

A DEPRESSING STORY?  
HOMICIDE RATES IN LATE VICTORIAN TORONTO

by

WILLIAM REIMER

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MCS, Regent College, 2000

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## ABSTRACT

The slogan "peace, order, and good government," associated with the debates surrounding Canadian Confederation, was part of a broad nineteenth-century impulse that emphasized both the importance of the general well being of the community and the importance of the individual. While it is perhaps difficult to isolate this humanitarian impulse, it can be demarcated by a number of developments in nineteenth-century Canada. These include the restricted use of capital punishment, the abolition of slavery, the expansion of the voting franchise, and decreasing levels of interpersonal violence. Phillip S. Gorski, while accepting Elias' overall thesis, emphasizes the disciplinary power that the Reformation unleashed that had its earliest and greatest impact on the Calvinist states of England, Netherlands, and Prussia. While the resultant social order cannot be easily measured, the level of crime is a rough indicator of a culture's domestic order and stability. Gorski argues that murder rates, which provide the most reliable indicators of crime, were dropping more quickly in England and Holland than in the surrounding European countries during the Early Modern period. Most historians of crime extend this drop into the nineteenth-century and contend that these relatively low rates of homicide continued until beyond the mid-point of the twentieth-century. The present thesis argues that this disciplinary impulse, as measured by murder rates, can be extended to late nineteenth-century Canada, and in particular to Toronto. Late nineteenth-century Toronto is as likely a place as any to test the thesis of the existence of a Protestant disciplinary impulse. By any measure late nineteenth-century Toronto was steeped in a broad evangelical Protestant culture that defies the category of "sectarian." By examining reports of all homicide cases that appear in the Toronto newspaper *The Globe*, I conclude that Toronto indeed had a very low incidence of homicide. In the final section of the thesis I examine the religious affiliation of prisoners in the Kingston Penitentiary and the Central Prison, by means of Canada Census data, and conclude that Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptists were significantly under-represented while Anglicans and Roman Catholics were significantly over-represented.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

*Christ, I hate to leave Paris for Toronto the city of churches.* Ernest Hemingway circa 1920<sup>1</sup>

The slogan “peace, order, and good government,” associated with the debates surrounding Canadian Confederation, was part of a broad nineteenth-century impulse that emphasized both the importance of the general well-being of the community and the importance of the individual. While it is perhaps difficult to isolate this humanitarian impulse, it can be demarcated by a number of developments in nineteenth-century Canada. These include the restricted use of capital punishment, the abolition of slavery, the expansion of the voting franchise, the disappearance of duelling, and I will argue, decreasing levels of interpersonal violence.

Norbert Elias, the historical sociologist (b. 1897, d. 1990) has theorized that these developments were part of a larger “civilizing process” within Western culture whereby there were increasing external and internal constraints exerted on the individual against the use of interpersonal violence. Elias argues that these restraints were the result of changes within the state and were exerted in a “top-down” fashion. Wars, feuds, brawls, bodily functions, and table manners were increasingly regulated. The “battlefield” became increasingly *within* the individual and the controls imposed are partly conscious and partly automatic. These changes were initially set off by “blind chance” and are kept together by the web of human relationships. The social “habitus” of a given culture is the characteristics individuals share in common with other members of their social group.

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<sup>1</sup> As quoted in Helen Boritch and John Hagan, “Crime and the Changing Forms of Class Control: Policing Public Order in “Toronto the Good,” 1859-1955,” *Social Forces* 66, 2 (1987), p. 307.



Aspects of a given “habitus” can be accessed through empirical studies of per capita measurements of social phenomena such as violent crime or automobile accidents.<sup>2</sup>

Phillip S. Gorski, while accepting Elias’ overall thesis, emphasizes the “bottom-up” disciplining power of a Reformational religious confessionality. Gorski argues that the disciplinary revolution that the Reformation unleashed had its earliest and greatest impact on the Calvinist states of England, Netherlands, and Prussia. The Calvinist distinctives bequeathed an ethos of self-discipline and an ecclesiology that emphasized the communal nature of society. While the resultant social order cannot easily be measured, the level of crime is a rough indicator of a culture’s domestic order and stability. Gorski argues that murder rates, which provide the most reliable indicators of crime (he should specify *violent* crime), were dropping more quickly in England and Holland than in the surrounding European countries during the Early Modern period. Most historians of crime extend this drop into the nineteenth-century and contend that these relatively low rates of murder continued until just beyond the mid-point of the twentieth-century.<sup>3</sup>

Gertrude Himmelfarb, the historian of Victorian Britain, ties the drop in murder in nineteenth-century Britain with the growing influence of evangelicalism. She argues that gradually the evangelical “moral reformation” was merged into general British society to produce the “Victorian virtues.”<sup>4</sup> This is in keeping with a “sensitizing process” in England, proposed by Ted Gurr and others. They argue that this sensitization began in the upper classes and was imposed on the lower classes through the new police forces, public

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<sup>2</sup> Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* One Vol ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994). It should be pointed out that religion did not play an important role in Elias’ thought. Keith Thomas is critical of Elias’ neglect of religion in “The Rise of the Fork” in *The New York Review of Books* (New York), May 9, 1978, pp. 28-31.

<sup>3</sup> Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), especially pp. 51-55.

schools, and through Methodist churches.<sup>5</sup> Similarly Victor Gatrell argues that violence was decreasing through “the civilizing effects of religion, education and environmental reform” combined with “the pervasive moralizing influence of the ‘policed society’ itself.”<sup>6</sup> More recently Christie Davies has proposed that it was the rise and fall of religion in British society that best explains the parallel fall and rise of crime over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Davies argues that the Protestant Sunday School was the primary carrier of these religious values.<sup>7</sup>

In the present paper I will argue that this disciplinary impulse put forward by Gorski and Himmelfarb, and measured in murder rates, can be extended to nineteenth-century Canada, and in particular to Toronto. In 1901 there were seven murder convictions in Canada which translates into 0.13 convictions per 100,000. This appears to be as low as any other country on record at the turn of the twentieth-century with rates that are similar to New Zealand, Norway, Netherlands, Belgium, and England.<sup>8</sup> (Obviously this begs the question of variations between countries in the classification and the recording of murder.) These figures are extremely small when compared to the medieval figures for

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<sup>4</sup> Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The De-Moralization of Society: From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values*, (New York: Vintage, 1994), pp. 7-13.

<sup>5</sup> Ted Robert Gurr, “Historical Trends in Violent Crime: Europe and the United States” in Ted Robert Gurr (ed), *Violence in America, Volume One: The History of Crime* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1989), p. 46.

<sup>6</sup> V.A.C. Gatrell, “The decline of Theft and Violence in Victorian and Edwardian England,” in V.A.C. Gatrell and Geoffrey Parker (eds), *Crime and the Law: The Social History of Crime in Western Europe since 1500* (London: Europa, 1980), p. 300. Frank McLynn sees the rise of Methodism as being important for the decline in violence in *Crime and Punishment in Eighteenth-century England* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 308-309.

<sup>7</sup> Christie Davies, *The Strange Death of Moral Britain*, (New York: Transaction Publications, 2004), pp. 44-47.

<sup>8</sup> This is a tentative assertion in that the earliest central government statistics varied. The English, Canadian, and Dutch figures include 1900. The Belgium figures begin in 1909, those for Norway in 1903, while New Zealand begins in 1920. In addition some of the above include all known homicides while for others the rates are based on convictions only. See the data in the appendix in Dane Archer and Rosemary Gartner, *Violence and Crime in Cross-National Perspective* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

England<sup>9</sup> and the Netherlands.<sup>10</sup> In late medieval Dutch cities estimates range from 30-70 homicides per 100,000.<sup>11</sup> Coroners' reports in Amsterdam in the 16<sup>th</sup> century allow for an estimated homicide rate of 30 per 100,000. In medieval Oxford one calculation places homicides at 110 per 100,000. Gurr and Stone have broadly summarized the homicide rates in England as declining from 20 per 100,000 in the thirteenth-century to 15 in the later Middle Ages, dropping to 6-7 in the seventeenth century, and continuing to drop albeit not without variations.<sup>12</sup> It should be remembered that the above figures are dependent on archival sources. Obviously much depends on population calculations.

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<sup>9</sup> Lawrence Stone, "Interpersonal Violence in English Society 1300-1980," in *Past and Present* 102 (1983), pp. 22-33.

<sup>10</sup> Herman Franke, "Violent crime in the Netherlands. A historical-sociological analysis," in *Crime, Law, & Social Change* (1994) 21: 73-100.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>12</sup> See the overview in Peter Spierenburg, "Long-term Trends in Homicide: Theoretical Reflections and Dutch Evidence, Fifteenth to Twentieth Centuries," in Eric A. Johnson and Eric H. Monkkonen eds., *The Civilization of Crime: Violence in Town and Country since the Middle Ages* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), pp. 63-67.

## CHAPTER 2

### HOMICIDE RATES IN LATE VICTORIAN TORONTO

Late nineteenth-century Toronto is as likely a place as any to test the thesis of the existence of a Protestant disciplinary impulse. By any measure late Victorian Toronto was steeped in a broad evangelical Protestant culture that defies the term “sectarian.”<sup>13</sup> Prior to 1850 Toronto politics were dominated by high church Anglican Tories but by 1850 there was an emerging nexus of evangelical business and political leaders who were of a reform political bent. This group included the Liberal politicians George Brown, Robert Baldwin, Edward Blake, and Oliver Mowat. Other members were Casimir Gzowski, Samuel Blake, University of Toronto President Daniel Wilson, and the two-term mayor William H. Howland.<sup>14</sup> In Toronto in 1851, of a population of 30,000, over 96% were of British origin and about 75% were Protestant. By 1891 the percentage of Protestants had increased to 85% with less than 1% of Toronto’s population of 181,000 claiming no religious affiliation.<sup>15</sup>

By making use of the Government of Canada publication, *Persons Sentenced to Death in Canada*,<sup>16</sup> I calculated the Toronto murder conviction rate for each of the decades from Confederation until 1910. The rates for convictions are as follows:

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<sup>13</sup> See especially William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1989) and John Webster Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988).

<sup>14</sup> There is no major work that maps out the connections. However the entries in *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography* are a “gold-mine” of information. See also Darren Dochuk, “Redeeming the City: Premillennialism, Piety, and the Politics of Reform in Late-Nineteenth Century Toronto,” in *Historical Papers 2000: Canadian Society of Church History*, pp. 53-72.

<sup>15</sup> J.M.S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1984), pp. 143-144.

<sup>16</sup> Lorraine Gadoury and Antonio Lechasseur, *Persons Sentenced to Death in Canada, 1867-1976: An Inventory of Case Files in the Record of the Department of Justice (RG 13)* (Ottawa: Government Archives Division, National Archives of Canada, 1992). All murders were capital crimes until 1948. Manslaughter

Table 1. Murder conviction rates in Toronto, 1867-1910

<u>Period</u>	<u>Rate of Convictions</u>
	<u>Per 100,000</u>
1867-1880	0.5
1871-1880	0.98
1881-1890	0.29
1891-1900	0.05
1901-1910	0.21

While the total numbers of murder convictions are quite small, there does seem to be a downward movement with the lowest point being the decade from 1891-1900 when there was only one conviction for murder committed within the city of Toronto. The drop in the decade of the 90s is even more significant given the expansion of policing in the 80s and the increased medical knowledge that coroners used to inform murder inquests. This drop is consistent with the findings of Helen Boritch and John Hagan that show a drop in arrest rates for all crime for both men and women over the course of the nineteenth century in Toronto. Boritch and Lane fit their findings into the generally accepted “distended U-curve” that sees crime dropping sharply from the mid-nineteenth-century and the rising again after the middle of the twentieth-century.<sup>17</sup> A key limitation of the Boritch and Hagan essay is, that while it confirms the above pattern for violent crime in general, it does not deal specifically with homicide. Likewise, Peter Oliver also agrees with this downward trend in crime based on a drop in prison committal rates in Ontario beginning in the mid-1870s and continuing through the late 1890s. He suggests that this

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was not a capital crime. See Rosemary Gartner, “Homicide in Canada,” in Jeffrey Ian Ross (ed), *Violence in Canada: Sociopolitical Perspectives* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 187.

<sup>17</sup> Helen Boritch and John Hagan, “A Century of Crime in Toronto: Gender, Class, and Patterns of Social Control, 1859 to 1955,” in *Criminology* Vol. 28 Number 4 (1990), pp. 567-599. For a diagram of the U-shaped graph see p. 575.

might have been due to temperance and other reform movements.<sup>18</sup> Within the Ontario context, these reform movements were all dominated by Protestants.

The apparent decrease in murder convictions is highly suggestive but this data does not address the issue of unsolved murder, manslaughter, or murders for which there was no conviction. According to the Canadian Criminal Code of 1892, "culpable homicide is murder if the offender intends to cause the death of the person killed; intends to cause bodily injury that the offender knows is likely to cause death; or, in either of these situations, accidentally or mistakenly kills another person." Murder was also defined as the death of a person while committing a crime whether or not that death was intended. Manslaughter was "culpable homicide" following sufficient provocation.<sup>19</sup> Peter Spierenburg has argued, in the context of the history of crime in the Netherlands, that the historian cannot easily separate murder from manslaughter but should rather combine the two to arrive at a "homicide rate." By separating the two crimes one is in effect simply counting the outcomes of judicial trials.<sup>20</sup> (From this point on I will use "homicide rate" rather than "murder rate" unless I am referring to the murder rate mentioned earlier in the essay.)

Spierenburg approaches long-term trends on homicide by studying court records and coroners' reports to arrive at a homicide rate. To make his research manageable he restricts the compass of his study to Amsterdam. Furthermore he excludes infanticides as they tell us little about "people's propensity for aggression and a lot more about shame

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<sup>18</sup> Peter Oliver, *'Terror to Evil-Doers': Prisons and Punishments in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), p. 373.

<sup>19</sup> Rosemary Gartner, "Homicide in Canada," p. 187.

<sup>20</sup> Peter Spierenburg, "Long-Term Trends in Homicide," pp. 69-71.

and desperation.”<sup>21</sup> In order to obtain comparable figures Spierenburg follows two classification rules by which he, first, counts victims rather than killers and second, that he excludes homicide attempts.<sup>22</sup>

A second approach to the study of homicide over time is to supplement official records of homicide deaths with newspaper accounts. This is an arduous task but Gurr argues that it provides more information about offenders, victims, and the context of the crimes than do official sources.<sup>23</sup> This is the method that I have chosen in combination with the homicide classification rules used by Spierenburg in the preceding paragraph. Late nineteenth-century Toronto is ideal for such a study. Toronto was well served by newspapers of which the *Globe* was traditionally the largest in Canada although by the 1890s Montreal’s *Star* had a slightly higher circulation.<sup>24</sup> Judging by the amount of space devoted to it in the *Globe*, stories of crime of all types was of great interest to the newspaper-reading public. Even the details of petty crimes appeared regularly reading in the following way:

Detective Slemen arrested Wm. Bell of 194 Queen street yesterday on a charge of stealing a pair of pants from Nathan Smith, a York street second-hand dealer.<sup>25</sup>

David Mason...convicted of stealing a valuable pipe from a Chinaman. Quong Wong.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 76.

<sup>23</sup> Ted Robert Gurr, “Historical Trends in Violent Crime,” p. 24. Martin Wiener has made extensive use of newspaper accounts in his recent massive study of violent crime in Victorian England. From 1858 until 1900 Wiener was able to find virtually every murder trial mentioned in the *Times* and was able to match every conviction listed in the Annual Judicial Statistics with an article in the *Times*. He argues that newspapers are a source of rich information on crime and that they were generally reliable and actually written by barristers. See Martin Wiener, *Violence, Manliness, and Criminal Justice in Victorian England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. VIII.

<sup>24</sup> Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: the daily press in late nineteenth-century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 49.

<sup>25</sup> *The Globe*, September 1, 1893, p. 9.

<sup>26</sup> *The Globe*, May 12, 1891, p. 10.

(Mason was sentenced to the Don Jail for thirty days.)

Murder often attracted enormous coverage in the *Globe*. The trial of James Birchall in Woodstock in 1891 for murder received multi-page coverage for consecutive days at a time and included full court transcripts as well as interviews with the accused.<sup>27</sup> Cases involving manslaughter or infanticide often had full column length articles and updates in subsequent days. Even for these less sensational cases it is possible to “capture” a case initially and then “recapture” it again as an inquest is conducted, and again, if a “true bill” is produced, as it travels on to trial. An additional “recapture” occurs if the Chief Constable’s Annual Report is printed as it was for at least half the years of the 90s. The newspaper coverage includes the location of where the body was found. This information is necessary in determining whether or not the homicide occurred within the boundaries of the city as I have used census data for the city proper. How long the victim lived after the assault is important for comparative purposes with today. If a victim lingered for several days one can on average assume, given modern advancements in medicine, that he or she would have survived a similar assault today.

For the period of research I chose the decades of the eighties and nineties successfully completing a daily reading of *The Globe* for the years 1880-1899. For comparative purposes I have separated the two decades. The years 1880-1889 yielded a total of 74 cases of homicides that in most cases involved a finding by a coronor’s jury of either “murder” or “manslaughter.” The findings by the coronor’s juries can be broken down as follows:



Murder 9

Manslaughter 65

Total 74

For the Toronto of the 1880's all of these cases were legally and culturally seen as "homicide." However in practice, judges, juries, and prosecutors often treated infanticide, death caused by vehicles, deaths of women due to an abortion, and negligent deaths as the result of industrial accidents as less than homicide. Thus, it is helpful to separate the 74 homicides as follows:

Murder 4

Manslaughter 23

Infanticide 28

Negligence or Accidental 16

Open Verdicts 2

Total 74 (See the Appendix for a detailed list of the cases.)

If one separates out the infanticide cases and those we have labelled "accidental" deaths, then there are a total of 27 homicides, known to the legal system, for the period from 1880-1889.

For the period from 1890-1899 my reading yielded a total of 58 cases involving a finding by a coroner's jury of either "murder" or "manslaughter",<sup>28</sup> which add up to a total of 61 homicides.<sup>29</sup> The 61 were classed by the juries as follows:

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<sup>27</sup> See for example *The Globe*, Sept. 30, pp. 1, 7, 8, 9 for approximately four full pages in a ten-page issue.

<sup>28</sup> In two cases where the juries could not agree on a finding, I labeled them "murder" as the facts seemed obvious that there was a homicide of some type.

Murder	29
Manslaughter	<u>32</u>
Total	61

When infanticides and “accidental” deaths are separated out the 61 cases can be subdivided as follows:

Murder	8
Manslaughter	17
Infanticide <sup>30</sup>	17
Accidental <sup>31</sup>	<u>19</u>
Total	61

Interestingly, despite substantial population growth within Toronto city limits there is a drop from 74 homicides in the period 1880-1889 to 61 in the period from 1890-1899. If one excludes infanticides and accidental deaths, as categorized above, then for the period from 1890 through 1899 there were a total of 25 homicides known to the judicial system as compared to 27 in the 1880s. Using population census data, the Toronto homicide rate for the 1880s the homicide rate would be 2.02 per 100,000 per year during the 1880s and 1.28 per 100,000 during the 1890s. If one removes from the calculation homicide victims that lived several hours or more the adjusted rate, for comparative purposes with today, then there would be 17 homicides and a rate of 1.27 per 100,000 for the 1880s. For the 1890s there would be 10 homicides and a rate of about 0.51 per 100,000. This is an extremely low rate of homicide relative to both contemporary Toronto rates or rates in Western countries previous to the nineteenth-century.

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<sup>29</sup> In two cases there was a double homicide and in one a triple.

<sup>30</sup> Infanticide would include all apparent deliberate killings of infants.

<sup>31</sup> Accidental deaths would include industrial and vehicular deaths, deaths of infants and children as the result of neglect, deaths as the result of the practice of Christian Science techniques, and deaths to women as the result of an abortion. “Accidental” should not be interpreted as the absence of culpability.

In summary there is a significant drop in homicides from the decade of the 1880s to the decade of the 1890s whether one looks at total homicides or homicides with infanticides and accidental homicides bracketed out. Given a city population that jumped from 86,000 in 1881 to 181,000 in 1891 and then to 208,000 in 1901 one would expect an increase in total homicides, especially in a rapidly urbanizing and industrializing city. Sociologists of the time such as Emile Durkeim predicted that such conditions produced anomie and with it increased violence. This did not happen if the above calculation is correct.

When one looks at conviction rates for the above cases of homicide the picture changes dramatically. For the decade from 1880-1889 of the 27 cases of homicide there was only 8 convictions. From 1890-1899 of 25 homicides had only been one conviction in court as of January 1, 1900. Many of the homicides were due to drunken fights and juries were often unwilling to give a verdict of either murder or manslaughter in these cases. In six cases (from 1880-1899) there was a verdict of not guilty by reason of insanity. Three cases involved murder-suicides while another two involved an accused that stood trial for additional murders committed in the U.S. where he was subsequently executed. Another four cases remained unsolved while an additional one had a trial still pending in 1899 with the accused serving jail time in the U.S. for another crime. In several cases charges were dropped. Only two persons were executed in Toronto for homicides committed during the 1880s and no person convicted of homicide in Toronto during the years 1890-1899 was executed.

In Toronto during these two decades there is only a handful of cases that involved premeditated homicide or homicide that was committed during the commission of a

crime.<sup>32</sup> This is in spite of the fact that handguns and ammunition were readily available in stores or through the mail.<sup>33</sup>

Cross-national comparisons of homicide rates are extremely problematic for the late nineteenth-century with levels of infanticide in particular clouding the results. Homicide conviction rates for England averaged around 0.3 per 100,000<sup>34</sup> and in the Netherlands convictions hovered around 0.5 per 100,000 during the late nineteenth-century.<sup>35</sup> Toronto has a lower conviction rate than this with only one in 25 cases for the decade of the 1890s but firm conclusions cannot be made on the basis of these differences. Nevertheless, using the Archer and Gartner data, one can generalize that the homicide rates for England, the Netherlands, and Canada were all extremely low relative to previous centuries and significantly lower than the later twentieth-century. One is safe in concluding that there is a disciplining impulse within these three countries during this time period.

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<sup>32</sup> See Chief Constable Grassett's comments on the infrequent occurrence of premeditated murder in Toronto in his annual report. *The Globe*, Jan. 31, 1894, p. 3, Feb. 16, 1895, p. 16, Jan. 23, 1896, p. 6, Feb. 2, 1899, p. 7.

<sup>33</sup> See *Catalogue 46 Spring Summer 1901 The T. Eaton Co. Limited* reprinted (Toronto: Musson, 1970), p. 140. My mentioning this point should be not interpreted as an argument against gun control in 2004.

<sup>34</sup> V.A.C. Gattrell, "Theft and Violence in England," pp. 342-345.

<sup>35</sup> Peter Spierenburg, "Long-Term Trends in Homicide," p. 87.

## CHAPTER 3

### QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE RESEARCH

The primary question of the thesis is the relation between Protestant religion and interpersonal violence in late Victorian Toronto as measured by homicide rates. The historian cannot draw straight lines from the presence or absence of religion to the presence or absence of crime. Still, by any measure religion was a powerful force in late Victorian Toronto. Somewhere, J.C.D. Clark has commented that the individual does not have to read about law and religion in the daily newspaper in order for these two “dynastic” factors to function in a hegemonic way within cultures (at least prior to the twentieth-century).<sup>36</sup> However, in the case of the *Globe* the late-modern reader is overwhelmed by its religious content. Since the *Globe* had such broad circulation one cannot merely chalk up this religious content as being due to the legacy of the evangelical Protestantism of its founder, George Brown.

In his study of the newspaper in Victorian Canada, Paul Rutherford argues that the “daily press popularized the belief that the community was shaped by a thicket of moral and social disciplines” with the overarching discipline being Christianity itself. The religious discourse in the *Globe* is “thick.” This discourse is broadly evangelical Protestant and humanitarian and it flavoured virtually all reporting on a variety of social topics ranging from the discussion of cruelty to animals,<sup>37</sup> prison reform,<sup>38</sup> children’s

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<sup>36</sup> For an expansion of the idea that religion is an important factor in the matrix of ideas see Jonathan Clark, *Our Shadowed Present: Modernism, Postmodernism and History* (London: Atlantic Books, 2003), especially pp. 59-86.

<sup>37</sup> *The Globe*, May 18, 1891. Rev. Arthur H. Baldwin argues in the context of a condemnation of the wholesale slaughter of birds for sport, that he “could not conceive of a Christian man being guilty of cruelty, as love and kindness were the fundamental principles in Christianity.” See also Feb. 11, 1893, p. 1.

<sup>38</sup> *The Globe*, Dec. 9, 1890, p. 4, May 4, 1891, p. 6.

aid,<sup>39</sup> Sunday street cars, hospital care for sick children,<sup>40</sup> and the dangers of big business.<sup>41</sup> Church news covering denominational conventions,<sup>42</sup> activities, news,<sup>43</sup> ordinations, new churches,<sup>44</sup> ministerial appointments, and religious societies appeared regularly. Complete sermons and theological lectures were frequently printed with several per week being the rule.<sup>45</sup> The debates on capital punishment,<sup>46</sup> prohibition,<sup>47</sup> and suffrage for women<sup>48</sup> were all set in religious language.

The unity of “mankind” is stressed, as opposed to a racist polygenesis-type discourse,<sup>49</sup> and there is a pronounced editorial slant evident in the constant negative reporting of lynchings in the American South. The suppression of slavery in Africa earned an occasional headline. The Atrocities against Jews in Russia and Poland<sup>50</sup> and against Armenians in Turkey received regular front-page treatment. For a number of months reports on “The Armenian Relief Fund”<sup>51</sup> and later “The Indian Famine Relief

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., Nov. 28, 1891, p. 8, Dec. 5, 1896, p. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., Nov. 4, 1891, p. 8.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., Oct. 12, 1891, p. 8, Feb. 29, 1892, p. 8, July 17, 1897, p. 17.

<sup>42</sup> See *The Globe*, June 11, 1890, pp. 5,6,8 for examples of full-page coverage. News of the Methodist Epworth League world convention filled 6 pages of a 12 page edition, July 16, 1897, pp. 1-2,4-5,7-9.

<sup>43</sup> Church notes were always included in “General News Of The City.” Eg. Oct. 15, 1890, p. 8.

<sup>44</sup> Eg. *The Globe*, Aug. 30, 1890, p. 4.

<sup>45</sup> See for example the Oliver Mowat lecture covering two full pages of fine print entitled “Christianity and Some of it’s Evidences,” Oct. 27., 1890, pp. 5-6. Mowat who held the long-term positions, simultaneously, of Premier of Ontario and President of the Evangelical Alliance, is an example of the overlap of Christianity and the state in late Victorian Ontario.

<sup>46</sup> *The Globe*, Nov. 22, 1890, p.6. Gaoler Cameron, of the Woodstock jail where Birchall was hung, argues that capital punishment is a “brutal and un-Christian act.” Nov. 24, 1890, p. 1.

<sup>47</sup> *The Globe*, April 7, 1891, p. 7.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., Feb. 18, 1893, p. 9. Annie Parker, Dominion Superintendent Franchise Department, attributes the movement for women’s suffrage to the “Divine plan to establish the Kingdom of Christ on earth.”

<sup>49</sup> For the predominance of monogenesis-type thought concerning racial origins within Anglican thought see Jonathan Clark, *Our Shadowed Present*, pp. 87-109. See an article, that touches on this topic, by Goldwin Smith, “Will Morality Survive Religion,” in *The Globe*, April 4, 1891, p. 7. For George Grant on the unity of the human race see Dec. 9, 1893, p. 13. For an article on a sermon by a black Liberian Anglican priest with the heading, “No Color Line There,” see Aug. 24, 1894, p.8. The Rev. Dr. Moort “preached a learned and eloquent sermon” and spoke of the “need for the civilizing influence of the Gospel” in Liberia. While there is an underlining editorial paternalism in the article, the whole situation would be inconceivable several decades before.

<sup>50</sup> *The Globe*, July 3, 1896, p. 1.

<sup>51</sup> Eg. Ibid., June 16, 1896.

Fund” urged readers to donate money for overseas relief. Overseas relief was a significant innovation and in many ways mirrored a pattern established in the American Northeast.<sup>52</sup> Social relief in Toronto almost always had religious underpinnings. However, these significant developments should not be interpreted to mean that Toronto was free of racism or bigotry. Rather, the argument is that within Protestantism, and particularly within evangelicalism, there was a trajectory of thought and belief that increasingly emphasized racial unity. Broadly speaking this trajectory can be placed within the theory of a “civilizing process.”

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<sup>52</sup> *The Globe*, Feb 10, 1896, p. 6. For the initial stimulus for the Armenian relief effort see Merle Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad, 1860-1915* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press,

## CHAPTER 4

### THE ANALYSIS OF GOVERNMENT DATA ON THE RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF PERSONS CONVICTED OF INDICTABLE OFFENCES

So far I have attempted to show that within the *Globe* there is a broadly Protestant Christian and humanitarian discourse that must reflect a broader discourse within Toronto society. This Protestant and humanitarian discourse arguably could be acting in a disciplinary fashion to depress levels of interpersonal violence and inhibit actions that could lead to incidents of homicide. Alternatively the apparent civilizing process could be due to even stronger cultural factors acting upon the dominant form of religion in Toronto. Certainly religion is one of a number of cultural components that shape the habitus of a particular social group. The formation of the nation state with its increasing monopoly of violence, cross-cultural commercial transactions, Enlightenment thought, law, education, family, and religion all combine to produce a given habitus. Nonetheless, certain cultural developments seem to have followed Protestant pathways within the web of human relations and have spread out from particular Protestant cultures.

The Canadian religious data on the religious affiliation of persons convicted of indictable offences on the surface seems to offer an opportunity to test empirically the Protestant disciplining impulse that Gorski and Himmelfarb have put forward. Canada appears to be unique in the collecting of this data, a practice that ran from about 1871 until 1951.<sup>53</sup> For example, for the years 1891 and 1899, the ratio of the percentage of the denomination of persons convicted of an indictable offence divided by the percentage of

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1963), pp. 119-137.

<sup>53</sup> I have confirmed with Victor Gattrell that England did not collect religious affiliation data for persons convicted of criminal offences. Correspondence April 11, 2004.



a denomination in the population at large yields the following results for the entire Canadian population:<sup>54</sup>

Table 2. Denomination affiliation ratios for Canadians convicted in 1891 and 1899.

	Baptists	Presbyterians	Methodists	Anglicans	Roman Catholics	Other
1891	0.35	0.4	0.6	1.23	1.2	1.17
1899	0.51	0.47	0.58	1.35	1.02	1.60

The denominations on the left side of the continuum, with a ratio of below 1.0 are under-represented among persons convicted while those on the right side, with a ratio of over 1.0 are over-represented. This general trend continues for several decades and remains even when crimes of the Class One category, that are crimes against the person and generally involve violence, are isolated out. The Class One ratio for the average of the years 1884-1892 is as follows:<sup>55</sup>

Table 3. Denomination affiliation ratios for persons convicted of Class One offences, 1884-1892.

	Baptists	Presbyterians	Methodists	Anglicans	Roman Catholics	Other
1884-1892	0.35	0.44	0.52	1.05	1.25	1.72

Peter Oliver examined religious affiliations of inmates in the Mercer Reformatory for women and Central Prison for men, both located in Toronto, and shows similar results to the above. These figures are more significant for Toronto in that the inmates of these two correctional facilities served Toronto and the surrounding communities. The denominational affiliation ratios, using Oliver's data, for inmates in these facilities are as following:

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<sup>54</sup> See Table 1 in the Appendix.

Table 4. Denomination affiliation ratios for inmates of Central Prison and Kingston Penitentiary, 1880-1900.

	Baptists	Presbyterians	Methodists	Anglicans	Roman Catholics	Other
Central Prison						
1880-1900	0.6	0.57	0.49	1.8	2.04	0.36
Mercer Reformatory						
1880-1900	0.87	0.38	0.55	1.98	2.01	0.15

One can generally see the same pattern as with the Canadian data except for the much higher overrepresentation for Catholics and surprisingly, for Oliver, that of Anglicans at almost exactly identical rates. The much lower under-representations among the “Other” category is also a variation. However, within Toronto there was a significant Congregational presence that would be captured in “Other.” Congregationalists closely resembled Baptists and Presbyterians in church polity and doctrine. Both Catholics and Anglicans had a higher than average number of poor labouring class workers which can explain some of the difference. However it is difficult to argue that the higher Catholic representation is due to religious discrimination because of the equal representation of Anglicans. The percentage of Baptist women at Mercer Reformatory may be less significant than it appears since Baptists were a small percentage of the Toronto population and the number of women incarcerated were a fraction of the male inmates at Central Prison. In conclusion, in a rather brief treatment of the question, Oliver states that “Methodists and Presbyterians were particularly law-abiding.”<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> See *Statistical Yearbook, 1893* published in Ottawa by the Government of Canada. This was an annual publications and always contained table on persons convicted of indictable offences and religious affiliation.

<sup>56</sup> Peter Oliver, ‘*Terror to Evil-Doers*,’ pp. 449-450.

Likewise similar trends were found by Darroch and Soltow using figures from the 1871 census. They examined “jailed persons” by denomination throughout the Ontario and found the following results when the representation ratio is calculated:

Table 5. Denominational affiliation ratios for inmates of Ontario penitentiaries and prisons.

	Other (Including Baptists)	Presbyterian	Methodist	Anglican	Roman Catholic
1871	0.38	0.5	0.46	1.63	2.25

Darroch and Soltow summarize their findings in the following way:

In line with previous studies, we expect to find that the Roman Catholics are much overrepresented in comparison to their provincial population. It is a good deal more surprising to find that the Church of England group was also significantly overrepresented and was over a third of all inmates, nearly matching the Roman Catholic population. Moreover, by comparison, the underrepresentation of the more evangelical groups is very marked. Particularly noticeable is the fact that Baptists and members of other small denominations and sects were thoroughly underrepresented among inmates. Class and economic position are intertwined with cultural predispositions in these data, but the striking break between the two diocesan and the more evangelical groups remains.<sup>57</sup>

John Weaver, in a review of the Darroch and Soltow work points to their “tentative but still arresting conclusion” about the importance of the religious moral order of the more evangelical Protestant denominations.”<sup>58</sup> This short comment of Weaver’s seems to be the only ripple of response that Darroch’s and Soltow’s conclusions, on the relationship between Protestants and crime, have provoked.

To further extend the research of Darroch and Soltow and that of Oliver, I examined on microfilm the census returns on prisoners for both the Kingston Penitentiary and

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<sup>57</sup> Gordon Darroch and Lee Soltow, *Property and Inequality in Victorian Ontario: Structural Patterns and Cultural Communities in the 1871 Census* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), pp. 109-110.

Toronto's Central Prison for the years 1881, 1891, and 1901. They give further confirmation of the above mentioned findings for the period of my study. By examining the census manuscripts one can also derive additional information about inmates such as occupation and coordinate it with religious affiliation of individual inmates. The census information from Kingston Penitentiary and Toronto's Central Prison were used. These two locations were used because men who were sentenced in Toronto courts to prison terms of one to two years were sent to Central Prison and for more than two years to Kingston Penitentiary. It is not possible to ascertain the locality of sentencing from the census manuscripts. The census records on religious affiliation and occupation for each inmate was examined and tabulated for the Canadian census years of 1881, 1891, and 1901.

The denominational representation ratios are as follows:

Table 6. Denomination affiliation ratio for inmates of Kingston Penitentiary and Central Prison, 1881, 1891, 1901.

	Baptist	Presbyterian	Methodist	Anglican	Roman Catholic	Other
1881 Census						
Central Prison	.87	.56	.65	1.74	1.74	.15
Kingston Pen.	.6	.5	.47	1.4	2.19	1.2
1891 Census						
Central Prison	.78	.53	.57	1.69	1.98	.37
Kingston Pen.	.68	.4	.66	1.65	2	.48
1901 Census						
Central Prison	.85	.59	.62	1.75	1.71	.44

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<sup>58</sup> John Weaver, "Review of *Property and Inequality in Victorian Ontario*" in *Ontario History* Vol. LXXXVII, 1, pp. 87-88.

Kingston Pen.	.77	.53	.7	1.43	1.92	.57
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Average	.76	.52	.61	1.61	1.92	.53
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For comparative purposes the 1871 census manuscript was consulted for Kingston Penitentiary with the denomination affiliation data as follows:

Table 7. Denomination affiliation ratio for inmates of Kingston Penitentiary, 1871.

	Baptist	Presbyterian	Methodist	Anglican	Roman Catholic	Other
1871 Census						
Kingston Pen.	.64	.46	.32	1.9	2.21	.14 <sup>59</sup>

These sets of data, whether prison data from the 1871 Ontario census data of Darroch and Soltow, from the two Toronto correctional facilities during the period 1880-1900 that Oliver has studied, the data from the Government of Canada concerning religious affiliation of persons convicted, and the census manuscript data for 1871-1901 that I have researched, all show remarkable similarity over the course of several decades. Historical and sociological orthodoxies cause the student to immediately seek to see these sets of religious data as “surrogates” or “proxies” for socio-economic realities.

Given the predilection to make socio-economic the “default” explanation for human violent behaviour, I further broke down the manuscript data for the 1881, 1891, and 1901 census years for Kingston Penitentiary and Central Prison and coordinated religious affiliation with the occupational categories that Michael Katz has laid out for later nineteenth-century Ontario cities.<sup>60</sup>

The data are as follows:

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<sup>59</sup> The 1871 census data for Kingston Penitentiary included 31 female prisoners. For the 1881-1901 censuses no female prisoners were included in the data I have presented.

Table 8. Denomination affiliation ratios for inmates of Kingston Penitentiary and Central Prison for 1881, 1891, 1901.

	% Baptist	Presbyterian	Methodist	Anglican	Roman Catholic	Other
1881 Census						
Central Prison						
Class V Unskilled	71.4	34.3	42.9	47.7	58.3	40
Class IV Semi-Skilled		11.4	1.6	12.6	12.5	10
Class III Skilled	21.4	48.6	47.6	36.	28.3	20
Class II Business	7.1	5.7	7.9	3.6	.8	30
Class I High						
Kingston Pen.						
Class V Unskilled	20	13.5	25	28.7	57.6	36.4
Class IV Semi-Skilled	6.7	13.5	9.4	9.6	13	9.1
Class III Skilled	53.3	44.2	35.9	39	24.3	18.2
Class II Business	20	26.9	29.7	21.3	1.1	30.3
Class I High		1.9		1.5	1.1	6.1
1891 Census						
Central Prison						
Class V Unskilled	42.9	34.1	43	43.6	57.8	40
Class IV Semi-Skilled	14.3	9.8	1.5	14.5	10.7	10
Class III Skilled	21.4	48.8	47.6	38.1	28.1	20
Class II Business	21.4	7.3	7.9	3.6	3.3	30
Class I High						
Kingston Pen.						
Class V Unskilled	57.9	48.9	47.4	46.4	48.4	36.8
Class IV Semi-Skilled	10.5	4.3	6.1	8.9	9.6	5.2
Class III Skilled		34	22.8	31	33	26.3
Class II Business	31.6	12.8	22.8	13.7	9	26.3
Class I High			.9			
1901 Census						
Central Prison						
Class V Unskilled	61.1	46.2	65.8	50.8	64.8	61.5
Class IV Semi-Skilled	5.6	3.8	3.9	8.5	12.3	7.8
Class III Skilled	27.8	38.5	21.1	24.6	17.2	15.4
Class II Business	5.6	11.5	9.2	13.6	5.7	15.4
Class I High				2.5		
Kingston Pen.						
Class V Unskilled	42.9	40.7	41.7	35.8	45.1	54.5
Class IV Semi-Skilled	14.3	10.2	13.9	12.2	12	4.5
Class III Skilled	28.6	39	31.5	35.	34.3	22.7
Class II Business	14.3	10.2	13	17.1	8.6	9.1
Class I High						9.1

<sup>60</sup> Michael B. Katz, *The People of Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 342-348.

When the occupational data is examined one generally, with the exception of Presbyterians, one does not see sharp differences across denominational lines. The Central Prison data does show higher rates for Roman Catholics in the unskilled worker category. However most of the difference disappears when one examines the Kingston Penitentiary data for unskilled workers. If extreme poverty was the driving factor for imprisonment one would expect even higher percentages of unskilled workers as inmates with the over-represented Anglicans and Roman Catholics clustered in even higher percentages in these categories.

Socio-economic factors should certainly be kept in the foreground as unskilled workers are over-represented in prisons. Likewise non-Canadian born and non-married males are over-represented. However there still remains a religious dimension to the data. All the data from 1871-1901 point to a religious gradient among inmates of Kingston Penitentiary and Central Prison, with Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists being significantly under-represented while Anglicans and Roman Catholics are significantly over-represented. This gradient does not disappear over time even as the percentage of non-Canadian born inmates significantly decreases and as the percentage of inmates that are skilled workers slowly rises.

Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches all had more strict membership requirements, more religious scrutiny of individual religious behaviour, and functioned more as communities than did the hierarchical Anglican and Catholic churches that had their origins as state churches. Key to this disciplining process must have been a major

modification in the construction of masculinities since historically, in all Western cultures, interpersonal violence has been overwhelmingly male.

The above argument should not be interpreted to mean that Anglicans and Catholics had high rates of violent crime in Canada during this period. Protestants were simply part of a branch of Western Christianity that experienced an increased personalizing of religion. Similar personalized religious movements developed within the Roman Catholic Church. My hypothesis is that there is a “leading edge” that was a communal, evangelical type of Protestantism that is best represented by Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodist as well as some small Protestant denominations. These groups all have severely depressed levels of crime and it was through these groups that a Protestant disciplining impulse travelled out into other communities. In Canada it was exactly this pathway that the abolition of slavery can be traced through beginning with John Graves Simcoe in the 1790s to the Toronto abolition circle that surrounded George Brown and his family in the 1840s and 1850s.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> See Allen P. Stouffer, *The Light of Nature and the Law of God: Antislavery in Ontario, 1833-1877* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens's University Press, 1992).



## CHAPTER 5

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The data on interpersonal violence in late Victorian Toronto is at least consistent with the thesis that there was a Protestant religious impulse during that time period. Whether the homicide rate for the period from 1880-1890 is calculated with infanticides or not, historically speaking the rate for Toronto in the late Victorian period is extremely low. These rates were attained at a time when, as compared to today, the level of policing was much lower per capita, trauma medicine was unheard of, drugs to control mental illness were non-existent, hand guns were legally readily available, and government regulation much less pervasive. No conclusions can be drawn on a decline within the two decades that were under study but the data fits into the broader picture of a general decline in interpersonal violence in the Western world over the last half of the nineteenth-century. An expansion of the study for the decades before and after the 1890s would be useful for seeing the overall pattern as it worked out in Toronto.

Questions concerning the relationship of religion and culture inevitably involve the topic of 'self and subject.' David Harlan has argued that almost all historical writing is "moral discourse."<sup>62</sup> In a critique of the endless "jackhammering" of historical texts during the 1980s and early 1990s, Harlan contends that the historian should be "grabbed" by certain texts. While the historian can only view the past through a haze of interpretations, "texts" such as the *Globe*, with heart-breaking stories of human tragedy, can still connect with the reader across time. No one would wish to reprimatinate this world today, but one can still admire from afar cultures that struggled to make their society a place characterized by increased civility.

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<sup>62</sup> David Harlan, *The Degradation of American History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

APPENDIX: HOMICIDE CASES AS REPORTED  
IN *THE GLOBE*

1880

April 3 Body of an infant found in the rear of a Toronto house. An inquest was held and it was ruled that the infant was born alive and died of neglect. There does not appear to have been any arrests made in the case. (April 2:4, 3:6) [Negligence]

March 26 *Globe* owner George Brown was shot in the leg and died May 9 after gangrene had set in. George Bennett was found guilty of murder and hanged. Brown had lived for several weeks. (April 3:6, May 10:3, 5, 12:1,3, July 23:6, 24:5) [Murder]

Sept 24 Jurors in inquest of death of Annie Broxup returned a verdict of "wilful murder" after her body was pulled from the Bay on September 12. This was based on heel marks on a dock that appeared to show that her body had been dragged six feet. (Sept 13:6, 14:10, 21:6, 22:15, 24:1) [Murder]

Nov 10 Mary Wheeler was found dead in a house on William St., face down with blood coming from the mouth, and evidence of a blow to the left side of the head. The jury in the inquest ruled that the death was caused by "intemperance and exposure." However, was this a case of homicide that was overlooked because of an "intemperate" lifestyle? A neighbour testified that the sounds of a person being beaten emanated from the house on the night that Wheeler died. (Nov 10:6, 11:6, 12:6) [Homicide]

1881

June 30 Dead infant found in water at Bailey's Coal Dock. (June 30:8) [Possible Infanticide]

Nov 10 Robert Hozack found dead in a culvert. Probability of foul play. (Nov 10:11) [Possible Homicide]

1882

April 25 Body of a 10-20 day infant found at the corner of Adelaide and Charlotte. Ruled that the child had died of neglect. (April 25:10) [Negligence]

May 3 Body of a boy found drowned in the Don. (May 3:6) [Open Verdict]

Aug 2 Young man by the name of William Long killed in a fight at the corner of Strange St. and Kingston Road. Perhaps the homicide was slightly outside city limits but because of the uncertainty I deemed it a Toronto homicide. Two men, Wise and Phillips, were convicted of manslaughter. Case reopened in 1883. (Aug 2:1,8;3:5; Jan 19:6) [Manslaughter]

Aug 25 William Spencer driving a wagon killed a boy George Hammond. Charged with manslaughter and acquitted by a jury. (Aug 25:6; Oct 14:4) [Accidental]

Sept 22 Constable John Albert shot and killed Andrew Young in High Park, July 23. Albert was convicted of murder but the location was outside Toronto limits. (Sept 22:8; Oct 13:5) [Murder outside city limits]

1883

Aug 8 James Marooney was shot and dead at the scene at the corner of York and Pearl Sts. Charles Andrews was convicted of manslaughter. (The jury was unwilling to convict Andrews of murder and the speculation was because he was the father of a child). (Aug 8:1; 11:6,13,14; Oct 27:3; 29:4,6) [Manslaughter]

Aug 22 The body of an infant was found in the bay and it was ruled that death was caused by party or parties unknown. (Aug 22:6) [Infanticide]

1884

April 10 John Hackett was shot in a struggle with Horace Allkins on Jarvis St. Admitted to hospital and died later. Allkins was found not guilty as it couldn't be proven exactly how Hackett died. (April 10:2; 11:6; 18:6; April 26:14) [Manslaughter]

May 5 John McGuire died on the Dutch Farm at the Don and Danforth Rd., "near Toronto." Because McGuire had diseased organs the cause was deemed natural. He had complained of being beaten by Charles Heber, was bleeding from the head, and died several hours later. Being on the border I counted this as a Toronto homicide. (May 5:6; 6:5,6) [Manslaughter]

May 28 Samuel Kerr died on Edward St. near Elizabeth St. Hattle Jeffrey and John Falvey acquitted of murder. (May 26:6; 29:5; June 4:5; 7:13; 10:3; June 30:1,6) [Manslaughter]

July 15 Charles Martin died several days after a quarrel related to a cricket game in a field between Dovercourt Rd. and Lakeview Ave. Charles Thompson and Percy Read were charged with manslaughter but the judge directed the jury to find them not guilty. However it still seems that Martin was beaten to death. (July 15:6; 18:10; Nov 13:6) [Manslaughter]

July 31 Christina Leslie charged with manslaughter in the death of an unknown female infant who died in a "baby farm" establishment in Leslieville within the city limits. She was found not guilty by a jury. (July 31:2; Aug 4:6; 5:6; 6:6; 7:6; 9:10; Oct 30:6; 31:6) [Negligence]

Aug 15 Margaret Ellis was charged in the death of an infant who was found in an outhouse on Teraulay St. The inquest was not able to determine that the child was born alive. (Aug 15:6; Aug 16:10) [Possible Infanticide]

Sept 9 An infant in a baby carriage on a Toronto Island ferry plunged into the water and drowned. Two of the ferry crew, John Quinn and John Carnegie were arrested and charged with manslaughter. (Sept 9:6; 10:3; 14:6) [Accidental]

Oct 24 Lizzie Smith is on trial for murder of an infant whose body was discovered on Edward St. A witness testified to hearing an infant cry and then hearing a slash in an outhouse. Found not guilty as it was not proven that the child was born alive and the accused was described as being of "good character." (Oct 24:6; Nov 1:4 [Infanticide])

Oct 24 George Cliffe, druggist clerk, was tried for manslaughter, in the poisoning death of Jane Frankish who died as the result of being dispensed the wrong drug. He was acquitted. The death occurred in Parkdale, outside the bounds of Toronto at that time. Oct 24:6 [Accidental]

1885

March 7 John Fairbanks died in hospital six days later after being assaulted with a weight. Martin Maloney was convicted of manslaughter. Controversial because Maloney sentenced to only one year. (March 7:14; April 29:6; May 1:6; 5:6) [Manslaughter]

June 16 An infant's body was found near the Northern Elevator. "Found dead." (June 16:6) [Possible Infanticide]

June 26 Body of Maurice Murry found on Barrymore St. in Rosedale outside of city limits. (June 26:6; 29:2) [Suicide]

July 31 John Warden was assaulted at the corner of King and Berkeley Sts. on July 27 and died the morning of July 29 as the result of a fractured skull. James Gibson was tried for manslaughter but was acquitted because of inconclusive evidence. (July 30:6; 31:6; Aug 6:6; 8:4; Oct 30:6) [Manslaughter]

Sept 6 A female infant with a woman's handkerchief around its neck was found on a vacant lot at Lumley and Lennox Ave. Mrs. William's claimed that it was born still-born and the judgement and the judgement by the Coroner's Jury was in her favour. (Sept 3:6; 8:6; 9:36) [Possible Infanticide]

October 9 Edward Emmett died after being beaten several days before. Emmett had been hemorrhaging from the nose continuously until his death. Edward Emmett was discharged after being put on trial for murder. (Oct 9:6; 10:10; 13:6; 15:6; 16:6; 17:10; 30:6) [Manslaughter]

Oct 27 A body of a new born male was found in a bag in the Bay. (Oct 27:6)

1886

Feb 1 John Crewe and Susan Barton tried for manslaughter in the death of a child who was left alone in the house while the mother was in the yard. The child died a day later. The accused were found "not guilty." However there were multiple signs of abuse on the body of the child including bruises, a broken thigh, and a facial fracture. Feb 1:8 [Manslaughter]

March 2 The body of a dead infant was found in a box on Charlotte St. There was signs of violence on the body including a broken jaw. (March 2:8) [Infanticide]

March 18 The body of John Cochrane was found in the water at the foot of Berkely St. The death was deemed accidental but Robert Neil confessed to the murder in 1888. (Feb 29:8; March 2:8) [Manslaughter]

April 13 Merle Roche (Maggie Rock) of Wilton St. admitted to killing her infant by throwing it over a fence. There does not appear to have been a trial in the case. (April 12:2; 13:8) [Infanticide]

May 8 Charles Reid was shot and killed while apparently either trying to kill his wife Sarah or while trying to commit suicide. There was an "open" verdict from the Coroner's Jury. (May 8:14; 11:8) [Accidental or Suicide]

June 17 Freddie Bennet was run over and killed by an "express waggon" with a "wilful manslaughter" finding. (June 17:8) [Accidental or Negligence]

June 21 The body of a three month old infant was found on Agnes St. with abrasions on head and having died of exposure. (June 21:8) [Infanticide]

June 23 Minnie Brownness age 14 was killed by a stone thrown by 11 year old William McKetchie on Funston Lane. McKetchie was acquitted of manslaughter. (June 23:8; June 25:1,8) [Accidental]

June 28 A charge of concealing birth against Annie Tonn was dismissed by Col. Denison. (Oct 21:8) [Possible Infanticide]

July 10 A body of an infant, believed to have suffocated, was found in a trunk on Walton St. Annie Tonn was charged but the jury returned a verdict of "found dead" and a case against Tonn of concealing a birth was proceeded with. The alleged father of the infant refused to testify under oath. (July 10:2) [Possible Infanticide]

Aug 12:8 Michael and May McDermott were arrested for an alleged infanticide due to suffocation. They were released from custody. (Aug 12:8; 13:8) [Possible Infanticide]

Aug 2 Caroline Norris died after being kicked ten days previously by William Smith. She later complained of pains in her side. However because she had been unwell since the previous November her death was deemed due to "natural causes." (Aug 18:2) [Probable Manslaughter]

Oct 12 Alfred and Catherine Smith were charged in the suffocation death of their infant Albert Nathaniel Smith, on Monroe St., Sept. 27. The mother "overlay" the child and Denison dismissed the charges. (Oct 12:8; 13:10) [Accidental]

Oct 15 Jane Clark, "a frequenter of the Police Court," died mysteriously with her body being found on the sand at the foot of Scott St. An 'open verdict' was found with a suspicion of "foul play." (Oct 15:2; 16:16; 19:8; see also *Toronto Daily Mail* Oct 19:8) [Probable Manslaughter]

Nov 2 On Nov. 1 the body of an infant was found in a trunk on Strachan Ave. Annie Hawley was charged but acquitted. (Nov 2:8; Jan 13:8) [Possible Infanticide]

Nov 18 Charles McCauley was found guilty of manslaughter by the Coronor's Jury in the Borden St. beating death of his father John McCauley. The case apparently did not proceed to trial. (Nov 18:8; 19:8) [Manslaughter]

1887

Feb 25 The body of an infant with a black mark on the chin was found in Toronto. (Feb 25:8) [Infanticide]

March 7 The body of an infant was found on the CPR tracks at Bathurst St. (March 7:8) [Infanticide]

April 1 William Cocking , two years old, came to death by foul play in the home of Peter and Mrs. Rooks on Jones Ave. There apparently was no trial. (April 1:3) [Manslaughter]

May 13 The body of an infant that had been dead two weeks was found in a trunk in the Albion Hotel and it was presumed suffocated. No bill was found for either infanticide or concealment of death. (May 13:8; June 23:; 24:8) [Possible infanticide]

May The body of George Moore was found in shallow water at the foot of Berkeley St. At the time it was reported as a suicide but in 1888 Robert Neil confessed that he was involved in the murder of Morse. (Feb 28:1; 29:8; March 2:8) [Manslaughter]

June 9 Robert Sole threw a stone that hit John Crowe resulting in death and a manslaughter charge. No bill was found for manslaughter. (June 9:8; June 24:8) [Accidental]

June 23 No bill was found in an infanticide case involving Fanny and Carry Smith. (June 23:8) [Possible Infanticide]

Aug 11 The remains of a baby were found in a box by workmen. (Aug 11:8) [Unknown]

Oct 31 John Torrance died after a fight on Adelaide St. in which a knife was thrust into his back. (Oct 31:2; Nov 5:8; 10:8; 14:8) [Manslaughter]

Dec 9 John Fellows an infant died and as a result Elizabeth Fellows was declared insane. (Dec 9:8) [Infanticide]

Dec 21 Eighteen year old Elizabeth Bray died while undergoing an abortion for which John Gamble was convicted of murder with the sentence commuted to life in prison. (Dec 21:8; Feb 2:5; March 2:8) [Accidental]

1888

January 27 Robert Neil was sentenced to death for the murder of Central Jail guard J. Rutledge. (Jan 27:8; Feb 28:1; Feb 29:8; March 2:8) [Murder]

Feb 2 John Gamble was sentenced to death for the murder of Elizabeth Bray who died as the result of undergoing an abortion. The sentence was commuted to life in prison. (Feb 2:5; March 2:8) [Accidental]

Feb 24 An infant's body was found in a valise at Union Station. Feb 24:8 [Possible infanticide]

May 15 Tom Buckley "brutally" beat Bertha Robinson to death on Victoria Lane. She lived for one hour. (May 15:8; 16:8; Oct 11:8; 12:5; 13:16) [Manslaughter]

May 29 An infant girl was killed by a blow to the head by person(s) unknown. (May 29:8) [Infanticide]

June 14 Eva Harris was charged in the death of an infant found in her room but was acquitted despite "suspicious" circumstances. (June 14:8; 23:1) [Infanticide]

June 21 Grace Allen died as the result of an abortion wound. (June 21:8)

Oct 13 An inquest was held into the death of an infant found stillborn at Huron and Baldwin. The druggist, doctor, and the father were all acquitted. (Oct 13:16; Nov 28:8; Dec 1:1; 3:5; 11:1; June 27:10; Oct 8:8) [Possible Infanticide]

1889

April 9 An infant was found dead on Toronto Island with a verdict of murder by person(s) unknown. (April 9:8) [Infanticide]

June 16 Katie Dunbar died three months after undergoing an abortion. Death was ruled as due to natural causes. (June 1:16; 3:8; 4:10, 8:1) [Accidental]

June 10 Maggie Flanigan was charged in the death of an infant found on Douro St. and convicted of a misdemeanor. (June 10:2; 27:10; Oct 10:8) [Possible Infanticide]

June 17 A body of a two month old female was found on Dundas St. (June 17: 8) [Possible Infanticide]

July 9 James Smith died after fighting with Hugh McKay at Beaconsfield and Queen St. McKay was acquitted. (July 8:8; 10:4; Oct 5:15; 22:1,8) [Manslaughter]



July 15 John Gilroy and Frank Kane were convicted of manslaughter in the street car death of Harry Flood and were sentenced to one year in Central Jail. (July 15:8; Oct 5:15; Oct 10:8; 24:8; 26:16) [Accidental]

July 19 Barker Potter killed Hector McDonald with a sharpened piece of metal at the Asylum. No blame was attached as Potter was "insane." July 19:2) [Manslaughter]

Aug 23 The body of an infant with a stone attached was found floating in the Bay. The Coroner's Jury came to a verdict of murder by person(s) unknown. (Aug 23:8; 26:8; 31:20) [Infanticide]

Sept 17 A boy, William Ingles, died after saying that he had been held and beaten.??? (Sept 17:10) [Manslaughter]

Sept 27 Mike Birtle was shot on Elizabeth St. by Louis Dees and died three weeks later. (Sept 27:1; Oct 14:8; Oct 18:8; 24:8) [Manslaughter]

Oct 15:8 An infant was found dead on Simcoe St. due to exposure. (Oct 15:8) {possible Infanticide]

Nov 8 Mary Ann Hare was killed by Flora McLeod at the Asylum. Death occurred two and one-half hours after the attack as a result of the loss of blood. No conviction charges due to insanity. (Nov 6:8) [Manslaughter]

Oct 14 An infant died of exposure after being left at a doorstep. (Oct 14:8; 15:8) [Accidental]

Nov 18 Mary Kane was beaten to death by Edward Kane on Defoe St. Kane was hung Feb 12, 1890. (Nov 18:8; 19:6; Jan. 15) [Murder]

Nov 27 Henry Leech was killed on Pape Ave. by a street car. Thomas Moses, Stewart White, Thomas Edwards, and Edmund Wragge were all charged with manslaughter but there were apparently no convictions. (Nov 27:4) [Accidental]

1890

Jan 4 Thomas Williams killed his wife and then committed suicide. (Jan 1:1) [Murder]

Jan 10 Jane Speers found strangled in her home. Murder by person unknown. (Jan 10: 13, 16:6, 18:7) [Murder]

Jan 11 A dead, buried child found by workmen. Inquest declared "wilful" murder. (Jan 11, 21:8) [Infanticide]

March 25 John Byron found guilty of manslaughter, by a coroner's jury, for killing John Wade on a train that was headed for Mimico. The victim had attacked the offender. Jury found not guilty. (March 25:8, Oct 16:8) [Manslaughter]

Aug. 22 Thomas Tait, a C.P.R. supervisor, tried for murder in a train death in which a train allegedly approached a crossing too fast. Not guilty. (Aug 22:8, Oct 16:8) [Accidental]

Sept. 22 William Elliott the driver of a wagon that killed John Kellachy charged with murder or manslaughter? (Sept 22:1) [Accidental]

Oct. 6 Infant Samuel Duggan died of a ruptured stomach.. Manslaughter? (Oct 6:8, 7:8, 8:8) [Infanticide]

Oct. 16 Mrs. Stewart, a Christian Science practitioner, charged with manslaughter after a person in her care died. Not guilty. (Oct 16:8) [Accidental]

Dec. 27 Robert Scarlett, a bar owner, threw James Douglas out a bar. Douglas died 24 hours later. Scarlett acquitted. (Dec 27:17, 29:8) [Manslaughter]

1891

Jan. 9 Peter Shabot continually beat a baby. It is unclear as to whether he was convicted.. (Jan 9:3)[Infanticide]

Feb. 16 Jane Harding and Christopher Mcgrain quarrelled. Harding had been in ill health and died some hours later. Mcgrain was remanded on a wilful murder charge but was found not guilty. (Feb 16:8, 17:6, 17:8, 20:8, April 23:8, June 23:8, 26:8) [Manslaughter]

Feb. 28 An infant of Sarah Fox found strangled. Wilful murder found but was released. (Feb 28:18, Mar 2:8, May 19:8) [Infanticide]

April 2 An Orangeville mother left body of newborn in Toronto because of shame. (April 2:3) [Infanticide]

April 23 Matilda Berry was acquitted of manslaughter by a grand jury after a coroner's jury had found her culpable in the death of the child William Marshall. (April 23:8) [Infanticide]

May 2 Thomas Mills, an invalid, was poisoned by Marion Mills. Released. (May 2:20) [Manslaughter]

July 1 The baby of Annie Stover was found floating in the bay. A charge of wilful murder followed but the crown decided later not to proceed. (July 1:8, 4:20, 8:8, 10:8, Oct 2:8, Jan 7) [Infanticide]

1892

Feb 15 The body of a strangled infant with a wound on the head. Wilful murder by person unknown. (Feb 15:8, 16:8, 18:8) [Infanticide]

May 19 Peter Adams was killed during the demolition of a house. Contractor W.R. Matthewson charged with manslaughter. (May 19:8) [Accidental]

June 9 Richard Walker was killed by James Walsh. Charged with manslaughter but no bill was found by the grand jury. (June 9:2, 10:8, Oct 6:8) [Manslaughter]

June 21 Charles Lougheed a Christian Science practitioner was charged with manslaughter but no bill was found by a grand jury. (June 21:8) [Accidental]

Sept 8 Hannah Heron was killed by a streetcar and the motorman was charged with manslaughter. (Sept 8:8) [Accidental]

1893

July 26 A baby found in the bay was determined not to have breathed and the ruling was "found dead." (July 26:8) [Due to the fact that the skull was fractured I have classified as Infanticide]

Nov 4 Lucy Denning's death caused by undergoing an abortion by Dell "Doc" Andrews. Denning died several days later. Charged with murder and found not guilty in a trial in 1894. (Nov 4:20, 7:8, 8:8, 9:8, 11:8, 22:8, 23:8, Dec 1:8, Jan 12:8) [Accidental]

(Chief Constable Grasset's annual report confirms that this was the only murder of the year. His report states that it "is a matter for sincere congratulations that murder, the darkest crime of all, has almost disappeared from the records." *Globe* Jan 31, 1894.)

1894

March 1 Francis Corrigan was beaten and ejected from a music hall by Thomas Robinson. Corrigan died ten hours later following surgery. Robinson was exonerated by a coroner's jury. (March 1:8, 5:8, 10:20) [Manslaughter]

May 19 Two infants, who had been smothered, were found under a bridge and it was declared wilful murder by persons unknown. (May 19:23) [Infanticide]

September 29 Mrs. Lace, the keeper of a "baby farm" was found guilty of manslaughter in the death of an infant who died in a hospital several days later. Recommendation for mercy. (Sept 29: 13, Nov 17:20, Dec 21:1, 22:15) [Accidental]

Oct 8 Frank Westwood was shot and killed in the doorway of his house. Clara Ford was acquitted of the murder even though she had confessed to detectives that she had killed Westwood after he had previously made unwanted sexual advances towards her. Westwood survived for several days in hospital. (Oct 8:8, 10:10, 11:1, 30:10, Nov 13:10, 21:8, 22:2, 23:8, 24:17, 29:1, Dec 1:20, May 1:3, 3:5, 6:5) [Murder]

1895

Feb 13 Dallas and Harry Hyams were charged with the death of William Wells, two years previous, who had apparently been hit by an elevator weight. They were acquitted by a jury. (Feb 13:8, May 11:11, 13:1, 14:1, 17:1, 21:1, 22:1, 23:1, 24:1, 25:1, Oct 29:10, Nov 5:2, 6:1, 8:2, 9:13, 11:5, 12:5, 14:1,6, 15:3, 2:5, Dec 17:10, Jan 7:3) [Accidental]

March 7 Arthur Dicks charged with murder in the death of his wife. Discharged. (March 7:2, 8:8, 30:20, May 30:10, Dec 12:5) [Manslaughter]

March 25 John Bell killed Sarah Swallow and then killed himself. (March 25:2) [Murder]

May 10 Body of new-born found on the railway tracks north of Bloor St. (May 10:1,8) [Infanticide]

June 4 Mrs. Mary Atkins, an elderly woman, died several days after being assaulted by Frank Smith and William Broom. Convicted of manslaughter by the jury. (June 4:1, Dec 14, 16:5, 18:6) [Manslaughter]

June 26 Charlotte Gosling died several hours after being beaten by Stephen Wright and Mary Ann Clark. (June 26:1,8, 27:10, July 5:8) [Manslaughter]

July 16 The bodies of two children, Alice and Nellie Pietzel were discovered. They were murdered by the stepfather Herman Mudgett on Oct 25, 1894. They were visiting Toronto at the time and were from the U.S. Mudgett was later convicted in the U.S. of multiple murders. (July 16:1, 17:1, 19:8, 22:8, 24:2, 25:1, 27:1, Aug 29:1, April 6:5, 13:4) [Murder]

Oct 7 John Scott was stabbed and killed by fellow-worker John McKenzie in a bar-room fight. Scott died in the hospital sometime later. [Manslaughter]

Nov 4 Percy Beck died while under the care of Mrs. Beer, a practitioner of Christian Science who was charged with manslaughter. (Nov 4:8, 13:1, Dec 5:5) [Accidental]

1896

Feb 6 James Healey killed John Corrigan while Corrigan was attempting to break into Healey's house due to a previous quarrel. (Feb 6:1, 7:10, April 27:10,

March 26 Frank Finlay was killed by a blow from his brother John Finlay during a quarrel after drinking. The victim lived through the night. Acquitted. (Feb 26:2, April 1:1, May 4:10) [Manslaughter]

May 14 Horse trainer Joe Martin was beaten to death at Woodbine during a robbery. The incident took place April 28<sup>th</sup> and he died May 3. (May 14, July 8:10) [Murder]

May 22 Mrs. Costello was charged with manslaughter as a result of the death of an infant at her "baby farm." The case was dismissed as the baby would have died of other causes. May 22:1, 29:10) [Accidental]

June 30 Mrs. Beer, the Christian Science practitioner, charged in the death of Adelaide Goodson. (June 30:10) [Accidental]

Aug 19:12 Charles Murray was knocked down in a scuffle, hit his head on the curb, and died the next day. Harry Badgeley and Bert Lyons were charged and as of 1900 were still waiting to go to trial. (Aug 20:12, 26:1, Nov 2:10, Oct 13, 1897) [Manslaughter]

Sept 17 At the Howard Lake station the strangled body of an infant was found. (Sep 17:12) [Infanticide]

1897

Oct 19 William Bessey arrested on a charge of murder after performing an abortion on Jenny Thomas. No bill obtained for murder from the grand jury. Thomas died of "blood-poisoning one month later on May 30. (Oct 19:1, 22:10, Nov 10:10) [Accidental]

Nov 1 James Hutton stabbed his son John to death after the son had threatened to kill him. Not guilty, acted in self-defence. (Nov 1:1, 10:3, 11:2) [Manslaughter]

Nov 11 Dobbell sentenced for attacking a bailiff with a revolver which was loaded and discharged. I could not find any more information on this so I assume it was for a "felonious wounding" charge. (Nov 11:2) [Not homicide]

1898

Feb 9 A coroner's jury reached a verdict of manslaughter against Frank Young and William Irwin in the death of Mary Young. No later mention of this case was found so I assume that it did not proceed. I counted it as manslaughter as this was the jury's verdict. (Feb 9:12) [Manslaughter]

Feb 10 Mrs. Malone found guilty of neglect in the starvation death of an infant that was present at her baby farm. (Feb 10:12, 22:12) [Accidental]

Feb 15 Infant found frozen to death. (March 15:12, 16:12) [Infanticide]

May 27 In a hit-and-run accident, Frank Caruso was charged with manslaughter for driving recklessly and killing ten year-old John Jenkins. I am uncertain of the trial outcome. (May 27:12, Nov 10:10) [Accidental]

June 1 Mary McGarvin and Mary Besley were charged with manslaughter in a baby farm death. It appears the case did not proceed. (June 1:7) [Accidental]

Oct 23 Mrs. Charles Burrell killed three young children who were described as "babes" and were buried in the same coffin hence I have tentatively classed the crime as "infanticide." The ages were not given so this case needs further research. Burrell was found not guilty by reason of insanity. (Oct 22:23, 25:9) [Infanticide]

Nov 28 Robert Taggart assaulted his wife with a hammer and she died in hospital a day later. Taggart was judged by the court to be insane. (Nov 28:10, Jan 17:5, 19:7, 21:21) [Manslaughter]

1899

March 2 Mrs. McKane found guilty of manslaughter in the death of a baby at a baby farm. (March 2:12) [Accidental]

July 31 Patrick Kelly knocked down Mrs. Barbara Billings on July 13 and she died on two weeks later on July 26. The coroner's jury found Kelly guilty of manslaughter. The crown seems not to have proceeded on the case. (July 31:1) [Manslaughter]

Oct 6 The body of a smothered baby was found outside the city limits and a verdict of murder was found by a person unknown. (Oct 6:10, 7:28, 21:28) [Infanticide]

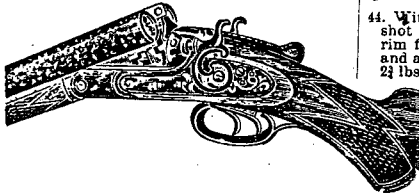
Nov 10 John Varcoe was shot by two burglars, James McIntosh and Henry Williams, and died two days later in hospital. McIntosh also died later of a bullet wound. (Nov 10:1, 11:28, 13:3, 16:12, Dec. 1:12) [Murder]

Dec 28 Mrs. James Rogers was killed by a street-trolley and five railway employees and officials were found by a coroner's jury to be guilty of manslaughter. (Dec. 28:12) [Accidental]

# Guns, Rifles, Ammunition.

## Shot Guns.

84. Single-barrel, breech-loading, 1901 model, shell extractor, take-down of 2 pieces, high carbon steel barrel, case-hardened steel frame, dull finish, black walnut pistol-grip stock, and hard rubber butt-plate, guards and top lever blued, in 12 and 16 gauge, weight 7 lbs, \$7.75.



35. Double-barrel, breech-loading, fine laminated pattern steel barrels, semi-machine made, bar action, rebounding locks, solid plungers, patent fore-end, 8 lbs, 12 and 16 gauge, \$10.00; 10 gauge, \$11.00.
36. Double-barrel, breech-loading, laminated steel barrels, bar rebounding locks, engraved, polished pistol-grip stock, extension matted rib, solid plungers, rolled shoulders, patent fore-end, circular hammers, left barrel medium choked, 8 lbs, 12 and 16 gauge, \$13.50; 10 gauge, \$14.00.
37. Same style as No. 36, with Damascus pattern barrels, Greener bolt and Deeley & Edge patent fore-end, 12 and 16 gauge, 30-inch barrels, \$15.75; 10 gauge, 32-inch barrels, \$16.50.
38. Fine laminated steel barrels, bar rebounding engraved locks, extension matted rib, Greener triple bolt, Deeley & Edge patent fore-end, circular hammers, polished walnut pistol-grip stock, rubber butt and heel plate, left barrel choke bore, 8 lbs, 12 gauge, 30-inch barrels, \$19.50; 10 gauge, 32-inch barrels, \$20.00.
39. Safety hammerless, fine laminated steel barrels, bar rebounding locks, polished walnut pistol-grip stock, extension matted rib, double bolt, Deeley & Edge patent fore-end, rubber heel plate, left barrel choke, 12 gauge, 30-inch barrels, \$27.00; 10 gauge, 32-inch barrels, \$28.00.

## Rifles.

40. Warrant action, walnut pistol-grip stock, polished blued barrel, checkered grip and fore-end, 24-inch barrel, shoots 22 calibre short or long cartridge, \$3.25.

- 40j. Same rifle, in 32 calibre, for short or long cartridge, \$3.75.



41. Stevens' crack shot rifle, 20-inch barrel, automatic safety lock, with kicking ejector. This rifle is made to shoot 22 calibre cartridges only, and is adapted for this size, weight about 4 lbs, \$4.00.
42. Stevens' favorite rifle, is a strong well-made arm, being easy to take down, and will pack in box, length of barrel, 22 inches, half octagon, finely rifled, and is a safety, case-hardened frame, rubber butt plate, weight 5 1/2 lbs. This rifle is made in 22, 25 and 32 calibre, \$7.50; with extra Lyman patent sights, \$10.00.

43. Take-down Remington action rifles, 22-inch octagon barrel, finely finished, steel butt plate, accurate and handy, highly recommended, in 22 or 32 calibre, \$5.00.



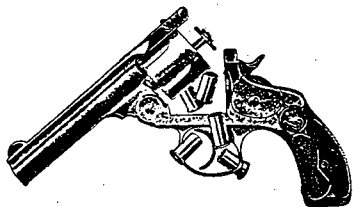
44. Winchester, model 1900, bolt action, single shot rifle, 22 calibre only, for short or long rim fire cartridges. It is neat, well made, and a take-down round barrel, 18 inches long, 2 1/2 lbs, \$5.75.

## Winchester Repeating Rifles.

45. Model 1894, 38/55, 26-inch barrels, weight 7 1/2 lbs, holds 10 shots, round barrel, \$16.50, octagon barrel, \$18.00.
46. Model 1894, 30/30 smokeless, 26-inch barrels, weight 8 lbs., holds 10 shots, round and octagon barrels, \$22.00.
47. Model 1892, 44-calibre, using the 44-Winchester solid head short cartridge, round barrels, holding 15 shots, \$16.50; octagon barrels, \$18.00; cartridges for this rifle, \$2.00 per 100.

## Revolvers.

48. Royal rim fire, single action, 7 shots, \$1.75.
49. American bulldog double action, rim fire, 7 shots, \$2.75.
50. American bulldog double action, centre fire 32 or 38-calibre, takes S. & W. cartridge, \$3.00.



Iver Johnson double-action automatic safety hammer revolver, self-cocking, 5-shot, 3-inch barrel, finely nickel plated or blued, everyone guaranteed, centre fire, using S. & W. cartridges. We highly recommend this revolver for accurate and handy shooting.

51. 32-calibre, safety hammer, nickel-plated, \$5.90.
52. 32-calibre, safety hammer, blued, \$6.60.
53. 32-calibre, safety, hammerless, nickel-plated, \$7.15.
54. 32-calibre, safety, hammerless, blued, \$7.75.
55. 38-calibre, safety hammer, nickel-plated, \$6.15.
56. 38-calibre, safety hammer, blued, \$6.85.
57. 38-calibre, safety, hammerless, nickel-plated, \$7.35.
58. 38-calibre, safety, hammerless, blued, \$7.75.
59. 38-calibre, safety hammer, 6-inch blued barrel, \$8.35.
60. 38-calibre, safety, hammerless, 6-inch blued barrel, \$9.75.

All Iver Johnson revolvers are as above cut.

## Eureka Reloading Tools, 4 pieces.

61. Includes shell extractor, loader, capper and measure, 30c set.
62. Set includes bench closer, recapper, extractor, powder measure, loader including expelling pin and nickel tube, 3-piece cleaning rod with wire scratch brush, swab and wiper, \$1.15 per set.

63. Reloading tools for rifle and sporting cartridges, complete set, with bullet mould for 32, S. & W.; 32, W.C.F.; 38, S. & W.; 38, W.C.F.; 44, W.C.F., price, \$2.50.

64. Complete set for sporting cartridges, 80, 32/40, 38/55, 38/72, 40/60, 40/65, 40/82, 45/60, 45/75, 45/90, Winchester, \$3.00 per set; 45/70, U.S. Government, \$3.00 per set.

65. Gun grease, 15c tube.

## Loaded New Club Shells.

12-gauge, loaded, guaranteed waterproof paper shells, loaded with 3/4 drs. black powder and 14-oz chilled shot, all sizes from BB to No. 10, price, \$2.15 per 100.

In 16-gauge, loaded with 3 drs. powder and 1-oz chilled shot, all sizes from 2 to 10, \$2.10 per 100.

In 10-gauge, all sizes from BB to No. 8 shot, price, \$2.25 per 100.

All our shells are sold 25 in a box only.

## Eley's Smokeless Loaded Shells.

In 12-gauge only, any size, 2 to 8, \$2.50 per 100. Empty brass shells, \$4.75 per 100.

Empty paper shells in Dominion make, 10 and 12-gauge, 85c per 100.

Empty paper shells in U.M.C. make, for nitro or black powder, in 10, 12 and 16-gauge, \$1.00 per 100.

All above shells take No. 2 primers. Dominion primers, any size, \$1.50 per 1000. U.M.C. primers, any size, \$2.00 per 1000. These are put up in boxes of 250 each.

## Rim Fire Cartridges.



BB, Dominion caps, 15c; U.M.C., 22c, 100 in box.  
22 short, Dominion, 30c; U.M.C., 35c.  
22 long, Dominion, 30c; U.M.C., 42c.  
22 shot, Dominion, 70c.  
32 shot, Dominion, \$1.35.  
32 short, Dominion, 60c; U.M.C., 70c.  
32 long, Dominion, 70c; U.M.C., 80c.  
38 short, Dominion, 95c; U.M.C., \$1.10.  
38 long, Dominion, \$1.10; U.M.C., \$1.25.

## Centre Fire Cartridges.



32 short, Dominion, \$1.00; U.M.C., \$1.15 per 100.  
32 long, Dominion, \$1.10; U.M.C., \$1.25.  
32 Winchester, solid head, U.M.C., \$1.65.  
38 short, Dominion, \$1.20; U.M.C., \$1.40.  
38 long, Dominion, \$1.30; U.M.C., \$1.50.  
38 Winchester, solid head, Dominion, \$1.40; U.M.C., \$2.00.  
44 Winchester, Dominion, \$1.75; U.M.C., \$2.00.  
44 bulldog, U.M.C., \$1.50.  
44 Colt's, U.M.C., \$2.10.

All the above cartridges, price by the 100, 50 in box.

Sporting cartridges, 20 in box, 30/30, smokeless, \$4.75 per 100.  
Winchester, 32/40, \$3.50 per 100; all other sizes, \$4.50 per 100.

Thin card gun wads, 10-gauge, 25c per 1000; 12 and 16-gauge, 20c per 1000.

Eley's thick felt gun wads, in 10, 12 and 16-gauge, 75c lb., in 4-lb. boxes.

OUR GOODS ARE BOUGHT DIRECT FROM THE WORLD'S BEST MANUFACTURERS.

Source.

1901, Spring & Summer T. Eaton Company Catalogue, p. 140.

Table A1.

Religious Population of Canada Compared with the Religious Affiliation of Persons  
Convicted of an Indictable Offence

	Total Convicted	Methodists	Presbyterians	Anglicans	Baptists	Roman Catholics	Other Prot.	Other
1891	3,946	417	269	651	87	1,952	292	146
% of total	100%	10.5%	6.8%	16.5%	2.2%	49.5%	7.3%	3.7%
1891 Religious Census Data		17.5%	15.6%	13.4%	6.2%	41.2%	9.4%	
Total 4,833,239							Combined	
1899	5,713	566	429	984	174	2,428	533	121
Indictable Offences		9.9%	7.5%	17.2%	3%	42.5%	9.3%	2.1%
1901 Religious Census Data		17.1%	15.7%	12.7%	5.9%	41.5%	7.1%	
Total 5,371,315								

The above table compares persons convicted of an indictable offence by religious affiliation with the % religious affiliation for the general Canadian population.

The religious census data is from *Census of Canada*.

The indictable offence data is from *Statistical Yearbook of Canada* as printed in D. Owen Carrigan, *Crime and Punishment in Canada*, pp. 69-71.



Table A2.  
Murder Convictions in Toronto, 1867-1913.

Year	#of convictions	File #	Person Convicted
1867	0		
1868	0		
1869	0		
1870	0		
1871	1		
1872	1		
1873	0		
1874	0		
1875	1	339	Davis
		440	Davis
1876	0		
1877	1	1483	Williams
1878	0		
1879	0		
1880	2	101	Bennett
		356	Decoursier
1881	0		
1882	1	13	Albert
1883	0		
1884	0		
1885	0		
1886	0		
1887	0		
1888	2	466	Gamble
		1000	Neil
1889	0		
1890	1	668	Kane
1891	0		
1892	0		
1893	0		
1894	0		
1895	0		
1896	0		
1897	0		
1898	0		
1899	0		
1900	1	1480	Williams
1901	1	1157	Rice
1902	0		
1903	0		
1904	1	847	Alexander
1905	0		
1906	0		
1907	1	168	Boyd
1908	0		
1909	2	141	Blythe
		1316	Steffoff
1910	1	1425	Ventricini
1911	1	641	Jessamine
1912	1	487	Gibson
1913	0		

Population of Toronto

1851	30,775
1861	44,821
1871	56,092
1881	86,415
1891	181,216
1901	208,040
1911	386,538

Toronto Homicide Rates

Period	Average Population	Rate per 100,000
1867-1870	50,456	0.5
1871-1880	71,253	0.98
1881-1890	133,815	0.29
1891-1900	194,628	0.05
1901-1910	292,289	0.21

Toronto census data from J.M.S. Careless,  
*Toronto To 1918*, p. 201.  
Murder statistics calculated from *Persons  
Sentenced to Death in Canada*.

Table A3.

Arrests in Toronto for Murder, Manslaughter, and Infanticide as Listed in the Chief Constable's Annual Report.

Year		Male	Female	Total	
1880	Murder	1	1	2	Note, these are arrests only. Often several were arrested in the same case.
	Manslaughter	1		1	
1881	Infanticide		2	2	
1882	Murder		1	1	Manslaughter includes street car deaths where initially a conductor and an agent could both be arrested. In the case of infanticide usually the accused was charged with murder or manslaughter.
1883	Murder	1		1	
1884	Murder	4	6	10	
	Manslaughter	3		3	It is difficult to match precisely the numbers for a given year with newspaper reports but both appear to be consistent with each other.
1885	Murder	2	2	4	
	Manslaughter	2		2	
1886	Murder	4	1	5	The reports are found in the <i>City Council Minutes</i> at Toronto Archives.
	Manslaughter	4	2	6	
	Infanticide	1	4	5	
1887	Murder	1	1	2	
	Manslaughter	4		4	
1888	Murder	4	1	5	
1889	Murder	9	2	11	
	Manslaughter	6		6	
1890	Murder	1		1	
1891	Murder	1	3	4	
	Manslaughter	4	1	5	
	Infanticide		1	1	
1892	Murder	2	1	3	
	Manslaughter	8		8	
1893	Murder	6	2	8	
1894	Murder	2	1	3	
	Manslaughter	1	1	2	
1895	Murder	6	1	7	
	Manslaughter		1	1	
1896	Murder	7		7	
	Manslaughter		1	1	
1897	Murder	4		4	
1898	Murder	2	3	5	
	Manslaughter	3	3	6	
1899	Murder	2		2	
	Manslaughter	1		1	
1900	Murder	5	2	7	
	Manslaughter	8		8	

Table A4.

1881, 1891, and 1901 Central Prison and Kingston Penitentiary Canada Census Data  
for Denominational Affiliation and Occupations of Inmates

	#'s	Baptist	Presbyterian	Methodist	Anglican	Roman Catholic	Other
1881 Census							
Central Prison							
Class V Unskilled	10	12	28	42	46	2	
Class IV Semi-Skilled		4	3	10	13	1	
Class III Skilled	3	17	21	35	23		
Class II Business	1	2	6	9	1		
Class I High					1		
Totals	14	35	58	96	84	3	
% Inmates	4.8 %	12.1%	20%	33.1%	29%	1%	
% Province	5.5%	21.7%	30.7%	19%	16.7%	6.4%	
Comparative Ratio	0.87	0.56	0.65	1.74	1.74	0.15	
Kingston Pen.							
Class V Unskilled	3	7	16	39	60	12	
Class IV Semi-Skilled	1	7	6	13	28	3	
Class III Skilled	8	23	23	53	54	6	
Class II Business	3	14	19	29	31	10	
Class I High		1		2	3	2	
Totals	15	52	64	136	176	33	
% Inmates	3.2%	10.9%	13.4%	28.6%	37%	6.9%	
% Province Ont.	5.5%	21.7%	30.7%	19%	16.7%	6.4%	
Comparative Ratio	0.6	0.5	0.47	1.4	2.19	1	
1891 Census							
Central Prison							
Class V Unskilled	6	14	27	53	70	4	
Class IV Semi-Skilled	2	4	1	14	15	1	
Class III Skilled	3	20	30	40	34	2	
Class II Business	3	3	5	4	1	3	
Class I High							
Totals	14	41	63	111	120	10	
% Inmates	3.9%	11.4%	17.5%	30.9%	33.4%	2.8%	
% Province	5%	21.4%	30.9%	18.3%	16.9%	7.5%	
Comparative Ratio	0.78	0.53	0.57	1.69	1.98	0.37	
Kingston Pen.							
Class V Unskilled	11	23	54	78	91	9	
Class IV Semi-Skilled	2	2	7	15	18	1	
Class III Skilled		16	26	52	62	5	
Class II Business	6	6	26	23	17	3	
Class I High			1				
Totals	19	47	114	168	188	12	
% Inmates	3.4%	8.5%	20.5%	30.2%	33.8%	2.2%	
% Province	5%	21.4%	30.9%	18.3%	16.9%	7.5%	
Comparative Ratio	0.68	0.4	0.66	1.65	2.0	0.48	

	#'s	Baptist	Presbyterian	Methodist	Anglican	Roman Catholic	Other
1901 Census							
Central Prison							
Class V Unskilled	11	24	50	60	79	8	
Class IV Semi-Skilled	1	2	3	10	15	1	
Class III Skilled	5	20	16	29	21	2	
Class II Business	1	6	7	16	7	2	
Class I High				3			
Totals	18	52	76	118	122	13	
% Inmates	4.5%	13%	19%	29.6%	30.6%	3.3%	
% Province	5.3%	21.9%	30.5%	16.9%	17.9%	7.5%	
Comparative Ratio	0.85	0.59	0.62	1.75	1.71	0.44	
Kingston Pen.							
Class V Unskilled	9	24	45	44	79	12	
Class IV Semi-Skilled	3	6	15	15	21	1	
Class III Skilled	6	23	34	43	60	5	
Class II Business	3	6	14	21	15	2	
Class I High						2	
Totals	21	59	108	123	175		
% Inmates	4.1%	11.6%	21.3%	24.2%	34.4%	4.3%	
% Province	5.3%	21.9%	30.5%	16.9%	17.9%	7.5%	
Comparative Ratio	0.77	0.53	0.7	1.43	1.92	0.57	

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