Canadian Press, (1988c) "Witch trial draws curious: Witnesses tell tales of dark, mysterious ceremonies", Winnipeg Free Press, 1988-06-19: 12.

Canadian Press, (1988d) "Lawsuit opens window on witches' world", Calgary Herald, 1988-06-27: B3.

Canadian Press, (1988e) "Ritual was Satanic, libel trial told", Globe and Mail, 1988-07-04: A4.

Canadian Press, (1988f) "Witch awarded \$10,000 in B.C. occult libel case", Toronto Star, 1988-07-20: A15.

Canadian Press, (1988g) "Theologians claim cult researchers are 'witch hunting' ", Calgary Herald, 1988-11-26: D11.

Canadian Press, (1988h) "Satanism lures lonely teens seeking sense of adventure", Calgary Herald, 1988-12-01: D24.

Canadian Press, (1989a) "Police get cult spread warning", Winnipeg Free Press, 1989-03-20: 18.

Canadian Press, (1989b) "Judge rules against father in bizarre child-custody case", Winnipeg Free Press, 1989-11-16: 16.

Canadian Press, (1989c) "Cop says Satanism strong in Winnipeg", Calgary Herald, 1989-12-17: A7.

Canadian Press, (1990a) "Occult suspected in scandal", Calgary Herald, 1990-03-11: A1-A2.

Canadian Press, (1990b) "Albertan denies suicide link: Satanist cult cited in trio of teen deaths", Toronto Star, 1990-03-15: C11.

Canadian Press, (1990c) "Police report links crimes to 'satanism' ", Toronto Star, 1990-09-20: A2.

Canadian Press, (1990d) "Satanic cults are linked to crime: Winnipeg report", Montreal Gazette, 1990-09-20: A16.

Canadian Press, (1990e) "Report reveals satanic suspects: Crime network linked to devils cults in Winnipeg", Calgary Herald, 1990-09-20: A8.

Canadian Press, (1990f) "Conference relates horrors of Satanism and the occult", Halifax Chronicle Herald, 1990-12-08: A1-A2.

Canadian Press, (1990g) "Youth, 16, who killed himself believed he was called by devil", Toronto Star, 1990-12-08: A9.

Canadian Press, (1990h) "Satanism took boy's life: Seminar told youth's suicide linked to occult", Calgary Herald, 1990-12-09: A6.

Canadian Press, (1991a) "Hot line offers kids refuge from Satan: Manitoban convinced of rise in devil worship", Calgary Herald, 1991-01-05: C8.

Canadian Press, (1991b) "Horrors of Satanic cult detailed in custody fight", Winnipeg Free Press, 1991-09-05: 12.

- Canadian Press, (1991c) "Ritualistic Child Abuse: Authorities uncovering evidence of satanic cults", Halifax Chronicle Herald, 1991-12-05: C12.
- Canadian Press, (1991d) "Victims tell tales from the dark side", Halifax Chronicle Herald, 1991-12-05: C12.
- Canadian Press, (1992a) "Satanism may be key to killing", Montreal Gazette, 1992-03-18: B1.
- Canadian Press, (1992b) "Satanic cults active in Saskatchewan, investigators say", Winnipeg Free Press, 1992-06-20: A8.
- Canadian Press, (1992c) "Male witch fights to overturn ruling denying access to son", Toronto Star, 1992-11-16: A11.
- Canadian Press, (1993a) "Police officer's beliefs include faith in witches", Toronto Star, 1993-07-20: B2.
- Canadian Press, (1993b) "Theft of bones might be occult related, police say", Montreal Gazette, 1993-11-01: A8.
- Canadian Press, (1994a) "Tot must be returned to abusive mother, court says", Halifax Chronicle Herald, 1994-01-03: C11.
- Canadian Press, (1994b) "Witch tale gets book banned", Vancouver Sun, 1994-04-23: C11.
- Cernetig, Miro, "Something evil lurks in heart of Alberta Bible Belt: Teen-age suicides linked to Satanism", Globe and Mail, 1990-03-23: A9.
- Clarkson, Michael, "Alberta no safe haven: experts", Calgary Herald, 1994-10-13: B1.
- Cloete, Adrian, (1989a) "Snakes used to call Satan, court told", Toronto Star, 1989-03-01: A13.
- Cloete, Adrian, (1989b) "Be on watch for 'satanic' child abuse, police warned", Toronto Star, 1989-03-20: A11.
- Cloete, Adrian, (1989c) "Experts look for the signs of devil worship", Toronto Star, 1989-06-29: J4.

- Cloete, Adrian, (1989d) "Satanism: The Spectre of Ritual Child Abuse", Toronto Star, 1989-06-29: J1, J4.
- Cloete, Adrian, (1989e) "New Crimes linked to devil worship", Toronto Star, 1989-06-30: B1.
- Code, Geoffrey, "A knife is a knife is a knife: A third court rejects a Calgary witch's religious defence", Western Report, 1992-06-22: 24-25.
- Colebourn, John, "The tattoo murder: An occult buff is found beaten and murdered in Victoria", British Columbia Report, 1990-07-30: 35.
- Corbeil, Carole, "Raising the Devil", Saturday Night, September 1988: 66-70.
- Curran, Peggy, "Theologians accuse cult-research centre of conducting witch hunt", Montreal Gazette, 1988-11-19: A3.
- Danylchuk, Jack, "Occult-link youth not criminally responsible", Vancouver Sun, 1996-08-03: A5.
- Darroch, Wendy, "Witchcraft in house, abduction trial told", Toronto Star, 1987-03-30: A7.
- Demers, Jim, "Leduc fluke or satanic savagery?: A family farm suffers a media circus after six cattle die", Western Report, 1992-08-03: 24.
- Dutton, David and Cohen Lori, "The witches' lethal brew", Western Report, 1987-04-20: 31-32.
- Eng, Nancy, "Not for burning", Montreal Gazette, 1995-07-16: A5.
- Fennell, Tom, "The Satan Factor: Bizarre cults promote child sex abuse", Maclean's, Vol. 105 No. 25, 1992-06-22: 29.
- Fine, Sean, "Abused children, mother wins custody case: Satanic ritual trial recalled in verdict", Globe and Mail, 1991-04-27: A1, A6.
- Ford, Catherine, "Blaming Satan is taking easy way out", Calgary Herald, 1990-03-15: A4.

- Gainor, Rhiannon, "In support of Satan: Officials won't pull a devilish tract from a Kamloops library", British Columbia Report, 1997-04-26: 34.
- Gair, Bain, "Outlandish stories ring true to experts", Winnipeg Free Press, 1992-04-25: B18.
- Gallager, Tim, "The Hallowe'en disappearances: Rumours of Satanism brew as two students vanish", Western Report, 1988-12-19.
- Govier, Trudy, "Scary Allegations about Halloween", Globe and Mail, 1992-10-30: A26.
- Grace, Kevin Michael, "Satanism--how real?", Alberta Report (Internet Edition), 1997-07-28.
- Guttormson, Kim, "Abuse probe sparks action: Memories planed, couple says", Winnipeg Free Press, 1995-01-16: B2.
- Hall, Neal, "Male witch convicted in boy's death", Vancouver Sun, 1995-12-14: B3.
- Hardock, Dan, "Neither social nor satanic explanation adequate", Calgary Herald, 1990-03-22: A6.
- Harper, Tim, "Court spellbound by witches' testimony", Toronto Star, 1988-06-16: A1, A30.
- Hazelwood, Kim, (1992) "The agony of Martensville", Western Report, 1992-06-22: 20-23.
- Hazelwood, Kim, (1993) "Get the devil out of here: A Ouija board scare in Airdrie raises age-old questions about Satan", Western Report, 1993-06-14: 34.
- Herald Writer, (1987) "Police link Satanic cults with crimes", Calgary Herald, 1987-03-07: E1.
- Herald Writer, (1990) "Scared kids want to talk", Calgary Herald, 1990-03-13: A1-A2.
- Hoare, Eva, "Satanic cults shocking Sackville -- clergymen", Halifax Chronicle Herald, 1987-03-11: 1, 20.

Howse, John, "A satanic riddle: A city reels from the deaths of three boys", Maclean's, Vol. 103 No. 13, 1990-03-26: 58.

Hutchinson, Brian, (1990a) "Dealing with the devil: What's behind teen interest in the occult?", Western Report, 1990-03-26: 32-34.

Hutchinson, Brian, (1990b) "Horror in Lethbridge: Three teen suicides lead to suspicions of a satanic pact among the city's youth", Western Report, 1990-03-26: 30-32.

Hutchinson, Brian, (1990c) "The silence about Satan: Church leaders complain police know more than they're saying", Western Report, 1990-04-16: 32.

Ingram, Mathew, " 'They wanted human bones': A grave-robbing is thought to be the work of Satanists", Western Report, 1989-11-20: 44.

Kelly, Frances, "Judge convicts lab technician of witchcraft", Toronto Star, 1988-12-08: A33.

Kinsella, Warren, (1987a) "Devil's Disciples: Thousands 'worship' in Calgary", Calgary Herald, 1987-03-07: E1-E2.

Kinsella, Warren, (1987b) "Satanism suspected in unsolved kidnap cases", Calgary Herald, 1987-03-07: A1-A2.

Kinsella, Warren, (1987c) "Devil's Disciples", Calgary Herald, 1987-03-08: C6-C7.

Kinsella, Warren, (1987d) "Devil's Disciples: Occult alluring to youth", Calgary Herald, 1987-03-08: C6.

Kinsella, Warren, (1987e) "Troubled teens turn to Satanism", Calgary Herald, 1987-03-29: A1-A2.

Lalonde, Michelle, (1990a) "Police suspect charges linked to cult activity", Globe and Mail, 1990-03-12: A3.

Lalonde, Michelle, (1990b) "Satanism suspected as factor in deaths of Lethbridge teens", Globe and Mail, 1990-03-12: A3.

- LaRoche, Michelle, "Healing from Ritual Abuse: Reaching for the Light", Healthsharing, Spring/Summer 1993: 30-33.
- Laurence, Liam, "Witches go for legal religious status: A shy Calgary coven considers joining a national association modeled on the United Church", Western Report, 1992-03-23: 36-37.
- Legge, Gordon, (1992) "Judge grants 'witch' access to son: Calgary father will get visitation rights despite mom's protest", Calgary Herald, 1992-11-17: B1.
- Legge, Gordon, (1993) "Witchcraft's 'Bad Rap': Calgary Wiccans distribute law-enforcement information guide to craft", Calgary Herald, 1993-05-01: C9.
- Lunman, Kim, "Witch's knife was 'religious', claims lawyer", Calgary Herald, 1990-08-22: B1.
- MacDonald, Jim, "Satanic cults active in Saskatchewan investigators say", Montreal Gazette, 1992-06-20: H9.
- Marron, Kevin, (1987a) "Ritual child abuse cases puzzle, alarm experts", Globe and Mail, 1987-03-31: A12.
- Marron, Kevin, (1987b) "Children made wards of Crown after allegations of murder, ritual", Globe and Mail, 1987-07-31: A9.
- Marron, Kevin, (1987c) "Mother called victim of court's witch hunt in child-abuse probe", Globe and Mail, 1987-09-09: 13.
- Marron, Kevin, (1990) "In Satan's Name: Ritual Abuse and the Occult Part 2: Courts confront custody cases", Globe and Mail, 1990-11-28: A9.
- Marron, Kevin and Fagan, Drew, "Ritual-abuse girls made Crown wards", Globe and Mail, 1987-03-31: A1, A12.
- Marsden, William, "Mythology, occult inspired cult's bizarre beliefs", Montreal Gazette, 1994-10-29: B3.
- Martin, Nick, "Coffin robbed, cult suspected: Distraught woman tells of finding crypt open", Winnipeg Free Press, 1990-09-17: 1, 4.

- Mate, Susan, "Satanic cults at alarming level, says U.S. educator", Calgary Herald, 1989-03-17: A19.
- McDowell, Jim, (1994) "Sliced up for Satan?: Cults are blamed in a rash of Vancouver cat killings", Western Report, 1994-03-07: 32.
- McDowell, Jim, (1996) " 'I burned her like a witch': A brain-damaged B.C. man confesses his crime", Western Report, 1996-01-08: 23-24.
- McFarland, Janet, "Ritual abuse widespread, counsellor declares", Winnipeg Free Press, 1992-04-19: B23.
- McGovern, Celeste, "The Martensville witch-hunt: A vicious investigation has left behind a carnage of shattered lives", Western Report, 1994-03-07: 48-51.
- McLeod, Carol, "What's Satan doing in New Brunswick", Globe and Mail, 1989-11-16: A7.
- Millin, Leslie, "Facts fail to support satanic ritual cult links", Winnipeg Free Press, 1995-07-06: A7.
- Misutka, Patti, "Toil and Trouble: An Edmonton woman is busted for pretending to practice witchcraft", Western Report, 1991-08-19: 46-47.
- Mitchell, Catherine, (1989a) "Satanism thriving, police say", Winnipeg Free Press, 1989-12-16: 1, 4.
- Mitchell, Catherine, (1989b) "Spectre of Satanism rising", Winnipeg Free Press, 1989-12-26: 3.
- Mofina, Rick, "Deaths studied for link to cult", Calgary Herald, 1990-03-10: A1.
- Morris, Jim, "Death pacts suspected: Alleged Satanist cries 'witch-hunt' ", Winnipeg Free Press, 1990-03-15: 1,4.
- Mullin, Rob, "Raising Hell: Satanic rocker Marilyn Manson inspires community revolts in Calgary and Edmonton", Alberta Report (Internet Edition). 1997-07-28.

Murray, Maureen, "Bible Belt teens dabble with Satan", Winnipeg Free Press, 1987-06-06: 1, 4.

Neeham, Phil, "Drugs cited in suit alleging satanic ritual", Vancouver Sun, 1988-06-07: A1-A2.

Neudorf, Vance, "Where did society's evils come from?", Calgary Herald, 1990-03-22: A6.

Nunes, Julia, "Satanic cults active, expert warns", Globe and Mail, 1989-03-20: A1-A2.

Oake, George, (1990) "Tales of devil worship chill Albertans", Toronto Star, 1990-11-12: A15.

Oake, George, (1992) "Fearful cattlemen suspect Satanists mutilating herds", Toronto Star, 1992-07-20: A2.

Owen, Bruce, (1990a) "Cults attract followers from all walks of life", Winnipeg Free Press, 1990-11-25: 3.

Owen, Bruce, (1990b) "Satan's Place", Winnipeg Free Press, 1990-11-25: 3.

Owens, Robert, "Haunted by the Dark Religion: A terror-stricken fugitive from Edmonton's satanic church says his life is threatened", Western Report, 1992-06-08: 42-44.

Parker, Shafer, Jr., (1995a) "And a little child shall lead them", Western Report, 1995-05-22: 26.

Parker, Shafer, Jr., (1995b) "Martensville: 180 charges, one conviction", Western Report, 1995-05-22: 24-29.

Parker, Shafer, Jr., (1995c) "Witch-hunt number two-18 charged, four convicted", Western Report, 1995-05-22: 27.

Parkes, Debbie, "Ritual Abuse", Montreal Gazette, 1994-03-27: C1, C4.

Parry, Thomas, "Prairie town bedeviled by rumours of satanic rites", Globe and Mail, 1989-10-30: A16.

- Parton, Nicole, "Butchered animals give rise to fears of Satanism", Vancouver Sun, 1994-03-17: B16.
- Paul, Alexandra, (1990a) "Blood-drinking teen gets witch as foster mother", Winnipeg Free Press, 1990-09-20: 1, 4.
- Paul, Alexandra, (1990b) "Satanic inquiry urged", Winnipeg Free Press, 1990-09-20: 1, 4.
- Paul, Alexandra, (1990c) "Satanism conference targets abuse", Winnipeg Free Press, 1990-09-21: 1, 4.
- Paul, Alexandra, (1992) "Satanic abuse services 'cut-up' ", Winnipeg Free Press, 1992-08-06: 2.
- Philip, Tom, "Get thee behind me: A fatal inquiry all but ignores suggestions of Satanism", Western Report, 1990-12-03: 43.
- Priest, Lisa and Mahood, Casey, "Baby's dad denies 'devil worship': Funeral today for infant boy found in river", Toronto Star, 1990-07-25: A2.
- Repo, Marjaleena, "Ritual abuse a cruel hoax", Winnipeg Free Press, 1994-09-26: A7.
- Rich, Pat, "Satanism: Ritual child abuse, murder on the rise", Medical Post, 1989-06-27: 9-10.
- Saenger, Ellen, "Fighting a bad Impression: Parents protest a textbook in which monsters rip off heads and teachers lead chants", Western Report, 1992-03-09: 37.
- Smith, Doug, "Blaming Satan: Delusions About Devil Worship Aren't New", This Magazine, February 1991: 4-5.
- Staff Writer (Author not listed), (1987) "Young Satanist sat alone in bedroom carving markings in her flesh", Winnipeg Free Press, 1987-06-06: 4.
- Staff Writer (Author not listed), (1989a) "Satanism new fad: Evangelist", Calgary Herald, 1989-06-24: C7.

- Staff Writer, (1989b) "Satanic Cults: Deprogrammer says secretive groups still recruiting members in N.S.", Halifax Chronicle Herald, 1989-11-04: C3.
- Staff Writer (Author not listed), (1990a) "Lonely teen drew power from cult", Calgary Herald, 1990-09-30: C2.
- Staff Writer (Author not listed), (1990b) "Satanic rites based on sex", Calgary Herald, 1990-09-30: A1-A2.
- Stainsby, Mia, (1990a) "Satanic cults", Vancouver Sun, 1990-09-29: C1.
- Stainsby, Mia, (1990b) "The survivor: It's much easier to simply not believe", Vancouver Sun, 1990-09-29: C1.
- Stainsby, Mia, (1990c) "Satanic Cults", Vancouver Sun, 1990-10-06: C1.
- Steacy, Anne and Bethune, Brian, "Questions of Satanism: Tales of Ritual Abuse Are Common", Maclean's, Vol 102 No 48, 1989-11-27: 62.
- Steed, Judy, "Ritual abuse does exist and must be combated", Toronto Star, 1995-01-18: A17.
- Stonehouse, Cathy, "Healing from ritual abuse: Real memories, true courage", Kinesis, June 1995: 19.
- Suderman, Brenda, "Extent of Satanism overblown, expert says", Winnipeg Free Press, 1990-12-01: 13.
- Sullivan, Dave, "RCMP probe Bear River cult activity", Halifax Chronicle Herald, 1990-07-25: A1-A2.
- Tait, Mark and Alberts, Sheldon, "Witch will appeal judge's decision: Blade a weapon, not 'magic' symbol, says court ruling", Calgary Herald, 1990-09-15: B1.
- Tibbles, Kevin, "Solar Temple Deaths", CBC News, Friday November 18, 1994, 22-23h ET.
- Todd, Douglas, (1990a) "Struggling with Satan: Pair were drawn by promise of supernatural powers to heal", Vancouver Sun, 1990-07-14: B3.

- Todd, Douglas, (1990b) " 'We don't understand devils on this side of the world' ", Vancouver Sun, 1990-07-14: B3.
- Todd, Douglas, (1991a) "Satanism: The other side of the story", Vancouver Sun, 1991-05-09: B1-B2.
- Todd, Douglas, (1991b) "Troubled teens adopt Satanic symbols", Vancouver Sun, 1991-05-09: B1.
- Waterwomon, Cheryl, (1991a) "One Survivor's Experience of Ritual Abuse", Canadian Woman Studies, Vol. 11 No. 4, Summer 1991: 70-72.
- Waterwomon, Cheryl, (1991b) "Healing from Ritual Abuse: A Personal Journey", Canadian Woman Studies, Vol. 12 No. 1, Fall 1991: 28-29.
- Weatherbe, Steve, (1988a) "The devil and Lion Serpent Sun: The jury says he's a Satanist, but that he never had murder in mind", Western Report, 1988-08-01: 23-25.
- Weatherbe, Steve, (1988b) "Tied up and carved in Victoria: A vicious tale from the adolescent underground", Western Report, 1988-12-05: 57.
- Wiecek, Paul, (1990a) "Skull removed in grave theft: Remains likely to be used in Satanic ritual, expert says", Winnipeg Free Press, 1990-09-18: 1, 5.
- Wiecek, Paul, (1990b) "Cultist on loose has pact to kill", Winnipeg Free Press, 1990-09-19: 1, 4.
- Wiecek, Paul, (1990c) "Five-year-old tots of Satanist families 'ritually abused' ", Winnipeg Free Press, 1990-09-19: 1.
- Wiecek, Paul, (1990d) "Secret police report details Satanic crime: Devil-worshippers linked to porn, drugs, child abuse", Winnipeg Free Press, 1990-09-19: 1, 4.
- Wiecek, Paul, (1990e) " 'Far-fetched' cult prober transferred to PR post", Winnipeg Free Press, 1990-09-20: 1, 4.
- Wiecek, Paul, (1990f) "Occult's bad rap irks ex-Satanist: 'It's misleading to tar everyone with the same brush,' man says", Winnipeg Free Press, 1990-09-21: 13."

Wiecek, Paul and Owen, Bruce, "Boy impaled, mom held: Girl, 11, is eyewitness in witchcraft-tainted slaying of little brother", Winnipeg Free Press, 1991-10-12: A1-A2.

Wild, Stevens, "Parishioners livid about desecration of cathedral cemetery", Winnipeg Free Press, 1990-09-17: 1, 4.

Wood, Chris, "Suicide and Satanism", Maclean's, 1987-03-30: 54.

Woodard, Joe, "Introductory witchcraft for Grade 5: A Calgary mother finds an occult primer in an elementary school", Western Report, 1994-11-21: 35.

Wright, Lisa, (1989a) "Judge to hand down ruling in 'satanic' custody hearing", Toronto Star, 1989-11-12: A15.

Wright, Lisa, (1989b) "Satanism charge rejected in Oshawa child abuse case: But father is denied access to girl he molested", Toronto Star, 1989-11-16: A9.

Zimmerman, Kate, "Satanism blamed on game", Calgary Herald, 1990-03-16: B6.

Films/Video

The National Film Board of Canada, The Burning Times, Directed by Donna Read, Produced by Studio D, Producers Mary Armstrong and Margaret Pettigrew, 1990.

20th Century Fox, Arthur Miller's The Crucible, Directed by Nicholas Hytner, 1996.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Understanding Cults: The Occult, Satanism and Ritual Abuse, (Training Video), Carleton Productions: Ottawa, 1994.