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VIGILANTISM IN CANADA

ROLAND ANDRE BOISJOLI

SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF CRIMINOLOGY,
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS. AUGUST, 1987



Roland A. Boisjoli, Ottawa, Canada, 1987

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(i)

DEDICATION

There is one person, more than any other, who I dearly wish could have read this thesis, for it was he who taught me to yearn for knowledge and to search for the truth.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my father.

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(iv)

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I:	INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER II:	REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.....	11
	The American Experience.....	13
	The Canadian Experience.....	24
CHAPTER III:	METHODOLOGY.....	35
	Library Research.....	38
	Survey of Canadian Newsmedia.....	40
	Police Survey.....	42
	Letters to Canadian Mayors.....	47
	Other Research.....	49
CHAPTER IV:	CLASSICAL VIGILANTISM IN CANADA.....	55
	The De Benyon Lynching, York County, Upper Canada, 1819.....	57
	The Bytown Association for the Preservation of Peace Bytown, Upper Canada, October 1875.....	58
	Voluntary Patrol, Quebec City, October 1836.....	60
	Hudson Bay Company Execution, circa 1850.....	61
	The Cypress Hills Massacre, Cypress Hills, North West Territories, Summer 1873.....	63

The Lucan Vigilantes, Biddulph
Township, Ontario, 1876-80.....63

Incidents in Alberta Ranching
Country, circa 1880.....69

The Fort Edmonton Incident, Fort
Edmonton, Alberta, 1882.....70

The Killing of "Pierre" the "flour
thief", Yukon Territory, 1890's.....71

Justice for a wife-beater, Belmont,
Manitoba, 1904.....72

The Charleswood Vigilance Committee,
Charleswood, Manitoba, 1913.....73

Pioneer Justice in Northern Ontario,
circa 1980.....

Recent Incidents of Vigilantism in
Canada.....75

CHAPTER V: NEO-CLASSICAL VIGILANTISM IN
CANADA.....80

The Tar and Feather Case, Ancaster
Township, Upper Canada, June 1826.....90

The Tar and Feather Gang, Lethbridge,
Alberta, February 1895.....93

The Charivari, Upper Canada
Circa 1835.....97

Violent Enforcement of the Colour
Line in Canada.....99

"Gay-Bashing", High Park, Toronto,
1985.....101

Anti Oriental Activity on Canada's
West Coast.....102

The Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan.....106

CHAPTER VI:	PSEUDO-VIGILANTISM IN CANADA.....	111
	Emergence of Pseudo-Vigilante Groups in Canada.....	113
	Examples of Pseudo-Vigilante in Canada.....	115
	Neighbourhood Watch.....	115
	Range Patrol.....	116
	Volunteer Patrols, Rosemere, Quebec....	117
	Surrey Patrol Observe Team (S.P.O.T.) Surrey, British Columbia.....	117
	Crime Stopper.....	118
CHAPTER VII:	AN IN-DEPTH EXAMINATION OF THE GUARDIAN ANGELS IN CANADA.....	122
	The Founding of the Guardian Angels.....	126
	The Guardian Angel Concept comes to Canada.....	136
CHAPTER VIII:	SUMMARY, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION....	259
APPENDICES.....		276
REFERENCES.....		324
ABSTRACT.....		338

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE I:	Distribution of Survey to Police Departments by Province (N=29).....	44
TABLE II:	Distribution of Letter to City Councils by Province (N=11).....	48
TABLE III:	Replies received from Police Departments Canvassed (N=29).....	140
TABLE IV:	Completion and Return of Survey forwarded to Police Departments (Appendix I) (N=29).....	141
TABLE V:	Guardian Angel or pseudo-vigilante activity as reported by Police Departments (N=29).....	143
TABLE VI:	Responses to Question 3 of Survey from Police Departments indicating the existence of Guardian Angel or other pseudo-vigilante groups in their jurisdictions (N=7).....	144
TABLE VII:	Responses to Questions 4 and 5 of Survey from Police Departments indicating the existence of Guardian Angel or other pseudo-vigilante groups in their jurisdictions (N=7).....	146

TABLE VIII:	Responses to Questions 6, 7 and 8 of Survey from Police Departments indicating the existence of Guardian Angel or other pseudo-vigilante groups in their jurisdictions (N=7).....	149
-------------	---	-----

TABLE IX:	Responses to Question 9 of Survey from Police Departments indicating the existence of Guardian Angel group in their jurisdictions (N=7).....	150
-----------	--	-----

TABLE X:	Responses to Questions 10, 11 and 12 of Survey from Police Departments indicating the existence of Guardian Angel or other pseudo-vigilante groups in their jurisdictions.....	151
----------	--	-----

TABLE XI:	Responses to Questions 13, 14 and 15 from Police Departments indicating the existence of Guardian Angel or other pseudo-vigilante groups in their jurisdictions.....	153
-----------	--	-----

TABLE XII:	Responses to Questions 17, 18 and 19 from Police Departments indicating the existence of Guardian Angel or other pseudo-vigilante groups in their jurisdictions.....	155
------------	--	-----

TABLE XIII:	Responses to Question 20 of Survey from Police Departments indicating the existence of Guardian Angel or other pseudo-vigilante groups in their jurisdictions.....	157
-------------	--	-----

(x)

~~TABLE XIV:~~ Replies regarding letters forwarded to
the mayors of eleven Canadian Cities
(N=11) (Appendix IV and V.....159

TABLE XV: Replies regarding matters referred to
local Police Departments or other
agency by the mayor of a City or a
mayor's assistant (N=5).....161

TABLE XVI: Analysis of information contained in
replies generated by letters to the
mayors of 11 Canadian cities. (N=8)
(NOTE: no reply was received from 2
mayors. One referred the researcher
to information submitted by the local
Police Department. Some replies were
received via local Police Departments
or other agencies.).....162

TABLE XVII: Results of newspaper search, Police
Survey and letters to mayors of 11
Canadian Cities.....165

TABLE XVIII: Summary of Classical Vigilante
Incidents.....211

TABLE XIX: Summary of Neo-Classical Vigilante
Incident.....265

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I:	Sample of covering letter, instructions and Survey to Canadian Police Departments.....	276
APPENDIX II:	List of Canadian Police Departments to which Survey was forwarded (N=29).....	283
APPENDIX III:	Sample of follow-up Letter to Police Departments which had not returned Survey (N=29).....	288
APPENDIX IV:	Sample of Letter to Mayors of Cities.....	289
APPENDIX V:	List of Canadian Mayors to which a Letter was forwarded (N=11).....	290
APPENDIX VI:	Letter from the Chief Constable, Brandon City Police.....	292
APPENDIX VII:	Letter from the Chief of Police, Nepean Police Force.....	293
APPENDIX VIII:	Letter from the OI/C Crime Prevention Unit, Royal Newfoundland Constabulary.....	294

APPENDIX IX:	Letter from the Acting Deputy Chief of Police, Winnipeg Police Department.....	295
APPENDIX X:	Letter from the Officer in Charge, Burnaby RCMP Detachment.....	296
APPENDIX XI:	Letter from the Administrative Assistant, Calgary Police Service.....	297
APPENDIX XII:	Letter from the Executive Secretary, Office of the Chief of Police, Moncton, New Brunswick.....	298
APPENDIX XIII:	Letter from the Director, District 32, Police de la Communauté Urbaine de Montréal.....	299
APPENDIX XIV:	Letter from the Aide to the Deputy Chief Constable, Vancouver Police Departments.....	300
APPENDIX XV:	Letter from the Community Services and Planning Officer, Peel Regional Police Force.....	301
APPENDIX XVI:	Letter from the Community Relations and Crime Prevention Bureau, Peel Regional Force.....	303

(xiii)

APPENDIX XVII:	Letter from the Acting Chief of Police, Edmonton Police Department...	305
APPENDIX XVIII:	Letter from the Mayor, City of Halifax, Nova Scotia.....	306
APPENDIX XIX:	Letter from the Mayor, City of Brampton, Ontario.....	307
APPENDIX XX:	Letter from the Executive Assistant to the Mayor, City of Mississauga, Ontario.....	309
APPENDIX XXI:	Letter from the Mayor, City of Surrey, British Columbia.....	311
APPENDIX XXII:	Letter from the Mayor, City of Vancouver, British Columbia.....	312
APPENDIX XXIII:	Letter from Nancy Jennings, Director of the Carnegie Centre, Vancouver, British Columbia.....	313
APPENDIX XXIV:	Letter from the Executive Assistant to the Mayor, City of Windsor, Ontario.....	314
APPENDIX XXV:	Letter from the Mayor of Winnipeg....	315

APPENDIX XXVI:	Follow up letter from the A/Deputy Chief of Police, Winnipeg Police Department.....	316
APPENDIX XXVII:	Letter from James W. Walker, Chairman, Department of History, University of Waterloo.....	317
APPENDIX XXVIII:	Letter from Gordon Walker, Q.C., Minister, Provincial Secretary of Justice (Ontario).....	320
APPENDIX XXIX:	Sample of Guardian Angel Recruiting Literature distributed by Toronto chapter.....	321
APPENDIX XXX:	Names and phone number of Vancouver and Surrey chapter members.....	322
APPENDIX XXXI:	Sample of Guardian Angel recruiting poster.....	323

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The primary objective of this thesis is to examine the concept of vigilantism and to determine whether vigilantism in its various manifestations has ever occurred on Canadian soil. A second objective is to document instances of vigilantism that the multi-faceted research approach to be utilized in the study might disclose. A third objective of this study is to conduct an in-depth examination of each type of vigilantism which the study might disclose.

To the author's knowledge, "vigilantism", with the exception of the activities of the Ku Klux Klan, has not been the subject of academic research in Canada. In fact, research conducted by the writer has failed to reveal, aside from some coverage of the Ku Klux Klan, attempts by either academics, journalists or historians to examine or describe the phenomenon of "vigilantism" in a Canadian context.

The lack of Canadian academic material on vigilantism could be attributed to several possible causes. The most obvious reasons could be one or more of the following:

1. Vigilantism has never occurred in Canada; therefore, accounts of vigilante actions have never been published and academic research on this topic has never had a raison d'être.
2. Vigilantism has occurred in Canada, but has never been properly recorded, or made public. Therefore, even though vigilante actions might have occurred, academic researchers would likely not be aware of them.

3. Vigilantism has occurred in Canada and some accounts of it have been properly recorded and published; however, the recorded instances of vigilantism have been too few to allow for proper academic analysis.
4. Vigilantism has occurred in Canada and some accounts of it have been properly recorded and published; however, academic researchers (for whatever reasons) have not turned their attention to this phenomenon.

Upon commencing my research, I quickly discounted the first and second reasons listed above as I discovered documented incidents of vigilantism in Canada. The third reason provided above appears to be a more plausible explanation of the lack of academic publications on vigilantism; however, this thesis will document numerous incidents of vigilantism in Canada. Therefore, in my opinion, it is the lack of attention (reason 4) given to this phenomenon that accounts for the lack of Canadian documentation on the subject.

Burrows (1976:X), provides insight into the lack of information on this topic in the preface to his book on vigilantism in the United States. "This book is, to my knowledge, the first reasonably comprehensive account of the American vigilante reaction. The reason it is the first, I have come to understand, is not because research material is lacking; to the contrary it abounds. The problem is one of definition."

A reason why academics have ignored vigilantism in Canada could be that, as Burrows has stated, there is no appropriate definition of the term. This should not, however, preclude a serious study of the subject in the opinion of Burrows (1976:XI):

Vigilantism, to dredge up that well-worn line from Corinthians, is all things to all men, and anyone who attempts to force it into some nice, neat scholarly slot soon sees that the task is impossible. That, however, does not mean that vigilantism cannot be studied and understood; to argue otherwise would mean that we cannot study and understand war, simply because some define it as soldiers locked in armed conflict, while others see it as street gangs fighting on corners and still others as department stores undercutting each other on prices. Like war, love, or justice, vigilantism can be practiced without having an all-encompassing definition. And if it can be practiced it can -- and must -- be examined especially now. The American vigilante seems to be staging a slow but steady comeback.

Another reason why vigilantism has not been extensively studied according to Rosenbaum and Sederberg (1976) is:

...The secrecy imposed by most vigilante organizations and their sometimes ephemeral nature may hinder or thwart scholars wishing to pursue the study of vigilantism. Public exposure is not generally welcomed by those engaged in the extralegal use of coercion" (Rosenbaum and Sederberg, 1976:23).

This study will utilize a broad definition of vigilantism encompassing the three phases of vigilantism as described by Burrows (1976). These are classical vigilantism, neo-vigilantism and pseudo-vigilantism.

History has demonstrated that the criminal justice system loses its credibility and fails to fulfill its intended purpose when a majority of persons from the general public perceive the system to be either too repressive, or too lax. Although these premises are juxtaposed, their existence brings about the same result: a disregard and a disrespect for the existing justice system. An example of a criminal justice system that was too repressive was that of early nineteenth century Britain, where over 200 crimes were punishable by death.

Rusche and Kirchheimer (1973:97) state that: "At the beginning of the century, almost all felonies were punishable by death. If a man stole five shillings from a shop or forty shillings from a dwelling house, he was hanged. If he stole anything from a bleaching ground or forged bank notes, he was hanged. If he damaged Westminster Bridge, or took fish from a pond, he was hanged."

Public opinion, in time, reacted against sanctions deemed to be too severe. Many refused to be witnesses or prosecute capital offences. In cases that were prosecuted, the jury often refused to convict. The certainty of being apprehended, charged, prosecuted, found guilty and punished was therefore greatly reduced. This resulted in an alarming increase in crime, which might not have been the case had a more moderate penalty been prescribed at the time. A less severe penalty would likely have resulted in more people being punished and would therefore have constituted a more effective deterrent.

At the other end of the spectrum is the criminal justice system is considered by some members of the general public, and/or those responsible for social control to be overly lenient or ineffective in apprehending, convicting or punishing offenders (Madison, 1973:2; Bewley, 1984, Globe and Mail, 1982e:5). Such a state of affairs may lead to compensatory actions by people wanting to protect themselves or their interests, or by those who insist on seeing that justice is done. Such behaviour falls into the realm of vigilantism and can either be legal or extralegal in nature.

Vigilante groups, it will be shown, tend to thrive during periods of economic depression and restraint (Madison 1973:58). During these times, persons with vested interests often perceive that these interests could be jeopardized by people who demand a greater share and who resort to theft, thereby challenging the status quo. Minority groups and immigrants are seen as burdens, and as competitors for the limited amount of goods and services available. During these times, there exists a persuasive economic argument for vigilantism because it is usually cheaper and quicker, and often more assured, than

depending on existing agencies charged with the administration of justice.

• The so-called classical form of vigilantism arose as a response to the absence of effective law and order in a frontier region. It concerned itself with punishing ordinary horse and cattle thieves and gangs of desperados. The early vigilantes were often born of necessity, being the only means of defence in an area unprotected by law enforcement.

Although some authors feel that vigilantism is strictly an American phenomenon, this study will document instances of vigilantism in a country other than the United States. The frontier development of the United States can be said to have been unique; however, it will be shown that the conditions have also been propitious for vigilantism in Canada, and that vigilante activity in its various manifestations has occurred in this country.

Neo-vigilantism which Burrows called "the second phase", appeared in the United States by 1850. During this phase, many ethnic and religious minorities and political opponents were victims of vigilante attacks.

This form of vigilantism has little to do with conventional crime and criminals. Groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and the San Francisco Committee of the late 1800s fit into this category.

Since the 1960s, a third form of vigilantism called pseudo-vigilantism has evolved in which many sectors of society have become involved, including minority groups and residents of urban neighbourhoods beset by crime. This new movement differs from classical vigilantism in that current participants do not generally take the law into their own hands. Instead, residents patrol their neighbourhoods on foot or in radio-equipped vehicles (linked to a central headquarters) for the purpose of spotting, reporting, and discouraging criminal acts in their communities. Groups such as the Guardian Angels have gone as far as taking action against criminals and executing citizens' arrests.

These modern day vigilantes typically co-operate with the police and operate within the law. However, despite this co-operation, these movements are in the authentic

vigilante tradition, for they are associations in which the citizens have joined together for self-protection under conditions perceived as disorder.

The following chapter of this thesis will briefly review the relevant literature regarding vigilantism. As will be observed, this literature is almost exclusively written by Americans and it concerns the phenomenon of vigilantism in the United States. The third chapter describes how information and data were gathered for this thesis.

Chapters IV to VII discuss the findings of this study and document Canadian instances of vigilantism. Chapter IV deals with instances of classical vigilantism, Chapter V with instances of neo-vigilantism and Chapter VI with instances of pseudo-vigilantism in Canada. Chapter VII is an in-depth examination of the Guardian Angels in Canada. Chapter VIII provides an analysis of the findings and contains recommendations for policy-makers, as well as concluding remarks.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first examines the various forms of vigilantism in the United States as described by American authors. The second part examines literature which suggests that Canadians may be less tolerant, and may have a more violent past, than popular belief would suggest.

The word "vigilante", according to Webster's Third New International Dictionary, is derived from a Spanish word which is spelled in exactly the same way and means, "watchman" or "guard". According to this definition, a vigilante is a member of a vigilance committee. The terms "watchful" and "vigilant" are adjectives of the noun "vigilante".

A vigilance committee, according to Webster's Third New International Dictionary, is "a volunteer committee of citizens for the oversight and protection of an interest; especially a committee organized to suppress and punish crime summarily, (as when the processes of law appear inadequate)". A Dictionary of American English defines a vigilance committee as being "a voluntary association of men professing to supplement the efforts of the police and the courts in maintaining order, punishing crime, etc". Vigilantism, in turn, is simply defined as "the policy or practice of vigilantes".

The American Experience

Brown (1975) and Burrows (1976) argue that vigilantism in America has gone through three distinct phases. The first of these is called the classical form of vigilantism. Brown (1975:95) states that: "The vigilante tradition, in the classic sense, refers to organized extralegal movements, the members of which take the law into their own hands".

According to Brown, this type of vigilantism arose mainly before the Civil War, was directed primarily against pioneer lawlessness, and focused chiefly upon horse thieves, counterfeiterers and outlaws. It was a frontier phenomenon of the agrarian era of American history.

A major contributing factor in the development of vigilantism in the American Western frontier was the rapid colonization experienced during the 1700s and 1800s. This rapid development was spurred on by strikes of valuable and precious metals coupled with an open-range system of raising horses and cattle, which saw people flocking to

the frontier by the thousands. As might be expected, a significant proportion of those who came seeking gold or land were unsuccessful in their quests. Many others came to make a fortune by illegitimate means. The chaotic situations created by this rapid expansion had, according to Graham (1969:178), two serious consequences for the developing territories.

In frontier areas law and order were often a tenuous thing. Outlaws, singly or in gangs, headed for the new areas and took every advantage they could of the social disorganization stemming from the newness of the settlement and the weakness of the traditional institutions of state, society, and the church... Localities...lacked the economic resources to support constables, policemen, and sheriffs in the long journey of pursuit after lawbreakers.

A second major result of this rapid growth was: "...an uneven judicial system. Through fear, friendliness or corruption, juries often failed to convict the criminal" (Graham, 1969:178).

According to Brown (1975:22), the first vigilante movement was formed in 1767 in the South Carolina back country in an attempt to deal with the crime wave that had hit the area after the Cherokee Indian Wars of the 1760s. This vigilance committee was to last two years and to disband only after the state government had agreed to provide

district courts and sheriffs. Brown (1975:58) indicated that the model of the vigilance committee developed in South Carolina was to be the prototype for hundreds of vigilante movements across the U.S. He adds that the South Carolina model incorporated a three-tiered organization. The first level was usually made up of the identified leaders from the business and religious communities; the second level was composed of middle class clerks, store owners, and the like. The third level consisted of the lower middle and the working classes. Basically, then, those interested in maintaining the status quo banded together to do battle with those who would destroy or do damage to their position.

The rationale for vigilantism in America has not been solely the protection of citizens from frontier violence. As Brown (1975:114) explains: "In 1813-14 the leading men of Richmond, Virginia (headed by Chief Justice John Marshall) organized a Committee of Vigilance whose purpose was home guard defence against a possible British attack during the War of 1812. The attack never came, but the idea of vigilance did not die".

?

Vigilance committees were also formed, according to Brown (1975:7), to aid fugitive slaves and, conversely, others were formed to capture the slaves who ran away from their owners. The idea of vigilance and the vigilance committee became a much-used concept in the development of America both as a defender of freedom and as a guardian of law and order. Brown (1975:115) adds that the doctrine of vigilance even infringed on the world of commerce. "Thus, in a presage of the modern Better Business Bureau, the Merchant's Vigilance Association of New York was organized in 1845 to investigate and expose abuses in trade and to prevent frauds".

Two major events in American history were to lend much respectability to the Vigilance Committee were its War of Independence with Britain, and its divided stand on the slavery of blacks. Conflicts of this nature did not occur in the Canadian context. Canada's shift from colonial status to a Dominion was, for the most part, a political exercise which did not lead to open conflict with the mother country, Britain. As for slavery, Canada was to play an integral part as a link in the underground network which helped runaway slaves escape (Walker, 1980):

The classical vigilante movement, for the most part, involved the average citizen taking the law into his own hands, while knowing full well that his actions were illegal. Brown (1975:115) outlines three major arguments used by the classical vigilantes in defence of vigilantism:

- a) self-preservation,
- b) the right of revolution, and
- c) popular sovereignty.

The first component, that of self-preservation, is obvious. The citizenry felt they were unable to rely on the law for protection from criminals, and were left with little choice but to band together to protect themselves and their property. It was quite simply a matter of "kill or be killed".

The right of revolution as a defence of the notion of vigilantism concerns the right of the Vigilance Committee to exist and be active in much the same way that the revolutionary war was justified as a struggle against unjust laws. Lawlessness was seen as an intolerable imposition of one group of society, namely the criminal,

element, upon the other members of the community, the law-abiding citizens. The latter group felt justified in revolting against this intolerable situation, and believed that they were acting within their rights in banding together and containing the criminal element.

Popular sovereignty is a vital component of the vigilante philosophy. When lawmakers formulate laws which are felt to be inadequate, the people feel they have, according to Gurr (1969:182), "...the right to take the protection of their property into their own hands and deal with these villains according to their just desserts..."

Brown (1975:134) refers to the San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1856 as the pivot of American vigilantism because this committee signalled the transition from the old to the new vigilantism. According to Brown (1975:135), "It marked a turning point in American vigilantism, from a concern with rural frontier disorder to a groping - and unsuccessful - quest for solutions to the problems of a new urban America". Victims of this brand of vigilantism were Jews, Catholics, immigrants, blacks, labouring men and labour leaders, radicals, free thinkers, and defenders of civil liberties.

The main tactics used by this type of vigilance committee were intimidation, expulsion from the city, election rigging and even hanging. Brown (1975:142) reveals that this kind of vigilance committee was organized in a pyramidal, chain-of-command fashion and was based on primary units of 50 to 100 members with the executive committee being comprised of the leading merchants of San Francisco. The impetus for forming this committee was largely a perception that crime was rampant and out of control and that an identifiable group, like the Irish-Catholics, was responsible. Brown (1975:141), however, reveals that the perception of rampant disorder appears to have been without foundation. "The crime news in the San Francisco newspapers of 1855-1856 indicates that the regular organs of law and order had crime fully under control". The San Francisco vigilance committee was to be, by and large, a reform organization. The style of the San Francisco committee was widely copied. The objectives and purposes of the neo-vigilante committee were different from the old-style frontier vigilantism but their mode of operation was the same.

Shotland (1976) and Sederberg (1978) assert that acts of vigilantism can also occur spontaneously. According to Shotland (1976:32), spontaneous vigilantism is more likely to be committed by a number of people but can be perpetrated by an individual acting alone. Sederberg (1978:25) states that: "Private citizens occasionally leap to the defense of the public order with all the favour of an old-time posse...(and that) the spirit of the wild west posse has infected the urban frontier as well".

The rationale for the spontaneous vigilantes' actions are the same as described by Brown (1975) and Burrows (1976) for the classical and neo-classical vigilantes.

According to Shotland (1976:32), spontaneous vigilantism may be expected to occur in response to an act which is deemed antisocial when one or more of the following five conditions exist:

1. after a crime has been committed or a rumor exists indicating that a crime has been committed, when the interpretation of the incident is unambiguous and clear, and where the opinion of the bystanders or community is unanimous concerning blame for the crime;

2. in high-crime areas where crime is of special concern to the residents;
3. in ethnic areas where people develop a sense of empathy and community;
4. in areas where the population feels that the legal process is inadequate in dealing with the crime problem; and
5. in poor areas where conditions of goal blocking or frustration exist (Shotland, 1976:32).

Melbin (1978) conducted several field experiments in contemporary Boston and found that night-time social life in urban areas resembles social life on the former Western frontier a century ago. According to Melbin (1978:12):

...like the former West, lawlessness and violence at night are concentrated in certain hours in certain places and are otherwise uncommon. Fights reach their peak about midnight...but are less frequent from 2:30 to 11:00 a.m. The area of Boston in which many brawls and muggings take place...is called the "combat zone". Although this description may approximate what was once reported of mining towns in the West, these combat zones do not function so after 2:30 a.m. or during the daytime. In the daytime the areas are parts of business districts. Many people

shop at department stores nearby, or otherwise pass through and patronize eating places and businesses there. So the combat zone designation refers to these places only at certain hours and is not true for all the city all night.

Valentine (1956), who wrote about classical and neo-classical vigilantism in America, provided two additional reasons for the recurrence of these types of vigilantism in the modern state:

The Vigilantes and the forces that moved them have a significance for Americans who, just a century later, still wrestle with the social problems of free government. Our own generation encounters the same issues of the popular will in conflict with established laws and traditions, of the honest citizen frustrated by political corruption or the devious technicalities of the complex state.

Since the 1960s, a third form of vigilantism has surfaced (Brown 1975; and Burrows 1976). This phase of vigilantism, in which many sectors of society have become involved, is referred to as pseudo-vigilantism. Brown (1975:58) elaborates:

In fact, American vigilantism has experienced a revival in recent years. Significant have been the avowedly self-protective and community patrol organizations that have proliferated by the hundreds among urban and suburban white and black Americans since 1964.

Jayewardene (1982:247) points out that, "when people find that they are unable to obtain the protection they need, they tend to organize themselves into unofficial police forces or vigilante groups". Marx (1971:52) notes that:

"Recent self-defence groups differ from more classic vigilante groups in that they, for the most part, have not killed or taken the law into their own hands. Instead, their primary functions have been the surveillance and protection of their own communities, often as an ancillary group to the regular police. Recent groups have performed largely deterrent functions and have not usually held street trials or meted out alley justice. But the fact that they have chosen to involve themselves as private citizens in police work has meant that the issue, if not the substance, of vigilantism has recurred with them."

Brown (1975:130) goes on to elaborate further on this type of vigilantism:

Despite frequent co-operation with police, the contemporary movements are in the authentic vigilante tradition, for they are associations in which citizens have joined together for self-protection under conditions of disorder. While usually not usurping the law, these movements have been commonly viewed as vigilantes by the public, the authorities and themselves.

Groups such as Neighbourhood Watch, Block Parents, Logging and Range patrols as well as other groups co-operating with law enforcement agencies would fall into this category. Jayewardene (1982:67) expands on this type

of vigilante group: "These preventive programs are mainly directed to the prevention of crime against property and comprise either the installation of alarm systems or citizen vigilante groups utilizing the concept of defensible space...or the concept of brother's keeper which involves increased citizen awareness and participation".

The Canadian Experience

In commenting on studies on the occupation and settlement of the Canadian West, Breen (1973:63) states that: "...perhaps the most striking, point of conformity is the repeated assertion that the occupation of the Canadian plains region was of a systematic and orderly nature. The observation is generally not elaborated upon unless through a brief comparison with the more volatile American 'frontier'. Dempsey (1970:28), for example, states that

...in the American West settlement usually preceded law, and violence often became a way of life. In the Canadian West, on the other hand, the Mounted Police arrived while the land was not yet unsettled [sic]. They made peace with the Indians and smoothed the transition from wilderness to civilization after the buffalo were exterminated and railroads were built.

Stanley (1940:111) also describes the lack of proper and adequate agencies to administer the law in frontier America. "Honest men were obliged to improvise for themselves the institutions of law and order; hence the Regulators and the Vigilantes, the lynch law, and the speedy informal justice of the plains." Such activity never occurred in Canada according to Stanley (1940:111).

The fighting plainsman of American history, has, however, no counterpart north of the boundary. The Canadian frontier was peopled by peaceful, law-abiding ranchers, farmers, and government-encouraged colonists. Here, the settler looked to organized justice and to the Mounted Police for his protection, and not to the rifle over his door.

MacEwan, a Canadian historian (1979:160), discusses the formation of a vigilante committee in Montana in 1863. "The Vigilantes made a thorough job; crime did not cease in Montana but the Vigilantes hanged enough of the rogues to cripple the efforts of the organized outlaws and cool the ardour of the others". Bordering on Montana's northern limits are three Canadian provinces: Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. In 1863, this area of land was part of the Northwest Territories. The 49th parallel dividing the United States and Canada was merely an imaginary line. As MacEwan (1979:160) describes it:

This was the cattle industry which moved uncere-
moniously across the border and on to Canadian grass.
The grazing on the Northwest Territories side was
just the same as that on the Montana side, and ranch
character was unchanged except that Canada had her
Northwest Mounted Police and there was less gun play
and no need for Vigilantes.

Clark (1942:383) makes the following comments:

In some respects, Canadian institutions of law and
order escaped disorganizing forces evident in the
United States. The influence of the west in regard
to crime was very different in the two countries.
Though an interval of general disorder occurred
between the passing of the control of the Hudson's
Bay Company in 1871 and the organization of the
Northwest Mounted Police in 1874, and immigration and
railway-building provided points of disturbance
throughout the period of development before 1914, the
vigilance of the Mounted Police and the predominantly
British background of the population checked the
growth of crime in the Canadian west, and the habit
of carrying fire-arms evident in many western
American communities never developed....

There are very few published accounts of the early
development of law enforcement in British Columbia (Kelly
1976:13). According to Clark (1983:6): "One aspect of
British Columbia's history is the refreshing lack of
gunfighters in the province's colorful past. There is no
Billy the Kid, Wyatt Earp, or Wild Bill Hickock, although
there should have been. At the province's birth in 1858
all the ingredients were present". Prassel (1972:214)
relates that: "British Columbia met the needs for police

through a force of about fifteen efficient constables... between 1858 and 1865 this very small and underpaid unit managed to keep order and prevent widespread crime on a booming mining frontier". We therefore see that Canadian authorities were once again able to meet the need for appropriate law enforcement.

Not all authors agree with the views of Stanley (1940), Dempsey (1970) and MacEwan (1979), which depict the Canadian frontier as developing harmoniously. In this respect, McNaught (1970), Breen (1973) and Thorner (1975) could be considered revisionists.

Breen (1973:64) states the following regarding Stanley's views: "while the broad veracity of such common assertions of orderly if prosaic settlement can hardly be denied, there is evidence to suggest that some qualification is necessary". McNaught (1970:77) also expresses a desire for a revision of Canadian frontier history:

Canada's junior-grade manifest destiny - the acquisition and absorption of the West - offers several instructive examples of the epidemic distortions in Canadian-American comparisons. While it is more than evident that violence pervaded every phase of westward development, no one can mistake the thrust of our general historical interpretation: the two rebellions were largely abortive and proved the

efficacy of Canadian insistence on maintaining law and order; we had no substantial warfare or vigilante tradition for much the same reason. In the West, as elsewhere, change came not as a result of violence, but as a consequence of political debate followed by legislative and executive action. Violence was not a function of the political system but an aberration quickly corrected.

According to McNaught (1970:77):

If we take account of differences in scale between Canada and the United States, and if we ask the question of the relationship of violence to the process of achieving the goals of 'Ontario imperialism' in the West, a very different interpretation is certainly plausible. The essence of a counter-interpretation is that the use of various kinds of violence in the post-Confederation West proved, once again, not only that such means could be successful but that violence and a readiness to advocate violence were integral to the country's political system.

Thorner (1975:113) states that: "There is no more persistent myth in Canada than the myth that Canada is or has been a society free of crime and violence". Thorner's study deals primarily with frontier Calgary. It is felt however that his stance is relevant for other western Canadian cities as well. According to Thorner (1975) three factors are primarily responsible for the general acceptance of this myth. The first is the standard of

comparison, being the United States of America. Secondly, Thorner submits, the gulf between moral perception and actual behaviour suggests that a "Chamber of Commerce" attitude promoting a crime-free society full of opportunities existed. The purpose of adopting this attitude was to induce immigrants to settle in the Canadian rather than the American West. Finally, according to Thorner (1975:113), "...it seems that a peculiar vision of 'law and order' has seemed necessary to a Canadian identity and has coloured our view of the western past".

There is other literature that suggests that vigilante committees, although not as prevalent as in the United States, probably existed in Canada. Clark (1942:13), in discussing the frontier expansion and social organization of Canada, makes the following comments:

Though reforms having to do with such matters as the practice of medicine or the administration of justice ordinarily were undertaken by those familiar with the techniques of these highly specialized services, in those situations where the need for improved methods was very pressing, leadership sometimes came from outside professional circles; the 'quack' became a familiar figure during the cholera plagues in Upper Canada, and vigilante committees emerged (though not for long) in British Columbia and the Yukon when regularly constituted authorities of law enforcement were no longer able to maintain order.

In referring to Canada and Canadians' self-perception, Stewart (1976:6), states that:

One of the problems we face as a nation, perhaps in greater measure than other nations, is that we are held captive by the myth of the reasonable citizen. The Canadian as we see him, the Canadian in the mind of God, is a man who never gives in to extremism; he is a patient man (who shuns violence), a neighbourly man (who spurns racism), a democratic man (who supports free speech, civil liberties, and honesty in politics). He is, in short, all the things your average wild-eyed, gun-toting, bigoted, loud-mouth, venal, aggressive, tyrannical bastard of an American is not.

Horwood and Butts (1984:3) put it in a slightly different way in their book Pirates and Outlaws of Canada 1610-1932, which documents some seventeen instances of outlawry in Canada.

The Canadian establishment has admitted rarely that Canada has a violent history. They have created the myth of the 'rule of law' right from the day General Wolfe 'planted firm Britannia's flag on Canada's fair domain,' allowing them to look down their long blue noses at the barbaric Americans. We shall show in the pages that follow how the rule of lawlessness survived in Canada for over three hundred years.

Stewart (1976:5) states that: "Canadian outbursts of corruption, venality, brutality, racism, and oppression have gone largely unrecorded. It's not that we don't want to hear about such subjects - we do - but we don't want to hear about them when they happen in Canada".

Evidence also exists to indicate that law enforcement was on occasion lacking in Canada. Morton (1970:407) relates that in the absence of effective local or provincial police forces, the Canadian militia was called upon on at least 48 separate occasions, between 1876 and 1914, to aid the civil power in maintaining social order. According to Morton (1970:410), the militia was often seen by municipalities as a cheap alternative to organizing their own police forces. Gurr (1969:629), in a study based on the period from 1961 to 1965, ranks Canada in thirty-fourth place out of 114 countries for the variable of "absence of internal political violence". In this study, Canada ranks behind countries such as Egypt, Poland, Bulgaria, Norway and Romania.

Some authors feel that the Canadian environment, as well as proper law enforcement, led to the absence of violence in Canada. According to Berton (1978:13), the Precambrian Shield was responsible for Canadian expansion lagging a generation behind that of the United States. "The Americans had built three rail lines to the Pacific before we finally bridged the precambrian barrier". Berton (1978:14) relates that the Canadian environment is largely responsible for the Canadian tradition of non-

violence. "We rarely fought the Indians; we used them - not because our forbears were less cruel or less violent but because the nature of the Canadian frontier dictated it. Canada was a land of fur-bearing animals; the Indians were the key to that trade...the Americans did not have the same needs. For them, the Indians were merely in the way -- an obstacle to be removed".

Fattah (1976) for example found that, when compared to Americans, Canadians consistently express a wish for more severe punishments. Evidence also exists to suggest that the policies of the justice system in Canada are markedly at odds with the majority view which wants a stricter system.

Similarly, Vidmar and Dittenhoffer (1981) note that most public opinion polls conducted in Canada indicate that the Canadian public in general, favours a more punitive criminal justice system. A 1986 Gallup Poll found that 78 per cent of Canadians were of the opinion that the courts were too lenient with criminals, a trend which has been rising since 1960, except for a brief reversal in 1980 (The Citizen, 1987 p.A3).

As was stated earlier in this paper, vigilantism is often based on perception rather than facts. After completing a study regarding the views of the Canadian public towards crime Doob and Roberts (1982) concluded that:

Canadians appear to over-estimate the seriousness of our crime problem. Substantial proportions of the respondents over-estimate the amount of crime which involves violence; they view murders as on the increase when they have remained on the whole below the level of 1975; many see violent crime levels as being nearly as bad as in the United States and they view those released from prison on parole as more likely to be involved in subsequent violence than, in fact, they are. At the same time that the public appears to view crime as being more serious than official estimates would suggest....

The studies' findings would indicate that Canadians do over-estimate the crime problem in their country and want a stricter criminal justice system, making the country ripe for acts of vigilantism. If the government does not ensure that the public's perception of crime is brought into line with known facts and/or if the desires of citizens for a stricter justice system are not met such actions are almost certain.

As the above review has demonstrated, Canada may not have been as peaceful and its population as tolerant as some of the popular and academic literature suggests. During several stages of Canadian history the climate was ripe for vigilantism. The objectives of this study are to examine vigilantism in its various forms in Canada and to give examples of each type as well as to focus in on one group, the Guardian Angels:

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Vigilantism has been fraught with different meanings in various time phases. It has also been demonstrated that vigilantes need not transgress the law or mete out punishment and that their presence can be of benefit to a community. A broad definition of vigilantism will be used in this study.

Vigilantism will be defined as: the actions of individuals or groups of persons operating in a manner they feel is best suited for protecting their own self-interests, or those of society, in maintaining the established moral order, the status quo, or the existing law as they feel it should be applied or enforced. Vigilantism occurs when such a group or individual perceives, or has evidence, that agencies which would deal with a particular problem are non-existent, lacking authority, ill equipped, or unwilling to deal effectively with individuals who act against the moral order or who show disrespect for the law. Vigilantism also occurs when the presence of members of a minority group is felt to be a threat by some members of the dominant society. Actions which constitute vigilantism will range from simply being watchful or vigilant to taking the law into one's own hands and participating in extralegal activities. Actions by public officials such as politicians, police officers or jail guards, which transcend the authority vested in them, will also be considered vigilantism when an intent exists to bypass an existing component of the criminal justice system (for example, the use of an inmate goon squad to maintain institutional order or the beating of an inmate by prison guards who feel he did not receive a long enough

prison sentence.) Such a definition, it is felt, is broad enough to include classical vigilantism, neo-vigilantism and pseudo-vigilantism. It is also meant to include "spontaneous vigilantism" which is defined by Shotland (1976:30) as: "The act by a group of bystanders of not only apprehending a suspected wrongdoer, but instantly meting out punishment and retribution which falls outside the normal judicial process".

Research for this study was multi-faceted. Initial research consisted of the review of pertinent academic documentation at six libraries in the Ottawa area. The second phase of research was an examination of Canadian newspapers and magazines for information of interest. The third phase of research consisted of constructing an original questionnaire on the Guardian Angels, which was sent to police forces across Canada. The fourth phase involved sending a letter soliciting information on the Guardian Angels, or any other similar group, to the mayors of eleven Canadian cities. The final research component of this study consisted of writing letters to various individuals to attempt to obtain information unavailable in the Ottawa area.

The Globe and Mail Info Globe computer search was conducted in August, 1983. A review of the literature for this thesis began in September 1984. The questionnaire to the police forces was posted in July, 1985.

LIBRARY RESEARCH

The initial research for this study was conducted at six Ottawa libraries: the University of Ottawa Library, the Carleton University Library, the Law Enforcement Research Centre (LERC) located at the Canadian Police College, Ottawa, the Ottawa Public Library (main branch), the National Library of Canada and the Library at the Ministry of the Solicitor General in Ottawa. All books under the title or subject headings of "vigilance committee", "vigilante" or "vigilantism" were consulted. The indices were also verified under "Guardian Angels"; however nothing was found under this heading. Subject headings of "racism", "violence", "lynching", "Ku Klux Klan" were also verified. A selection was also made of books dealing with Canada's history. Particular attention was given to books about Canadian minority and ethnic groups as well as those dealing with the Canadian frontier

and the emergence of established law enforcement agencies in Canada. These books revealed other books, unpublished theses and journal articles of interest. In this way many of the instances of "classical and neo-classical vigilantism" were uncovered.

The Canadian Periodical Index (CPI) which is published by the Canadian Library Association was also consulted. The CPI is published monthly as an author and subject index and cumulated annually. Over 130 Canadian periodicals including academic journals are indexed in the CPI. A perusal of the CPI issues prior to 1980 did not reveal any listings under the terms "vigilante committees", "vigilante" or "vigilantism". The term "vigilance committees" first appears in the 1980 CPI and was found in each annual index since. Under the heading "Vigilantes" is "see Vigilance Committees".

Vigilantism is not listed in the CPI. A total of eight articles under "vigilance committees" was noted in the annual indices from 1980 to 1985. Six of these, dealt with the Guardian Angels while one described a similar group in Alberta and another a right-wing extremist group in the United States. None of these articles appeared in academic publications.

SURVEY OF CANADIAN NEWS MEDIA

This phase of research was two-fold, the first consisting of a computer search of the Globe and Mail newspaper while the second involved a manual search of the Canadian News Index (CNI).

A computer search of the Globe and Mail, Info Globe database was conducted in August of 1983 via the University of Ottawa, Morisset Library, On Line Reference Section. The Info Globe database is a computerized index of all articles appearing in the Globe and Mail since November 1977. The following terms were used for the search: vigilante, vigilance committee, vigilantism, citizen patrols, Guardian Angels, Ku Klux Klan, citizen arrests, Range Patrols, Neighbourhood Watch and Posse Comitatus (the name of a contemporary American vigilante group). This search produced approximately one hundred references, fifty of which had some pertinence to this study. The other fifty articles that the search generated referred to incidents outside Canada or to vigilantism as portrayed in the movies.

A manual search was also conducted of the Canadian News Index (CNI), a reference guide to the contents of major Canadian newspapers. The eight newspapers included in this index are:

- the Calgary Herald
- the Globe and Mail
- the Halifax Chronicle Herald
- the Montreal Gazette
- the Toronto Star
- the Toronto Sunday Star
- the Vancouver Sun
- the Winnipeg Free Press

The same terms used in the Globe and Mail search were used in the CNI search. Nothing was found for any of the terms except for "Guardian Angels" which began appearing in the CNI in 1983. Twenty references to newspaper articles on the Guardian Angels were located in the annual indices for 1983 to 1985.

POLICE SURVEY

A two-page survey (see Appendix I) containing 26 questions, along with a covering letter, instructions for the completion of the survey, an additional page for further comments, and a stamped self-addressed return envelope, was forwarded to 29 Canadian Police Departments (see Appendix II) in July of 1985. A letter was addressed to the head of each department. This was not a personally addressed letter and was forwarded to the Chief of Police, Chief Constable or Officer in Charge depending on the title of the highest ranking officer of the force concerned. Each department was also asked to advise the writer whether or not they wished to remain anonymous and whether or not they wanted the writer to refrain from making direct reference to the department concerned in his study.

The following criteria were used in selecting which police departments would be solicited for participation in this study. Surveys were forwarded to police forces whose territory included all or part of one of the ten provincial capital cities as well as the national capital. Surveys were also forwarded to police departments which

patrolled cities in which the media search had indicated activity or planned activities by the Guardian Angels or similar groups. Lastly, the 1985 Corpus Almanac and Canadian Sourcebook, 20th Annual Edition, Volume Two (Clarke 1985) was consulted in order to determine the population size of the larger cities in each province which might not have been selected by using the two above noted criteria..

This procedure ensured that the larger cities in each province were canvassed. For example, Calgary and Saskatoon are not capital cities, nor did the newspaper search indicate any Guardian Angel activity in these cities. They are, however, the second largest cities in their respective provinces (Clarke 1985) and were therefore included in the study. In this manner at least two police departments were canvassed in each province (Table I) with the exception of Canada's smallest province, Prince Edward Island (P.E.I.), and Newfoundland where only one police force was canvassed. In the case of P.E.I., the second largest town had only a population of 7,828, while Newfoundland's second largest city, Cornerbrook, had a population of only 24,339 (Clarke 1985).

TABLE I: Distribution of Survey to Police Departments by Province (N=29)

Newfoundland	1
Prince Edward Island	1
Nova Scotia	2
New Brunswick	3
Quebec	2
Ontario	8
Manitoba	2
Saskatchewan	2
Alberta	2
British Columbia	6
TOTAL	29

Charlottetown, P.E.I., the smallest city included in this survey, had a population of 15,282 (Clarke 1985) while the largest, Toronto, had a population of 2,140,347. Based on population figures provided by Clarke, the sum of the populations for the 29 cities surveyed would be 8,647,125, which would give an average size population of 298,176 for the cities surveyed. The median population of the 29 cities surveyed based on Clarke's statistics was 147,138 .

Anticipating that some police forces might not respond to my survey, a follow-up letter was drafted for forwarding to these departments. This letter (Appendix III) referred to my initial letter and once again re-iterated the importance of the participation of all police forces in the survey.

As mentioned previously, the survey forwarded to the 29 Canadian police departments contained 26 questions (see Appendix I). The principal objectives of this survey were as follows:

- (1) to attempt to determine: which cities the Guardian Angels had attempted to form chapters in, which cities they had been successful in, and the size of these chapters;
- (2) to determine what type of patrols the Guardian Angels undertook in Canada and the level or absence of consultation/cooperation, or absence of same, between various Guardian Angels chapters and the police forces they patrolled;
- (3) to attempt to determine to what extent the Guardian Angels chapters took direction from the New York City Office;
- (4) to attempt to determine the level of support the Guardian Angels had received from: politicians, city councils, the media, the public in general and the police, and to determine whether the police perceived the Guardian Angels to be vigilantes; and
- (5) To attempt to determine whether any Guardian Angels had criminal records or were involved in criminal activity.

LETTER TO CANADIAN MAYORS

In December 1985, the author sent a letter (Appendix IV) to the mayors of 11 Canadian cities listed in Appendix V. Table II provides a distribution of letters to City Councils by province. For each of these cities, the media search and/or the survey sent to the respective police departments had indicated the possibility of the formation of a Guardian Angel group in that city, or actual activity^s by a Guardian Angel chapter or a similar citizen-action group. The purpose of the letter was to solicit information from the various city councils on Guardian Angel or similar activity in their cities. It was hoped that this type of approach might provide data such as council minutes or briefs presented to city council by groups for and against the Guardian Angels. Included with each letter was a mailing label and a photocopy of a newspaper article providing information regarding the establishment of a Guardian Angel chapter or a similar group in the city concerned.

TABLE II: Distribution of Letter to City Council
by Province (N=11)

Newfoundland	0
Prince Edward Island	0
Nova Scotia	1
New Brunswick	0
Quebec	1
Ontario	4
Manitoba	1
Saskatchewan	0
Alberta	2
British Columbia	2
TOTAL	11

OTHER RESEARCH

The final phase of research was divided into four parts. The first consisted of writing letters to the editors of six Canadian local newspapers whose publications were not cross-referenced in the Canadian News Index. The second involved writing letters to authors, one of a book and the other of an academic paper, of topics germane to this study. Letters were also written to two publishers in order to obtain books on the Guardian Angels which were not available in Canada. Finally a letter was written to an Ontario Cabinet Minister to attempt to obtain a copy of a document which was mentioned in a Globe and Mail article.

Letters were sent to the editors of the following Canadian local newspapers:

- The Guardian and Patriot, Charlottetown, P.E.I.
- The Advocate, Erin, Ontario
- Brant News, Brantford, Ontario
- The Sun Times, Owen Sound, Ontario
- The Times-Transcript, Moncton, New Brunswick
- Kitchener-Waterloo Record, Kitchener, Ontario

In each instance, information had surfaced during a previous phase of research that indicated that some type of citizen-action group had formed or that vigilante action had been proposed or had taken place in the area. Often, a brief article datelined from a small Canadian City had appeared in the Globe and Mail. It was in hopes of obtaining more elaborate and precise information that letters were written to local editors. Replies were received from three of the editors. Where appropriate, the information provided was integrated into one of the four chapters discussing vigilante activities.

Personal letters were also written to two authors of works germane to this study. A letter was written to James W. Walker, Chairman of the Department of History, at the University of Waterloo, and author of the book A History of Blacks in Canada. In this book Walker cites eight examples of racial violence in Canada. Professor Walker replied (Appendix XXVII) that he unfortunately could not provide the writer with primary sources for the incidents described in his book.

A personal letter was also written to Mr. Dennis Jay Kenney, Assistant Professor at the Western Connecticut State University in Danbury, Connecticut. Research had indicated that Kenney had presented a paper to the 35th Annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology entitled, "The Guardian Angels: A Closer Examination". It was with hopes of obtaining a copy of this paper that a letter was written to Kenney who complied with the request.

Letters were also written to two American publishers in order to obtain books not available in Canada. One letter was written to Addison-Wesley Publishing Company in order to obtain the 1982 book Street Smart: The Guardian Angel Guide to Safe Living by Curtis Sliwa and Murray Schwartz. Another was written to Enslow Publishers in order to obtain the 1983 book The Guardian Angels by James Haskins. Both these books were obtained by the writer.

Finally a letter was written to Mr. Gordon Walker, Q.C., who was at the time a Cabinet Minister in the Provincial Government of Ontario and Provincial Secretary for Justice. This letter was prompted by an article entitled "Loss of Faith in Justice System cited in

Provincial Document", which appeared in the Globe and Mail on September 15, 1982. The article indicated that because of this loss of faith in the justice system, people might decide to participate in vigilante activities. It was with the hopes of obtaining a copy of this document that a letter was written to Walker. The minister replied (Appendix XXVIII) that he could not provide the writer with a copy of the document requested as it was a policy document for internal use only.

The information sources used in this study can be summarized as follows:

- 1) Library research
- 2) Canadian News media search
- 3) Survey to Canadian Police forces
- 4) Letters to Canadian mayors
- 5) Other inquiries

It is largely by library research that the writer will endeavour to bring to light several cases of "classical vigilantism" which have occurred in Canada. Because of the lack of published information on this type of vigilantism in Canada it may not be possible to

corroborate or provide an analysis of each incident. The author's only objective in this area is to document cases of "classical vigilantism" in order to demonstrate that such incidents have occurred in Canada. An attempt will be made to conduct a more comprehensive study of a few cases.

Library research as well as the Canadian newspaper search are expected to disclose cases of "neo-vigilantism". Initial research has indicated that this type of vigilantism has been studied by academics in Canada; therefore, corroboration and analyses are expected to be more elaborate in this area. My research, however, is expected to bring out instances of neo-vigilantism which have not been studied in-depth to date.

Once again my objective will be merely to document as many of these incidents as possible, and briefly describe the circumstances surrounding their occurrence. An attempt will also be made to focus on a few cases.

The more in-depth portion of this thesis will be the section dealing with the Guardian Angels, a pseudo-vigilante group operating in Canada. Every facet of my research is expected to contribute to the findings in this area. An attempt will again be made to discover as many groups as possible operating in Canada which could be termed "pseudo-vigilantes". Once this is done the main impetus will be to describe in as much depth as possible the inner workings of the Guardian Angels in Canada.

CHAPTER IV

CLASSICAL VIGILANTISM IN CANADA

As described in Chapter II, classical vigilantism according to Brown (1975) occurred when individuals or groups attempted to fill a void in areas where frontier settlement had preceded the establishment of effective law enforcement agencies and courts. This type of vigilantism also occurred when the existing criminal justice system was perceived to be too lax or unable/unwilling to effectively deal with criminals. Information provided in

Chapter II also indicates that night time may remain as a type of frontier during which law enforcement agencies are sometimes deemed to be inefficient. It is also suggested that the complexities of modern urban societies and the corruption of individuals involved in the criminal justice system can help create a favourable climate for spontaneous and organized classical vigilante-type actions.

This chapter discusses several incidents of classical vigilantism in Canada which were discovered during the research for this thesis. In some instances very little information is provided by the writer as little documentation was found concerning the particular incidents. When possible, corroboration is provided; however, because of the specialized nature of this work this is not possible in many instances.

With the exception of the Donnelly case which was extensively reported on, each case will therefore be discussed in as much detail as possible. The chapter concludes with an analysis and summary of the various incidents.



The De Benyon Lynching, York County, Upper Canada, 1819

In quoting excerpts from Wallace, (1946), The York County Constabulary; Campbell, (1970:6) relates the circumstances surrounding a lynching which occurred near present day Whitby, Ontario on February 15, 1819 when De Benyon, a farmhand, mistreated his stepson and caused his death:

On a bitterly cold February night De Benyon turned the thirteen-year-old boy out of the house. When the lad, half-frozen, crawled back into the cabin, his stepfather trussed him up, rolled him close to the fireplace, and piled on the logs. When the boy's legs were roasted black, his upper body was pushed forward and cooked (Campbell, 1970:6).

De Benyon fled the scene in hopes of avoiding his neighbours' fury when the deed was discovered. As soon as the corpse was found, however, a number of settlers armed themselves and pursued De Benyon. According to excerpts quoted by Campbell, (1970:6) "De Benyon was captured near the Don River in present Toronto and lynched by being hanged to a tree."

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Campbell does not provide further details other than indicating that De Benyon's execution was: "one of the few lynchings in the Home district, now York County (Campbell, 1970:6).

The Bytown Association for the Preservation of Peace,
Bytown, Upper Canada, October 1835

Cross (1979) provides numerous examples of disorder and lawlessness in Bytown - the precursor to Ottawa - from its founding, to the 1850s. According to Cross many factors accounted for this "wild and disordered state".

However:

The most obvious was the remote location, far from centres of authority. This was compounded by the weakness of the local police power and, until the 1840's, by the ease with which fugitives could escape across the border into Lower Canada (Cross, 1979:5).

Cross goes as far as to state that:

Although somewhat larger than life, Bytown does not make a bad paradigm for British North America generally - a paradigm of societies in the founding stage, struggling to create a system of social order in the face of weak control institutions, the instability of staple trades, and the shifting balance of ethnic groups and social classes (Cross, 1979:5).

Cross relates that upon the completion of the Rideau Canal, many labourers became unemployed as they lacked the skills or capital to become farmers. According to Cross: "Banditry became a method of overcoming these disadvantages. Violence could drive French Canadians out of jobs in the camps, opening them to the Irish" (Cross, 1979:12). Cross reveals that a group of about 200 Irish Catholics who called themselves the shiners were a threat to be contended with and that:

By the mid-1830's this banditry evolved into something more seriously threatening to the social order - associational violence driven by a vision of society in direct conflict to that then prevailing (Cross, 1979:13).

As stated earlier, Cross documents numerous acts of violence which occurred in early Bytown. It is interesting to note that: "Irish violence against French Canadians and other Irishmen had been largely ignored" (Cross, 1979:14). It was only when the shiners overstepped the boundaries and attacked "respectable people" and elite social institutions that action was taken. Cross explains how people with an interest in maintaining the status quo reacted:

...the elite organized a vigilante society, the Bytown Association for the Preservation of the Peace. Its nightly patrols, and the courage it supplied the general community, soon brought an end to the shiner menace (Cross, 1979:14).

Cross does not provide further details on the Bytown Association for the Preservation of the Peace.

Voluntary Patrol, Quebec City, October 1836

Angers (1867) relates that during the summer and autumn of 1834 and the better part of 1835 Quebec City was terrorized by a band of criminals:

...theft, assassination and burglary succeeded each other with inconceivable rapidity, carrying fear and consternation into every circle of society; never was crime nor robbery accompanied by more atrocious circumstances, nor committed with greater audacity, in the midst of a moral and comparatively small population (Angers, 1867:1).

The helplessness of the authorities in apprehending these criminals is described in the following manner by Angers:

In vain did the civic authorities institute enquiry and set their runners on foot; the authors of these crimes escaped out of reach and remained undetected... The conspirators, secure in their secret, and rendered more and more daring by the repeated failures of the authorities, profited by the fear that paralyzed the citizens, and continued their depredations night after night (Angers, 1867:1).

Although individuals were eventually apprehended for these crimes, Bizier (1983:38) relates that the 1835 crime wave was sufficient for the citizens of the most crime-ridden neighbourhoods of Quebec to form voluntary patrols. According to information provided by Bizier (1983:30) an article appeared in various Quebec newspapers on October 3rd, 1836 advising that the members of these voluntary patrols could be sworn in as special constables by the local magistrate.

Hudson Bay Company Execution, circa 1850

The possibility that a man had been unlawfully executed by the Hudson's Bay Company was brought to the writer's attention by Stewart (1976:81). Based on Stewart's brief account, copies of the minutes from the British Parliamentary Select Committee which investigated the Hudson's Bay Company in 1857 were located by the researcher (Great Britain Parliament, 1857). In referring to the select committee, the Hudson's Bay Company in its own biography indicates that: "It was one of the rare occasions on which the Company's affairs became public affairs" (Hudson's Bay Company, 1934:35).

It was during an appearance before the Select Committee that John McLaughlin, a general trader in the Red River settlement, was asked whether the recorder for the Hudson's Bay Company in Red River administered criminal as well as civil justice. McLaughlin responded that: "Criminal as well as civil" laws were administered by the recorder and that: "There was an Indian hung while I was there" (Great Britain Parliament, 1857:XV, 280). When asked whether he was aware that the Company was bound under an act of the British Parliament to send all cases of capital punishment to Britain, McLaughlin indicated that he was aware of it, and to another question responded that the populace of the Red River settlement also knew perfectly well that this was the case (Great Britain Parliament, 1857:XV, 280). McLaughlin also indicated that the individual had been tried by a jury without a defence and that if he had had counsel the outcome of the trial might have been different. (Great Britain Parliament, 1857:XV, 280).

The Cypress Hills Massacre, Cypress Hills,
NorthWest Territories, summer 1873.

Kelly (1973:16) relates that in May of 1873 some thirty Assiniboine Indians were massacred near Cypress Hills by whites from Fort Benton, Montana. The group of about fifteen wolf-hunters, which included not only Americans but also several French Canadians and three English Canadians, was in pursuit of Cree Indians they felt were responsible for stealing some of their horses (Kelly, 1973:17). Kelly relates that:

The Assiniboines had nothing to do with the theft of the horses, but the white men got drunk and vowed to attack anyway. They also got the Indians drunk by giving them liquor. The next day, after more carousing, the wolfers opened fire on the unprepared Indians (Kelly, 1973:17).

The Lucan Vigilantes, Biddulph Township,
Ontario, 1876-80

Without a doubt the best known incident of Canadian vigilantism is the murder of five individuals from the Donnelly family in Biddulph Township near Lucan, Ontario on February 4, 1880. The background to this incident is

marked by racial and religious overtones as well as the criminal justice system's inability to apprehend, charge and convict individuals responsible for committing various crimes out of vengeance or vendetta. Suffice it to say that the existing justice system had fallen into disrepute in the Biddulph Township and that members of the Donnelly clan were most often perceived as trouble makers and the perpetrators of crimes which they would seldom get caught committing (Miller, 1962; Robin 1976).

To oppose the Donnellys some residents of Biddulph Township banded together and formed a vigilance committee. Robin (1976:106) relates that the committee: "...met, irregularly, in the Cedar Swamp Schoolhouse, swore members to secrecy and included an inner core of members who tightly controlled meetings, agendas and membership. The core consisted of respected Lucan citizens and Roman Line residents..." Robin also relates that: "Among the vigilantes' major peeves was the alleged reticence of police and court officials in arresting and convicting criminals like the Donnellys" (Robin, 1976:108). The Lucan vigilantes which Robin also refers to as the Cedar Swamp Vigilantes because of their practice of meeting in the Cedar Swamp Schoolhouse numbered anywhere from thirty to one hundred people (Robin, 1976:106).

Prior to the murderous events of February 4, 1880 the Lucan vigilantes were to carry out another act of vigilantism. The initial act of vigilantism occurred after the vigilantes had been denied a request for a search warrant which would enable them to search the Donnelly farm as the latter were suspected of having stolen a cow. Robin describes what occurred: "Early in the morning, before the Donnellys had risen, the search party of forty members armed with clubs and guns descended on their residence and searched it roughly" (Robin, 1976:109). Robin relates that the cow was not located during this search and was eventually found in a neighbouring pasture. The Donnellys refused to let this incident go unnoticed, and without delay: "John Donnelly pressed the charge of trespass against several vigilantes who, benefitting from their colleagues' testimony, were acquitted" (Robin, 1976:109).

Before long the barn of the Donnellys' neighbour, who was a member of the Cedar Swamp Vigilantes, burnt down. Although no evidence existed to suggest their implication, the prime suspects as usual were the Donnellys and four of the Donnelly boys were charged with arson. When it was discovered that the four were at a wedding at the time of

the fire and therefore had perfect alibis, the boys' parents who had not attended the wedding were charged (Robin, 1976:110). A hearing was to begin on February 4, 1880. Policeman James Carroll was later to admit that the Crown's case against the Donnellys was ready to "fall to the ground" (Robin, 1976:110). The Donnellys, however, were prevented from attending their hearing as they became the victims of a heinous act perpetrated in the early hours of February 4, 1880.

After the vigilantes had finished their work at the Donnelly home they proceeded to Will Donnelly's house which was three and one half miles away. According to Miller (1962:179): "Some of the Vigilantes may have defected before they got there. There were not as many engaged in the work at Will's home". They were not aware that their intended victim had two guests staying with him that night including his brother John. The vigilantes made noise outside Will's residence to get attention from the occupant. When John Donnelly opened the door to investigate he was shot dead. Will Donnelly witnessed the incident through a window and was able to recognize some of the vigilantes before they fled (Miller, 1972:179).

The vigilantes had claimed five victims; unfortunately for them however, they had left witnesses at the two locations they had visited. Their information assisted the police in arresting thirteen people who were charged and ordered to appear for preliminary trial before a police court in London in late February, 1880 (Robin, 1976:115). Regarding the people arrested Miller remarked that:

The murderers of the Donnelly family were by no means morons, misfits or maniacs. They were farmers and business men, stage-coach owners, carpenters and peace officers. Furthermore, they performed their grisly task in no moment of emotional unbalance, but deliberately, coldly, and savagely, with malice aforethought (Miller, 1962:20).

According to Robin (1976:116) "When reporters...began sampling local opinion in the weeks and months following the murders, they found a marked sympathy, not for the victims, but for the accused: A sympathy which increased as the trials progressed."

Seven of the persons arrested were discharged at the preliminary hearing because of lack of evidence leaving six to stand trial at the London Spring Assizes in early April 1880. The first to be tried was policeman James

Carroll who was charged with the murder of Mrs. Donnelly. Both Johnny Connor and Will Donnelly who had witnessed the incidents testified for the Crown. The defence's strategy was to weaken their testimony and to demonstrate the bad character of the Donnelly clan while establishing before the court: "...the respectability of the vigilantes..." (Robin, 1976:119). The defence also submitted that a man should not be convicted for the crime of murder based nearly entirely on the testimony of a young impressionable child, Johnny Connor, who was eleven years old at the time of the murders. The defence's strategy was successful as the jury acquitted Carroll (Robin, 1976:120).

Carroll was to face a second trial in late January 1881. Again the jury decided it was imprudent to give full weight to a young boy's testimony and Carroll was again acquitted (Robin, 1976:121). According to Robin:

The death of the Donnellys went unavenged, James Carroll was acquitted of the charges of arson and murder and the Lucan Vigilantes were vindicated in their effort to restore law and order to their divided township. Bail was taken out for the remaining prisoners and their cases soon dropped since Carroll had been the candidate most likely to be convicted (Robin, 1976:121).

Incidents in Alberta Ranching Country, circa 1880

Although no evidence was found to suggest that incidents of vigilantism were widespread in Alberta in the 1880s a few incidents of interest were discovered.

According to Thorner (1975:103), the respected "gentlemen rancher T.B. Strange called for vigilante action when Indians repeatedly killed his cattle and escaped conviction". Breen (1982:175) relates that the relations between the Indians and the cattlemen was by and large not violent. This is not to say that there never were any problems. Breen reports that the ranchers often complained to the police that Indian cattle thieves were not dealt with in a serious enough manner, but never took it upon themselves to enforce the law or provide punishment. According to Breen: "Despite continuous bitter complaining and serious provocation, there is only one recorded incident of a rancher shooting and wounding an Indian caught stealing a horse" (Breen, 1972:175).

Breen also relates that the North West Mounted Police established detachments within a few miles of the larger ranches and in this manner provided the ranchers with protection unheard of on other frontiers (Breen, 1972:174)

According to Breen:

The vigilance committee was consequently practically unknown on the Canadian range. Such a committee was formed on rare occasions when some individual was suspected by his neighbours of tampering with their herds but where firm proof was lacking, but in no instance was the ultimate penalty exacted. The practice, as one ex-policeman and rancher explained, was for the committee to visit the suspect at night "get him out of bed, escort him to the United States border, and warn him never to return" (Breen, 1972:174).

The Fort Edmonton Incident, Fort Edmonton, Alberta, 1882

This incident was described as an isolated example of vigilantism in Western Canada by The Winnipeg Sun.

According to the article: "An American had built a house on land claimed by a Canadian settler. A group of angry citizens, led by Edmonton Bulletin Editor Frank Oliver, hitched a team of horses to his house and sent it careening into the river valley (The Winnipeg Sun, February 1983:p.13). No other details are provided.

The Killing of "Pierre" the "flour thief",
Yukon Territory, 1890's

Haskell (1898:472) in a book describing two years of his life in the Klondike and the Alaskan gold-field relates that justice in the north was sometimes severe and swift. Haskell describes what occurred when one of the men in his group - who had laboriously packed his goods from Skagway, Alaska over the White Pass and into the Yukon Territory - discovered a sack of flour and one hundred pounds of bacon missing from his cache:

Immediately upon discovering their loss they notified the other miners in the vicinity. Each gold-seeker felt that his sack of flour might be the next to go, and it was agreed that a food thief was as dreadful an enemy as a murderer. Food to these men was life. A committee of six vigilantes was chosen by lot to search out the criminal and punish him, the penalty to be death (Haskell, 1898:472).

Haskell relates that during that evening the six vigilantes discovered a Frenchman referred to only as "Pierre", in the act of burying a sack of flour inside his tent. The owner of the flour quickly identified the bagas being his. The search was over and the group of six promptly carried out their duties of judge, jury and

executioners. Haskell describes it thusly: "They carried him out, and to a pole before his fragile habitation they lashed him fast. All six withdrew a short distance, and, at a word, six shots rang out, sounding as one. Then the vigilantes left (Haskell, 1898:473). According to Haskell, the corpse was left to hang from the pole for two days as a warning to other would-be thieves (Haskell, 1898:473).

Justice for a wife-beater, Belmont, Manitoba, 1904

Gray (1972) relates the treatment given in 1904 to a wife-beater by his peers in Belmont, Manitoba:

There the repeated acts of brutality of one of the citizens became such a public scandal that the more sober residents formed a posse, caught the wife-beater in the act, and gave him a strong dose of his own medicine. They accompanied it with the warning that if he ever repeated his attack on his wife he would be ridden out of town on a rail. (Gray, 1972:43).

Gray indicates that the wife-beater was a slow learner and the next night under the influence of alcohol began beating his wife. What was to follow was predictable:

Neighbours called the vigilantes, who came running, they man-handled the drunk onto a fence rail, tied him securely, doused him with hot tar, beat him enthusiastically as he was carried to the edge of town, and then turned him loose with the warning that if he ever came back a worse fate would await him (Gray, 1973:43).

Gray does not provide any further information on this incident. No information is given on the composition of the vigilante group or as to whether the husband ever returned to Belmont.

The Charleswood Vigilance Committee,
Charleswood, Manitoba, 1913

Paterson (1978) draws from a September 9, 1913 newspaper article to relate how the citizens of Charleswood, a peaceful suburb of Winnipeg, reacted when its sole policeman failed to quickly close down two "houses of ill fame" which had recently begun operations in the area:

Some Charleswood people, having decided the police are not going to keep Charleswood clear of disorderly houses, although they have made many complaints, have formed a vigilance band and have decided to clean up the place themselves (Paterson, 1978:20).

The vigilance committee attempted to persuade the prostitutes to stop their activities in several notices sent to them. The hints were not taken seriously and the houses continued to operate causing the vigilance committee to meet to discuss other alternatives. The actions taken by the Committee are described in a newspaper article quoted by Paterson (1978:20):

Last week the vigilance committee assembled and decided that drastic measures must be resorted to. Consequently they obtained a quantity of gunpowder and set it off beneath an outhouse in the rear of the residence...with a crash the corner of the privy was blown off and although the occupants of the house were badly scared, no one was injured.

Paterson also relates that the committee left a note on the front porch warning that: "It won't be an outhouse next time"(Paterson, 1978:20).

The Charleswood Vigilance Committee was to be short lived as on September 17th (less than two weeks after its formation) the police were to raid the two houses and proceed to arrest and charge the individuals found therein. According to Paterson the women were sentenced to three months in jail; however, the sentences were suspended provided they were out of the municipality by the end of the week. The women left and with them went the "raison d'être" of the Charleswood Vigilance Committee (Paterson, 1978:21).

Pioneer Justice in Northern Ontario, circa 1980.

Carsten Stroud in his book The Blue Wall briefly refers to two vigilante-type actions which occurred in northern Ontario. The following statement was allegedly made by a member of the Ontario Provincial Police stationed in the area. The narrative begins when the policeman and his partner Frank arrive in a small native settlement to arrest an individual suspected of rape:

By the time Frank and I got out there, old Jonah was lashed to a tree in the ballpark and he was bleeding all over his head and shoulders...Justice was like that up here; they handed it out themselves unless you got there fast. I remember one fall, they caught another rapist up in Lake River. They left him tied to a tree for the OPP to come and get. When the man got there, the black flies had bled him half to death and his eyes were swollen shut (Stroud, 1983:194).

Recent Incidents of Vigilantism in Canada

During a six-week period beginning November 8, 1986, five Canadian store owners made headlines because of their involvement in shooting perpetrators of robbery attempts. The public and media reaction as well as the actions taken by the criminal justice system are of interest and are reported on briefly hereunder.

The first incident occurred on November 8, 1986 when Steven Kesler, a 41-year-old Calgary drugstore owner, followed and shot two individuals who had robbed his drugstore. He shot both thieves, killing one and inflicting minor injuries on the other (The Citizen, 1986a:A3). Kesler, whose store had been robbed on two previous occasions in the last three years was charged with second-degree murder (The Citizen, 1986b:A2). Upon learning of Kesler's predicament, local merchants organized a defence fund which raised \$37,000 to pay for Kesler's legal expenses (Gray, 1987:48).

Within two weeks of the Calgary incident, a second Canadian store owner was to shoot and kill a robber. Upon being interviewed by the press, Montreal convenience store owner Guy Guilbeault indicated that he had acted instinctively when he had pulled a handgun from under his counter and fired (The Citizen, 1986c:A5). Guilbeault was to be more fortunate than Kesler as on December 4, 1986, the Montreal Chief Crown prosecutor announced that there was insufficient evidence to lay criminal charges against him (The Citizen, 1986e:A3).

The Kesler and Guilbeault incidents described above received much media attention. The Ottawa Citizen, in an editorial, commented as follows:

It would be rash to conclude that Canadians endorse vigilante actions simply because two shopkeepers half a continent apart gunned down would-be robbers. But the militant support the merchants have received from the public is a rumble of discontent our judicial system can't ignore....Restoring confidence in the justice system is vital. Without it, the cycle of violence will inevitably escalate, endangering the innocent and fuelling outright vigilantism. (The Citizen, 1986d:A8).

Lipovenko (1986:1) voiced a similar concern: "...the Montreal and Calgary incidents, on the heels of one another, have focused attention on the loss of public confidence in the police and courts for protection..." Even a supreme court judge, Mr. Justice Willard Estey, while refusing to comment directly on either the Guilbeault or Kesler cases, is reported to have acknowledged: "...that people are frustrated with the justice system" (The Citizen, 1986c:A5).

Public support for Kesler and Guilbeault was overwhelming. Cox, (1986:A7) reported that Kesler became a public hero in Calgary and that in a phone-in poll, all

but one of the 70 callers supported his actions. Likewise, "In Montreal, radio station CFCF reported that calls to its morning open-line show were running 3 to 1 in favour of Guilbeault,.... Said host John Oakley: 'He's seen as a hero" (Maclean's, 1986:24).

Another suspected robber was shot and killed by a drugstore owner in Laval, Quebec on December 8, 1986 when he attempted to break into the drugstore at night (McKenzie, 1986:A3). Still another would-be robber was shot and wounded by a convenience store owner in Beauharnois, Quebec on December 10, 1986.

Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney empathized with the Canadian public and merchants, reminding them of the "rule of law" in a statement on December 20, 1986:

'I have a great deal of sympathy for anyone whose premises or whose places of business or whose families are abused in that way'...'But this is not a nation of vigilantes; this is a nation of laws and that must be the situation at all times' (Winnipeg Free Press, 1986:8).

This was not the first time that such incidents had occurred in Canada. Globe and Mail reporter Dorothy Lipovenko reported on the outcome of two previous cases of spontaneous vigilantism in Canada:

In 1981, the Ontario Court of Appeal upheld the jury acquittal of Antonio Scopelliti, after he was charged with murdering two teenagers who broke into his Barrie, Ontario grocery store. Three years later, a coroner's inquest found Montreal convenience store owner André Fortin not criminally responsible for the deaths of two men he shot and killed when they tried to rob him (Lipovenko, 1986:1).

St-Jean (1986) provides information on Montreal pharmacist Wilfrid Gagnon, who on three separate occasions between 1950 and 1974 shot and killed would-be robbers and thieves. According to St-Jean (1986), criminal charges were never laid against Gagnon in any of these instances.

Picton (1987) provides information on two other incidents. The first concerns a Hamilton resident named Tony Iacozza who shot and killed an individual who was attempting to break into his home which had been broken into two weeks earlier. According to Picton (1987:A14) an inquest was held, but Iacozza was never charged because of lack of evidence. The jury recommended, however, that: "...in the future, people should secure themselves and call police, but should not take up arms" (Picton, 1987:A14).

Analysis and Summary

This chapter provided information on several classical vigilante type incidents which occurred in Canada or in territories which would eventually become part of Canada.

Very little information is provided on the De Benyon lynching; however, the manner in which the young boy was killed and the perpetrator's attempt to escape may have been the deciding factors which prompted the settlers to arm themselves, pursue, capture and hang De Benyon. Had the victim been an adult or had De Benyon stayed around to give a plausible explanation or a confession of his actions, it is possible that the settlers would have let the courts determine his fate.

The Bytown Association for the Preservation of the Peace and the Voluntary Patrols in Quebec City are two examples of citizens banding together in the face of crime waves which the established law and order organisms appeared unable to control. It is interesting to note that the Bytown Association was only formed when the Irish began to threaten the elite and the status quo. No

information is provided on the efficacy of the Quebec Voluntary Patrols; however; the Bytown Vigilantes are credited with instilling courage and ridding Bytown of the Shiner menace.

A clear example of individuals knowingly contravening the law in order to bring about justice as they perceived it should be was the hanging of a man by the Hudson's Bay Company in the Red River Settlement. Evidence provided indicated that the Hudson's Bay personnel knew that cases involving the possibility of capital punishment were to be referred to London. In this instance Hudson's Bay Company personnel, who rightfully exercised control over civil laws in the Northwest Territories also exercised their power in a criminal case, which was beyond their jurisdiction. No doubt expediency, cost-effectiveness and the fact that the accused was an Indian, were factors that played a role in prompting the Hudson's Bay employees to take vigilante action. The Hudson's Bay Company during that era was a highly secretive entity and it is possible that other such incidents went unreported. In fact it is fairly certain that, had it not been for the British Parliamentary Select Committee which examined the Company's affairs in 1857, this incident would have gone

unnoticed. Furthermore the Select Committee makes no recommendation to the effect that the individuals involved in the hanging should have been reprimanded or dismissed.

It would be easy to write off the Cypress Hills massacre as an American vigilante action on Canadian soil. The facts remain that most of the wolf-hunters although operating from an American fort, were Canadians. The massacre also demonstrates the tendency of vigilantes to paint all members of a certain racial, social or socio-economic group with the same brush. The wolf-hunters perceived the Cree Indians to be responsible for the theft of their horses and were pursuing them when they located the Assiniboine Indians. Thirty Assiniboines were murdered, not because they were responsible for the horse thefts, but because they were Indians. Their deaths would serve as a reminder to the Crees and a warning for Indians in general.

For several reasons the Lucan Vigilantes are of the "classical vigilante" type. Their establishment came about after the existing criminal justice system had failed miserably on several occasions to bring the perpetrators of crimes to justice. The committee was

two-tiered and composed of outstanding citizens. It received the approval of local businessmen and the church, as well as overwhelming support from the public at large. It was a secretive organization, and for their most cowardly deeds, the members used disguises in an attempt to hide their identities. When finally charged with offences they had committed in unison, none of the vigilantes was ever convicted.

The shooting by an Alberta rancher of an Indian who was attempting to steal a horse demonstrates that on occasion the Canadian prairie ranchers were ready to take the law into their own hands. Such action was possibly taken by a rancher who had been the victim of previous such thefts or who lived in an area where such thefts were common, and where local law enforcement agencies were unlikely to facilitate the return of the animal. The fact that at least one rancher called for vigilante action might indicate that this was the case.

The practice of banishment, used on rare occasions on the Canadian prairies for individuals suspected of tampering with herds of cattle, is also an example of a classical vigilante action. This practice was utilized by

ranchers who perceived somebody to be responsible for cattle rustling but who had no firm proof of the individual's guilt used such methods. The perceived perpetrators were neither physically assaulted nor executed. Instead, they were brought to the American border and warned not to come back. The vigilantes who participated in such activities were likely responsible for several crimes including forcible confinement and kidnapping. In Canadian cattle country, it appears that vigilantes on rare occasions broke the law in order to ensure that their livelihood was protected.

A band of vigilantes in Belmont, Manitoba also used banishment as an appropriate solution to prevent a man from beating his wife. After having been doused with hot tar and beaten, the man was brought to the city limits and warned never to come back. The vigilantes involved in this action had assaulted the wife beater. They were obviously convinced that the existing legal system could not deal with the problem and took it upon themselves to break the law in order to rid the town of what they deemed to be an undesirable character.

Very little information is provided on the Fort Edmonton incident where a man's home was sent careening into a river valley. Two points of interest help to define this act as one of classical vigilantism. The first is that the individual on which the action was perpetrated was an "outsider", an American who threatened a Canadian's way of life by settling on a piece of property which he claimed as his. The second is that the group of angry citizens was led by a "respectable" citizen, being the editor of the local newspaper:

The killing of a flour thief by six vigilantes in the Yukon reveals that the gold-seekers had a very stern code. Upon finding some flour and bacon missing, six men were chosen by lot to pursue the perpetrator demonstrating that the group's actions were planned and deliberate. This also indicates that the group was two-tiered in that the six chosen to seek out justice would receive support from a larger group. It is very possible that the individuals involved in this action were Americans who had come to the Yukon via Alaska and had experienced similar incidents in the Alaska gold-fields. Proceeding as they did was more efficient than relying on the law and order agencies which were in their infancy in the Yukon at the time.

This perceived lack of adequate policing also manifested itself in Charleswood, Manitoba for a very short period in 1913. Charleswood residents were appalled that prostitutes were plying their unlawful trade in their respectable city, and did not feel that the police were taking proper and adequate action against them. A vigilance committee was promptly formed to pressure the ladies of the night into leaving their neighbourhood. They began by posting notices and when this failed, members of the committee bombed an outhouse behind one of the houses of ill-repute. Members of the vigilance committee perpetrated a serious crime which could have endangered life. They felt justified in their actions, however, as they felt that the moral fabric of their community was being destroyed.

Two brief examples are also given of pioneer justice in northern Ontario which occurred in the recent past. On both occasions, individuals inflicted pain and punishment on rapists before leaving them tied to a tree where the police would eventually find them. The vigilantes, in these instances, may have been seeking their own retribution as they felt that the official legal system would not deal with the perpetrators in a severe enough manner.

Finally, several recent incidents of vigilantism are provided in which individuals have killed in order to protect their loved ones, property and businesses. These persons had obviously no confidence in the law enforcement agencies to protect their interests and to apprehend and severely deal with the perpetrators.

This chapter describes several incidents of classical vigilantism in which some 46 deaths occurred. On three occasions, the perpetrators were assaulted. Two of the vigilante groups were involved in the destruction of property while two utilized banishment. Two of the classical vigilante groups discussed were involved in preventive patrols and the restoring of law and order in their communities. In 9 instances, people were killed in the process of trying to steal or rob.

In all instances described in this chapter, the perpetrators of the vigilante acts are respectable citizens of the community. In the De Benyon and Pierre the Flour Thief cases, it is apparent that the cause for the vigilante action is the lack of an effective criminal justice system on a Frontier. In the Donnelly case as well as the recent shootings of robbers by store owners,

it becomes apparent that the individuals involved have lost faith in the justice system. A store owner convinced that all robbers would be arrested, charged, tried, convicted and dealt with severely by the courts would not likely consider shooting at a robber. In the cases of the Bytown and Quebec Voluntary Patrols, the citizens banded together in response to a crime wave to restore order.

We therefore see that classical vigilantes described in this chapter were involved with attempting to maintain or restore order even though on occasion this order would come about by circumventing the "rule of law".

CHAPTER V

NEO-CLASSICAL VIGILANTISM IN CANADA

Introduction

As was seen in the previous chapter, incidents of classical vigilantism occurred when individuals or groups attempted to fill a void in areas where settlement had preceded effective law enforcement or where the criminal justice apparatus was perceived to be too lax or inefficient in dealing with criminals.

Neo-classical vigilantism in contrast generally occurred in areas where police forces and legal systems were already in place. The targets of the neo-vigilantes were usually not criminals but members of an alien group which was deemed to threaten the status quo or the moral fabric of the community. According to Brown, in the United States, neo-vigilantism "found its chief victims among Catholics, Jews, immigrants, negroes, laboring men and labor leaders, political radicals, and proponents of civil liberties" (Brown, 1975:134). Brown adds that: "... individuals sometimes formed spontaneous neo-classical vigilante movements for the moral regulation of the poor, the drunk and the shiftless, as well as 'loose' women of the society" (Brown, 1975:24).

The Tar and Feather Case, Ancaster Township,
Upper Canada, June 1826

Phelan (1976:17) relates the circumstances surrounding a tar and feather incident which occurred in Ancaster Township in June 1826. According to Phelan: "The victim had been dragged from his house with obscene

threats, stripped, smeared with tar and sprinkled with feathers (from his own pillow). Then left half-conscious to find his way back to his horrified household" (Phelan, 1976:17). Phelan adds that:

The ostensible reason for the assault was retribution for Rolph's outraging public morality by living adulterously with a Mrs. Evans who had run away from her husband because of ill treatment and with her young child had found shelter in Rolph's house (Phelan, 1976:17).

According to Phelan: "It must have been mortifying to his assailants, disguised and with blackened faces, when they burst into Rolph's bedroom in the early hours of the morning to find that Mrs. Evans was not in Mr. Rolph's bed" (Phelan, 1976:17).

On the advice of his brother indicating that sooner or later the culprits would disclose themselves by talking and boasting, Rolph remained silent. This is exactly what happened and Rolph instituted civil proceedings against three individuals in August 1827. In presenting the case for the defendants who were all outstanding citizens their lawyer attempted not to prove them innocent but rather to have them exonerated:

In this country where there is no other punishment for so gross a breach of public morals and public decency than public opinion and public rebuke, the men who stood forward to vindicate the rights of an outraged community deserved rather [sic] praise rather than punishment (Phelan, 1976:18).

According to Phelan, the jury deliberated for a short time before returning a verdict in favour of the plaintiff and assessing damages of 20 pounds against each of the three co-defendants. The prosecution had asked for 1,000 pounds in damages, and as far as Rolph and his counsel were concerned the matter would be pursued (Phelan, 1976:18). Rolph would seek an indictment on a criminal charge of riot and assault against the perpetrators (Phelan, 1976:21).

In April of 1828, the Grand Jury for the Gore District Quarter Sessions returned a "true bill" which named the three involved in the original trial as well as the three lawyers who had represented them in their previous defence and four others, to make a total of ten accused (Phelan, 1976:21). According to Phelan:

...several of the persons involved were gentlemen and pillars of the community. These were a clerk of the peace (the victim), a former sheriff, a justice of the peace, a clerk of the District Court, a deputy clerk of the Crown, two barristers, two gentlemen (without office) a merchant and the editor of the local paper (Phelan, 1976:17).

Because nobody appeared to testify against them, a trial was never held for the ten (Phelan, 1976-22).

The Tar and Feather Gang, Lethbridge, Alberta,
February 1895

Deane (1916), in a book on his thirty-one years of service as a member of the Northwest Mounted Police, describes an incident of vigilantism which occurred in Lethbridge in February, 1895. According to Deane, one James Ronald was suspected of adulterous activity with a Mrs. Willis where he had once boarded. The community suspected this as Mr. Willis had frequently complained about the undue intimacy between his lodger and his wife (Deane, 1916:266).

On February 13, 1895, Willis committed suicide and James Ronald attended the funeral as chief mourner (Deane, 1916:267).

Deane describes what was to happen to Ronald:

...soon after midnight on the second day after the tragedy a band of masked and armed men broke into the house on the outskirts of the town occupied by James Ronald and his brother Maxwell, who were in bed together at the time. Maxwell was covered by a rifle and ordered not to move. His brother James was pulled out of bed, tarred, feathered, dressed and led with a rope around his neck by a half-mile route to the front door of the Lethbridge house which was the principal hotel in town. He was pushed into the hall, the door temporarily fastened from without, and the masked gang rapidly and quietly dispersed. James Ronald was then at liberty to make his way home without molestation (Deane, 1916:267).

During his investigation of the incident, Deane found that eight persons including an active member of the Northwest Mounted Police, holding the rank of Sergeant and non-commissioned officer in charge of Lethbridge town detachment, had been involved. During the course of his investigation Deane found little community support for bringing the perpetrators to justice:

...the entire community-ministers of religion, men, women and children of all sorts and conditions were of [the] opinion that poetic justice had been done. The Presbyterian minister voiced the sentiments of the local public when he said to me one day that James Ronald had committed a moral offence for which the law was powerless to punish him, and it was not well that he should go unpunished altogether (Deane, 1916:269).

By the time Deane had conducted his investigation, two of the men had already left the country (Deane, 1916:270). He charged five of the remaining six, opting not to indict the Northwest Mounted Police Sergeant, who would give evidence for the Crown. According to Deane, the venue for the trial was changed from Lethbridge to MacLeod after he had had consultations with the Crown and defence attorneys and they had come to the realization: "...that we believed ourselves to be the only residents of Lethbridge who were of the opinion that the accused would not receive an impartial trial in that town" (Deane, 1916:272). The five accused were charged with two counts of burglary and two of riot (Deane, 1916:273). The trial commenced on July 6, 1895 and the case was proven to the hilt according to Deane. The six jurors could not come to a unanimous verdict however so they were discharged and a new trial ordered for July 10 of that year (Deane, 1916:275).

On the night preceding the trial Sergeant Phair - the main Crown witness - deserted and according to Deane:

"...was persuaded to climb into a waiting buggy and was driven across the international boundary line into Montana" (Deane, 1916:276). The case was put over to the winter assizes. In the interim however another of the accused who had been released on bail took advantage of his freedom and entered the United States (Deane, 1916:276).

The Crown did not pursue the case and nobody was ever convicted for having been involved in the crimes surrounding the tar and feathering of James Ronald. According to Deane the charges and court procedures did have positive ramifications: "The prosecution, however, had its effect, and was such to discourage further experiments with Lynch Law (Deane, 1916:276).

The Charivari, Upper Canada Circa 1835

Burnet (1972:70) describes the Charivari as a practice that was brought to Upper Canada from Lower Canada: "It was a noisy and sometimes violent expression of community disapproval of marriages in which the man and woman were of widely different ages, or different ethnic groups" (Burnet 1972:70).

Moodie (1970:145) in her book describing life in Upper Canada in the 1830's relates how the idle young men from the neighbourhood would organize themselves for a charivari:

For this purpose they disguise themselves, blackening their faces, putting their clothes on hind part before, and wearing horrible masks, with grotesque caps on their heads, adorned with cocks' feathers and bells. They then form in a regular body, and proceed to the bridegroom's house, to the sound of tin kettles, horns and drums, cracked fiddles, and all the discordant instruments they can collect together" (Moodie, 1970:145).

Once arrived at the residence of the newly-married couple the noisy bunch would in most cases demand that the bridegroom provide them with sufficient funds to buy liquor at the local tavern. In most cases, the demand was met and the crowd quickly dispersed to reconvene at the

tavern. Moodie describes what happened when the bridegroom refused to satisfy the group's demands:

...they commence the horrible din you heard, firing guns charged with peas against the doors and windows, rattling old pots and kettles, and abusing him for his stinginess in no measured terms. Sometimes they break open the doors, and seize upon the bridegroom; and he may esteem himself a very fortunate man, under such circumstances, if he escapes being ridden upon a rail, tarred and feathered, and otherwise maltreated. I have known many fatal accidents arise out of an imprudent refusal to satisfy the demands of the assailants. People have even lost their lives in the fray...(Moodie, 1970:145).

Moodie goes on to describe what occurred when a black man, who had come to Upper Canada as a runaway slave, persuaded a local Irishwoman to marry him. The marriage created a great sensation in the village and the young men decided to give them the charivari in fine style and to inflict punishment for the insult they had committed:

Some of the young gentlemen in the town joined in the frolic. They went so far as to enter the house, drag the poor nigger from his bed, and in spite of his shrieks for mercy, they hurried him out into the cool air - for it was winter - and almost naked as he was, rode him upon a rail and so ill-treated him that he died under their hands (Moodie, 1970:145).

Moodie (1970:147) relates that nobody was ever charged or tried in this matter: "The ringleaders escaped across the

lake to the other side; and those who remained could not be sufficiently identified to bring them to trial. The affair was hushed up; but it gave great uneasiness to several respectable families whose sons were in 'the scrape' (Moodie, 1970:147).

Violent Enforcement of the Colour Line in Canada

In discussing incidents undertaken by the white population on black people in Canada, Walker (1980:88) asserts that:

Such incidents have not been frequent, but Canadians can take no comfort from their small number. The underlying principle has been shared generally by white society: blacks have a place and must be kept in it. When blacks stray from their place by such presumptuous (sic) behaviour as marrying a white, parading in uniform or violating unwritten segregation, some unstable whites have reacted with violence. But they could not have reacted at all if society in general had not already defined that place.

According to Walker, it was this same climate which would cause many Canadians in the 1920s to be receptive to the white supremacist views of the Ku Klux Klan as they had been conditioned by widely held views that such ideas were acceptable.

In a brief historical overview Walker (1980:8) provides several examples of violence being exerted on blacks:

In 1840 some black militiamen in Chippewa were attacked by a white mob, and a similar case occurred at Manchester, near Niagara in 1847... A race riot erupted in St. Catherines in July 1852 during the local militia day. A black militia man named Harris was stoned by a white who felt that Harris desecrated the militia uniform by wearing it... In 1860 a riot broke out in Chatham when a black preacher named Pickney dared to marry a white English school teacher. A band of armed whites in Chatham tried to drive an older black couple from their home, located in the "white district" in 1891. A similar event took place in Trenton, Nova Scotia in 1937. A white mob destroyed the home just purchased by a black couple in a neighbourhood considered "white", and when neither the RCMP nor the municipal authorities intervened, the mob moved on to attack other black homes. In 1940 a gang of 300 whites attacked the Calgary, Alberta home of a black bandleader, beating not only blacks but also whites who were present for being 'nigger lovers' (Walker, 1980:88).

As mentioned in the methodology chapter, a personal letter was written to Mr. James W. Walker, Chairman of the Department of History at the University of Waterloo.

Although Mr. Walker provided the writer with numerous sources of general information, he was unable to provide primary references which would yield additional information of the above noted incidents (Appendix XXVII).

"Gay-Bashing", High Park, Toronto, 1985

In late June of 1985, five teenage Toronto boys ranging in age from 15 to 18 gathered to celebrate the end of school and to drink some beer. Their actions later that night were to result in the five being charged with murder (The Citizen, 1985:A5).

At their subsequent trial, witnesses testified having overheard: "...the boys planning to go to High Park - considered a prime site for furtive, nocturnal encounters between homosexuals - to 'beat up a fag'..." (The Citizen, 1985:A5). The trial revealed that the boys did find a homosexual in High Park and proceeded to lay a beating on him and to vandalize his car before fleeing from the park. Witnesses called an ambulance whose attendants were to discover that the victim had died (The Citizen, 1985:A5).

The five eventually pleaded guilty to manslaughter and were sentenced to nine years each. Their guilt was not an issue in this case. What everyone was asking however, was how had five apparently normal teenagers ended up participating in such a crime? At their trial, Dr. Clive Chamberlain, a psychologist, offered an explanation for their behaviour and stated that contributing elements had been: "...a subtle combination of social factors - the 'disinhibiting' effect of alcohol, an implicit social permission to victimize gays, and group dynamics" (The Citizen, 1985:A5). The major factor for their behaviour would therefore appear to be a consensus in much of society that homosexuality is not normal and should be suppressed. Alcohol and peer pressure were only factors that served as catalysts.

Anti-Oriental Activity on Canada's West Coast

Ward (1978) and Roy (1976) provide information on the Knights of Labour, a group of Vancouver businessmen who embarked on a vigorous anti-Chinese campaign in November 1886. According to Ward (1978:44) members of the Knights of Labour: "...boycotted prominent whites who employed or

patronized Chinese, painting a large black X on the sidewalk in front of each offender's place of business." Roy (1976:48) relates that two committees which included prominent citizens of Vancouver were formed by the Knights. The first committee's goal was to intimidate the Chinese into leaving Vancouver while the other's was to meet with employers and attempt to convince them to replace Chinese workers with white workers. According to Roy (1976:49) there also existed an anonymous part of the movement, called "The Vigilance Committee" which began posting notices warning that:

All chinamen must leave the city limits on or before the 16th of January instant, and all Chinamen found within the city on or after that date will be forcibly ejected and their goods and chattels moved to False Creek or such other places as convenience may dicate. And we warn the authorities not to interfere with us if they value their lives, as we mean business and are determined in our action (Roy, 1976:49).

In early February of 1887, the Anti-Chinese League was formed. Its first meetings were presided over by a prominent member of the Knights of Labour (Roy, 1976:50). On February 24, 1887, the League held a special meeting to discuss the arrival in Vancouver of 100 Chinese during the

past three weeks. Roy (1976:50) reports that 300 to 400 League members were in attendance. Ward (1978:46) relates what transpired at the meeting.

...as the meeting drew to a close, a voice boomed out from the back of the hall, "those in favor of turning out the Chinese to-night [sic], say 'Aye'," and a chorus of ayes rang out. The crowd poured into the street, formed a procession, and marched the mile west to the Chinese camp on Coal Harbour. When they arrived they surrounded the Orientals, pulled down their shanties, and threw their bedding and clothing into the campfire. They seized and beat several Chinese; others escaped only by plunging into the chilly waters of the harbour.

According to Roy (1976:51) it was not till two days after the riot that police laid charges against three men who had participated in the assaults. The three were initially remanded in custody but then freed on \$3,000 bail. Roy (1976:51) describes the outcome of the charges against them .

A few days later they appeared in court before Mayor MacLean, Alderman R.H. Alexander and Black. Their cases were dismissed because eyewitnesses could not state that any of them actually took part in the assault. Indeed, Charlton [one of the accused] reminisced, "they just arrested us to save their face".

According to Ward (1978:46) the perception that Chinese immigration was increasing in British Columbia in 1887 was unfounded.

In fact, by 1887 the province's Chinese population was dwindling....What inflamed hostility in Vancouver was the internal movement of Chinese within British Columbia, the sudden arrival of a group of Asiatics in a white community where only a handful had lived before....Their coming confronted whites with the prospect of permanent racial diversity in the community. In doing so it roused profound psychological fears and stirred a deep-rooted longing within the host society for a culturally homogeneous population (Ward, 1978:46).

Vancouver was not the only area of British Columbia where neo-classical vigilante activities occurred:

...between 1898 and 1906 four separate outbursts of vigilante activity flared up at different points in the province. Despite their scattered nature they too testified to white British Columbia's popular sense of racial grievance. First in the Slocan Valley, then at Atlin in the northwest, next at Salmo in the Kootenays, and finally in Penticton, mobs of irate whites forced Oriental newcomers out of town. Each incident followed the same basic pattern, one similar to the events in Vancouver in 1887. A small number of Chinese or Japanese arrived in a new and previously all-white community, most of them brought in to work as labourers. Their advent aroused latent prejudices among local whites. In all four instances a mob gathered and ran the newcomers out of town, and on every occasion but one the mob's victory was complete: the community rid itself of the Oriental intruder. Only in Salmo did the Asians return, and then only under police protection demanded by their

employers. The absence of effective police forces certainly made these incidents possible. But the real source of each lay in the latent nativism of the west coast province, which the presence of even small numbers of Asians could arouse. Like Vancouverites before them, whites in each of these communities feared an impending threat to their jobs (Ward, 1978:64).

The Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan

As mentioned previously, several university theses and books have been written on the Ku Klux Klan in Canada. The following is a very brief overview of the Klan's formation in Canada and its activities in the province of Saskatchewan.

According to Sher (1983:23), Ku Klux Klan members from the United States came to Canada in the early 1920s to spread their creed of white supremacy. Calderwood (1972:191) relates that: "Before it faded into oblivion in the depression of the 1930s, the Klan had organized locals from British Columbia to the Maritimes." Calderwood adds that: "Here, as in the United States, the Ku Klux Klan was able to find and feed upon racial

prejudice and religious bigotry of long standing"
(Calderwood, 1972:191).

Henson (1977) provides information on the
prerequisites for becoming a Klan member:

Requiring that all applications be in writing, the
Klan stipulated that potential members be between the
ages of 21 and 40, British subjects, and "qualified
horsemen possessing the necessary skill and daring to
uphold law and order at all costs" (Henson, 1977:2).

While stating that they would not punish individuals
or break the law the Canadian Klan indicated that it would
avenge wrongs and distribute retribution. According to
Henson (1977:2), "The Klan thus set out to enforce its own
brand of justice, to introduce its own brand of morals and
ideals, and to provide its own interpretation of
government policies."

It was in the province of Saskatchewan that the Klan
found the most fertile ground. According to Sher
(1983:50), Klan membership in that province in the late
1920s was estimated to be as high as 50,000; however, most
agreed that 40,000 was probably a more accurate estimate.

According to Calderwood (1972:217) the main platforms of the Klan in Saskatchewan included the restructuring of immigration laws to prevent the entry of those who were not white anglo-saxon protestants into the country as well as being a constant opposition to French education and the influence of the Roman Catholic church. Sher states that:

In campaigning against the alleged spread of French-language education and facilities in the province, the Klan was raising a false bogey. Of the 4,776 school districts in Saskatchewan in 1927, only 31 had separate or minority schools - and eight of these were Protestant schools where the majority was Catholic. But the truth never seemed to deter the Klan. With French Catholics in the 1920...the Klan simply seized on popular myths and fears to fan the flames of hatred" (Sher, 1983:51).

The Ku Klux Klan was by and large a peaceful organization which conveyed its views in the press. It received the support of a large segment of the population including leading members of the protestant churches (Sher, 1983; Calderwood, 1972). Its major objective was to keep Saskatchewan white, protestant and English. The Klansmen attempted to achieve these objectives by banding together and exerted pressure in the political arenas.

Chapter Summary

Several neo-classical vigilante groups and incidents are described in this chapter. In nearly all occurrences, neo-classical vigilante actions were carried out by a group which formed to attempt to bring about a return to the status quo. In some cases these acts occurred because the victims were participating or perceived to be taking part in activities such as immoral behaviour not punishable under the existing laws. In other cases the groups formed to take actions to help preserve the homogeneity of their community.

As has been demonstrated, the persons involved in neo-classical vigilante actions were usually respectable citizens and quite often professionals or community leaders. The major tactic used by these types of vigilantes in Canada was found to be intimidation which quite often included the use of violence.

It has also been demonstrated that the individuals involved in neo-classical vigilante actions, have usually received a great deal of community support and have seldomly convicted in a court of law for their actions.

Witnesses are often sympathetic towards the vigilantes and reluctant to provide law enforcement officers with their testimony. For the same reasons, jurors often fail to return a verdict of guilty for persons involved and charged with neo-vigilante activities.

CHAPTER VI

PSEUDO-VIGILANTISM IN CANADA

Introduction

Pseudo-vigilante groups, it will be recalled, were first formed in the United States in the 1960s and involve many sectors of society. They primarily include self-protective and community patrol organizations (Jayewardene, 1982:67, Marx, 1971:53). These groups of citizens who have banded together under perceived or

actual conditions of disorder, do not usually usurp the law, and frequently co-operate with the police (Brown, 1975:130). According to Marx (1971:53): "...their primary functions have been the surveillance and protection of their own communities, often as an ancillary group to the regular police".

A study of 28 pseudo-vigilante groups in Boston concluded that: "...groups were formed by citizens who believed that law enforcement was inadequate" (Marx and Archer, 1972:34). The same study revealed that: "These groups appeared to reflect community feelings--a survey of a representative sample of 400 Boston citizens revealed that more than half regarded favourably the idea of citizen patrols" (Marx and Archer, 1972:34).

As with other types of vigilantism discussed in this paper, scant documentation exists regarding citizen patrol and crime deterrence groups in Canada. This chapter will provide a brief historical overview of the coming about of pseudo-vigilante groups in Canada and will discuss possible factors which brought them about. Several examples of such groups with a brief description of their activities will then be provided.

Emergence of Pseudo-Vigilante Groups in Canada

Canada did not experience the civil strife and sky-rocketting crime rate which occurred in the United States in the 1960s. However, there was a precipitous rise in the violent and property crime rates beginning in the early 1960s. (Brantingham 1984).

During the 1960s and 1970s police budgets and human resources rose to unprecedented levels. For a time, the police solution to a rising crime rate was to request increased funds, for state of the art equipment and increased staff. Despite the massive increases in police budgets, the crime rate continued to rise, at a time when Canada was entering into an economic recession. Henri-Paul Vignola, former Director of the Montreal Urban Community Police Department, described the predicament Canadian law enforcement agencies found themselves in during the early 1980s and offered solutions to the problem:

The police are at the crossroads: they must now switch from suppression [of crime] on which they have traditionally focused their efforts to prevention on which they will have to concentrate their efforts through original and innovative programs. This calls for an immediate change of strategy particularly with this crime rate which is in the upswing while we are experiencing increasing costs in spite of strict budgetary restraints (Vignola, 1982:2).

In a speech to the mayors of suburban Montreal, Vignola (1982) indicated that the solution to the crime problem was to involve citizens in crime prevention ventures:

Because of the soaring crime rate and policing costs, the citizens must assume a major role. John Q. Public can no longer afford to remain quiet, heedless and passive under these circumstances. He must take positive action immediately by co-operating with and becoming involved in community crime prevention programs in his neighborhood...The fight against crime can no longer be considered the exclusive responsibility of the police (Vignola, 1982:2).

and so it was that police forces across the country began placing a greater emphasis on crime prevention programs with particular attention being given to ensuring that the ordinary citizen played a role in these endeavours.

Examples of Pseudo-Vigilante Groups in Canada

This section briefly describes several Canadian pseudo-vigilante groups.

Neighbourhood Watch

The Neighbourhood Watch Program was first introduced in Ottawa in July, 1981 and has since spread to all Canadian provinces (Canadian Living, 1983:17). The program involves neighbourhood residents working with the police and acting as the "eyes and ears" of the police who cannot be everywhere at once. The Ottawa program proved to be a success as a study conducted found: "...a reduction in actual break-ins of 71.4 per cent and a 50 per cent reduction in attempted break-ins" (Canadian Living, 1983:17). The success of this program is attributed to the fact that vigilant neighbours immediately report any suspicious activities to the police, thereby giving them a headstart on apprehending any criminal entering a neighbourhood.

Similar programs called apartment watches have been established to provide protection in apartment buildings.

Range Patrols

Range patrols were first established in Alberta by the RCMP in 1980. According to Sallot (1980:A10): "The range patrol is a response to the rural crime problem in Canada." In an interview with Sallot (1980), Cpl. Atkin of the RCMP described the intended role of the volunteers involved in range patrols: "We stress to people that they are not to consider themselves policemen. They do not have any police powers. They are simply to observe and take descriptions of vehicles, licence numbers, times and locations. We don't want range patrols to be vigilantes" (Sallot, 1980:A10).

Within months of its inception in Alberta, the range patrol program had 11 separate patrols with a total of 1,100 members. These patrols were credited for the location and apprehension of suspects in a few cases. This major contribution however appears to be one of deterrence.

Volunteer Patrols, Rosemere, Quebec

On November 19, 1980, Rosemere Police Chief Maurice Lalonde announced that to augment his 14-man police force he was going to recruit 50 citizens who would patrol the suburban town of 7,500. The volunteers were to be provided with two radio-equipped cars as well as radios for use in their private vehicles. The volunteers according to Chief Lalonde, were to "watch out for suspicious things and report them to us" (Globe and Mail, 1980:N4).

Surrey Patrol Observe Team (S.P.O.T.),
Surrey, British Columbia

The existence of this group was brought to the writer's attention by the Surrey, British Columbia RCMP. Brief information on the existence of this, and three other similar groups, was included with the police survey.

According to information provided, S.P.O.T. members are volunteers who patrol Surrey on foot and in cars and report any suspicious activities to the police.

According to the RCMP, three additional groups participate in similar activities in Surrey. They are: the Panorama Park Foot Patrols, the Bear Creek Park Foot Patrols and the Crime-Busters.

Crime Stoppers

Crime Stoppers was established in Albuquerque, New Mexico in 1976, after the police could not find witnesses to a serious crime (MacLeod, 1985a:B4). Police investigators approached a local television station to film and broadcast a re-enactment of the crime. Viewers, who were promised anonymity were asked to call police with information for which a \$1,000 reward was offered. Within 48 hours, the police arrested two suspects based on anonymous information (MacLeod, 1985:B4). The new approach proved successful and was repeated for various other unsolved crimes in Albuquerque.

According to MacLeod (1985a:B4) the program has now been implemented in 500 American and 15 Canadian cities and has produced the desired effect. Another successful example of such an enterprise is in Calgary where:

"...police say the program has been responsible for 506 arrests, 905 solved cases, \$1.4 million in recovered stolen property, including 885 cars, and seized narcotics with a wholesale value of \$125,000" (Macleod, 1985a:B4).

According to a spokesperson for the Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Police, three types of individuals call the police to provide anonymous information as a result of the Crime Stoppers crime re-enactments. These include criminals who are motivated by money as well as persons motivated by revenge. Many calls are also received from law-abiding citizens who feel it is their duty to cooperate with the police but who do not want to become involved (Bindman, 1984:14).

The Crime Stoppers program is therefore an admission by the police that in order to solve certain crimes they must solicit the help and cooperation of the public. Citizens are encouraged to be vigilant and to provide information to the police.

Chapter Conclusion

Several Canadian pseudo-vigilante groups were described in this chapter. All are composed of volunteers who conduct crime prevention activities and assist law enforcement agencies. In many ways these groups can be seen to constitute a return to the basic principles of policing as enunciated by the father of modern policing, Sir Robert Peel in the 1820s. One of the basic tenets of Peel's principles was that "the police were the public and the public was the police". These groups represent a return to basics as the average citizen is again involved in a form of policing. Likewise, the police have an opportunity to re-establish contact with the average citizen. The existence of these groups also enables the citizens involved to feel that the police are really doing something for them, as there is greater communication. Likewise, police personnel have the opportunity to feel the citizens' appreciation for their work.

The existence of pseudo-vigilante groups which work in cooperation with the police, could be a factor which might help in preventing the formation of violence-prone vigilante groups or of individuals committing violent

acts. These groups enable citizens, who feel that there is not enough being done to combat crime or who have been the victims of criminal acts, to channel their energies and vent their frustrations in a positive manner. In this way, in liaison with the local police, citizens become a part of the solution to the crime problem instead of critics of the system.

One of the problems encountered by pseudo-vigilante groups is maintaining their motivation and membership over extended periods of time. A group's success in deterring crime can lead to its demise, as people no longer feel the need to band together as the crime problem no longer exists. Likewise, police organizations are not likely to expend resources to assist in forming pseudo-vigilante groups where no crime problem exists.

CHAPTER VII

AN IN-DEPTH EXAMINATION OF THE GUARDIAN ANGELS IN CANADA

Introduction

In discussing whether or not the Guardian Angels should be considered vigilantes, Kenney (1983:1) makes the following comments:

While both these views may have some merit, to date it has not been possible to bring this debate beyond a political and emotional realm, since no systematic or detailed examinations of the group have been conducted. As a result, interested observers have been forced to rely for their assumptions about the group, upon the frequent journalistic accounts which are supplied to the mass media by the Angel's founder and leader, Curtis Sliwa. Because the group is of such prominence, yet has not been explored in other than this journalistic sense, it is probable that important decisions concerning the group will be based, not upon accurate data, but simply upon rhetoric.

As the information provided in this chapter will demonstrate, it is appropriate to consider the Guardian Angels to be a vigilante group however. Determining the type of vigilantes they are becomes difficult. Although they have surfaced in the last two decades, they are not typical pseudo-vigilantes, most often, there is no cooperation between them and police. In many ways they resemble classical vigilantes as their formation is, in large part, based on the perception that existing law enforcement agencies cannot effectively deal with crime problems. Kenney (1983:31) concludes that the best label for the Guardian Angels may be "neo-vigilantes".

The first portion of this chapter examines the concept of the "Guardian Angels", and its origins, by focusing in on its leadership and founding in New York City. At the outset is a brief profile of Guardian Angel leader Curtis Sliwa who is referred to by one author as the "arch" angel (Haskins, 1983:7). Although one could argue that the writer is straying from the thesis topic "Vigilantism in Canada", it is submitted that a stronger case could be argued to the effect that an incomplete picture of the Guardian Angels might be given were no

references made to its American founder and leader as well as its origins in the United States. In fact, it will be demonstrated in this study that Guardian Angel chapters in Canada, with the exception of a splinter chapter in Montreal, answer directly to Curtis Sliwa and take orders from the New York City Head Office.

The second portion of this chapter provides the results from the media survey and the survey on the Guardian Angels which was completed by various Canadian police departments, as well as the outcome of letters forwarded to various Canadian mayors.

The Founding of the Guardian Angels

Without doubt, the driving force and inspiration behind the formation of the Guardian Angels was its founder and leader Curtis Sliwa. Sliwa was born in Brooklyn, New York in 1954. Haskins (1983:7), the author of the only book published to date on the Guardian Angels, relates that Sliwa was a born leader, who clearly demonstrated his leadership qualities and ability to attract media attention at an early age. Sliwa was born of middle class

parents and had his first exposure to television at the age of six when he appeared on the "Romper Room" television show. According to Haskins (1983:8), "No agent went to Brooklyn to sign him a contract as a result of his appearance on TV, but young Curtis was very impressed by his brief experience with fame."

Sliwa's next exposure to the media occurred in 1970 when he was sixteen years old and had decided to do his own personal clean-up of his littered neighbourhood. According to Haskins (1983:10), "By the time Curtis single-handedly collected approximately five tons of trash — and arranged it in his family's yard, the neighbours were saying he had gone too far. In fact, some of them were threatening legal action." As a result of his involvement, the New York Daily News, for which Sliwa was a paperboy, ran two articles about his campaign (Haskins 1983:10). The next year Sliwa once more gained notoriety when, while delivering his newspapers, he came upon a burning house. Without hesitation, he entered the house and helped rescue several people. Once again the New York Daily News ran stories on him, as did other local newspapers. As a result, he received awards from the mayor

and the governor, and President Richard Nixon personally honoured him as one of the nation's top newsboys (Haskins, 1983:10). An insight into Sliwa's strong and maverick personality can be gained by examining his attitude and decorum when meeting President Nixon at the age of seventeen (Gilman, 1982:109).

I wanted to talk to him... I wasn't a radical, but certainly had liberal leanings at the time. And I wasn't too thrilled by meeting Nixon. So when we went in there, I wanted an opportunity at least to say a few words to the man...And as I began to speak after receiving the award, I was told to hush my mouth, that this was not proper, that I wasn't being asked to speak. So the quote I am remembered for was: 'You mean to tell me I come down here to pick up a cheap pen and tie clip and don't have the opportunity to say one thing to the President of the United States? Am I that much of an underling?' And then I was just hustled off.

Sliwa soon thereafter received an American Legion award as Outstanding High School Student of the Year and was elected president of his high school student council in his senior year. According to Haskins (1983:11), "The young model citizen took his position as president of the student government so seriously that it interfered with his own academic career." Sliwa used his position as president of the student body to voice the concerns of fellow students, and to demand a voice in the decisions that concerned them. When interviewed by Haskins

(1983:11) in this regard he stated: "I did a lot of stupid things, and I said a lot of stupid things to the principal." This resulted in Sliwa's expulsion from school two weeks prior to graduation. He enrolled at another school, but did not stay, and became a high school dropout working as a night manager of a Shell gas station. Haskins (1983:12) describes how Sliwa spent his free time:

In the hours he was not working, Curtis put his extra energy into street activities, making a name for himself as a brawler. It was during this period of his life that he got the nickname 'The Rock' for his fighting prowess and his ability to go for days with very little sleep. But a street reputation was not what Curtis Sliwa wanted in life. He wanted something more--something better.

It is during this time period, according to Haskins, that Sliwa began thinking of what he would do with the rest of his life. In his interview with Andrew Gilman (1982:109), Sliwa gives some insight into what transpired, and why he began thinking of forming a group such as the Guardian Angels.

I was getting a lot of media attention. I began to realize that I could get caught up in this whole head trip and end up dying a one man soldier. I became increasingly aware that if I really wanted to accomplish things, then I had to get other people involved

and not just be a one man army--the individual who collected eight tons of garbage, the individual who saved six people, the individual who did the impossible. A lot of people end up becoming so self-oriented that they forget that they're just a drop in the bucket, that in order to have successful programs, you've got to get other people involved -- people who may not have the same ability to speak on the matter or organize it as you might have. I realized I needed to get all kinds of people together to get involved, to try to create a better quality of life.

Haskins (1983:13) relates that Sliwa was employed in a food supermarket and worked his way up to assistant manager. In 1978 he was hired on as an assistant manager at McDonald's in South Bronx, a tough neighbourhood. His job included acting as a bouncer to deal with loiterers and unruly customers. According to Haskins, Sliwa proved so dedicated to his work that he was chosen to appear in McDonald's training films. His experience as a McDonald's assistant manager was to have a profound impact on his future endeavours. Firstly, he realized the influence he could exercise on people younger than himself. Secondly, his exposure to South Bronx made him aware of the slums, poverty and crime which were rampant in that part of New York.

Before founding the Guardian Angels, Sliwa would form two other groups: the Rock Brigade, a neighbourhood clean up group, and the Magnificent Thirteen, a subway anti-crime patrol group.

The Rock Brigade

As the assistant manager of the South Bronx's McDonald's, Sliwa used his influence with younger people to organize a group of 63 high school students whose objective was to clean up the litter in the neighbourhood. The Rock Brigade proved to be popular as soon as Sliwa announced that they were going to clean up not just the South Bronx, but all of New York City (Haskins, 1983:13). Again Sliwa gained the attention of the media and his efforts were instrumental in having Mayor Koch of New York declare the 30th of December 1978, "Marathon Sweep Day". Haskins (1983:13) relates that the Rock Brigade disappeared as quickly as it had come on the scene; it became defunct after the December 30th, 1978 sweep.

The Magnificent Thirteen

It was in early 1979, that Sliwa began experimenting with his idea of crime prevention in New York's subway system. His endeavours would eventually lead to the formation of the Magnificent Thirteen group which was the precursor of the Guardian Angels. Sliwa undoubtedly still felt that cleaning up litter in the neighbourhood was important; however, the problem of crime was more important, and his talents could best be used in organizing a group that would help deter crime. Three incidents, as reported by Haskins (1983:8), may have influenced Sliwa's thinking. At the age of eight, he was hurt by a mugger because he did not have any money. Therefore, like Bernhard Goetz, (the "subway vigilante" of December 1984, who was initially mugged in 1981), Sliwa had also been a crime victim. Their reactions to these incidents were different, however. Sliwa, on his father's orders, began taking karate lessons. Goetz decided to begin carrying a firearm and when approached in the New York Subway on December 22, 1984, by four youths who were allegedly attempting to mug him, he fired five shots from his revolver, injuring the four. (Time Magazine, 1985: April 8).

Haskins (1983:15) also reports that, as the night manager of the Shell Service Station, Sliwa had been held up on several occasions. Thirdly, his employment at McDonald's in the Bronx had given him the opportunity to travel the New York subway between the Bronx and his parents' home in Brooklyn (Haskins, 1983:12), and to observe crimes being committed in that portion of the city's underground transport system that had been dubbed the Mugger's Express (Gilman, 1982:82). It was during the subway trips to and from work at McDonald's that Sliwa and Don Ching, a co-worker and friend, began experimenting with Sliwa's crime prevention idea. Haskins (1983:16) explains:

They established a "decoy situation": Curtis would play the potential victim, wearing a gold watch and a three-piece suit and looking 'muggable'. Don, wearing Marine Corps boots and a headband, would be in another part of the car or train, connected to Curtis by a 'beeper' system like doctors use. As soon as Curtis felt that he was being set up as a victim, he would signal Don, who would move in and seize the culprits or drive them away. It worked so well that Curtis started thinking in larger terms: If he and Don could be an antimugger squad of two, just imagine what several people could do.

Sliwa personally recruited twelve other individuals who became members of the group whose name was to be the "Magnificent Thirteen". The group began patrolling the "Mugger's Express" on February 13, 1979. Gilman (1982:82) explains their *raison d'être*:

The principle was one of basic deterrence. Young, tough looking kids would ride the subways during the peak crime hours. They would not look for confrontation but would hope that by their presence crime would be discouraged. The group would do what a New York City transit police, because of municipal budget cuts, would not or could not do.

From the outset, Sliwa decided that a uniform for the group was of primary importance (Haskins, 1983:16).

An admirer of the Green Berets, an elite combat troop that served in Vietnam, he chose red berets as part of the uniform for the group. Also, as he put it, the red berets 'stand out like lollipops' in a crowd. He also decided on white T-shirts with red writing, because the young people he would recruit would not have the money to buy special jackets. As the symbol for the group, he chose an all-seeing eye. His group's purpose would be to see, and thus prevent, potential crimes. Also, an eye, all by itself, has little racial or sexual distinction.

The group became instantly popular. By early May 1979, the "Magnificent Thirteen" had received national exposure in Time Magazine (Haskins, 1983:20). It was in September 1979, that the group, in part because of its desire to absorb many of the young people who wanted to join it, decided to change its name to the Guardian Angels.

The Guardian Angels

The establishment of the Guardian Angels provided for a formal organization with a chain of command. The organization was given a two-tiered command structure. The national leadership, consisting exclusively of Curtis Sliwa and his wife to be, Lisa Evers, were concerned with the developing of overall policy. As well, it was within their purview to visit various jurisdictions in order to attempt to establish new chapters and to monitor activities once these chapters were established.

In turn, each local chapter has a free hand in determining how the Guardian Angel philosophy will be applied in its community. This includes the type of relationship to be developed with local law enforcement agencies, as well as the type of patrol and times that patrols will take place. Kenney (1983:8) relates that although considerable local autonomy is permitted, the extent to which Curtis Sliwa and his wife, Lisa, have remained in command of the organization was demonstrated in 1982, when Curtis Sliwa intervened to remove the leaders of the Chicago and Los Angeles Chapters. A similar incident occurred in Canada in September of 1983, when Sliwa travelled to

Montreal to voice his displeasure with the leader of the Montreal chapter who had refused to partake in citizen's arrests. Sliwa indicated that this group would no longer be recognized as an unofficial Guardian Chapter and named two individuals to head up and train an official chapter (Gazette, 1983c:A1). In an interview conducted by Kenney (1983:8) with the leader of a chapter in still another city, he was told: "make no mistake about it, New York still gives the orders." Haskins (1983:61) gives a further example of how tight a grip Curtis Sliwa maintains on the Guardian Angels:

Although Curtis Sliwa had begun to delegate responsibilities to Lisa, leadership of the Angels still lay so totally with the Sliwas that when they were both in Washington D.C. for the march to protest the killing of Frank Melvin, Angels' patrols in New York were temporarily suspended by Sliwa. Naturally, many New York Angels, particularly the patrol leaders, were furious.

From the outset, Sliwa embarked on a cross nation tour to publicize the group's concept which spread quickly, in part because of Sliwa's uncanny ability to deal with the media (Gilman, 1982:82).

A master of the forty-five second response that fits in perfectly with the local evening news, Sliwa challenged local police forces to make the streets safer, to stop telling citizens the best response to crime was more locks on doors, bars on windows and surrender of thoroughfares to bad guys.

In the preface to his book Sliwa (1982:xiv) further elaborates on the Guardian Angel philosophy:

We want you to understand that the only way to stop the terrifying disease of street crime is to participate in its cure through community action. In addition to keeping criminals out of your apartment or home, you will deny them access to your neighbourhood and community as well.

In his interview with Andrew Gilman (1982:110) Sliwa goes even further by stating that: "The Angels really represent the view of the common, average everyday man -- that he can fight back. It's a simple concept, but it's also mind boggling."

Beyond a doubt, (the greatest achievement of the Guardian Angel concept was its propensity to channel the vitality and energy of youth in a positive way. Sliwa takes credit for this in his interview with Gilman (1982:110)

We are responsible, though, for pulling people off that fine line. Most young men and women -- rich, poor, and in between -- are on the fine line between being decent citizens and not. It's very easy to fall in either direction.

By 1983, the Guardian Angels claimed 3,000 members in 40 cities across the U.S. and Canada (Haskins, 1983:57). Reactions from various interest groups were not always positive, however, and many were less than enthusiastic about the Guardian Angels. As will be seen later in this paper, many police groups and politicians, both in the U.S. and Canada, objected to the establishment of a Guardian Angel chapter in their jurisdictions.

The Guardian Angel Concept Comes to Canada

The first indication of the Guardian Angels' desire to establish chapters in Canada was contained in a February 23, 1982 Globe and Mail article by Michael Tenszen. This article documents Curtis Sliwa's intention to visit Canada in July of 1982, at which time he proposed to visit Toronto, Edmonton, Winnipeg and Montreal. Additional articles discovered by the writer did confirm that Curtis and Lisa Sliwa visited Canada on occasions. Their time during these visits was spent attending news conferences, giving self-defense demonstrations in public places and setting up local chapters of the Guardian Angels. Newspaper and magazine articles obtained would

suggest that the Sliwas attempted to, or wished to, form Guardian Angel Chapters in the following eleven Canadian cities: Calgary, Edmonton, Halifax, Mississauga, Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, Windsor, Winnipeg, Brampton and Surrey.

During the next few months, Sliwa was to receive a great deal of publicity from the Canadian media: enough for Maclean's, Canada's weekly newsmagazine, to allot one-sixth of a page in a two page "Trends and Discoveries" section in its Images of 82 issue, to a photograph of Curtis Sliwa wearing a Guardian Angel T-shirt and beret. The photograph's caption simply states that the "Guardian Angels crossed the border" (Maclean's, 1983, 96, 1:14). This issue of Maclean's, the first of 1983, which summarized the top stories of 1982 and examined trends for the year that had just elapsed, had this to say about the Guardian Angels:

Although a crime rate actually fell, citizens' fears about violence escalated, as evidenced by the attention paid to vigilante groups such as the Guardian Angels (Maclean's, 1983, 96, 1:14).

Results of Media Survey, Police Survey and
Letters to the Mayors of Canadian Cities

Media Survey

The media survey produced approximately two hundred newspaper and magazine articles on the Guardian Angels and related pseudo-vigilante groups in Canada. This initial search produced information indicating that the Guardian Angels had announced that they wished to establish chapters in 10 Canadian Cities, and that they had successfully established chapters in 6 cities.

The media survey failed to reveal the existence of a Guardian Angel chapter in Surrey, British Columbia. This information only came to light during the course of the police survey when the officer in charge of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Detachment in Burnaby, British Columbia advised the writer in a letter that the Guardian Angels were reportedly active in the municipality of Surrey (Appendix X). As a result of this information, a survey was forwarded to the Surrey RCMP Detachment and a letter to the mayor of Surrey. As will be seen later affirmative replies were received from both.

Police Survey

The letter, instructions and survey contained in Appendix I were forwarded to the 29 police departments listed in Appendix II in mid July 1985. As Table III indicates 26 police departments (89.7%) replied to the writer. A follow up letter (Appendix III) prompted replies from the remaining three police departments (Table III).

As indicated in Table IV, 25 departments (86.2%) properly completed the survey and returned it to the writer. Three departments (10.3%) did not complete the survey but sent letters to the writer indicating that there had been no Guardian Angel activity in their jurisdiction. One department (3.5%) refused to participate and indicated in a letter to the writer that: "after examining the material, it was the decision of the Executive of the Department not to participate" (Appendix IX).

TABLE III: Replies received from Police
Departments Canvassed (N=29)

Number of replies received as a result of letter and survey contained in APPENDIX I	26
Number of replies received as a result of follow-up letter contained in APPENDIX III	3
TOTAL	29

TABLE IV: Completion and Return of Survey
forwarded to Police Departments
(Appendix I) (N=29)

Number of properly completed surveys received.	25
Number of letters received from Police Departments indicating that the survey was not completed as there was no Guardian Angels activity. (See Appendix VI, VII and VIII)	3
Number of Police Departments refusing to participate in survey (See Appendix IX)	1
TOTAL	29

Twenty-one of the police departments (75.0%) which responded indicated that no Guardian Angel or similar pseudo-vigilante activity had occurred in their jurisdictions. Seven police departments (25%) indicated that Guardian Angel or similar pseudo-vigilante activity had taken place (Table V). These seven police departments are:

- (1) the Service de Police, Communauté Urbaine de Montréal;
- (2) the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force;
- (3) the Windsor Police Force;
- (4) the Peel Regional Police Force;
- (5) the Edmonton Police Department;
- (6) the Vancouver Police Department; and
- (7) the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Surrey Detachment.

As Table VI indicates, the types of patrols undertaken by the Guardian Angels varied greatly from one jurisdiction to another. One police department (14.3%) indicated that the Angels only conducted subway patrols. Two departments (28.6%) indicated that the Guardian Angels were solely involved in foot patrols above ground while one department (14.3%) indicated that the Guardian Angels patrolled their area in vehicles. Another department

TABLE V: Guardian Angel or pseudo-vigilante activity as reported by Police Departments participating in Survey (N=28)

Police Departments indicating Guardian Angel or similar pseudo-vigilante activity in their jurisdiction	7
Police Departments indicating no Guardian Angel or similar pseudo-vigilante activity in their jurisdiction	21
TOTAL	28

TABLE VI: Responses to Question 3 of Survey from Police Departments indicating the existence of Guardian Angel or other pseudo-vigilante groups in their jurisdiction (N=7)

QUESTION 3 - What types of patrols were undertaken by the Guardian Angels in your area?

Subway	1
foot patrols above ground	2
in vehicles	1
subway and foot patrols above ground	1
in vehicles and foot patrols above ground	1
No answer	1
Other	0
TOTAL	7

(14.3%) advised that the Guardian Angels were involved in subway patrols as well as foot patrols above ground in their jurisdiction. Still another (14.3%) department advised that the Angels undertook patrols in vehicles as well as foot patrols above ground in their jurisdiction. One department (14.3%) did not elaborate on the types of patrols undertaken in their area.

Four of the seven police departments (57.2%) which had indicated that Guardian Angel or other pseudo-vigilante groups existed in their jurisdiction advised that the group had sought cooperation from the police department. Two departments (28.6%) indicated that the group had not sought their cooperation while one (14.3%) did not provide a response to question 4 in the survey (Table VII).

As Table VII also indicates, 3 of the police departments (42.9%) indicated that liaison channels had been established with the Guardian Angels while two (28.6%) advised that no channels had been set up. No answer was received for question five from two of the departments (28.6%).

TABLE VII: Responses to Questions 4 and 5 of
Survey from Police Departments
indicating the existence of Guardian
Angel or other pseudo-vigilante groups
in their jurisdiction (N=7)

	YES	NO	NO ANSWER	TOTAL
QUESTION 4 - Did the group seek cooperation from police department?	4	2	1	7
QUESTION 5 - Were liaison channels set up between the police department and the Guardian Angels?	3	2	2	7

Of the seven police departments indicating the existence of Guardian Angel or other pseudo-vigilante groups in their jurisdiction, three departments (42.9%) indicated they had received a list of the Angels patrolling in their jurisdiction while two departments (28.6%) indicated they had not received a list and two others (28.6%) did not provide a response to this question (Table VIII).

Two of the police departments (28.6%) indicated in response to question 7 of the survey that some of the Guardian Angels patrolling in their area had criminal records while one department (14.3%) indicated that none of the Guardian Angels patrolling in its jurisdiction had a criminal record. Two departments (28.6%) indicated they had not checked the names as they had not been provided a list while two other departments (28.6%) did not respond to question 7 of the survey (Table VIII).

As Table VIII also illustrates, one police department (14.3%) advised that a Guardian Angel serving in its jurisdiction had been charged with a criminal offence. Three departments (42.9%) indicated that no Guardian Angels had been charged in their area while three other

TABLE VIII: Responses to Questions 6, 7 and 8 of Survey from Police Departments indicating the existence of Guardian Angel or other pseudo-vigilante groups in their jurisdiction (N=7)

	YES	NO	NO ANSWER	NEVER RECEIVED LIST	TOTAL
QUESTION 6 - Were the names of the Guardian Angels patrolling in your area provided to you by the Guardian Angel leadership?	3	2	2	-	7
QUESTION 7 - Were any of the Guardian Angels patrolling in your area found to have criminal records?	2	1	2	2	7
QUESTION 8 - Were any of the Guardian Angels serving in your jurisdiction charged with criminal offences?	1	3	3	-	7

departments (42.9%) did not provide a response to question 8 of the survey.

Question 9 of the survey asked whether the Guardian Angel group operating in each jurisdiction was independent or affiliated and controlled by the New York national office. In response to this question, four of the departments (57.2%) indicated that the Guardian Angel group in their area was affiliated and controlled by the New York office. One department (14.3%) advised that their group was independent but that they had met with representatives from the New York office. Another police department (14.3%) indicated that the Guardian Angel group operating in its jurisdiction was independent while still another department (14.3%) did not provide a response to this question (Table IX).

All of the seven departments (100%) which had indicated the existence of Guardian Angel or other pseudo-vigilante groups in their jurisdictions advised that the Guardian Angel directors from New York had visited their area to form or visit a Guardian Angel chapter (Table X). All (100%) also indicated in response to question 11 of the survey that the Guardian Angels had received attention

TABLE IX: Responses to Question 9 of Survey from Police Departments indicating the existence of Guardian Angel group in their jurisdiction (N=7)

QUESTION 9 - Is your Guardian Angel group independent or is it affiliated and controlled by the New York national office?	INDEPENDENT	AFFILIATED	INDEPENDENT HOWEVER MEET WITH REPRESENTATIVES FROM NEW YORK OFFICE	NO ANSWER	TOTAL
	1	4	1	1	7

TABLE X: Responses to Questions 10, 11, 12 and 18 of Survey from Police Departments indicating the existence of Guardian Angel or other pseudo-vigilante groups in their jurisdiction

	YES	NO	NO ANSWER	TOTAL
QUESTION 10 - To your knowledge, have the national directors from New York visited your area to form or visit a Guardian Angel chapter?	7	0	0	7
QUESTION 11 - Have the Guardian Angels received any attention in the local media in your area?	7	0	0	7
QUESTION 12 - Did the Guardian Angels receive the support of local politicians or city council in your area?	2	3	2	7
QUESTION 18 - Has your Department or City Council taken an official stance on the Guardian Angels?	4	1	2	7

in the local media (Table X). Two of the departments (28.6%) in response to question 12 of the survey indicated that the Guardian Angels had received the support of local politicians or city councillors in their area. Three other departments (42.9%) advised that the Guardian Angels had not received such support in their area while no response to this question was received from the two other departments (28.6%) (Table X).

Four of the police departments (57.2%) advised that their city councils had taken an official stance on the Guardian Angels while one department (14.3%) provided no answer for question 18 of the survey and still another (14.3%) indicated that its city council had not taken an official stance on the Angels (Table X).

Table XI provides the responses for questions 12 to 15 of the survey for the seven police departments which had indicated the existence of Guardian Angel or other pseudo-vigilante groups in their area. It is interesting to note that only two departments (28.6%) indicated that the Guardian Angels still patrolled their area when the survey was conducted in July 1985. One of these two departments advised that these patrols were sporadic while

TABLE XI: Responses to Question 13, 14, 16 and 15 of survey from Police Departments indicating the existence of Guardian Angel or other pseudo-vigilante groups in their jurisdiction (N=7)

	QUESTION 13 - What was the approximate size of the Guardian Angel Chapter in your area when it was formed?	QUESTION 14 - What was the approximate size of the group six months later?	QUESTION 16 - What is the approximate size at pre-sent or when was their last patrol or activity?	QUESTION 15 - Do the Guardian Angels still patrol in your area? (July 1985)
Department 1	11	37	none since December 1983	No
2	unknown	disappeared	unknown	No
3	no answer	no answer	no answer	no answer
4	20	nil	none	No
5	29 (fluctuated)	60 (approx.)	sporadic	Yes
6	8	20	none since December 1984	No
7	6	8	10	Yes

the other indicated that the chapter patrolling in its jurisdiction had only 10 members. It is also interesting to note that two departments (28.6%) indicated that the Guardian Angels had disappeared in their area within six months from the time they had begun patrols. One other department (14.3%) reported that its chapter had ceased to exist by December 1983, while another (14.3%) indicated that its chapter had ceased to patrol in December 1984. One department (14.3%) did not provide responses for questions 13 to 15 of the survey.

As Table XII indicates two police departments (28.6%), in response to question 17 of the survey, credited the Guardian Angels with preventing a crime or arresting a criminal in the process of committing a crime in their area. Four departments (57.2%) did not credit the Guardian Angels with any arrests while one department (14.3%) did not provide a reply to this question.

As Table XII also indicates, only one department (14.3%) advised in response to question 19 of the survey that it considered the Guardian Angels to be a vigilante group. Five police departments (71.4%) did not consider

TABLE XII: Responses to Questions 17 and 19 from Police Departments indicating the existence of Guardian Angel or other pseudo-vigilante groups in their jurisdiction (N=7)

	YES	NO	NO ANSWER	TOTAL
QUESTION 17 - Were the Guardian Angels ever credited with preventing a crime or arresting a criminal in the process of committing a crime in your area?	2	4	1	7
QUESTION 19 - Do you (as a department) consider the Guardian Angels to be a vigilante group?	1	5	1	7

the Guardian Angels to be a vigilante group while one department (14.3%) did not provide a response to this question.

As indicated in Table XIII, two police departments (28.6%) advised, in response to question 20 of the survey, that a group similar to the Guardian Angels had formed in their jurisdictions. The five other departments (71.4%) did not report such activity. The two departments reporting the existence of pseudo-vigilante groups other than the Guardian Angels in their area were the Edmonton City Police and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Surrey Detachment who each provided details on two such groups. The available information on these groups was provided in the previous chapter.

Letters to Mayors of Canadian Cities

Letters were forwarded to the mayors of 11 Canadian cities in mid-August 1985. Appendix IV provides a sample copy of the letter while Appendix V provides a list of the 11 mayors to which a letter was forwarded. Each of these

TABLE XIII: Responses to Question 20 of Survey from Police Departments indicating the existence of Guardian Angel or other pseudo-vigilante groups in their jurisdiction (N=7)

	YES	NO	TOTAL
QUESTION 20 - Have any groups similar to the Guardian Angels formed in your jurisdiction?	2	5	7

11 cities had been identified in at least one of the previous steps (media search or police survey) as having had the Guardian Angels or some other pseudo-vigilante group expressing the desire to establish, or in fact forming, a chapter in that city.

As will be seen, not a great deal of new information was generated by the letters to the mayors. As Table XIV indicates, of the mayors canvassed, 2 (18.2%) did not respond or acknowledge the letter sent to them. No follow-up letters were forwarded to these mayors. In two cases (18.2%) replies were received signed by the mayors. One letter (9.1%) was answered by a police official on behalf of his mayor. Another reply (9.1%) was received from a mayor's assistant referring the writer to the submission already made by the police department. In 5 cases (45.5%), the matter was referred by the mayor or his assistant to another agency or the local police department for a reply (Table XIV).

TABLE XIV: Replies to letters forwarded to the
mayors of eleven Canadian Cities (N=11)
(Appendices IV and V)

No reply received	2
Letters with reply signed by mayor	2
Letter with reply from Police Department official on behalf of mayor	1
Letter received from the mayor's assistant referring the researcher to the survey already submitted by the local Police Department	1
Letters with partial reply from the mayor indicating that the matter is being referred to the local Police Department	3
Letter received from mayor which indicates that the matter is being referred to another agency for response	1
Letter received from the mayor's assistant providing partial reply and indicating that the matter is being referred to the local Police Department for a reply	1
TOTAL	11

As Table XV indicates, of the five cases referred to the local police department or another agency, only one reply produced new information. This was a letter received from the Director of a community centre.. (Appendix XXIII). In one case the police department did not reply while in another the police department refused to participate. In the two other cases, the writer was referred to the submission already made by the police departments.

As indicated in Table XVI seven of the eight replies generated by letters to the mayors of 11 Canadian cities related that the Guardian Angels had expressed an interest in establishing a chapter in their city. Five of the eight replies also indicated that the Guardian Angels had in fact formed a chapter in their city. None of the mayors indicated that minutes of their city council meetings regarding the Guardian Angels existed or were available.

TABLE XV: Replies regarding matters referred to local Police Departments or other agency by the mayor of a City or a mayor's assistant (N=5)

Replies received from other agency (See Appendix XXIII)	1
Reply received from Police Department, on behalf of mayor indicating they did not participate in such surveys	1
Reply received from Police Department referring the researcher to the previous submission (survey and letter) provided by that Department	2
No reply received from Police Department regarding the mayor's referral. (NOTE: this Police Department had forwarded two separate letters previously to the researcher in response to the survey which was also completed.)	1
TOTAL	5

TABLE XVI: Analysis of information contained in replies generated by letters to the mayors of 11 Canadian cities. (N=8) (NOTE: no reply was received from 2 mayors. One referred the researcher to information submitted by the local Police Department. As Appendix XIV and XV indicate, one reply was received from a Police Chief who was responding on behalf of his Mayor. Another was received from an agency which was responding at the Mayor's request.)

CITY	WERE THERE INDICATIONS THAT A GUARDIAN ANGEL GROUP ATTEMPTED TO FORM IN THAT CITY?	DID GUARDIAN ANGEL GROUP FORM IN CITY?	ARE MINUTES FROM CITY COUNCIL AVAILABLE?	COMMENTS
Brampton, Ont	Yes	Yes	No	none
Edmonton, Alta	Yes	No	not stated	no support from aldermen or Police Department
Halifax, N.S.	No	No	not stated	City would not approve

TABLE XVI: (Cont'd)

Mississauga, Ont	Yes	Yes	not stated	met with mayor
Montreal, Que	Referred to Police Department	Referred to Police Department	not stated	Police Department did not forward any information pursuant to Mayor's referral, however had completed survey and forwarded two letters to the researcher.
Surrey, B.C.	Yes	Yes	not stated	Provided name of Guardian Angel leader
Vancouver, BC.	Yes	Yes	not stated	Provided name of Guardian Angel leader
Windsor, Ont	Yes	Yes	not stated	referred to Windsor Police Department submission

Summary of Findings of three Research Techniques

Table XVII provides a synopsis of the findings of the three research techniques utilized in this portion of the study. The media search produced information indicating that the Guardian Angels had expressed an interest in establishing chapters in 11 Canadian cities. The media search had also produced information documenting the existence of Guardian Angel chapters in 7 Canadian cities.

The police survey produced information indicating that the Guardian Angels had made plans to institute patrols in 7 Canadian cities and that, at one time or another, the Guardian Angels had chapters in 7 Canadian cities.

The letters to the mayors of 11 Canadian cities disclosed that the Guardian Angels had attempted to form chapters in 7 Canadian cities and had successfully done so in five.

The following section of this thesis will give an in-depth analysis of the findings of the three research techniques for each city.

TABLE XVII: Results of media search, Police Survey and letters to mayors of Canadian Cities

CITY	MEDIA SEARCH		POLICE DEPARTMENT		CITY COUNCIL OR AGENCY REFERRED TO	
	Articles indicating that a Guardian Angel Chapter might attempt to form in that city	Articles confirming that a Guardian Angel Chapter had been formed or was patrolling that city	(Survey Question 1) Indication that a Guardian Angel Chapter might form or patrol in their jurisdiction	(Survey Question 2) Has Guardian Angel Group ever patrolled in their jurisdiction	Has there been indication that Guardian Angel Group might attempt to form in their area	Has a Guardian Angel Group ever been active in that city?
Charlottetown, P.E.I.	No	No	No	No	N/A*	N/A
Burnaby, B.C.	No	No	No	No	N/A	N/A
Calgary, Alta	Yes	No	No	No	No Reply	No Reply
Winnipeg, Man	Yes	No**	refused to participate	refused to participate	refused to participate	refused to participate

TABLE XVII: (Cont'd)

Victoria, B.C.	No	No	No	No	No	N/A	N/A
Montreal, Que	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No Reply	No Reply
Ottawa, Ont	No***	No	No	No	No	N/A	N/A
Toronto, Ont	Yes	Yes	No Reply	No Reply	Yes	No Reply	No Reply
Surrey, B.C.	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kitchener- Waterloo, Ont	No	No	No	No	No	N/A	N/A
Saskatoon, Sask	No	No	No	No	No	N/A	N/A
Saint John, NB	No	No	No	No	No	N/A	N/A
Windsor, Ont	Yes *	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Dartmouth, NS	No	No	No	No	No	N/A	N/A
Hamilton- Wentworth, Ont	No	No	No	No	No	N/A	N/A

TABLE XVII: (Cont'd)

Brandon, Man	No	No	No	No	No	N/A	N/A
Halifax, N.S.	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
Vancouver, B.C.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Richmond, B.C.	No	No	No	No	No	N/A	N/A
Moncton, N.B.	No	No	No	No	No	N/A	N/A
New Westminster B.C.	No	No	No	No	No	N/A	N/A
Regina, Sask	No	No	No	No	No	N/A	N/A
St. John's, Newfoundland	No	No	No	No	No	N/A	N/A
Gloucester, Ont	No	No	No	No	No	N/A	N/A
Nepean, Ont	No	No	No	No	No	N/A	N/A

TABLE XVII: (Cont'd)

Fredericton, NB	No	No	No	No	No	N/A	N/A
Mississauga, Ont	Yes	Yes	Yes ****	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Brampton, Ont***	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

TABLE XVII: (Cont'd)

- * N/A = not applicable. The Mayors of these Cities were not solicited information as the media search and the survey to police departments had not revealed any information indicated that a Guardian Angel Chapter or other pseudo-vigilante groups might be formed or had patrolled in that City.
- ** Evidence of other pseudo-vigilante groups and a group attempting to use the Guardian Angel name did surface for Winnipeg during the news media search.
- *** Guardian Angel leaders are known from press coverage to have visited Ottawa in November of 1985 and 1986 after the media search for this thesis had been conducted. No evidence exists to indicate that attempts were made to establish a Guardian Angel chapter in Ottawa.
- **** The cities of Brampton and Mississauga, Ontario are both patrolled by the Peel Regional Police Force. Both the media search and the police survey indicated that the Guardian Angels had made patrols in these two cities. Consequently a letter was sent to the Mayors of each city.

Atlantic Provinces

The Atlantic Provinces are New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. The media search produced only one newspaper article for the Atlantic Provinces (Grant, 1983:1) which indicated that the Guardian Angels had expressed an interest in establishing a chapter in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Halifax

Media Survey

On October 4, 1983 an article which was entitled "Guardian Angels not welcome in Halifax-Fry" appeared in the Halifax Chronicle-Herald and quoted Halifax Police Chief Fitzgerald Fry as stating that he would not tolerate the operation of vigilante groups in Halifax. "It's the thin edge of the wedge, and God knows where it will stop" (Grant, 1983:1). Grant goes on to report Fry's views that "...the public has a role to play in crime prevention, citing citizen involvement in groups already organized by the department as areas where their participation is necessary."

The possible establishment of a Guardian Angel chapter in Halifax was also denounced by Mayor Ron Wallace who is quoted by Grant as stating that: "any acceptance is an admission our own department hasn't everything under control" (Grant, 1983:1).

Police Survey (Halifax)

Surveys were forwarded to seven police departments located in the Atlantic provinces (see Appendix II and Table I). All responded to the survey indicating the Guardian Angels had never established a chapter in their jurisdiction. In addition the Moncton City Police advised in a letter that: "...there is no Guardian Angel in the maritime region..." (Appendix XII).

Letters to Mayor of City (Halifax)

As the media search had only produced information on Halifax, the mayor of that city was the only mayor in the Atlantic Provinces to receive a letter soliciting information. Mayor Ron Wallace replied in a letter to the writer dated December 10, 1985 that: "Halifax has no information on any plans for establishing a Chapter of the Guardian

Angels in this area" (Appendix XVIII). In his letter, Mayor Wallace goes on to state that: "The City would not approve of a Chapter if any request was received. There may be a role for the Guardian Angels in a City like New York but not in Halifax" (Appendix XVIII).

In summary, no information was obtained to indicate that a Guardian Angel chapter formed in the Atlantic Provinces. One newspaper article indicated that a chapter might be formed in Halifax; however, this did not occur. Should such a group attempt to establish itself in Halifax, civic officials indicated they would not be receptive to the idea.

Province of Quebec

The media search produced numerous newspaper and magazine articles which indicated that the Guardian Angels had established a chapter in Montreal. The media search did not reveal any attempts by the Guardian Angels to establish chapters elsewhere in the Province of Quebec.

Montreal

Media Survey

As will be seen, Montreal at one time had two competing Guardian Angels' Chapters. One had lost the sanction of National Director Curtis Sliwa because it was allegedly improperly trained and because it refused to execute citizens' arrests. A second was established at Sliwa's personal direction to be the official Montreal Guardian Angel chapter.

The first mention of a Guardian Angel Chapter being formed in Montreal was in an article entitled "Guardian Angels face mixed reaction here", which appeared in The Sunday Express on January 16, 1983. The organizer of this group was reported to be Jean Boisvert, a 32-year-old martial arts instructor who was of the opinion that Montreal's high crime rate warranted the group's formation. In the above noted newspaper article Boisvert outlined some of the reasons for the formation of the group in Montreal: "From what I've perceived, it's evident we need citizens who are more available to help others... For a town of about two million, it (the crime-rate) is

worrying enough" (Regenstrief, 1983:3). In order to devote enough of his time to the formation of a Guardian Angel Chapter in Montreal, Boisvert gave up his job teaching martial arts at CEGEP Vieux Montréal and began living on welfare (Seidman, 1983:A-9).

Recruiting for Boisvert's Guardian Angel group began in late January 1983. According to the The Gazette, "Although 330 people volunteered to become Angels last January, many either quit or were disqualified on physical or psychological grounds" (The Gazette 1983a:A1). Seidman (1983:A-9) reveals that, to his credit, "Boisvert had had one psychologist and two psychology teachers administer tests to Angel hopefuls to weed out those who are interested in vengeance or violence."

On September 12, 1983, Boisvert held a press conference to present his group of 20 Angels and to announce the start of patrols in Montreal (The Gazette, 1983a:A-1). He also made a point of putting some distance between his group and American Guardian Angel chapters and elaborated on how this would in part be done: "We hope to get along better with the authorities than some of the

American chapters, which use methods that are sometimes too provocative" (The Gazette, 1983a:A-1). The introduction of the new Guardian Angel group to the Montreal public was not without its problems. The Gazette describes it as follows:

Montreal's fledgling Guardian Angels had a shaky takeoff yesterday, flying into three bursts of flak before even beginning patrols in the Metro. - Leader Jean Boisvert said his tiny band of deputies is too small to patrol the system every night when crime is at its highest. - One member quit at a news conference to introduce the volunteer anti-crime patrol group. - A martial arts instructor said the Angels are not adequately prepared in self-defence". (The Gazette, 1983:A-1).

The member who had quit at the news conference felt he was not well-enough trained to undertake patrols. The martial arts instructor who had criticized the new group for not being adequately trained in self-defence methods was Tony Klusman, who had assisted Boisvert with several of the training sessions. Klusman at that time predicted a splinter group would be formed. (The Gazette, 1983a:A-1).

The Montreal Police Department appeared to look upon Boisvert and his Guardian Angel Group in a favourable manner. Mr. Marcel Auger, the Director of the Montreal Urban Community Police Department, District 32, who was appointed liaison officer for the group indicated that it would not be appropriate for his department to oppose a group of citizens who had organized themselves to contribute to the reduction of crime and a better protection of the citizenry (Bouchard, 1983:4).

On September 15, 1983 three days after the press conference was held by Boisvert, two of his former associates made public their plans to form their own Guardian Angel Chapter in Montreal. The two, who indicated they were forming this group with the blessing of Curtis Sliwa, were Jason Watson and Tony Klusman, two martial arts instructors who had assisted Boisvert with his group's early training sessions. According to Watson "...he broke away from the original group founded by Jean Boisvert because he has cut Montreal off from the other Angels' chapters, ignored the principles they were founded on...and because their training is just so bad that they're not going to be any use at all" (The Gazette, 1983b:A-3).

On September 18, 1983, Clifford (1983a:2) reported that two additional Guardian Angels had turned in their uniforms to leader Jean Boisvert, leaving him with a group of only 17. Ginette McChristian and her husband Leon (38 and 39 years old, respectively) indicated they were leaving Boisvert's group because "...they truly wanted to be affiliated with the 5,000 members worldwide...she and her husband want to be Guardian Angels in the full sense of the New York based philosophies" (Clifford, 1983a:2).

In an attempt to obtain more information on the matter, Clifford (1983b:2) placed a phone call to the Guardian Angels' Headquarters in New York City and spoke to Guardian Angel leader Curtis Sliwa. At this time, Sliwa expressed his astonishment at the existence of a Guardian Angel chapter in Montreal. "The first clue I had that something was festering was when I got a call last Tuesday from a couple of members who said they had graduated from the Montreal Chapter of the Guardian Angels. After some discussion when I insisted there was no Montreal Guardian Angels I realized what had happened...as far as I was concerned we had broken off all affiliation back on March 26..." (Clifford, 1983b:2). According to background information provided in Clifford's

article (Clifford 1983b), it would appear that talks had been held at one time between Sliwa and Boisvert regarding the establishment of a Guardian Angel Chapter in Montreal. Both agreed on the need for Guardian Angels in Montreal; however, Boisvert would not consent to having Angels from outside Chapters coming to Montreal to help set up the chapter and to having members of his group execute citizens' arrest. Sliwa disagreed, and in his comments to Clifford summed it up as follows: "Boisvert, it seems, wanted the tie-in with the Angels, the name, the recognition, the image because of the other chapters, but he didn't want the checks and balances that go with it...we told him you've got a one track mind and we agreed he just wasn't interested" (Clifford, 1983b:2). Boisvert, it would appear, continued with his plans to set up a chapter in Montreal which would use the Guardian Angel name and be trained according to his own standards. The problems of not having proper training or the endorsement ~~of~~ the New York office did not come to a head until Boisvert held a press conference and announced that his group was ready to start patrolling Montreal's metro. This was enough to persuade Curtis Sliwa to make a personal visit to Montreal.

Sliwa was in Montreal on September 19, 1983 and gave his approval to form a rival chapter noting that "...if the existing Montreal chapter doesn't want to do things his way, it should go under another name...He warned that if Mr. Boisvert's group does not change its name, he will take the matter to court" (Malarek, 1983:10). At a news conference, Sliwa also took the opportunity to reveal that "...Boisvert did not have his sanction to form a Montreal chapter because he disagreed with the Angels' activist crime-prevention methods, including use of citizens' arrest" (The Gazette, 1983c:A-1). During this same news conference, Sliwa named Tony Klusman and Jason Watson, the two martial-arts experts and former members of Boisvert's group, to organize and train Montreal's official Guardian Angels chapter (The Gazette, 1983c:A-1). Jason Watson had this to say of Jean Boisvert: "...Mr. Boisvert is very much a pacifist. You've got to be a bit of a realist" (Malarek, 1983:10). Tony Klusman, the other leader who worked nights as a bartender, would be in charge of training. He used the occasion to reveal that the new group's training would be "...very heavily concentrated around the martial arts - serious, serious martial arts. It will be almost like commando training" (Malarek, 1983:10).

According to the Gazette: "The rivalry between the two groups of Guardian Angels trying to protect Montreal citizens against crime is creating confusion and panic among the elderly..." (Gazette, 1983d:A-10). Sid Stevens, the co-ordinator of Operation Tandem, a City of Montreal crime prevention program, is quoted as stating that: "All this publicity is giving the impression that Montreal is a crime-ridden city and it is driving the seniors further into hiding" (Gazette, 1983d:A-10). When interviewed Stevens revealed that the City of Montreal would not officially endorse either group until they had proved what they could do, however he indicated that he favoured the less militaristic approach of the Boisvert group (Gazette, 1983d:A10).

Mr. Marcel Auger, the Director of Montreal Urban Community Police Station 32, who was the police liaison with the Boisvert group was already on record as stating that he thought that group patrols were a good idea. In an interview with the Gazette, Auger indicated that he was ready to meet with Klusman and Watson but pointed out from the outset that he had reservations about their intentions to make citizens' arrests (Gazette, 1983d:A10).

Within two weeks of having been named co-leader of the official Montreal Guardian Angel chapter by Curtis Sliwa, Tony Klusman was arrested and charged with sexual assaults against women (Gazette, 1983e:A3). Because he had been previously convicted of other sex-related offences (Laurent, 1983:A3) and was on probation at the time, he was refused bail and remained in custody till his trial. In February 1984, Klusman was found guilty of indecent assault and was sentenced to a year in prison (Globe and Mail, 1984:3). According to Walmsley, (1984:12B) Klusman was ordered to undergo psychiatric treatment after having been found guilty of indecently assaulting a woman in an elevator.

In a telephone interview with a Gazette reporter on October 3, 1983, Curtis Sliwa announced that Tony Klusman would no longer be the Montreal Guardian Angel leader. Sliwa indicated that he was not firing Klusman on account of the charges laid against him and stated that the dismissal was made for other reasons which he declined to disclose (Gazette, 1983f:A3). At this time it also became known that Barry Wexler had been appointed the interim leader of the group, and that a leader was to be formally

appointed before the group was to begin its regular patrols (Gazette, 1983f:A3). It would appear that Jason Watson, the other co-leader appointed by Sliwa in September, 1983, lost interest in the group as he did not complete the training sessions (Gazette, 1983h:A3).

On October 6, 1983 Boisvert held a news conference to announce that the Quebec government had incorporated his group under the name "Les Anges Gardiens (Quebec) Inc." and that his group had begun patrols in Montréal earlier that week (Gazette, 1983g:A3). According to press reports Boisvert's group numbered 13 trained members and 28 recruits who were to complete training and join the patrols by mid-December (Malarek, 1983 b:15). Present at the news conference was Station 32 Director Marcel Auger of the Montreal Urban Community Police. When it was suggested to Auger that his presence at Boisvert's news conference might indicate he preferred Boisvert's group to the official Guardian Angel chapter sanctioned by Curtis Sliwa, he denied that the police were partial and added that "...the police are interested in aiding any group concerned with crime prevention." (Gazette, 1983g:A3). Auger also indicated that he was scheduled to meet during the next week with representatives of Sliwa's chapter and

took the opportunity to reiterate that "...police do not want the Angels making citizens' arrests in the Metro or on city streets" (Gazette, 1983g:A3).

On November 9, 1983, Curtis Sliwa once again visited Montreal, this time to lead the first subway patrol of his "officially sanctioned" Montreal chapter (Malarek, 1983b:15). It was also on this occasion that Leon McChristian was elected as leader of the group which had a total of eight members. McChristian was quick to point out that his chapter had another 15 members in training who should be ready to start patrols in the near future (Malarek, 1983b:15). Sliwa commended the group and stated he was proud of the new chapter which had had many hurdles to surmount (Gazette, (Montreal), 1983h:A3). Sliwa added that he expected the new chapter "...to show within three months a noticeable effectiveness. We'll prove whether we're help or hype." (Malarek, 1983b:15).

Within a month the official Guardian Angels' chapter was to be in the news once again. Harris (1983:A5) reports that the Angels had taken on a group of rambunctious teenagers who were loitering in a subway station, by telling them to turn down their radios and to

stop smoking cigarettes. When some of the youths refused to acquiesce, the Angels told them to leave the subway station which they did without incident. Becoming involved in such trivial matters appears to be contrary to the *raison d'être* of the Guardian Angels as described by Curtis Sliwa while in Vancouver four months earlier. According to Sliwa Guardian Angels are "...not going to say 'hey, turn that radio down' or 'hey kid, it's past curfew. How old are you?'...but start trouble, start to rape and savage and gouge and steal and mangle, we'll be there" (Ouston, 1983:B5). It is also interesting to note that earlier in the week at the same subway station, police had arrested 90 teenagers who had been loitering. They were held briefly and released by police after having been warned to stop loitering in the subway station (Harris, 1983:A5). On this occasion the Angels appeared to be capitalizing on the publicity that the 90 arrests had generated earlier in the week. It was no doubt their hope that their presence would be viewed as a solution to the problem. According to Harris (1983:A5), "The passengers seemed to take it all in stride and were generally happy to see the Angels." This differs with Walmsley's (1984:12b) statement indicating that: "In Montreal many subway riders have complained to police that Angels marching through the cars and stations intimidate them."

As well, the new chapter failed in obtaining support from the Montreal Urban Community Transport Commission (MUCTC), the agency responsible for the Montreal subway, which refused to fully endorse the Angels and provide them with free subway passes to be used during patrols. MUCTC spokesman Leon Auclair indicated that "...the Angels were not needed in the Metro since Metro and MUC police provide adequate protection" (Harris, 1983:A5). This notwithstanding Auclair indicated that the MUCTC would not clip the Angels wings by barring them access or freedom to patrol the subways: "...our policy is to treat them like any other client in the Metro providing they each pay the fare..." (Harris, 1983:A5).

On January 12, 1984 an article entitled "Rival Angels compete for fresh troops", appeared in the Gazette. The article indicates that both groups were in dire need of members and that recruiting drives would be held in the following weeks in the hope of recruiting new members which would permit the expansion of each group's patrols. Once again the rivalry between the two groups became evident when one of the members of the official Guardian Angel group indicated that: "...her group's members plan

to attend the 'Anges Gardiens' campaign to explain to potential recruits which group's the real McCoy" (Gazette, 1984:A3). According to Walmsley (1984:12b) the recruiting drive turned up no new candidates for either group.

The media search produced one additional noteworthy article regarding the Montreal chapter of the Guardian Angels. It provides an insight into the Angels' methodology for selecting areas to be patrolled, as well as the police's and private enterprises' response to a patrol conducted by the Angels at the Fairview Mall in Pointe Claire, a suburb of Montreal. According to leader Leon McChristian, "The Angels decided to come to the mall after reading reports of youth violence and vandalism" (Logie, 1984:A3). Both the local police and the mall manager voiced opposition to the patrol. According to Logie (1984:A3): "Police told Angel leader Leon McChristian that he had 'interrupted the operations of the police'...when they inadvertently stumbled on an undercover drug operation." For his part, mall manager Raymond Bouchard indicated that he had called uniformed officers to evict the Angels from the mall because they "give the impression that we have a serious crime problem here which isn't

true" (Logie, 1984:A3). According to Logie (1984:A3), McChristian's response was that his group was free to patrol the mall "as free citizens".

With the exception of Klusman being sentenced to a jail term in February 1984, the media search did not produce any additional articles regarding the Guardian Angels in Montreal.

Police Survey (Montreal)

According to information contained in the completed Service de Police de la Communauté Urbaine de Montréal (SPCUM) survey, the Guardian Angels did establish a chapter in Montreal in November 1983. The information provided indicates that this group was independent and not affiliated in any way with the New York national office of the Guardian Angels. The approximate size of this group was 11 members when it was formed. This number grew to 37. The activities undertaken by the group were strictly subway patrols. The group, which only existed in Montreal between November 1983 and January 1984, established liaison with the Montreal City Police Force (SPCUM). According to Mr. Yvon Labelle, the Director of Station 32

who completed the survey, his department took the following stance with regard to the group: "We said that we considered them as a prevention group and had a few meetings with them. Cooperation was there and the police remained neutral". The SPCUM did not consider the chapter operating in Montreal to be a vigilante group. According to information provided in the survey, the group held an unsuccessful recruiting campaign in April of 1984 and dissolved at this time. The survey also indicates that: "They had the intention of forming another chapter, 'Les Anges de la Paix' but the project did not take place". The SPCUM advised that this group did not have a leader to their knowledge at the time the survey was completed and indicated in response to question 20 of the survey that no similar group had attempted to establish a chapter in their jurisdiction.

Letter to the Mayor (Montreal)

The letter sent to the mayor of Montreal was referred to the SPCUM for a response. No follow-up response was received; however, it should be noted that the SPCUM had provided detailed information with the survey forwarded to the researcher at an earlier date.

Summary (Montreal)

Public reaction to the Angels in Montreal was by and large negative. The rivalry between the two groups created the impression that Montreal was crime ridden, thereby increasing the fear of crime particularly amongst the elderly. Some Montreal subway commuters complained they were intimidated by Angels marching through their car. The formation of a chapter by Boisvert demonstrated that it was possible for unauthorized persons to use the Guardian Angel name. The arrest and conviction of a leader sanctioned by Curtis Sliwa demonstrated that it was possible to have "undesirables" as members of the Angels. Finally, on at least one occasion, the Angels were asked to leave an area they were patrolling. This was done by a mall manager who felt that the presence of the Angels gave the impression that there was a crime problem in his mall.

The Montreal City Police and other City officials found Boisvert's group acceptable as a crime prevention measure and an officer from the police department was named to liaise with Boisvert's group. The Montreal City

Police also made it clear that they would not support a group which would execute citizens' arrests. As well, a city official indicated that the city preferred the less militaristic approach of Boisvert's group.

Province of Ontario

The Guardian Angels were found to have visited or been active in the following five Ontario Cities: Ottawa, Windsor, Toronto, Mississauga, and Brampton.

Ottawa

Media Search

The media search did not produce any newspaper or magazine articles which indicated that the Guardian Angels had intentions of establishing a chapter in Ottawa. Two newspaper articles appeared in the local newspaper at a later date however. These articles indicated that Curtis and Lisa Sliwa had each visited Ottawa once on separate occasions to speak to college and university students.

Lisa Sliwa visited Ottawa on November 20, 1985 upon being invited by the Algonquin College Students' Association (Bauer, 1985:D2). During a meeting with 200 students, she is quoted as having stated that: "Vigilante groups can help Ottawa stem crime before it gets out of hand..." (Bauer, 1985:D2).

Sliwa indicated that the Guardian Angels headquarters in New York had been approached on several occasions to establish a chapter in Ottawa, but advised that this would be done only if a serious community group showed interest in becoming involved. Sliwa acknowledged that the crime rate in the Ottawa area was much lower than in most American cities but insisted that a Guardian Angel chapter could assist in reducing crime in Ottawa (Bauer, 1985:D2).

Police representatives contacted by Bauer after the meeting disagreed with a need to establish a Guardian Angel chapter in the Ottawa area. Ottawa police Staff Sgt. Garry Rae stated that: "...Ottawa doesn't need a group like the Guardian Angels because, unlike New York City, people help each other here" (Bauer, 1985:D2). Likewise, Sgt. Donald Pellerin of the Gloucester City

Police agreed that the Ottawa area did not need a Guardian Angel chapter: "I can only see trouble coming out of it. You could get occasions when they might use unnecessary force" (Bauer, 1985:D2).

Curtis Sliwa visited Ottawa on November 15, 1985 to speak to Carleton University students about the dangers of drugs (MacDonald, 1986:30). There are no indications that Sliwa, who was referred to as "a leading expert on urban crime", made attempts during this visit to establish or even suggest that a Guardian Angel chapter should be formed in Ottawa. He did take the opportunity however to warn that "the low solution rate of burglaries in Ottawa...will lead to public apathy in reporting smaller crimes and eventually to a breakdown in communication between the public and the police..." (MacDonald, 1986:30). The police response to Sliwa's statement was that he was dealing with old statistics and that the police had since redeployed their resources to address the high incidence of unsolved residential break-ins (MacDonald, 1986:30).

Police Survey (Ottawa)

The Ottawa City Police indicated in the completed survey that there had not been any indication of a Guardian Angel chapter forming or patrolling in their area.

Letter to the Mayor of City (Ottawa)

As the initial media search as well as the police survey did not indicate Guardian Angel activity in Ottawa, no letter was sent to the Mayor of that city.

Windsor

Media Search (Windsor)

The first indication of the Guardian Angels' desire to establish a chapter in Windsor is contained in a 1982 newspaper article (Globe and Mail, 1982a:10). In it, Curtis Sliwa is quoted as stating in referring to Windsor that: "...public meetings will be held during the next two weeks to assess community support for the movement."

The next indication of Guardian Angel activity in Windsor that surfaced in the media search is the following comment made by Curtis Sliwa to a Globe and Mail reporter in mid August 1982: "About 35 youths from Windsor, Ontario are two weeks away from completing a three-month Guardian Angel training course in self-defence, fitness and the law..." (Hickl-Szabo, 1982:4).

Curtis Sliwa was in Windsor on August 31, 1982 to attend the graduation ceremonies of 18 men and women who were to become Canada's first Guardian Angels chapter (Winnipeg Free Press, 1982e:28). The graduation ceremonies did not go off without incident as the following excerpt from a newspaper article attests: "However, five protesters...chanted anti-Angel slogans as Sliwa spoke at the graduation ceremony" (Winnipeg Free Press, 1982e:28).

This was not the first difficulty the Angels faced in Windsor. According to Lisa Sliwa: "Windsor aldermen prevented the street-patrol group...from staging an information meeting on city premises and passed a resolution condemning [sic] them..." (Globe and Mail, 1982b:5). Curtis Sliwa also referred to the group's

reception in Windsor during an interview at a later date with a reporter from the Vancouver Sun: "Jeez, we've had nothing but trouble with the authorities in many places. In Windsor, what a battle there. They tried to pass a bylaw prohibiting us" (Bellett, 1982:A3).

Likewise, the first Guardian Angel patrol led by Sliwa through the streets of Windsor met resistance. Walmsley (1984:12b) reports that Sliwa and his group of 18 volunteer crime fighters were confronted by a group of 30 hecklers who pelted the group with eggs and stones. In Lisa Sliwa's opinion: "...most of the resistance in Windsor came from 'drug dealers, fences and rip-off artists' in the public-housing developments" (Tenszen, 1982 b:5).

The maintenance of membership appeared to be a problem for the Windsor chapter. Of the 35 persons who trained to become Angels only 18 graduated in late August 1982. Eighteen months later, Walmsley (1984:12b) was to report that: "Windsor's troupe has only two of the original 18 graduates..."

Police Survey (Windsor)

Information provided in the survey completed by the Windsor City Police indicated that a chapter of the Guardian Angels had been active in that city. The group, which was involved solely in foot patrols above ground, had a membership of 20 when it was first formed and ceased to exist six months later. The Windsor City Police Department did not consider the chapter which was affiliated with the New York national office and to be a vigilante group.

Letter to the Mayor (Windsor)

As both the media search and the police survey had indicated Guardian Angel activity in Windsor, a letter was sent to the Mayor of that city.

On December 9, 1985 the writer received a letter from the Executive Assistant to the Mayor of Windsor indicating that the Mayor's office did not have any information which would supplement the material already forwarded to the writer by the Windsor Police Department (Appendix XXIV).

Conclusion (Windsor)

It is believed that the media survey failed to locate articles which would have appeared in the local Windsor press on the Guardian Angels. This belief is based on the fact that the Angels were confronted by protesters on at least two occasions in Windsor. In order for people to mobilize and confront the Angels as they did, the schedule of the Guardian Angels' activity had to have been well publicized. As well, it is likely that articles opposing the Angels had appeared in the local press which served as an impetus for individuals participating in protests against the Angels.

Toronto

Media Search

The media search revealed that Lisa Sliwa had visited Toronto in mid-July, 1982, at which time she held a press conference to provide information on the Guardian Angels and on street survival techniques for women (Hill, 1982:N8). It was during this visit to Canada that the Guardian Angel policy of aggressive self-defence was

elaborated on. According to Sliwa, women are targets for assault because the aggressors:

....don't expect women to fight back. What we're saying is that if you have a fighting chance, fight back...The Guardian Angels advocate a 'hit and run defence', you stun the attacker by a blow to the head, throat, eyes or groin and then run...many women who strike back make the mistake of stopping to apologize to their attackers instead of running away...(Hill, 1982:N8).

Sliwa announced that a recruiting drive to form an Angel chapter would start in Toronto in mid-August. She failed to receive support from Toronto Deputy Police Chief Jack Marks who indicated that Metro Police could control street violence and that his force "doesn't condone that kind of vigilante group in Metro Toronto at all" (Hill, 1982:N8).

The Guardian Angels were again in the news in early August 1982, when Bell Canada refused to permit a self-defence demonstration for female employees to be held on company property (Globe and Mail, 1982b:5). In response to this refusal by, Lisa Sliwa advised that in regard to the self-defence demonstration: "If we have to, we'll do it outside on the street. Women are ecstatic to find out that there is something you can do if some guy grabs you" (Globe and Mail, 1982b:5).

In mid August, the Metro Toronto Police Department repeated its view that the Guardian Angels were not needed in Toronto. Staff-Inspector George Thompson of the Public Affairs Section indicated that: "If they persist in setting up operations in Toronto, we will monitor their activities like any other group" (Globe and Mail, 1982c: 4). Curtis Sliwa called the police attitude "...not the fleabag treatment, but not the red-carpet treatment, either" (Globe and Mail, 1982c:4).

On September 3, 1982 Lisa Sliwa announced that the initial Guardian Angel patrol would be held in Toronto the following Tuesday. She added that "...the first patrol will consist of Windsor members who have been trained in first aid and the martial arts" (Tenszen, 1982b:5).

Both the Police Chief and the Mayor of Toronto took the opportunity of the inaugural Guardian Angel patrol in Toronto to voice their disapproval of the group. Metro Toronto Police Chief Jack Ackroyd disputed the Guardian Angel contention that Toronto was becoming as crime-ridden as American cities of comparable size (Tenszen, 1982b:5). Ackroyd added that Metro police would not attempt to stop the Angels from patrolling and indicated that: "His main

concern is that the Angels will become a vigilante organization and they may not be fully aware of the caution they must use in making a citizen's arrest" (Tenszen, 1982b:5). Toronto Mayor Arthur Eggleton indicated that Toronto did not need an alternative police force and that if the Guardian Angel members wished to help they could join the Metro Toronto Auxiliary Police (Tenszen, 1982b:5).

The Guardian Angels next came to media attention on September 9, 1982 when Lisa Sliwa was charged with contravening a municipal bylaw soliciting on Nathan Phillips Square. This infraction occurred when Sliwa was attempting to recruit people passing by to join the Guardian Angels (Globe and Mail, 1982d:5).

It is interesting to note that within a month of the first Guardian Angel patrol in Toronto, a system of neighbourhood patrols to prevent crime and aid the elderly was proposed by the Toronto City Council's Community Services Committee (Globe and Mail, 1982f:4). The proposed patrols would enlist 300 unemployed youths which would operate under police control. In an interview, Toronto Mayor Arthur Eggleton maintained that Metro streets were safe but indicated that additional emphasis

must be placed by police on crime prevention (Globe and Mail, 1982f:4). Metro Chairman Paul Godfrey stated that: "...people being considered for recruitment by the Guardian Angels might try signing up with the Metro patrol. People shouldn't throw their lot in with the Guardian Angels... They are a vigilante group that have no public training" (Globe and Mail, 1982f:4).

Police Survey (Toronto)

The police survey completed by the Metro Toronto Police Force (MTPF) and returned to the writer indicated that a Guardian Angel chapter which was involved in foot patrols above ground and subway patrols had been formed in Toronto. According to information included in the survey response, some Angels patrolling in the Toronto area were found to have criminal records and others were charged with criminal offences. No further details were provided regarding the number of Guardian Angels with criminal records, neither the types of crimes they had committed, nor the charges against some local members of the group. According to the MTPF, the Toronto chapter was affiliated with and controlled by the New York national office. The

size of the Toronto Guardian Angel chapter when it was formed was not known by the MTPF; however, they advised that within six months, the group had disappeared. Although Deputy Chief Marks had been quoted by the press as having stated that his force would not condone the presence of vigilante groups such as the Guardian Angels, the MTPF did not consider the Guardian Angels to be a vigilante group.

Letter to the Mayor (Toronto)

As both the media survey and the police survey revealed Guardian Angel activity in Toronto a letter (Appendix IV) was forwarded to the mayor of that city. No reply was received from the Mayor of Toronto.

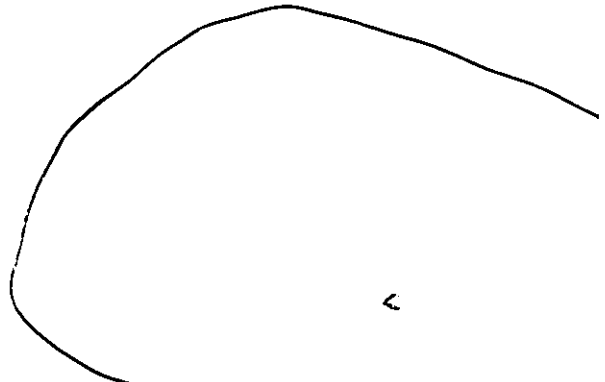
Mississauga

Media Survey

The first indication of Guardian Angel activity in Mississauga revealed by the media survey was an article in the Toronto Sun on March 11, 1984. This article indicated that Curtis Sliwa had been in Mississauga on March 9, 1984

and had toured convenience stores with Ontario Guardian Angel co-ordinator Ed Scorpio (Walsh, 1984:4). This initiative appears to have been prompted by the killing of a young convenience store clerk on March 3, 1984 and the resultant public outcry (Bock, 1984:3). According to Welner (1984:3) Curtis Sliwa heard about this incident on a Niagara Falls talk-show and decided to leave his New York City base to help start the first Guardian Angels' suburban patrol in Canada.

As a result of the convenience store killing, the City of Mississauga passed a bylaw which prohibited convenience stores from remaining open past 11 p.m. According to Walsh, (1984:4), Curtis Sliwa referred to the bylaw as a: "wimp attitude that only proves that the system has 'caved in' from pressure from criminals." Sliwa elaborated on the city council's actions by stating that: "It's like waving a white flag...I've seen the damage the wimp attitude has done to many American cities" (Walsh, 1984:4).



As directed by Sliwa, patrols were undertaken in Mississauga by eight members of Toronto's 24 member chapter. Because Mississauga is such a sprawling city with no subway, the Angels opted for car patrols which would concentrate their efforts in the vicinity of convenience stores as well as submarine sandwich and doughnut shops. These eight members were to patrol in three cars from 9 p.m. to 4 a.m. (Walsh, 1984:4). According to Bock, (1984:3), the Toronto Guardian Angel chapter patrolling in Mississauga was only a temporary measure and attempts to recruit Mississauga members were underway.

Leader Ed Scorpio indicated that his group had had no official contact with either municipal or police officials but advised that his group was to meet with them in the near future, (Bock, 1984:3). Scorpio's outlook towards law enforcement agencies appeared to be one of support and cooperation as indicated in his reference to the police in the following statement: "They have to cover a lot of area so if they see us some place, they can pass it by. They know somebody has already checked it out..." (Bock, 1984:3). In another interview Scorpio indicated that the

Angels were not in competition with the police "...the Angels aren't looking for criminals to nab but, by keeping a high profile, they can be a practical deterrent to criminals" (Welner, 1984:3).

On November 20, 1984 the Toronto Star reported that Curtis Sliwa and three Angels from Buffalo, New York had taken part in patrols of Mississauga (Welner, 1984:3). During this visit, Sliwa once again took the opportunity to speak out against Mississauga's newly passed by-law banning 24-hour convenience store openings by stating that: "Instead of trying to create a safer atmosphere, some people want to turn off the lights and put a closed sign up on the door" (Welner, 1984:3).

Leader Ed Scorpio was quick to point out that: "This (the Mississauga operation) will be a permanent thing. It's not just a flash in the pan that has come up because of those two things" (Bock, 1984a:3). The reference to "those" two things was the March 3, 1984 murder of a convenience store clerk and the recent shooting of another convenience store employee in Mississauga which had paralyzed the individual for life.

Peel Regional Police Superintendent Barry King related to Toronto Star reporter Chris Welner that the Angels had not contacted his force; however, he indicated that any ideas presented to his force would be handled with an open mind. In King's view: "The Guardian Angels have been controversial in some circles, but we won't take a blanket stand against them. It would be foolish to say no before we looked into things" (Welner, 1984:3).

One month after the start-up of their patrols the Angels were accompanied on a patrol by a Mississauga News reporter. In a front page article Bock (1984b:1), reported that the Guardian Angels patrol was getting a good reaction in Mississauga. The media survey did not disclose any additional information on the Guardian Angels' operation in Mississauga.

Police Survey (Mississauga)

Correspondence received from the Peel Regional Police Force (PRPF) (Appendix XV) indicated that the Guardian Angels had patrolled in Mississauga following the slaying of the convenience store clerk. The PRPF advised that the Guardian Angels had not contacted them prior to commencing

patrols in Mississauga and were of the view that the Angels had purposely "...not initiated such liaison because that approach had, in their view, resulted in less than satisfactory relations in the Metropolitan Toronto area" (Appendix XV).

Inspector Christine E. Silverberg of the PRPF explains the stance taken by her department regarding the Guardian Angels:

Rather than adopt an adversarial relationship, which in our opinion would have resulted in a 'no-win' situation, and, in consideration of the fact that the group had apparently gained a measure of acceptance and credibility in some jurisdictions in North America, we decided to be neutral in our approach, and be open to any potential contributions they may make to crime prevention. We were of the opinion that an effective liaison could alleviate possible confrontation. (Appendix XV).

In her correspondence, Silverberg also related that she had met with Guardian Angel leader Ed Scorpio in late April 1984. This meeting was followed up on July 17, 1984 with a three page letter from Silverberg to Scorpio outlining the PRPF's policy towards the Guardian Angels. In this letter Silverberg (1984a), after pointing out that her police force only hires 5% of its applicants, expressed concern and cautioned Scorpio to the effect that his group could attract individuals who were neither

psychologically or physically suited to the task. Silverberg also requested that the names and addresses of all Angels patrolling in the Mississauga area be provided to her Force.

The letter also reveals an attempt made by the PRPF to redirect the focus of Guardian Angel patrols in Mississauga:

I must emphasize that our officers already patrol plazas and other areas where convenience stores are located....if you wish to help our communities, you might consider patrolling the parks in an effort to combat vandalism (Silverberg, 1984a:2).

In her letter, Silverberg also commits the PRPF to give a seminar presentation detailing citizens' powers of arrest, and the legal limitations within which citizens must operate.

Also of interest is the following statement made by Silverberg in her letter to Scorpio:

The political, legal and social environment in Canada is very different to that in the United States, and we would be most disconcerted if Angel members from that country made public statements which are not applicable to a Canadian context (Silverberg 1984a:3).

This was no doubt a reference to statements made by Curtis Sliwa when he visited Mississauga with three Angels from Buffalo, New York, in mid-March of that year and had criticized the city council for passing a by-law which compelled convenience stores to close at night.

In a 1984 letter to the writer, Silverberg (1984b:2) advised that: "...since my meeting with the Guardian Angels in April of this year, I have had no further contact with them even after my letter of July 17th. Moreover, they have not had a presence in our jurisdiction since April " (Appendix XV).

Letter to the Mayor (Mississauga)

As both the media survey and the police survey had documented Guardian Angel activity in Mississauga, a letter as contained in Appendix IV was forwarded to the mayor of that city. A reply dated January 9, 1986 from the Executive Assistant to the mayor of Mississauga was received (Appendix XX). In this letter the mayor's assistant advised that the City of Mississauga had very little involvement with the Guardian Angels. He goes on to relate that the Guardian Angels did approach the city

as a result of a rather unfortunate incident which occurred in a convenience store in Mississauga. This is no doubt a reference to the slaying of a Mississauga convenience store clerk. In the letter the mayor's assistant advises that: "...to the best of my recollection, the representative of the Guardian Angels met with her Worship Mayor Hazel McCallion only briefly and, as I understand it, it was mutually agreed that the services of the Angels would be of little value, given the suburban nature of our community." (Appendix XX).

Brampton

Media Survey

It was in mid-April of 1984, that Ed Scorpio, the Ontario co-ordinator of the Guardian Angels announced that the Guardian Angels planned to begin patrols in Brampton, Ontario (Poland, 1984:1). According to Poland, Scorpio planned to begin patrols in Brampton after having been asked to do so by a mother whose twelve-year-old daughter was being harassed by two teenage boys (Poland, 1984:1).

When interviewed, Peel Regional Police Force Chief Douglas Burrows indicated he would be meeting with the Angels later in the week. He added that: "We have some questions we want to ask, such as where do they come from, are they frustrated policemen..." (Poland, 1984:1). Burrows added that he was going to keep an open mind about the Angels and didn't mind the group operating in Brampton, provided it operated within the law.

The mayor of Brampton was also interviewed by Poland and advised he had never heard about the Guardian Angels however indicated that if they are "going to be good for the city it would be alright" (Poland, 1984:1).

The media survey did not disclose any other indications of Guardian Angel activity in Brampton.

Police Survey (Brampton)

The City of Brampton is policed by the Peel Regional Police Force (PRPF) which also polices the city of Mississauga. The PRPF commented extensively on the Guardian Angels in Mississauga but made no mention of Brampton.

Letter to the Mayor of the City Council (Brampton)

As the media search had revealed the possibility of Guardian Angel activity in Brampton a letter of the type in Appendix IV was sent to the mayor of that city. A response dated December 5, 1985 was received from the Mayor of Brampton, Ken Whillans, (Appendix XIX), which indicated that the matter was being referred to the Peel Regional Police Force (PRPF). The latter wrote to the writer referring him to the previous submission made by their Force.

In his letter, Mayor Whillans also advised that the Brampton city council minutes would not provide any additional information on the Guardian Angels as the group had never appeared before the Brampton City Council.

Prairie Provinces

The Prairie Provinces include Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. The following cities will be discussed: Winnipeg, Manitoba; Calgary, Alberta and Edmonton, Alberta. No information was found to indicate a desire by

the Guardian Angels to establish a chapter in the Province of Saskatchewan or in any other cities on the Canadian prairies.

Winnipeg

Media Survey

The first indication in the media survey of the Guardian Angels' desire to establish a chapter in Winnipeg is an article in the Winnipeg Free Press on February 6, 1982. In an interview from Houston, Texas, Curtis Sliwa indicated that Winnipeg was one of the four Canadian cities that he intended to visit in mid-July 1982 (Blicq, 1982:1). The Winnipeg City Police Department voiced its opinion and indicated that the volunteer crime-fighters were nothing more than a vigilante committee. In an interview Deputy Police Chief Ed Ogelski responded as follows when advised that a Guardian Angel chapter might be formed in Winnipeg: "They can cause as much havoc as the (crime) culprit on the street, if not more so..." (Blicq, 1982:1). Ogelski also expressed concerns over the fact that there is no control over who joins the organization or how they are trained (Blicq, 1982:1).

The indication that a Guardian Angel chapter might be established in Winnipeg in July 1982 received the support of at least one Winnipeg City Councillor. The support came during a meeting when the City Council's Civic Environment committee discussed the problem of nighttime crime in convenience stores, gas bars and other after hours businesses. Councillor Bill Chornopyski indicated that he had seriously thought of starting a group like the Guardian Angels a few years earlier and related he was happy that the organization was coming to Winnipeg in July (Winnipeg Free Press, 1982a:2). When asked about the Deputy Police Chief's comment that citizen crime-fighters were nothing more than vigilante committees, Chornopyski retorted that he was accused of the same thing when he helped to found the Block Parent program in Winnipeg in 1985 (Winnipeg Free Press, 1982a:2).

The news coverage in Winnipeg was sufficient to raise at least one individual's interest in the Guardian Angels to the point that he wrote a letter to the New York head office (Shilliday, 1982b:1). This letter was followed up by phone calls during which 35-year-old Winnipegger Barry

Marchand was apparently given the authority to gauge interest in the formation of a chapter in Winnipeg (Shilliday, 1982a:3).

Marchand decided to go further and advertised in the local media that a meeting was to be held on March 9, 1982 to discuss the formation of a chapter. Marchand appeared at this meeting, which was attended by about 10 people, dressed in a Guardian Angel uniform. He stated he was a former Winnipegger who had joined the Guardian Angels while living in Minneapolis in the last year (Shilliday, 1982a:3). During an interview after the meeting Marchand indicated that: "Curtis told me I could start on it right away and see what kind of reaction we get. But we want to keep things low-key until he comes here personally" (Shilliday, 1982a:3).

It soon became apparent that Marchand had been untruthful and had gone too far, and that there was a communication gap between him and the New York office. In an interview from St. Louis, Curtis Sliwa denied knowing Marchand, called him a fake and stated that: "We don't have any members at all in Canada and we don't have a chapter in Minneapolis..." (Shilliday, 1982a:3)

Marchand was later to admit that he had misrepresented himself by posing as a Guardian Angel and indicated he had done this to ensure being taken seriously but insisted that he had the approval from New York to hold preliminary meetings (Shilliday, 1982b:2). Representatives from the New York head office, however, only admitted having had dealings with Marchand after a local reporter - with Marchand's consent - recorded a conversation Marchand had with an individual at the head office. The tone and contents of the conversation made it clear that Marchand had had previous dealings with the New York office. Marchand for his part related that he was not impressed and felt that he was the victim of a "snow job" (Shilliday, 1982b:2).

Marchand's negative experience with the Guardian Angels was not to prevent him from forming his own civilian street patrol. By May 1982, Marchand - a private investigator who included in his résumé jobs as a military policeman, a special provincial park constable and a department store detective - was ready to begin patrolling the streets of Winnipeg with a six-member group called the Blue Knights (Bannister, 1982:3; Gary, 1982:5). In introducing his group, Marchand pointed out that they

would not be as para-military as the Guardian Angels and that the Blue Knights would not be as militant as their American counterpart (Bannister, 1982:3). During their first patrol the patrollers wore T-shirts with Blue Knight printed on them. Their activities consisted of patrolling the streets and dropping into senior citizens' homes at which time they offered their assistance to the seniors who might want some company while shopping or strolling through the park (Gary, 1982:5).

Official reaction to the Blue Knights was not positive. Marchand indicated that he had discussed the activities of his group with Winnipeg Police Department representatives, but related that they remained opposed to the creation in Winnipeg of an Angels chapter or any similar civilian crime fighting group (Bannister, 1982:3). In the Manitoba legislature, Attorney General Roland Penner stated that he did not approve of a vigilante approach to crime prevention, and that "amateur" groups like the Blue Knights would receive no support from the Manitoba Government (Winnipeg Free Press, 1982b:3). Penner indicated that his government would put its support behind Neighbourhood Watch and Block Parent Plan programs. Penner warned that: "Rather than being a

deterrent to crime, the presence on the street of groups like the Blue Knights could, in fact, be the forerunner of crime, the instigator of crime..." (Winnipeg Free Press, 1982b:3).

Within two months, Marchand's group was to undergo a name change from the Blue Knights to the Urban Knights. The decision to change the name was made after the group realized that the name Blue Knights was already being utilized by a police motorcycle club which operates in both Canada and the United States (Winnipeg Free Press, 1982c:2).

In late June, 1982, the Winnipeg Free Press reported that the Urban Knights were making gains, and that Barry Marchand and members of his group had had a meeting with Winnipeg Mayor Bill Norrie during which the mayor had indicated that he might try setting up a meeting between Marchand and the Chief of Police (Winnipeg Free Press, 1982c:2). City Councillor William Chornopyski also supported the group and advised several of his constituents to call the Urban Knights during the police slowdown. When interviewed, Chornopyski stated that: "The police weren't responding to calls of vandalism and

disturbances and other kinds of things. I told them to call Barry (Marchand). I understand that they were very happy with what he did for them..." (Winnipeg Free Press, 1982c:2).

On June 24, 1982, Barry Marchand appeared before the Winnipeg Police Commission during which he sought the Commission's approval for his civilian crime-prevention service. Rather than approve Marchand's proposal the commission passed a resolution endorsing the city police as the only force with the 'constituted authority' to enforce the law (Winnipeg Free Press, 1982d:3). The main stumbling block with Marchand's proposal in the eyes of commission members was that it did not make his organization responsible to "proper authority" (Winnipeg Free Press, 1982d:3). Marchand was undaunted by the commission's stance and vowed that the Urban Knights' patrols would continue.

In October 1982, less than four months after Marchand's statement, The Winnipeg Sun reported that the Urban Knights' patrols had disappeared and that the Guardian Angels had not come to visit Winnipeg in July

1982, as had been announced (Edwards, 1982:5). According to Edwards (1982:5), only two of the original six Knights remained. Former member Dan Mallaghin told reporter Steven Edwards that in the three months he was with the Knights the group had never patrolled once. Another member indicated that she had patrolled with the group just three times in the four months she was a Knight (Edwards, 1982:5). Edwards was also to discover that self-defence and law classes for the Knights had been cancelled because of lack of interest or poor attendance (Edwards, 1982:5).

The Urban Knights were not to be heard of again in Winnipeg for a 15-month period, until January 1984. In the meantime, Barry Marchand was to become a security guard in the Manitoba Legislative Building. His eventual dismissal was widely publicized in the local media after he alleged that he had been fired from his job because he had caught a cabinet minister having sex with his secretary in the Legislative Building (Del Conte, 1983:6).

A Civil Service Commission hearing was held at Marchand's request to determine whether he had been improperly dismissed. During this hearing, Marchand became upset after his employment record going back more than a decade was used as evidence against him (Winnipeg Free Press, 1983b:3).

The over-zealousness of Marchand is summarized in a Winnipeg Free Press editorial:

The question of whether Barry Marchand was properly dismissed as a security guard at the Legislative Building will be settled, as it should be, by the Manitoba Civil Service Commission. The decision will apparently have nothing to do with his behavior on the night of September 15, though his self-admitted practice of pressing his ear to a Minister's door to listen for signs of sexual activity might raise some questions about his suitability for that occupation (Winnipeg Free Press, 1983a:6).

The Commission ruled against Marchand and he did not return to his job as a security guard at the Legislative Building. On January 10, 1984 he re-instituted the Urban Knights patrols for the simple reason that he was out of a job (Winnipeg Free Press, 1984:29). The Winnipeg City Police Department once again voiced its concerns regarding the possibility of the poorly-trained group using

excessive force. Deputy Police Chief Ed Ogelski did acknowledge however that the group members "may be preventing crime by their presence" (Winnipeg Free Press, 1984:29), and credited the group with taking a drunk off the streets and bringing him into a detoxification centre, preventing him from doing harm to himself or others

In mid-March of 1984, Barry Marchand announced that the Urban Knights had disbanded and that he was forming a new group which would call attention to the "sorry state" of the Winnipeg Police Department (Haynes, 1984:29). The new group was to be called CAPABLE an acronym for Citizens Against Police Abuse and Biased Law Enforcement. When asked why he had formed this new group, Marchand indicated that he was just "spinning his wheels" with the Urban Knights: "It was getting to the point where we were not being taken very seriously " (Haynes, 1984:29). Marchand indicated that he would enlist new members for CAPABLE through classified ads placed in local newspapers and that the group would circulate petitions to present to city council.

The media survey did not reveal anything further on the Blue Knights, the Urban Knights or CAPABLE in Winnipeg. No articles were found that indicated that the Sliwas or other Angels visited Winnipeg to set up a Guardian Angel chapter. As for Barry Marchand, he brought his platform to the public when he ran as a candidate in the March 1986 provincial election. Fifty-eight voters in the Wolsley riding (less than 1%) gave their support to Marchand who ran as an independent (The Citizen, 1986a: E2).

Police Survey (Winnipeg)

The Winnipeg Police Department refused to participate in this study (Appendix IX), and returned a blank survey form to the writer. A follow-up letter (Appendix III) was sent to the Department in late November 1985. A reply dated December 9, 1985 (Appendix XXVI) referred the researcher to their previous letter of July 30, 1985 (Appendix IX). They also advised that the position of their department (not to participate in such surveys) had not been altered in the interim.

Letter to the Mayor (Winnipeg)

As the media survey had raised the possibility of the existence of a Guardian Angel chapter in Winnipeg a letter as contained in Appendix IV was sent to the Mayor of that city. The writer received a letter dated December 9, 1985 from the Mayor of Winnipeg indicating that he was forwarding the letter to the Winnipeg Chief of Police for a response (Appendix XXV). No reply was received from the Winnipeg Police Department with respect to the Mayor's referral.

An interview of Winnipeg Mayor Bill Norrie by reporter Kevin Rollason does however provide some insight into his views on the Guardian Angels and other pseudo-vigilante groups and the role that the police should be playing. When asked whether his police department was doing enough to enlist community spirit Mayor Norrie replied in the following manner:

I think quite frankly they've been somewhat reluctant to move into that area. I think a professional force is always somewhat nervous about having community groups getting involved in policing. A while back, there was suggestion by a chap that there be a

quasi-police force and the police department were very uneasy about that. They tend to be uneasy about anything that moves things out of the department. (Rollason, 1987:28).

Calgary

Media Search

It was during a visit to Calgary in early January 1984 that Dave Brooks - a member of the Vancouver Guardian Angel chapter - announced that the Guardian Angels were contemplating setting up a chapter in Calgary (Silberman, 1984:B2). Brooks advised that: "We want to see the feedback, how people feel in Calgary (about the Guardian Angels)" (Silberman, 1984:B2). When interviewed by Silberman, Calgary Police Insp. Bob McKay indicated that he didn't know how city police would receive the group until organizers had contacted officers. McKay pointed out however that the city police were unlikely to "...condone an unauthorized vigilante group, trying to enforce the law. It leads to all sorts of problems..." (Silberman, 1984:B2). In an interview with reporter

Gordon Lee, Supt. Ron Tarrant of the Calgary City Police department indicated that it was unlikely that his department would endorse the formation of a Guardian Angel chapter and advised that: "Police are unlikely to call on organized crime-fighting groups like the Guardian Angels unless there is a 'total breakdown' in the police force's ability to detect and apprehend offenders..." (Lee, 1984:B1).

The media search also provided an article which indicated that a group of Guardian Angels from the Vancouver chapter had come to Calgary in early September 1985, and had conducted patrols on Calgary's C-train (Ford, 1985:6).

Police Survey (Calgary)

The police survey was completed by members of the Calgary Police Service and returned to the researcher indicating that the Guardian Angels had never been active in Calgary. A letter also accompanied the survey (Appendix XI).

Letter to the Mayor (Calgary)

As the media survey had indicated possible Guardian Angel activity in Calgary a letter as contained in Appendix IV was forwarded to the mayor of that city. No reply was received.

Edmonton

Media Survey

On February 17, 1983, an article appeared in The Winnipeg Sun indicating that the Guardian Angels planned to expand to Edmonton and other Canadian cities. No other details were provided (The Winnipeg Sun, 1983:13).

No additional information was found regarding the Guardian Angels' proposal to set up a chapter in Edmonton, other than a comment made in Calgary by a Vancouver Angel in early January 1984 to the effect that the group had abandoned its plan to set up in Edmonton (Lee, 1984:B1).

Police Survey (Edmonton)

The police survey sent to the Edmonton Police Department was properly completed and returned to the researcher. Information contained in the survey indicated that a Guardian Angel organizer had visited Edmonton approximately 3 years earlier and had made statements to the effect that a chapter should be formed in Edmonton. No follow-up took place and no Guardian Angel chapter ever patrolled in Edmonton according to information provided by the Edmonton City Police.

Letter to the Mayor (Edmonton)

As the media survey indicated that the Guardian Angels had considered establishing a chapter in Edmonton, a letter was sent to the mayor of that city. The letter was referred by Edmonton Mayor Decore to the acting Chief of Police for a reply.

A letter dated December 16, 1985, was received from the acting Chief of Police (Appendix XVII) which documents a second visit to Edmonton in August 1985, by two Guardian

Angel leaders from the Vancouver area. The purpose of their visit was to determine whether a chapter should be established in Edmonton. A news conference was held in front of Edmonton City Hall. The facts gathered by these individuals were to be reviewed by the New York office and a decision as to whether or not to form a chapter was to be made by late September 1985. The acting Chief of Police advised that as of mid-December 1985 he had no knowledge of a chapter operating in Edmonton.

The acting chief of the Edmonton Police Department in his letter also made known the views of his department and members of City Council:

The efforts of the Guardian Angels did not receive support from Aldermen or this Department. Because of the legal ramifications and possible physical danger involved both to citizens at large and the members of the Angels themselves, the Police Department cannot endorse this type of program (Appendix XVII).

Province of British Columbia

Two cities in British Columbia were found to have had Guardian Angel activity. They are Vancouver and Surrey.

Vancouver

Media Survey

In mid-March 1982 Curtis Sliwa announced his intention to visit Vancouver and five other Canadian cities in order to gauge interest in setting up Guardian Angel chapters in Canada (Province, 1982:8). Shortly after this announcement, Sliwa received an invitation from the Carnegie Community Centre Director, Jim McDowell, to visit Vancouver and speak on July 21, 1982 (Bellett, 1982:A3). When interviewed by Bellett, McDowell indicated that he had invited Sliwa: "Because Vancouver citizens, especially those living in the downtown-eastside area, were coming under increasing attack from knifers and muggers". According to McDowell the Angels could become a viable alternative for fighting crime because: "The police can't do much about it - and they admit it - so I don't know if there is anyone around who would want to form a safety patrol. But if there is, then they can find out how to do it " (Bellett, 1982:A3).

As scheduled, Curtis Sliwa did travel to Vancouver on July 21, 1982 and spoke at the Carnegie Community Centre. In introducing Sliwa to the crowd of 200, McDowell pointed out that Sliwa was not in town to form another chapter of the Angels or to get volunteers (Sheehan, 1982:4). A press release from the Carnegie Centre stated that while in Vancouver: "Sliwa will focus attention [sic] on how trained, well-disciplined youth patrols might provide more safety on the street for core-area senior citizens" (Sheehan, 1982:4). In the audience was Insp. Noel Larkin of the Vancouver Police Department who was the Officer in Charge of the Downtown Eastside. After the meeting, Larkin told reporters that he admired Sliwa for his enthusiasm and sincerity; however, he indicated that should the Angels establish a chapter in Vancouver, there would be very little for them to do (Sheehan, 1982:4). According to Sheehan (1982:4), Sliwa was to attend another meeting at the Thunderbird Neighborhood Centre on July 22, 1982. The media search failed to produce any information on this meeting. In fact the next indication of Guardian Angel activity in Vancouver which the media search discovered occurred nearly one year later.

On July 5, 1983, eighteen year old Wayne Willoughby of Vancouver announced that his city was to have its own Guardian Angels chapter and that Curtis Sliwa would be visiting Vancouver in the near future. In addition to Willoughby, seven members of the Guardian Angels from Portland, Oregon would be patrolling Vancouver streets on July 10, 1983 to test public opinion (Bellette, 1983:3). According to Bellet (1983:3), Willoughby became interested in the Guardian Angels after reading about Curtis Sliwa in the newspapers and after his younger brother had been robbed. Griffin (1982:6) states that both Willoughby and his younger brother had been robbed at knifepoint.

It was not until August 10, 1983, that Curtis Sliwa - accompanied by seven Angels from Portland, Oregon - conducted the first Guardian Angel patrol and recruiting drive in Vancouver (Crust, 1983a:4); (Ouston, 1983:B5). Vancouver City Police Department spokesman, Insp. Noel Larkin maintained his view that vigilantes were not needed in Vancouver (Crust, 1983a:4). To this comment Curtis Sliwa retorted that: "to say we're not needed is ludicrous...It shows the willingness of the people not to be just ears and eyes, but to get involved" (Crust, 1983a:4).

Chapter leader Wayne Willoughby used the occasion of the first patrol, which attracted media attention, to cite a study published in a local newspaper the previous week showing Vancouver to be the crime capital of Canada. For this reason Willoughby submitted that it was imperative that a Guardian Angel chapter be formed immediately because in his words: "We want to get in here while it's still controllable..." (Ouston, 1983:B5).

According to Crust (1983b:23) more than 200 individuals signed up to become recruits in the Guardian Angel training program scheduled to start on August 22, 1983. O'Farrell (1983:11) as well as Langill (1983:11) reported that nearly 300 persons had signed up for the training. The recruiting sessions were not without opposition. According to Langill (1983:11), one of the recruiting stations being manned by four of the Portland Angels was picketed by a group of 20 demonstrators who identified themselves as members of the People's Front, a group that opposes "right-wing fascism". The demonstrators, who attracted a crowd of about 200, chanted "Guardian Angels get out of Canada" (Langill, 1983:11).

In an interview with reporter Elaine O'Farrell, chapter leader Wayne Willoughby indicated that he was looking for people who wanted to become involved. He added that: "You don't have to be a Charles Bronson or Bruce Lee type..." (O'Farrell, 1983:11) and advised that: "Females make better Guardian Angels...because they aren't on a 'macho trip' and are more able to deal with crimes against women like rape and assault" (O'Farrell, 1983:11).

Willoughby also explained how the three-month training program would be administered: "Karate Canada has offered to train recruits in self-defence cost-free, Richmond General Hospital will train them in CPR (cardio pulmonary resuscitation) and first aid and the Portland Angels will do the rest..." (Langill, 1983:11).

Because of pressing business in New York, Curtis Sliwa was unable to travel to Vancouver for the planned graduation ceremonies of 39 recruits on November 1, 1983 and ceremonies were delayed (Harris, 1983:26). The media search did not disclose when the graduation actually took place, or whether Sliwa attended. What is certain is that the Angels graduated and began patrols in Vancouver prior

to November 14, 1983, as one of the Angels was credited by police with assisting in the arrest of a purse snatcher on that date (The Vancouver Sun, 1983a:8).

The next big event for the Guardian Angels in Vancouver involved sending two eight-member patrols to patrol in and around the stadium where the Grey Cup game was taking place in late November of 1983. According to The Province the group turned heads everywhere they went and they: "drew abuse, occasionally, but usually from young men, mostly drunk. Women in the westend, alone or with children, welcomed the Angels with smiles and encouragement. The encouragement outnumbered the catcalls by 10-1" (The Province, 1983b:A11).

In early December of 1983, the Vancouver chapter of the Guardian Angels redeployed two of their eight-member patrols to the Marpole area of the city where a rapist had struck at least four times in the previous eight months. During these patrols Angels took credit for scaring off a suspicious character in an alley. (The Sun, 1983b:A3).

The Angels also announced in early December of 1983 that they would be providing escort services for seniors who wanted to attend a meeting which had been called to protest rent increases. This decision was made after the chapter received a request from the West End Seniors Network for such a service. The organizers felt that many seniors feared going out at night and would not show up for the meeting (Scott, 1983:4). With regard to the request, Wayne Willoughby indicated that his group would be glad to help out and added that: "It makes us feel glad that someone out there needs our services" (Scott, 1983:4).

In early January, 1984 the Angels began another recruitment drive. Of the 200-300 candidates that had volunteered to join the chapter in early August 1983 only 39 had graduated in November of that year. Only 30 of the 39 graduates remained with the chapter two months later (The Sun, 1984a:A15), with another 22 recruits undergoing training (The Sun, 1984b:A10). The recruiting drive attracted 12 new candidates bringing the total membership of the Vancouver Guardian Angel chapter to 64 (The Sun, 1984b:A10).

On January 18, 1984, Wayne Willoughby announced that about a dozen members of his group would, commencing on January 19, 1984, begin patrolling in buses in search of the bus-stop rapist (Boei, 1984:A19). The bus-stop rapist received this name because three of the four sexual attacks he was believed to have been involved in occurred immediately after his victims got off metro buses (Boei, 1984:A19). Transit officials resented this approach and indicated that "...we don't think that the problem is on the buses" (Boei, 1984:A19). As for free bus passes for the Angels, both a metro Transit Operating Co. spokesman and Alderman May Brown, the chairman of the regional transit commission, indicated that the Angels would have to pay their own way (Boei, 1984:A19).

In early April of 1984, the Sapperton Community Association (SCA) of New Westminster called on the Vancouver chapter of the Guardian Angels to patrol the area after two twelve year-old girls had been sexually assaulted (New Westminster Now, 1984:3). When interviewed, SCA President Chris Sargent stated that he didn't like vigilantes and would not be particularly delighted to have a group of enforcers in his community that were not responsible to anyone. However, he added that the



suggestion of the Angels coming to New Westminster might be enough to deter the rapist of striking in the area again (New Westminster Now, 1984:3). Both the New Westminster mayor and police chief expressed doubts and concerns over the SCA's invitation to the Vancouver Angels to patrol in New Westminster. Police Chief Ken Brown stated that: "I think it's ill-advised...I don't support any type of vigilante group" (New Westminster Now, 1984:3) and indicated that the police were better equipped than the Guardian Angels to liaise with various other enforcement authorities in the Lower Mainland area.

On April 19, 1984 Curtis Sliwa visited Vancouver and graduated twelve more recruits into the ranks of the Vancouver chapter (Spence, 1984:1). During his visit it was also announced that the Angels planned to meet with the mayor of Vancouver in late May of 1984 to establish the terms for a memorandum of agreement between the Vancouver Police Department and the Vancouver chapter of the Guardian Angels (Spence, 1984:1). According to Sliwa the proposed memorandum of agreement would be similar to those already signed in 10 American cities in which the cities recognize the Guardian Angels as: "an independent and autonomous safety check" (Spence, 1984:1). In return



the patrollers would carry Guardian Angel identification cards and would allow the police to check their backgrounds for criminal records.. A liaison officer would also be identified to maintain contact with the Angels, who would receive training from police officials in procedures for making citizens' arrests (Spence, 1984:1).

It was during this visit to Vancouver that Curtis Sliwa also announced his plans to have a force of 450 patrollers in Vancouver for Expo 86 with members from as far away as California (Spence, 1984:1).

According to Banks (1984:A9) the representatives of the Vancouver Chapter of the Guardian Angels did meet with Mayor Mike Harcourt on May 28, 1984. Curtis Sliwa was not present at the meeting and the items discussed were nowhere near what he had proposed during his last visit to the city. Requests were made during the meeting for free access to city buses for members on patrol and the naming of a police liaison officer as well as the issuance of identification cards by the police (Banks, 1984:A9). In an interview after the meeting, Mayor Harcourt indicated that the group had not asked for formal recognition from

the city and that he had not offered it (Banks, 1984:A9). According to Banks: "the mayor took the opportunity to discuss the group's work as escorts for people in various areas of the city" (Banks, 1984:A9).

The media survey did not identify any additional activity by the Guardian Angels in Vancouver.

Police Survey (Vancouver)

The police survey forwarded to the Vancouver Police Department was properly completed and returned to the researcher. Information in the survey confirmed that a Guardian Angel chapter had been formed in Vancouver and that its members were engaged in foot patrols above ground, as well as patrols in vehicles. The group did seek cooperation from the Vancouver Police department prior to commencing patrols; however, no liaison channels were established. According to information provided, the names of the Guardian Angels patrolling in Vancouver were not checked for criminal records as a list was not provided. None of the Angels serving in the Vancouver area were charged with criminal offences. The Vancouver

chapter of the Guardian Angels, which was affiliated with the New York organization, was considered to be a vigilante group by the Vancouver Police Department. Information provided confirmed that members from the New York office had visited the Vancouver chapter. The group failed to receive the support of local politicians or city council. When first formed, the Guardian Angel chapter in Vancouver had approximately 39 members. Six months later, the membership of the chapter had risen to approximately 60. As of July 1985, the Vancouver city police indicated that the Angels still patrolled in Vancouver on a sporadic basis. The Vancouver Police Department did not credit the Guardian Angels with preventing any crimes or arresting criminals.

Letter to the Mayor (Vancouver)

As both the media and police surveys had revealed Guardian Angel activity in Vancouver a letter as contained in Appendix IV was sent to the mayor of that city. The researcher received a letter dated December 12, 1985 from Mayor Michael Harcourt which indicated that he had referred the matter to the Carnegie Centre for any

assistance they might provide (Appendix XXII). A letter dated January 13, 1986 was received from the Director of the Carnegie Centre. This letter indicates that a chapter was active in Vancouver and provided information on how to contact the group (Appendix XXIII).

Surrey

Media Survey

It should be noted that the initial media survey did not locate any magazine or newspaper articles which indicated Guardian Angel activity in Surrey. The first indication of such activity was contained in a letter from the officer in charge of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Detachment in Burnaby (Appendix X). As a result of this information a police survey was forwarded to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Detachment in Surrey. Included with the completed survey received from the Surrey Detachment were newspaper clippings which are included hereunder as part of the media survey.

On March 14, 1985, eight Guardian Angel graduates banded together to become the Surrey chapter. According to chapter administrator Janet McCurry, the eight Surrey residents, all in their teens or early 20s, were the survivors of about 30\$ who had originally started the program (The Sun, 1985:15). McCurry indicated that the chapter would patrol the Surrey malls as well as the troubled Whalley Exchange area and would also provide escorts for concerned senior citizens who feared being alone in the Whalley area (The Sun, 1985:A15). The chapter also advocated patrols of bingo halls to prevent robberies (The Sun, 1985:A15).

Police Survey (Surrey)

The RCMP Surrey Detachment police survey indicated that a Guardian Angel chapter had begun conducting foot patrols in Surrey in February of 1985. According to information contained in the survey, the Guardian Angel group sought the cooperation of the Surrey Detachment before commencing patrols and liaison channels were

established. The ~~names~~ names of the Angels patrolling in Surrey were provided to the police and when checked, some members were found to have criminal records for Break and Entering and other Summary Conviction offences.

Survey comments stated that the chapter operating in Surrey was totally independent from the New York organization; however, meetings had been held with members from New York including Curtis and Lisa Sliwa. A comment was also made to the effect that most of the Angels who patrolled in Surrey were transients.

The Surrey Detachment did not consider the Guardian Angel chapter in their area to be a vigilante group. They indicated that the group had received the support of elected officials. Information provided indicates the group consisted of six patrollers when it was first formed in early 1985. Six months later, the group numbered eight and by late July 1985, its membership was up to ten. The Angels were never credited by the Surrey RCMP for preventing a crime or arresting a criminal.

Letter to the Mayor (Surrey)

As the police survey indicated Guardian Angel activity in Surrey, a letter (see Appendix IV) was forwarded to the mayor. Mayor Don Ross responded in a letter dated December 6, 1985. He admitted having little knowledge of the group's operation in Surrey. The mayor did provide the name and address of an individual who was a Guardian Angel organizer (Appendix XXI).

Official Reaction to the Guardian Angels in Canada

This portion of the paper will discuss official reaction to the Guardian Angels in Canada which - because it is national in scope could not be incorporated in the previous section of the paper.

On November 27, 1983 at a ceremony launching Crime Prevention Week, then - Solicitor General Robert Kaplan was critical of the formation of Guardian Angels chapters

in Canada and stated that "...vigilantes are not a realistic response to crime and the Guardian Angels are not appropriate in Canada." (The Province, 1983b:A11)

During an address to the annual convention of the British Columbia Municipalities in mid-September 1983, RCMP Deputy Commissioner Tom Venner, indicated he was concerned about the role of the Guardian Angels in Canada. While refusing to oppose outright the formation of Guardian Angel chapters in Canada, Venner indicated that he was afraid that inadequately trained citizens would play the role of policemen (Pynn, 1983:A15). Venner also acknowledged that budget restraints did not allow municipalities were unable to increase funds allocated to police forces, and with the rise in crime, the public must play a greater role in preventing criminal activity. "We must turn back to Canadians responsibility for some of their own security" (Pynn, 1985:A15).

Evolution of the Guardian Angel Philosophy

As was documented at the beginning of this chapter the precursor to the Guardian Angels was the Rock Brigade, which was a neighbourhood clean-up organization which had as its goal, ridding New York of litter. It is interesting to note that the objectives of early police forces not only included the preservation of the peace but also ensuring the cleanliness of the cities they patrolled.

This segment will document the Guardian Angels' evolution from a crime prevention group involved solely in New York subway patrols in the New York subway to a group involved in various community service and social protest endeavours.

From the start, it was clear that if the Angels were to expand beyond New York City, the types of patrols and activities they would participate in would have to expand. The reasons were simple. Most cities did not have as high a crime rate as New York and many did not have a subway system.

Canadian cities had a much lower crime rate than their American counterparts, causing Lisa Sliwa to acknowledge at a Toronto news conference that the Angels in Canada would have to have a somewhat different orientation: "The Guardian Angels would not offer solutions (as in the) American system. It would be a preventive measure, as you would take vitamin C in the winter knowing you might get a cold..." (Province, 1982: 8).

In a 1982 telephone conversation with a newspaper reporter, Curtis Sliwa indicated that: "The Angels has [sic] evolved into a more community-minded organization than it was when its members first challenged those terrorizing the subway system...while still maintaining patrols through high crime districts, many of the Angels have begun working with old people, escorting and protecting them when they are out on the street" (Bellett, 1982:A3).

So it was, that Guardian Angels in Canada, would evolve and tailor their patrol style to the cities they were in. Chapters in cities other than Montreal and Toronto, where subway patrols were conducted, would patrol

the streets on foot. In Mississauga, Surrey and in part Montreal the Angels would concentrate their efforts in high crime areas around malls and convenience stores. Because of the sprawling suburban nature of Mississauga, car patrols would be adopted by the Angels patrolling there.

Self-defense also became one of the main platforms of the Guardian Angels in Canada. Lisa Sliwa was largely responsible for this initiative which appeared to be oriented primarily to assist women in fending off attackers. Lisa Sliwa gave self-defense demonstrations in Toronto, Ottawa and Vancouver. During a visit to Vancouver, in mid-September 1983, to check on the progress of the newly established Vancouver chapter, Lisa Sliwa once again took the opportunity to discuss and demonstrate self-defense techniques: "You don't want to get into some Mohammad Ali-style, 16 round knock 'em out, drag-it-out battle with some big gorilla...just deliver the pain and run" (Province, 1983a:3). According to the same news report, Sliwa went on to warn members of her audience that an over-enthusiastic blow to the Adam's apple could be

5

death for an attacker but added that: "But that's one less jerk taxpayers will have to support for the next 20 years" (Province, 1983a:3).

The Angels also became involved in social and political issues. When a Guardian Angel was killed by a police officer who had mistaken him for an intruder, Curtis Sliwa accused officials of covering up. When state officials refused to open the state inquiry, the Angels wanted Sliwa to organize a protest march which would go from Newark, New Jersey where the Angel was killed to the state capital in Trenton. When officials refused to budge, Curtis and 63 other Angels continued their protest march from Trenton to Washington, D.C., a distance of 127 miles (Haskins, 1983:47).

In November, 1984 seven Guardian Angels were charged with criminal trespass and criminal mischief in Portland, Oregon, after they chained themselves to the front door of a Portland hotel owned by Indian guru Bhagwan Shri Rajneesh. The Angels, two of which belonged to the Vancouver chapter, were protesting the dumping of hundreds of homeless "street people" in Portland by Rajneeshees (Sun, 1984c:A12).

In late December of 1984, the Guardian Angels wasted no time in giving their tacit approval to the actions of an unknown individual who had shot four blacks in the New York subway when they had allegedly tried to mug him. According to Tuckers (1985:19): "The Guardian Angels, the largely black and Puerto Rican subway vigilante organization, announced their full support of the 'subway vigilante'. They urged Mayor Koch to offer amnesty to the gunman in exchange for his identity".

In early January 1985, the Angels received extensive media coverage in North America when they began soliciting funds to pay for the bail and defence of Bernhard Goetz, the "subway vigilante" who had turned himself in and had been arraigned on four charges of attempted murder (Leo, 1985:54). As reported by the Toronto Star this endeavour of soliciting funds was not something that a few Guardian Angels had done on their own without the hierarchy's consent. On the contrary, the Toronto Star reported that: "Immediately after the arraignment, Guardian Angels leader Curtis Sliwa dispatched 125 Angels into the New York subways to begin soliciting riders for donations to pay

Goetz' bail" (Toronto Star, 1985:A12). Likewise when Goetz was acquitted of the attempted murder charges in June 1987, the Guardian Angels provided him with a security escort.

Chapter Summary

This chapter provides information on 12 Canadian cities for which there were indications that the Guardian Angels might attempt to form a chapter in or had in fact established one.

Montreal had two competing chapters, one officially sanctioned by Curtis Sliwa and the other a splinter group which was independently run. The publicity engendered by the competition between the two groups appeared to do little more than cause some citizens (in particular the seniors) to perceive that Montreal had a serious crime problem. The groups which were formed in September and October of 1983, ceased to exist by the end of January 1984. The Montreal experience provides evidence that the Guardian Angels can attract undesirable persons as the chapter leader was sentenced to a one-year jail term for sexual assault. The Montreal experience also demonstrated that a person unauthorized by the New York office could form a chapter.

Although Guardian Angel leaders visited Ottawa on at least two occasions no attempts were made to establish a chapter there.

Windsor was the first Canadian city in which a Guardian Angel chapter was established. Windsor was likely chosen by Curtis Sliwa to be the first Canadian City in which a Guardian Angel chapter would be formed because of its proximity to the United States and to American cities in which the Guardian Angels were already active. The American Angels could easily cross into Canada to help form the Windsor chapter.

Information provided, indicated that both the city council and the public at large were not receptive to a Guardian Angel chapter being formed in their city. During their inaugural patrol in Windsor the Angels were confronted by hecklers. Because of a high attrition rate and inability to attract new members, the Windsor chapter, by February 1983, (six months after it was formed) ceased to conduct patrols.

The first Guardian Angel patrol occurred in Toronto in early September 1982. The Toronto Angels failed to receive the support of the local police and politicians. By March 1983, within six months of its formation, the Toronto chapter had ceased conducting subway and above ground foot patrols.

The implementation of Guardian Angel patrols in Mississauga in March of 1984 appears to have come about as a direct result of Curtis Sliwa becoming aware of the killing of a young convenience store clerk in Mississauga, and the resulting media coverage and public outcry that this violent death had caused. It is likely that Sliwa's announcement that patrols should be instituted in Mississauga caused a few former Toronto chapter members to become involved.

As Mississauga is a sprawling suburb the Angels resorted to car patrols for the first time in Canada. The police adopted a non-adversarial approach towards the Angels patrolling in their jurisdiction. The mayor of Mississauga felt that there was little need for the services of the Angels. Within a month of their formation, the Angels ceased to patrol in Mississauga.

The media survey disclosed one newspaper article which indicated that the Guardian Angels intended to start patrols in Brampton, Ontario. This study established that no patrols were conducted in Brampton; nor were attempts made to establish a chapter in that city.

The aborted attempt to form a Guardian Angel chapter in Winnipeg demonstrates that it is possible for an individual to fraudulently pass himself off as a member of the Guardian Angels and to attempt to form a chapter without proper authority.

Although articles appeared in the press indicating that the Guardian Angels contemplated forming a chapter in Edmonton and Calgary, this study confirmed that this did not occur. The study did establish that members from the Vancouver chapter had conducted patrols on Calgary's C-train in early September 1985. Members of the Vancouver chapter also visited Edmonton in August, 1985. The Calgary and Edmonton police forces were not receptive to the formation of a group like the Guardian Angels in their jurisdictions.

With the assistance from the Portland, Oregon Guardian Angels, a chapter was established in Vancouver in August, 1983. During a recruiting session the Angels were confronted by a group which objected to the presence of the Portland Angels and who chanted: "Guardian Angels get out of Canada". The Vancouver chapter was likely the most successful in Canada. Chapter members were credited with at least one arrest and still conducted the occasional patrol nearly two years after the chapter had been formed.

Another Guardian Angel chapter was formed in Surrey, British Columbia in early 1985. Some chapter members were found to have criminal records for Breaking and Enter and various other offences. In July 1985, when the material for this study was gathered, the Surrey Chapter still had ten members involved in patrols.

This study has documented the existence of Guardian Angel chapters in six Canadian cities: Montreal, Windsor, Toronto, Mississauga, Vancouver and Surrey. Vancouver and Surrey were the only active chapters in July 1985 when the documentation for this study was collected. The four other chapters only existed for a few months.

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This study establishes that the Guardian Angels are an American operation which looks upon Canada as an extension of the United States. Canadian chapters are not independent or answerable to a Canadian headquarters. They take orders from the Sliwas in New York City. The use of American Angels to set up and conduct patrols in Canada as well as some of the statements made by Curtis Sliwa, illustrate that the Angels are not aware of Canada's distinct background and do not respect Canadian sovereignty.

With the exception of the Peel Regional Police Force which adopted a non-adversarial approach towards the Angels, all other police forces seemed to be cool or opposed to the idea of Guardian Angels forming a chapter in their jurisdiction. Police press statements contained more severe criticism of the angels than did the police survey responses. Only two departments indicated that they considered the Guardian Angels to be vigilantes. The reception given to the Guardian Angels by politicians was also somewhat negative as most indicated that there was no need for the Guardian Angels in Canada.

24

CHAPTER VIII :

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The major objective of this thesis was to examine the phenomenon of vigilantism in Canada and to document, when possible, incidents of the three forms of vigilantism identified by Brown (1975) which occurred in this country. Classical vigilantism occurred when settlement preceded effective law enforcement on the frontier or when citizenry lost faith in the criminal justice system.

In these cases, citizens would attempt to fill the void. Neo-classical vigilantism occurred when people felt that the Status Quo was being challenged. Victims of this type of vigilantism included members of ethnic groups, liberal thinkers, homosexuals and people who were deemed to live "immorally". Pseudo-vigilantism is a recent development and involves citizens banding together to assist and complement law enforcement agencies. All three types of vigilantism were found to have occurred in Canada.

A major portion of this thesis was devoted to a study of the Guardian Angels, which is considered a vigilante group because it was formed based on the belief that existing law enforcement agencies could not effectively deal with crime. The Guardian Angels are partly of the classical vigilante mold because of their underlying reason for being formed. They, on the other hand are somewhat of a pseudo-vigilante group, because they profess to want to work with the police. As can be seen, they do not fit neatly into the typology described by Brown (1975).

TABLE XVIII: Summary of Classical Vigilante Incidents

Incident	# of individuals involved in incident	# in support group	Reason for forming or selection of victim	Action	Duration
De Benyon	unknown	unknown	had killed young boy	lynched one person	spontaneous
Bytown Association	a group	community	crime wave	crime-prevention patrols	unknown
Quebec Voluntary Patrols	unknown	community	crime wave	crime-prevention patrols	unknown
Hudson Bay Execution	employees of Hudson's Bay Co.	community	individual had committed murder	unauthorized execution of one	only one known incident
Cypress Hills Massacre	approx. 15	none	horses allegedly stolen by Indians	killed 30 Indians	only one known incident

TABLE XVIII: (Cont'd)

Incident	# of individuals involved in incident	# in support group	Reason for forming or selection of victim	Action	Duration
Lucan Vigilantes	20	200	ineffective criminal justice system	arson and 5 murder	18 months
Alberta Ranching Country	1	-	horse thief	shot and injured	only one reported incident
Fort Edmonton Incident	a group	unknown	outsider building home on settler's property	destroyed home	only one reported incident
Pierre the Thief	6	a group	had stolen essential food supplies	individual shot and killed	only one reported incident

TABLE XVIII: (Cont'd)

Incident	# of individuals involved in incident	# in support group	Reason for forming or selection of victim	Action	Duration
Belmont Wife-Beater	a group	community	wife beater	individual beaten, tarred, feathered and banished from town	only one reported incident
Charleswood Vigilantes	a number	community	prostitutes operating in their town	bombed outhouse	two weeks
Pioneer Justice in Northern Ontario	unknown	unknown	rapists	rapist beaten, tied up and left to be attacked by black flies while awaiting arrival of police in remote district	two incidents

TABLE XVIII: (Cont'd)

Incident	# of individuals involved in incident	# in support group	Reason for forming or selection of victim	Action	Duration
Recent Incidents	one (in each instance)	none	protecting business from thefts/robbery	shot and killed perpetrator(s)	spontaneous (5 incidents)

TABLE XIX: Summary of Neo-Classical Vigilante Incidents

Incident	# of individuals involved in incident	# in support group	Reason for forming or selection of victim	Action	Duration
Tar and Feather Case	six	-	public morality/adulterous activity	tarred & feathered	one incident
Tar and Feather Gang	eight	-	public morality/adulterous activity	tarred & feathered	one incident
The Charivari	a group	-	indignation at a black marrying a white woman	assault which resulted in death	one incident
Gay-Bashing	five	-	victim a homo-sexual	assault which resulted in death	one incident
Enforcement of Colour Line	groups	-	racial origin of victim	assaults	several incidents by different groups

TABLE XIX (Cont'd)

Incident	# of individuals involved in incident	# in support group	Reason for forming or selection of victim	Action	Duration
Anti-Asiatic Groups	numerous	numerous	racial origins and customs. Also seen as taking employment	assaults, arson and banishment	several incidents
Ku Klux Klan	numerous	numerous	racial origins religious beliefs language issues	intimidation	several incidents groups

Tables XVIII and XIX illustrate the findings in regards to classical and neo-classical vigilante incidents.

As can be seen in Tables XVIII and XIX the reasons for the forming of vigilante groups, and the commission of the reported incidents of classical and neo-classical vigilantism, were varied. What is common to all incidents was that an attempt was made to restore order or maintain the status quo without the "rule of law". Victims of the vigilante acts were all known or perceived to be responsible for a crime or a threat to the status quo. With the exception of the Lucan vigilante groups, which existed for some 18 months, and the Ku Klux Klan which continues to exist, all other reported vigilante groups or incidents occurred over a short period of time.

It is the author's view that the major factor that accounts for Canada having a lower rate of violence and vigilantism as compared to the United States is the historical development of both countries which created nations with a different outlook and mentality. In comparing Canadians and Americans, Frye (1971) points out that: "Historically, a Canadian is an American who rejects

the Revolution...there is in Canada, too, a traditional opposition to the two defects to which a revolutionary tradition is liable, a contempt for history and an "impatience with law" (Frye, 1971:14).

Canada never had a war of independence or a civil war. Its transition to nationhood was peaceful and Canadians chose to retain British and French institutions. Many early settlers were in fact Americans who wished to remain British subjects and came to Canada. Canadians never made "the right to bear arms" a fundamental right of every citizen. Instead Canadians placed their faith in democratic process and institutions. Nevertheless, Canada also experienced episodes of vigilantism, albeit to a lesser degree.

Recommendations to Policy Makers

In order to minimize the possibility of classical or neo-classical vigilantism recurring in Canada, and to ensure that well-intentioned people participating in pseudo-vigilante groups continue to act within the law and in the best interest of their communities, the following recommendations are made. One of the most important facts to consider is that Canadians should be made more aware of reality in their history. Intolerance, racism and vigilantism occurred in Canada. These facts are generally swept under history's carpet by chroniclers with a white washing pen. History after the fact is always invariably distorted to the likings of the author where tarnished images are avoided for the sake of posterity. Canadians should become cognizant that unpleasantness is historical fact. Furthermore they should also be made aware that certain preconditions may once more come into existence to predispose them to once more engage in acts of vigilantism.

It is also important that laws in Canada and policies of the criminal justice system be seen by the Canadian public to be just and equitable. Governments must be

sensitive to the public will and ensure that justice not only be done, but that it is seen to be done. At present, the public usually only become aware, about people being acquitted, violating parole or probation, or escaping custody through the media. The fact, is that the popular media seeks sensationalism and does not provide a balanced view. Criminal justice agencies, be they police forces, the courts or the correctional service, must ensure that the public is made aware of both sides of the story. If this is not done, the public's perception of crime may continue to be unfounded and vastly over-estimated. This may cause some citizens, who believe the system to be ineffective, to engage in vigilante acts.

Governments must also continue to establish programs and extend services to ensure that victims of crime receive proper attention and compensation. These victims must be made to feel that the system will attempt to safeguard their lives and property.

Efforts must also be made towards ensuring that one of Peel's basic principles of policing is truly realized. The principle in question is that "the police are the people and the people are the police". In order to

fulfil this principle, efforts must be made to ensure that police agencies are in tune with the community they police. Basic to this notion is that minority and ethnic groups are adequately represented on police forces. The public must also be encouraged to co-operate with the police and to participate in crime prevention programs. The era of social welfare in which government agencies took care of everything has passed. Citizens must, in co-operation with established law enforcement agencies, assume their responsibilities.

As for policy concerning groups such as the Guardian Angels, the author is of the opinion that local politicians and police forces would benefit by assuming a non-adversarial position. This view is based on the fact that groups such as the Guardian Angels thrive on publicity. Politicians and police press statements that they do not want such a group forming or patrolling in their city, makes for great headlines. In turn, the media attention gives the group much needed publicity which quite often attracts new recruits. Publicity also gives many of the members of such groups the feeling that they can stand up to politicians and police personnel. This

study demonstrated that shortly after the initial flurry of media attention, four out of six of the Guardian Angel chapters disappeared.

The recent arrival of Asian refugees in Canada and the subsequent recall of Parliament to deal with the refugee problem has received extensive media attention. These events have also given the opportunity for persons with racist views to receive wide publicity. Policy makers must ensure that policies are developed and implemented to combat any racism. If this is not done, members of ethnic groups and in particular, members of visible minorities could become scapegoats for individuals prone to vigilantism.

Canada has also recently witnessed politicians voting against bringing back the death penalty which was formally abolished by Parliament in 1976. At that time, the government of the day promised tighter gun controls and more severe penalties for murderers, as part of its package to convince members of Parliament to vote for abolition. In 1987 during the debate to re-introduce capital punishment, the government indicated that a revamping of the criminal justice system would occur and

that violent offenders would incur greater penalties. This promise caused many members of Parliament to vote against the wish of their constituents and defeat a private member's bill to re-introduce the death penalty. Should the government fail to keep its promise to review the criminal justice system, Canadians - the majority of whom, according to public opinion polls, were in favour of re-introducing the death penalty - could become disillusioned and frustrated with a system they feel coddles criminals and is therefore ineffective. Such a state of affairs could be responsible for motivating individuals to participate in vigilante actions.

Suggestions for Future Research

This thesis represents a pioneer effort in examining the concept of vigilantism in Canada. As indicated in Chapter II, the difficulties involved in defining vigilantism as well as the secretive and ephemeral nature of many vigilante groups makes the concept a difficult one to study. Although very little Canadian academic material exists on vigilantism it is hoped that studies such as this one will stimulate further research.

One area for future study might be forwarding a follow-up questionnaire to the police departments and Canadian mayors who were canvassed in this study for information on the Guardian Angels. The purpose of this endeavour would be to update the information which was collected for this thesis in 1985. Such a study could also compare findings and attempt to determine trends.

Another area of research could be an in-depth examination of one or more of the Guardian Angel chapters described in this thesis. Such a study could focus on interviewing serving and former Guardian Angel members in an attempt to establish a profile of the types of individuals attracted to such groups. The appendices of this thesis contain the addresses of a few Guardian Angels.

It is also felt that additional research could reveal further instances of classical vigilantism in Canada. One approach could be to forward chapter IV of this thesis on classical vigilantism to various historical associations throughout the country with a request for information concerning any such incidents.

Closing Comments

This thesis describes various instances of vigilantism in Canada. It demonstrates that at times through history, Canadians have been intolerant, racist, and have taken the law into their own hands.

In so doing, this thesis has contributed to destroying the myth that Canadians have always lived harmoniously and that violent acts of vigilantism were something that only occurred in the United States.

APPENDIX I: Sample of covering letter,
Instructions & Survey to Police
Departments

#106-88 Somerset Street W.
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0H6

Chief of Police
Centreville Police Department
123 Main Street
Centreville, Ontario
A1B 2C3

Dear Sir:

I am a part-time student at the University of Ottawa and I am presently completing the requirements for a Master of Arts degree in Criminology. I am presently working on a major paper which is entitled "An Examination of Guardian Angels Groups in Canada", which I intend to include as one of the chapters in my master's thesis. My purpose in writing to you is in hopes that you can provide me with any pertinent information on the Guardian Angels or any other similar group which has or is operating in your jurisdiction. To this end I would greatly appreciate it if you would have someone from your department complete the attached survey. In addition absolutely any information such as: clippings from local newspapers, policy statements available to the public or names and addresses of additional individuals who could provide further information would be of assistance.

As a full-time policeman working in the Ottawa area I have a keen interest in this project and sincerely hope that my findings and analysis could be of use to Canadian police forces and policy-makers. I hope that a portion of my final paper might be worthy of publication in a journal such as The Canadian Police Chief. To you I pledge that I will provide a copy of my final paper in return for your time and assistance. Please indicate if you wish me to refrain from making direct reference to your department in my paper.

In conclusion I would like to reiterate that I am working on this project as a course requirement, that I am not being remunerated in any way for doing so and that I do not represent anyone but myself. For your convenience I have included a self-addressed envelop. Nil replies are also requested.

Thanking you in advance, yours sincerely,

Roland A. BOISJOLI

APPENDIX I: (Cont'd)

**** INSTRUCTIONS FOR COMPLETION OF ATTACHED SURVEY ****

1. Please complete attached survey and return as soon as possible in enclosed self-addressed envelope.
2. If your jurisdiction has not experienced any Guardian Angel or similar activities from other groups, please merely check off no for question 1 and return. In such cases it is important that the survey be returned in order that jurisdictions with no such activity can be distinguished from those who did not respond.
3. When reply to a question is positive, please provide any additional information you think might be relevant.
4. Should additional information come to light at a further date, I would be most happy to receive same from you.
5. Your help and cooperation is essential to my study. My sincere thanks for your time and any information you provide.
6. The writer undertakes to provide a copy of his report to the police departments who provide pertinent information or who express an interest in receiving same, free of charge.

APPENDIX I: (Cont'd)

PLEASE PROVIDE ELABORATION OF QUESTIONS THAT
DID NOT PROVIDE SUFFICIENT SPACE FOR ANSWERS
ON THIS PAGE

YOUR COOPERATION IS OF GREAT ASSISTANCE TO ME

APPENDIX I: (Cont'd)

***** SURVEY *****

1. Has there been any indication of a Guardian Angel chapter forming in your area?
2. Has a Guardian Angel Group ever patrolled in your area? (If so, please give dates on attached page.)
3. What types of patrols were undertaken by the Guardian Angels in your area?

Yes	No
-----	----

Yes	No
-----	----

<u>subway</u>	<u>foot patrols</u> <u>above ground</u>	<u>in vehicles</u>	<u>other</u>
---------------	--	--------------------	--------------

4. Did the group operating in your jurisdiction seek the cooperation of your department before beginning patrols or activities in your area?
5. Were liaison channels set up between your department and the Guardian Angels?
6. Were the names and biographical data of the Guardian Angels patrolling in your jurisdiction provided to you by the Guardian Angel leadership?
7. Were any of the Guardian Angels patrolling in your area found to have criminal records?
8. Were any of the Guardian Angels serving in your jurisdiction charged with criminal offences?

Yes No

<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
------------	-----------

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
1. The respondent is a resident of the United States.		
2. The respondent is at least 18 years of age.		
3. The respondent is not currently in the military service of the United States.		
4. The respondent is not currently a member of the clergy.		
5. The respondent is not currently a member of a religious organization.		
6. The respondent is not currently a member of a political party.		
7. The respondent is not currently a member of a labor union.		
8. The respondent is not currently a member of a professional association.		
9. The respondent is not currently a member of a fraternal organization.		
10. The respondent is not currently a member of a social club.		
11. The respondent is not currently a member of a sports team.		
12. The respondent is not currently a member of a religious organization.		
13. The respondent is not currently a member of a political party.		
14. The respondent is not currently a member of a labor union.		
15. The respondent is not currently a member of a professional association.		
16. The respondent is not currently a member of a fraternal organization.		
17. The respondent is not currently a member of a social club.		
18. The respondent is not currently a member of a sports team.		
19. The respondent is not currently a member of a religious organization.		
20. The respondent is not currently a member of a political party.		
21. The respondent is not currently a member of a labor union.		
22. The respondent is not currently a member of a professional association.		
23. The respondent is not currently a member of a fraternal organization.		
24. The respondent is not currently a member of a social club.		
25. The respondent is not currently a member of a sports team.		

<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
------------	-----------

<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
------------	-----------

APPENDIX I: (Cont'd)

- 2 -

9. To your knowledge, is your Guardian Angel group independent or is it affiliated and controlled by the New York national office? Ind Affil
10. To your knowledge, have the national directors of the Guardian Angels, Curtis and Lisa Sliwa from New York, ever visited your area to form or visit a Guardian Angel chapter? Yes No
11. Have the Guardian Angels received any attention in the local media in your area? (If so could you please provide the dates and names of newspapers articles were published in.) Yes No
12. Did the Guardian Angels receive the support of local politicians or city council in your area? Yes No
13. What was the approximate size of the Guardian Angel chapter in your area when it was first formed? _____
14. What was the approximate size of the group six months later? _____
15. Do the Guardian Angels still patrol in your area? 8
Yes No
16. What is their approximate size at present or when was their last patrol or activity? _____
17. Were the Guardian Angels ever credited with preventing a crime or arresting a criminal in the process of committing a crime in your area? Yes No

APPENDIX I: (Cont'd)

- 3 -

18. Has your department or city council taken an official stance on the Guardian Angels? (If so, please provide details) Yes No
19. Do you (as a department) consider the Guardian Angels to be a vigilante group? Yes No
20. Have any groups similar to the Guardian Angels formed in your jurisdiction? Yes No
21. If applicable what is the name of this group?

22. What type of activity was above group(s) involved in?

23. Please provide the names and addresses of individuals who might be able to provide me with further information. (i.e. Guardian Angel leaders in your area.)

24. Please provide address, phone number, title and rank of person completing this survey. _____

APPENDIX I: (Cont'd)

- 4 -

25. Name, address, phone number, title and rank of individual in your department whom I could phone or write to for additional information. _____

26. PLEASE PROVIDE ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON ATTACHED SHEET AND FEEL FREE TO SEND FURTHER INFORMATION UNDER THIS OR SEPARATE COVER.

APPENDIX II: List of Canadian Police
Departments to which Survey
was forwarded (N=29)

***** POLICE DEPARTMENTS *****

Chief of Police
Charlottetown Police Department
City Hall, Kent Street
CHARLOTTETOWN, P.E.I.
C1A 1N1

Officer in Charge
Burnaby Municipal Detachment
R.C.M. Police
6355 Gilpin Street
BURNABY, British Columbia
V5G 2J2

Chief of Police
Calgary Police Service
316-7th Avenue S.E.
CALGARY, Alberta
T2G 0J2

Chief of Police
Winnipeg Police Department
151 Princess Street, Box 1680
WINNIPEG, Manitoba
R3C 2Z7

Chief Constable
Victoria City Police Department
625 Fisgard Street
VICTORIA, British Columbia
V8W 1R7

Chief of Police
Ottawa Police Force
474 Elgin Street
OTTAWA, Ontario
K2P 2J6

APPENDIX II: (Cont'd)

Directeur
Service de Police
Communauté Urbaine de Montréal
750 Bonsecours
MONTREAL, Québec
H2Y 3C7

Chief of Police
Toronto Metro Police Force
590 Jarvis Street
TORONTO, Ontario
M4Y 2J5

Chief of Police
Edmonton Police Department
9620-103A Avenue
EDMONTON, Alberta

Chief of Police
Waterloo Regional Police Force
Box 1056
KITCHENER, Ontario
N2G 4G3

Chief of Police
Saskatoon Police Department
130-4th Avenue N., Box 1728
SASKATOON, Saskatchewan
S7K 3R6

Chief of Police
Saint John City Police Department
Box 1971
SAINT JOHN, New Brunswick
E2L 4L4

Chief of Police
Windsor Police Force
445 City Hall Square W, Box 60
WINDSOR, Ontario
N9A 6J5

APPENDIX II: (Cont'd)

Chief of Police
Dartmouth Police Department
Box 817
DARTMOUTH, Nova Scotia
B2Y 3Z3

Chief of Police Hamilton-Wentworth
Regional Police Department
155 King William Street
HAMILTON, Ontario
L8R 1A6

Chief Constable
Brandon City Police Department
1340-10th Street, Box 787
BRANDON, Manitoba
R7A 5Z8

Chief of Police
Halifax Police Department
1975 Gottingen Street
HALIFAX, Nova Scotia
B3J 2H1

Chief Constable
Vancouver Police Department
312 Main Street
VANCOUVER, British Columbia
V6A 2T2

Officer in Charge
Richmond Township Detachment
R.C.M. Police
6900 Minour Boulevard
RICHMOND, British Columbia
V6Y 1Y3

Chief of Police
Moncton Police Force
Box 1045
MONCTON, New Brunswick
E1C 8P2

APPENDIX II: (Cont'd)

Chief Constable
New Westminster Police Department
511 Royal Avenue
NEW WESTMINSTER, British Columbia
V3L 1H9

Chief of Police
Regina Police Service
1717 Osler Street, Box 196
REGINA, Saskatchewan
S4P 3W3

Directeur
Service de Police,
Ville de Québec
QUEBEC, Québec
G1K 2L3

Chief of Police
Royal Newfoundland Constabulary
Fort Townshend, Box 4058
ST. JOHN'S, Newfoundland
A1C 5Y2

Chief of Police
Gloucester Police Force
Box 8333
GLOUCESTER, Ontario
K1G 3V5

Chief of Police
Nepean Police Force
254 Greenbank Road
NEPEAN, Ontario
K2H 8W9

Chief of Police
Fredericton City Police Department
FREDERICTON, New Brunswick
E3B 1B1

APPENDIX II: (Cont'd)

Chief of Police
Peel Regional Police Force
Box 7750
7750 Hurontario Street
BRAMPTON, Ontario
L6V 3W6

Officer in Charge
Surrey Municipal Detachment
R.C.M. Police
17695-56th Avenue
SURREY, British Columbia
V3S 1E1

APPENDIX III: Sample of follow-up Letter
to Police Departments which
had not returned Survey

#106-88 Somerset Street W.
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0H6
August 16, 1985

Chief of Police
Centreville Police Department
123 Main Street
Centreville, Ontario
A1B 2C3

Dear Sir:

On July 17th, 1985 I wrote a letter to you requesting your assistance and cooperation in locating information on the Guardian Angels or any other similar group which may exist or which might have existed in your jurisdiction. Included in this letter (copy attached), was a questionnaire which I requested be returned to me as soon as possible. Unfortunately I have not received a response from your department to date. As mentioned in my previous letter cooperation from various police departments is essential to my study as very little has been written on this subject thus far, making research in various libraries fruitless. I realize that my timing may have been bad as summer months are usually very busy for police departments. I would however appreciate you having somebody complete my questionnaire and having it returned in the self-addressed envelope I included with my previous correspondence to you. My paper is due in September and absolutely any information you could provide would be of great assistance.

I have included a self addressed label with this letter for your convenience in the event that the self-addressed envelope I sent to you was misplaced. As stated in my previous correspondence I undertake to forward a copy of my paper to anyone who sends me pertinent information.

Thank you in advance for your help and cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

Roland A. Boisjoli

APPENDIX IV: Sample of Letter to
City Councils

#106-88 Somerset Street W.
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0H6
August 16th, 1985

The Mayor
City of Centreville
Centreville City Hall
456 Main Street
Centreville, Ontario
A1B 2C3

Dear Mr. Mayor:

I am a graduate student in the Criminology department at the University of Ottawa. I am presently working on a paper entitled "An examination of Guardian Angels groups in Canada." Guardian Angels chapters are made up of ordinary citizens who patrol high crime areas in groups to act as a deterrent to crime. The group wears distinctive red berets and white t-shirts. As you can well appreciate the literature on this group in Canada is very limited. A search of the Globe and Mail Info Globe data base did reveal however that a chapter of this group planned to be or actually was, formed in your city. It is with the hope that you could provide me with information on this group that I am writing to you. Any information such as the size of the group, its history in your city or the names of other persons that might provide me with additional data would be of use. Minutes of your council meetings dealing with this group or policy statements would be of great help.

I would like to state that I am doing this project on my own as part of a credit for a degree. I am not in any way receiving any remuneration for this. I do hope however that my final paper would be of high enough quality to be considered for publication in an academic journal. Finally, I undertake to provide pertinent portions of my papers to anyone who sends me information. (free of charge)

I hope that you understand that my sources of Canadian information on this topic are very limited and that I am desperately in need of documentation. For your convenience I have enclosed a mailing label.

Yours truly,

Roland A. BOISJOLI

APPENDIX V: List of Canadian Mayors to which a Letter
was forwarded (N=11)

The Mayor,
~~City of Brampton,~~
Brampton City Hall,
150 Central Park Drive,
BRAMPTON, Ontario. L6T 2T9

The Mayor,
City of Calgary,
Calgary City Hall,
Box 2100,
CALGARY, Alberta. T2P 2M5

The Mayor,
City of Edmonton,
Edmonton City Hall,
1 Sir Winston Churchill Square,
EDMONTON, Alberta. T5J 2R7

The Mayor,
City of Halifax,
Halifax City Hall,
Box 1749,
HALIFAX, Nova Scotia. B3J 3A5

The Mayor,
City of Mississauga,
Mississauga City Hall,
1 City Centre Drive,
MISSISSAUGA, Ontario. L5B 1M2

The Mayor,
City of Montreal,
Room 104, Montreal City Hall,
330, rue Saint-Paul est,
Montreal, Quebec. H2Y 1H2

APPENDIX V: (Cont'd)

The Mayor,
Corporation of the District of Surrey,
Surrey City Hall,
14245-56th Avenue,
SURREY, British Columbia. M5H 2N1

The Mayor,
Metro Toronto City Hall,
100 Queen Street West,
TORONTO, Ontario. M5H 2N1

The Mayor,
City of Vancouver,
Vancouver City Hall,
453 West 12th Avenue
VANCOUVER, British Columbia. V5Y 1V4

The Mayor,
City of Windsor,
Windsor City Hall,
P.O. Box 1607,
WINDSOR, Ontario. N9A 6S1

The Mayor,
City of Winnipeg,
Winnipeg City Hall,
510 Main Street,
WINNIPEG, Manitoba. R3B 1B9

Appendix VI: Letter from the Chief Constable,
Brandon City Police

ANY REPLY OR SUBSEQUENT REFERENCE
TO THIS COMMUNICATION SHOULD BE
ADDRESSED TO THE CHIEF CONSTABLE
AND NOT TO ANY OFFICER BY NAME.



THE CITY OF BRANDON

BRANDON, MANITOBA

OFFICE OF
THE CHIEF CONSTABLE

YOUR FILE _____

OUR FILE _____

July 25, 1985

Mr. Roland A. Boisjoli
#106 - 88 Somerset Street West
OTTAWA, Ontario
K2P 0H6

Dear Sir:

In response to your letter dated July 17, 1985 received
in our office this date, please be advised as follows.

We do not have a group such as the Guardian Angels or
any other similar group operating either in Brandon or
in the rural southwestern Manitoba area.

We regret that we are unable to be of assistance to you.

Yours truly,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "K. R. Elliott", written over a horizontal line.

K. R. ELLIOTT
Chief Constable
KRE/ak

Appendix VII: Letter from the Chief of Police,
Nepean Police Force



NEPEAN POLICE FORCE

245 GREENBANK ROAD, NEPEAN, ONTARIO, K2H 8W9
PHONE 829-2211



ESTABLISHED 1903

MEMBER

E.G. WERSCH
Chief of Police

File Ref. No. _____

July 30, 1985

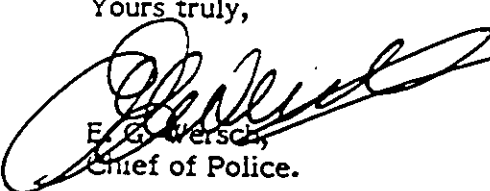
Mr. Roland A. Boisjoli
106-88 Somerset Street West
Ottawa, Ontario
K2P 0H6

Dear Sir:

In reply to your correspondence dated July 17, 1985, please be advised that "Guardian Angel" groups are not operating in Nepean.

In view of the above, I am unable to assist you with your project.

Yours truly,


E.G. Wersch,
Chief of Police.

EGW:ra

Appendix VIII: Letter from the OI/C Crime Prevention
Unit, Royal Newfoundland Constabulary



GOVERNMENT OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Royal Newfoundland Constabulary
Telephone: 722-5111

ST. JOHN'S

85-08-05

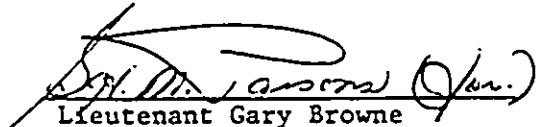
Mr. Ronald A. Boisjoli
106-88 Somerset Street West
Ottawa, Ontario
K2P 0H6

Dear Sir:

Your request concerning the Guardian Angels Group was received.

I am sorry to inform you that there is no such group in our Policing jurisdiction, nor is there any other similar group.

Wishing you luck in your endeavours.


Lieutenant Gary Browne
O/I/C Crime Prevention Unit
Royal Newfoundland Constabulary

Appendix IX: Letter from the Acting Deputy Chief
of Police, Winnipeg Police Department



Winnipeg Police Department
Police de Winnipeg

P.O. BOX/B.P. 1680 • WINNIPEG • MANITOBA • R3C 2Z7
TELEPHONE (204) 985-6037

Address all correspondence
to Chief of Police
Adresser toute correspondance
au Chef de police

H.B. STEPHEN
Chief of Police
Chef de police

85 07 30

Roland A. Boisjoli
106 - 88 Somerset Street West
OTTAWA, Ontario
K2P 0H6

Dear Sir:

Your letter and attached survey sheets were
received by this Department on July 25th, 1985.

After examining the material, it was the decision
of the Executive of the Department not to participate.

Numerous requests of this nature are received,
and in cases other than a recognized police force, we do not
take part.

Yours truly,

P.A. Johnston
P.A. Johnston,
Acting Deputy Chief of Police,
Crime & Support Services.

Appendix X: Letter from the Officer in Charge,
Burnaby RCMP Detachment.



**Royal Canadian
Mounted Police**

**Gendarmerie royale
du Canada**

Your file Votre référence

1985 July 26

Our file Notre référence

Roland A. Boisjoli
#106 - 88 Somerset Street West
Ottawa, Ontario
K2P 0H6

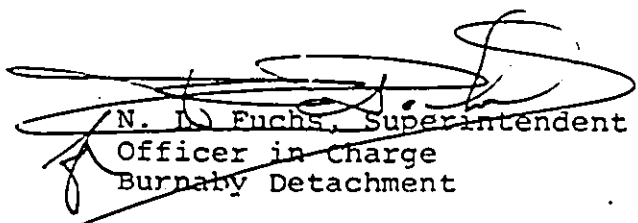
Dear Sir:

In response to your letter dated 1985 July 17, please be advised we have had no activity by the Guardian Angels within our area. For your information, however, chapters are reportedly active in the neighbouring City of Vancouver and Municipality of Surrey.

Your survey has been completed and is attached.

Should you have any further inquiries in this regard, may I suggest you contact our Crime Prevention/Community Policing Unit at telephone number (604) 294-7666.

Yours truly,


N. D. Euchs, Superintendent
Officer in Charge
Burnaby Detachment

6355 Gilpin Street
Burnaby, B. C.
V5G 2J2

Appendix XI: Letter from the Administrative
Assistant, Calgary Police Service



Calgary Police Service

address all correspondence to the Chief of Police

July 30, 1985

Mr. Roland A. Boisjoli
#106, 88 Somerset Street West
Ottawa, Ontario
K2P 0H6

Dear Mr. Boisjoli:

Your letter of July 17, 1985 has been passed to this office for reply.

We have had no dealings with the Guardian Angels here in Calgary. Several years ago there was some mention of them in the newspaper, but nothing ever came to pass.

We are therefore returning your questionnaire indicating that we have had no dealings with the Guardian Angels.

Yours truly,

D. MacKay, Sergeant
Administrative Assistant
Bureau of Operations

/gjd

Enclosure

Appendix XII: Letter from the Executive Secretary.
Officer of the Chief of Police,
Moncton, New Brunswick.

Office of the Chief of Police
Bureau du Chef de Police



P.O. Box 1045
Moncton, N.B. E1C 8P2

29 July 1985

Mr. Roland A. Boisjoli
#106-88 Somerset Street West
Ottawa, Ontario
K2P 0H6

Dear Mr. Boisjoli:

I am writing on behalf of Chief Greg Cohoon to acknowledge receipt of your correspondence and questionnaire dated 17 July 1985.

By means of this letter, I would like to advise you that there is no Guardian Angel group in the Maritime region, and to our knowledge, there has never been a group operating in this particular jurisdiction; therefore, your questionnaire is not applicable. However, Chief Cohoon is interested in the Guardian Angels movement and would be very interested in receiving a copy of your completed paper.

We regret that we cannot provide you with some more pertinent information other than to say we know of no organization in our region. Good luck in the completion of your studies.

Yours truly,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading 'Mary Beth Bradley', is written above the typed name.

Mary Beth Bradley
Executive Secretary

Appendix XIII: Letter from the Director, District 32,
Police de la Communauté Urbaine de
Montreal



COMMUNAUTÉ URBAINE DE MONTRÉAL
750, RUE BONSECOURS
MONTRÉAL
H2V 3C7

Montreal, wednesday 28th, 1985.

M. Roland A. Boisjoli,
106-88 Somerset Street West,
Ottawa, Ontario
K2P 0H6

Object: Guardian Angels Groups

Dear Sir,

If you ever need more information please contact me.

Presentley the Guardian Angels Groups are not operating
in Montreal.

Yours truly,

Yvon Labelle
Yvon Labelle
Director District 32
940 Outremont
Outremont

YL/fm

APPENDIX XIV: Letter from the Aide to the Deputy
Chief Constable, Vancouver Police
Departments

300

VANCOUVER



POLICE DEPARTMENT: 312 Main St., Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada V6A 2T2. Tel: (604) 665-3535 Telex 04/53322

R.J. Stewart
Chief Constable

August 8, 1985

Mr. R. A. Boisjoli,
106 - 88 Somerset Street West,
Ottawa, Ontario
K2P 0H6

Dear Mr. Boisjoli,

In reply to your letter of July 17, I completed your questionnaire and attended the Vancouver Public Library. In the library I copied a few of the articles available on Guardian Angels (copies enclosed). I called a phone number (430-8271), the number was given to the local press for those interested to call to join the Guardian Angels. The phone was answered by a male, who had no knowledge of Guardian Angels, or Barry Crowe, a Public Relations Supervisor with the Guardian Angels.

In Vancouver we do not need the Guardian Angels. Feel free to make direct reference to the Vancouver Police Department in your paper.

I would appreciate a copy of your final paper. If I can be of any further assistance, please let me know.

Yours truly,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, which appears to read "G. Barclay". The signature is written in dark ink and is enclosed within a large, hand-drawn oval loop.

G. Barclay, Sgt.
Aide to Deputy Chief Constable
Bureau of Support Services

GB/mw

APPENDIX XV: Letter from the Community Services and
Planning Officer, Peel Regional Police
Force

DOUGLAS K. BURROWS, B.A.
Chief of Police



PEEL REGIONAL
POLICE FORCE

BOX 7750
7750 HURONTARIO STREET
BRAMPTON, ONTARIO
L6V 3W6

Telephone: Area Code 416
433-3311

Address all correspondence to
The Chief of Police

Referring to:

Our File No. 924

Your File No.

Attention of

-- December 19, 1984

Mr. Roland A. Boisjoli
106-88 Somerset Street West
Ottawa, Ontario
K2P 0H6

Dear Mr. Boisjoli:

Thank you for your letter of November 21st to Chief Douglas K. Burrows, and for your support for our position that changes are needed in the Canadian Criminal justice system. Although I have no reason to believe, at this time, that the Guardian Angels are vigilantes, I will address some of the issues you raised in your letter.

Although we had been monitoring, with some interest, media coverage with respect to the Guardian Angels in Metropolitan Toronto, this Force had no contact with the group until March of 1984, following the slaying of a convenience store clerk in Mississauga. In the days after that murder, members of the Guardian Angels appeared, together with media photographers, at local plaza lots. The Guardian Angels, however, had made no attempt to speak to persons in authority in our communities regarding their activities, and we had no official liaison with them for some time. Parenthetically, I later ascertained that they purposely had not initiated such liaison because that approach had, in their view, resulted in less than satisfactory relations in the Metropolitan Toronto area.

APPENDIX XV: (Cont'd)

Our initial knowledge of the Guardian Angels, then, was limited to local media accounts.. Rather than adopt an adversarial relationship, which in our opinion would have resulted in a 'no-win' situation, and, in consideration of the fact that the group had apparently gained a measure of acceptance and credibility in some jurisdictions in North America, we decided to be 'neutral' in our approach, and be open to any potential contributions they may make to crime prevention. We were of the opinion that an effective liaison could alleviate possible confrontation.

Official contact was finally made and I met with Mr. Edd Scorpio, the Co-Ordinator of the Guardian Angels in the Toronto area, in late April. I posed numerous questions to him, and pointed out to him the policy of this Police Force with respect to any activity the Angels may wish to conduct in the Peel area. For your information, and to avoid repetition, I am enclosing a copy of the letter I sent to him.

We, in the Peel community, will not tolerate vigilante groups or any person operating outside the law. Obviously, however, we are prepared to co-operate with any group which has the honourable intention of assisting in the prevention of crime. It may be of interest to you that, since my meeting with the Guardian Angels in April of this year, I have had no further contact with them, even after my letter of July 17th. Moreover, they have not had a presence in our jurisdiction since April.

If I can be of further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to contact me at (416) 453-3311, extension 341.

Yours sincerely,



Christine E. Silverberg, M.A., APR
Inspector
Community Services & Planning

1m
Enc.

APPENDIX XVI: Letter from the Community Relations and
Crime Prevention Bureau, Peel Regional
Force

DOUGLAS K. BURROWS, B.A.
Chief of Police



PEEL REGIONAL
POLICE FORCE

P.O. BOX 7750
7750 HURONTARIO ST.
BRAMPTON, ONTARIO
CANADA
L6V 3W8

Telephone: Area Code 416
453-3311

Address all correspondence to
The Chief of Police
Referring to:

Our File No.

Your File No.

Attention of

December 16, 1985

Mr. Roland A. Boisjoli,
#106-88 Somerset Street West,
Ottawa, Ontario.
K2P 0H6

Dear Mr. Boisjoli:

His Worship Ken Whillans, the Mayor of Brampton, has forwarded
your letter of November 30th, 1985, to us for our attention.

While researching for information, I noticed that we responded
to a similar enquiry from you in December, 1984. As you may not
have received the reply, I am enclosing a copy and its enclosure
for your attention.

Since 1984, we have not had any further contact with the Guardian Angel:
nor have they had a presence in our jurisdiction, as noted in
our correspondence addressed to you on December 19th, 1984. I
have also enquired with the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force and
they report no visible activity either.

I have enclosed some additional information from 1984 which may
give you further insight into the involvement of the
Guardian Angels and the public opinion present at that time.

APPENDIX XVI: (Cont'd)

If I can be of any further assistance to you regarding this matter,
please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours truly,



B.W. Brown,
Staff Sergeant,
Community Relations and
Crime Prevention Bureau.

BWB:daw
Attachments

APPENDIX XVII: Letter from the Acting Chief of Police,
Edmonton Police Department



9620 - 103A Avenue
Edmonton, Alberta
T5H 0M7
(403) 421-3333

POLICE DEPARTMENT

Address all replies to Chief of Police

16 December 1985

Roland A. EOISJOLI
#106, 88 Somerset Street West
Ottawa, Ontario
K2P 0H6

Dear Mr. Boisjoli:

Your letter dated 30 November 1985 addressed to Mayor DECORE has been forwarded to this office for reply.

Two members of the Guardian Angels surveyed the Edmonton downtown area in August 1985 in an attempt to determine whether a chapter of the Guardian Angels would be established in Edmonton. A news conference was held in front of City Hall by Sebastian METZ, Vancouver Chapter Leader, and Dennis WATSON, Surrey, B.C. Chapter Leader. The information gathered during their Edmonton visit was to be reviewed at Guardian Angels Headquarters in New York and a decision to establish a chapter in Edmonton was to be made by late September 1985. To date we are unaware whether any such decision has been made. We do not know of a chapter operating in Edmonton at this time.

The efforts of the Guardian Angels did not receive support from Aldermen or this Department. Because of the legal ramifications and possible physical danger involved both to citizens at large and the members of the Angels themselves, the Police Department cannot endorse this type of program.

Yours truly,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "J. Rodger", written over a horizontal line.

J. RODGER
Acting Chief of Police

APPENDIX XVIII: Letter from the Mayor, City of Halifax,
Nova Scotia



OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
CITY HALL, 1841 ARGYLE STREET

HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA,
B3J 3A5

December 10, 1985

Mr. Roland A. Boisjoli
#106-88 Somerset Street West
OTTAWA, Ontario
K2P 0H6

Dear Mr. Boisjoli:

Halifax has no information on any plans for establishing a Chapter of the Guardian Angels in this area. The Globe and Mail story of 1983 was not followed by any initiative that I am aware of.

The City would not approve of a Chapter if any request was received. There may be a role for the Guardian Angels in a City like New York but not in Halifax.

I want to wish you well with your paper. The subject of vigilante groups, citizen action groups, and the Guardian Angels is worth researching.

Sincerely,

RON WALLACE
M A Y O R

APPENDIX XIX: Letter from the Mayor, City of
Brampton, Ontario



THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF BRAMPTON

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

Kenneth G. Whillans

150 Central Park Drive
Brampton, Ontario
L6T 2T9
793-4110

December 5, 1985

Mr. Roland A. Boisjoli,
#106-88 Somerset Street West,
OTTAWA, ONTARIO.
K2P 0H6.

Dear Mr. Boisjoli,

Your letter dated November 30, 1985, was received in my office this morning.

I have perused the contents of your letter with respect to a group known as "The Guardian Angels". Any information which might be available on this group would be on file at our Police Headquarters. I am, therefore, forwarding your correspondence on to Staff Sergeant Barry Brown, Peel Regional Police Force. Sergeant Brown will be in touch with you in the near future.

APPENDIX XIX: (Cont'd)

In reply to your question regarding Council Minutes dealing with this group, there would not be anything recorded as they never did appear before Brampton City Council.

In closing, I wish you every success in your endeavours.

Sincerely,



Ken Whillans,
Mayor

cc To: Staff Sergeant Barry Brown,
Peel Regional Police Force,
7750 Hurontario Street,
Brampton, Ontario.

APPENDIX XX: Letter from the Executive Assistant to
the Mayor, City of Mississauga, Ontario



OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

January 9, 1986

Mr. Roland A. Boisjoli
#106 - 88 Somerset St. W.
Ottawa, Ontario
K2P 0H6

Dear Mr. Boisjoli:

Thank you for your letter of November 30, 1985 and for your request regarding the City of Mississauga's involvement with the "Guardian Angels" as identified in the March 11th, Toronto Sun Article.

In point of fact, the City of Mississauga has had very little involvement with the Guardian Angels and a representative of that group did approach the City as a result of a rather unfortunate incident which occurred in a convenience store in our community. To the best of my recollection, the representative of the Guardian Angels met with Her Worship Mayor Hazel McCallion only briefly and, as I understand it, it was mutually agreed that the services of the Angels would be of little value, given the suburban nature of our community.

In fact, the City, in co-operation with the Mississauga Public Vehicle Authority and the various taxi companies in this community, has undertaken a "Cabs On Patrol" program (COP), in which taxi drivers who are located throughout the community at any given time are able to contact their dispatcher and through them, the Peel Regional Police Force, should any suspicious or unusual behaviour be detected.

As far as I am aware, there is no participation of the Guardian Angels in any crime prevention program in the City of Mississauga.

APPENDIX XX: (Cont'd)

I trust that this is of assistance to you, however, should you wish further information regarding this or any other matter related to police services in this community, might I suggest you contact Inspector Christine Silverberg of the Peel Regional Police Force at 453-3311.

Sincerely,



J. Brian Johnston
Executive Assistant to
Her Worship Mayor Hazel McCallion

JBj/ds

APPENDIX XXI: Letter from the Mayor, City of Surrey,
British Columbia



December 6, 1985
File 8020-001

Mr. Roland A. Boisjoli
#106 - 88 Somerset Street West
Ottawa, Ontario
K2P 0H6

Dear Mr. Boisjoli:

Thank you for your letter of November 30th in which you make enquiries of the Guardian Angels group.

Unfortunately, we know very little about this group's operations in Surrey and cannot provide you with any information at all. I do, however, have the name of the person who had made original contact with our local detachment of the R.C.M.P. and you may wish to contact him directly for the information you need. His name is Kevin Lefevre. Our local telephone directory shows a Kevin Lefevre with an address at 10673 - 140th Street, Surrey, B. C. Perhaps direct contact with Mr. Lefevre would be your best source of information.

I hope this information proves fruitful for you and that your project is a successful venture.

Yours very truly,

Don A. Ross
Mayor

APPENDIX XXII: Letter from the Mayor, City of Vancouver,
British Columbia



CITY OF VANCOUVER
BRITISH COLUMBIA
V5Y 1V4

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

MICHAEL F. HARCOURT
MAYOR

December 12, 1985

Roland A. Boisjoli
#106 - 88 Somerset St. W.
Ottawa, Ontario
K2P 0H6

Dear Mr. Boisjoli:

This is to acknowledge receipt and thank you for your recent letter requesting information on the Guardian Angels group in Vancouver.

By copy of this letter I am forwarding your request to the Carnegie Centre for any assistance they might provide.

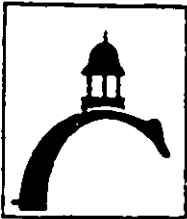
Once again, thank you for writing.

Yours truly,

Michael Harcourt
MAYOR

cc: Carnegie Centre

APPENDIX XXIII: Letter from Nancy Jennings, Director
of the Carnegie Centre, Vancouver,
British Columbia



carnegie
centre

401 Main Street, Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6A 2T7 (604) 665-2220

January 13, 1986

Roland Boisjoli
#106 - 88 Somerset St. W.
Ottawa, Ontario
K2P 0H6

Dear Mr. Boisjoli:

Your November 30, 1985 letter searching for information regarding possible Guardian Angel activities in Vancouver has been referred to me for reply by Mayor Harcourt.

A Guardian Angels group has been formed in Vancouver and is operating out of the New Hope Centre, 217 Dunlevy St., Vancouver, B.C. V6A 3A5 (telephone 689-1227). I suggest you contact them directly for information and scan the 1985 editions of the Sun and Province newspapers for press coverage.

I would very much appreciate a copy of your final paper.
Best of luck.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Nancy Jennings".

Nancy Jennings
Director

NJ:pm

cc: Mayor Mike Harcourt

APPENDIX XXIV: Letter from the Executive Assistant to the
Mayor, City of Windsor, Ontario

THE CORPORATION OF THE
CITY OF WINDSOR



DAVID BURR, C.A.
MAYOR

CITY HALL
P.O. BOX 1607
WINDSOR, ONTARIO
N9A 6S1

TELEPHONE 255-6315
AREA CODE 810

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

December 9, 1985.

Mr. Roland A. Boisjoli,
#106 - 88 Somerset St. West,
Ottawa, Ontario.
K2P 0H6

Dear Mr. Boisjoli:

Thank you for your inquiry of November 30, 1985 regarding
the Guardian Angels Chapter established in Windsor.

It is my understanding that the Windsor Police Department
furnished you with some information on the Guardian Angels on
July 31, 1985.

This office does not have any information which would
supplement the material already forwarded by the Windsor
Police Department.

Good luck with your paper.

Yours truly,

Holly Furtaw

Holly Furtaw, M.A.
Executive Assistant to the Mayor

HF/kw

APPENDIX XIV: Letter from the Mayor of Winnipeg

William Norrie, Q.C.
Mayor



Office of the Mayor
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3B 1B9, Canada

December 9th, 1985.

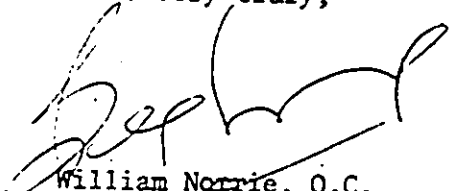
Mr. Roland A. Boisjoli,
#106 - 88 Somerset Street West,
Ottawa, Ontario,
K2P 0H6.

Dear Mr. Boisjoli:

I wish to acknowledge and thank you for your letter dated November 30th, 1985 with respect to your research paper and the "guardian angels".

I have forwarded your letter to the Chief of Police and asked him to respond to you directly.

Yours very truly,


William Norrie, Q.C.
MAYOR.

APPENDIX XXVI: Follow up letter from the A/Deputy Chief of
Police, Winnipeg Police Department



Winnipeg Police Department
Police de Winnipeg

P.O. BOX B.P. 1680 • WINNIPEG • MANITOBA • R3C 2Z7
TELEPHONE (204) 986-6037

Address all correspondence
to Chief of Police
Adresser toute correspondance
au Chef de police

H.B. STEPHEN
Chief of Police
Chef de police

December 9, 1985.

Mr. Roland A. Boisjoli
106 - 88 Somerset Street West,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Dear Sir:

I acknowledge receipt of your letter dated November
30, 1985. We are also in receipt of your previous letter
dated July 17, 1985.

I enclose a copy of my response to you on July
30, 1985. The position of the Department has not altered
in the interim.

Yours truly,

P.A. Johnston,
A/Deputy Chief of Police,
Crime & Support Services.

/lp
Encl.

APPENDIX XXVII: Letter from James W. Walker, Chairman,
Department of History, University of
Waterloo

University of Waterloo



Waterloo, Ontario, Canada
N2L 3G1

Faculty of Arts
Department of History
519 885-1211

Telex Number
069-55259

January 8, 1985.

Mr. Roland Boisjoli,
106 - 88 Somerset Street West,
Ottawa, Ontario.
K2P 0H6

Dear Mr. Boisjoli,

I am very interested in your thesis topic. The absence of violence (like the absence of racism) is a prevailing myth in Canadian history, and you have a great opportunity to make a very real contribution. I am pleased that you found my study guide to be of some use, and I wish I could comply with your request for documentary citations. Unfortunately all that material has been thoroughly scattered throughout file boxes and piles in the attic. The best I could do in the short run is to refer you to some general sources which can in turn lead you to some documentation. In no particular order:

APPENDIX XXVII: (Cont'd)

- Lita-Rose Betcherman, The Swastika and the Maple Leaf (1975) (1930s violence against Jews).
- Ann Sunahara, The Politics of Racism (1981) (uprooting of Japanese).
- William Calderwood, The Rise and Fall of the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan (U. of Saskatchewan thesis, 1968).
- Susan Trofimenkoff, The Twenties in Western Canada (1972) (has chapters on KKK and Orientals in B.C.).
- Ken Adachi, The Enemy that Never Was (1976) (on Japanese).
- K.V. Chandra, Racial Discrimination in Canada: Asian Minorities (1973).
- Walter Stewart, But Not in Canada (1976) (journalistic quick-trip).
- Anthony Chan, Gold Mountain: The Chinese in the New World (1983).
- Howard Sugimoto, Japanese Immigration, The Vancouver Riots and Canadian Diplomacy (1979) (on 1907 violence).
- Julian Sher, White Hoods (1984) (the revival of the KKK).
- Hugh Johnston, The Voyage of the Komagata Maru (1979) (how Sikhs were kept out by a display of official violence).
- Peter Ward, White Canada Forever (1978) (includes violent episodes in B.C.).
- Hilary Conroy, East Across the Pacific (1972) (has chapter on 1907 riots).
- R.E. Wynne, "Reaction to the Chinese in the Pacific Northwest and British Columbia" (U. of Washington thesis, 1964).
- Jean Burrett, Ethnic Groups in Upper Canada (1972) (describes a race-motivated murder).
- Anthony Richmond, "Urban Ethnic conflict in Canada and Britain", in S. Clarke and J. Ober, eds., Urban Ethnic Conflict (1976).
- P.K. Tunteng, "Racism and the Montreal Computer Incident of 1969", Race, XIV (1-73).

APPENDIX XXVII: (Cont'd)

This is by no means a complete list, but it will give you some footnotes to follow. You probably already know of most of them. You might like to consult the eleven "Situation Reports" done for the Multicultural Ministry last year. If they're not in your university library you'll find them in the Ministry's library in Hull. Most of them have references to recent violence. I can especially recommend Keith Lowe on Toronto. Have you seen Kenneth McNaught, "Violence in Canadian History", in J. Moir, Character and Circumstance (1970)? Its not about race but you may find it interesting. Finally, many of the items already listed in my study guide will give you some of the detail you want. My own book The Black Loyalists (1976) describes what I believe was Canada's first "race riot" in Nova Scotia in 1784. The theses by Alexander Murray and Don Simpson document most of the 19th century Ontario incidents. Weber's article, Pilton's thesis and Kilian's book all include the riots in Victoria B.C. Winks' book is a storehouse of useful information.

Let me know how you progress. I might have a chance to dig through my cartons, and shall keep your project in mind. I want to encourage you to persevere in this important study.

Sincerely,



James W. Walker,
Chairman.

/gfh



APPENDIX XXVIII: Letter from Gordon Walker, Q.C.,
Minister, Provincial Secretary
of Justice (Ontario)

Provincial
Secretary for
Justice

Whitney Block
Queen's Park
Toronto, Ontario
M7A 1A2

October 16, 1984

Mr. Roland A. Boisjoli
#106-88 Somerset Street, W.
Ottawa, Ontario
K2P 0H6

Dear Mr. Boisjoli:

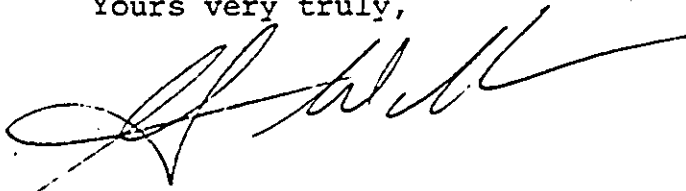
Thank you for your letter of September 30, 1984
concerning your Master's Thesis in Criminology at the
University of Ottawa.

I regret that I am unable to provide you with a copy
of the first document you have requested, a policy
document prepared in 1982 for internal distribution.

However, I am pleased to send along a copy of the
other publication you requested - "Justice for
Victims" May 1984.

I trust that you will find the publication to be of
interest and that it may aid you in your university
program.

Yours very truly,



Gord Walker, Q.C.
Minister

Encl.

APPENDIX XXIX: Sample of Guardian Angel Recruiting
Literature distributed by Toronto
Chapter

EDD SCORPIO, CO-ORDINATOR
(416) 233-8485



Q & A

WHAT ARE THE GUARDIAN ANGELS?

We are a private, non-profit organization of trained volunteers which conducts unarmed patrols in high-crime areas to guard against criminal assaults on innocent persons or property.

ARE THE GUARDIAN ANGELS VIGILANTES?

No. We rely on the existing Canadian system of justice, and do not seek to punish anyone we apprehend under our rights of citizen's arrest. All law enforcement activities such as complaint response, investigation, hidden surveillance and vice crack-downs are left to the police. Our function is merely to protect people and property from forceful violation in public/outdoor places.

DO THE GUARDIAN ANGELS USE WEAPONS?

No. Public acceptance and safety are the two main considerations which compel us to patrol without weapons. We train to avoid injury from weapons.

WHAT TRAINING DO GUARDIAN ANGELS RECEIVE?

There is a 12 week training program consisting of physical conditioning, self-defense, first aid, CPR, citizens' arrest procedure and simulated crime response before graduation. Three 2-hour sessions must be attended each week.

HOW IS A GUARDIAN ANGEL RECOGNIZED?

We dress in red berets and insignia T-shirts, which serve as a visual deterrent to would-be criminals.

HOW ARE THE GUARDIAN ANGELS FUNDED?

Individual members pay for their own berets and shirts, and any personal training gear. All other expenses incurred (training equipment, office expenses, etc.) are paid out of voluntary contributions from individuals in the community which are managed in an account at National Headquarters in New York City. All contributions are tax deductible.

ARE THE GUARDIAN ANGELS SELECTIVE IN WHICH LAWS THEY ENFORCE?

Yes. Our patrols are not permitted to interfere with drug use or dealing, prostitution, gambling, under-age drinking or other crimes in which people are not directly violating the rights of others. We will not break into homes to intervene in family disputes. We arrest only violent or vicious offenders in public/outdoor places.

Our members, however, are not allowed to be in possession of drugs, weapons or alcohol. Members found in the possession of these items are not allowed to continue their membership with the Guardian Angels.

APPENDIX XXX: Names and phone numbers of Vancouver
and Surrey Chapter members



217 DUNCLEY STREET, VANCOUVER, B.C. V6A 3A5

(604) 689-1227

TELEPHONE LIST FOR OCTOBER/85

VANCOUVER MEMBERS

BAGRI	KAL	522-9169 or 689-0141
LAVIGNE	* STAN	682-5705 or 689-1400
MCCURRY	JANET	685-3113 or 689-1400
METZ	* SEBASTIAN	251-4023 or 738-4872
PERCIVAL	JAQUES	683-0660 or 684-3131
PELLTIER	JOHN	263-7921
WEISENBERG	EZRA	NO PHONE
WILLAN	STEVE	291-9024 or 298-3300
WILLIAMSON	SHAUN	430-4873 or 683-0151
ZOLBROD	YUICHI	224-2587

SURREY MEMBERS

COTTON	MICHELLE	6506 585-6506
FARREL	MIKE	594-2197
MORAN	* MARCEL	584-7170
SCHEFFERNS	KELLY	596-4575
TAYLOR	BRIAN	590-4861
VAILLANCOURT	ARLENE	594-4907
WATSON	* DENNIS	585-4139
LEAVEN	WAYNE	590-2857
WHITS	Brian	
Taylor	Chris	
GA/JM		

* Chapter Leaders

APPENDIX XXXI: Sample of Guardian Angel Recruiting
Poster

**The Guardian
Angels**

**JOIN
US**

**DARE TO
CARE**



For Information Call

SURREY

574-7637

VANCOUVER

689-1227

When others do nothing, we dare to do something

REFERENCES

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- CITIZEN The (Ottawa) (1986b) "Store owner charged in robber's slaying." November 10, 1986, p. A3.
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ABSTRACT

The primary objective of this thesis is to examine the concept of vigilantism and to determine whether vigilantism in its various manifestations has ever occurred on Canadian soil. A second objective is to document instances of vigilantism that the multi-faceted research approach to be utilized in the study might disclose. A third objective of this study is to conduct an in-depth examination of each type of vigilantism which the study might disclose.

This study will utilize a broad definition of vigilantism encompassing the three phases as described by Burrows. These are classical vigilantism, neo-vigilantism and pseudo-vigilantism. The classical form of vigilantism arose as a response to the absence of effective law and order in a frontier region. It concerned itself with punishing ordinary horse and cattle thieves and gangs of desperados. The early vigilantes were often born of necessity, being the only means of defence in an area unprotected by law enforcement. This type of vigilantism can also occur in established areas when the criminal justice system is deemed to be ineffective.

Neo-vigilantism appeared in the United States by 1850. During this phase, many ethnic and religious minorities and political opponents were victims of vigilante attacks. This form of vigilantism has little to do with conventional crime and criminals. Groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and the San Francisco Committee of the late 1800s fit into this category.

Since the 1960s, a third form of vigilantism called pseudo-vigilantism has evolved in which many sectors of society have become involved, including minority groups and residents of urban neighbourhoods beset by crime. This new movement differs from classical vigilantism in that current participants do not generally take the law into their own hands. Instead, residents patrol their neighbourhoods on foot or in radio-equipped vehicles (linked to a central headquarters) for the purpose of spotting, reporting, and discouraging criminal acts in their communities. Groups such as the Guardian Angels have gone as far as taking action against criminals and executing citizens' arrests. These modern day vigilantes typically co-operate with the police and operate within the law.

To the author's knowledge, "vigilantism", with the exception of the activities of the Ku Klux Klan, has not been the subject of academic research in Canada. In fact, research conducted by the writer has failed to reveal, aside from some coverage of the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Donnelleys, attempts by either academics, journalists or historians to examine or describe "vigilantism" in a Canadian context. Many perceive vigilantism to be a phenomenon that only occurred in the United States.

Research for this study was multi-faceted. Initial research consisted of the review of pertinent academic documentation at six libraries in the Ottawa area. The second phase of research was an examination of Canadian newspapers and magazines for information of interest. The third phase of research consisted of constructing an original questionnaire on the Guardian Angels, which was sent to police forces across Canada. The fourth phase involved sending a letter soliciting information on the Guardian Angels, or any other similar group, to the mayors of eleven Canadian cities.

All three types of vigilantism were found to have occurred in Canada. The reasons for the forming of vigilante groups, and the commission of the reported incidents of classical and neo-classical vigilantism, were varied. What is common to all incidents was that an attempt was made to restore order or maintain the status quo without the "rule of law". Victims of the vigilante acts were all known or perceived to be responsible for a crime or a threat to the status quo. With the exception of the Lucan vigilante groups, which existed for some 18 months, and the Ku Klux Klan which continues to exist, all other reported vigilante groups or incidents occurred over a short period of time.

A major portion of this thesis was devoted to a study of the Guardian Angels, which is considered a vigilante group because it was formed based on the belief that existing law enforcement agencies could not effectively deal with crime. The Guardian Angels are partly of the classical vigilante mold because of their underlying reason for being formed. They, on the other hand are somewhat of a pseudo-vigilante group, because they profess to want to work with the police. As can be seen, they do not fit neatly into the typology described by Brown (1975).

Canada never had a war of independence or a civil war. Its transition to nationhood was peaceful and Canadians chose to retain British and French institutions. Many early settlers were in fact Americans who wished to remain British subjects and came to Canada. Canadians never made "the right to bear arms" a fundamental right of every citizen. Instead Canadians placed their faith in democratic process and institutions. Nevertheless, Canada also experienced episodes of vigilantism, albeit to a lesser degree.