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MULTIPLE MURDERERS: THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PERSONS  
AND THE NATURE OF THEIR CRIMES

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A Dissertation  
Presented to the  
Graduate Faculty of the  
School of Human Behavior  
United States International University

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In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in Psychology

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by  
Barrie J. Ritter  
San Diego, 1988

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by

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## Abstract of Dissertation

### MULTIPLE MURDERERS: THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PERSONS AND THE NATURE OF THEIR CRIMES.

by

Barrie J Ritter, Ph.D.

United States International University, 1988

Committee Chairperson: Dale G. Hamreus, Ph.D..

THE PROBLEM. The purpose of this study was to initiate the establishment of a data base to support research on multiple murderers. A systematic, descriptive study was conducted on a sample of multiple murderers and their crimes, using historical, cross cultural and recent American cases. The specific purposes of the study were to determine the characteristics of multiple murderers and their crimes, including commonalities and differences, and to analyze the characteristics of the persons to determine what, if any, correspondence existed between them and their crimes.

METHOD. Available, published materials were used to describe 27 well-known multiple (or episodic) murderers. These cases were considered representative of the countries, time periods and diversity of crime-types that constitute the phenomenon of multiple murder. To provide accurate and reliable case descriptions, two research instruments were developed from the content themes reviewed in the literature: the "Life History" and "The Crimes." The procedures to be followed in data collection were specified. These instruments ensured that the descriptions were highly structured and that the descriptive data covered a range of variables and issues.

**RESULTS.** The majority of multiple murderers studied were found to be white males whose families clustered at or near middle-class status. There were few instances of abuse or neglect, and the childhoods were found to have few major traumas. It was concluded that life histories of multiple murderers cannot account for their crimes.

Common personality traits include egocentrism, ambitiousness, greed, feelings of superiority, and, in general, high dominance-feeling and psychopathy, with the latter two traits being the most important for explanatory purposes.

As multiple murderers tended to employ diverse methods and often to select dissimilar victims, it was concluded that, at present, there is no such thing as a "typical" serial murder pattern. It was further concluded that multiple murder is a chosen career and not a psychopathological response or sign of mental illness.

## DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the following three people:

It is dedicated to the memory of my kind and funny father, Jack Jacobs.

It is dedicated to my mother, Esther Jacobs, whose practical help, love and continuous emotional support helped me to complete this research.

And, it is dedicated to my husband, Jack Ritter, who believed in me through all the years of research, who soothed my fears when the subject of this study frightened me, and who never failed to be my closest and my finest friend throughout.

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I wish to thank my friend Barbara Sanford for her help and to acknowledge the great assistance of my good friend Mary Anderson.

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

Multiple murders by the same individual have occurred across cultures for at least 100 years, bringing fear to localized populations, frustration to police charged with investigations and notoriety to the murderers involved in these generally well-documented cases.

During the past 25 years, the United States has experienced an increasing and disproportionate number of multiple murder cases. In the U.S., 120 offenders have been identified, as contrasted with 40 multiple murderers identified in the rest of the globe (Darrach and Norris, 1984). During most of the period in which multiple murders have proliferated, as Godwin (1978) noted, little research attention has been paid to what apparently seemed too infrequent, bizarre and localized a problem for purposes of data collection and serious consideration. Recognition that multiple murder constitutes a major, national, law enforcement and research problem began recently. Official attention to the problem was initiated in 1983 by the U.S. Senate Hearing on *Serial Murders; Patterns of Murders Committed by One Person, in Large Numbers with No Apparent Rhyme, Reason, or Motivation* (U.S. Congress. 1984). This Hearing only signified the need for research, for the incidence and the quality of the problem remains largely unknown.

The concern of the present study was to initiate the process of establishing a descriptive base of the murderers and their crimes.

### Background of the Problem

Multiple murders have only recently become a focus of attention for the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and for researchers. Several factors are responsible for the difficulties involved, first in detecting an increase in multiple murders, and then in determining both the extent of multiple murders and the characteristics of the crimes and of the offenders.

Multiple murders are only determinable as cases: once multiple victims killed in discreet episodes have been linked to the same source (that is, killer or killers), then a multiple murder classification can be established. A longitudinal analysis of published accounts of cases in the press does indicate an increasing frequency of multiple murder cases in America during the past 20 years. Levin and Fox (1985) used reported cases in their study of single-episode "mass" murders and sequential, or "serial," killings. However, two sources of data traditionally used in studies of homicide and in the Levin and Fox study are homicide statistics and interviews with murderers. These two data sources pose difficulties when used exclusively to study the problem of multiple murder, and these difficulties are clarified below.

First, national statistics on the offense of homicide precludes the collection of case data. Multiple murders are excluded and distinguished from criminal homicide by the definition and counting rule used by the FBI. According to the "Uniform Crime Reporting Handbook" of 1976 (U.S. Department of Justice, 1976:2), criminal homicide was defined as the "killing of one human being by another." The counting rule for murder and nonnegligent manslaughter is, "One offense is counted for each person willfully killed by another." Multiple-victim murders are also not determinable through individual death certificates filed by coroners and compiled for publication in *Vital*

*Statistics of the United States* by the National Center for Health Statistics (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1983).

Secondly, researchers have relied not only upon offense data, but also upon statistics on (and/or interviews with) offenders. Solutions, or "clearance rates," for single-victim homicides have been higher than for any other crime. In 1960 the FBI reported a 92.3 percent clearance rate for homicides. Eighty percent of all 1960 murders were characterized as "crimes of passion" by the FBI. Between 70 and 80 percent of all murder victims in 1960 were killed by relatives, friends or acquaintances. According to FBI statistics for 1966, police were able to identify motives in all but 6 percent of the murders that year. Homicides generally were solved within 24-48 hours after the crime was committed. Within this time period, the killer either came forward to confess or the police found the offender by canvassing the neighborhood or interviewing those who knew the victim.

Homicide cases of this type can be characterized on the basis of separate offense and offender statistics, given the high rate of clearance. Further, sociologists and criminologists have developed theories to account for the offense and offender statistics on homicide (Wolfgang, 1958; Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967). Clinical studies of murderers, such as Guttmacher's (1960) assessments of 175 murderers, or any research requiring interviews, like research based on offender data, requires the identification and apprehension of the murderer by the police. The murderers most often apprehended are those who conform to the type of case most frequently committed and solved. There have been clinical reports on individual multiple murderers (such as Bruch, 1967), and clinical studies of murderers in which multiple murderers comprise a proportion of the cases, but as in Lunde (1976), the proportion is not

specified. On the whole, and with few and minor exceptions, research contributing to knowledge of homicide is limited to the most prevalent offense and offenders.

The nature of homicide has been changing over the past 20 to 25 years. Since multiple murder cases have not been investigated, generally, by researchers, the characteristics of these crimes have been long overlooked in relation to the changing characteristics of homicide. Contained in the record of the U.S. Senate Hearing on *Serial Murders* (U.S. Congress, 1984:4) was FBI Director Webster's statement that recognition of the "need for a system to track and analyze serial murders" stemmed from "information from law enforcement agencies throughout the country indica[ting] that serial murders are increasing." Webster followed this statement with statistics that do not "reveal how many homicides were committed by serial murders," but are relevant to the problem:

The FBI Uniform Crime Reports for 1981 shows an estimated total of 20,053 murders. Of these 20,053 murders reported to the FBI, statistics reveal that in 15.5 percent of the cases the murder was committed by a stranger; in 29.6 percent of the cases the relationship of the murderer to the victim was unknown. The statistics also reveal that in 17.8 percent of the cases the motive for the murder was unknown. In that year, 28 percent of the murders were not cleared by the arrest of the perpetrator (U.S. Congress, 1984:4).

The FBI is responding to the problem of unsolved murders, and less directly, to the problem of serial murders. The response is two-fold. The FBI's Behavioral Science Unit has been conducting interviews with convicted murderers, an undisclosed number of whom are serial murderers, for the purposes of studying the "homicidal personality," and developing personality profiles as an investigative technique in solving future homicides. Additionally, efforts have been made to establish a national data bank for collection and

analysis of unsolved, problematic homicides and, it is hoped, for purposes of identifying and solving serial murders.

Interviews with, and testing of, serial or multiple murderers by researchers in the fields of psychiatry, neurology and biochemistry have also been reported (Darrach and Norris, 1984). Mednick and Mark were among those reported whose research was said to support the diagnosis that serial murder is a disease of the body as well as a crime. Although research may be in progress by these and by other researchers who have recently been cited in newspaper and magazine articles, a search of the literature revealed no such publications to date on serial murders.

#### Statement of the Problem

The lack of research on multiple murders has been noted frequently in the past, by Godwin in 1978, and even more recently by, for instance, Berger, in 1984. Only in the past few years has there been a recognition in law enforcement that multiple murders constitute a significant problem for the nation; and, in the past two years, research among behavioral scientists has begun. However, the primary concern among law enforcement is to improve techniques for solution, while the concern among behavioral scientists seems to be the application of traditional approaches in the pursuit of physiological, psychological or sociological causes. These efforts and objectives, while worthwhile, do not replace basic, descriptive research.

There is a need to examine the characteristics of multiple murderers and the nature of their crimes by means of accurate and precise recording of descriptive data on a sample of cases. No current research has been found that is limited to multiple (or serial) murders; nor has there been published a full delineation of the problem. Of the few descriptive studies found, none have

structured the collection of data or used uniform methods of recording and selecting case data on the life histories and the crimes of multiple murderers. Thus the question of research in the present study was, what is the character and nature of multiple murders and those who commit these crimes?

### Purpose of the Study

In order to determine the nature of the crimes and the characteristics of the murderers involved in multiple murder cases, 27 well-documented cases were used in the investigation, including historical, cross cultural and recent American cases.

The study provided a careful and succinct description of each case. The description includes the life history and the crimes of the subject, as found in available, published documents.

The specific purposes of the study were to:

1. Determine the characteristics of multiple murderers, including commonalities and differences among the cases.
2. Determine the nature of the crimes of multiple murder, including commonalities and differences among the cases.
3. Analyze, individually and collectively, the characteristics of multiple murderers in relation to the nature of their crimes.

### Rationale

U.S. Justice Department authorities such as Heck (Atkinson, 1984), Stewart and FBI consultant, Brooks (Garland, 1984) have argued that there is a relationship between the crimes of multiple murder and the increase in stranger-to-stranger, motiveless and unsolved homicides. Justice Department authorities estimate the number of victims killed annually by multiple murderers

to be between four and five thousand, a figure based on statistics on stranger, motiveless and unsolved murders (Atkinson, 1984). The crimes of multiple murder may contribute to current unsolved and problematic homicides. This "contribution," however, needs to be systematically and specifically examined. To do so requires that multiple murders be separated from statistics on all (including unsolved) homicides, so that the characteristics of these crimes can be investigated individually and collectively. It is particularly important, for instance, to determine to what extent multiple murders involve the killing of strangers, whether there are any identifiable motives, and what accounts for the difficulty in solving such crimes. Once patterns have been identified among cases of multiple murder, these patterns can then be compared with statistical patterns of homicide.

The present study used a sample of multiple murders that were eventually solved as the data source for assessing such factors as victim-offender relationships, presence or absence of identifiable motives, and any solubility and investigative problems. In contrast to the prevalent use of interpretations and latent-level analysis, the current study relied on the observable or observed data at the manifest level for purposes of determining such factors as mentioned above.

Researchers who have conducted interviews with, and testing of, multiple murderers have viewed the murders as reflections of the offenders' disordered thinking, biochemical or neurological dysfunctioning, life circumstances and/or as murders having symbolic meaning to the offenders. Consequently, there is more interpretation than there is description of either the crimes or the offenders. It is therefore necessary to first describe separately the biographic history and the crimes. Then, if there is any correspondence between the life

history and the nature of the crimes, this relationship can, on the basis of the descriptive data, be specified.

The apparent increase in the number of multiple murders has, given the lack of research on the history of the problem, led to the belief that these crimes are a particularly American problem, and a product of the 1970s (see, for instance, Rule, U.S. Congress, 1984). Another view, expressed by Morrison (Berger, 1984), and based on clinical experience, is that multiple murderers present a new personality type. An opposite view, also based on clinical experience, was expressed by Lunde (1976: 59). He concluded that multiple murders are not new, but have occurred in all centuries and all cultures.

In the present study, literature was reviewed on the history of the problem as well as its recent increase, and, further, the sample of cases included in the study was considered representative of the historical and cross cultural, as well as the recent American, dimensions of the problem of multiple murder.

#### Research Questions

For the purpose of the study, the problem of multiple murder was framed in terms of the following research questions:

1. What are the characteristics of multiple murderers and how do they differ among themselves?
2. What is the nature of the crimes of multiple murders and how do they differ among themselves?
3. What, if any, correspondence exists between the characteristics of multiple murderers and the nature of their crimes?

### Importance of the Study

The members of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee investigating serial murders, the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), the FBI and law enforcement agencies across the nation have expressed concern over the rise and extent of multiple murders and the need to analyze these crimes for law enforcement purposes. In response to this need, earlier investigation by the present researcher was directed toward analysis of victim characteristics, situational characteristics, including *Modus Operandi* (M.O.), and sources of potential evidence in cases generally considered difficult to solve. As a result of that investigation, analytic formats were developed to assist police in gathering, organizing and assessing individual crime scenes and in detecting patterns indicative of sequential murders.

In conjunction with, and in addition to, the above-mentioned effort, the present study was intended to provide basic research on the nature of the crimes of multiple murders and the characteristics of the offenders. As FBI Director Webster noted (U.S. Congress, 1984:4) in regard to the need to analyze serial murders, "there has been a pressing need to conduct research into the personality of the serial murderer from a law enforcement perspective for many years."

The importance of the present research for law enforcement purposes is that the descriptions of personality characteristics and personal and social attributes derived from a study of solved cases of multiple murder could add a descriptive source of data to the interview, crime scene and statistical data sources currently used by the FBI to develop suspect profiles.

The importance of the present study, insofar as the current state of research is concerned, is indicated by Berger's (1984) *New York Times* article,

"Traits Shared by Mass Killers Remain Unknown to Experts." In this article, Liebert reported the lack of in-depth psychological research. The level of clinical knowledge is said to be sufficient only to the extent that it allows clinicians to rule out multiple murderers. "What we don't have," according to Liebert, "is how to rule them in" (Berger, 1984:1). The chances of being able to accomplish this, moreover, are small, for, according to Morrison, "specialists cannot begin to detect the characteristics of the serial killer in routine interviews" (Berger, 1984:2). Morrison suggested that psychology alone may not be sufficient to explain such killers.

Berger (1984) noted that criminologists, psychiatrists and law enforcement officials agree that research on the multiple murderer is only in its infancy. However, Berger did find widespread disagreement about the background, characteristics and behavior of multiple murderers. To respond to the problem of multiple murders and murderers effectively-- whether through future research, law enforcement, preventative measures and/or policies-- disagreement over who or what is involved needs to be resolved. Specifically, the importance of the present study is that descriptions are provided on what is involved in the crimes and on who *can* be ruled in, as the sample described are persons already identified as multiple murderers.

#### Scope of the Study

The focus of this study was on multiple murder cases exclusively. The sample was limited to cases with identified offenders, to cases that have occurred in America, England and Western Europe, to multiple murder cases as the term is defined below, and to cases frequently cited in other sources and for which sufficient quantity and quality of available materials exist. The use of

available materials limited the scope of the inquiry to the information, observations and tests or assessments of the subject that had been reported.

The available, published materials were used to extract data relative to the following: demographic variables (such as sex and race), sociological variables (such as socioeconomic status and population density), social psychological variables (such as childhood, family and schooling), history of, for instance, psychiatric, medical and criminal problems, and personality variables. All of these variables obviously pertain to the life history of the subjects.

The general problem of each crime was broken down into subproblems. Available materials were used to extract data relative to (1) the link between killer and victims, including prior relationships, if any, any identifiable motivation, and similarity or differences among the victims; (2) method of operation; (3) investigation; (4) apprehension; and (5) disposition.

#### Definition of Terms

The previous discussion refers to several terms pertaining to murder which need to be defined as to the way each is used in this research. The literature contains a number of terms for multiple-victim murders: multicides, mass murders, serial murders and multiple murders. Multiple murders are frequently referred to in the literature and used interchangeably with mass or serial murders. The term multiple murder is consistently used in this study.

Multiple murder is defined as the murder of at least three persons by the same murderer or murderers, in at least two separate episodes.

Mass murder is conceptually defined as the murder of several persons in a single episode.

Serial murder is conceptually defined as murder committed by one person in which numerous victims, usually strangers, are killed individually, in discreet episodes, over a period of months or years. Serial murders are encompassed by the somewhat broader term of multiple murder, whereas mass murders are not. Generally, in this research, the terms mass murder and serial murder are retained and used only where these terms were employed in sources to which reference was made.

Motiveless murders are defined as the absence of any identifiable, tangible reason or motive, such as profit, that police can identify and use in solving the crime.

Stranger murders are defined as murders occurring between persons who have had no known prior relationship.

## Chapter 2

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

There are a number of types of literature relevant to the problem of multiple murder. In this chapter the existing literature is divided into sections, and each section is reviewed in relation to the present study.

This chapter is divided into the following sections: (1) description of multiple murderers; (2) chronology of multiple murders in history; (3) increase in numbers of multiple murders; and (4) relevant criminological work: murderers and crimes.

At present there is a rapidly developing interest among behavioral scientists in the characteristics and the crimes of multiple murderers, but as yet no comprehensive review of the existing literature has been published. In a number of recent articles, some researchers have provided their conclusions, but information regarding the methods and sampling of current research remains scanty. Part of the problem is that researchers are tending to combine first-hand observation and/or the orientation of their respective disciplines with conclusions published in the literature, and are combining single-victim murderers and multiple murderers without identifying either their respective numbers of victims or the specific subjects studied. Current thinking appears to follow disciplinary lines, and, in the future, each academic discipline may well explicitly and distinctively elucidate an answer to the question of whether multiple murderers differ from single murderers. For the present, however, biological, psychological and sociological assumptions about single murderers

are largely extended to multiple murderers, and the respective disciplines continue to be interested in crime as a disease, crime as a function of mental disorders and the demographic characteristics of the offenders.

In contrast to current research interests, the purpose of the present study was to describe 27 multiple murderers and their crimes, using the descriptive data contained in available, published documents about each of the 27 well-documented cases. The selection of cases was based on the following definition: multiple murder was defined as the murder of at least three or more persons by one or more murderers, in at least two separate episodes. Obviously, then, both single-victim murders and single-episode "mass" murders were excluded from the study.

#### Description of Multiple Murderers

There is a large body of literature on multiple murderers that can be classified as descriptive literature. This literature encompasses three types of sources: documentation on individual cases, descriptive studies of multiple murderers, and historical, descriptive studies which analyze cases as well as trends and relevant social factors. As in the present study, both the descriptive studies and the historical studies rely primarily upon the documentation of individual cases for their descriptive material. This review, however, focuses upon the latter two types of sources, for these go beyond the individual case to provide some generalizations about relevant socio-historical factors as well as about multiple murderers.

While American behavioral scientists have just recently begun to turn their attention to the issue of multiple murders, descriptive studies of multiple murderers began to be published, particularly in Great Britain, as early as the 1920s. For instance, in his 1926 study, *Murder for Profit*, Bolitho pointed out

that documentation for the study of multiple murderers as a class was of a particular kind: the crime literature that is published about individual murderers. This same approach, that is, the use of available materials, was also employed by Douthwaite for his 1929 study of *Mass Murder*, by Dickson (1958) for his study of what he referred to as "multicides," and by Franklin (1965), whose study dealt primarily, but not exclusively, with multiple murderers. The consistency of conclusions among these authors is significant, as the approach was inductive and as no two studies contained exactly the same subjects. Where the same subjects were included, the descriptive material was fairly consistent across studies. In contrast to the present research, these descriptive studies employed few explicit guidelines for the extraction of data and in the construction of case histories. In each study, subjects were selected for whom adequate information was available, but otherwise the selection criteria were varied and somewhat arbitrary. Bolitho (1926) chose to focus on the more modern examples, in contrast to the other authors who included the Marquise de Brinvilliers, for Bolitho felt that the Marquise's aristocracy made her a part of a culture and class now almost extinct. Dickson and Franklin excluded political or wartime multiple murders. Murders by the insane were explicitly excluded by Dickson and implicitly by Franklin, although some of the subjects in both these studies have elsewhere been labelled as psychotic. (See, for instance, Lunde, 1976; Ellis and Gullo, 1971). Dickson alone distinguished between the mass and the serial murderer, excluding the former from his study and calling the latter, "multicide."

The use of available, published materials to describe multiple murderers has a long and established history, but the approach needs to be brought up to date and structured through research methods. Further, although the

background was described in some detail in the descriptive studies, there were few explicit conclusions. For instance, Bolitho (1926) noted such clues as disharmony in the early family and a youthful resentment against the subjects' fathers, but he refused to unite such similarities into a multiple murderer-type. He felt such characteristics to be too common and that they were an inevitable by-product of the modern industrial society. Dickson (1958:203) found that, while many of his multicides were reared in Christian homes, some were subjected to "adverse influences." Having found that few came from poverty-stricken homes, Dickson concluded that economic insecurity was not a relevant, causal factor. Adverse environmental conditions were not found for all subjects, nor by all authors. In general, none of the above-mentioned authors concluded that any aspect of the environment was a causal factor in the murders. It is reasonable to assume that the following reasons account for the absence of such conclusions: (1) The descriptions of the background of multiple murderers provided no evidence of consistent, adverse conditions sufficient for explanatory purposes. (2) Each author was critical of a priori assumptions such as those that placed the murderer and his background beyond the realm of what was considered normal, and into the realm of "monsters" and "madmen." (3) The significance of the environment, particularly given the diversity of backgrounds, was overshadowed, if not contradicted, by the characteristics common among the adult multiple murderers who were studied.

Bolitho (1926), Douthwaite (1929), and Dickson (1958) concluded that multiple murderers could not be distinguished from "good citizens" by their physical or their psychological characteristics, or by their lifestyles. The commonalities among multiple murderers that were found included egotism, greed, selfishness, self-indulgence, callousness, habitual and self-lying,

feelings of superiority and immunity, vanity, fearlessness and myth-making, with themselves at the center of a reconstructed world. These characteristics were also found, according to these authors, among the non-murdering population and were in no way indications of insanity.

Franklin (1965) noted many of these same characteristics, and applied the term, "psychopathy." Franklin based his use of the classification of psychopath on the courts' attitudes in finding most multiple murderers responsible for their actions. Based on evidence brought before the courts, Franklin contended that psychopathic murderers could have controlled their actions, that they made elaborate plans before committing their murders and that they knew what they were doing and did not exhibit shame or remorse. Franklin believed that it is a mistake to think that the most shocking and puzzling murders are committed by people who cannot control themselves. In all other areas of their lives, such persons were able to control themselves, and to guard against danger. The difference between the non-murderer or the "madman" and the psychopath did not exist in the strong desire to kill, but rather in the ability to control this desire and in the decision to indulge it. Franklin (1965:10) found that, "The worst murderers in the world are always psychopaths. They are not the most numerous, but they provide the sensations and commit the motiveless crimes which shock and puzzle society today." Wilson (1984) contended that such murderers "decide" to be out of control, and that self-indulgence becomes habitual, but he rarely invoked the term psychopath.

Bolitho (1926), Douthwaite (1929) and Dickson (1958) considered the motives of multiple murderers to be either profit or sexual perversion. Franklin's (1965) use of the term psychopath in reference to murderers encompassed both motiveless murders and psychopaths who committed murder for a definite

purpose-- profit or pleasure, for instance. For Franklin, the latter was merely self-indulgence and constituted little more than a motiveless crime. The point made in all these studies was that it takes a supreme form of egotism to take a life merely to satisfy a desire for the other's property or for some perverse or sexual satisfaction, and that this egotism was found among all multiple murderers.

By 1965, when Franklin's study was published, an increase in murders without apparent motive could be noted. For Franklin, the term psychopath had been supported by the weight of collective evidence (over time), by cross-case comparisons (between identified killers and similar behaviors by, for instance, the unidentified Jack the Ripper) and by research. He believed psychopaths to be responsible for the increase in motiveless murders.

At a more comprehensive level there are the historical-descriptive studies which use available documentation on individual cases, historical sources and concepts derived from research to describe and analyze cases and changing trends. While such sources are reviewed more thoroughly in the next section of the chapter, this body of literature brings to bear three significant concepts pertinent to the personality of multiple murderers: psychopathy,\* dominance and Van Vogt's "right man."

In *Crimes and Punishment* (Hall, 1974; Vol. 7), the authors reevaluated some of the earliest cases of motiveless violence, including those involving sexual perversions, and, with the insights provided by modern researchers, particularly Lorenz and Harlow, found that those persons historically labelled as monsters conformed to the classification of psychopath. One of the first to be

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\*As most of the literature reviewed here employs the term "psychopath," as opposed to the currently used "antisocial personality," the older and still widely-used term psychopath was retained in this paper.

labelled a monster was Renwick Williams, and he created a panic in England, even though he killed no one. Another case involved the Ratcliffe Highway murders and the alleged culprit, John Williams; these crimes predated Jack the Ripper. The authors pointed out remarkable similarities in the descriptions of the two men: they were polite, gentlemanly, well-dressed, fairly well-educated, and intelligent, but were social misfits. While noting modern parallels of gentle men who erupted into "psychopathic violence," the authors pointed out that there are many other psychopaths, such as Ian Brady, the Moors murderer and a subject of the present study, who are simply "cold." Hall noted, as did Franklin (1965), that there are far more psychopaths today than there were in the early nineteenth century, when motiveless or sex-related crimes were almost unknown.

For such authors as Hall (1974) and Gaute and Odell (1984), the nature of the crime-- its ostensible motivelessness-- and the descriptive characteristics shared by some of the offenders combined to give meaning to the abstract or the clinical definitions of psychopathy. Such sources did not employ the term clinically, but rather took such definitions of the psychopath as that supplied by Martin or Cleckley (Gaute and Odell, 1984). These authors described the psychopath as a person who is cold, remote, hostile, indifferent to the plight of others, who knows the conduct regarded as desirable but does not feel inclined to act accordingly, and whose appearance of outward normality and impressive personality covers any dangerous propensities. Gaute and Odell also provided descriptive examples from the crime literature. The usual criticism made about the classification of psychopathy-- that it is a "wastebasket" for cases otherwise difficult to diagnose-- is irrelevant here, for the term is used for descriptive or explanatory, rather than clinical, purposes. The criticism that can be made

about the usage of the term in these sources is that reference is made to two sorts of causes-- maternal rejection and overcrowding-- without fully reviewing the relevant research or supplying either logical explanations for how such causes create psychopathy or inductive evidence from life histories as support.

Reference was made in *Crimes and Punishment* (1974, Vol. 7) to Harlow's experiments with monkeys deprived of any kind of parent-figure in the formative first few weeks of life in relation to the monkeys' subsequent incapacity for affection. However, studies of primates and infants (see for instance Spitz on infants raised in foundling homes as compared to nursing homes in Brown, 1965) indicated that relative social isolation produced impaired intelligence, health, social responsiveness-- impairments far more extensive than the specific incapacities of the psychopath. Further, such deprivation was relatively rare, and under even minimally improved conditions (some sort of surrogate mother plus social/peer contact and increased sensory input), the young of both species developed somewhat slower, but ultimately were indistinguishable from the normal adult (Brown, 1965).

According to Hall (1974), an increase in "psychopathic" babies occurs when, under conditions of rapid overcrowding and cultural disorientation (as occurs in second-generation immigrants), maternal rejection begins among mothers who are unable to cope. Overcrowding per se is not the issue. The issue is whether or not the residents of over-populated areas continued to feel a sense of belonging.

The role of overcrowding in producing stress and violence is better documented in relation to the second, and perhaps most important, concept of personality and social interaction, the concept of dominance. The concept is first discussed as it pertains to the personality of multiple murderers.

Dominance refers to an attitude, a source of energy and direction within the individual and to personality characteristics. It means that persons who are dominant have a strong will to power and to succeed. Dominance refers to one who has the ability and the desire to lead and to pursue such ambitions aggressively, in part, because such ambitions are often coupled with philosophical justifications. In the words of Marcel Petiot (Gaute and Odell, 1984:137), a subject in the present study, "To succeed in life, one must have a fortune or a powerful position. One must want to dominate those who might cause one problems and impose one's will on them." Gaute and Odell noted that this statement characterized the philosophy of the sort of criminal who wants to dominate. The idea of the will to power as a fundamental drive and of the "superman," a man who is greater than his environment, was advanced by philosophers Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. The latter idea was promulgated by such large political groups as the Nazis and by such individual murderers as Charles Manson, Ian Brady, William Heirens and Nathan Leopold and Richard Loeb, all of whom believed in Nietzschean ethical concepts (Gaute and Odell, 1984).

According to Hall (1974;Vol.1), the will to succeed and to dominate others was recognized at the turn of the century by the explorer, Stanley. When asked how many men in his party could lead, Stanley replied that the number was exactly 1 in 20. While several naturalists have come to the same conclusions, it was Calhoun (Hall, 1974), who, in 1962, observed from his experiments with rats that 1 in 20, or 5 percent, of the population were dominant. Hall, Gaute and Odell (1984), and Wilson (1984) each cited the finding that in all species, the same number-- 5 percent-- appeared to be dominant. This dominant minority was believed to correspond to the 5 percent

of individuals in any group who are likely to succeed by rising to the top of their professions. However, figures to support this contention are largely unavailable, except for the Soviet Union, where the Communist Party contains approximately 5 percent of the total population (Hall, 1974). The point is that dominance per se is not a problem ordinarily, but as Calhoun, among others, demonstrated, it can become one. By experimentally creating congestion among rats in a pen with four interconnecting cages, Calhoun found that the most "desirable" cages were quickly taken over by the most highly dominant rat and his harem, forcing the remaining population into only two cages and into a condition of gross overcrowding. Under such conditions, the 5 percent who were dominant quickly became a "criminal" 5 percent, engaging in actions not seen in their natural state. The rats' elaborate and self-protecting courting ritual disappeared. The rodents wandered about in gangs, indulging in rape and cannibalism. Females transporting their pups began to drop them and failed to retrieve them. The situation became, in Calhoun's words, "a behavioral sink."

While similar studies for human groups cannot be conducted, a comparable situation occurred with the dispossessed African tribe, the Ik. Turnbull's (Wilson, 1984) study disclosed that the Ik had been turned out of their home by the government and that, as a result of the hardships undergone, they seemed to lose most of their normal human feeling and the close cooperation they had previously practiced. The relevance of existing studies to multiple murders is this: that highly dominant individuals exist as a small minority among any society, and that under conditions of stress, this dominance may be expressed in crime and violence. Further, this stress is present in modern societies where sheer numbers prevent all those who are dominant from being able to express that dominance through professional, conventional and legal

avenues. Thwarted by, for instance, an absence of available avenues or by a lack of talent, and motivated by the desire for power and an urge for novel experiences, a dominant person may turn to murder as a viable career.

Wilson (1984) and Hall (1974), among others, have also observed that in many cases of partnerships in murder (such as those involving Manson et al.), one of the partners is high in dominance while median dominance is manifested by the other(s). A number of cases, some of which are included in the present study, were cited by Wilson and by Hall as examples. Wilson (1984:19) contended moreover, that "it seems that this odd and unusual combination of high and medium dominance actually *triggers* the violence."

A. E. Van Vogt's concept of the "Right Man" or "violent man" is discussed in Wilson (1984) and Hall (1974).<sup>\*</sup> In *Crimes and Punishment*, (Hall, 1974; Vol. 2:110), Van Vogt's theory was invoked to provide some clue as to the type of person who might commit the majority of what has "become the most typical, and perhaps the most frightening, crime of our time," motiveless murders. Noting that psychologists and criminologists have been baffled by the nature of such crimes and that insanity can explain only a tiny percentage of killers of unknown, ordinary persons, Van Vogt's insights were brought to bear on the problem. From observation of men like Hitler, Himmler and Stalin, Van Vogt turned to newspaper accounts of divorce cases for comparable examples of authoritarian behavior. He noted a pattern of unreasonable demands made by husbands who treated their wives like slaves. He noted that a basic characteristic of such husbands was their refusal to admit that they were ever in the wrong. According to Van Vogt, the Right Man is manically driven to bolster

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\*This material on the Right Man, published only in pamphlet form and broadcast on KPFK radio in 1965, has not been published in book form by the author, Van Vogt.

his self-esteem, to feel he is superior, important, a "somebody." Whenever he is threatened with "losing face," he will fly into a rage, at the end of which all opposition dissolves, and he will have proved to everyone's satisfaction that he was right all along. In other words, his tyrannical behavior will have produced such fear that he can reestablish himself as a little god. He is a man whose entire structure of self-esteem is built on his domination of his wife. Such men were found otherwise quite sane and successful, and were often held in high esteem by their associates. Van Vogt contended that many famous dictators were Right Men, persons who were able to exercise total power without ever learning to exercise self-control. Such a person is so wrapped up in himself that other people are unreal to him. At the least suspicion of opposition, according to Hall (1974; Vol.2:111), he

flies into a rage and the heads roll....It is such displays of emotion which forge the connection between the "right man" and motiveless murder. To begin with, it stresses that men who have become the victims of their own power mania often order executions on the most inadequate grounds. And they need not even *be* in a rage.

Historically, it was only the rich and powerful who could indulge their will to power in such a gratuitous manner. But, Hall, applying Maslow's "hierarchy of needs" (discussed below), believed Western society to have evolved to the self-esteem level. And, according to Hall (1974;Vol. 2:112),

This means that more murderers than ever before are motivated by the need for self-esteem.

At the same time, there is more general prosperity now than at any time in history....In these circumstances, the "spoiltness" that is the chief characteristic of the "right man" has plenty of room to develop.

Several cases, cited as examples of Right Man behavior (Hall, 1974;Vol.2), help to pull these points together. Norman Smith, a bachelor living alone in Florida, had no one on whom he could impose his will to power. One night he watched a television program called "The Sniper," about a man with a

psychopathic hatred of women. This program apparently showed him a way to express his will, for immediately afterwards he took his revolver, and walking along the road until he found a lighted window and a woman inside her home, he shot her through the window. In so doing, he could walk home afterwards, and feel he was somebody. He had killed a stranger. Similar cases have occurred in a Los Angeles suburb, in the "wilds of Montana," and in New Mexico. The psychology of the Right Man was also used by Hall\* to explain several cases of mass and multiple murderers, such as John L. Frazier and multiple murderers Manson, Ian Brady and Graham Young. In the latter case, Hall (1974;Vol. 2:113), relying on a book by Young's sister, found that Young manifested the pattern typical in the motiveless murderer: Young had a craving to be known, to be famous; he regarded himself as highly intelligent, and he felt he had no proper outlet in his working class background. He had an intense dislike of the ordinary or commonplace. He was an admirer of Hitler. He began to toy with the idea of committing murder with poison. And, Hall (1974;Vol.2:113) reported that

observers noted at his trial that "he seemed to be basking in the limelight, almost as if it was worth a lifetime in jail to be recognized as one of the company of great poisoners."

Wilson (1984:72) believed that what was common to all case histories of Right Men was that their behavior is not inevitable, but is, rather, carefully conceived and carried out. What the Right Man does is done to have his own way, and having his own way is his primary interest. "And," Wilson wrote, "this in turn makes it plain that the Right Man problem is a problem of *highly*

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\*Hall (1974) employed quotation marks in referring to the "right man," whereas Wilson (1984) set off the term with capital letters, as in the Right Man.

*dominant* people." Wilson did not go on to elaborate upon any differences or similarities between the two concepts, but some of the differences between the Right Man theory and dominance can be assumed from Wilson's writings. Wilson stressed that the Right Man has a morbid sense of inferiority, whereas a highly dominant person does not. The Right Man is obsessed with the fear of "losing face," so that he will never admit he is wrong. Again, unlike the highly dominant person, the Right Man (or Right Woman) is, almost by definition, a volatile and often violent person, either to those with whom he lives or to strangers if he lives alone. The explosiveness of the Right Man is often expressed toward a family member in regard to whom he exercises little self-control. Wilson (1984:69) noted that Van Vogt had made the important observation "that the central characteristic of the Right Man is the 'decision to be out of control, in some particular area,'" or in relation to some particular person.

As this is descriptive literature, the concepts of psychopathy, dominance and the Right Man were only loosely related to each other and to the existing research on each concept. No other literature, however, explored the relationships among these concepts or fully explored their applicability to the problems of murders, murderers and murder trends. For the present study, as well as for the literature just reviewed, the pertinence or value of concepts such as psychopathy or dominance or, on the other hand, psychosis or other mental disorders, derives from the correspondence between descriptive case data and the characteristics that define persons representative of the conceptual term. Before arriving at any correspondance between case data and conceptual terms, descriptive data were gathered inductively and prior to any generalization or categorization.

In contrast, the deductive approach to the use of available materials is employed most often by clinicians wishing to encompass within their studies those cases, historical or otherwise, that cannot be observed first-hand. In *Murder and Assassination* by Ellis and Gullo (1971), for instance, the deductive approach was coupled with generalizations about multiple murderers made by other authors in other studies. The descriptive data used to support the original generalizations of those authors were therefore never evaluated by Ellis and Gullo. These authors began by stating, "That the individual who commits mass murder is either temporarily or permanently psychotic is fairly evident...[but]. Other confirming evidence from his life history is needed to sustain such a diagnosis" (Ellis and Gullo, 1979:16). The authors contended that such evidence is usually available, and that "the facts" invariably supported their diagnosis. Further, Ellis and Gullo (1971:71) added that "practically all the single murderers on whom sufficient personal evidence is available turn out to be pretty deranged." Ellis and Gullo then reviewed some descriptive material and conclusions from other studies, but these were sometimes taken out of context or were misrepresented, were occasionally inaccurate and were not necessarily supportive of their thesis. For these reasons, other studies of multiple murderers do not by themselves provide an adequate basis for generalizations, for the descriptive data need to be evaluated against the documentation on individual cases.

The descriptive literature provides inductive evidence of factors other than personality characteristics that contribute to commonalities and to differences among multiple murderers and their crimes over time. For instance, some of the earliest known multiple murderers in history had in common membership in the aristocracy, and, subsequent to the emergence of the

middle-class, the forms of murder and class membership changed. Another factor that has been identified in the descriptive studies of multiple murderers is the characteristic feeling of immunity. At different periods in history, this feeling has been reinforced, as occurred when, for instance, the Marquise de Brinvilliers committed murder by poisoning when poisons could not as yet be detected by authorities. Another example are the changes in policy and law--such as "diversion" for juveniles-- which reduce any deterrent effect among those juveniles who are diverted.

#### Chronology of Multiple Murderers in History

In this section, changes in the nature of multiple murders and corresponding sociological conditions are emphasized to provide an overview of the history of this crime. The literature used to trace the evolution of murder through changing social conditions consists of primary historical sources, particularly, *The Chronicles of Crime* (Pelham, 1886), the descriptive and historical studies previously identified and a review of the literature by Lange et al., *Mass Media and Violence* (1969), as well as other, related studies of this topic.

The following is a chronology of events of historical significance to the problem of multiple murder:

1. Excluding the crimes of political rulers, very few cases of multiple murder were recorded from the fifteenth through the eighteenth century; such crimes continued to be rare throughout the nineteenth century. The few and earliest cases, such as Gilles de Rais (1404-1440) and Marie de Brinvilliers (1630-1676), involved both male and female members of the aristocracy and had the characteristics associated with, and are described as having, dominant

personalities, including a high sex drive. During this period the primary motive was profit and the furtherance of power. (This was true of Gilles de Rais, even though his crimes were also perpetrated to satisfy sexual perversions.)

Corresponding conditions during this period were the widespread poverty that meant that the need for survival was primary and that crimes were committed primarily for profit and/or survival. On the other hand, among the ruling classes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Italy and France, predominantly, murder by poison for profit and for political power was so common it was called the "succession powder." Poisoning subsequently became fashionable among the English ruling classes, particularly the women, although it never became a "weapon of statesmanship" or an "instrument of power," according to Douthwaite (1929), Dickson (1956) and Franklin (1965).

2. The Edinburgh "body-snatchers," William Burke and William Hare, attracted great attention because of the rarity of multiple murder in 1828. Even so, like the majority of crimes described by Pelham (1886), this crime belongs to that era in which crimes were committed for "bread and butter." The case reconciled the British to the need for a national police force.

3. By the mid-1800s, murder had changed, as had the corresponding social conditions. The mass murder committed by the young Frenchman, Jean Baptiste Troppman, is a frequently cited example of the thirst for wealth that prevailed in a time of rising prosperity. (Bolitho [1926] entitled his chapter on the case, "The Imperialism of J.B. Troppman.") Troppman, born in 1846, son of a father whose fortunes rose and fell, at times entering the middle-class, chose to better himself at any cost. He began his secret studies of chemistry, following in the path of the poisoners from his favorite novel, *The Wandering Jew*. Corresponding conditions, in addition to rising prosperity, include the

emergence of the middle-class, the beginning of more widespread education, and the beginning of a greater sense of security. The Victorian era was a time of domestic murders or "domestic dramas," so-called because of the element of brutality that emerged in middle-class family murders (Bolitho, 1926; Douthwaite, 1929; Hall, 1974; Wilson, 1984).

4. Before the mid-nineteenth century, sex crimes were rare. Among the 100s of cases compiled by Pelham in 1886, only about 6 were concerned with rape. Nor were there any instances of real-life "ladykillers" comparable to the centuries-old, cross cultural legend of Bluebeard, killer of successive wives, contained in Pelham or the earlier compilations such as *Lives of the Most Remarkable Criminals* (1735) and *The Newgate Calendar* (1774), according to Hall (1974). It was not until the late seventeenth century that the legend of Bluebeard attained its popular form, and even then that form was only in fiction, written by the French novelist, Perrault. The first sex crimes, too, were imaginary: they occurred as part of a new tone that began to creep into the sexual literature around 1830. As Wilson (1984:503) noted, "Sooner or later, the 'imaginary' sex crime was bound to be translated into reality." This began to happen, according to Wilson, towards the mid-nineteenth century. As evidence, Wilson cited Krafft-Ebing's text, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, which reported that between 1851 and 1875 over 22,000 cases of rape were brought to court in France.

Still, the Jack the Ripper murders of 1888 marked the beginning of the "age of sex crime" (which had peaked by the 1940s), according to Wilson (1984) and Hall (1974). The "Ripper" case, which involved multiple, female, stranger victims and the "lone" multiple murderer is generally considered by sources in the descriptive literature to be the first of its kind. At the time, the

corresponding conditions were the spread of sex crimes which had begun to appear because this was after the need for survival and the need for security had been met. They were precipitated, according to Wilson (1984), by a combination of imagination-- stimulated by the new passion for novel-reading-- and of frustration, due to Victorian prudery.

5. Two centuries after Perrault fictionalized the legend of Bluebeard, a number of cases began to emerge which constituted real-life ladykillers. As contrasted with the so-called "sex killer," ladykillers chose to earn their living by depriving successive victims of their property and often their lives. This type of crime is not restricted to men, as evidenced by the case of Belle Gunness, a subject in the present study. The Frenchman H. D. Landru (1869-1922) was considered the "prototype of the 20th century ladykiller," (Hall, 1974; Vol.1:86). One corresponding condition here was World War I. In addition, Hall and Wilson (1984) placed Landru and other ladykillers in the category of the "self-esteem killer." These authors contended that Maslow's 1943 classic study of a "hierarchy of needs" helped to explain the emergence of the self-esteem killer. Maslow's posited that human motivations are hierarchically arranged, that the physiological needs (for food) must be satisfied first, then man's needs revolved around security (primarily housing). After these needs were satisfied, there arose the need for sex, love and belongingness. Next, the urge for self-esteem became prominent. The above authors' contention was that Maslow's theory had been born out by the history of crime, and that even during the "age of sex crimes" the element of self-esteem could be seen in individual killers such as Landru. And, while sex crimes continue to be prevalent today, the increasing number of murderers since the 1940s characterized by pride and self-esteem,

whatever else their motives might seem to be, indicate that the next age has been reached-- the age of the self-esteem murderer (Hall, 1974).

6. In the post-World War I era, Germany experienced its first three cases of multiple murder, Karl Denke, George Grossman and Fritz Haarmann. These murderers were literally human butchers, killing and selling their victims as meat or eating their victims themselves. The corresponding social condition was a food shortage. These cases were followed by another first for Germany, the case of the self-styled "Dusseldorf Ripper," Peter Kurten (1883-1931), subject of the present study.

7. Other than the Ratcliffe Highway murders mentioned previously, and, perhaps to some extent, the crimes of Jack the Ripper, cases of motiveless murder were almost unknown when Gide (Wilson, 1984:11) described such a crime as a "gratuitous act" in his 1912 novel, a black comedy. In America, the 1923 case of Leopold and Loeb marked the emergence of a new form of murder, murder without apparent motive. Ostensibly, the crime involved kidnap and ransom, but the killers were very wealthy. They were also intelligent and well-educated; both attended the University of Chicago. As the pair were followers of Nietzsche, they wanted to prove their superiority. They designed a master plan. "Basically they killed from boredom," according to Franklin (1965:283). Their trial marked the beginning of the introduction of life history data and mental state as a plea in mitigation of sentence.

8. In America, only a few scattered cases of mass and serial murder had occurred prior to the late 1950s and early 1960s, at which time more cases did begin to occur and to be reported more frequently. On a case-to-case basis, the 1960s marked the emergence of an unprecedented number of crimes in which the murderer stated that either a specific crime or a specific fictional portrayal of

violence in the mass media served as an "inspiration" for the murder. In 1966, for instance, 18 year-old Robert Smith shot 7 people in an Arizona beauty shop. He cited Richard Speck as his inspiration, and told police he had wanted to get known, to get himself a name. He was a good student who got along well with his parents. The previously cited case of Norman Smith provides an example of a sniper whose crime followed the viewing of a television program about a fictional sniper. Two nights after the movie "Fuzz" was televised in October of 1973, a Boston woman was forced to douse herself with gasoline and was fatally burned by teenagers. Her death, as police were quick to point out, resembled a scene from the movie. Later that same month that the movie, "Fuzz"-- which portrayed teenagers setting derelicts on fire for "kicks"-- was shown, 3 boys ages 12 and 13 re-enacted the scene in Miami, and derelicts were the victims. Two weeks after the showing of "The Marcus-Nelson Murders," an Atlanta boy killed a woman in a preplanned re-enactment. He had memorized the movie "down to the last detail," he said. Another boy kicked an old man to death in imitation of his favorite movie, "A Clockwork Orange" (Davison, 1975:83).

It was the earlier cases of Speck and Whitman that stimulated the statistical rise in violence that Berkowitz (1980) reported. Similarly, it was subsequent to the Speck and Whitman cases that Wertham (1967) confirmed his thesis that highly publicized serial or mass murder cases are often followed by reports of similar crimes. Wertham further pointed out that violence in general was increasing, particularly among the young, and that it was fed by the violent character of the mass media. One of the emerging trends of the period was the increasing number of younger and younger persons who had begun to commit more violent crimes. The corresponding conditions during the 1960s

include the following: (a) By the 1960s the age of television had already begun, and its widespread use meant that, in contrast to the "baby boom" children of the post-World War II years, a generation of youth were coming of age in a time when television was no longer a novelty but a part of everyday life. Television was emerging as an institution for the transmittal of social values. In 1969 there were, however, few people who had had personal experience with stranger-to-stranger violence, and most people disapproved of its use. As Lange et al. (1969) indicated in *Mass Media and Violence*, only on television was there a cold world of violent strangers whose violence went largely unpunished. (b) Simultaneous to the advent of television and the already published research (reviewed by Lange et al., 1969) indicating the danger of imitative violence in the absence of negative sanctions, there began a widespread endorsement of the rehabilitative model for juvenile justice. This model was largely intended to replace the notion of guilt (and negative sanctions) with psychosocial aid and support. One of the policies stemming from this model was the policy of "diversion" -- a policy which informally diverted youth from the formal justice system so as to offer "humane treatment" rather than punishment and stigma. (c) Another simultaneous occurrence pointed out by Bourne and Ekstrand (1973:231) was the permissive attitude toward aggression that has "predominated particularly among middle-class Americans" in recent years.

9. A significant rise in the official crime rate began roughly around 1962-1963 in America, although murder was somewhat slower to show this increase than robbery or auto thefts, for instance. One corresponding condition was prosperity.

### Increase in Numbers of Multiple Murders

In the previous section, multiple murders were considered as events-- relatively rare events that stood out against a backdrop of crimes typical of a given historical period. Quantitative and qualitative changes have occurred in what might be called "norm crimes"-- crimes such as homicide, rape and robbery, crimes for which statistics are gathered and theories propounded. Nevertheless, across cultures and across historical periods of the past century, norm crimes have maintained sufficient consistency to be categorized and differentiated from the relatively rare event of multiple murder. During the past 25 years, particularly in America, multiple murders began to increase and the nature, as well as the extent, of norm crimes began to change, with more crimes committed against strangers and without apparent motives. Today, homicide statistics are being cited by the FBI as evidence of an increase in multiple murders; as such, there is no longer a sharp and clear distinction between multiple murders and homicides in general. In this section, an increase in multiple murders is considered within the broader context of the changing nature of crime.

When crime first began to be identified as a problem in America during the mid-1960s, social scientists, who had come to expect periodic fluctuations in the rates of major crimes, tended to define the problem as one of quantity rather than quality. The rise in the official crime rate that began roughly around 1962-1963 (Walker, 1978) spurred an examination of the crime problem by independent researchers and by the staff of what is generally known as the President's Crime Commission.\* That crime was seen as unchanged in its

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\*President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society* (1967).

characteristics, and therefore different from multiple, stranger-to-stranger or apparently motiveless murders, can be seen in the contention of Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1982) that stranger homicides were a rarity, as were the so-called motiveless murders. The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence...: *The Report of the Commission*, 1970, (Ellis and Gullo, 1971), stated that, aside from robbery, the other violent crimes of homicide, assault and rape tended to be acts of passion among friends, relatives or acquaintances.

An increase in crimes of violence, as established by such sources as the FBI's *Uniform Crime Reports* (UCR), spurred another period of extensive examinations of the crime problem beginning in the late 1970s. Silberman (1978) analyzed national trends, using UCR data to update Curtis' 1974 analysis of trends in stranger homicides. Silberman (1978) noted that, to some extent, statistics underestimate the change that has occurred, for such data say nothing about the qualitative nature of the crimes themselves. Silberman (1978:4-5) further pointed out that murder was no longer only the crime of passion it was once thought to be:

...since the early 1960s murder at the hand of a stranger has increased nearly twice as fast as murder by relatives, friends and acquaintances. In Chicago..., the number of murders of the classic crime-of-passion variety rose 31 percent between 1965 and 1973; in that same period, murders by strangers-- "stranger homicides," as criminologists call them-- more than tripled.

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Robbers are more violent than they used to be:.... ...[I]t would appear that robbery killings have increased four- or fivefold since the early 1960s, accounting for perhaps half the growth in stranger homicides.

Nevertheless, the issue of how great, if any, change had occurred in the nature of violence was, and would remain until the mid-1980s, largely a matter of interpretation of the available statistics. Further, interpretations varied depending upon what meaning was attached to such terms as "robbery"

killings," "felony murders" or "stranger homicides." Silberman (1978), for instance, emphasized the term robbery killings and interpreted the above statistical data to mean that there were simply more robbers who were simply more violent. And, Silberman (1978:5) said, robbery "has always been a crime committed predominantly by strangers."

Kirkham (1977), on the other hand, emphasized the frightening trend observed by criminologists throughout the country in relation to felony murders-- which are murders that occur during the course of some other felony. Kirkham (1977:192) explained that

Felony murder has always represented only a small segment of the overall murder rate; yet its incidence soared over 300 percent during the decade extending from 1965-1975... [with murderers] displaying a bold and unprecedented readiness to kill or injure total strangers in the commission of their crimes-- anonymous victims who just happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. Indeed, 65 percent of the victims of violent crime today are utter strangers to their attackers.

Godwin(1978) was among the first to discern the major differences between the robbery killings of the past and the types of killings representative of the current murder wave. Godwin pointed to the increase in stranger-to-stranger killings, noting that most of these are felony murders. However, there are differences between past and current felony or robbery murders. In the past, according to Godwin, bandits killed when victims resisted or when they ran from the law. Today large numbers of persons are killed solely to eliminate witnesses. Godwin (1978:303) wrote--

The confusing aspect of our current sociopathic crime wave is that so many of its horrors seem money-motivated and therefore "rational." Killing for cash makes sense to us. There's a reassuringly old-fashioned touch to it, until we measure the mounds of victims against the sums involved. Then we realize that emotions other than greed must have been at work. If there is one basic difference between the murder boom of the early 1930s and the current one, it is the staggering quantity of death dealt out for minimal gains.

Godwin's (1978:303) contention was that it was not so much the number of murderers but the number of their victims which had dramatically increased, arguing that, "Hundreds - perhaps thousands - of killings superficially classified as robbery murders are committed for reasons other than robbery." Consistent with this argument is a 1973 study of robbers and robbery by Feeney and Weir (Silberman, 1978), who found that more than 40 percent of the juvenile robbers and 25 percent of the adult robbers interviewed had not even intended to rob anyone when they set out on the day of their crimes. As Godwin (1978:303) stated,

For the sociopath, robbery is often only an excuse he gives himself. First and foremost, he wants to *kill*, and will do so regardless of whether or not he meets resistance. Even elimination of witnesses may be merely a secondary consideration. It's the killing that counts.

It is within this context of change in the nature of norm crimes that Godwin (1978:9) found "the grimmest manifestation of our violence epidemic -- the growth of the multiple-murder syndrome." Noting that "Little research has gone into fathoming..." this problem, Godwin (1978:9) further stated that

The second half of the twentieth century could be called America's Age of Mass Murder. Triple and quadruple slayings are so commonplace that unless they involve celebrities they hardly make the news outside of the states in which they are committed. The mass murderer was a rarity in every previous crime wave; today he has almost become its symbol. The baffling part of this phenomenon is that it has no visible connection with social or racial conflicts, with poverty, illiteracy, alienation, or any of the other causes usually mentioned as a factor in our crisis.

To support this contention, Godwin (1978) compiled a chronological list of those mass killers of the century who claimed a minimum of seven lives.\* Out

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\*Many of the murderers identified by Godwin (1978) are not included in the present study because, for him, the critical variable was the number of victims, because he eliminated group killings such as the Manson case and because he did not distinguish between the mass and the serial-type of murders.

of the 21 killers, there were few nonwhites and only one female. The profit motive could be identified in only two cases. He found three homosexual killers, and he found that the heterosexuals of the group had diverse methods of operation. Godwin (1978:10-11) concluded that the most significant aspect of his survey had to do with its chronological sequence:

During the first 50 years of this century we had only 7 major multicides. Then, over the past 26 years, the number shot up to 16-- 10 of them in the 1970s, which aren't over yet. You don't have to be a statistician to observe that an acceleration process is taking place and that it is gathering momentum. As a Los Angeles homicide detective commented, "Maybe it's something in the air."

Wertham (1967:xi) spoke in a similar vein when he described the acceleration process taking place in multiple murders as occurring in "an atmosphere of violent events." Referring to the Speck and Whitman cases and to the contagion of violence, Werthan wrote the following:

In the summer of 1966, when eight student nurses were killed in Chicago [by Speck] in an extraordinary mass murder, in reply to an inquiry I stated that this much-publicized crime might well be the beginning of a wave. My opinion was based on the criminological experience that "sequential crimes" sometimes follow the reports of other similar crimes, especially those of a violent nature. Two weeks later the Whitman case occurred in Texas. Following up my social prognosis I found that in the six weeks after the mass murder of the nurses, 46 people-- men, women and children-- were killed in mass murders in different parts of the country.

Wertham (1967) was not the first to point out that news reports of violent crimes can have an imitative effect. According to the 1912 findings of Tarde (Berkowitz, 1980:307), London's "Ripper" murders were followed by a series of female mutilation cases in other parts of England. Tarde concluded that epidemics of crime "follow the line of the telegraph." If, as is commonly thought, the effects of mass media violence are limited to those who are already disturbed-- and further, that multiple murderers fall into this category-- then it might be expected that news reports of multiple murder cases would stimulate

only a few multiple murderers. This is not the case. As the Chicago Police Department found, the Speck and Whitman cases were followed by "an unusually sharp increase in homicides in Chicago" (Berkowitz, 1980:307).

Studies on imitative violence, and on the mass media, indicate that the effects of mass media are not limited to those already disturbed. In Liebert et al.'s (1973) review of the literature, they found that laboratory studies had repeatedly shown that observing violence can make children more willing to hurt others and more willing to select aggression as a preferred response to conflicts. Further, the effects of viewing violence were found for great numbers of normal children, and not just those who were somehow abnormal. Liebert et al. concluded that the amount of violence a nine year-old child viewed was the single greatest predictor of violence committed subsequently-- and that this factor was more critical than the child's home life, the family or the performance in school.

The likelihood of imitative violence occurring is dependent upon several factors. Research reported by Lange et al. (1969) indicated that imitative behavior would be most likely to occur, particularly among dominant children (Rosenzweig, 1939), where violence was performed by a high status model, where there was similarity of characteristics among the aggressive characters portrayed and the viewing audience, and when punishment for imitative, aggressive acts was not anticipated as a consequence of those acts and where the aggressive characters "get away with it" (Bandura, 1965).

With the introduction and widespread use of television in America, a natural experiment was set up which would allow researchers to assess the effects of long-term exposure to televised violence upon violence in the real

world. In 1969, Baker et al. concluded in a National Commission staff report, *Violence and the Media*, 9, in part, that the television world of violence

- (a) Is not an accurate reflection of the real world of violence as experienced by adult and teenage Americans; (b) Is not what the majority of adult and teenage Americans want; (c).. Is the primary source of exposure to severe acts of violence for the majority of Americans; (d) Constitutes the vast majority of network entertainment... (Baker et al., 1969:375-379).

By 1973, a change had occurred in the nature of violence such that the real world now resembled the world of violence previously seen only on television. The following "offender characteristics" were reported in *Criminal Victimization in the United States, 1978*, by the U.S. Department of Justice (1980:7):

As in the previous 5 years, most of the measured violent crimes in 1978 were committed by strangers, that is, persons not related or known to the victim....

Besides being strangers, most offenders were identified as males and as white.

Because the mass media has long been known to provide the nation with its standards of conduct, and because an individual's capacity to acquire knowledge through personal experience is limited, the news media are considered by Lange et al. (1969) to be the central institutions for this country's intergroup communications. In a relevant study, Berkowitz and Geen (1966) reported that minorities were often portrayed in the mass media as the targets of violence, and that such televised violence increased the likelihood that, through association, a target would be provided for violence. The medium of television and the form of interpretations or categorizations of differences among peoples

facilitate the turning of human beings into "strangers." \* Further, when "information" is presented in a one-sided and biased manner in the mass media, as when given racial or ethnic or other minority groups are categorized as prone to violence, this can stimulate aggression, as Grimshaw (1969:397) has noted:

When a series of negative evaluations impinges upon a group, then its situation, in the absence of mitigating norms of justice and humanitarianism, becomes extremely precarious. Violent expression of disesteem on the part of the superordinate group may readily result.

There is a variety of evidence to indicate that the "superordinate group" in America is contributing to the rise in stranger-to-stranger violence. The Civil Rights Division (U.S. Department of Justice, 1981) reported in "Racial Violence," an ABC-TV documentary, that people who kill others solely on the basis of their racial, religious or other differences, now account for a 100 percent increase in stranger homicides over the past decade. Acts of anti-semitic vandalism have increased over 200 percent during the same period. And, in the early 1980s, there occurred several cases of multiple murder (in Buffalo and in the Bronx in New York, and in Utah, for instance) involving black victims and white offenders. Almost all such crimes constitute a form of stranger-to-stranger violence. It could also be said that crimes that are committed solely because of the victims' differences lack an obvious motive, in the sense that the victim is a stranger and the murderer has little or nothing to gain by the action. While it may seem somewhat contradictory to consider a racially-inspired crime as lacking in motive, such a crime would fall under the definition supplied by Wilson and

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\*Berkowitz (1958) also reported that strangers and others who are different are similarly perceived as potentially dangerous stimuli and arouse aggressive responses.

Seaman (1983:ix) who stated that, "We call a crime motiveless if it seems to do no one any good."

American researchers were slow to recognize the changes in violent crime. For instance, in the December 22, 1980 issue of *Time*, while journalists called random and unprovoked violence the most terrifying aspect of crime, a Vera Institute of Justice researcher claimed that the random or the stranger murder is so rare that it is "statistically meaningless." No longer is motiveless murder a rarity. According to FBI statistics for 1966 and 1981, respectively, murders without apparent motives have increased from 6 percent of the total to 17.8 percent in 1981. Clinicians might still, as they have in the past, argue that all murders have unconscious motives, but this does not account for the increased numbers of murders for which motives cannot be identified without recourse to the realm of the unconscious. Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1982) believed that there is a higher likelihood of psychopathology the less motivated the murder. This premise is greatly dependent upon the rarity of multiple or motiveless murders, for such acts are explained as psychopathological because the perpetrators are members of the dominant social-class and their violence "... is in diametrical opposition to the set of values embraced by the dominant social-class establishment of which they are a part..." (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1982:262). This premise further rests on the assumption that persons in the middle and upper social-classes invariably feel that they belong to the dominant establishment which holds to an unchanging and homogeneous set of values inconsistent with violence. While Baker et al. (1969:378) did conclude that the television world of violence was "dominated by norms for violence which are inconsistent with those espoused by a majority of adult and teenage Americans," more recently, statistics on violence have given some indication

that norms are not static and/or have not been sufficient deterrents to violent action. Finally, Wolfgang and Ferracuti's assumptions rest on the belief that parents and institutions of the dominant social-classes uphold values of nonviolence and are the sole sources for the transmission of those values to the next generation. This assumption does not take the role of the mass media into account. As Lange et al. (1969:2) concluded, the mass media have assumed much of the role formerly filled by families, schools and churches in "providing a nation with its values, its goals and its standards of conduct...." Further, according to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (1968), television encourages violent and antisocial lifestyles and stimulates values about violence that are unacceptable in a civilized society. The Commission further noted that this was a matter of great concern because this was occurring at a time when traditional institutions and values were being questioned.

It is this traditional association of violence/values and class which raises the issue of whether persons in the middle or upper-classes necessarily feel a sense of belonging or have a stake in the dominant establishment. Wilson's analysis of motiveless murder in *The Encyclopedia of Modern Murder* (Wilson and Seaman, 1983) provided some insight into this issue. The cases Wilson cited contain a disproportionate number of persons who, by virtue of race, socioeconomic status and their average or above-average intelligence, would appear to be part of, or have access to, the dominant establishment. According to Wilson, such killers as Manson, Brady and the Speck-imitator, Robert Smith, share a state of unmotivated resentment:

Such men feel-- quite correctly-- that they are as intelligent as many people who have achieved success. So [they reason] there must be something rotten and corrupt about a society that gives them no

opportunity to use their talents. The crimes spring out of this resentment (Wilson and Seaman, 1983:xiii).

Wilson found nothing emotionally or physically disordered about such individuals and believed that the problem lies in the thinking process function of the personality. Such persons stew around in an unmotivated state of resentment, looking for someone to blame. The emergence of motiveless crimes, according to Wilson, was due to the emergence of the "self-esteem" level of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Those who commit motiveless crimes have had most of their basic needs met. Motiveless murders have emerged in an era characterized by leisure, comfort and education. Certain persons respond to leisure and comfort with boredom and a need for new sensations and thrills. Education and intelligence can combine to create a rationale for violence. The self-esteem murderer thinks that his need for "primacy" is being thwarted, that he (or she) deserves unlimited freedom and respect. They often share a belief that others are to blame for the troubles of mankind-- and for their own misfortunes. As Wilson (Wilson and Seaman, 1983:xiv) put it, "We suddenly encounter the phenomenon of the high IQ criminal." Wilson cited as examples Manson's having been inspired by a science fiction novel about a superman and Brady's having preached the ideas of the Marquis de Sade. He added that in the mid-nineteenth century,

...the typical murderer was a drunken illiterate; a hundred years later the typical murderer regards himself as a thinking man. So he is;.... [But] [h]e uses ideas as a vehicle for emotions; they help him select someone on whom he can lay the blame. The scapegoat may be a group or an individual. Ian Brady decided that humanity itself was contemptable, and made this his rationale for murder...[Some] select a racial group. Another type of killer-- the loner-- may select some celebrity.... He feels that in killing them, he is correcting the balance between them and his own lack of celebrity. [Violence]...is an instrument to bolster self-esteem (Wilson and Seaman, 1983:xiv).

In this section of the chapter, reference has been made to Godwin's (1978) and to Silberman's (1978) discussion of stranger and felony or robbery murders. It should be noted that the cases described by these authors differ markedly from the high IQ/thinking man cases cited by Wilson (Wilson and Seaman, 1983) in his discussion of apparently motiveless murders. Further, it should be noted that the differences among the cases cited are real. There are at least two broad classes of cases that can be discerned in the phenomenon of stranger, motiveless and multiple-victim murders. It is perhaps more appropriate to think of a continuum of cases: Toward one end of the continuum are those cases cited by Wilson, many of which are included in the present study, which involve an absence of apparent motivation along with an element of planning and premeditation. Many such cases also involve an implicit or explicit rationale for violence from which arose the "thinking man" label. At the other end of the spectrum are the more numerous motiveless crimes of the type described by Godwin (1978), Silberman (1978), and Wertham (1966, 1967). The majority of these cases involve juvenile offenders and are characterized by unthinking brutality.

Godwin (1978:209-10) cited the case of a 17-year-old murderer, Kenneth Bryant. Bryant, he believed, was a prototype for the thousands of terrorizing teenagers stalking the streets today: "the woolly-brained, hopelessly inept youngster, barely in touch with reality, whose violence is totally arbitrary and unfocused because he can't connect cause and effect." Like Godwin, Silberman (1978) also cited cases of youth who murder and mutilate their robbery victims, regardless of whether the victim had money or offered resistance. Wertham (1966:267) cited the case of a 14-year-old boy who had the dollar to pay for his candy, but, when the clerk reached for the money, the

boy pulled a knife, saying as he did so, "This is a holdup!" His explanation was, "I am tired of home, sick of school, and bored with life."

Some cases involve the most trivial of reasons: Two Brooklyn boys got annoyed at a man because he was humming as he passed them. They knocked him down and kicked him to death. Wertham (1966:286) noted that "kick-killing" a man is a comic-book device now brought to life. Other cases cited in these sources involve murder of an authority figure-- including one's own or a friend's parent-- who attempted to restrain the youth from some activity-- to impinge on the youth's total freedom and so was murdered.

At the most extreme level of thoughtlessness are an increasing number of cases in which youth do not seem to perceive others as fellow human beings or to even realize that what they are doing is called murder. A youth worker told a New York State Assembly subcommittee that, "They seem to have no ability to distinguish between someone being shot in a movie and shooting someone themselves. To them, everything is one big movie" (Silberman, 1978:63). Silberman (1978:62-63) provided an example from the *Miami Herald*, of October 23, 1973. (Although Silberman did not report this, the case occurred just subsequent to the showing of the movie "Fuzz" and was referred to earlier in this chapter.) Three boys, ages 12 and 13, were arrested in Miami for the murder of a derelict who had been doused with lighter fluid and set on fire as he slept.

"The boys said it was kind of a spontaneous thing," [said] Miami police.... "They had four cans of lighter fluid they bought and stole at a local supermarket."

"They set fire to a cat first and then it ballooned. They saw the men sleeping behind the building, and suggested setting them on fire,".... "And the next thing they were doing it."

... homicide detectives rounded up the youths...and charged them with first degree murder and two counts each of assault with intent to commit murder.... [The children had set fire to two other derelicts who had been able to douse the flames.]

Police Monday said all three youngsters have long records of petty larceny, burglary, narcotics possession, robbery, and vandalism. One,...was brought before juvenile authorities last month charged with setting fire to a dog....

According to Silberman, all three confessed involvement to authorities, "explaining that they had set fire to the three derelicts as a prank; they simply wanted to see the men's reactions when they woke up and found themselves on fire" (1978:62-63).

Multiple murder cases do come from this same end of the spectrum, but such murders are often committed in so haphazard a manner, and under such diverse circumstances, that either the crimes are not solved or are not conceived of as cases of serial murder. William Steelman and Douglas Gretzler, for instance, killed at least 17 people in two different states, and yet these men received none of the notoriety of many less prolific serial killers. Steelman and Gretzler do share one fundamental characteristic with the three Miami youths who committed arson-murder: they had no comprehension of the enormities of the crimes they had perpetrated. According to those who interviewed them, Steelman and Gretzler were "distressingly 'normal' in the colloquial sense. They seemed quiet, of middling intelligence (not very bright),.... [And, they indicated,] [i]t was just something that happened, man, something in the past, ancient history" (Godwin, 1978:308). What mattered to these two were what was being done to them-- and what they now had to do without.

Godwin (1978) concluded that Steelman and Gretzler share with other sociopaths a complete disregard of action and reaction, of the connection

between their deeds and the consequences of those actions. This description of sociopathic personalities, to use Godwin's term, is most appropriate for persons at this end of the spectrum, for their crimes are committed with little planning. Such persons fit the traditional notions of the typical sociopath or psychopath-- particularly, lack of remorse, inadequately motivated antisocial behavior, egocentricity, and failure to learn from experience. However, such persons lack the outward manifestations of charm, good intelligence and other, more positive traits identified by Cleckley (1982) and others.

While FBI statistics indicate an increase in motiveless murders, the data provide no indication of the personality or demographic characteristics of the offenders involved. To date, there have been few beyond Godwin (1978) and Wertham (1966; 1967) who have attempted to examine the whole spectrum of apparently motiveless crimes; and there has been no systematic examination of the crimes and the types of offenders involved. By synthesizing diverse research, statistical data and other sources of information, it is possible to determine the types of offenders who contribute to three identifiable components of the problem of motiveless crimes: (1) the brutal and unplanned crimes of young people; (2) crimes such as arson and vandalism; and (3) the well-planned multiple murder.

The majority of apparently motiveless crimes appear to be of the type described by Godwin (1978), Silberman (1978) and Wertham (1966; 1967), and reviewed in the preceding pages. While life history information is often lacking in newspaper reports and for the cases cited in these sources, a review of a large number of such cases provides some indication of the demographic characteristics of the persons involved. It would appear that the largest

proportion of motiveless crimes, including murder, is committed by young people from all socioeconomic classes, by males, and most often by whites.\*

Silberman (1978:62) has reported in regard to killing without reason or remorse that

...the crime statistics, as well as the reports of victims, policemen, social workers, and others who have contact with violent youth, make it clear that random, senseless violence is more widespread now than at any time in the recent past, and that younger and younger boys are involved.

Motiveless crimes, in general, provide an indication that the nature of crime is changing. The characteristics of a large proportion of the offenders provide further, specific indications of change. One such change can be seen in the area of a once widely-accepted disparity between arrest rates for the poor and the wealthy. While it was once thought that the "criminal class" was synonymous with the lower class, inductive case evidence indicates that motiveless crimes cut across social classes. This finding is consistent with the large number of studies of "hidden" or undetected crime. On the basis of such studies Silberman (1978:41) concluded that, "Criminal and delinquent behavior is distributed much more evenly among social classes than is indicated by police and court statistics." According to Empey (1978), studies of undetected

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\*It must be noted that Silberman (1978) presented and reiterated the thesis that the vast majority of all crimes of violence are committed by blacks. However, he also presented some important observations which are not supportive of his thesis, and some of these are included in the above review. Godwin (1978) cited statistics on black violence, but, like Silberman, cited other, inconsistent data and cases more often than not involving whites. Further, Godwin (1978:188) presented Jarrett's view that motiveless crimes are something "wholly new in the black community," that until quite recently, blacks took pride in knowing that they did not commit the "kind of sick, psychotic murders that we saw white people doing...."

delinquency have repeatedly shown that there is little or no relationship between social class and law-violations, (see review in Empey, 1978:157-163).

Self-report studies of crime and delinquency also question the disparity in the official records between black and white involvement in crime. Two very different types of studies raise serious questions about the validity of using arrest and conviction data for purposes of drawing conclusions as to race and crime: Tracy's (1978) follow-up to the earlier study, *Delinquency in a Birth Cohort* and a study conducted by Rand (Peterson et al.,1980), *Doing Crime: A Survey of California Prison Inmates*. Both these studies found that (1) the most serious and frequent offenders were the least likely to have had prior prison terms or a record-- that is, were not represented in the official records; (2) those who were officially delinquent or criminal did not represent the most serious or frequent offenders; and (3) the earlier and more serious the (hidden) delinquency, the more likely it was for the adult to be a highly active, serious offender. These findings bear on the issue of selective deterrence (or the lack thereof) in the evolution of a criminal career.

The Rand (Peterson et al.,1980:viii-ix) study reported the following:

A disproportionate number of California prisoners are black.... Based on self-reports, the survey indicates that on the average black respondents were less active and dangerous criminals than were white respondents. White[s]... reported committing more different types of crime and higher rates for the crimes they committed...[including]...more property crime than black or Mexican-American respondents.

On the average, whites and Mexican-Americans reported about the same amount of violent crime; both reported more violence than black[s].... On the average, black[s] reported committing the least number of different types of crime and reported the lowest rates for the crimes they committed.

The preceding discussion of the literature has attempted to point out that the offenders involved in one component of motiveless crimes may have none of the stereotypical attributes that are associated with crime: motiveless crimes

of the spontaneous and brutal variety are likely to be committed by young males who are white and who come from all socioeconomic classes. The second component to be considered is the rise in such apparently motiveless crimes as arson and vandalism. The third component considered is the rise in what also appears to be a motiveless crime, for the most part: multiple murder.

According to Wilson's (Wilson and Seaman, 1983) definition, a crime is called motiveless if it does no one any good. It would seem, however, that motivelessness is a characteristic not only of the crime, but of the offender as well. When a penniless, hungry person steals food from a grocery store, both motive and gain can be identified. When the youth cited previously (Wertham, 1966) committed the same crime, his crime was motiveless as he had had money and nothing to gain from the robbery. It is perhaps because of the official arrest and conviction statistics and because it makes sense to think of crimes as motivated by need that few people realize that some crimes are without motive and some offenders have no tangible need.

There are three types of crimes-- arson, vandalism and suburban crime-- which appear particularly motiveless, given the nature of a large proportion of the crimes and the characteristics of the majority of the offenders. Arson is America's fastest growing crime, and America has the highest rate of arson in the world. During the 1970s the incidence of arson quadrupled; in 1981, arson accounted for over 6100 deaths and 400,000 serious injuries (Wooden and Berkey, 1984). Krapik (1979) reported that up to 50 percent of all arson cases are committed by juveniles and that half of all cases are motivated by "vandalism." However, as Wooden and Berkey pointed out, vandalism is a "nonreason" for setting fires, as opposed to a reason to do so. According to

Wooden and Berkey (1984:5-6), the offenders are "disproportionately middle-class Caucasian males."

As Kirkham (1977) and others have noted, FBI reports provide some evidence that crime is increasing at a faster rate in the suburbs than in the city. Crime among the affluent, particularly in the suburbs, is difficult to measure, however. Several studies have indicated that affluent suburban juveniles are more likely to be treated leniently and informally than is the case for their urban counterparts or for poor minorities (see, for instance, Loth, 1967; Yochelson and Samenow, 1976). Suburban affluent youth, according to Loth (1967), appear particularly prone to commit crimes without any apparent motive. Few authorities interviewed by Loth doubted that suburban crime was on the increase and that that increase was largely in the area of senseless, apparently motiveless crimes.

Loth (1967) explained the phenomenon of motiveless crimes among the suburban affluent as being due to a combination of social forces and a system of beliefs which help to mold the suburban criminal. According to suburban police, the most powerful influence promoting violence is its portrayal in the mass media, for, "Suburbanites share with the rest of the nation the tendency to imitate a sensational new horror..." (Loth, 1967:110).

Much like Smith's (1978) contention that the "superior psychopath" is an extension of the marketplace values of the Western world, Loth (1967) offered an explanation of suburban criminals' personality that is an extension of suburban values. Forces which mold the latter personality type include the "cult of self-indulgence" which pursues pleasure at all costs, the notion of "privileged characters" which entails the belief that one is above the law, and the notion

that "anything goes." Loth (1967:61-62) contended that suburbanites worship success:

The first step in the molding of a criminal is to blunt his conscience. Suburban worship of success is a good way to start....

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When what you can get away with is the measure of what is right and proper, it is hardly surprising that suburban youth so frequently [indulge in] stealing, vandalism, even violence.

Law enforcement officials in different parts of the country listed one major cause of crime as too much money and too little to do. The association between affluence and crime works in different ways, but, as Loth (1967:63-64) stated, "Perhaps the most obvious is that money can induce in many people a sense of privilege, a belief that they can buy their way out of any trouble, and an extreme attitude toward possessions," ranging from contempt to an exaggerated greed.

It is not being argued here that affluence causes crime. Rather, the purpose of this discussion has been to show that-- despite arrest statistics-- crime cuts across all social classes. While low socioeconomic status appears to have some bearing on some crimes and on the likelihood of arrest, affluence may have a bearing on the development of certain personality traits which in turn have a bearing on the commission of crimes. One apparent association between affluence and crime should be mentioned for its relevance to the idea of a hierarchy of needs. That association is found when crime rates are compared with economic fluctuations or business cycles over time. As documented by the National Commission, 1969, crime rates, including homicide rates, rose sharply during the 1960s, a period of great prosperity, were high around World War I and dropped sharply during the worst of the Great Depression (Berkowitz, 1980). Echoing Wilson's (Wilson and Seaman, 1983) argument as to the association between rising prosperity and violence,

Wilkens (1965) wrote that theorists have had to re-examine their explanations, for with increasing affluence and prosperity has come increasing crime. Walker (Berkowitz, 1980:336) similarly concluded that, "a steep and steady rise in the standard of living of practically all social classes in Western Europe and the Americas has been accompanied by a steep and steady rise in...[crime rates]...."

The rise in the standard of living among most social classes has been accompanied by a rise in the third component to be seen in the overall increase in motiveless crimes: apparently motiveless, multiple murders. As Wilson (Wilson and Seaman, 1983) found, the only historical precedents for many of the cases described in his book, and included in the present study, are those committed by tyrants and men of great wealth: the Greek tyrant Phalaris, Caligula and Ivan the Terrible or the wealthy aristocrat mentioned earlier, Gilles de Rais, and the wealthy young men of eighteenth-century London who formed a society called the Bold Bucks to specialize in rape and mutilation. Wilson saw a similarity among modern-day multiple murderers (such as John Collins, Dean Corll and Ted Bundy) who treated their victims as "throwaways" and who exhibited a "Roman emperor syndrome." The difference is that such brutality is no longer confined to the rich. This again would seem to underscore the finding that violence is not limited to one social class, and that if there is an association between rising affluence and the increase in the numbers of multiple murders, it would seem to be an association more complex than that of the perpetrators' social class.

An explanation for the increase in multiple murderers is necessarily a social explanation, for the perpetrators' characteristics cannot explain an increase in their numbers. On the other hand, individuals respond differently to

societal changes or influences; few people affected by any given social factor commit multiple murder.

The literature does not explain why an increasing number of people would commit multiple murder, specifically. The best that can be done is to explore some of the social forces believed to have a bearing on increased violence and some of the personal characteristics identified in studies of multiple murderers and criminals in general.

As Wilson (Wilson and Seaman,1983) explained, the rise in the standard of living has brought about the leisure and security once limited to the wealthy. Rising prosperity and widespread education have wrought changes in the attitudes of much of the population. A feeling of individual freedom, of privilege and of the primacy of individual needs now prevails. However, the idea of personal responsibility has not kept pace with the idea of freedom. (Wilson believed that the church's emphasis upon controlling one's desires was undermined by the anti-authoritarianism of such writers as Rousseau.) The sense of personal responsibility and the exercise of self-control-- both of which are the goals of a political democracy-- have been undermined by other phenomena: with improved transportation and increasing prosperity, there has been large-scale and steady movement from one place to another. California, for example, of all the states, "has the largest and steadiest influx of population," according to Wilson (Wilson and Seaman,1983:xiv). One effect of the transitory nature of the population is the loosening of the community's bonds upon its members, and the break-up of the extended family. Both Wilson and Levin and Fox (1985) tried to explain why California is the scene for a disproportionate number of multiple murder cases. For Wilson, so many cases occur in California because it is an area subject to an unending population explosion,

an area subject to the phenomenon of what Calhoun referred to as "a behavioral sink" (Wilson and Seaman, 1983:xiv). Levin and Fox (1985:64) pointed to a population comprised largely of people born elsewhere, many of whom may have left their sense of responsibility back in their old neighborhood and/or been attracted to Southern California's fun, sun and "doing your own thing" philosophy.

The mass media, it has been argued, has had to assume much of the burden of providing a changing nation with the kind of information necessary for conflict resolution, readjustment and the strengthening of social control. Many critics of the mass media (Grimshaw, 1969; Lange et al., 1969) contended that the media has undermined individual responsibility by not living up to its own responsibilities.

The increasing influence and reliance upon psychiatric testimony has been said to undermine the idea of criminal responsibility (see, for instance, Garner's 1976 review of the issue; Szasz, 1963). In their study of *The Criminal Personality*, Yochelson and Samenow (1976) found that their own use of social and psychological formulations was only providing more material for the criminal to use to excuse his own behavior. The authors eventually came to two related realizations: First, the information they were gathering made it increasingly difficult to hold to the view that criminals were the products of early deprivation, whether emotional or socioeconomic. "We were finding the same patterns among ghetto-raised blacks and suburb-raised whites. White or black, rich or poor, college graduate or grade-school dropout-- none of these variables seemed to be causal" (Yochelson and Samenow, 1976:16-17). Second, they began to discern that the element of choice was involved in criminal behavior-- and that these choices began very early. While not directly indicting psychiatry

for undermining individual responsibility, these researchers found that the notion of mental illness had to be eliminated or else it would be used as an excuse by the criminal, and that the concept of choice was essential in establishing the sense of responsibility.

Yochelson and Samenow's (1976) study of criminals is relevant to the present study in several ways: First, as the authors did not identify criminals on the basis of official records, but, rather, on the basis of certain personality traits and thinking patterns, multiple murders are not excluded. The emphasis was upon thought patterns of criminals, and as psychopaths exhibited the same thinking patterns, the authors found it unnecessary and difficult to maintain a distinction between criminals and psychopaths. Second, Wilson (Wilson and Seaman, 1983) cited Yochelson and Samenow's study and explained its relevance. Crime in general is a short cut, an attempt to get something for nothing. Habitual criminals are not driven to commit crime; they are responsible dodgers. Further, Wilson (Wilson and Seaman, 1983:xvii) stated, in reading about such multiple murderers as Corll, Manson and Brady, one sees that these are "free individuals who have *decided* to kill by following a certain thought process...." This thinking is an exercise in avoiding self-control at all costs, and this kind of thinking, Wilson (Wilson and Seaman, 1983:xvii) said, is based on the "spoilt child's assumption that he 'deserves' freedom, and that all his desires ought to be satisfied more or less immediately."

Third, and more explicitly, much of *The Criminal Personality* (Yochelson and Samenow, 1976) is consistent with the descriptive studies of multiple murderers reviewed at the beginning of this chapter. The criminal personality, like that of the multiple murderer, is likely to exhibit such traits as egotism, greed, vanity, selfishness, spoiltness, callousness, feelings of superiority and

immunity. These and other traits appeared in Yochelson and Samenow's study as a function of different criminal thinking patterns, such as pride or the "power thrust." Also like the early descriptive studies, these researchers did not find any environmental factor sufficient for explanatory purposes, nor did they find any evidence of mental illness. Like Franklin (1965), who considered multiple murderers to be psychopaths, Yochelson and Samenow found the literature on psychopathic personalities to be largely compatible with what they found in studying criminals. Yochelson and Samenow believed that the only way change can occur is through the establishment of individual responsibility. Wilson (Wilson and Seaman, 1983) believed that the only way to change the rising tide of violence is through giving currency to the idea that the price of freedom is responsibility and discipline.

The question remains: how to reconcile individual or collective characteristics of multiple murderers with evidence indicating an increase in the number of such crimes. As the following section on criminological work indicates, much of the emphasis of such work has been on individual causal forces: biologic causes (such as brain damage or birth disorders); disturbances in early childhood; situational factors (such as divorce or the loss of a job); and psychosis, among other causes. In the event any such individual factors were substantiated across a large number of cases, it would still be necessary to demonstrate that such a factor had greatly increased on a social level in order to consider it as potentially causal.

Levin and Fox (1985) reported that mass and serial murders tended to be committed almost exclusively by men, most often by whites and that they were not generally insane, according to most legal definitions. They found the typical mass murderer to be extraordinarily ordinary. Fox (Berger, 1984), however,

cited such factors as the loss of job as an impetus for mass killings. What he failed to explain is how and why life's many problems and frustrations were, for the first time in history, prompting sane and ordinary people to resort to extraordinary, spectacular crimes of violence. By the same logic, none of the other causal forces posited with respect to multiple murderers have been useful in explaining why, for the first time in history, these problems-- which have been identified throughout much of the history of criminology-- were relatively suddenly prompting large numbers of people to carry out the once rare and still complex crimes of multiple murder.

Levin and Fox's (1985) findings received some support from the literature that has been reviewed in this chapter. Consequently, the problem to explain becomes one which must reconcile large numbers of apparently sane and ordinary people on the one hand, with, on the other hand, the increasing numbers of such persons resorting to, specifically, multiple murders. The following is a partial and tentative explanation of the problem derived from the literature that has been reviewed.

It may be that multiple murderers are, as a rule, sane. And sanity, rather than some presumed psychosis, would explain why psychiatrists, such as Tanay (Berger, 1984:9), never found the serial killer to "give any visible signs of derangement, even under the most expert examination." It may be that multiple murderers seem normal in the colloquial sense because, in general, such persons suffer no obvious disorder or the debilitating effects of social or emotional deprivation or disadvantage. It has been noted that multiple murderers do not stand out in a crowd, and that the commonalities found among them do not differentiate such persons from the general population. It may be that some multiple murderers exhibit some of the same thinking patterns found

among the criminal psychopaths studied by Yochelson and Samenow (1976), and that the element of choice may be involved in the decision to commit crimes and reflected in the type of crimes that are committed. If choice is involved, then, as Yochelson and Samenow (1976) and Wilson (Wilson and Seaman, 1983) contended, multiple murderers are persons who have decided to commit their crimes and are therefore responsible for their own actions.

It is not inconsistent, however, to view persons as responsible for their own actions (by virtue of their having no debilitating incapacity and because the element of choice is involved), and to view the same persons as particularly sensitive to social cues-- both pro-social and anti-social. That is, some persons may be particularly receptive to the non-social values that emphasize freedom from all restraints, the search for individual expression and fulfillment, the belief that it is therapeutic to throw off the shackles of restraint and conformity, to say whatever one feels, to express one's anger and to lay blame for one's problems on society, on parents or on anyone but oneself. Some people may also be particularly receptive to anti-social cues.

It is possible that when Speck, Whitman, Ed Gein and Charles Starkweather burst upon the American scene in the late 1950s and grabbed national attention for themselves, the idea of mass and multiple murder became part of the public consciousness. Multiple killings became part of the realm of possibilities. It was a "new" idea, and, according to Yochelson and Samenow (1976:323-324),

Just as many noncriminals are suggestible to the newest in fashion, so is the criminal suggestible to the newest style in crime. This has been demonstrated time and again by a spectacular event's being followed by a rash of similar incidents. Airplane hijackings and kidnappings are two examples. This is not to say that hearing about a particular type of crime turns a man into a criminal. But, having seen that someone has successfully executed a particularly unusual or exciting crime, a person

already disposed to such an act may want to try and do even better. If the earlier attempt was a failure, this makes the challenge even greater.

As multiple murders began to occur more frequently, these cases came to disclose a means of quickly attaining fame and power (over multiple victims, over the populace and over police). Mass murderer Robert Smith proclaimed that he had wanted to become known, to get himself a name. This was precisely what he got when he followed Speck's lead. As the numbers of multiple murders increase, so too does the suggestion of multiple murder present itself increasingly to those who seek some avenue by which to "express" themselves.

There is a building consensus that the mass murderer and the serial or multiple murderer are two distinct types (Berger, 1984). The former is perceived as a person who, because of some situational factor, crossed his threshold of endurance and exploded in violent rage. However, both types of multiple-victim murders have increased, and this indicates that mass, as well as serial or multiple murder, is increasingly being perceived as an avenue by which to express oneself. It is not simply a matter of finding out what circumstances pushed a given person beyond the threshold and into violence. Rather, the point is that more people are crossing the threshold of endurance more quickly, and when they do, they resort more readily to violence of a highly unusual sort--mass murder. It might be said that multiple-victim murders are no longer a rarity because an increasing number of people feel no compunction about expressing their resentment, their feelings of superiority or other needs through murder-- murder felt to be justified and of a type guaranteed to bring notoriety.

Violence, according to Wertham (1966), can be perpetuated or diminished depending upon how a particularly serious crime is handled in its aftermath. Because of the seriousness of the crime, mass and serial murders

are often followed by the type of explanations that would, according to Wertham's thesis, inadvertently serve to justify such actions by failing to explain them in the first place and then by failing to counteract, condemn and resolve those as-yet-unresolved causal factors. For example, one expert believed that, in regard to the man who shot and killed 21 people, "The loss of his job may have driven Mr.[James] Huberty to head toward the hamburger restaurant [McDonald's] to even the score with the wider humanity that had so often frustrated him" (Berger, 1984:9). However, most people endure some equal, if not greater, trauma than those used to explain the crimes of multiple-victim murderers, and yet few would resort to such crimes. But for that tiny proportion of the population ready to justify any action on the basis of need, "frustration" or desire, there seems to exist a particular sensitivity to suggestion and a greater receptiveness to the idea of multiple-victim murder.

#### Relevant Criminological Work: Murderers and Crimes

The scientific study of multiple murders is in its infancy (Berger, 1984). Relevant criminological work is comprised of hypotheses drawn from in-progress research, clinical observations, a few published studies, and some general works (on violence or murder, for instance) which have a bearing on multiple murderers and their crimes. Given the scant amount of published research and the underdeveloped nature of many lines of inquiry, the state-of-the-art is not sufficiently advanced to permit a full-scale evaluation of current research.

What is considered and conveyed in this section is the diversity in the lines of inquiry emerging with respect to a number of variables believed to be

related to multiple murderers and their crimes. The organization of the available literature into variables was suggested by the way current criminological work tends to cluster around certain aspects of life history, personality and crimes. Much of the speculation about murderers and their crimes focuses on given points in time (birth; early childhood; arrest; disposition, for instance), on demographic characteristics, or on psychological dimensions and personality characteristics. Even though much of current thought is loosely concerned with the problems multiple murderers have (such as psychological disturbances) and/or the problems multiple murders present (to law enforcement, for instance), these general concerns can be separated into distinct categories. For the purpose of the review, the following variables were considered: (1) Life History: birth; demographic characteristics; family life; early childhood; school patterns; level of education; social and sexual development; role models; aspirations/occupation; marital status; early criminality; and medical/psychiatric history. (2) Personality Characteristics. (3) The Crimes: links between killer and victims; method of operation; investigation; apprehension; and disposition.

### Life History

The predominant amount of discussion in the literature on multiple murderers falls into the area of the biography or life history of such persons. However, there has been no review of the literature and the literature itself remains an unstructured conglomeration of theories and content themes.

Lifespan/birth. The issue of birth has arisen in two different contexts. In the first, the lifespan or date of birth and death for multiple murderers is of importance in determining the history and prevalence of these crimes.

Differences of opinion now exist as to both the history and the current prevalence of the problem. Lunde (1976:56-59) has argued that multiple "sex" murders are not a product of the times: "Other countries and other centuries have produced sex murderers similar to those I have described from recent U.S. history...Practically every European country had at least one murderer of the 'Ripper' (mutilator) type during the nineteenth century." Lunde found few significant changes in the nature of the crimes. Lunde further argued that current and historical cases were "similar, if not identical" in terms of personal history and mental state.

Rule (U.S. Congress, 1984:20), on the other hand, stated that, "The problem of the serial murderer is a relatively new phenomenon in America. My research shows that the serial murderer is a product of the seventies and eighties...[and] a relatively new breed of killer." This same view was implied in Morrison's (Berger, 1984:9) belief that the serial murderer was a "new personality type." Nevertheless, there remains an "argument over whether multiple murders are increasing or whether there has just been more attention to them in recent years" (Berger, 1984:9).

The variable of birth has also arisen in the context of an emerging biological view of multiple murderers. This orientation was expressed by Darrach and Norris in their article in *Life* (1984:58-72) on serial murder. They noted that investigators in the social and biological sciences have already provided a wealth of knowledge about these killers which has not been used. According to the authors and the researchers interviewed, this new research supports a controversial diagnosis, namely that serial murder is a disease as well as a crime:

"The proclivity for extraordinary violence," says Dr. Vernon Mark, Chief of Neurosurgery at Harvard Medical School and a leading authority on the

anatomy of violence, "is not just an ailment of the mind, as psychologists like to think. Nor is it only a malaise of the society, as sociologists believe. It is both..., but it is also a sickness of the body as distinct and definite as cancer or leprosy." The fatally violent are, in effect, mortally ill (Darrach and Norris, 1984:66).

According to Mednick (Darrach and Norris, 1984:66), a psychology professor at the University of Southern California, the disease begins before birth and it develops subsequently from a combination of social, emotional and biological elements. The variable of birth has several components: The first to consider is the life style or type of woman who conceives, carries and delivers the child. Darrach and Norris (1984:66) reported that "A high percentage of serial murderers were born to unwed mothers, many of them prostitutes...." Further, some of these mothers were said to be alcoholic or drug-addicted. The second component of the variable of birth is what are referred to (Darrach and Norris, 1984:66) as "the stigmata of a disturbed pregnancy." These "stigmata" are visible and present among serial killers and occur as a result of the disturbed pregnancy. Such stigmata were said to include "undeveloped ears," harelips and "elongated second toes." The third component to consider is the traumatic nature of the birth itself, and, according to the authors (Darrach and Norris, 1984:66), "sometimes there is direct evidence of damage to the limbic brain - a small but vital complex that sits on top of the brain stem and controls all feelings... and some functions of memory." The fourth component of the birth variable is the postnatal period wherein babies born of alcoholic or drug-addicted mothers were said to have spent their first weeks of life in a traumatic state of withdrawal. Darrach and Norris (1984:73-74) concluded that

Given the now-demonstrable fact that one cause of serial murder may be brain damage during birth or pregnancy, pediatric neurologists need even more support in their efforts to perfect techniques that avert such damage... Dr. Sarnoff Mednick added that no expense should be spared to lift "the scandalous standard of prenatal care in hospitals that serve the poor."

To the above-noted components of birth can be added one which might be expected for chronic brain syndrome associated with birth trauma: mental deficiency or retardation (Sahakian, 1970).

Two further aspects of the view that serial or multiple murder is a disease can be noted: (1) This view is comprised of individual assertions, the validity of which can be and was ascertained through the use of descriptive material. (2) There are other facets of the "disease" that were posited and are described below, and the validity of facets such as psychomotor epilepsy (considered in connection to the variable of medical history) can be and, in many cases, were ascertained through the use of available materials.

Race and sex. Cartel (1985:229) has noted that before the 1970s, the only "career mass murderers were racially white and male, but as serial killing exploded in the last decade a few black men turned to multicide as well." The prevalence of white offenders was indicated by Lunde (1976:48), who asserted that multiple murderers "are almost always white males." Levin and Fox (1985) described the mass killer as typically a white male. As for gender, Levin and Fox stated unequivocally that most mass killers are male, as did Darrach and Norris (1984), Rule (U.S. Congress, 1984) and the staff of the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit (Porter, 1983).

Information as to race was absent in Darrach and Norris' (1984) survey of "known" information about serial murderers and in Rule's (1983) Senate testimony about her studies. While the exact number of completed interviews of multiple murderers by the Behavioral Science Unit varies from 24 to 40, depending upon the source, the race of these subjects has never been given. Instead, as Porter (1983) reported, the victims of bizarre murders are usually of the same race as the killer. However, in an article on crime profiling by Agents

Ault and Reese (U.S. Congress, 1984), the first item of information supplied for purposes of a profile of an unknown killer is an offender's race. . Even if it is assumed that profilers use the formula of intraracial killings to supply the perpetrator's race, this fails to explain the importance of race for purposes of a profile and the absence of specific information on race for the subjects studied.

From the late 1970s through the early 1980s, one of the most frequent and consistent assertions made about the characteristics of violent offenders-- including offenders involved in random, stranger-to-stranger homicides-- was that such offenders were disproportionately black, (Harris, 1981; "The Curse of Violent Crime," 1981; "Epidemic of Violent Crime," 1981; "1979: It was a Killer Year," 1980; "Atlanta Again Vying to be America's Murder Capitol," 1979). This body of literature contrasted sharply with the findings of the U.S. Justice Department (1980) criminal victimization studies cited earlier and with those few studies that have indicated the race of multiple murderers.

Socioeconomic status and parental employment patterns. Scant information has been given in the literature as to the economic side of the early background of the future multiple murderer (either relative position or "class" or relative economic security). Far more attention has been paid to the much less objectively determinable aspects of family life, such as whether the child experienced emotional neglect, or conversely, had enough love. Nevertheless, there are some indications that multiple murderers are viewed as having come from economically deprived backgrounds. For instance, Mednick (Darrach and Norris, 1984) was quoted previously as stating that one of the ways in which serial murder might be prevented is through lifting the standards of care in hospitals that serve the poor. The assertion (Darrach and Norris, 1984) that the mothers of future multiple murderers are often prostitutes and that the fathers

are sometimes criminally violent implies that the early home life was one of economic insecurity and employment instability. This implication would particularly apply where the mother is not only a prostitute but is also unmarried, for here there would be only one source of income, and the type of employment-- prostitution-- is not usually viewed as consistent with economic security and stability in employment patterns.

Atkinson's (1984:8-A) discussion of serial murder in the context of, "More U.S. Murders Going Unsolved," included the following:

Many of those hunting for deeper social implications [of unsolved homicides, "puzzling" and "stranger" cases] agree with criminology professor Marc Riedel, who said "the greater degree of randomness entering violent crimes" implies a "social order that is coming unglued," at least in inner cities.

Zimring added, "There's an implicit message of urban disintegration and terror which should be quite disquieting."

Since Zimring went on to discuss "recreational" homicides which is a term used almost interchangeable with serial murders by the FBI (Darrach and Norris, 1984), and did so in an article, in part, on serial murders, the assumption is that the inner city areas and the accompanying urban disintegration are associated with, are responsible for or otherwise explain, the increase in serial murders. It is not surprising that urban deterioration would be associated with multiple murders, given the nature of the most entrenched theoretical perspective related to the causation of violent crime and juvenile delinquency.

This perspective is well illustrated by Wolfgang and Ferracuti's (1982:296-297) work on the "Criminogenic Forces of the City." wherein urban life was related to a number of variables. The authors referred to "population density," "reduced family functions," and "greater anonymity" The former were said to be combined at times with, for instance, "poverty, physical deterioration,

low education, ...unemployment or unskilled labor, economic dependency, marital instability or breaks" and poor male models.

In *Crimes of Violence*, Vol. II, A Staff Report to the National Commission (Mulvihill and Tumin, 1969:xxviii), the socioeconomic status and employment patterns were but two of the variables that figured prominently as predictors of violence:

Our statistics show that a young man is particularly liable to become delinquent if he lives in wretched housing near the center of a large metropolitan area, without a father in the house, with low income, unstable employment, little education, and in a subculture that has a grievance against society and the police. These features describe the conditions and prospects of Negro youth in the urban ghettos. Many become violent offenders.

That the association between urban deterioration and violence hinges on the variable of race was indicated by the following comment from Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1982:298):

It is abundantly clear even to the most casual observer that Negroes in American society are the current carriers of ghetto tradition, that they, more than any other socially defined group, are the recipients of urban deterioration....And for this reason, crime in the urban community is commonly a matter of Negro crime.

And finally, a full circle was drawn by a comment from the same source (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1982:267), indicating the connection that was made in traditional thought between socioeconomic status and the variable of birth:

Because of their generally inferior circumstances at birth and their less healthy environment, the lower classes are more vulnerable and more predisposed than are the middle and upper classes to physiological conditions that increase the risk of a situation that is psychologically and sociologically criminogenic.

It is not unreasonable to assume that with the scant amount of research on the demographic characteristics of multiple murderers that social scientists would simply extend the literature on single-victim homicides (or on crime or on

violence) to multiple murderers. However, the literature on multiple murderers did provide two specific indications that socioeconomic status is not a significant factor in the background of multiple murderers: Darrach and Norris (1984) stated at the beginning of their article on serial murders that such murderers came from all walks of life. Dickson (1958:203) concluded in his study of multicides that, "Lack of economic security does not seem a factor to be considered, as few of our subjects came from really poverty-stricken homes."

Location/region: population density. The variable of population density per se was invoked by Strecher, director of the Criminal Justice Center at Sam Houston University, to explain the disproportionately higher rate of domestic, as well as random, stranger murders, in Dallas, Texas, as contrasted with Southern California's San Diego, in particular. Swanson (1980:1) reported that scholars such as Strecher

...find the cause [of such violence] in increased population density and decreased quality of life in the inner city....In cramped, deteriorating inner city neighborhoods, Strecher said, "I suspect the tolerance for other people's day to day difficulties and circumstances rather boils over." Strecher predicted that violent crime will continue to rise "until the major cities like Dallas or Houston are able to manage distribution of population."

However, this view contrasted with the findings of Schichor et al., (1979) "Population Density and Criminal Victimization-- Some Unexpected Findings." Their study, using crime survey victimization data for 26 large cities, refuted the relationship between population density and criminal victimization. The authors noted these negative associations and suggested that new lines of investigation are required, particularly in the area of regional studies.

Levin and Fox (1985), in their study of mass killers, noted that while such murders occurred more often in cities, a comparison of urban and rural statistics

could be misleading because a serial killer in a small town is more likely to be caught relatively early. These authors reported four particularly pronounced regional patterns:

1. A disproportionate number of mass murders occurred within commuting distance of New York City (although the authors admitted that the numbers may have been higher because of the way cases were selected.)
2. There was a low incidence of mass murder in the South, with near absence in the Deep South. While 42 percent of homicides nationwide in the period of 1976-1980 occurred in the South, only one in four mass murders occurred in the South.
3. One southern state-- Texas-- produced "more than its share" of mass murders, however (Levin and Fox,1985:62). Outnumbered only by New York and California, Texas contributed about one-tenth of all cases of mass murder during the four-year-period of this study. Together, these three states comprised 24 percent of the U. S. population, but accounted for 42 percent of all mass murders for this period.
4. Levin and Fox (1985:63) reported that, "The West Coast, more than any other region, has experienced the highest rate of mass murder per capita. Further,...no other place has been the site of as many bizarre, ritualistic, sadistic, and gory mass killings as Southern California."<sup>\*</sup>

When serial or multiple murders rather than mass murders are considered separately and with respect to regional patterns, the South does not

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<sup>\*</sup>Levin and Fox (1985) appeared to be referring to both mass and serial murders in their discussion of the West Coast. In an earlier report (Berger, 1984:9) of their findings, the authors explicitly stated that serial murders were excluded from their survey of mass murders by state. It is not always clear from their text whether the authors are referring to either or to both mass and serial murders.

appear to be exempt. For instance, Senator Hawkins of Florida testified that her own state "has been particularly hard hit by these multiple or pattern murderers," (U.S. Congress,1984:10). The low rate of mass murder, however, was explained by Levin and Fox (1985) as being due in part to the South's having maintained its traditional support systems, its churches and its sense of community, for instance. Further, these authors argued that while the "duel" has been a part of Southern culture and the South, as a whole, has subscribed to violence as an appropriate means for resolving conflicts, mass murder "seems to stem from circumstances, motivations, and strains that are less prevalent in the South" (Levin and Fox,1985:62).

Levin and Fox (1985) attributed the increase in mass murders in Texas and California to the influx of people to the states' boom cities. They pointed to the many people who had left their homes and loved-ones behind and then had failed to make it in their last-ditch effort to prosper. This argument draws upon the notions of "frustration" or a "final straw" as precipitating factors for mass killings.

It is in Southern California, in particular, however, that large numbers of serial murders occur. Levin and Fox (1985:64) contended that the easygoing "doing your own thing" lifestyle might be attracting people who prefer life without any restraints. The authors referred to Southern California as the "sex capital" of the U. S. and as a veritable "playground for murder." Wilson (Wilson and Seaman,1983:xiv) made much the same observation about California, when he referred to it as an area subject to a "behavioral sink."

For Levin and Fox (1985:63-64), "A heritage was passed on by Charles Manson and Juan Corona to the more recent killers... [such as] the Skid-Row Slasher, the Freeway Killer, the Sunset Strip Killer, and the Hillside

Strangler...." Elsewhere ("L. A. Murders Show A Grisly Rise, And Authorities Are Puzzled," *San Diego Union*, 1980:A2), a heritage of multiple murder may have evolved into an increasing number of more ordinary cases-- cases involving random and stranger murders:

Southern California has long had a reputation as the locale of bizarre multiple-murder cases such as the Charles Manson killings in 1969, the Hillside Strangler murders of 10 young women..., and the so-called Trash-Bag murders in 1977, in which an aerospace engineer murdered at least 20 young male homosexuals....

These days, in a case the television newscasters are calling the Freeway Murders, authorities are trying to solve the slayings of 30 young men who died since 1972....

Five young women, ... have been killed..., and detectives...suspect...the same person.

While such multiple slaughter attracts the most public attention, local officials are more puzzled by the increasing number of victims in more "routine" cases.

According to this article, FBI data showed New York City, with a population three times that of Los Angeles, to have reported 1,733 murders for 1979 to Los Angeles' 1,975 murders for the same year. Further, the 20 percent increase in Los Angeles' murders over the previous year was far greater than the national (9 percent) increase in murders. Assistant county coroner Wilson noted the increase in "senseless" killings, but said that it was not believed to be due to the economy. Loya, a UCLA psychologist working on a federally funded study to determine the cause of the killings, attributed some of the deaths to those groups who are willing to accept below-minimum wages and thereby are increasing the competition for jobs and housing, thus creating stress. He also stated that those who are attracted to L. A. are "immigrants from other states;" but these "immigrants" are, according to Loya, young people who have not been happy with their families for they had found "less love and support" than they needed to develop good self-esteem("L.A. Murders Show A Grisly Rise,..." 1980:A2).

It might be assumed from the above-quoted literature that California's multiple murder problem is a problem of the large cities and Eastern transplants. This is not necessarily the case, for as Godwin (1978:310-312) noted, the small town of Santa Cruz, with three multicides in quick succession, came to be dubbed, "the murder capital of the world." Of the three murderers, two were local boys, and the other a native Californian.

It is consequently important to identify more than the region or size of the city, but also the location where multiple murderers were born and committed their crimes.

Family life. The literature relevant to multiple murderers tends to treat the family as if it were indistinguishable from the variable of early childhood. There are of course many instances in which the two variables are not separable, as is the case, for example, when children are reared in the home of devoutly religious and observant parents who demanded such observance from their children. For the purposes of this research, however, the family was generally meant to refer to such characteristics as: (1) whether or not the child was adopted; (2) whether or not the parents' marriage was intact; (3) the existence of siblings and/or other members of the extended family who resided, or frequently interacted, with the child; (4) general level of stability in the parental (or guardians') relationship during the early life of the child; (5) general personality characteristics and life style of the mother and of the father; and (6) observable patterns of interaction between child and other members of the family.

Levin and Fox (1985:37) wrote about adoption that it is commonly noted that mass killers experienced rejection early in childhood:

Indeed, a large proportion of mass killers - like Kenneth Bianchi, the "Hillside Strangler," and David Berkowitz, the "Son of Sam" - were adopted early in life; adoption is sometimes viewed by the child as the ultimate form of rejection by his biological parents. Some psychologists suggest that the frustrations engendered from such early rejection can explode into a violent rage, provided that a sufficient triggering event occurs.

Levin and Fox (1985:37) considered this as an incomplete view, as

Hundreds of thousands of people have been adopted, yet most will never come close to committing mass murder. Frustration of any kind early in life can predispose certain individuals to commit heinous crimes; but it can more easily motivate someone to strive to overcome his limitations by succeeding in a brilliant career.

For Levin and Fox (1985:37) these theories lead to overprediction:

Even if *all* killers were adopted, rejected bedwetters, they would not approach the number of 'normal' adults sharing these childhood experiences. Indeed, these characteristics are more predictive of nonviolence than violence.

The first of the three above-quoted statements of Levin and Fox (1985) provided some indication of the way adoption was viewed, but did not explain how much of this view was a psychological interpretation and how much could actually be attributed to the adoptee. Adoption proceedings (and residence with the adoptive parents) began at the age of three months for Bianchi and within a few days after birth for Berkowitz. On logical grounds, it is implausible to think that at such an early age (which is typical for adoption cases) an infant could view adoption as "the ultimate form of rejection by his biological parents" (Levin and Fox, 1985:37). In his book on Bianchi, Schwarz (1982:124) considered the possibility of the affect on Bianchi of his having been "unwanted by his real mother," and then left in foster homes prior to his adoption. Schwarz cited Reagor, a psychologist and expert in child abuse and its results, as believing that such a situation could have emotional results ranging from extreme insecurity to (apparently, at the worst,) mild antisocial behavior.

However, Schwarz (1982:124) stated that adoption into a loving home "almost always counters any long-term problems." As for physical or emotional child abuse, if it continues over a long enough period, it can lead a child to commit violence and to block such violence from the mind-- a situation referred to as altered ego states. However, it was Reagor's opinion that "this type of change takes far longer than just the first four months of life" (Schwarz, 1982:124).

Without sufficient supporting information, the biological mother who gives up her child for adoption has been unjustifiably characterized as having rejected or having abandoned her child. Similarly, adoptees have been broadly characterized as having experienced the frustration of early rejection without any definitive evidence to support this view. Further, it seems unjustified to downgrade the adoptive parents' status to that of temporary caretakers and inadequate substitutes, as Klausner (1981) did in his book on Berkowitz. Klausner has Berkowitz "rejected" by his biological mother and "taken in" by "foster parents." Although Berkowitz was legally adopted, Klausner repeatedly added the prefix "foster" when writing about Mr. or Mrs. Berkowitz.

Beyond what has already been discussed, adoption does not play a predominant role in the majority of descriptions of the multiple murderers' early family life. If, indeed, it is a common observation that multiple murderers were adopted early in life, then a corollary of this observation would be that such children had the benefit in their early life of two parents whose marriage was intact. (It was not until quite recently, and still is not the norm, that single persons are granted permission to adopt.)

It is not only the biological mother who opts for adoption who is viewed as having rejected her child. The mother who chooses to keep her child has

been similarly viewed as rejecting, as the following views about serial killers, articulated by Darrach and Norris (1984:66), disclosed:

Emotional damage began immediately [after birth]. Most of these children came into the world unwanted and were rejected simply because they existed. They were rarely hugged, rocked, sung to, talked to, played with. Some were born to alcoholic or drug-addicted mothers and spent their first weeks in a traumatic state of withdrawal. In short, they were sensorially and emotionally deprived -- and sensory deprivation alone...can cause a deterioration of cells in the limbic brain and cerebellum. As a direct result of this cell damage, the abused and neglected child may become profoundly withdrawn, then violently destructive either to himself or to others.

Darrach and Norris (1984) did not discuss the issue of adoption. Instead, it was observed, on the one hand, that many serial murderers were born to unwed mothers, many of whom were prostitutes. On the other hand, according to Darrach and Norris (1984:68), serial murderers do have fathers and apparently live in two-parent households, for:

To make matters worse, most of the fathers of these future killers were violent, sometimes criminally violent, and many of their mothers were confined for long periods in mental hospitals. This parental combination, says Dr. Mednick, is a formula for disaster. His studies have shown that male children of a criminally violent father and a gravely disturbed mother are almost certain to become violent criminals.

As for the general level of stability in the parental relationship, Darrach and Norris went on to assert that the fathers repeatedly assaulted, slashed and raped their mothers.

In regard to parent-child interactions, Darrach and Norris (1984:68) reported that from the time serial killers were babies, they were the victims of extreme brutality. Often the children themselves "were beaten, kicked, thrown down stairs, hurled against walls." Gacy and Manson were reported by the authors to have suffered extensive head injuries as children. The authors quoted professor Lewis, who had studied condemned murderers, as stating that

"Major brain injuries are very common among homicidal persons." Darrach and Norris further reported that the parents of serial killers have been described as playing a game of torture and that they have often subjected their children to sexual traumas. According to Darrach and Norris (1984:68), Manson was subjected to the latter when he was forced to sleep in the same room where his prostitute mother was earning her money.

In the following, Darrach and Norris (1984:68) have offered a psychological interpretation of family life which blurred the distinction between this variable and early childhood. (The remaining relevant material from this article is considered with respect to other variables.)

The next stage in the making of a serial murderer, says Dr. Alice Miller, a Swiss expert on violence, is self-deceit. Afraid to express anger against such menacing parents, the future murderers decided to appease their tormenters. Swallowing their rage, they became the good little automatons their parents wanted them to be. But the negative feelings were not gone. Deep down in the night mind, rage secretly began to fester into more and more horrible fantasies of revenge.

A somewhat similar interpretation of the parent-child relationship was expressed by Morrison (Berger, 1984:9). Morrison, a psychiatrist, felt that serial killers represented a "new personality type" by virtue of their having such "defects" as an absence of guilt, empathy or an appreciation for other peoples' lives-- characteristics which are usually associated with antisocial personality. Berger (1984:9) reported that Morrison

...believes that "the defect that occurs in these individuals occurs before they're six months old." For example, she said, as a newborn Mr. Gacy was given enemas by his mother for no apparent medical reason. "These experiences tend to be expressed as a world that persecutes them... They are very fearful. They have fears of death, of total helplessness, of total psychological fragmentation."

In the same article, Berger (1984:9) also reported the views of Liebert, a psychiatrist at the University of Washington in Seattle. Liebert pointed to the

absence of in-depth psychological research. Nevertheless, he hypothesized that within the first years of life, "a flaw occurs in the bonding process between mother and infant so that they develop a sadistic, aggressive relationship with each other." Liebert suggested that the child may consequently grow up to see women as "either angels or whores." However, the flaw in this theory is again one of overprediction, for as Liebert pointed out, "there have been lots of people like this and only a tiny, tiny percentage that ever killed" (Berger, 1984:9).

Lunde's (1976:53) view of the development of sadism and aggression in the child and the mother-child relationship was more psychoanalytic than Liebert's, but it was expressed with the same tentativeness and admitted absence of knowledge. Lunde asserted that,

In rare individuals, for reasons that are not well understood, sexual and violent aggressive impulses merge early in the child's development, ultimately finding expression in...the most extreme cases [in] sadistic...or sex murders.... Normally there is an intense but ambivalent relationship with the mother. Her death is often fantasized.... Later on, she may become one of the victims. A Freudian explanation would involve the notion of the Oedipus complex. The killer is in love with the mother and therefore unable to have sex with any other woman. Only by killing the mother can he find release.

Lunde (1976:48-49) has also stated that while childhood experiences are of some importance in shaping the multiple murderers' distorted world view, "I do not wish to imply that these early emotional traumas *caused* their later problems. The fact is that we do not *know* the precise causes of these psychotic mentalities."

From the literature presented thus far, the predominate views can be seen to range from the perception of multiple murderers as victims of rejection, neglect, physical, sexual and emotional abuse and torture, to the perception of a flaw in the bonding process or a "defect" caused by something the mother

does, to the psychoanalytic conception of the Oedipal complex and an ambivalent relationship with the mother.

The thread that runs through these views is that the future multiple murderer is the victim of the mother, particularly, and that the subsequent act of taking lives is an act of revenge against surrogate or symbolic mothers. In the first view, derived perhaps from the current concern over child abuse, the assumed association between child abuse and serial murder fails to take into account other possibilities, such as overcoming one's childhood or expressing violence in the form of abuse toward one's own family. In the psychoanalytic view, the problem lies in the notion of the Oedipal complex which makes differentiation between the normal and the pathological "love of mother" difficult (since the Oedipal conflict is, in itself, not pathological.) It is, however, "said to involve sexual feelings toward the mother which result in guilt feelings and fear that the father may castrate the powerless young boy as punishment for his incestuous desires" (Lunde,1976:96).

Lunde's (1976) statement on the genesis of multiple murder was representative of the psychoanalytic position. The similar emphasis on the mother, on the love/hate relationship and the difficulty in distinguishing the pathological from the normal Oedipal complex were all evident in the statements made by psychiatrists who were involved in developing a profile of the then-unknown Boston Strangler. For instance, Brussel, a New York psychiatrist, offered his theory that there was one murderer who was psychotic and who, with each successive killing, searched for his potency. Brussel (Frank,1967:171) said that this case "was the ancient story of the Oedipus complex, a man's unconscious sexual desire for his mother, an impulse he dares not yield to." Kenefick (Frank,1967:167), who headed the Medical-

Psychiatric Committee working on the Boston killings, explained that, "Generally, the sex murderer contains within himself 'an encapsulated core of rage' directed at an important figure in his early life - usually a dominant, overwhelming female." Kenefick believed that the murders were attempts to carry out the buried incestual fantasies and to "exorcise" fears of the dominating mother.

One of the problems with the theory of an Oedipal conflict as it relates to multiple, or so-called sexual, murderers, is that the descriptions of the mothers are not particularly or inevitably pathological. Referring again to the case of the Boston Strangler, the Medical-Psychiatric Committee described the unknown strangler's mother as "A sweet, orderly, neat, compulsive, seductive, punitive, overwhelming woman. She might go about half-exposed..., but punish him severely for any sexual curiosity" (Frank,1967:168).

Rule (U. S. Congress,1984), a former policewoman and an author, offered the sole explanation of the motivation of serial murderers in her testimony before the Senate Hearing on this subject. Her explanation was a derivative of the psychodynamic view in its simplest form. Asked what observations or conclusions she had came to in regard to motivation, Rule stated,

I think it does go back to childhood, and I hate to say it, as a mother... myself, but the [serial murderers] that I have researched so far who have killed women harbor either an excessive dependency on their mother and never being able to please her, or a hatred for their mothers (Rule,1984:15).

Ellis and Gullo (1971:158) simply concluded their review of psychological theories of murder by stating that their reading of the case histories of murderers whom they had not personally interviewed led them almost invariably to the same conclusion. "Whenever sufficient material is given

on the...background, it is consistently found that...his upbringing, particularly in relation to his being treated kindly by his parents and his being emotionally close to them..., left much to be desired."

FBI agents Ressler and Douglas of the Behavioral Science Unit provided a similarly vague characterization of the backgrounds of multiple murderers: "Mostly, they come from unhappy homes, and experienced a troubled childhood," they stated (Mansfield, 1980). Porter ( 1983:48), also reporting on the FBI unit's profiling efforts in cases of serial and "bizarre" murders, wrote that, "The FBI knows from its crime statistics that killers of this nature tend to come from broken homes...." It is not made clear how the FBI could "know" this, as there are no crime statistics on "killers of his nature" nor on the variable of broken homes.

Yochelson and Samenow's (1976) study of 240 criminals disclosed that what appeared at first to be an adverse environmental condition turned out, upon further investigation, not to have been one at all. When these researchers probed beyond the fact that a home was broken, they discovered that it was often the problematic parent who had left, and the breaking up of the family served to stabilize life for the child. The authors (Yochelson and Samenow, 1976:120) stated that, "In fact, every home we looked into had some stabilizing influence, with caring, responsible people stepping in to assume parental roles." While some criminals came from impoverished homes, these homes were generally characterized by the presence of a mother or parents-substitute who was honest and reliable, who stepped in or who assumed even greater responsibility to improve the lot for the children. As their research made clear, beyond the superficial identification of an adverse condition, there remained the more fundamental issue of the quality of care given the child.

Specifically, these researchers (Yochelson and Samenow, 1976:123) found that, "With few exceptions, the mothers were responsible.... Nearly all placed a premium on duty to family and willingly sacrificed for their children when it was necessary." In only a minority of cases, were the mothers heavy drinkers, adulterers or involved in serious crime. Yochelson and Samenow (1976:125) similarly found that, "Most of the fathers were stable, responsible, hardworking men [who] strove to improve themselves and provide a decent life for their families." Fathers who were criminals did not want their children to follow in their paths. The researchers (Yochelson and Samenow, 1976:125) concluded that, "Clearly, parents' personalities and behaviors are not all determining."

Yochelson and Samenow (1976:123) found that

...when criminals account to others for violations, they seek exoneration by claiming to be victims of environment. They may cite the broken home..., and so forth, without mentioning any of the mitigating factors that helped to stabilize their homes... [or that siblings with the same problems] surmounted them.

Findings on the family life of criminals may, consequently, hinge upon whether or not researchers look for adverse conditions and/or take the criminals' account at face value.

Early childhood. The literature on the early childhood of multiple murderers is largely a restatement of some of the findings reported in the literature on murderers generally, followed by assertions that certain factors were found in the biographies of given individual multiple murderers. For example, in *Mass Murder: America's Growing Menace*, Levin and Fox (1985:27) reported on the so-called Macdonald triad. Macdonald, a psychiatrist, had suggested that it might be possible to predict future homicides

on the basis of three factors: enuresis, arson and torturing small animals. Levin and Fox went on to say that Bianchi was reported to have had a "wetting problem during childhood and once had killed a cat as a prank." Further, Berkowitz set many fires (Levin and Fox, 1985).

Similarly, Darrach and Norris (1984:68) restated the "Macdonald triad," without, however, citing Macdonald. According to these authors, "Some [serial murderers] wet their beds, evidence of poor impulse control." Also, "Many tortured insects... or set mice on fire." Ottis Toole was cited as an example of a person who committed arson as a young child. Edmund Kemper was cited as an example of a child who killed an animal.

Another example of the application of homicide studies to multiple murderers, followed by anecdotal evidence from multiple murder cases, came from Levin and Fox (1985). These authors asserted that many mass killers have experienced rejection and are really "the victims of frustration," and that "[f]rustration tends to increase various forms of aggressive behavior" (Levin and Fox, 1985:68). The basis for this assertion is apparently Palmer's 1960 study of psychological frustration in non mass murderers as compared to their brothers. According to Levin and Fox (1985:68), Palmer showed that the killers in his study "had severely frustrating childhood illnesses, accidents, child abuse, physical defects, isolation and poverty." Levin and Fox then stated that frustration was frequently found among the mass killers they studied; and they cited the case of the mass murderer, Frederick Cowan.

Parental rejection, abandonment, neglect and abuse are among the most prominent themes in the literature on the early childhood of multiple murderers. What is confusing is that these themes appear in a number of different contexts, are used to explain different things and are rarely operationally defined. It is

often unclear what is meant by a term such as "rejection," for there is little differentiation between the use of the term as a theoretical assumption and its use as a description of what the child subjectively or objectively experienced.

For example, Levin and Fox (1985:29) reported that psychiatrists Hellman and Blackman have followed Macdonald's theory, emphasizing that the three behaviors-- bedwetting, firesetting, and cruelty to animals-- are responses to "parental abandonment, neglect, or brutality." Hellman and Blackman are not referring to objectively verifiable parental behaviors, however, when they "conjecture that enuresis is a reaction to parental rejection or abuse in that the child rebels and resists the type of sphincter control" (Levin and Fox, 1985:27-28) the mother wants, or when they indicated that bedwetting "represents a form of sadism or hostility, since the act of voiding is equated in fantasy with damaging and destroying."

Levin and Fox (1985:29) reported another study-- conducted by Evseeff and Wisniewski-- in which the same themes appeared, but in a different context:

...[These psychiatrists] have proposed a theory of childhood experiences which cause 'homicidal-proneness.' This theory builds on the case of "Bill," an anonymous mass killer who [killed his family]. Based on this single example, they suggest that the traumatic childhood experiences of being sexually abused, brutally beaten, and abandoned may be important factors in creating a mass murderer.

In this particular case, there apparently were observed patterns of parental behavior that were traumatic. What is questionable is the development of a theory on the basis of a single case.

Quite a different picture of the term "rejection" was depicted in Yochelson and Samenow's (1976) study of criminals. These researchers found the following patterns: (1) Criminals initially and generally described their mothers in an unfavorable light, noting what she did or did not do for them. The

definition of a bad mother, however, turned out to be one who failed to do everything the child wanted: "The most critical aspects of these accounts is that the criminal makes himself the victim of unreasonable, punitive parents, never describing what he did to evoke the restraints or punishments" (Yochelson and Samenow, 1976:124). (2) The criminals knew very little about what their fathers did or felt or liked, which might make it appear to some that the men were weak or passive or uncaring. However, it turned out that this was not the case-- that the criminal was the one uninterested in the parents. Yochelson and Samenow (1976:125) found that "Rather than being rejected by their parents, the parents were rejected by them." This apparently occurred even when the criminal, as a child, was the favorite of the father, and it did so in part because the criminal was interested in other things. (3) Yochelson and Samenow found rejection toward biological or surrogate parents to exist because, as children, criminals often resented anyone who attempted to restrict their freedom by setting any limits. (These researchers were able to learn more about family life by incorporating into their study interviews with the family members and the accounts the criminals gave after they had undergone changes in their thinking patterns.)

With respect to early childhood, Yochelson and Samenow (1976) found that from an early age, the future criminal was observed by his parents as "different." There were, for example, extreme behavioral fluctuations, an extreme resistance to taking "no" for an answer, a chronic restlessness, irritability and dissatisfaction, a tendency to take good things for granted and to be appreciative of very little, to shy away from affection and reject the love that was offered. They found an aura of secrecy about the child, a pattern of lying, often just for the sake of lying, and a tendency to set himself apart and to lead a

secret life involving an increasing number of forbidden activities. Because of all this, there developed in the home a "communication gap," in which the parents were blamed for not talking or not understanding. But it is the child who was the determining factor here; it is he who pulled away so that others would not interfere. It is at this point that such children went through the motions of doing what their parents expected of them. And it is just such a circumstance that an expert such as Miller (see the previously quoted material from Darrach and Norris, 1984:68) misperceived as an attempt to appease the "tormenting parents," as a stage in which the child became the "good little automatons" that their parents wanted them to be.

A description such as that of Miller (Darrach and Norris, 1984) assumes that the parents are totally responsible for shaping the child's behavior and outlook. It does not seem to matter which of the "three child-rearing practices - authoritarian, permissive or democratic" characterized the parents; when the child becomes a criminal, the parents are faulted (Yochelson and Samenow, 1976:132).

*The Criminal Personality* (Yochelson and Samenow, 1976) confirmed, however, what recent studies have documented: that the child exercises a profound influence on parental behavior from infancy onward, and their study disclosed how the criminal child exploits his parents' methods of dealing with him. "By his own behavior," Yochelson and Samenow (1976:132) stated, "a criminal child virtually compels new attitudes and behavior on the part of the parents." The parents find themselves trying to control their child in ways they had not intended, such as being as strict as their own parents had been, when they had vowed never to be. Further, "The child has provoked the parent into behavior that the former then calls harmful and 'unfair.'"

Yochelson and Samenow (1976:121) concluded from their study of criminals (or psychopaths) that circumstances did not determine children's lives: "The important fact here is that one cannot predict from an evaluation of early circumstances how a child will turn out." Levin and Fox (1985:36) similarly concluded that the ability to predict a mass murderer, even where the Macdonald triad was present, was very limited. As these authors noted, Macdonald himself, upon further research, began to doubt the predictive value of these symptoms:

Comparing the personal histories of violent and nonviolent psychiatric patients, [Macdonald] failed to find differences between the groups in terms of the triad of symptoms. Contradicting some psychiatric speculations, Macdonald also found no differences between the groups with respect to parental brutality and seduction (that is, excessive stimulation) during their upbringing.

Cleckley (1982), in his classic study of psychopaths, *The Mask of Sanity*, made several observations concerning the psychopaths' early childhood and upbringing that tended to support Yochelson and Samenow's (1976) study. First, Cleckley reported a proclivity among psychopaths to tell false or fantastic events about their childhoods, particularly in response to an examiner's convictions and desire for confirming evidence bearing on any number of theories. Second, Cleckley (1982:258) found a large proportion of the psychopaths he studied to show "backgrounds that appear conducive to happy development and excellent adjustment." Social service reports and other information usually indicated "normal and helpful family attitudes and general environments." Third, Cleckley (1982:259) reported that, "During all my years of experience with hundreds of psychopaths... no type of parent or of parental influence, overt or subtle, has been regularly demonstrable."

School patterns and level of education. In order to fully describe the life history of multiple murderers, these variables would need to be broken down into discreet categories, with relevant material brought to bear on the specifics of elementary school development, high school patterns and the level of education. As with any biography, relevant material would encompass such aspects as conduct in the classroom-- whether, for instance, the youth was consistently disruptive and in what way, or was unobtrusive or was studious and attentive; behavior outside of the classroom including relations with classmates and involvement in extracurricular activities; scholarship, that is, the standard of work done in school; other indications of ability, such as observations of teachers or IQ test scores or particular interests and/or achievements; and level of education, plus any further attempts to educate oneself in general or in a given area of interest through, for instance, reading. With respect to the literature on multiple murderers, these variables have not been broken down, and scant attention has been paid to the number and nature of years spent in school.

Most references to multiple murderers' school years say little about the school experience per se. For instance, Lunde (1976:53) wrote about the multiple ("sexual sadist") murderers' school years in terms of "from early childhood on," and then described these years as a time of extensive daydreaming. Regardless of the nature of the home life, schools do provide normal interpersonal relationships for the child to observe; and the nature of education does require some participation with others on the part of the child. Nevertheless, Lunde (1976:53) stated that, "In lieu of normal interpersonal relationships, [multiple murderers, as children] have incredibly active fantasy lives." More specifically, according to Lunde (1976:53), their fantasies are

sadistic, and as they get older they derive sexual pleasure from thinking about horrible murders. In the early teens, an extracurricular interest develops and is nurtured in post-educational adulthood: "An early interest in guns, knives and various instruments of torture and death" are seen in the fantasies, the readings and in any drawings of such people. As an adult, according to Lunde (1976:53), the individual collects weapons, becomes expert in their use and develops "an emotional attraction to weapons... which goes far beyond that of any ordinary collector."

Lunde's (1976) conclusions pertained to the school years yet provided no indication as to how, if or what schooling did to shape the individual's development. Lunde (1976:53) began with no more than the "intense and ambivalent relationship with the mother" and the notion of a merger of sexual and violent impulses then described the development of a multiple murderer without ever considering another aspect of the individual's world.

Darrach and Norris (1984) have implied that when multiple murderers go to school, the results are inevitable. Multiple murderers are said to do poorly in school and to start early on to see themselves as failures. No objective or subjective evidence of this failure was cited. Rather than documenting this supposed failure, Darrach and Norris (1984:68) focused instead on its causes. They wrote that

As young children many serial murderers were clinically hyperactive. [Kenneth] Bianchi and [Joseph] Kallinger, for instance, were restless, uncoordinated in movement and thought, unfeeling, nasty. Numb by abuse, they reacted less than normal children to fear or pain or pleasure. Though bright, even gifted, they lacked the courage and concentration to follow a line of thought to a conclusion. So they did poorly in school and... [saw] themselves as failures.

There are several problems with this causal chain: Only two cases, Bianchi and Kallinger, were cited, and neither one is particularly appropriate to

the contention. Bianchi and Kallinger have little in common-- aside from both having been adopted and both attempting, unsuccessfully, to use insanity as a defense. The two varied greatly with respect to level of education and general intelligence. Bianchi's IQ was 116, whereas Kallinger's IQ was 89. Bianchi had some college education and was able to pass himself off as a psychologist; Kallinger was a shoemaker. There are logical problems with the argument as well: with such devastating problems as these children were supposed to have had, how did the giftedness manage to survive, and if it did survive, why was it not expressed in school? For a child to begin to see himself as a failure requires some feeling, responsiveness and vulnerability; but Darrach and Norris (1984) portrayed the child as numbed, unfeeling and unresponsive. Another question is how children who lack the courage and concentration to even think something out manage in adulthood to think, plan and carry out a series of crimes as complex as those of serial murder? Finally, the most serious problem with this causal statement is that the relationship of hyperactivity and/or abuse to school performance-- whether clearly demonstrated or not-- can have little bearing on multiple murderers since there is no research which specifically addresses the performance of multiple murderers in school.

Dickson (1958), whose study of multicides has been considered as part of the descriptive literature, referred briefly to school performance and level of education in his conclusions. He found that killers for profit differed markedly from killers whose primary motivation, he believed, was indulgence in perversion. Of the former, Dickson (1958:203-204) cited examples of "clever" individuals, of university men and of persons who were well-trained, and said, "The standard is surprisingly high." Dickson believed that those who fit the latter category all suffered during their school days because they felt they were

different, even inferior. However, Dickson did not indicate in his conclusions how such individual performed academically.

Yochelson and Samenow (1976) examined the criminals' school experience in depth. As a consequence, they went beyond the surface portrayal of the school experience as a time of failure and shame. They reported that, "The criminal has no concept of 'education,' and it is rare for him to derive any benefit appropriate to what a school purports to offer" (Yochelson and Samenow, 1976:143). The educational process was viewed as irrelevant to his needs. The reason for this, as Yochelson and Samenow (1976:145) explained, was that the future criminal

...believes that he is superior to the common herd, which plods along completing daily assignments, studying for tests, and doing homework. The criminal child considers himself above the others, because he does things that others would not do and refuses to do what is required....

The criminal youngster believes that he is brighter than most and that his native ability exceeds that of his classmates. He thinks he can become anything if he will only set his mind to it; to become a doctor, an astronaut, the president of a corporation... awaits only his decision. With this certainty of mind, he does not consider it incumbent on him to prove anything to anyone, at least not by working hard.

With this attitude toward school and school-work, the criminal child may do poorly in school (although the authors reported that most are bright enough to get by and, in some cases, do relatively well). However, even when they do poorly, they do not take poor grades personally or consider themselves failures. Rather, they consider themselves as merely inattentive or disinterested. "In fact," according to Yochelson and Samenow (1976:146), "he does not regard himself as a poor student at all."

The case of Kenneth Bianchi was cited by Darrach and Norris (1984) as an example of a serial murderer who does poor work in school and sees

himself as a failure. However, the perception that arises from O'Brien's (1985:88) book on the case fits Yochelson and Samenow's (1976) findings:

...young Kenny was no practical, workaday sort of guy. Kenny had the imagination of a visionary or a deadbeat.... Kenneth Bianchi would never be satisfied with [a life of]... banalities.

He sensed a future of ill-defined greatness.... Bianchi was temperamentally an aristocrat, inherently convinced that ordinary work and certainly manual labor were beneath him.... [H]e sensed that he would rise, as effortlessly and inevitably as hot air.... He considered becoming a statesman, an artist, a doctor. He had a confidence in his opinions... (O'brien, 1985:88).

Further, Bianchi, as O'brien (1985:92) noted, was a bright and lazy student, and later, when he applied for jobs and failed to get them, he never took the rejection personally. He blamed something else, like an admissions test.

Yochelson and Samenow (1976) observed that the native intelligence of criminals may not show up on intelligence tests-- or in the literature analyzing delinquents' school careers in terms of intellectual deficiencies and learning disabilities. The authors (Yochelson and Samenow, 1976:148) further observed that, "The trap into which some educators fall is to confuse a failure to learn that is due to lack of interest with a failure to learn that is due to... deficiency or organic impairment." If a child sees school as irrelevant to his needs, then poor academic performance may well reflect the choices he has made and not any impairment or inability.

Social development. For the purposes of this research, the variable of social development refers to at least three ways in which an individual's social-psychological development can be described: (1) how the individual interacts with others; the quantity and the quality of friendships and other associations (including, for instance, any childhood playmates or persons sufficiently acquainted with the individual to be able to comment upon him, their

relationship and their own reactions to learning of the individual's involvement in the crimes.) (2) How do others respond to the individual? (Are most people attracted to, repelled by, or indifferent to the individual? Is this a person that other people notice?) Also, what adjectives are used to describe the individual? (Is the person perceived, for instance, as sociable, popular, aloof or distant?) (3) What is the meaning that other people have for the individual?

The literature relative to social development is so minimal that it can be summed up in the widespread view that multiple murderers are loners and friendless. This view was expressed by Lunde (1976:53) who, in writing about (psychotic) multiple sex murderers, stated that "They usually have few normal social and sexual relationships." Levin and Fox (1985:71-72) arrived at much the same conclusion, although for different reasons. They contended that serial murderers were (sane) sociopaths, and that one characteristic of the sociopath is that they "are unable to have lasting or meaningful relationships." Thus, whether multiple murderers are believed to be psychotic sexual sadists or psychopaths, they are viewed as friendless and incapable of friendships and attachments. Neither Lunde nor Levin and Fox offered supporting evidence for their conclusions. It is possible that this omission reflects a reliance upon the labels that were applied, rather than having been derived from their studies of multiple murderers.

This view of multiple murderers may have arisen, in part, because it "makes more sense" to perceive multiple murderers as persons who have lived their lives in frustrated, fantasy-filled isolation, cut off from the world and untouched by the warmth and companionship of others. Common sense, a deterministic doctrine and a time-honored tradition of blaming the mother would all lead to a conception of multiple murderers as loners, so unattached and

detached that they are islands unto themselves, so hurt and frustrated that they strike out at the world in acts that express their pain.

Aside from common sense or doctrines or traditions, there are few if any cases cited by Lunde (1976) or Levin and Fox (1985) which fit this conception of the lonely, friendless murderer. In describing the life history of a murderer, there is usually some reference made to relationships. When Lunde (1976:51) described John Frazier, for instance, he referred to "Most of his acquaintances..." and to the realization made by "those who knew him."

The descriptive studies of, for instance, Bolitho (1926) or Dickson (1958), tend to provide greater detail on how the multiple murderer interacts with others and how such persons are perceived. One of Dickson's (1958:208) conclusions concerned how "a fairly typical multicide" might appear to his associates during his murder spree. He wrote that such a person "is a fairly sociable type, speaking quietly and correctly, perhaps with a trace of self-satisfaction at his own achievements, but with an undeniable charm of manner." This profile is not necessarily inconsistent with a finding that multiple murderers have few lasting or important relationships. Rather, Dickson's description provides another dimension to social development-- one that bears on how others respond to and describe the individual.

Levin and Fox (1985) differed from the historical-descriptive studies such as *Crimes and Punishment* (Hall, 1974), reviewed in the first section of this chapter, in the way they treated the concepts of psychopathy and dominance. Levin and Fox (1985:70) did not consider this second dimension of response and description. They called serial murderers sociopaths and went on to consider how "the dominant role" is expressed through the "psychological need to control." They wrote that, "In all cases, the theme underlying every aspect of

their lives, including their killings, is the wish to command the fate of those around them." In this context, dominance is not, then, that source of energy and direction within the individual that pushes him forth and pulls people toward him, and is thus a primary factor in social development. Dominance here has a psychological cause-- frustration derived from having little power or control and a great lack of self-esteem which results in a need to feel superior by attacking others. In Levin and Fox's conception, dominance was reduced to a one-dimensional need-to-dominate, wherein the dominance of a multiple murderer functions in a manner akin to a bulldozer-- he plows over people.

In the context of research on multiple murderers it is not sufficient to say that an individual has few friends or few normal relationships or to say, as Ellis and Gullo (1971:158) did, that "from an early age, he acted peculiarly, especially in his interpersonal relations with others,..." as this says little about the killer or his social development. The difference between having no friends and having a few friends is significant-- to the individual and insofar as this says something about the individual. Further, it is not sufficient to assume that multiple murderers are psychopaths and therefore that they are unable to have lasting and meaningful relationships. The characteristics of the psychopath go beyond the inability for lasting relationships to include those sociable types with an undeniable charm of manner that Dickson (1958) described in his profile of the typical multicide. In other words, it is entirely possible that a multiple murderer could be sociable, have a few friends and still ultimately be considered as having had no lasting or meaningful relationships.

Yochelson and Samenow (1976) found that the criminal maintains few long-term, deeply-felt friendships. This finding, however, is related to the third

way that social development can be described-- the meaning that others have for the individual:

The criminal child appears to be unsociable, because he rejects being friends with responsible children, who are in the majority. . . .

The criminal does maintain associations (which are mostly superficial) with responsible people.... But more often than not, he maintains the contacts for his personal use.... Basically, people are to the criminal what money in the bank is to a responsible person.[He] wants them available to draw on (Yochelson and Samenow, 1976:142).

Sexual history/development. As a practical matter, and insofar as this research is concerned, the dating habits, interaction patterns and whether or not the individual is attractive to the opposite, or, for that matter, the same, sex, and other, similar issues can be related to either the variable of social development or of sexual history. However, with respect to the literature on multiple murderers, no references to such issues have been found.

Traditionally, the specifics of an individual's sexual history have been of great interest to clinicians, and the issue of sexual development is of great clinical and theoretical significance. Nevertheless, the literature on multiple murderers is scant in this regard, and this is true even where those murders are considered to be sexually motivated.

Lunde (1976:53) provided the most detailed statement on the sexual history and development of the multiple "sadistic sex murderer" or "multiple sexual sadist." Lunde's statement consisted of the following points:

1. In rare cases and for reasons that are not well understood, early in a child's development, the "sexual and violent aggressive impulses merge," and are ultimately expressed in sexual violence.
2. There is a sexual release when the sadist commits particularly cruel and mutilatory-type crimes.

3. The multiple sexual sadist is a male who is usually under 35.
4. Such persons have few ordinary relationships-- social or sexual-- and usually have not had normal sexual intercourse.
5. Since there are no friends, these individuals engage in extensive daydreaming; from the time they are very young, they find great pleasure in sadistic fantasies. When they are older, the sexual pleasure is enhanced by masturbating while engaging in sadistic daydreams.
6. There is usually an "intense but ambivalent relationship with the mother." The individual often dreams of killing her and may do so later on. A Freudian view of the situation would "involve the notion of the Oedipus complex. The killer is in love with the mother and therefore unable to have sex with any other woman. Only by killing...[her] can he find release."
7. The development of the sadism is first expressed in adolescence when animals may be tortured. There is an early interest in weapons and a subsequent proficiency in their use. "The act of killing itself produces very powerful sexual arousal in these individuals, some of whom will attempt sexual intercourse with the victim" (Lunde, 1976:53).

Somewhat akin to Brussel's notion (Frank, 1967) that the Boston Strangler was searching for his potency in his killings, Darrach and Norris (1984:69) set forth the notion that "Rebirth is the theme and purpose of serial murder." It is only in relation to this theory that the authors say anything at all about the sex life of the serial murderer, and then they say only that

To generate the emotional power to complete their insane task, would-be killers according to this theory have developed a system of violent erotic fantasies with the help of their most potent feelings: rage and lust. For years on end, many... fed these emotions on horror movies, slice-and-dice pornography and violent news stories in print and on the screen... [until] the ritual drama of death and rebirth began.

Sociologists Levin and Fox (1985) treated sexuality in psychological terms. Rather than indicating something specific about the sexual history and development, they expressed their findings in terms of what sex means to the (sexually motivated) serial murderer: Sex "provides a vehicle for satisfying the need to control or dominate others" (Levin and Fox, 1985:71). Sex seems little more than a psychological construct when these authors trace sex-as-the-need-to-control back to "an intolerable sense of impotence" and the experience of "severe rejection by other people" (Levin and Fox, 1985:68). The mass killer, in Levin and Fox's (1985:68) conception, would appear to be an unappealing sort of person, with little to offer and little to his credit, who, in the view of the authors, is a victim:

In most cases, [mass killers] have not been able to conquer others with their wit, intelligence, or charm. Or they may have been abandoned early in life. Later, they consistently fail to meet objectives,... and satisfy needs. In short, they are the victims of frustration.

While psychiatrists such as Lunde (1976) and Brussel (Frank, 1967) considered sex murderers to be psychotic, for Levin and Fox (1985:71), such murderers represent a failure "to internalize a moral code for the treatment of others;" and serial murderers are labelled as sociopaths. Whether Levin and Fox (1985:71) actually came to the following conclusion on the basis of their own study of serial killers' sexual history is unclear.

[The authors first stated] Not coincidentally, the exploitation of others as well as the lack of remorse, which are associated with the sociopathic personality, also characterize most serial killers. For them, sex is nothing more or less than an impersonal act, which has little to do with caring or affection. In fact, their partner is usually regarded as a mere tool to be used, in only the most negative sense of the word, to satisfy ego and sexual needs.

Levin and Fox described three cases in some detail, only one of which was a case of serial murder. While the authors delved into the sexual history (or

absence thereof) of a mass murderer who killed his own family, in describing Hillside Stranglers Kenneth Bianchi and Angelo Buono, the authors provided no information on the sex life of these men, despite their involvement in serial murders committed with a sexual element. As both men had extensive sexual experiences before, and apart from, their involvement in the murders, the omission of such information about their sex lives makes it unclear just how Levin and Fox came to their conclusions about the meaning of sex to serial murderers.

Role Models. The variable of role models is used here to refer to any of three types of influences upon the individual: (1) a role model may be a person the individual knows, admires and tries to emulate; (2) it may be a person that the individual would like to emulate, but has never met, or a group of individuals who are admired because of their ideals or deeds; and (3) role models may also be a generic class of people whose goals or deeds or style of life impress the individual such that he aspires to membership in that class, (such a class might be doctors, lawyers or criminals, for instance).

The first type of role model has traditionally been thought of as parents or others within the individual's sphere from whom the individual learns normative behavior. (The term "role model" appears to be out of vogue, and modern textbooks are more likely to discuss "the role of imitation" and social learning, for instance.) The literature on multiple murderers was not found to contain references to role models of the traditional type, and there is little consideration of the terms and concepts that are used today. Given the way the adults who people the childhood of multiple murderers have been portrayed, it is not surprising to find no references made to role models. Multiple murderers are not generally viewed as imitators of their parents or "significant others," but,

rather, as their victims. Nor has it been claimed that multiple murderers imitated the crimes of their parents or significant others.

The types of influences to which an individual is exposed within the community has been considered a significant issue in the literature on crime and delinquency. While this issue has not been developed with respect to multiple murderers, such murders have been associated with the urban environment about which much has been written. As Yochelson and Samenow (1976:136) reported, social scientists have emphasized the pernicious influences of delinquent subcultures: "The President's Commission...(1967) pointed out how many young people, especially slum dwellers, are 'exposed to the example of the successful career criminal as a person of prestige in the community.'" Yochelson and Samenow refuted this view, and made two important points. First, they argued, the child who wanted to be a criminal or to do the forbidden sought out others of like-mind, rather than being the hapless victim of corrupting influences. Second, they found that, regardless of the neighborhood and how pervasive its problems, children were brought up in communities organized in law-abiding and responsible ways-- and that there was always some responsible person or institution to turn to and be influenced by.

A second type of model that forms a part of social learning theory has been described by Bourne and Ekstrand (1973:303):

*Exemplary models* are real but remote people, typically exhibiting one or two virtues (or evil) characteristics. They include heroes, national leaders, minister's children, and the like. In their use by parents, exemplary models reflect a clear concern with *social norms*. Whether the model possesses those norms or is in violation of them, he is used by parents, teachers, and peers to acquaint the child or adolescent with normative behavior.

There are two categories within the second type of role model(s) indicated above. The first refers to real but remote people with whom the future multiple murderer identifies in some way. For the purpose of this research, the definition of role model is intentionally vague, for it is meant to encompass, for instance, an aspiring musician's envy of a specific musician's star status, or one killer serving as the source of inspiration for another person, whether or not the latter precisely imitates the behaviors of the former. It seems logical, although not necessarily consistent with the literature on models, to consider here specific fictional characters with whom the future murderer identifies in some way.

There may also be some sort of identification with a real but remote organization or group-- the Nazis, for instance. MacDonald's theory that murderers are influenced by the superman philosophy is relevant here. According to Ellis and Gullo (1971:138), Macdonald believed that a large number of murderers upheld

...Nietzschean ethical concepts and grandiosely strive for self-inflation at the expense of others. Not only do individual slayers swear by this kind of credo, but on the larger, political scene several mass ideologies - such as those of the Nazis and the nationalistic Communists-- promulgate the doctrine that human beings should strive for a superhuman ideal and should consider humanitarianism and democracy execrable. Nazis and fascists in particular stand for violence, racial purity, and world domination; and such ideals not only permit but often encourage the murder of their opponents.

The third type of model is meant to refer not only to a generic class of people but also a variety of behaviors exhibited by symbolic models. Bourne and Ekstrand (1973:302-303) offered an excellent explanation:

*Symbolic* models may be presented in a number of ways including movies, cartoons, books, or verbal representations such as fairy tales. A major source of symbolic models at present is television, which perhaps warrants the current concern with the amount of violent and otherwise

undesirable behavior displayed...[there]. Obviously, such models can portray a variety of behaviors that might be imitated. These include negatively valued acts such as violence, crime, deception, as well as behaviors that reflect acts of humanitarianism, responsibility, and concern.

The recent literature on multiple murderers has generally not considered the variable of role models, except for occasional discussions of the role of the mass media. Levin and Fox (1985), for instance, briefly reviewed the literature on imitation of mass media violence, while Darrach and Norris (1984) simply suggested that the murderer's feelings of rage and lust were fed on a steady diet of mass media violence. Such discussions, then, are directly or indirectly relevant to the issue of symbolic (rather than exemplary or other role) models.

Aspirations/occupation. The literature on multiple murderers provides several reasons why aspirations should be considered as a variable relevant to these subjects. Levin and Fox (1985:69) provided one reason when they elaborated upon their contention that frustration usually brings on a violent attack-- that it serves as a precursor, a "final straw" and--

Yet the source of the frustration is very often something other than total failure. While it is true that most of the forty-two killers we studied were, like [Nazi-cultist and mass murderer Frederick] Cowan, either manual laborers or unemployed, ten had completed college and one had a Ph.D. in structural engineering. On the surface those who attended college and maintained respected careers may seem fulfilled. In their eyes, however, they may have felt underemployed or useless.

It is a relatively new development in the study of multiple murderers to perceive in their accomplishments grounds for their dejection and/or others' pity. Dickson (1958), for instance, as was previously reported, considered those multicides who attended college or were otherwise well-trained to have exhibited a "surprisingly high standard." In any event, in this last sentence, Levin and Fox have fallen short in their attempt to portray multiple killings as a direct, or even indirect, response to frustration. The absence of total career

fulfillment is hardly uncommon and the realization dawns gradually, rather than in the form of "a final straw"

Levin and Fox (1985:70) contended that the psychological need to control others is obvious from the "idiosyncratic life-styles and aspirations of serial slayers." They reported that some of these murderers love symbols of authority, and hope to become involved in law enforcement themselves. "To satisfy aspirations for power, many killers imitate figures of authority as embodied in the role of the police."

Some problems arise, however, when Levin and Fox (1985) try to explain the basis for these aspirations. On the one hand, mass killers were said to have experienced recurrent frustration and that frustration increases aggressive behavior. On the other hand, the authors (Levin and Fox, 1985:69) argued that the need to control may also be expressed in "courageous, benevolent behavior... to achieve a temporary sense of power." While claiming that frustration leads specifically to aggression, the authors also indicated that helping and hurting arise from the same motive-- a desire to have power and control over others.

Both helping and hurting behaviors may coexist, but Levin and Fox (1985:70-71), failed to account for either (1) helping behaviors or (2) the highly developed need for, and exercise of, control in the following:

Many people [with]...a profound lack of self-esteem make themselves feel superior by attacking the weaknesses and errors - and, [even]... the bodies - of others. They are frustrated because they feel they have little power and control over their own lives.

Levin and Fox (1985) provided two examples that indicated that control-- both helping and hurting-- may have little to do with frustration. In the first, they described the life history of Ted Bundy-- his accomplishments and promising

future, his acts of heroism and his benevolence-- leaving no indication that frustration was a precursor to his serial murders. In the second example in which control may exist in the absence of frustration, the authors stated that multiple murderers were not alone in their need for control. However, most people selected far more acceptable outlets: "Certain jobs afford the opportunity to manipulate and manage the lives of subordinates - such as business executives who hire and fire, or teachers whose judgements help determine their students' prospects..." (Levin and Fox, 1985:71). These authors left the impression that there is no such thing as personal power-- there is only a "need to control,"-- and that power is almost never exercised wisely or well but rather, with the intent to control.

Levin and Fox (1985) failed to explain how a person, profoundly lacking in self-esteem, frustrated by having so little power and control over their own lives, also came to exhibit courageous, benevolent behaviors enabling him to have power and to exercise control over the lives of others. Why would "victims of frustration" want to help others-- particularly if this involves risk to their own lives (1985:68)? And, why is it that frustration over the lack of control creates the need to control, while the exercise of control fails to reduce the original frustration? (Levin and Fox have indicated that frustration is a precursor of violence and a common theme in the lives of mass killers. If so, then the issue of control seems almost irrelevant.)

This treatment of "frustration" and "control" is problematic for two reasons: First, Levin and Fox (1985) implied that both frustration and control are themes common in the lives of both mass and serial murderers. However, the authors illustrated frustration through the histories of mass murderers' lives, while controlling behavior was illustrated with cases of serial murderers. Second,

while failing to demonstrate that frustration plagues serial murderers (or activates controlling behaviors among mass murderers), the concepts of frustration and control are tied together theoretically.

Following Fromm's argument that there is an "acquired need for domination" that results from extreme feelings of impotency and inadequacy, Levin and Fox (1985:68) seem to have assumed that anyone who aspires to a position of power suffers from some deficiency and from frustration. The concept of frustration as a source of energy, as implied arousal, is nowhere indicated in Levin and Fox's discussion; rather, frustration here assumes the character of an extreme "inferiority complex." As for frustration defined as "the prevention or blocking of ongoing, goal-directed behavior" (Bourne and Ekstrand, 1973:186), Levin and Fox have placed frustration in the causal position, and aspirations as a consequence of this. In the former view, the frustration arises from the blocking of the desired objective-- which, as Bourne and Ekstrand pointed out, occurs almost every day to everyone. For Levin and Fox, aspirations are only reactions and frustration is defined only in terms of what others do to the individual and in terms of the individual's own inadequacies. They stated that a majority of mass killers experienced great rejection from others, and did not have those traits-- such as wit, intelligence or charm-- by which to "conquer" others. They may have experienced a traumatic abandonment early in their lives. "Later, they consistently fail to meet objectives, fulfill goals, and satisfy needs. In short, they are the victims of frustration" (Levin and Fox 1985:68).

Analysis of multiple murderers in the descriptive literature frequently contain discussions relevant to the variable of aspirations which justify inclusion of the variable in this research. Aspirations of multiple murderers may be the

vague feelings discussed by Wilson (Wilson and Seaman, 1983) and reviewed previously-- that is, the feeling that one deserves great success and that anything less represents a symbolic slap in the face, a thwarting of one's need for primacy on the part of an oppressive society. Only by way of thwarting the urge for power and great success can rejection/frustration be said to relate to aspirations.

Wilson (1984) also wrote of the desire to become known that characterized the sentiments of so many motiveless and multiple murderers. Wilson, drawing upon Becker's analysis, indicated that benevolent, courageous behaviors have their roots in the same urge as hurting behavior, but that this urge is more consistent with the expression of the former and that this urge is more universal and benevolent than a frustrated need for control. He noted that in Becker's *Denial of Death*, Becker argued that the urge to heroism is one of the most basic of all urges in man. This urge can be seen in children, for they are unlikely to hide their belief that they are the center of the universe. The child is engaged in the struggle to justify this view, to prove that he stands out, to make, in Becker's words, "the biggest possible contribution to world life, [and to] show that he *counts* more than anyone else" (Wilson, 1984:13). Wilson (1984:13) also noted that the child usually grows up to accept that he is "a nobody" on a world-wide scale. Among the approximately 5 percent of the population who are dominant, however, there are some who make positive contributions to their own communities or to world life. Then there are those for whom the desire to count more than anyone else is greater than their opportunities, talents or determination to contribute in a positive manner. This is the conflict that may give rise to what has been referred to as self-esteem murders.

Obviously, this is a very different conflict than that that Levin and Fox (1985) depicted in which there is a lack of self-esteem from which derives the aggression and violence. Levin and Fox's analysis included psychological conceptions and was limited by the time and geographical scope of their study. Their subjects were drawn from the period of 1974-1979 and from five U. S. regions. In contrast, the descriptive literature drew upon diverse historical and cross cultural cases in defining self-esteem murders.

Wilson (1984) pointed to two very different types of self-esteem murderers to illustrate the vague need to be somebody: in the 1952 case of Herbert Mills was the self-esteem murder in its simplest form. Mills was a retiring, poetry-writing young man who decided to kill a total stranger in order to commit the "perfect murder." Then there was the case of Charles Manson, who, Wilson argued, was asserting his primacy through his plans for revolution and his murders.

The issue of aspirations assumes greater complexity in *Crimes and Punishment*, particularly in "Crime and Society: The Ladykillers," (Hall, 1974; Vol.1). One theory about men who murder a succession of wives or lovers, ostensibly for profit, is that they murder to leave their imprint upon the world-- as an expression of that most fundamental of aspirations, the urge for primacy.

In this encyclopedia, the authors (Hall, 1974; Vol.1) supported their conclusion-- that the life-styles of all the best known ladykillers were similar-- by providing several case descriptions.of this type of multiple murderer. There were several facets to the variable of aspirations. These included the desire to "better oneself" through business ventures and legitimate occupations, the pretense of being a member of high social or profession classes and the appeal to the vanity and intelligence that derives from being a successful confidence

man. The case of H. D. Landru, considered the prototype of the twentieth-century ladykiller, went to work in an office, became "stuck up" and never failed to mention to friends that he had achieved middle-class status (an achievement for the 1890s) and was a white-collar worker. Later, he played the role of the professional, posing as lawyer, doctor, engineer and so forth. He became a "well-loved and successful" confidence trickster - a role that appealed to his artistic senses (Hall, 1974:86). Johann Hoch misrepresented himself as a rich businessman or a man with a high-status position. H. H. Holmes was determined to make his mark in the world, so he studied medicine, earned his degree, and then became a swindler. George Chapman spent his life trying to better himself, and set himself up in various business ventures. Frederick Deeming pretended to be the manager of a diamond mine, and he posed as a titled millionaire. "He was a braggart and a remarkably inventive liar," which are assets to an aspiring confidence trickster (Hall, 1974:88).

There are only a few scattered references in the recent literature relevant to the occupations of multiple murderers. One of the most specific of these is that of Darrach and Norris (1984:58) who stated that, "An alarming number [of serial murderers] (one out of ten) are doctors, dentists or other health professionals. Almost one-third are ex-convicts and former mental patients." This is consistent with what appears to be an emerging view of multiple murderers as transients and/or persons who have recently lost their jobs.

Marital status. For the purpose of this research, the variable of marital status is broadly defined so as to encompass within its meaning current marital status as well as any previous marriages and any prior to current attachments such as common law marriages or "living together" relationships.

Dickson (1958) offered the most explicit conclusion relative to marital status, and his statement justifies the need for a broad definition. Dickson (1958:207) stated that

Most multicides married at a fairly early age, but often parted from their wives before the killing-periods. An interesting proportion of them, however, had a lasting sentimental attachment to one woman which was unrelated to physical infidelities.

Bolitho's (1964:7-8) findings were consistent with Dickson's, but his conclusions were stated somewhat differently:

[The mass murderer] is often a good family man. Some criminologists have even made out of this weakness a sensational theory that every bad man has bodily need of one companion in his life. This support for the essential necessity of the system of monogamy is perhaps a too-daring distortion of the commonplace fact that [G. J.] Smith loved his Edith Pegler, [H. D.] Landru his Fernande Segret, [J. B.] Troppman his mother, and [William] Burke his faithful paramour.

It is 60 years since Bolitho's book was first published, and the current literature on multiple murderers appears more inclined to view multiple murderers as psychologically incapable of love (and/or sex), rather than offering any explicit statements as to marital status. Lunde (1976:48), for instance, stated that, with regard to multiple sexual sadists, such persons generally have "few normal social and sexual relationships, and often have had no experience of normal sexual intercourse." Such a contention certainly implies that multiple ("sex") murderers have never been married.

Levin and Fox (1985:71-72) viewed the sexually motivated serial murderer as a sociopath. The term "sociopath" was applied by the authors to those individuals "who are incapable of experiencing normal amounts of love and empathy....[and who are] unable to have lasting or meaningful relationships." Such a view leaves the impression that either serial murderers have never been married, or, if they have, their marriages do not constitute

"meaningful relationships," and, further, that they do not have any lasting sentimental attachments of the type to which Dickson (1958) referred.

Levin and Fox (1985) have not, however, focused exclusively upon serial murderers, and marital status is presumably a significant variable with respect to some proportion of the killers they studied. While the authors failed to provide any explicit information relative to marital status , Levin and Fox (1985) referred to family slayers among their subjects, some of whom are presumably married. Further, they found that, after the break-up of a marriage, it is more likely to be the husband who leaves the home and to thereby suffer the greatest loss. According to Levin and Fox, those who are unable to cope may return to murder the whole family.

Early criminality. This variable is intended to refer to the existence and nature of any criminal behavior committed prior to (and perhaps simultaneous with) the murders, whether or not such behavior resulted in a criminal record.

Criminals in general have long been viewed as engaging in one type of crime and maintaining strict operational routines; hence the value placed by law enforcement upon matching up an unsolved crime with the *Modus Operandi* (M. O.) of known criminals. Further, it is typically the case that police, when faced with murder(s) perceived as having a sexual element, will respond by rounding up a particular type of suspect population-- known sex offenders (whether previously hospitalized or imprisoned)-- to determine who might have had the opportunity to commit the murder(s). Multiple murder cases are rarely, if ever, solved this way, and Lunde (1976:58-59) offered his own explanation as to why: "Sex murderers rarely, if ever, have criminal records for lesser sex offenses,... nor are they homosexuals." Lunde found it more likely that a prior record would be for burglary. However, Lunde's interpretation is essentially

consistent with the underlying theory of the police, for Lunde also said of sex murderers that such people are sexually aroused by just entering a bedroom window. "Fetishism involving women's underwear is also not" uncommon, according to Lunde, "but this is not as readily suspected and detected as [is] burglary" (1976:59).

Mass murderers were rarely "hardened criminal[s]," according to Levin and Fox (1985:47), although some may have committed one or more property crimes. The authors also reported that a number of studies have shown a connection between arson and assaultive behavior.

The variable of early criminality is perhaps most explicitly detailed by Dickson (1958:205) who concluded that, following schooling or the army, "the first landmark in the career of a future multicide is nearly always a conviction for theft or swindling, even in the case of the perverts." Dickson noted that many writers have come to the inaccurate belief that swindlers and killers are two different types of criminals. He argued that it was only the minor, petty criminals who kept to one crime-type and one M. O. To correct the notion that it was rare to find the clever fraud and multiple killer in one person, Dickson (1958:205) said that,

We have seen clearly that the conjunction of multicide and theft or fraud is not rare - it is almost invariable. The only type of criminal who switches his methods, in fact, is the multicide, which is another point of some importance which seems hitherto to have been overlooked.

Dickson is the only author to have made an in-depth examination of this variable and his subjects were derived from an earlier historical period during which swindling and fraud may have been more prevalent. Consequently, the extent to which multiple murderers are "multiple commission criminals," that is, also commit other crimes, has yet to be fully determined.

Medical and psychiatric history. The emphasis placed upon medical and/or psychiatric problems in the literature necessitates a separate discussion of these variables. However, insofar as the case descriptions were concerned, a separate discussion of these variables was generally restricted to those occasions when a full medical and psychiatric examination was conducted following apprehension.

1. Medical history-- Interest in multiple murderers has recently been focused on the presumed significance of medical problems among this population. According to Darrach and Norris (1984:66), who summarized this approach,

The new research supports a controversial diagnosis: Serial murder is a disease as well as a crime. "The proclivity for extraordinary violence," says...Mark...[of] Harvard Medical School...a leading authority on...violence, "... is... a sickness of the body as distinct and definite as cancer or leprosy." The fatally violent are, in effect, mortally ill. ~

The first stage of this disease was previously discussed under the variable of "birth." Then the second stage, beginning immediately after birth, was purported to be emotional and sensorial deprivation. Emotional damage occurs, Darrach and Norris (1984:66) suggested, because the infants were never wanted. Their rejection consisted of their rarely being held or soothed and-- when their mothers were addicted or alcoholic-- the infants had to undergo traumatic withdrawal.

While the existence of emotional damage might be relatively easy to document through the use of available materials on the family life and early childhood, sensory deprivation would be more difficult. "In short," according to Darrach and Norris (1984:66-67), serial murderers

...were sensorially and emotionally deprived - and sensory deprivation alone, as Dr. James Prescott has demonstrated in studies with primates at the National Institute of Child Health, can cause a deterioration of cells

in the limbic brain and cerebellum. As a direct result of this cell damage, the abused and neglected child may become profoundly withdrawn, then violently destructive either to himself or to others.

This scenario is inconsistent with the studies carried out by the Harlows (Brown, 1965) at the Primate Laboratory at the University of Wisconsin. It was found that monkeys reared in isolation turned out to have excellent physical health, but were seriously impaired socially and psychologically. For one thing, rather than becoming aggressive, when attacked, the monkeys failed to defend themselves. Extreme sensory deprivation of the type described above in humans is rare, as when a child is hidden away for the first years of life. Davis found that "Such children are ordinarily speechless and lacking in all social responsiveness" (Brown, 1965:40). Sensory deprivation related to rearing in a foundling home was found by Spitz (Brown, 1965) to result in an impaired ability to walk or talk. It might be assumed, then, that for sensory deprivation to seriously impair the multiple murderer, such a person would have had to have been hidden away or reared in a foundling home and to exhibit serious impairments.

According to Darrach and Norris (1984), from infancy on, many serial murderers were brutally beaten. Two cases-- Gacy and Manson-- were offered as support for the contention that serial murderers suffered head wounds from beatings which resulted in major brain injuries. However, there is no real evidence that either Gacy or Manson suffered serious head wounds as children. As for major brain injuries, from the time he was a child, Manson had extensive involvement with the criminal justice system, including prison psychiatrists and different types of tests and was never found to have any medical problems, much less a brain injury. The evidence is more conclusive with respect to Gacy. Following arrest, Gacy was given a neurological examination, an electroencephalogram (EEG), a computerized tomographic brain examination,

and a chromosome analysis, from which doctors concluded that Gacy showed no evidence of brain injuries (Sullivan and Maiken, 1984).

There are early and indirect symptoms of impending violence, Darrach and Norris (1984:68) insisted. For instance, serial murderers as children were reported to have been clinically hyperactive; and,

Many serial murderers-to-be-displayed physical symptoms too. Some wet their beds, evidence of poor impulse control. Some had headaches, hallucinations, blackouts, seizures. Quite a few showed signs of psychomotor epilepsy, a form of the disease that is rare in the general population but frequent among violent criminals. During an episode, the person afflicted may commit acts of violence, even murder, that he does not recall when the seizure passes.

The EEGs of persons who are violent are almost indistinguishable from the EEGs of psychomotor epileptics, according to Darrach and Norris (1984:68) who noted that

Dr. Jan Volavka of New York University Medical Center, who has analyzed hundreds of EEGs of violent criminals, reports that the brain waves of both are sometimes interrupted by a sudden vertical "spike" on the graph that indicates a spontaneous, uncontrollable release of energy in the limbic brain. "Even more dramatic events," he reports, are occasionally recorded on the EEGs of the extremely violent: "high-voltage discharges" of explosive power that make the stylus stagger across the page as if it were recording the impact of a bullet.

Other than to refer loosely to "quite a few" serial murderers in an above-quoted statement, Darrach and Norris failed to indicate how research on epilepsy, EEGs and aggressive behavior are specifically related to serial murders. There is one particularly relevant review of the literature that should be mentioned here. In their review of the research on biology and crime, Mednick and Volavka (1979, Vol.2) stated that no clear consensus had been reached on the relation between epilepsy, EEGs and aggression, and that even the relationship between epilepsy and crime was unresolved. While Darrach and Norris (1984:66) proclaimed the existence of "the new research" and "germinal

discoveries," it may be that the association between epilepsy and serial murder, specifically, is an association derived more from historical theory than new discoveries. This may be one of the remnants observed by Bromberg (1965:132-133) of the pre-EEG clinical axiom among psychiatrists that "heinous murders or assaults, otherwise unexplained, were attributable to hidden forms of epilepsy." Bromberg quoted the nineteenth-century clinician, Rousseau, as saying, "Whenever there is a revolting and motiveless crime I suspect the existence of epilepsy."

A consensus among experts that there is a dire need to finance research on the causes and prevention of violence has been reported (Darrach and Norris, 1984:74). Some of the areas suggested for further study were pediatric neurology, Lewis's studies of children who kill, the effects of the female hormone, Depo-Provera, on serial murderers, and the work of Mark at Harvard. It was Mark who noted the "mysterious effects of alcohol on the limbic brain and suggested" further research. Summarizing work in the latter area, Darrach and Norris (1984:74) reported:

It is already known that too much alcohol, like too much cocaine, can bring on an attack of psychomotor epilepsy. In the case of John Gacy, researchers made a puzzling discovery. In his Rorschach test, Gacy showed no symptoms of violence at all. But when the researchers fed him whiskey, he was suddenly transformed into a lecherous and sadistic killer. It is possible that if Gacy had never taken a drink he would never have hurt a fly.

The problems with this research are considerable. They range from logical inconsistencies through inaccuracies about the facts of the Gacy case to an inadequate assessment of the questioned relationship of alcohol to epilepsy.

The research is itself puzzling. What was the value of a Rorschach test that showed Gacy to have no symptoms of violence at all, when he had already been shown to have committed 33 murders? Gacy may well have been free of

"symptoms of violence," according to the test, but he was convicted of more murders than anyone in American history. By accepting the Rorschach test, the researchers implied that they believed Gacy might well be a generally non-violent man, and that it was only alcohol that brought out this non-Gacy-type element of violence in him.

The researchers apparently accepted Gacy's behavior at face value, ignored his history and the details of the case and worked from a theoretical/research perspective concerned only with alcohol's effects. It is otherwise difficult to explain the major problem with the entire premise as it relates to Gacy: Gacy did not, while he was free or when tested, respond to alcohol in the manner Darrach and Norris (1984) depicted. Gacy's intake of drugs and alcohol became part of the trial record when the prosecutor questioned Gacy's former roommate and employee, Gray. According to Sullivan (Sullivan and Maiken, 1984:309-310), the prosecutor, Gray "exploded" the defense theory which intended to make the jury believe that Gacy only "became the criminal he was during abusive forays into drugs and alcohol." Gacy was rarely under the influence, but when he was he showed quite the opposite effects of that of a "raging fiend." In fact, Gacy would just pass out and fall asleep in the middle of a sentence, according to Gray. Others had observed this same response to alcohol. With respect to his crimes, however, several of Gacy's attempted murder victims (or "living victims") stated that Gacy got them drunk, but never drank anything himself while with them.

Darrach and Norris (1984:74) stated that it is "already known" that alcohol can trigger an attack of psychomotor epilepsy. However, in their review of the literature, Mednick and Volavka (1979:137) reported that EEG discharges might possibly be triggered by drinking alcohol in cases of "pathological

"intoxication," although this had not as yet been demonstrated through research. According to Darrach and Norris, Gacy was the subject of research in this area. For Gacy to even be considered epileptic at that late date, all of the neurological reports produced by psychiatrists working for the defense had to have been ignored. Further, the prosecution had had Gacy examined by several psychiatrists, and part of their assessment involved an alcohol-electroencephalogram examination. As previously reported, no EEG abnormalities were found. The important point here is that subsequent researchers interested in how alcohol affects the brain used a Rorschach test instead of an alcohol-electroencephalogram, and they failed to consider the published results of the latter test in arriving at their unpublished "puzzling discovery" (Darrach and Norris, 1984:74).

It seems that all of the research reported by Darrach and Norris (1984) in the medical/biological fields were conducted with non-serial murderer subjects, and applied to the serial murder problem through anecdotal evidence from cases. The clearest indication of this came when Darrach and Norris's (1984:74) cited Walsh's studies-- which were not even illustrated with anecdotes from serial murder cases. Walsh, a chemist at Illinois's Health Research Institute, had, according to the authors, "demonstrated that, compared to nonviolent people, homicidally violent criminals contain in their bodies significantly different ratios of minerals." After indicating that violent people are, for instance, low in cobalt and high in lead and calcium, Walsh was quoted as saying, "What these patterns constitute is a biological predisposition to violence."

Darrach and Norris (1984:74) ended their review with the ominous warning that all of the research areas suggested in their article will be

financially costly, but that there is no alternative: "If we refuse to pay the price in money, we will undoubtedly pay it in blood." The dire consequences of not supporting the specific research areas suggested by the authors were not convincingly demonstrated by their article.

2. Psychiatric history-- The variable of psychiatric history is used in this study to refer to a history of psychiatric treatment. Treatment refers to hospitalization(s), therapy-- whether on an in- or out-patient basis, and any pertinent information reported, such as the diagnosis and prognosis.

Psychiatric history has been restricted for the purposes of this study to that which can be observed and objectively identified. This contrasts with the speculative analysis that accompanies many of the attempts to describe multiple murderers' "psychological history" or to describe and define multiple murderers in terms of their perceived history of emotional disturbances. Such analyses are usually indicative of an approach or an orientation to multiple murderers and their life histories.

Ellis and Gullo (1971) are among the most representative of such an orientation to the life history of multiple murderers. They believed that multiple murderers were psychotic, but that their diagnosis had to be supported with evidence from the life histories. The authors proceeded to find such "confirming evidence" in all the cases and studies they reviewed. Referring, for instance, to de Ford's book which contained cases of multiple murders, Ellis and Gullo (1971:22) repeated their claim that "Where the facts are available, all the plural killers again seem to be exceptionally disturbed individuals." Ellis and Gullo (1971:68) further concluded that the cases they reviewed are typical:

Whenever a new instance of multiple murder occurs, and whenever psychological information on the killer is available, it is almost always found that he is an extremely disturbed individual, often in the psychotic

range or at least suffering from a psychotic episode at the time of his crimes. This kind of killer usually has a long history of emotional disturbance....

Elsewhere, Ellis and Gullo (1971:173) asserted that material on the "emotional lives" of murderers clearly indicated emotional disturbances from an early age. As was noted earlier in this chapter, Ellis and Gullo have rather selectively extracted material and conclusions about multiple murderers from other studies, and sometimes misrepresented their secondary sources. Another problem was their modest criteria for considering material sufficient for purposes of determining emotional disturbances. Noting their conclusion that the murderers they had interviewed were at least borderline psychotic, Ellis and Gullo (1971:158) wrote that

Our reading of the case histories of murderers whom we have not personally encountered almost invariably leads us to the same conclusion. Whenever sufficient material is given on the murderer's background, it is consistently found that (1) his upbringing, ... left much to be desired; and (2) from an early age, he acted peculiarly, especially in his interpersonal relations with others, and began to get into some kind of school, social or vocational difficulties.

Another problem with Ellis and Gullo (1971), and one which is elaborated upon in the next section of the chapter, is that the murderer is believed to be psychotic, but may not have any psychiatric history as defined in this study. Of murders involving jealousy, the authors stated that

This kind of individual, certainly at the time that he commits murder, is psychotic; and an intensive study of his life history will almost always show psychotic tendencies during childhood and adolescence, although he may then have been able to keep them in check and to refrain from doing anything of a spectacularly self-destructive nature (Ellis and Gullo, 1971:141).

Lunde (1976) and Ellis and Gullo (1971) apparently found no inconsistency in the belief that mass killers could be so *obviously* psychotic throughout their early lives and, simultaneously, be able to hide from others any evidence of such severe disturbance.

### Personality Characteristics

The heading of "personality characteristics" encompasses all those answers given in the literature to the question (whether explicitly asked or not), "What type of persons commit multiple murders?" It is useful to break this question down into two subquestions, and to consider the literature relative to each of these. The first of these, "Are multiple murderers sane?" corresponds to that body of literature concerned with psychiatric classifications and assessments. The second subquestion might be phrased as, "What are the major personality characteristics of multiple murderers?" The literature here consists of personality characteristics of a motivating nature (in an indirect sense), such as the concept of dominance. (The personality characteristics of the multiple murderers in this study are described for each case under the heading of "Summative Attributes.")

Sanity or Psychosis. Perhaps the most prominent issue in the literature on multiple murderers concerns the question of sanity versus psychosis. In 1926 Bolitho was one of the first authors to address this issue in a study of multiple murderers, and his conclusions led him to argue that such persons were neither "madmen" nor "monsters," but, rather, had personality characteristics common among the general population. The multiple murderer,

Bolitho (1964:8) wrote, "bears an interesting resemblance to those with a full right to be called human."

Franklin's 1965 study of multiple (and other) murderers appears to have been one of the first to contend that multiple murderers were psychopathic, and that, as psychopaths, they were sane and responsible for their actions. Recent literature tends to be divided into two schools of thought-- one that classifies multiple murderers as psychopaths and one that classifies such persons as psychotic.

Lunde (1976:48) represents the most widely held viewpoint among psychiatrists (and psychologists such as Ellis and Gullo, 1971) when he stated that "Mass murderers are almost always insane...." Tanay (Berger, 1984), for instance, stressed that most mass murderers are psychotic, and that a psychotic has such a confused and distorted mind that he does not limit his need for aggression to a specific person. Tanay classified James Huberty as psychotic, reasoning that-- had the man who shot 21 people to death at a McDonald's restaurant been rational-- he might have contained his desire for revenge to the man who fired him. This majority opinion in psychiatry, according to Levin and Fox (1985:33), is "not unlike the popular Hollywood image of a glassy-eyed, deranged madman whose thirst for human blood drives him to butcher at random and to stalk his victims...." Actually, Lunde asserted that, while the mass murderer does not know his victims well, if at all, their selection is neither random nor coincidental. The victims, according to Lunde (1976:48), possess "psychological or symbolic significance to the killer" and have attributes which "torment" him. Lunde argued that the mass murderers' relationships to their victims fall "somewhere in between" a stranger-to-stranger relationship and a

relationship that is personal. In other words, Lunde believes that even stranger victims have a relationship to the killer-- but that relationship is symbolic.

Lunde (1976:48) further asserted that

Most mass murderers can be characterized as one of two distinctly different types: they are usually either paranoid schizophrenics or sexual sadists. *Paranoid schizophrenia* is a psychosis characterized by hallucinations ('hearing voices' in most cases), delusions of grandiosity or persecution, bizarre religious ideas (often highly personalized), and a suspicious, hostile, aggressive manner. *Sexual sadism* in its extreme form is a deviation characterized by torture and/or killing and mutilation of other persons in order to achieve sexual gratification.

There are several problems with Lunde's (1976) contentions. First, there is the mixture of psychiatric terms and legal categories. Lunde described mass murderers as insane. Elsewhere Lunde (1976:107) stated that insanity "is not a psychiatric term," but rather a legal category. Then he derided "insanity" as an archaic concept which had no meaning in modern psychiatry. The second problem is that paranoid schizophrenia is a recognized psychosis or form of insanity, but sexual sadism is neither. Lunde's "multiple sexual sadism" was not a diagnosis recognized by or included in the American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* (DSM) for 1965 or 1968 (Sahakian, 1970). Sexual sadism, depending upon the DSM used, falls under the heading of a personality disorder or the particular disorder of sociopathic personality. In 1965, "sexual deviation" included most of the cases formerly classified as "psychopathic personality with pathologic sexuality" (Sahakian, 1970:27).

Lunde's (1976) description of the course of the two types of disorders indicated that insanity became evident at about the same time-- if not simultaneous to-- the commission of the multiple murders. Before the paranoid schizophrenic enters his 20s, blatant symptoms rarely appear. Lunde cited the example of John Frazier, who, throughout the months he spent in California

Youth Authority facilities as a teenager, was never identified as needing psychiatric treatment. His symptoms only began to appear when he was 21, the same age he committed his murders.

If a large number of multiple murderers are paranoid schizophrenics (and this does seem to be a frequently applied diagnosis among clinicians), then it is to be expected that a large number of such murderers would exhibit obvious, observable "bizarre psychotic symptoms," in Lunde's (1976:52) words. It is to be further expected, following Lunde (1976:53), that because of the lost contact with reality, such murderers give "little, if any, thought to the possibilities of being arrested." In other words, if many multiple murderers are paranoid schizophrenics, then the disorder should be fairly easy to detect and obvious to the observer and their crimes should be relatively easy to solve.

On the other hand, the sexual sadist, according to Lunde (1976:52), "does not display bizarre psychotic symptoms and usually has no history of identified mental illness or psychiatric treatment." This is a view not unlike that of Ellis and Gullo (1971:141) quoted previously. The sexual sadist is purported to be clever in eluding police and to enjoy doing so. A number of multiple murderers, then, suffer from a psychosis which has yet to be recognized; and the characteristics of this psychosis are essentially identical to those of the crimes. Lunde asserted that the psychosis-- not the crime-- is characterized by torture and/or killing and mutilation of others to achieve sexual satisfaction. This is a psychosis that the individual is able to hide and one which can only be detected, apparently, after the commission of the crimes, the apprehension and the psychiatric examination.

Not unlike Lunde's (1976) sexual sadist, Tanay (Berger, 1984:9) described the psychotic murderer as having a very disorganized mind, and yet

he noted "that the serial killer does not give any visible signs of derangement, even under the most expert examination." After he had examined Bundy, Tanay (Berger, 1984:9) was quoted as saying that he was "just as lucid and pleasant a person as you would want to meet. You don't find any overt psychopathology in examining him," Dr. Tanay said.\* Berger (1984:9) cited another psychiatrist, Liebert, as saying that, indeed, one of the personality types he rules out in cases of serial murder is a "very disorganized psychotic individual." Another psychiatrist, Morrison, offered her thinking along similar lines when she noted that "specialists cannot begin to detect the characteristics of the serial killer in routine interviews" (Berger, 1984:9).

The question that arises, then, is, upon what basis do psychiatrists state so unequivocally that serial murderers are psychotic, given the absence of any signs of the disorder and the failure to detect any such signs even by the most expert interviewers?

The answer seems to lie, as suggested on the first page of this chapter, with researchers who have combined first-hand observations with the perspective of their fields (whether clinical or law enforcement) and used conclusions published in the literature and their primary experience with criminals or single-victim killers-- and have then applied some or all of the preceding to their analysis of multiple murderers.

For example, Lunde's (1976) generalizations about multiple murderers were based on his own clinical experience in nonforensic areas, followed by a

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\*It seems somewhat inconsistent, then, to suggest, as Tanay (Berger, 1984) did, that the reason for the increase in multiple murders in the past few years was that the mentally ill, who had been hospitalized, were now being released back into their communities. In the absence of any overt psychopathology (or any signs of becoming a murderer), why would such persons have been committed in the first place?

first-hand clinical study of 40 murderers, an unidentified number of whom are multiple or mass murderers. He extended his generalizations to other "sex killers throughout history" with his readings about other cases (Lunde, 1976:56).

Ellis and Gullo (1971) have similarly assumed that their own clinical orientation and experience equips them with the capacity to diagnose all those cases about which others have written, even though these other sources have relied on still other sources of published material. On the one hand, Ellis and Gullo had less data upon which to base their conclusions than would be the case if they had either conducted clinical interviews or relied upon the documentation on individual cases rather than on other studies. On the other hand, Ellis and Gullo, as was previously shown, considered the material at their disposal more than adequate for purposes of making unequivocal diagnoses: they contended that all of the sources they reviewed and all of their own clinical experience confirmed that multiple murderers were psychotic (and that single-murderers and the parents of murderers were also disturbed.)

Ellis and Gullo (1971) had no problem finding Franklin's (1965) study of murderers consistent with their thesis, despite the fact that Franklin characterized the world's "worst murderers" as psychopaths. Psychopathy posed no problem for the authors, for Ellis and Gullo (1971:157-158) said that they concurred with Cleckley that the psychopath is "basically psychotic." In their own clinical experience with "psychopaths," including murderers, "We find that practically all these individuals whom we examined intensively were at least borderline psychotics and that a high proportion...were outright psychotic."

Ellis and Gullo (1971) represent an extreme example of the tendency--perhaps inadvertent in some cases--to define psychopathy as a form of mental disturbance. These authors cited Franklin (1965) and Cleckley (1982), whose

use of the term "psychopathy" was somewhat ambiguous in this regard: Franklin (1965:36), referring to specific multiple murderers, said that "these men were psychopaths, mentally disturbed people who are not insane in the accepted sense, and who are certainly responsible for their actions." It is not uncommon to detect an implicit assumption of some sort of mental illness among those who have classified multiple murderers as psychopaths. This may be due in part to the inclusion of psychopathy, sociopathy, additional, related terms and, most recently, antisocial personality, into the DSM. It may also be due to the apparent difficulty social scientists seem to have in perceiving the multiple murderer as sane and responsible for his own actions. As for Ellis and Gullo's reading of Cleckley's position, Cleckley (1982:228) said that he long ago changed his opinion that psychopaths were basically psychotic. Cleckley further said that he found himself in complete agreement with Jenkins' statement, whom Cleckley (1982:228) quoted:

Hervey Cleckley, in *The Mask of Sanity*, expresses the belief that the psychopathic personality is a psychosis not technically demonstrable, maximally concealed by an outer surface of intact function and manifested only in behavior. The disagreement I would express with this intriguing definition is that...it strains the concept of psychosis past the breaking point. A psychosis is a major mental disorder. A psychopathic personality shows not a disorder of personality but rather a defect of personality.... The psychopath is simply a basically asocial or antisocial individual....

In an article from the *San Jose Mercury News* entitled, "Night Stalker' Not a Typical Serial Killer, Psychologists Say," (1985), Liebert offered a mix of Cleckley (1982) and Lunde (1976) without committing himself to either. As contrasted with the dramatic emotional breakdown of a mass murderer, Liebert asserted, serial killers have perfected "the mask of sanity." Liebert, who worked with police on three serial murder cases, said,

These are personalities with a particular mix. You have antisocial feelings-- the inability to perceive another human being-- plus feelings of grandiosity and sexual sadism. In a different mix, those components can lead to very narcissistic individuals who can be very creative, although they do not get along well in certain areas of life.

The multiple (or serial) murderer was portrayed ("Night Stalker'...,"1985:8B) as having surface charm and intelligence (the attributes of Cleckley's psychopath)- - and the motivations of a (psychotic) multiple sexual sadist. While smart and charming, the killer's "main impulse is to wipe out the image of the parent or other person who wounded him in childhood...." Further, "most psychiatrists feel he is at the same time murdering for sexual satisfaction." Schlossberg, a psychologist who worked with police on the "Son of Sam" case, said that there would be a building up of tension "like a sex crime" and that killing would be the release.\*

In the *New York Times* article, "Traits Shared by Mass Killers Remain Unknown to Experts," (Berger, 1984:9), Liebert stated that there was some knowledge about serial killers from a clinical perspective that enabled clinicians to rule out people who were very disorganized psychotics. However, he also stated that, "What we don't have is how to rule them in."

Mansfield (1980:D4) writing of the FBI special agents involved with the Behavioral Science Unit , quoted Agent Douglas who said that the majority of killers (mass murderers and assassins) were psychopathic, "with a great deal of repressed anger and hostility." According to Agents Douglas and Ressler, most of the infamous killers they interviewed had grown up in similar situations-- with unhappy home lives and with troubled childhoods. Mass murderers, they said, tended to be transients, "paranoid individuals with low self-esteem." Here

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\*Schlossberg, in *Son of Sam* , (Carpozi Jr., 1977) said essentially the same thing in regard to that earlier case.

again, the classification of psychopathy was not entirely consistent with the rest of the description.

Levin and Fox (Berger,1984:9) were far more explicit. One of their findings was reported in the *New York Times*--

Multiple murderers are not, as a rule, insane, by most legal definitions. Of the 42 cases [of mass and serial murder] Dr. Fox and Dr. Levin examined closely, 9 of the suspects pleaded innocent by reason of insanity. "The typical mass murderer is extraordinarily ordinary," said Dr. Fox. "He doesn't stand out in the crowd. He's not a glassy-eyed lunatic."

Levin and Fox (1985) also explicitly stated that the serial murderer was able to repeat his crimes precisely because he lacked the conscience or guilt that was characteristic of the sociopath.\* Further, Levin and Fox (1985:71-72) stated that the interchangeable terms of "sociopath" and "psychopath" refer to people who are not mentally ill or out of touch with reality,

...but who are incapable of experiencing normal amounts of love and empathy. Though psychologists don't know for sure, they speculate that some people become sociopaths because of rejection in [the] family...or repeated frustration of needs. Whatever the cause, the sociopath lacks a sense of responsibility, guilt or morality and is unable to have lasting or meaningful relationships. He has trouble postponing impulsive behavior..., and is unaffected by the rewards and punishments which might ordinarily inhibit immoral action. This type of individual is often implicated in behaviors ranging from cheating and lying, on the one hand, to rape and murder, on the other.

Here again, and despite the authors' indicating the cruelty of such individuals, the psychopath (or sociopath) is portrayed almost as if he were mentally ill or at the least, suffering from major deficiencies: Psychopaths are "incapable" of love and empathy, "lack" a sense of responsibility, are "unable" to have good relationships and so forth. The implication is that such individuals might really

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\*As Levin and Fox (1985) wrote that serial killers had no moral code for their treatment of others, they were defining serial killings per se as they had sociopathy. The thinking here was similar to Lunde's (1976), in that the dynamics of the crime were identical to the disorder

desire such normal things, but cannot attain them because they suffer from the deficiencies of their psychopathy. Further, the possible causes set forth-- familial rejection or repeated frustrations-- place the psychopath in the stance of the victim.

In conclusion, psychiatrists have usually maintained that multiple murderers are psychotic (or insane), while a number of other investigators have asserted that such persons are sane and are psychopaths. The question of whether multiple murderers are sane or not can perhaps best be determined by ascertaining the extent to which given individuals exhibit any of the symptoms or signs indicative of recognized forms of psychosis. Individuals who do not exhibit any symptoms or signs of psychosis cannot then be assumed to "really" be psychotic nonetheless. Further, a finding of sanity is not necessarily the same thing as a finding of psychopathy. Psychopathy is a personality characteristic, and, as such, can more usefully be discussed relative to the second question, "What are the major personality characteristics of multiple murderers?"

Major personality characteristics. In the preceding section, psychopathy as well as psychosis were shown to be terms that have been loosely and ambiguously used to categorize the multiple murderer and to explain his crimes as a result of the disorder, defects and/or deficiencies associated with the given term. The literature on multiple murderers generally portrays the psychopath in a particularly limited way. The psychopath often appears as something of a brute-- a person who exhibits a number of psychosocial deficiencies, whose behavior is generally socially undesirable and who lacks personal appeal and most positive attributes, (the occasional reference to the surface charm and intelligence of multiple murderers

notwithstanding.) The psychopath is also portrayed as having been a child upon whom trouble has rained. The view that multiple murderers are psychopaths often seems much like the view that they are psychotics; that is, both classifications are used loosely in an attempt to explain the nature of the crimes in terms of comparably serious personal defects.

To date, there has been a disinclination among American researchers-- particularly-- to see that the relevance of psychopathy to multiple murderers goes beyond the issue of sanity and defects. Among the British authors, who have contributed most of the descriptive literature cited in this chapter, are Gaute and Odell (1984:342) who offered a departure from the prevalent views on the subject in their encyclopedia of murder. They noted that a number of multiple murderers have exhibited the most dangerous characteristic of the psychopath-- the appearance of outward normality. "It is this plausibility - often combined with an impressive personality - which so bewitches their victims."

It was Cleckley's (1982) classic study of the psychopathic personality that offered a portrait of the psychopath as both outwardly normal and personally impressive. Cleckley (1982:205) observed that "Everything about [the psychopath] is likely to suggest desirable and superior human qualities, a robust mental health."

This observation was made relative to the first of the psychopath's characteristics listed by Cleckley (1982:205), superficial charm and good intelligence, about which Cleckley also stated that

More often than not, the typical psychopath will seem particularly agreeable and make a distinctly positive impression...[at] first.... Alert and friendly in his attitude, he is easy to talk with and seems to have a good many genuine interests. ...[I]n every respect he tends to embody the concept of a well-adjusted, happy person.

Very often indications of good sense and sound reasoning will emerge, and one... [often] feel[s]... after meeting him that this normal and

pleasant person is also one with high abilities. Psychometric tests also very frequently show him of superior intelligence. More than...[others], he is likely to seem free from social and emotional impediments,... and awkwardnesses so common even among the successful.

Here, as with the next two characteristics (which roughly correspond to "the appearance of outward normality"), Cleckley's (1982:205-06) observations demonstrated how closely related the impressive aspects of the psychopathic personality were with the absence of outward signs of abnormality:

#### Absence of delusions and other signs of irrational thinking

Excellent logical reasoning is maintained..... The results of direct psychiatric examination disclose nothing pathologic - nothing that would indicate incompetency or would arouse suspicion that such a man could not lead a successful and happy life.

Not only is the psychopath rational and his thinking free of delusions, but he also appears to react with normal emotions. ...[H]e is likely to be judged a man of warm human responses, capable of full devotion and loyalty.

#### About the "Absence of 'nervousness' or psychoneurotic manifestations:"

Regularly we find in him extraordinary poise rather than jitteriness or worry, a smooth sense of physical well-being instead of uneasy preoccupation with bodily functions. Even under concrete circumstances that would for the ordinary person cause embarrassment, confusion, acute insecurity, or visible agitation, his relative serenity is likely to be noteworthy... (Cleckley, 1982:206).

As Smith (1978) pointed out, anyone displaying such fine characteristics as these three major ones of Cleckley's list would ordinarily be considered to have fulfilled his potential (or to have approached "self-actualization"), but most clinicians, including Cleckley, filled out the profile with negative attributes. Smith contended that the startling charm of the psychopath is so typical that it is at least as fundamental a characteristic as is the lack of guilt that is so often mentioned. Even Cleckley's ostensibly negative characteristic points, however, were often accompanied by comments which disclose the more persuasive and impressive aspects of the psychopathic personality. For instance, of

"untruthfulness and insincerity" Cleckley (1982:207) wrote that "Candor and trustworthiness seem implicit...." And, "They are disarming [to all]...." While psychopaths exhibit "unresponsiveness in general interpersonal relations," Cleckley (1982:217) wrote that they often appear "very considerate, responsive and obliging..." in smaller matters. Further, psychopaths seem endowed with the social graces, "and many continue, throughout careers disastrous to themselves and...others, to conduct themselves in superficial relations,... so as to gain admiration and gratitude."

It is not the case, then, as is often implied in the literature, that psychopaths are no more than the superficial appearance of something (such as sanity or candidness) or the absence of something (such as symptoms of psychosis or remorse). It seems, rather, to be the case that the psychopathic person is likely to exhibit many positive attributes, (even though some may turn out to be superficial and/or they may be combined with negative attributes). This is a critical point for it goes to a number of fundamental issues involved in multiple murder. For instance, if the psychopath is such a winning, appealing and able character, he could seduce his victims rather than abduct them or use sudden force, and it would be more unlikely for him to have suffered repeated frustration or rejection. That is, the causes would be different, as would the crimes.

Cleckley (1982) cited two characteristic points that are commonly associated with the psychopathic personality-- and have negative connotations: lack of remorse and shame and pathological egocentricity. While clinicians may consider these characteristics as symptoms of a psychiatric disorder, there are other ways of looking at these characteristics. For instance, Maslow's 1950 study of psychological health and self-actualizing people reported that a lack of

guilt and shame was a fundamental attitude of such people (Maslow, 1973).. Also, Maslow found such people to be very accepting of "bodily functions"-- the same term Cleckley (1982) used, and to remain calm and serene in circumstances that would produce discomfort and anxiety in others. Maslow (1973) also found that those in the highest bracket of dominance-feeling could not recall ever having experienced the feeling of guilt or shame, regardless of how they objectively rated their behavior (or recognized that some of it was bad). Further, pathological egocentricity, which Cleckley admitted may be expressed as self-esteem, would then also be relevant to Maslow's findings that those in the highest brackets of dominance have the highest levels of self-esteem.

Cleckley's (1982) observations on psychopathy marked a departure from traditional notions of illness or historical notions of constitutional inferiority. An even greater departure was made by those who looked at the characteristics of the psychopath in the general population. For instance, Coleman (1976) estimated the U. S. incidence of psychopathy to be over four million and to include politicians, attorneys and businessmen. Goldberg and Morris (1976) reported that the 1960 study by the World Health Organization had concluded that psychopathic personalities often occupy leadership positions. The latter authors argued that the "symptoms" of psychopathy were actually quite prevalent in the general population and that they existed not only in many people in some degree, but also "in the codes of business and political institutions"(Goldberg and Morris,1976:37).

The idea that the psychopathic personality encompasses many positive attributes and is not associated with illness, defects or inferiority is most fully articulated by Smith (1978). In *The Psychopath in Society*, Smith noted the

existence of the superior psychopath (as one who exhibits charm, intelligence and creativity)-- and the relevance of the overarching culture in the genesis and enhancement of psychopathic-type attitudes and behaviors.

Smith's (1978:115) thesis was that some of the most basic characteristics of the psychopath-- superficial charm and good intelligence; lack of remorse or shame; untruthfulness and insincerity; and pathologic egocentricity and incapacity for love-- make the psychopath fully endowed with the necessary traits to survive in a society where "individualism is trump."

That is, if the operational basis of the culture requires projecting a good image while watching out for oneself, if it encourages pursuit of material pleasure and the merchandizing of people, then far from being a mask of sanity or a moral imbecile, the psychopath is the reasonable one and... [the others] are out of phase with reality.

Or, saying this in another way, Smith (1978:76) argued that such a set of values as high achievement motivation, image-making and respect for those persons who manifest the most market value, forms "a tailor-made arena for psychopathic acting out."

Elaborating upon his thesis, Smith (1978:87-88) compared the psychopath to the "Machiavel" by providing a detailed review of the Christie and Geis studies of Machiavellianism. Christie had developed a scale to measure the Machiavel in terms of these four characteristics:

1. A relative lack of affect in interpersonal relationships-- manipulating should be enhanced by viewing others as objects.
2. A lack of concern with conventional morality--regarding lying, cheating, and deceit in general, manipulators should have a utilitarian view of interaction with others.
3. A lack of gross psychopathology--the manipulator is hypothesized to take a rational view of others and is in contact with... reality.
4. Low ideological commitment--he is more interested in tactics to an end rather than inflexible striving for an idealistic goal.

According to Smith (1978:92), studies of the attitudes, personality and behavior of the Machiavel have shown

...distinct commonalities with the picture of the psychopath typically constructed by theorists. Indeed there seems hardly a single serious contradiction between the two profiles emerging from theory and research. "Manipulative," "distrustful," "self-oriented," "convincing," and "successful in interpersonal relations" are adjectives that describe both the psychopath and the Machiavel.

Furthermore, there is a threat of broadening Machiavellianism, according to Christie and Geis (Smith,1978:93) who speculated that:

...modern society is becoming more similar in structure to the kinds of [manipulative] laboratory situations in which high Machiavellians win. Available evidence also suggests that individual orientations toward manipulation are increasing.

Smith (1978:x) argued that psychopathy can be viewed as the logical extreme or exaggeration of what Western culture-- the philosophy of the marketplace-- tolerates and even demands of those who want to win fame and fortune, and that, in this sense, there is "encouragement [of psychopathy] from without."

Other authors have also suggested a way in which psychopathy may be a reflection of cultural themes. Levin and Fox (1985:72-73) stated, "The apparently growing number of people who cross the line [on a continuum from excessive guilt to lack of conscience] into sociopathy may stem in part from society's recent war against guilt." Noting the marketplace has recently been flooded with advice on how to eliminate guilt, the authors reported, "The same stress on eliminating guilty feelings, however, may also have been responsible for increasing the number of sociopaths in our society - and, at the extreme, the number of those few sociopaths who become mass killers."

Lykken (1982) presented his view that psychopathy could be explained in terms of what he referred to as relative "fearlessness." His early research on

the Cleckley type of psychopath led him to report that such persons have a low "fear IQ," that is, are low in the personality trait of fearfulness. Lykken suggested that all the features of the Cleckley psychopath could be derived from this single source of fearlessness. For him, the inherited trait was relative fearlessness, not psychopathy itself. He argued that there was nothing intrinsically pathological about fearlessness; indeed, relative fearlessness was the essence of the "right stuff," the stock from which heroes were made. It was Lykken's thesis that the hero and the psychopath were "twigs from the same branch. Both are relatively fearless. The...fearless child...will grow up to be either a hero or a psychopath..." (Lykken, 1982:22). Lykken emphasized that the child who could become a psychopath is neither sick nor defective.

According to Lykken (1982), a small percentage of the population at any given time is relatively fearless, and from their ranks come Medal-of-Honor winners, astronauts, Presidents involved in sexual escapades, our most audacious leaders-- and psychopaths, such as multiple murderers. Lykken maintained that it was necessary for fearlessness to be so rare for otherwise there would be dangers, such as an insufficient fear of war. Photographs of the famous and the notorious-- from Chuck Yeager to Ted Bundy-- illustrated Lykken's points.

According to Hall (1974, Vol. 1), there is a small segment of all species or population-- approximately 5 percent-- who are relatively dominant, and from their ranks come those who reach the top in any field, our most audacious leaders and some of the most notorious criminals and killers. Photographs of some of the most famous and infamous high dominance people line the pages of this text. In Hall, the person to whom everyone gravitates, the person who is easily and naturally the center of attention, was described as the person who is

highly dominant. Lykken (1982), on the other hand, said that it had long ago been pointed out to him that at the center of an excited group of patients, one would probably find a charming psychopath.

Relative fearlessness would seem to have much in common with dominance. Both exist on a continuum. Both comprise only a small minority of the population. Neither are considered to be intrinsically deviant. Indeed, both are said to be desirable, fundamental attributes for the possessors, essential for the survival of a species or the advancement of a society, and the stuff from which leaders are made. No matter how much leaders are needed, however, there would seem to be inherent disadvantages and dangers for a society to have any more than a small minority of its population being high in dominance-feeling or low in fearfulness. As Wilson (1984) argued, a society has only so many outlets for the legitimate use of power and only so many positions for those who want to be leaders. The sudden scarcity of resources in the study of the overcrowded rats showed the danger of dominance without outlets. Also, the manic urge to be somebody is believed to be the driving force for the "Right Man;" and the problem of the "Right Man" is a problem or offshoot of high dominance-feeling, according to Wilson. A society also cannot tolerate a greater number of relatively fearless people, for psychopathy is a problem of relative fearlessness, according to Lykken (1982).

There is, unfortunately, no literature which discusses the nature of dominance in comparison to that of psychopathy. There is only, as the preceding review indicates, discussion of these concepts in relation to still others, such as psychopathy in relation to Machiavellianism; and, in the descriptive literature on multiple murderers, there is discussion of both concepts, albeit separately. Perhaps the most thorough consideration of

dominance is found in *Dominance, Self-Esteem, Self-Actualization: Germinal Papers of A. H. Maslow* (Lowry, 1973). Maslow (1973:74) reported that high dominance-feeling empirically involves these attributes of personality: "good self-confidence, self-assurance, high evaluation of the self, feelings of general capability or superiority, lack of shyness, timidity, self-consciousness, or embarrassment." There is also less fearfulness or feelings of inferiority; greater poise and self-possession, tough-mindedness, leadership abilities, love of adventure, of new experiences, of novelty, new ideas and more daring behavior; there is more "pridefulness" and less conventionality. About the latter, Maslow (1973:82) found that the highest cases of dominance-feeling said that they had no code of morals or ethics. "They felt they could do *anything* if necessary, even to the extent of killing without a qualm. They felt their own ends to be very important and were willing to override all sorts of opposition." Nothing they had done bothered their conscience; none of the subjects could recall having felt guilty about anything. Rules per se generally meant nothing.

### The Crimes

Research interest in the multiple murderers' crimes per se is a relatively recent phenomenon. In the past, studies of the multiple murderer have been more concerned with commonalities in the biographies and personalities of such persons, while the crimes have been interpreted in light of the persons, described individually and/or broadly classified, as with Dickson's (1958) classification of murders for profit or for perversion. With the recent increase in the number of multiple murders, attention began to focus on the need to determine the patterns of such crimes, particularly for law enforcement purposes. There was a corresponding increase in disseminated statements by researchers as to certain patterns among the crimes. Researchers have not,

however, indicated the basis for their conclusions, and some of the statements on the crimes continue to reflect a theoretical assumption about the mental status of the murderers. No study has as yet been published which answers the question, what is the nature of the crimes of multiple murders, and how do these crimes differ among themselves?

The literature on multiple murders disclosed five major areas of interest and debate: (1) the link, if any, found between multiple murderers and their victims; (2) method of operation; (3) investigation; (4) apprehension; and (5) disposition of the case.

Linkage between murderers and victims. The work "link" is used to encompass three areas of interest: (1) the existence of prior, personal relationships between killer and any or all of the victims; (2) the existence of any identifiable motivations; and (3) the existence of an identifiable "victim-type" through the selection of particular types of victims. For each of these areas, the focus is on whether or not there is a linkage, and to what degree it exists-- how many of the victims are tied to the killer by motive or prior relationships, for instance.

1. Victim-offender relationships-- Whether or not there is a prior and personal relationship between multiple murderers and their victims is an area in which perhaps the greatest changes in perception have recently occurred. In the past, there were very few assumptions made about whether or not multiple murderers were different from single-victim murderers in this regard. Police investigating multiple murders have initially presumed that each victim had a separate murderer that could be found among those acquainted with the victim- - or that the murderer was a stranger who killed in the course of some other felony, such as robbery. Indeed, in the initial stages of a murder series each

murder looks like an isolated event. Typically, though, this initial presumption gives way to a recognition that some of the victims might be linked, at which point police seek to find the murderer among the victims' acquaintances and among such suspect populations as ex-sex offenders and former mental patients. Sometimes, as in the search for the so-called "Boston Strangler," police then began to gather every bit of information about every victim in their quest to find some point at which the victims' lives intersected (or were linked), and they examined each suspect similarly. It was believed that, "The answers must be found either in the lives of the victims, or in the lives of the suspects, or both" (Frank, 1967:98). .(No answers were found in this manner.) In this as in many other extensive "task force" investigations, police are assisted by the FBI and by medical and psychiatric consultants. As a result of this assistance, which often reinforces traditional law enforcement thinking, the victim-offender relationships are generally clouded by theoretical assumptions.

Lunde (1976:48) expressed a theoretical assumption in his study of multiple murderers when he stated that the relationship between the mass murderer and his victims differs from that of the single murderer: "Those who kill only one person usually have either a specific *personal* relationship to the victim (spouse, child,...) or *no relationship at all* (...employee or patron killed in the course of an armed robbery)." The single murder may involve either friends or strangers, but, Lunde contended, the mass murderer's relationship to his victims is somewhere between. While the mass murderer may not know his victims well or at all, Lunde did not concede that they are strangers, for "their selection is not random or coincidental. He often perceives his victims as having certain attributes which torment him" (Lunde,1976:48). Such thinking is

consistent with the range of investigative procedures used by police in the typically long and often unsuccessful search for a multiple murderer.

In the early 1980s, the FBI began to publicize statistics on the changing nature of American homicide patterns in relation to a presumed increase in cases of multiple murders. In Porter's (1983) article on the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit, for instance, the Unit was said to be responding to an increase in "stranger murders" by providing profiles for police in the more "bizarre" crimes such as multiple and motiveless murders.\* Further, it was not clear that the FBI Unit actually worked from an assumption that serial, motiveless or bizarre murders involved stranger-to-stranger relationships. Porter (1983:47) indicated, for instance, that profilers were very interested in beatings in the facial area for a brutal attack around the face meant that the killer knew the victim, and "the more brutal the attack, the closer the relationship."

In more general articles such as Garland's (1984) "Murder Among Strangers: Serial Killers Baffle Officials," FBI consultant Brooks stated that one of the reasons that serial killers were so difficult to catch was that they killed strangers. Garland indicated that the absence of any connection between killer and victim separated the serial killer from other murderers and made them far harder to solve. Darrach and Norris (1984) asserted that serial killers rarely knew their victims. And Levin and Fox (1985:47) reported that simultaneous (or mass) murderers killed people they knew, but serial murderers killed strangers.

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\* It is not at all clear from Porter, however, that the FBI's research unit is dealing exclusively or primarily with cases of multiple or serial murders: here, as in the Senate Hearing on *Serial Murders* (U.S. Congress, 1984), the kinds of crimes studied and profiled are by no means said to be limited to serial murders, but rather, said to also include kidnappings, assassinations, skyjackings, child molestations and rapes.

That multiple murderers are strangers to their victims, then, is a recent and fairly prevalent perception, although it may not always be thought through. This perception is often complicated by concomitant perceptions of motivations and/or of victim-types: If, for instance, there is a psychological motivation and/or the murderer selects a certain type of victim, there is (theoretically) a psychological or symbolic relationship which links murderer to victim(s).

2. Motivations-- This area of interest in the literature encompasses such questions as whether or not the victim provoked the murderer, whether or not the murder provided some advantage to the killer, such as profit, and, in general, whether or not multiple murders involve any identifiable motive.

One of the clearest statements of motivation came from Dickson (1958:202) who found that the most striking and important difference between single and multiple murders was in the matter of motives. While single murders involved innumerable and overlapping motives, Dickson found

...that each of our [14] multicides was actuated by one of two primary motives: Profit and Perversion. Killers whose primary motive was profit have never been perverts, although it has sometimes suited them to plead insanity in an effort to dodge the gallows, and [occasionally they have] removed irritating or inconvenient individuals in the spirit in which a salesman uses the company's car for a joy-ride. Killers whose primary motive was the indulgence of perversion have occasionally derived some small profit as a by-product of crimes which they would have committed anyway.

Dickson believed that no other motive could be found and that other studies had overlooked this point.

In such descriptive studies as Bolitho's (1926) *Murder for Profit* and Lustgarten's (1968) *The Business of Murder*, murder for profit was obviously considered a primary motive in cases of multiple murder. Lustgarten's book had cases in which murder was considered as an habitual occupation, whether it was murder for profit, for sex or for racial violence.

American authors, on the other hand, have concentrated more on contemporary American crimes, thereby overlooking the profit motive involved in many of the earlier cross cultural cases. Lunde (1976:47) is representative of the view that the mass murderer generally refers to someone who kills a number of people, "usually for no apparent reason or for an apparent but perverse (often sexual) reason." That is, the motives of the multiple murderer have commonly been viewed as appearing to be motiveless or as "sexually motivated." And, for Lunde and for others, the "sex murderer" is psychotic--Lunde classified him as a "multiple sexual sadist"-- and the apparently motiveless murderer is, almost by definition, viewed as disordered. The staff of the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit believes that motiveless murders are those in which the nature of the killing points to major psychological abnormalities in the killer. As Porter (1983:46) reported about this belief, "...in an increasingly large number of 'stranger' homicides, the killer seems driven to murder not by some 'rational' reason or easily understood emotion, but by a serious psychological disorder." Also, in *The Subculture of Violence*, Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1982:209) wrote that

In general, the less clearly motivated a murder is (in the sense that it is impossible to comprehend the motives) the higher is the probability that the homicidal subject is very abnormal. The easier it is to "understand"... the homicidal motives, the more normal the subject is likely to be.

The authors also felt that motiveless murders were "of particular psychopathological significance..." even though other factors might be involved.

The FBI's Behavioral Science Unit has incorporated the agents' conceptions of motives and motivelessness into their profiling techniques. Special Agents Ault and Reese (U.S. Congress, 1984:61) stated that, "The primary evidence that the profiler is looking for is motive." Further, Unit Chief

Dupue implied in a prepared statement submitted to the Hearing on *Serial Murders* (U.S.Congress,1984:52) that motivelessness is not considered as a property of the crime, but rather as an unenlightened state of mind on the part of the investigator or researcher. Dupue explained that, as the store of knowledge useful for murder investigations increase, the crimes of the multiple murderer (for instance) "...are no longer characterized as 'senseless' and unexplained." He indicated that the various behavioral patterns of successful series killers are slowly becoming known, thereby "making counteraction and interdiction more possible" (U.S. Congress,1984:52). This thinking implies that motiveless murders are irrational-- but can be made understandable when they are explained.

Levin and Fox (1985:91) explained that the purely psychiatric perception is that mass murder always has some "immediate and irrational psychological motivation." Murder, in this view, "is seen as uncontrolled, unplanned, and unburdened by logic or reason, following no particular program or policy and having no realistic goals." These sociologists tried to improve upon the psychiatric view in their discussion. They argued that "...what originally looks like inexplicable behavior may turn out to have an ulterior motive. What passes for craziness may in fact be craftiness or deceit" (Levin and Fox,1985:91). What seems crazy may not be. Levin and Fox argued that the overwhelming number of mass murders fall into the category of craziness superimposed upon "a well-planned scheme to accomplish what the killer wants." There is a similarity between these authors' view and that expressed by Dupue of the FBI (U.S. Congress,1984): the similarity is that for both, "senselessness" was in the eye of the beholder and what appeared as motivelessness might ultimately be explained. Levin and Fox argued that it was necessary to listen to what the

person said, how he said it and how he acted in order to see the world as the other did. Dupue (U.S.Congress,1984:51) similarly stated that "To understand the mind of the serial murderer, it is necessary to scrutinize these most significant acts..." meaning, the murders, and that the crime scene might reveal evidence of, for instance, "coolness, detachment and cunning." That is, more knowledge could make these murders more understandable.

- In the preceding discussion, Levin and Fox (1985) referred to mass murders which were designed to accomplish some end. What is confusing is that the authors reported other findings on motivation and did not make it clear whether they were discussing mass murders or serial murders or both. This presents a problem because the authors suggested, in general and in certain specific ways, that mass and serial murders are different

At one point, Levin and Fox (1985:47) offered a composite profile of mass killers based on their study of 42 mass and serial murderers. The authors found that the mass killer's "specific motivation depends on the circumstances leading up to the crime, but it generally deals directly with either money, expediency, jealousy, or lust." A mass murder "often follows a spell of frustration when a particular event triggers sudden rage; yet, in other cases, the killer is coolly pursuing some goal he cannot otherwise attain." (Levin and Fox,1985:47-48).

At another point in their text, Levin and Fox (1985) appeared to be referring to the reasons why serial murders occurred, but they continued to use the terms "mass murder" or "mass killer" more frequently. According to the authors (Levin and Fox,1985:67), "Approximately 18 percent of all *mass murders* involve sex and sadism. ...[And] such slayings are with few exceptions *serial murders* ..." (emphasis added). At this point in their text, the authors suggested that multiple murders commonly exhibit extreme hostility toward their

victims and "a need for control through grotesquely perverse and humiliating acts" (Levin and Fox, 1985:67). A murderer who performs such acts, "is seeking to achieve a feeling of superiority at the victims' expense, to be triumphant over other people, to conquer by destruction." Even though these murders were said to involve sex and sadism, as Levin and Fox (1985:68) observed, for the most part, the "pleasure and exhilaration that the serial killer derives from repeated murder stem from absolute control over..." others. One illustration used was Roy Norris' admission about his serial murders-- that "the rape wasn't really the important part, it was the dominance." (Levin and Fox, 1985:68). Levin and Fox suggested that frustration was the psychological basis for the "acquired need" for dominance-- that at the bottom of the need to control was the feeling of inferiority and total worthlessness. Levin and Fox then elaborated upon the serial killer's "psychological need to control," the use of sex for the purpose of satisfying the need to control or dominate others, and the remorseless domination crucial to serial crimes with a sexual theme. There are differences between Levin and Fox's (1985) discussion of dominance among multiple murderers and the treatment given the same topic by Wilson (1984) or Hall (1974), for instance. The first difference is that Levin and Fox did not seem to actually consider that multiple murders might be motiveless, whereas both Wilson and Hall noted the emergence of a new trend-- the completely pointless or motiveless murder. Second, dominance was defined very differently: Levin and Fox (following Fromm) believed that dominance was acquired. Wilson or Hall (following Maslow), each believed dominance was an expression of a will to power, a belief in one's abilities and the confidence needed to succeed (although perhaps not the talent or opportunity). Dominance-feeling was believed to be more fundamental rather than acquired through adversity. Third,

the question of *whether multiple murders are (or could be) motiveless hinges upon one's definition of dominance*. In Levin and Fox's definition of dominance, there is an implied motivation-- the need to control and humiliate others. For Wilson (1984), murder supplies its own motivation. Crime is seen as an act of self-assertion, and, in the criminal's view, a form of legitimate protest. In this view, crime is an expression of dominance; it is "a statement" which is not necessarily concerned with the nature or extent of harm inflicted on others. Dominance is much like energy, rather than being a specific motive or a psychological need to control.

At several points in this chapter, sources such as Hall (1974) and Godwin (1978) have been cited for their references to apparently motiveless murders. More recent acknowledgement that multiple murders appear to lack any identifiable motives have come from reviews of the problem in the press. Darrach and Norris (1984:60), for instance, stated that the "recreational killer" rarely seems to have any motive other than "malevolence;" and Garland (1984) observed that the serial killer appears to kill for the sake of killing. As yet, however, there remain few American students of the subject who appear ready to accept or elaborate upon the idea that a murder could be motiveless. Even when such statements as noted above are put forth, they are often qualified by other statements which indicate, for instance, that the killer is seeking to avenge the hurts committed against him by selecting victims who are symbolically representative of the original tormentor.

3. Victim characteristics-- The third way in which multiple murderers can be considered to be linked to their victims is through their selection of a particular type of victim. If multiple murderers do select a victim-type, then there should be striking similarities found among the victims of a given killer, and

those similarities should be fairly easy to identify. In addition to the specific question of whether the victims in a given case are similar, there is the general question of whether or not multiple murderers select a victim-type, and, if so, what types of victims are generally selected.

At the simplest and most specific level are those conclusions in the literature which categorize the types of victims selected by multiple murderers-- with little supporting evidence. According to Porter (1983:46), for instance, the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit believes that the victims of "bizarre" murders are "overwhelmingly" women or children. Similarly, Garland (1984) reported that the serial murderer's victims are usually women and children. Darrach and Norris (1984) began their article with the assertion that serial murderers are on the prowl for easy targets-- women and children who are alone, older people, the homeless, hitchhikers and prostitutes of both sexes. (These latter authors subsequently stated a more complex view, as noted below.)

A more elaborate view was suggested by Levin and Fox (1985). They believed that vulnerability was the critical variable in the selection of victims and that serial killers wanted victims who were easily controlled. The role of victim vulnerability accounted, according to the authors, for the high victimization of prostitutes, hitchhikers, children, derelicts, elderly women and victims in vulnerable settings such as hospitals. The selection of a victim-type on the basis of vulnerability corresponds to Levin and Fox's thesis that the killers are motivated by the need to dominate.

Rule's (U.S.Congress,1984:20) view was that a serial murderer selected random victims perceived to be vulnerable, simply for the sake of killing:

Most serial murderers select a particular category of victim: usually women. In some instances, the victims are children, and... some... are homosexuals, migrant workers, transients. The serial killer seldom

knows his victims before he seizes them. They are strangers, targets for his tremendous inner rage.

Rule (U.S.Congress, 1984:15), in her Senate Hearing testimony, provided an example of what she meant when she spoke of multiple murderers having a victim-type: "Ted Bundy looked for slim, pretty young women with long dark hair parted in the middle."

The notion of a victim-type is intricately bound up in notions of motivations, as was indicated by Rule's view that the victims are objects of the killer' hidden rage. This exchange between Senator Specter and Rule (U.S.Congress,1984:15) was also indicative of these intertwining notions:

Senator Specter. Serial murders [sic] appear to develop a fixation with a certain kind of victim, and under a certain pattern.

Ms. Rule. Yes.

Senator Specter. In terms of origin, some have theorized that there is some early behavioral trait; somewhere there was an attraction to the slender girl who parted her hair in the middle, or somewhere there was anger which led to the patterns of rape.

What observations or conclusions have you come to on the issue of motivation?

Ms. Rule. I think it does go back to childhood, and I hate to say it..., but the ones I have researched so far who have killed women harbor either an excessive dependency on their mothers and never being able to please her, or a hatred for their mothers.

Of relevance here was the similar thesis of New York Police Department psychologist Schlossberg during the "Son of Sam" investigation (Carpozi, 1977) He argued that the killer was seeking revenge upon a mother who had left him alone when he was a baby by killing young look-a-like women with long dark hair. Later, when David Berkowitz was asked whether he had been attracted to his victims' hair, the question provoked laughter in the subject, who said that hair had nothing to do with it. His victims had included males and blondes.

The victims' significance was discussed in Darrach and Norris's (1984:69) article:

The serial killer, say some analysts, identifies the victim as a symbolic surrogate for the parent who dominated, controlled, possessed and destroyed him as a child. In the diseased logic of his fantasy, his victim must now be similarly [treated...] in order that the murderer may come to life again.

The authors then related a metaphorical theory about the three "acts" which comprised the "ritual drama of death and rebirth." First, there was "Act One," the thrilling quest for the victim:

Two requirements had to be met. First, the victim had to be of the right sex - a woman if the killer wanted to destroy a symbol of his mother, a man if he wanted to destroy a symbol of his father. Second, the victim had to be a stranger - someone the killer knew could not easily be envisioned as a parent symbol (Darrach and Norris, 1984:69).

In "Act Two," the victim was captured in "a cruel parody of courtship" in which the killer gained the trust of the victim "and then monstrously betrayed it - just as his own trust had been betrayed by parents." Then, in "Act Three" there was the murder itself, as Darrach and Norris(1984:69-70) explained:

In every case the killer reenacted in his crime the disastrous experiences of his childhood - with roles reversed. By doing to his victim what was done to him as a child, the killer exacted a symbolic revenge. At the same time, he magically canceled his own early sufferings and reclaimed the power and identity he had lost.

According to the authors, this theory of "rebirth" explains why so many killers failed to get that great high or exhilarating breakthrough they wanted:

The ritual drama was constructed on a false premise. The victim didn't really represent a cruel and powerful parent - the killer did. The victim represented the killer as a weak and helpless child. In effect, the killer symbolically killed himself - repeating the tragedy of his childhood instead of reversing it (Darrach and Norris, 1984:70).

Lunde (1976:53) has said that a Freudian theory of multiple murder would involve the notion of an Oedipal complex: "The killer is in love with the

mother and therefore unable to have sex with any other woman. Only by killing the mother can he find release." From this it would be expected that the victims would be symbolic representatives of the mother-- and Lunde (1976:48) did say that victims have symbolic or psychological significance to the killer. Apparently, however, Lunde did not fully subscribe to the Freudian explanation, at least not in so simplistic a form. For, Lunde (1976:97-98) also stated his contention that "the psychological profiles of murderers are similar if their victims are similar. Since there are a variety of victims, there are a variety of psychologically different murderers." Under his classification (1976:103-04) of multiple-victim homicides involving strangers, Lunde placed his two types of multiple murderers-- the schizophrenic and the sadistic. The former was said to kill victims in accordance with his disordered perceptions or hallucinations; while the sadist would kill to achieve sexual gratification and "may choose victims with specific occupations or characteristics" such as "brown-eyed college students" or teachers, for instance. In neither case would the victims necessarily be symbolic representatives of mother.

Although the study of multiple murderers has been said to be in its infancy (Berger, 1984), there already appears to be a set of entrenched beliefs about the way such murderers operate, as evidenced by the article, "Night Stalker' Not a Typical Serial Killer, Psychologists Say," (1985:8B). There was confusion and concern because this California serial killer "has departed from the way serial killers usually operate, according to experts who have studied this kind of criminal behavior." A number of researchers were interviewed who reportedly found the fact that the killer's victims shared no common physical characteristics to be perplexing. The "typical" serial killers, such as Bianchi, Berkowitz and Gacy, according to the experts, "tend to methodically choose

victims with symbolic features." The killer does this, "out of a desire to avenge the 'crimes' he believes were committed against him during an unhappy childhood." The experts cited in the article (including Schlossberg and Liebert, both of whom have been referred to previously), as well as the police, found the diversity in victims (as well as in the types of crimes committed) perplexing: the victims included males and females of varied ethnic origins ranging in ages from children and teenagers to young, middle-aged and elderly adults. Said one officer involved in the investigation, "[This] doesn't meet any profile we've ever seen on a serial murderer" ("Night Stalker'...,"1985:8B).

The problem here is not just that the "Night Stalker" failed to meet the preexisting profiles, but, rather, that the profiles failed to encompass or anticipate diverse patterns-- that the profiles failed to meet the pattern. This problem is, in part, one of sampling. The experts cited in the above-noted article had had experience which was limited apparently to perhaps three contemporary American murderers. Dickson (1958:207), on the other hand, had studied 14 historical and cross cultural cases of multiple murder and had found that the impression left by writers that the majority of victims have been women was untrue:

This is certainly not the case with multicides. [Thomas] Cream and [J.R.H.] Christie killed women only; [Gilles] De Rais and [Fritz] Haarman killed boys and youths only; [Peter] Kurten and [Hamilton] Fish killed regardless of sex, and the fact that most of Kurten's victims were women and girls was merely a question of the accessibility of the raw material.... Of the killers for profit, women victims were necessary with the marriage-proposal gambits of [G.J.] Smith and [H.D.] Landru; the others chose their victims for financial reason.

Method of Operation. The method of operation, also known as "modi operandi" (M. O.), involves two major components: (1) the method(s) the killers use to obtain their victims, and (2) the method(s) of killing and disposing of the

bodies. With the increase in multiple murderers, there has been a greater interest in determining how multiple murderers obtain their victims and in identifying any patterns in the nature of the crimes.

1. Method of obtaining victims-- The first area to be considered here is whether there is any commonality in the method or manner that multiple murderers use in obtaining their victims. The literature vaguely suggests that there are certain general patterns to be discerned among such murderers, but does not specifically address the issue of whether given multiple murderers tend to change or vary their methods over time. Another aspect that has not as yet been fully addressed is whether the method of obtaining victims could be classified as seduction, abduction, sudden attack or by some other category.

The FBI's Behavioral Science Unit is currently conducting interviews with mass and serial murderers and assassins. As Porter (1983:49) reported, the agency hopes to "gain insight into how criminals actually work -- something that, for all the academic research in crime, remains largely uncharted territory." The FBI is interested in such specifics as,

How do killers approach their victims? What do they talk to them about before killing them? How do they react right after the murder? In the case of one man who abducted children from shopping malls and then murdered them, the FBI was particularly interested in how he had persuaded his victims to come away with him. The answer: He would wrap his arm in a bandage and sling, then get children to help him carry a load of packages to his car, which would be waiting in a deserted area of the parking lot (Porter, 1983:49).

It is not very clear here what insight was gained from the interview per se, since Ted Bundy had used the same ruse as the child-murderer and Bundy's ruse was determined by local authorities long before he was apprehended. Hence, just knowing that this tactic had been used would seem to have enhanced the store of knowledge on methods as much as an interview.

In the FBI Unit Chief Depue's prepared statement before the Senate Hearing (U.S. Congress,1984:50-51), he explained the intention behind the interviews conducted as part of the Criminal Personality Research Project. Interviews are conducted from the law enforcement perspective to build up a body of knowledge for such law enforcement purposes as detection, identification, apprehension and successful prosecution of the "homicidal offenders.". Interviews from the law enforcement perspective, however, are also conducted for the purpose of "...understand[ing] the mind of the serial murderer." As an aid to understanding the homicidal personality of the serial murderer, and in preparation for an interview, Depue noted that the "law enforcement behavioral scientist" carefully analyzes crime scenes. The FBI is attempting to do more than determine commonalities in the method of operation; it is, according to Depue, attempting to "determine commonalities of background, developmental history, behavior and method of operation associated with various kinds of homicidal personalities."

In the same Hearing on *Serial Murders* , Rule (U.S. Congress,1984) described serial murderers as trollers who travel constantly, who may drive their cars 200,000 miles a year in their pursuit of random violence and a victim. Rule (U.S. Congress,1984:24) also indicated that in addition to the constant driving and movement in the search for victims, serial murderers "invariably work with the same M.O. - but they move on before the pattern becomes apparent." Rule did not specify precisely how the killer approaches and procures his victims. That is, it is unclear whether the car is believed to just afford the killer greater mobility and a wider selection of victims and/or whether the car is used to pick up hitchhikers or abduct pedestrians or otherwise used to procure victims.

Lunde (1976) believed that sex murders do not vary substantially over time or across cultures. After describing the relatively recent case of Edmund Kemper, Lunde (1976:56) wrote that, "The only significant difference between Kemper and other sex killers throughout history was his ability to find his victims easily near freeway on-ramps." Presumably, this means that the only thing that differentiates the modern murderer from his historical counterpart is the method of obtaining victims and use of the car.

A different reason for considering the car and its significance in obtaining victims was suggested by Levin and Fox (1985). They considered the role of the automobile in reference to the victims, as contrasted with the murderer. Their concern was with particularly vulnerable victim-groups, such as prostitutes and others who do not "willingly participate in their own subjugation" (Levin and Fox, 1985:76). Levin and Fox (1985:76) continued:

Like prostitutes, hitchhikers will voluntarily get into a stranger's car, where they are at his mercy. Some of the victims of [L.S.] Bittaker and [Roy] Norris were teenage hitchhikers who were overpowered after accepting a ride in "Murder Mac." Serial killer Edmund Kemper slew six hitchhiking female students from the University of California at Santa Cruz who wanted nothing more from him than a ride. Male hitchhikers are not immune either. Freeway killer William G. Bonin killed, mutilated, and castrated a number of young men who were thumbing on L.A.'s freeways.

In the several ways in which Levin and Fox described the way victims have been obtained, the authors implied that (1) given multiple murderers use the same methods over time, and (2) given methods can be classified as, for instance, seductive or abductive. For example, the authors reported that a number of killers have taken advantage of the vulnerability of children. To obtain young victims, killers may offer treats or impersonate police or just grab a small-sized child. Other groups are also vulnerable

...teenagers and adults can also be lured by trickery or snatched by force. Many of the victims of 'charming,' serial killer Christopher Wilder, for example, apparently bought his story that he was a fashion photographer. More abductive than seductive, Bittaker and Norris customized their van, "Murder Mac," with a sliding door to enable quick apprehensions; their first victim was simply plucked off the street into the van (Levin and Fox, 1985:76).

The method of obtaining victims varied with the type of victim, according to Levin and Fox (1985). They felt that psychologists have disregarded the role of victim vulnerability in mass killings and have ignored situations or settings which could even stimulate the expression of dominance through murder. As an example, the authors cited the murders of 11 patients at Riverside, California's Community Hospital by a male nurse.

2. Method of killing-- More attention has been paid to the multiple murderer's method(s) of killing than to the ways in which victims are obtained-- in part because the former has been of theoretical interest while concern over the latter stems from the increasing number of such cases. One problem that arises in the literature in both areas is that professionals often state what specific methods of operation are found among all multiple murderers (such as the use of cars), without providing much supporting evidence. Generally, conclusions are stated in broad terms and a few multiple murderers are identified as examples. This indicates an assumption that valid generalizations can be made on the basis of a very few cases. It also indicates the tendency to assume that patterns do not vary appreciably within a given case. For the few cases cited, criminologists never offer an accompanying description of the methods used in the individual murders. It seems to be taken for granted among professionals that multiple murderers, as a class, exhibit set patterns which can be-- and are-- identified in advance.

Many of the above points are exemplified in the article, "'Night Stalker' Not a Typical Serial Killer, Psychologists Say" (1985:8B). For instance, one expert offered the following specific inter-case methods of operation without providing supporting evidence, aside from the theoretical reasoning: "Knives, strangulation and other forms of torture are frequently used because of the killer's desire to achieve intimacy with his victims-- to hear their screams or watch their eyes-- Rappaport said.\* Elsewhere in the article, serial killers Bianchi and Buono, Berkowitz and Gacy were cited as examples of the tendency to methodically select victims because of their symbolic significance. The problem here is that, while professionals continued to presume that serial killers operate according to set patterns from which they do not deviate, the "Night Stalker" was behaving in a quite different manner:

The fact that the intruder's victims share no common physical characteristics-- as well as the fact that the killer has not stuck to a particular type of crime-- make an already complex murder investigation even more bedeviling ("Night Stalker"..., 1985:8B).

The article disclosed no inclination to change or modify presumptions about serial killers among the experts interviewed. Rather: "...according to experts who have studied this kind of criminal behavior,... the 'night stalker' has departed from the way serial killers usually operate." That is, since serial (or multiple) murderers are presumed to operate according to fixed and anticipated patterns, the Night Stalker was not a "typical" serial killer. Yet, with 14 murders and 21 rapes, assaults and kidnappings linked that August of 1985 to him, the Night Stalker was a serial killer.

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\*The article continued, "The 'night stalker,' however, has shot his victims to death as often [as] he has stabbed or bludgeoned them" ("Night Stalker"..., 1985:8B).

Lunde (1976:53) wrote that the sexual sadist's method of killing may involve the weapons of his early interest, such as guns, knives and torture instruments, but that strangulation may be preferred. According to Lunde, "The act of killing itself produces very powerful sexual arousal in these individuals, some of whom will attempt intercourse with the victim." Apparently he had drawn upon the few identified "sex murderers" he cited previously as the basis for this generalization. For those cases, moreover, Lunde had merely referred to some aspect of the killer's method (and not necessarily the same aspect)--without providing any indication of whether the methods had changed. In any event, Lunde's conclusion about methods was so broad as to ensure that it encompassed almost any method of killing that has or may occur.

Levin and Fox (1985) found that, while the mass murderer used a gun, the serial murderer killed strangers by beating or strangling them to death. Elaborating upon the use of beatings and strangulations, the authors noted that the murderer may sexually assault, terrify, mutilate, whip, cut, urinate on or otherwise terrify and hurt their victims. However, Levin and Fox also cited cases which involved, for instance, shootings and lethal injections. With no elaboration, Darrach and Norris (1984:60) offered this conclusion about the multiple murderer's methods: "He kills with total ferocity, sometimes discarding bodies like garbage, sometimes painstakingly arranging them as though for a pornographic photo."

On the other hand, Godwin (1978:11) offered a much different conclusion, and one that was based upon his analysis of 21 identified cases, three of which were involved homosexuals. As for the remaining cases,

... The heterosexuals had widely differing *modi operandi* : from Earle Nelson, who raped and murdered elderly landladies, to Albert Fish, who killed - and often ate - children. The alcoholic pill popper Speck stabbed

and throttled eight student nurses in a single night. Albert DeSalvo, the Boston Strangler, never touched drugs or liquor, and terrorized an entire city during two years of leisurely slaughter. The trim, handsome jazz musician [Melvin] Reese slowly tortured his prey to death. The bloated giant Kemper killed quickly, then did unspeakable things to the corpses.

As the preceding review indicates, the literature does not provide any systematic analysis of the method of killing, particularly with respect to pattern variation within individual cases. Nevertheless, there appears to be a great deal of faith among FBI agents and consultants in their own assumptions and the translation of those assumptions into improved law enforcement measures. Rule, for instance, testified before the Hearing on *Serial Murders* (U.S. Congress, 1984:24) that multiple murderers rarely varied their M.O., but they left an area before that M.O. became noticeable. She felt that this pattern-- as well as the invariable selection of the same type of victims-- could be used to advantage in the computerized Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VI-CAP), discussed in greater detail, below. (Levin and Fox [1985:185], however, doubted that computers would ever turn out to be a "panacea" for stopping the increase in serial murders across the country.

As for faith in the profiling efforts of the Behavioral Science Unit, and the future of profiling, FBI Agents told Porter (1983:52) they expected a computerized system in which "a policeman anywhere in the country can punch the characteristics of a bizarre murder into a terminal and get back an educated guess as to who did it." (The killer would then be classified into one of three personality types: "organized," "disorganized" or "mixed".)

According to Porter (1983:47), the FBI believed that sex murders "typically are stabbings, strangulations, or beatings, rather than shootings." On a more general level, profilers apparently believed themselves capable of

interpreting the meaning that any given behavior on the part of the killer has.

The focus is upon the meaning attached to the behavior, rather than the behavior per se. Porter (1983:47) wrote that

Profilers pay particular attention to the manner in which a person was killed, the kind of weapon that was used, and something the bureau calls "post-offense behavior," or what the killer did to the victim after... [death]....If the killer brought along his own weapon, it points to a stalker, someone fairly well organized, even cunning, who came from another part of town and probably drove a car. If the killer used whatever weapon was available... it points to a more impulsive act, a more disorganized personality. It also means that the person probably came on foot and lives nearby.

Whether or not the victim died quickly or slowly was, for the FBI, an important indicator of age and personality type. What the killer does right after the murder, particularly whether or not the killer spends time with the body and at the crime scene, was equally important (Porter, 1983).

Rather than releasing any information as to the multiple murderers' patterns in disposing of the bodies, the FBI has apparently focused upon how the victim was treated, in the belief that this reveals the killers' characteristics.

Quoting one FBI agent, Porter (1983:47) reported,

..."A person who covers up the body with clothing, or hides it, is saying that he feels pretty bad about what he's done.... If he moves the body so it will easily be found, this may show that he has some feeling for the person. He doesn't want them exposed to the elements. He wants them to have a funeral and decent burial."

Such beliefs border on the sentimental, for the FBI have attributed to the killer feelings of guilt or feelings of attachment and concern for the victims.

Nature of the Investigation. Multiple and "bizarre" murders are considered particularly problematic. As the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit chief, Depue, has said, "These are the cases usually considered unsolvable" (Porter, 1983:46). The problem in multiple murder investigations is one with two distinct

but complimentary parts: (1) how multiple murderers tend to behave, and (2) what authorities believe and how they tend to respond.

More specifically, the nature of the investigation can be considered with respect to three areas of concern: (1) the nature of the evidence; (2) whether multiple jurisdictions are involved; and, (3) what authorities believe and how their conceptions affect the course and outcome of the investigation.

1. The nature of the evidence-- Perhaps the most significant problem police confront in investigating multiple murders is that there is very little physical evidence, and very little to go on. The killer is usually a stranger and often cannot be linked to the victim via an identifiable motive. The first murders in a serial homicide case often appear as separate and distinct murders, with little to differentiate them from single-victim "bizarre" murders. Consequently, a solid basis exists for the Behavioral Science Unit's offering investigative support for those cases believed to be especially brutal, unique or bizarre. As FBI director Webster (U.S.Congress,1984:4) reported, the majority of requests for help come from local police who are involved in "complex homicide cases where all logical investigation has been completed and no viable suspect has been identified. [These] cases often involve multiple victims...."

The literature offers only one means of solving the problem of the absence of physical evidence, and that is the FBI's technique of analyzing and interpreting psychological clues left at the crime scenes.

The FBI's response to unsolved, bizarre murders follows from the premise that a murderer's acts reflect a psychological problem from which

patterns may evolve. These patterns, in turn, may represent the killer's characteristics (Levin and Fox, 1985).\*

Agents Ault and Reese (U.S.Congress, 1984:59) stated that officers "should" become proficient in the use of psychological assessments of crimes. They referred to the "fact" that there are certain intangible clues left behind by an aberrant killer which are difficult to detect by the "untrained officer," which are impossible to collect (as contrasted to physical evidence), and which may be of "inestimable value" in solving a crime-- particularly where traditional investigative procedures and leads have not succeeded.

The psychological assessment of a crime scene is done for the purpose of developing a profile. Certain types of evidence, such as fear, rage, irrationality, and, supposedly, love, are detected and interpreted at the crime scene. According to Agents Ault and Reese (U.S.Congress, 1984:59-60), this "fact" about intangible clues left at the crime scene (and their use in profiling) is based upon "nothing more" than the comprehension of "current principles of behavioral sciences...." However, "current principles"-- such as the notion of psychological clues or of a bizarre crime being a symptom, the evidence of a visible disorder and a reflection of the personality type-- have not been fully established. Consequently, it is not clear how principles were applied to existing law enforcement knowledge of patterns to produce profiles or the principles of profiling.

2. Multiple jurisdictions-- In the past, investigations of multiple murder cases have been hampered by a number of factors, including the inability of police to detect a linkage among the crimes and to respond accordingly. A

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\*VI-CAP is intended, on the other hand, to identify similarities among crimes that occur in different jurisdictions.

related problem has been that the murders might occur in different police jurisdictions, and hence, any similarities among the crimes would not be detected by the individual law enforcement agencies. Just recently, however, a new perception of multiple murders has arisen: multiple murders are perceived as being, almost by definition, multijurisdictional cases. The corresponding solution at the federal level is the Violent Criminal Apprehension Program or VI-CAP.

This new perception of multiple murders has been most clearly articulated by Rule (U.S.Congress,1984:24), who concluded that:

...[Serial killers] rove just beneath the surface of awareness throughout the country. They all drive constantly, trolling for victims. While most of us put between fifteen and twenty thousand miles a year on our cars, the serial murderer logs over 200,000 miles! They invariably work with the same M.O. - but they move on before the pattern becomes apparent. With VI-CAP the M.O. pattern would literally leap out of the computers.

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The murderer that VI-CAP hopes to track is the invisible man; he destroys his victims, hides their bodies and moves on to another area where his pattern of violence begins again.

Levin and Fox (1985:195) believed that VI-CAP might be helpful in cornering a multiple jurisdictional killer, "... if he maintains a pattern to his killing- - which given the cleverness of some serial killers may be doubtful...." The concept of VI-CAP evolved, according to Levin and Fox (1985), from a multijurisdictional investigation in a Michigan serial murder case. While that case was never solved, Heck, of the Justice Department, was quoted by the authors as stating the expectation that, "VICAP will raise the probability that separate jurisdictions will recognize a serial killer, and the quicker this recognition, the greater the chance of interdiction" (Levin and Fox, 1985:183).

VI-CAP was described by its originator, Brooks (Levin and Fox, 1985:183), as an attempt to collect and analyze all the aspects of the

investigation of "similar pattern murders, on a nationwide basis, regardless of location or number of police agencies involved." Obviously, then, VI-CAP's validity is based in part on the presumption that multiple murderers do travel across the country, repeating similar murders of which the police are largely unaware. Levin and Fox claimed, however, that those who travel are fewer in numbers and that most serial killers remain in the same place.

Perhaps more important than the issue of traveling per se is to ascertain the extent to which multiple jurisdictions are involved, how this hampers investigations and how VI-CAP would address this problem. Even when a serial murder does occur within a single city, it may span several police jurisdictions. When separate jurisdictions are involved, investigations have been hampered in two ways: (1) police are not aware of similar cases in other jurisdictions, and (2) individual agencies are traditionally jealous of their authority and tend not to cooperate or communicate with other agencies. VI-CAP was intended to address the former problem, not the latter. However, for VI-CAP to prove helpful in alerting police to similar crimes elsewhere, the individual agencies would first have to respond to what may appear as isolated crimes as if these were unsolvable, and possibly part of a series. That is, the police would have to ask for help, for VI-CAP does not gather data. Police agencies must submit a filled-out 27-page questionnaire that contains 285 pieces of information developed by the FBI. The efficacy of the project depends upon whether and how well police respond to VI-CAP and how well VI-CAP reflects the nature of the murder patterns. Levin and Fox (1985:184) have pointed out the flaws in computer-assisted investigations:

... Computers can help only to the extent that the police encode the key items of data and to the extent that offenders really do exhibit patterns

strong enough to detect. Moreover, the concept of 'pattern similarity' is more complex than it may immediately appear.

No matter how voluminous the computer program supporting the data base of cases, it is doubtful that *precoded* checks of similarity will be a great benefit in discerning the unique features of each killer.

2. Conceptual impediments-- This term refers to one or more beliefs about the nature of multiple murders which guide the investigation into directions which turn out to be inappropriate and unproductive. A number of beliefs about multiple murders have already been discussed in this chapter. These include, for instance, the belief that multiple murderers rarely vary their method of operation, that multiple murderers select a victim-type (and that particular groups are more vulnerable than others), and that multiple murderers are most likely to be found among certain suspect populations (former mental patients or convicted sex offenders, for instance), or, that they can be classified according to certain presumed suspect characteristics (such as being mentally ill or being a loner). These beliefs may arise in the course of a particular investigation; the validity of VI-CAP is also partly predicated on the FBI's beliefs about M.O., victim profiles and suspects. It would seem important to determine whether an individual investigation was hampered or helped by any given belief, and to determine, in general, whether multiple murderers behave in a manner consistent with the beliefs of the FBI and their consultants.

One investigative tool that has become so common it has been referred to as an American tradition (Godwin, 1978) is the psychological profile. Traditionally, such profiles have been developed by clinicians at the request of the police or have been developed independently and informally to be disseminated through the press. The validity of any given profile can be assessed rather easily: the profile of an unknown killer need only be compared

to the apprehended suspect. It is rare, however, for such comparisons to be made at the conclusion of a particular case.

Godwin (1978:276) assessed psychological profiles generally, and he concluded that "Nine out of ten profiles concocted are... vapid." Similarly, Porter (1983) and Levin and Fox (1985) concluded that profiles have been generally so vague as to point to practically anyone and hence be basically useless. It was the consensus of these sources that no profile has been nearly so accurate or precise as that which Brussel developed in the late 1950s to help police catch New York's "Mad Bomber." These sources also agree that, in the worst cases, psychological profiles can severely hamper investigations. One example often given is the profile developed for the Boston Strangler investigation of the early 1960s. This profile sent police off in the wrong direction. Most of the psychiatrists concluded that there were at least two stranglers-- one who killed the older women and one or more homosexuals who killed the younger female victims. DeSalvo, the strangler, had, however, acted alone; the age differences among the victims had been purely coincidental. It was further assumed that the two (or more) stranglers would hate their mothers, live alone, be sexually inhibited, and, among other things, kill in sudden outbursts of psychotic rage. These assumptions proved to be wrong: DeSalvo revered his mother, lived with his wife and children, was sexually insatiable and killed with cool premeditation.

Porter (1983) and Levin and Fox (1985) felt the recent specialization by the FBI in the area of profiling was superior to that of consulting psychologists and psychiatrists: the FBI's efforts would be better and different because the agents work at profiling full-time, have some training in behavioral sciences as well as in law enforcement and have extensive investigative experience.

The FBI's profiles would be difficult to evaluate in the course of this (or any other independent) research. Even for those cases included in the present study in which the FBI was, apparently, involved, no details of specific profiles have as yet been published. In one article (Mansfield, 1980), Agents Ressler and Douglas indicated that their profiling efforts had not produced any major failures-- that it had, in fact, a 90 percent success rate in matching profiles to apprehended criminals.

Levin and Fox (1985), using the FBI's own evaluation of its profiling efforts, cited quite different figures: a survey of 192 users of profiles indicated that less than half the cases were ever solved. In only 17 percent of the 88 solved cases was the profile found to be directly helpful in identifying a suspect. As the authors (Levin and Fox, 1985:176) pointed out, profiles are not expected to solve cases, and in the majority of cases, the profiles did help to focus the investigation. Hazelwood, an FBI profiler, stated, "We're still in the stage where profiling is an art rather than a science." Levin and Fox were less optimistic: they felt it was doubtful that profiling would ever advance to a stage much beyond the educated guess.

Apprehension. There is a consensus of opinion among investigators that multiple murderers are usually caught as a result of chance or good luck. Opinions differ, however, over the degree to which computers will improve the situation by offering timely information to diverse police departments who then must work conjointly in apprehending the killer.

Rule (U.S. Congress, 1984) testified before a Senate Hearing that serial murderers tended to be caught accidentally, as a fluke on something else (as when Bundy was stopped for erratic driving.) When asked her opinion as to what the effect in the Bundy case would have been had VI-CAP been

operational, Rule said that in that particular case, VI-CAP would have been able to save at least 14 lives. (Another belief expressed by Rule was that nothing beyond VI-CAP was needed, that the police were already doing everything they could.)

Like Rule (U.S.Congress, 1984), Levin and Fox (1985:185) found that, "If [serial killers] are caught at all - before or after they stop killing - it is so often by luck." Their reasoning, however, was different. Levin and Fox emphasized the extreme skill of the killers, not their roving from one state to another. Because of the serial killers' cleverness and skill, most could readily alter their style and their method so that patterns could not be detected. This was the reason Levin and Fox believed that VI-CAP could *not* stop the rising tide of serial murders. Further, "Even a well-orchestrated and thorough manhunt is not guaranteed to succeed." Heck told the authors that it was extremely important for the computer-assisted investigation to be managed properly. "If the killer is not caught, then still you've done your best. But most serial killers are arrested by chance or happenstance," Heck said (Levin and Fox, 1985:185).

It is premature to state to what degree VI-CAP will assist local law enforcement in identifying and apprehending serial murderers. Recognition of the problem at the federal level is an important first step. The success of the VI-CAP project, however, is greatly dependent upon local law enforcement's recognition of the problem as it arises and upon the validity of VI-CAP's underlying premises. The available literature provides little indication as to whether the FBI has evaluated its own premises. Nor is there any way to determine if, and to what extent, the FBI will modify the computer program to accommodate any new, conflicting and/or unanticipated patterns that may arise.

Disposition. Most authorities agree that a large number of multiple murder cases are never solved. The speculation is that many of the 5000 unsolved homicides in the country each year may be committed by a few highly skillful killers. More relevant to the present study is the disposition of those cases that are solved.

Levin and Fox (1985), and, to some extent, Lunde (1976) and Godwin (1978), discussed three issues relative to disposition: plea bargaining, insanity verdicts and punishments. Lunde contended that, despite the almost 90 percent of other cases being disposed of by plea bargaining, a murder-- particularly one like a mass murder-- is rarely disposed of in this way. However, Levin and Fox argued (and Godwin would agree) that most people are simply not aware of the extent to which plea bargaining effects the disposition of serious cases. Levin and Fox cited examples of multiple murderers who arranged plea bargains. One was Clifford Olson, who arranged a bargain in which his wife received \$90,000 in compensation for the names and whereabouts of his murder victims. Other examples included cases involving deals with accomplices to secure testimony against a defendant, with such accomplices granted immunity or a reduced sentence.\* Godwin elaborated upon this point when he cited the 1973 data for Manhattan. He reported that in that "average" year, grand juries indicted 326 people for homicide. Out of this number, there were 200 cases in which persons indicted for murder plea bargained for lesser charges.

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\*Two general and relevant observations offered by Levin and Fox in their chapter on plea bargaining are (1) that serial murderers who cross state lines are rarely prosecuted by more than one state, and (2) that serial killers are rarely charged or tried for all of the crimes of which they are suspected. This may occur even within the same city, as prosecutors may decide to charge a defendant with only those cases for which the evidence is strongest.

These same three sources reviewed the various tests of insanity and considered some of the complexities involved in determining legal insanity. Both Levin and Fox (1985) and Lunde (1976) cited evidence to support their contention that the public overestimates the use and success rate of insanity defenses. The data cited in all these sources is about the same: that one percent of all felony defendants plead not guilty by reason of insanity and that only one in three is successful. Levin and Fox reported similar findings from their own study-- that of the 42 mass killers studied, nine defendants tried the insanity defense and four were successful. Lunde and Levin and Fox asserted that, contrary to popular belief, there is very little difference in the amount of time served between defendants judged insane and sent to hospitals and those found sane and sent to prison. Godwin (1978), however, asserted that the average length of time for defendants committed to hospitals is four years. None of these sources argued for the abolishment of the insanity plea altogether.

Levin and Fox (1985) reviewed some of the problems arising from the insanity defense in relation to multiple murderers. The authors described how, as in the cases of Berkowitz and Bianchi, defendants have seen a personal benefit to faking insanity and how such a ploy almost worked. Godwin (1978) described a number of different criminals who successfully faked insanity, and others who were released after having been hospitalized for a short time. Godwin considered psychiatrists unable to deliver the kind of judgements they are called upon to make at various points in the criminal justice system. Yet, according to Godwin (1978:273), many psychiatrists "are still busily fortifying the legend of their special, near-magical role in the process...." At the same time that Godwin criticized psychiatrists for their impact, he also backed away from

any assertion that psychiatrists were responsible for the problems they wrought.

It is in the area of the final disposition-- the time between sentencing and release-- that Lunde (1976) and Levin and Fox (1985) seemed to differ the most with Godwin (1978). Lunde, concerned primarily with the absence of treatment in institutions for the criminally insane, simply asserted that murderers found sane and those found insane spent many years if not their entire lives in their respective institutions. Like Lunde, Levin and Fox argued that once multiple murderers have been sentenced, they rarely get released. They noted, however, that few have spent as much time in prison as Caril Fugate, (Starkweather's girlfriend), who was recently released. Levin and Fox have assumed that multiple murderers, primarily because of their notoriety, will not be released, despite parole eligibility. They argued that the public confused parole eligibility with release and that the claim that murderers were always getting out on parole was an exaggeration that only applied to single-victim killers anyway.

Godwin (1978), on the other hand, cited many single-victim homicides of a particularly heinous nature, along with some instances of multiple (or double) murders wherein the murderer received parole. Moreover, he pounded home the theme that murderers rarely served anywhere near their sentence, and were often released after seven years.

Levin and Fox (1985:219-220) pointed to recent changes in the law which may help to counter public fear of the release of multiple murderers:

A series of rulings by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1976 opened the way for states to enact new legislation for homicide and mass murder, in particular. Thirty-eight states have since restored the death penalty.... Illinois, for example, reinstated a death penalty statute under which... John Wayne Gacy was scheduled to die.

Because of the tremendous growth of mass murder during the 1970s, the criminal justice system was compelled to recognize mass

murder as a special type of homicide. California, which has had more than its share of mass killers, now employs a special provision for those who commit multiple murder.

In their own study of state laws governing the punishment of multiple murderers, Levin and Fox (1985:220) found great diversity. They reported that many states have statutes specifically prohibiting the release of multiple murderers, and that in those states with parole eligibility, such persons "are unlikely to be released."

## Chapter 3

### RESEARCH METHODS

Multiple murder presents a problem for which descriptive research is appropriate. Multiple murders are a frightening and an increasing problem for which there is no data base containing descriptive information. The absence of basic information impedes law enforcement efforts to solve these crimes. In addition to the need to determine the nature of the crimes, descriptive research on the background and the characteristics of the murderers could contribute to the development of new theories as well as the testing of causal statements.

It was the purpose of the study to describe the crimes and life histories of 27 multiple murderers, and to analyze the descriptive data to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the characteristics of multiple murderers and how do they differ among themselves?
2. What is the nature of the crimes of multiple murder and how do they differ among themselves?
3. What, if any, correspondence exists between the characteristics of multiple murderers and the nature of their crimes?

### Design

For the purpose of describing 27 multiple murderers and their crimes, this research utilized the available materials that have been published on each of these cases. The use of available materials constituted the research design and data gathering technique (see, for instance, Rubin, 1983; Kerlinger, 1964, on methods of observation).

As available materials did not provide direct answers to the research questions, a method was required for the selection and recording of facts that were deemed relevant to the research (Runkel and McGrath, 1972). Content analysis was the method generally referred to (in, for instance, Runkel and McGrath; Rubin, 1983; Kerlinger, 1964; and Fox, 1969) when, as in the present study, systematic examination, classification and analysis was intended. Insofar as this research involved the use of categories for the selection and recording of descriptive data, content analysis was an appropriate procedure to support the design of this study.

Available, published materials contained both descriptive information and interpretations. This study utilized the descriptive information and, insofar as it was possible to do so, did not utilize interpretations that appeared in the original source(s). Descriptive information (such as, subject was legally adopted at birth) was usually distinguishable from interpretations (such as legal adoption being referred to as the subject's being abandoned at birth by mother and taken in by foster- or step-parents). To maximize control over data collection and to structure the extraction of relevant material, both rules and instruments were developed and are discussed below.

The process of selecting the cases for the study was as follows:

The first step consisted of defining the universe of all possible cases of multiple-victim murders; in this study, the "universe" was considered to be all

possible cases cited in all the available sources. "The point is that there are a number of available sources that can be used for drawing samples...[and] they are much better sources of samples than the informed hunches of investigators" (Kerlinger, 1964: 523). The sources that were used for drawing samples were general reference works and newspapers. A list of all multiple-victim murders was drawn from such references as the casebook on murders by Wilson (1969), the encyclopedias of Nash (1975; 1980; 1981; 1984), Gaute and Odell (1980), Wilson and Seaman (1983), Sifakis (1982), Scott (1961) and from the 1974 20-volume encyclopedia, *Crimes and Punishment* edited by Hall. In addition, for the years subsequent to the latter publication, cases of multiple-victim murders were "clipped" from four newspapers when such cases were first reported, and the newspapers were checked regularly, sometimes daily, for any "follow-up" reports.

The second step in selecting the cases involved identifying and defining the population. To identify the relevant population, all the cases of multiple-victim murders that had been compiled were divided into two broad classifications: (1) those cases that were considered or cited as examples of the terms "multiple," "serial" and/or "mass" murders; and, (2) all other types of multiple-victim murders that constituted distinctive trends and formats beyond the scope of the present study, such as murders involving organized crime or political terrorism. Cases in this second classification were categorized and then excluded from the population of cases relevant to the present study.

In reference to the first classification-- those cases that were characterized as multiple, serial or mass murders-- the process of defining the relevant population involved the following: (1) A determination was made to exclude single-episode (mass) murders and to use the term "multiple" rather

than "serial" murders, as explained below; (2) the term used was operationally defined; and (3) cases consistent with the definition were identified.

First, mass murders-- murders involving several people killed in a single episode-- were excluded to maintain consistency with recent professional conceptualizations of the mass murder(er) as distinct from the serial murder(er). The decision to use the term "multiple" rather than "serial" came about for several reasons. "Multiple murder" has been in common usage for a much longer time than has serial. There was also a need for a term with a broader scope than was possible with the term serial as it is currently defined. Serial murder is usually defined as murder committed by one person in which numerous victims, usually strangers, are killed individually, in discreet episodes, over a period of months or years.\* While the phenomenon under study encompasses serial murders, there are other, relevant cases which could not be included in a study of only serial murders. It was decided, therefore, that multiple murder would be a more appropriate term.

Second, "multiple murder" was defined in terms of the basic components of the crimes which comprise the relevant population: multiple murder was defined as the murder of at least three persons, by one or more murderers, and is committed in at least two separate episodes.

Third, cases consistent with the above definition were selected from the list of cases that had been compiled from the reference works and newspapers. Then this list was reduced by excluding cases that did not meet the following requirements for inclusion in the sample. The sample was limited to cases (1) that had been cleared and had identified offenders; (2) that had occurred in America, England and Western Europe so as to reduce the effect of substantial

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\*Many important cases, such as the murders of Charles Manson and "family," would be excluded in a study of serial (or, for that matter, mass) murders only.

cultural differences; and, (3) that had existing, sufficient materials (at least two sources) for purposes of document research.

Of the 45 cases identified as multiple murders, 27 met the requirements for inclusion in the sample. The selection of cases was also based on geographic, historical and crime-type representativeness. The final sample was judged to be representative of the cultures, chronology and diversity of crime-types that constituted multiple murders committed.

The following types of documents provided the data sources for the research: all books that could be obtained relative to each case, books containing articles on, or discussion of, individual cases, court records, clinical assessments, transcriptions of televised interviews with the subject, news items concerning the crimes, reports on the investigation, psychological profiles developed, legal proceedings, interviews with people acquainted with the subject or working on the case and interviews with, and observations and descriptions of, subjects that are reported.

Rather than depend upon the opinions and biases of either casual observers or "experts" for essential data, this study utilized published and available materials to provide a data source which:

1. described the life histories of the subjects and the crimes for a sample of the size and composition used in this study;
2. contained the extent and range of biographical data needed to provide a description of the life history of any person;
3. reported descriptive data by which to determine the nature of the crimes and the characteristics of the offenders;
4. provided a means for eliminating bias by evaluating information published in the sources in terms of its internal and external consistency.

### Means of Gathering the Data

In order to adequately gather the data, a set of decision rules was established. The rules were the following:

1. Read total document or that portion that deals specifically with the case.
2. Underline any material deemed relevant to provide description of the case person and the murders.
3. From among underlined material, organize and extract any pertinent information relevant to any of the content themes established from the literature (see Appendix A for list of categories).
4. Reduce duplication and redundancy in thematic material.
5. Search for consensus among the three judges each doing the reading, underlining, extraction and reporting of case material.

The content themes reviewed in the literature became part of the research instrument for categorizing descriptive data to be extracted from the data source documents. As indicated by the number and range of categories listed (see Appendix A), no single theoretical orientation directed the inquiry. Categories designating descriptive data often encompassed theoretical factors in the form of developmental stages or variables. For instance, as brain damage during pregnancy and birth has been posited (Darrach and Norris, 1984) as a causal factor in serial murder, the category "lifespan/birth" encompassed year of birth and any data pertinent to the brain damage premise. "Region/location; population density" designates data on geography and on the issue of "population density" as a causal factor. Further, by combining "lifespan" and geographic data, information was provided as to the history and cross cultural presence of multiple murderers. Wherever possible, descriptive data

were extracted for each category, with the list of categories in the life history possessing the properties of homogeneity, mutual exclusiveness, inclusiveness and usefulness\* in terms of description as a test of hypotheses.

The search for consensus among the three judges, each doing the analysis, led to the methods by which to produce reliable descriptions of the life histories and crimes. (The development of the instrument for the crimes is discussed below.) The process by which the methods evolved was as follows: First, three qualified experts (that is, persons with college degrees, with a general interest in the subject but no particular bias or orientation toward it), were provided with books and copies of all available materials on the Bianchi, Bundy and Collins cases. Each expert was asked to read all documents, underline all passages considered important and to organize the pertinent passages into a description of each case. At the completion of this work, each was asked to judge the researcher's descriptions of the three cases, derived from the same material, for accuracy and adequacy.

The researcher and the qualified experts met for a series of discussions over three full and two half-days. The following conclusions were reached: First, all three judges accepted the researcher's descriptions as accurate and adequate. Second, by comparing underlined passages, it was determined that the same passages were consistently marked as important by each reader. Third, it was found that the reason for the consensus in the judgements of accuracy in the researcher's descriptions was due to the fact that the researcher had extracted those same underlined passages and had utilized them in summary or in verbatim form in the written report.

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\*Fox (1969: 675-677) wrote that a set of categories must have these four attributes, in addition to reliability and validity.

It was consequently determined that available materials could be used to produce reliable descriptions as long as the data were evaluated for accuracy across sources and reported without superimposing interpretations upon the original, descriptive information, and so long as data were collected across a range of variables and theoretical orientations. This was the rationale for the development of the procedures stated below and for the broad range of explicit categories contained in the research instrument (see Appendix A). To test the method for reliability, the qualified experts each independently used the procedures to extract data on the life histories of a total of five case subjects. Data were extracted and written down opposite each category in the instrument. For each case, the material extracted for each category was compared across experts and found to be consistent. When the descriptive data relative to each category were examined across cases, it was found that the same types of material were consistently extracted. The categories were determined to be reliable from a consistency of meaning position. Consequently, it was determined that the instrument and procedures used were able to produce reliable descriptions.

In the initial stages of development of an instrument for the crimes, a set of categories, derived from review of case materials, was used to structure data collection. The use of the category-description format came about, and was discontinued, for the following reasons: First, the use of categories was intended to structure data collection. The effect was a high degree of consistency in the written descriptions of the crimes among the qualified experts; however, consistency was achieved through the extraction of a large amount of detailed information. Because of the amount of information, the significance of the categories and the data relative to these were lost.

Secondly, the categories had been identified as significant during previous research. At that time, when there was an absence of knowledge as to almost all the components and salient characteristics of multiple murders, and in the initial stages of this research, the use of categories was justified. However, the recent release of statistical data has produced considerable debate and questions as to the components and nature of the crimes. Consequently, a new and more refined approach to instrumentation was initiated.

The intent was to develop a research instrument that (1) could be easily used for the specific case descriptions, (2) would supply data on the major components of the crimes and (3) could thereby be used to answer the research question, what is the nature of the crimes of multiple murder?

Two types of literature were analyzed to determine the major components of the crimes:

1. Recent articles and reports on multiple-victim murders were reviewed in order to determine which issues or aspects of the crimes were mentioned most frequently by professionals. From this analysis, several professional concerns were identified, such as the involvement of multiple jurisdictions, of stranger-to-stranger crimes and the selection of victim-types.

2. Books and other materials on individual cases were analyzed to identify which themes or components of the crimes were considered sufficiently important as indicated by the amount of detailed information the various authors provided.

At this point it was determined that the crimes consisted of five major themes: the link between killer and victims, the method of operation, the investigation, the apprehension and the disposition of the case. It was further determined that most of the professional concerns formed into subcomponents

of these five major themes. For instance, the involvement of stranger-to-stranger crimes is one of the aspects of a link between killer and victims, while multiple jurisdictions are one possible facet of the investigations. It was, of course, a primary purpose of this research to determine whether multiple murders do involve, for instance, strangers or the selection of victim-types, and to what extent they do. Consequently, to determine whether the major professional concerns could be addressed by this research, it was decided that each professional concern would be phrased as a question to see if it could be answered with data from the descriptive material. It was then found that most of these concerns could be phrased as a question and could be answered with the available material.

The only major concern that could not be so phrased as a question and then answered was the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit's concern with psychological "clues" left at the crime scene. The reason for this is that the FBI uses an analytical orientation, rather than a questioning orientation. It was felt that another investigative issue-- one discerned during previous work by the researcher-- could be phrased as a question and would be more appropriate for this research. This is the issue of potential evidence and witnesses, and it was included under investigation in the research instrument. One source of potential evidence and potential witnesses would be, for instance, a situation in which the killer obtains a victim from a relatively busy area, without attracting the attention of bystanders. Such an occurrence would indicate that the murderer can operate socially with the victim, and that neither his appearance nor his behavior or demeanor raised the suspicions of others. A potential witness would be a bystander who saw, but was not aware of it at the time, any

interaction that proceeds a murder, such as the meeting between the killer and his victim.

The research question, "what is the nature of the crimes of multiple murders and how do they differ," was broken down into five subquestions (the themes) and the issues (or subcomponents) related to each. The subquestions and the issues related to these became the research instrument, (see Appendix A for instrument). These five subquestions were: (1) What, if any, link was found between the killer and victims? (2) What was the method of operation? (3) What was the nature of the investigation? (4) How was the killer apprehended? And (5) What was the disposition? Only the last two subquestions are answered directly; the first three subquestions are further broken down into the related issues. The research question is addressed by combining all responses to the subquestions obtained.

The subquestions of the research instrument were themselves fundamental questions. Under the first subquestion concerning victim-offender linkage was the question of whether there were any prior relationships among the victims and offender, as opposed to, for instance, a question about who the individual victims were. With the exception of two issues related to investigation (potential evidence and conceptual impediments), the questions are fact-specific and, therefore, easily answerable. However, the questions are phrased so that descriptive data are required to supplement any simple, single answer, such as "yes" or "no."

To assess the reliability of this instrument, the three qualified experts were provided with the instrument and asked to use it to describe the crimes of the three case subjects, Bianchi, Bundy and Collins. It was found that there were no meaningful differences among any of the responses of the qualified

experts, that these responses were consistent with those of the researcher, and that consistent responses were also obtained to the two investigative issues mentioned above. With the assistance of two other qualified experts, the instrument was further tested for reliability. One read material on the Holmes case and found that answers could be supplied to the questions on the instrument, and these answers were consistent with those of the researcher. A second qualified expert read the available material on three cases, Berkowitz, Kemper and Mullin. Then, using both the life history and the crime instruments, three case descriptions were provided which were consistent with the descriptions of the researcher.

The final stage in the development and testing of the instruments was the development of the narrative report necessary for each case. For this purpose, one of the five case subjects for whom descriptive data had already been extracted in the testing of the life history instrument was used as a "test" case. The narrative was written to maintain consistency with descriptive data previously found to be consistent; and the qualified experts could serve as judges of the narrative since they were already familiar with the case. The Gacy case was selected because it posed several practical problems that would have to be resolved for the narrative. For instance, the life history had to include the successful adult Gacy, and a prior conviction and imprisonment, as well as the earlier years. Decisions had to be made as to the organization of the material, how to incorporate added complexities of this and other cases in the sample and as to how to write and what to include in the life history category, "summative attributes." This category was particularly problematic in the Gacy case, as there were psychiatric reports made relative to the prior conviction, and these had to be incorporated in writing the narrative.

The narrative was submitted to the three qualified experts. It was judged as accurate and complete, that is, it was found to be consistent with the published materials and to contain no biases or significant omissions. Another assessment of the narrative was made. This time the Berkowitz, Kemper and Mullin descriptions made by another qualified expert were written in narrative form by that person, using the Gacy narrative as a model. These narratives were found to be consistent with the descriptive data; the organization and presentation of the material was similar in all major respects to that of the researcher's narrative.

It should be noted that there was confidence that the research instruments were adequately reliable, and that the data extracted through the use of the instruments and procedures constituted reliability in the narratives that were written. The case descriptions so produced differed from the typical case histories that are written in that the cases of this study were highly structured. However, the style of writing in the narrative belongs to the investigator.

### Procedures

After the development and testing of the instruments, the rules needed to be reformulated as procedures to be followed in data collection. (The list of procedures, below, differs from the previous instrumentation list in that the following steps were utilized to render out actual case histories, whereas the former list was used to organize the basis for establishing the instrument.) For each of the cases in the sample, the procedures were:

1. Read total document and all available documents.
2. Underline any descriptive material deemed relevant to any of the content themes of the life history and the crimes.

3. From among underlined material, evaluate the information for internal and cross-source consistency.

4. Eliminate underlined material which cannot be substantiated.

Eliminate inconsistent material from a single source when there is otherwise consistency across two or more sources. Eliminate interpretive material that is superimposed upon descriptive information.

5. From remaining (substantiated) material, organize and extract any pertinent information relative to categories and to questions.

6. Reduce redundancy and duplication in thematic material.

The following form was used for the writing and presentation of each of the 27 cases:

1. A case was introduced by name and by a short summary.

2. A careful and succinct description of the life history of the subject, as found in available documents, was provided. A statement of the "summative attributes," that is, the major personality characteristics, followed the history.

3. A succinct description of the nature of the crimes encompassing the responses to the subquestions was provided.

4. Each case was documented with a bibliography of source data.\*

5. A restatement of the life history in tabled format served to summarize the major features of the background and was attached to each case.

The tabled format is the research instrument with its categories listed down the left-hand side, and a description opposite each category. For the individual cases, all the descriptive material for all the categories relates to the given subject. To assess similarities and differences among the cases, the

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\*To maintain faithfulness to original descriptive material and sources, quotations were used extensively.

format was changed. The findings were assessed by constructing a table for each category in the research instrument. The subjects were listed alphabetically down the left-hand side, and the description relative to the particular category was written opposite each name. The same format was used for the findings on the crimes.

## Chapter 4

### FINDINGS

The findings of this study of the characteristics and crimes of multiple murderers are presented and analyzed in this chapter.

The chapter contains two main sections. The first section contains some of the findings for the individual subjects. In conducting the study, a descriptive report was written for each of the 27 subjects of the study. This report included an introduction, the life history, the summative attributes and the crimes. The narrative was followed by a brief restatement of the subject's life history in a tabled format (the "Life History Table"). For purposes of space, only 5 of the 27 reports have been included, (see Appendix B for these 5 cases.) This chapter, however, contains the Life History Tables for all the subjects (see the following section for Tables 1-27.)

The subjects as a whole form the area of concern for the second section of the chapter. Findings are presented for the life history, the summative attributes and the crimes of the subjects. While the findings are reviewed generally for the summation of the attributes, findings for each of the categories in the Life History Instrument are reviewed, as are the findings for each of the questions on The Crimes Instrument, (see Appendix A for both research instruments).

Table 1

## Kate (Johanna) Bender

Categories	
<u>Lifespan</u>	(1849-? )
<u>Race/Sex</u>	White female
<u>Socio-economic</u>	
<u>Status(SES)</u>	Lower-class
<u>Parental Employment</u>	Family "worked" together. Making use of the 1862 Homestead Act, Benders settled on 160 acres & men built a strong house in less than a month, apparently familiar w/ such construction. All the family did was work-- but most of their work involved murders.
<u>Location/ Population</u>	Probably born in Germany; Parents (Pas) spoke little English, but Subject (S.) had little accent, may have come to U.S. early. Came to (Pop) Density Cherryville, Ka. 1870. Low density-- a rural area outside small town.
<u>Family Life</u>	No question Kate had all the say, ordering men around, cursing them.
<u>Early Childhood</u>	Unknown. From (fr) way family surfaced in Ka. & interacted, probable that whole life spent as an isolated interdependent unit. Pas. course, gruff, unkempt, unsocialized people who bred a son, John, only slightly above that-- then Kate, beautiful, bright, charismatic. Lived a hard life.
<u>Elementary School</u>	Probably had little, if any, formal education. Illiterate.
<u>High School</u>	"A fluent talker w/ fine conversationalist powers but she did not Patterns display any educ. advantages of a high order. She used good English..."
<u>Level of Educ.</u>	Unknown, but called herself a "Professor" and a doctor.
<u>Social Development</u>	How Kate developed is a mystery. Her pas. were little more than savages. Somehow Kate managed to be sophisticated, alluring, funny, unconventional, poised, manipulative, etc. Attracted most of the men around her.
<u>Sexual Development</u>	She is rumored to have slept w/ Fa. at 11-12, then brother, from which came her power over them. Sexually experienced by the time she came to Ka. Had a few lovers; used all of them. Highly sexed, promiscuous.
<u>Role Models</u>	She liked to pretend she was from a family of nobility.
<u>Aspirations/ Occupations</u>	She wanted fame one way or another. Did become well-known w/ in a yr. as a lecturer/healer medium-- then as a murderer. She appeared in many small towns giving seances & healing lectures, billing herself as a prof. Also worked the Bender "Inn" attracting the male customers.
<u>Marital Status</u>	Presumed never to have married, although an old man, Brockman, was trying to get her to.
<u>Early Criminality</u>	Unknown.
<u>Med./Psych. History</u>	Kate seemed to everyone to be a most healthy young woman, strong, energetic, beautiful. Unlike other Benders, no intellectual, emotional or physical defect or impairment was ever noticed or noted.

Table 2

David Richard Berkowitz

## Categories

<u>Lifespan</u>	(1953- ). No birth complications reported. Adopted at birth.
<u>Race/Sex</u>	White male.
<u>SES</u>	Father(Fa), a,small businessman-- owned his own hardware store. Mother (Ma), a housewife.
<u>Parental Employment</u>	Consistent (self) employment: Fa. working hard at store, Ma. at home.
<u>Location/ Pop. Density</u>	Bronx, New York. Grew up in middle-class, pred. Jewish, neighborhood. Moved to more prosperous Co-Op City when area changed. High density.
<u>Family Life</u>	Learned of adoption as a child. Always closer to Mrs. Berko., his "real Ma." than Mr. Berko. Found biological Ma. when he was an adult.
<u>Early Childhood</u>	Family outings: synagogue, restaurants, films. Lots of love, toys-- life "hardly bleak." Loved the attention & pampering. However, he cd. play like he was a gd. little boy so that he cd. get away w/ all he wanted to.
<u>Elementary School</u>	Always hated school. Had to be dragged to kindergarten. Often absent, claiming illness so as to stay home. IQ of 118.
<u>High School Patterns</u>	Depicted self as a terror. School reported only a moody child who cd. do well if he tried. Very good in sports. his major interest at the time.
<u>Level of Educ. Grad.</u>	Completed some courses at a community college. Then, Army.
<u>Social Development</u>	Some references made to specific friends & friends in general. Dated a little. Liked being alone. Secretive.
<u>Sexual Development</u>	Gd. relationship w/ a girl in high school, no sex beyond kissing. Lost virginity while in Army in Korea. Became a Christian, preached against sin. which was an admitted hypocrisy.
<u>Role Models</u>	As an adult, opinions influenced by reading such favorite topics as the occult and mass murderers.
<u>Aspirations/ Occupations</u>	Wanted to be a hero in uniform. Loved a sense of authority: auxiliary fireman & policeman: security guard: Army. Odd jobs: post office & taxi.
<u>Marital Status</u>	Single.
<u>Early Criminality</u>	As a child, killed Ma's. bird, stole fr her, committed vandalism, started fires. Later, fires, shot dogs, wrote threatening letters. Loved to get away with it- and he always did. Greatly exaggerated # of fires he set.
<u>Med./Psych. History</u>	No known med. problems. Ma. took him to weekly counseling for school problems-- performance & adjustment. First thought to be paranoid schizophrenic (after arrest). Diagnosed psychopath. Known early on to be a con artist. Feigned insanity; unsuccessful, so pled guilty.

Table 3

## Kenneth Alessio Bianchi

Categories	
Lifespan	(1951- ). Born to unwed, teenaged Ma. called promiscuous, a tavern drinker, nervous, of limited intelligence. Full-term, breech-birth baby, 6 lb. 4 oz. "...completely normal. No signs of illness or any abnormality."
Race/Sex	White male.
SES	Middle-class status achieved by time of adoption.
Parental Employment	Very stable: Mrs. Bianchi had risen to manager at time of marriage & later took part-time as needed. Mr. Bianchi had learned a trade, joined a co. & worked long hours, while Ma. was usually full-time housewife.
Location/Pop. Density	Rochester, New York. Density varied fr moderately high to mod. low as family moved fr apt. to suburban home to an apt. w/ fenced-in yard.
Family Life	Bianchis had gd. marriage, only problem-- no children. Adopted S. at age of 3 mos. Focus of his Pas life. Baby did not relax so Ma. began a round of drs. Attempt to make her baby well wd. be viewed as semi-abusive during insanity attempt. S.& Fa. became close just before Fa. died. Grew close to Ma. & she encouraged his independence. Never abused.
Early Childhood	A # of pseudo-med. complaints kept S. seeing drs. He learned how to con. Pas. moved to L.A. for him for the climate. "Childhood unfolded as one of idleness & goldbricking."
Elementary School	Fell fr jungle gym in L.A. school. Inattention to sch. work & angry outbursts at home. Underachiever w/ IQ of 116. Grades average to below. Hated sch: "hard." In Parochial school did well in "creative writing."
High School Patterns	Feigning illness, etc. gone by high school. Now handsome, athletic, clean-cut; respectful of elders. More sociable, things better w/ Ma.
Level of Educ.	After grad. from H.S., attended a community college; courses in Police Sc. & Psych. Dropped out. Cont. to study psych. on his own.
Social Development	Drs. saw S. as con artist & "a little minx" at an early age. Caused problems for teachers & Pas. Only in H.S. did he begin to socialize w/ peers.
Sexual Development	In H.S. had his share of girls. Like peers, girls were gd & bad & he dated both. A great romantic, cd. feign great love, but always unfaithful. Pimp.
Role Models	Favorite comic bk. character was Pr. Valiant. Angelo Buono.
Aspirations/ Occupations	Thought he cd. be anyone important-- a president. "He sensed a future of ill-defined greatness...temperamentally an aristocrat." Considered being e.g. statesman, artist, dr. Aspired to being a policeman, then a psych-guru in S. Ca. (Almost succeeded at both.) Security guard, title co.
Marital Status	At 18, married for 8 mos. In Ca. bore child by common-law wife. They moved to Wash. but never married. Unfaithful to her, but feigned love.
Early Criminality	"Naturally light-fingered," he stole fr places he worked as a sec. guard. Was fired for theft & marijuana poss. Became a pimp w/ Buono.
Med./Psych. History	Childhood: asthma, allergies, horseshoe kidney, slight enuresis, trance-like states. Latter not thought to be epilepsy. Conning, rather than really med. or psych.troubled. Later feigned multiple personality.

Table 4

## Ian Stuart Brady

Categories	
Lifespan	(1938- ). Delivered in maternity hospital; Ma. thought it a very easy birth. Nurse said baby was perfect. 8 lbs. Illegitimate.
Race/Sex	White male.
SES	Lower SES; also described as working-class.
Parental Employment	Employment for both biol. Ma. & Mr. Sloan, guardian, tenuous; lived in a high unemployment & low wage area.
Location/ Pop. Density	Gorbals, a central district of Glasgow, Scotland. Sloan home was a "poor but decent" tenement. District was poor & overcrowded; moved at age 9.
Family Life	Ms. Stewart, easy-going, warm-hearted Ma. (who wd. not identify the Fa.), tried to support self & son w/ waitressing. Worn out & worried about child's welfare, she found a family who wanted son. Sloans sd. "gd. & bouncing" baby. Never legally adopted.
Early Childhood	Called Ma. "Peggy" & Ma. Sloan "Auntie." Latter loved taking S. to the park. Brady thought not to have played much w/ the 4 Sloan kids. Ages 3-5 S. loved the street activities of war-time.
Elementary School	Did not stand out. The lurid romance of Walter Scott Cond. for Young captured his attention like nothing else.
High School Patterns	At 12, this "top-quality pupil" accepted at well-known Academy. Gd. grades, little interest. Wanted to be the Nazi when playing war w/ peers.
Level of Educ.	Sending out job inquiries by age of 15, when he could leave Academy.
Social Development	Obedient, but early temper tantrums. Solitary, independent boy. Held himself apart. Began to be something of a leader; earned some respect.
Sexual Development	Few close relationships. Casual sex w/ dance-hall girls. Loved his own naked body. Apparently not highly sexed.
Role Models	First, King Arthur; then fascination w/ & empathy for, Hitler & Nazis. Film characters-- detectives, adventurerers, Marquis de Sade.
Aspirations/ Occupations	Wanted to be a great criminal who attracted disciples through ideology of rightness of murder, rape, bigotry. White collar clerk for 7 yrs.
Marital Status	Never married. Did live & commit his crimes w/ his lover, Myra Hindley. Doubtful her devotion was reciprocated.
Early Criminality	At 15, Brady discovered crime & was transformed into a "cool leader" w/ great authority. While he always loved to plan crimes, he was not so cool when carrying them out: caught stealing 3 times, probation. Then incarcerated for 2 yrs. for theft. Plus, he was nervous. Wanted to be a great thief, but some believed he decided murder wd. be easier for him.
Med./Psych. History	S. was very healthy (no reported med. problems) and was proud of his health and his body. No psych. history.

Table 5

## Theodore Robert Bundy

Categories	
Lifespan	(1946- ). Illegitimate: remained w/ natural Ma. Adopted by Bundy.
Race/Sex	White male.
SES	Working-class status. However: SES varied from middle to working-class. 1st lived in grandfa's comfortable house in wking-class neighborhood, then w/ "refined" uncle, then, with Bundy, working or lower middle-cl.
Parental Employment	Stable: Grandfa, a nurseryman; uncle a music professor. Ma worked as a sec't. Then she married Bundy, who worked steadily as a cook.
Location/Pop Density	Began life in Philadelphia, Penn. In 1950, moved to Tacoma, Wash., where he grew up & began college. Northwest: low density.
Family Life	S is the illegitimate son of a prim & modest clerk & a man who abandoned her. S & Ma always had good relationship. Was happy w/ grandfa & his uncle. Didn't admire his new, adoptive Fa. Bundy.
Early Childhood	Early yrs. spent in comfortable surroundings w/ grandfa. & uncle he approved of. Reacted w/ distaste to Tacoma tract house & "unrefined" Fa.
Elementary School	Liked 1st grade teacher, who wrote on his report card that he grasped his #s, was at ease before the class & expressed himself well. Felt picked on by 2nd grade teacher.
High School Patterns	In elem. school, S had seemed a "bright, physically active, promising & likeable boy." And jr. high "was fine," he sd. "But I got to H.S. & didn't make any progress." Still, did fine academically. Not unpopular.
Level of Educ.	Bundy obtained B.A. degree in psychology; completed 1 yr. of law school (before he was arrested).
Social Development	As a child, S had good friends in his neighborhood, was active in school sports & student politics. Then abrupt halt to his social development. Grew withdrawn & lacked confidence. Didn't comprehend social rules.
Sexual Development	While not unpopular, not in "top crowd." Did have assets-- handsome & had appearance of intellectual, but rarely dated. 1st love/sexual affair in college. Then began to have a fairly active sex life. Early int. in porno.
Role Models	"Early on, Teddy decided to pattern himself after Uncle Jack," a man of refinement & culture. ("Teddy" was a snob.)
Aspirations/ Occupations	Since H.S., if not before, Bundy had political aspirations because it offered access to the "inside track" of the social strata. Aspired to be a lawyer as he felt he needed the legal knowledge & skills. Worked for politician, in criminal justice agencies & for state dept of emergency serv's.
Marital Status	Had 2 long relationships. He & long-time friend & supporter got married while she was on the witness stand & he was questioning her during his 2nd murder trial. They remain married & have had one child.
Early Criminality	W/ other boys, involved in a ski-lift forgery scheme. At 21, began stealing: audacious burglaries & shoplifting-- all unrecorded crimes.
Med./Psych. History	No medical problems or psychiatric history. After arrest: no abnormalities found fr skull X-rays, EEG, thermographic brain scans or psych'ric interviews. MMPI inconclusive. No psychiatric defense.

Table 6

John Reginal Halliday Christie

Categories
<u>Lifespan</u> (1898-1953). No family history of mental illness or abnormality.
<u>Race/Sex</u> White male.
<u>SES</u> "Comfortable," well-to-do, probably upper middle class, today.
<u>Parental Employment</u> Fa: stable employment as carpet designer. Ma: stable as housewife.
<u>Location/Pop. Density</u> Born on the outskirts of Halifax, in Yorkshire, England. On the moors, uncrowded. Moved later to London.
<u>Family Life</u> One of seven children. Fa a harsh disciplinarian w/ children, including S. Some indication he was a favorite with one or both parents.
<u>Early Childhood</u> Sickly child, said to be unhappy and sulky and spiteful. Reserved.
<u>Elementary School</u> More intelligent than most students. Did well in school. May have been awarded a scholarship for secondary school.
<u>High School Patterns</u> Played on school team. Now active in Scouts and church.
<u>Level of Educ.</u> Left school at the age of 15.
<u>Social Development</u> Got along well enough w/ classmates, but no really close friends. Did pursue group activities such as school sports, Scouts and choir.
<u>Sexual Development</u> First sexual experience traumatic: girl spread the word he was impotent; a great embarrassment. Saw prostitutes, had affairs.
<u>Role Models</u> Multiple murderer, John George Haigh.
<u>Aspirations/Occupations</u> To be better than others; to make a name for himself. Various jobs, from War Reserve policeman (which he loved) to postal worker & projectionist.
<u>Marital Status</u> Married; separated for a while; reconciled. Sources differ as to whether S was sexually active w/ his wife. Became one of his victims.
<u>Early Criminality</u> Petty crimes such as stealing & false pretenses. Major crimes such as auto theft. Also one conviction for violence. Served time in prison.
<u>Med./Psych. History</u> Injured by a mustard gas explosion during war; hit by car. Hysterical symptoms & hypochondriasis. Fibrositis & enteritis were major complaints. Psych. hospitalization suggested for S's nervousness in 1952. Not clear whether he went to hospital. Always going to the doctor.

Table 7

## John Normal Collins

Categories	
Lifespan	(1947- ). Biological Ma & Fa were married & the Fa, home from the war was living at home. 2 older siblings.
Race/Sex	White male.
SES	Lower middle class. Owned own home.
Parental Employment	Ma's employment as a waitress was sufficiently stable for above SES- & to pay off their house mortgage.
Location/ Pop. Density	S was Canadian born & came to the U.S. permanently at the age of 5. Naturalized citizen. Moved into their modest but secure home in Center Line, suburb N. of Detroit, Mich. where family remained. Suburban dens.
Family Life	Ma married & divorced 3 times, last to a man all thought was stable, but he was an alcoholic & fought w/ wife. After a period of stability, marr. ended in 1956. A safe, secure, loving 2nd home was offered at aunt's. S was cold toward his Ma in later years for ? reason, preferring his aunt.
Early Childhood	Early yrs. were somewhat chaotic, w/ moves & husbands. Family was salvaged by Ma's faith, will, love and the Leiks' secure home.
Elementary School	Collins children went to parochial schools, as Ma thought they were superior to public schools. If Collins did miss having a Fa. etc., no one noticed any signs of maladjustment.
High School Patterns	"Such deprivations were not evident as [they] grew into adolescence." Well-groomed; cons. a tribute to Ma's determination. Spotless record. Archetypal all-American boy: popular, a leader, one of the greatest athletes ever at his school. Honor student.
Level of Educ.	After completing H.S., went to a very small college, then Central Mich. U. and then to Eastern Mich. Arrested senior year of college.
Social Development	Not a loner. Popular, a leader; found approval among peers & adults of his community. Wide range of social life, from fraternity kids to kids on fringes of crime.
Sexual Development	By college, at least, very sexually active & appealing to girls. High sex drive-- sometimes 2-3 girls in a night. Insatiable appetite & great finesse. Cd. turn nasty on rare occasions.
Role Models	His uncle. S was interested in Leik's job as a state trooper & thought he might like that work.
Aspirations/ Occupations	S flirted w/ the identity & reputation of a thief. As an education major, he sd. he wanted to teach. However, he took needless risks, as when he was ousted from a frat. for thievery-- more indicative of a criminal life.
Marital Status	Heterosexual relat's ranged fr casual encounters to short & long-term dating. Never lived w/ anyone or married. (Arrested young).
Early Criminality	At 18, S beat his sister & the man w/ whom he found her. Started swiping parts for his motorcycle, progressed to stealing bikes in toto. Began to commit burglaries w/ a criminal friend, but not for the \$ (he had a # of odd jobs and money).
Med./Psych. History	No reported medical problems & Collins was in excellent shape. In H.S., played offensive end & defensive safety & was outstanding baseball pitcher. No psychiatric history or defense.

Table 8

## Dean Arnold Corll

Categories	
<u>Lifespan</u>	(1939-1973).
<u>Race/Sex</u>	White male.
<u>SES</u>	Lower middle class.
<u>Parental Employment</u>	Until 1945, Fa worked in factory, Ma, at home. After divorce, Mrs. Corll worked, as did Mr. Corll, who always paid his support money.
<u>Location/ Pop. Density</u>	Lived in small towns in Indiana and Texas, as well as on a farm. Lived in Houston, Texas much later. Low density areas until about 1958.
<u>Family Life</u>	The Corlls' marriage was stormy, but Mrs. Corll considered her ex-husband a good & moral man, always interested in his 2 sons. There were reconciliations & a 2nd marriage to another man. Ma & S remained close.
<u>Early Childhood</u>	Dean was told to avoid all exercise. He always accepted everything, He was a worrier about others in his family, e.g. his brother.
<u>Elementary School</u>	Dean never cared if he had school friends or not. Began schooling while living on a cotton farm: road the bus to school every day.
<u>High School Patterns</u>	Went to H.S. in small town of Vidor, Texas. Grades were satisfactory, but not "A's." Ordinary student, neat quiet. Main interests were the school band and Corlls' candy store. (Vidor has been associated w/ the KKK).
<u>Level of Educ.</u>	High school graduate.
<u>Social Development</u>	Always polite & a good sport, & did have a few good friends, but cared more about his various activities & his Ma than his peers. Later became sort of Pied Piper. He was the dominant member of the killing team.
<u>Sexual Development</u>	Had his 1st homosexual relationship, apparently, in the Army, at 24. from abstinence to innocent social interactions through homosexuality to violent homosexual experiences.
<u>Role Models</u>	Unknown.
<u>Aspirations/ Occupations</u>	Wanted the candy store to succeed; so he always worked very hard. When it failed, he became a trainee electrician. Liked moon & star charts, astronomy. He was a gadget man-- telescopes, movie cameras, etc.
<u>Marital Status</u>	Subject arose w/ 2 different women, but did no more than toy w/ idea. Remained single.
<u>Early Criminality</u>	None.
<u>Med./Psych. History</u>	As a child, drs. believed he had a heart murmur. Later, passed his Army physical & became a very strong man. No psychiatric history.

Table 9

## Juan Vallejo Corona

Categories	
<u>Lifespan</u>	(1934- ).
<u>Race/Sex</u>	Male Hispanic.
<u>SES</u>	Probably lower-class, but no poorer than most in the town of Autlan.
<u>Parental</u>	Unknown.
<u>Employment</u>	
<u>Location/</u>	Autlan, Mexico. South of Guadaljara; small town; low density.
<u>Pop. Density</u>	
<u>Family Life</u>	Very close family. Juan was one of 10 children, plus additional step-siblings. He was his Ma's favorite.
<u>Early</u>	Unknown.
<u>Childhood</u>	
<u>Elementary</u>	Unknown.
<u>School</u>	
<u>High School</u>	Unknown.
<u>Patterns</u>	
<u>Level of Educ.</u>	Attended an American community college.
<u>Social</u>	Loner, but very close to his family. Made few friends, particularly
<u>Development</u>	among Anglos; polite & quiet, a little aloof.
<u>Sexual</u>	Liked dancing. He was popular w/ the girls. First sexual experience may
<u>Development</u>	have been with his first wife.
<u>Role Models</u>	Possibly older bro., Natividad, as he followed him to the U.S. & learned the contracting business from him.
<u>Aspirations/</u>	Strong drive to succeed. Wanted respectability and prosperity. Worked
<u>Occupations</u>	very hard at different jobs; then he had his own contracting business.
<u>Marital</u>	First marriage was annulled. Married again, 4 children.
<u>Status</u>	
<u>Early</u>	Entered U.S. illegally in 1950. Both he and Natividad were accused of a
<u>Criminality</u>	savage attack in a cafe.
<u>Med./Psych.</u>	Coronary problems, particularly during trial. Was committed for 3 mos.
<u>History</u>	to a state psychiatric hospital in California where he received 23 ECTs, tranquilizers and was released as cured, 15 years before the crimes. No relapse. (Had become psychotic after a big flood.)

Table 10

Thomas Neill Cream, M.D.

Categories	
<u>Lifespan</u>	(1850-1892). The first of eight children.
<u>Race/Sex</u>	White male.
<u>SES</u>	Prosperous: probably upper-middle to upper-class.
<u>Parental Employment</u>	Stable, insofar as amount-- not place-- of work. Fa considered industrious and persevering man who went from a clerk in Glasgow to manager of a large Canadian firm to the owner of his own successful business.
<u>Location/Pop. Density</u>	Glasgow to Quebec. Probably moderate density.
<u>Family Life</u>	Presbyterian upbringing.
<u>Early Childhood</u>	Unknown.
<u>Elementary School</u>	Unknown.
<u>High School</u>	Did well enough to get into medical school.
<u>Patterns</u>	
<u>Level of Educ.</u>	M.D., and post-graduate work at St. Thomas's hospital in London.
<u>Social Development</u>	In college, he had a reputation for being fast & extravagant-- fancy clothes, jewelry. Had an "ingratiating manner." He would later take male acquaintances into his confidence quickly. Presented himself well.
<u>Sexual Development</u>	Sex drive was apparently high. By college, his lifelong passion for prostitutes was well developed. Was preoccupied w/ women. Liked pornography.
<u>Role Models</u>	Said to have been a great admirer of Jack the Ripper. Possibly his Fa, as he took after his Fa in teaching Sunday school, in entering trade & in wanting to make money.
<u>Aspirations/Occupations</u>	Probably aspired to being a great criminal. He preferred crime to legitimate medical practice, abortions to obstetrics, poisoning to toxicology.
<u>Marital Status</u>	Was married once, in 1876, at the point of a gun. Left his wife the day after the ceremony. She died. Later, he became engaged.
<u>Early Criminality</u>	Arson for profit, abortions, blackmail (although he never collected any money-- he was charged with sending scurrilous matter through the mails). Convicted of 2nd degree murder in 1881. Released 10 yrs. later.
<u>Med./Psych. History</u>	Extremely short sighted & his eyes squinted inwards. He may not have had this corrected as a child. He did get glasses as an adult, which reduced the squint, headaches, etc. Took drugs (morphine, cocaine) for pain & as aphrodisiac. Presumed addicted.

Table 11

## Albert DeSalvo

Categories	
<u>Lifespan</u>	(1931-1973).
<u>Race/Sex</u>	White male.
<u>SES</u>	Lower-class; frequently on public assistance. Claimed to have suffered from the cold in the winter & made contradictory statements as to whether family had enough to eat.
<u>Parental Employment</u>	Unstable. Fa a furniture mover who failed to properly support his family due to jail sentences, including some court actions for Nonsupport. Ma took in sewing.
<u>Location/Pop. Density</u>	Chelsea, Mass., a community near Boston. Grew up in high density slum section of this "workingman's town."
<u>Family Life</u>	6 children. All were frequently abused by the Fa (incl. Ma). Fa a "thief & a brute." Loved his Ma who were "the only strength and stay of his miserable childhood." Pas divorced in 1944.
<u>Early Childhood</u>	Early exposure to sex-- Fa brought home prostitutes, saw activity on the roofs & at the wharves. Exposed to stealing. Also had the love & care of maternal grandmother.
<u>Elementary School</u>	Began school at 6, failed 2nd grade. Was placed in a special class in 5th, which he disliked. Gave no one trouble in & around school. Had some little jobs. <u>Not allowed out at night. Of normal intelligence.</u>
<u>High School Patterns</u>	S admits he strove & succeeded in becoming a "teacher's pet" throughout school, rather than striving academically. Twice committed to a school for boys.
<u>Level of Educ.</u>	Left school at age of 16.
<u>Social Development</u>	As a child, S associated w/ the homeless, delinquent kids at the wharves, but never became part of a gang. Had friends, cd. relate well to adults: neighbors, teachers, a lawyer.
<u>Sexual Development</u>	Early childhood exposure. At school for boys, sex became important & fd. out about "sexual perversions." <u>"Tireless sexual activity by the age of 15.</u>
<u>Role Models</u>	"The Bob Cummings Show" in which the actor played a photographer measuring beautiful women. <u>Inspired his "Measuring Man" (MM) scam.</u>
<u>Aspirations/ Occupations</u>	Just wanted to be a gd. family man, but needed a sexually insatiable wife and/or other women. Liked conning college women as MM. 7 1/2 yrs. in military, then worked at a rubber factory. Worked every day to provide for his family.
<u>Marital Status</u>	Married a German girl while in the military; they had 2 children & were married at the time of his arrest.
<u>Early Criminality</u>	Early introduction to crime. Assaulted & robbed a boy at age 12, as well as committing burglary w/ a friend. Became a "B and E man." Housebreakings in Germany. Began to rape; molested a child in Germany. Arrested as the MM.
<u>Med./Psych. History</u>	Apparently no medical problems (was Middleweight Army Boxing Champion in Europe). In all evaluations before & after murders-- diagnosed as a sociopath (or psychopath).

Table 12

## John Wayne Gacy, Jr.

Categories	
Lifespan	(1942: ). Delivered by a doctor, at a hospital. Labor, short w/ no complications. Reportedly a healthy baby.
Race/Sex	White male.
SES	Fa. a hard-working machinist, generous and a "good provider." Probably lower to middle-class.
Parental Employment	Stable: Fa, hard-working; Ma, a housewife.
Location/Pop. Density	Chicago, Illinois. However, lived away from inner city, on N. side.
Family Life	Fa, a generous but perfectionist man, a stern parent, and gd. provider. May have been an alcohol abuser and possibly abusive to Ma. S loved his Fa, but much closer to Ma & sisters. Strong bond between Ma & son.
Early Childhood	Also reported that S wd. come to Mas aid in crisis. As a yg. child, he was "loving & eager to please." Enjoyed helping his Ma. Already a hd. worker.
Elementary School	S attended neighborhd. Catholic schools w/ sisters until age 11, when transferred to public schools. Regarded as intelligent & well-behaved child, who got along well w/ his teachers. As a student, ranged fr indiff. to good grades.
High School Patterns	Began dating, had friends, was considered easy going, but not really popular. Excellent grades in English & Gen. Science; good conduct.
Level of Educ.	Dropped out of school sr. yr. of H.S. Later graduated fr business college.
Social Development	From a pleasant, eager little boy, Gacy developed her verbal, personal & intellectual skills only as a yg. man. Became "articulate, ingratiating...& gregarious."
Sexual Development	Had sexual intercourse 1st in H.S. 2 long-term heterosexual rela'ships. Began to engage in homosexual, sodomic rela'ships w/ juveniles.
Role Models	Great interest in uniforms-- imitated police by using flashing light on car. Copied Corll's "torture board."
Aspirations/ Occupations	Loved success & power & to this end, became a successful businessman (as a salesman, then a manager then w/ his own contracting bus.), community/business leader w/ the Jaycees. Had an interest in politics.
Marital Status	Twice married; had 2 children by his 1st wife.
Early Criminality	S served 21 mos. for a sodomy conviction. Had been accused by 2 boys & was subsequently charged w/ a lumberyard break-in & implicated in the beating of 1 of his accusers. Latter charges dropped.
Med./Psych. History	Head injured by a swing at age 11, with occasional blackouts until age 16, when blood clot dissolved w/ medication. No evidence of any organic brain disease fr EEG & other examinations. Psych. evaluation for sodomy conviction: antisocial personality. Feigned insanity, multiple personality: "Jack."

Table 13

**Bella Poulsdatter Sorenson Gunness**  
**(Belle Gunness)**

<u>Categories</u>	
<u>Lifespan</u>	(1859- ?). Two other siblings.
<u>Race/Sex</u>	White female.
<u>SES</u>	Working-class or above.
<u>Parental Employment</u>	Fa was employed as a stonemason or a travelling conjurer; if the former, it is probable that employment was stable as it is also reported that bro. entered the same trade. Pattern apparently was stable, although nature of work cannot be definitely determined.
<u>Location/ Pop. Density</u>	Born on the shore of Lake Selbe, near Trondhjem, Norway. Appears that family retired to a farm which Belle was said to have found too quiet. So, she emigrated to the U.S. (as had her sister before her). Very low density.
<u>Family Life</u>	Unknown
<u>Early Childhood</u>	Unknown.
<u>Elementary School</u>	Unknown.
<u>High School</u>	Unknown.
<u>Patterns</u>	Level of Educ. Unknown. She may have been taught the business of "lonely hearts" by another woman who had mail proposals & ads. Studied hypnotism. Cd. read & write. Today a good lonely hearts ad is known as a "Belle Gunness."
<u>Social Development</u>	When S immigrated at the age of 24, she was sufficiently social for her sister to pay her expenses to come here & for neighbors & children & a husband to respond kindly toward her.
<u>Sexual Development</u>	S is sd. to have used her sex to attract & kill & to have known woman's "assigned role by heart" and to be able to play it well. High sex drive & a high "charge of sexual energy" that attracted men.
<u>Role Models</u>	It is generally believed that the infamous 1906 case of H.H.Hoch & his mail-order brides may have stimulated her, or her lonely hearts teacher.
<u>Aspirations/ Occupations</u>	Belle aspired to great wealth, a high turn-over rate among her lovers, & among her potential Norwegian, midwestern, wealthy suitors. Wd. prob. have liked to meet a man more dominant than she. She was a hard worker at farming & at murdering.
<u>Marital Status</u>	A female "ladykiller," Belle Paulson married Al. Sorenson who died in 1900 of suspected poisoning. 1902, married Peter Gunness, died in 1904. Then a series of lovers among farm hands, followed by suitor from ads.
<u>Early Criminality</u>	Suspicious deaths of 2 husbands & 2 children. Derived insurance from these (fraudulently). 2-3 arsons: insurance company suspected fraud but paid anyway. No criminal record & moved to Indiana w/ a gd. reputation, was respected in her community.
<u>Med./Psych. History</u>	There is nothing to indicate anything less than optimal, even unusual, physical health. Belle could have a baby & be back at hard work the next day. Very large woman, though. Not considered disturbed like the many female poisoners. A "housewife turned psychopath." A "female Landru."

Table 14

## John George Haigh

Categories	
Lifespan/ Birth	(1909-1949). No trace of mental trouble in family history. S. was 4th generation of Plymouth Brethren. Ma. was 40; Fa. 38 when they had S., their 1st child. <u>Stressed during pregnancy; but birth itself trouble-free.</u>
Race/Sex	White male.
SES	During the pregnancy, Fa. became unemployed & real poverty overtook them. 6 mos. after birth, Fa. obtained work & life from then on was comfortable. Middle class: owned home; life never again hard.
Parental Employment	The 1 time of unemployment was "thru no fault of his own;" & employment very stable. Fa., a skilled engineer employed at a Colliery where he remained 25 yrs, in charge if installations & respected staff member. Ma. w/ the exception of odd jobs during unemployment.. a housewife.
Location/ Pop. Density	From Wakefield, in the W. Riding of Yorkshire in industrial N. of England. W/ cobble alleys & solid homes, not densely populated area.
Family Life	Haighs were very religious members of brethren & respected by all. They were, reserved, proud, genteel, unworldly, honest & dutiful. Loved him deeply & devoted their lives to moulding his. "Their hopes were high & to me they represented all that is noble."
Early Childhood	Despite their own bare dogma & religion, S. had many toys & cloths. "Astoundingly indulged." Allowed no playmates, only pets & Pas. "Sterile."
Elementary School	Emerged fr home, a polite, cheerful child, skipping to school. Mischievous. Forged signatures. Articulate, neat, beautiful, advanced handwriting, but lazy student. Pas allowed S. to accept a choral scholar. & even attended Cath. church to see him. S. loved music.
High School	Well-spoken, charming, gay--very nice boy. Won a divinity prize.
Level of Educ.	Did not pass Sch. Certificate, but completed final yr. of high school.
Social Development	Not a solitary child-- "solitude thrust upon him." Friendly, easy-going child. Perfect manners for adults; pranks for peers. Still, early life & personality made him feel he might be different.
Sexual Development	Little flirting or concern w/ girls. Later, some dating-- mostly platonic. Perhaps asexual.
Role Models	Murderers Georges Sarret & H.H.Holmes, probably. Keen student of crime. Liked to visit the Chamber of Horrors.
Aspirations/ Occupations	Became a car salesman due to love of cars. Liked "razzle-dazzle" of success & \$ & romance. Tried business for himself. No diff. between bus. & crime.
Marital St.	Married once, early (maybe just to leave home). 1 child--given up. Separ.
Early Criminality	From working in firms, began various cr. activities: fraud, false pretences. Sentenced for forgery,etc. & later for 30 cases of swindling.
Med./Psych. History	No reported med. problems; & no impairments, defects, etc. He wd. claim insanity (blood drinking)-- but 11 drs. found him sane & malingering.

Table 15

## William George Heirens

Categories	
Lifespan	(1929- ). Ma started to miscarry during 2nd month, but stayed in bed & felt well after that. Labor long (62 hrs.) & difficult. Delivery by high forceps; still has scar. 8 lbs. 5 oz.
Race/Sex	White male.
SES	Middle-class.
Parental Employment	Stable, w/ the exception of 1 period of irregular employment of Fa. He had had his own flower store(s). Then fd. regular employment on police force of a steel co; took on additional work. Ma also worked.
Location/ Pop. Density	Chicago, Illinois, but not a particularly high density area, as was raised in suburb of Lincolnwood.
Family Life	Sd. never to have been jealous of his younger brother, who he was encouraged to watch over. Made up stories for him, much laughing. <u>Family took vacations tog. Both Pas loved S. stood by him, tried to help.</u>
Early Childhood	(Pas later divorced). Read comics, interested in weapons & animals, mounting butterflies, skinning snakes. By 4, int. in mechanical things. <u>By 9, cd. fix a clock. By 7, helped in flower shop.</u>
Elementary School	Liked by all the nuns; attended 2 parochial schools. A week before grad., was arrested for B & E and carrying a pistol. Admitted to many burglaries & arsons. Committed to Gibault Sch for Boys-- 1 yr.
High School Patterns	Considered obedient, cooperative, gd. scholastically. Arrested ag, but put on probation to attend St. Bede's academy. No discipline prob., gd. grades.
Level of Educ.	<u>Accepted into a program for high IQ H.S. students at U. of Chicago, 1 yr.</u>
Social Development	Generally cons. a loner, but did make gd. male friends outside of schools who visited him at home & went on family vacations w/ him. Some sd. "best adjusted" student at U. of Chicago.
Sexual Development	Early (age 9) erotic interest in women's underwear, 1st in feel & color, then in stealing, then in wearing. Sexual excitement fr B&E. Sd. he tried "petting" 8 times. Probably little, if any, sexual exp.
Role Models	<u>Hitler, Goebbles &amp; Goering. Read some Nierzsche, Schopenhauer, Spinoza.</u>
Aspirations/ Occupations	To rule the world. To have great power. S took odd jobs, incl. helping out Fa. fr time he was little. Ma paid his tuition. Was a University student.
Marital Status	Single.
Early Criminality	Numerous burglaries beyond those for which he was arrested. 3 nonfatal assaults between 1st & 2nd murders.
Med./Psych. History	At 7 mos. fell from buggy & injured head, but not unconscious. At 8, fell fr trapeze at school & fractured arm. Also fell at school, cutting head over eye & fainting. Tonsillectomy w/ some complications. In 1942 & '46, complained of headaches. "Otherwise health history is negative." Well developed & had gd. balance-- was a good cat burglar. Feigned insanity. <u>Multiple personality: "George."</u>

Table 16

Herman Webster Mudgett, M.D.  
(H. H. Holmes)

Categories	
<u>Lifespan</u>	(1860-1896).
<u>Race/Sex</u>	White male.
<u>SES</u>	Upper middle-class.
<u>Parental Employment</u>	Stable. Fa, a postmaster for a long time; some sources sd. farmer for a time-- whichever, he did not move around. Ma, a former teacher turned housewife & Ma of 3.
<u>Location/ Pop. Density</u>	Born & raised in a very small town-- Gilmanton--in the rural state of New Hampshire. Small town, low density. Pas never left.
<u>Family Life</u>	S sd. he was well trained by loving & religious Pas, & that his problems were in no way attributable to "the want of a tender Ma's prayers or a Fa's control...." Pas were devout Methodists, respectable.
<u>Early Childhood</u>	S claimed nothing out of the ordinary for a "country-bred boy." He may have been tutored by his Ma as he was to be such a gd. student, & encouraged by Fa.
<u>Elementary School</u>	Remembered as a serious & solitary boy who was aloof to his classmates. He was scared of the Dr's office & one day his schoolmates pushed him inside, near a skeleton.
<u>High School Patterns</u>	Considered one, if not the, brightest students in the area; most sources sd. he was fond of study, although also sd. to have been smart but lazy.
<u>Level of Educ.</u>	Completed medical school at the U. of Michigan. Received a Doctorate of Medicine in 1884.
<u>Social Development</u>	Was not particularly sociable as a child. His personality & sociability developed rather late. Became a very smooth & convincing talker to all.
<u>Sexual Development</u>	Very high sex drive. His sex life may not have started until he married at 18, but it was very, very active from then on. Many lovers.
<u>Role Models</u>	Famous criminals, such as notorious train robber Marion Hedgepath.
<u>Aspirations/ Occupations</u>	Extremely ambitious & too impatient to try to make it big (either financially or in terms of a name for himself) by slow & legitimate means. Practiced medicine for a short time; ran/owned a drug store; built a hotel. Always interested in crime & money.
<u>Marital Status</u>	Married at 18; never divorced. Married bigamously 2 times.
<u>Early Criminality</u>	Swindling during med. school, probably insurance fraud & faked death. Absconded w/ textbook funds. Numerous frauds & swindles, e.g. buying on credit & selling items to someone else; selling stores for which he did not own furnishings.
<u>Med./Psych. History</u>	Apparently physically healthy. Issue of mental health was never raised at any time prior to or during the trial, or afterwards.

Table 17

## Edmund Emil Kemper III

Categories	
<u>Lifespan</u>	(1948- ).
<u>Race/Sex</u>	White male.
<u>SES</u>	Middle-class.
<u>Parental Employment</u>	Both stable. Fa involved w/ World War II suicide missions & then an atomic bomb testing operation. Ma considered his work "menial." She was a responsible hard-working woman who became an administrative assistant to provost of a college.
<u>Location/ Pop. Density</u>	Born in Burbank, Ca. Moved w/ mother to Montana, then grandpas' farm, then to Santa Cruz, Ca. Low density.
<u>Family Life &amp;</u>	Pas fought & eventually separated & divorced. S's rela. w/ Ma was always volatile. (Ma & grandpas were 3 of his victims.) Missed his Fa, who remarried. Ma married 3 times. Younger sister witnessed some of his early bizarre behavior, such as great interest in executions. Fa charged that <u>Ma began drinking when S was 10 &amp; kept him in a basement for mos.</u>
<u>Early Childhood</u>	
<u>Elementary School</u>	Even as a child who was so big he was ridiculed for his size, S was always timid about competing in sports & fights. Accused of killing a dog-- he became more of an outcast, running fr taunts & jeers of peers.
<u>High School Patterns</u>	Quiet & cooperative according to H.S. teachers. "C+" to "B-" grades; no discipline problems. Was becoming more graceful & nice looking.
<u>Level of Educ.</u>	Sent to Atascadero State Hosp. at age 15 for murdering grandpas. Fd. to have an IQ of 136. Apparently cont. his education, for upon release enrolled for a few mos in a community college, earning straight "A's."
<u>Social Development</u>	Few playmates as a child. Loner who hated the world & thought about killing. As a yg. man, however, became close to policemen; jovial & fun.
<u>Sexual Development</u>	Cut off head & hands of a doll; killed dog & cat. Thought if he kissed he had to kill 1st. Fantasized about killing & having sex w/ corpses. Few, if any, normal sexual experiences.
<u>Role Models</u>	John Wayne. Possibly an NRA man who taught him to shoot. Love the idea-- the people & the profession-- of police work.
<u>Aspirations/ Occupations</u>	Genocidal ambitions. Wanted to be in law enforcement. Worked as a laborer & then w/ the Division of Highways.
<u>Marital Status</u>	Single, but claimed he was engaged at one time.
<u>Early Criminality</u>	Killed his grandpas. Psych. report declared him to be a paranoid schizo. & remanded by CYA to Atascadero for treatment.
<u>Med./Psych. History</u>	Some did not agree w/ diagnosis: fd. no evidence of any psychotic symptoms. Treated under diagnosis of sociopath. Learned a lot about psych. & psych. test-taking. Released in 1969 into care of Ma, against psych. advice. Talked 4 psychs. into sealing his juvenile record. Meanwhile, in his car at that moment, was 1 victim's head.

Table 18

Peter Kurten

Categories	
Lifespan	(1883-1931). Eldest son. Ma. had 10 children.
Race/Sex	White male.
SES	Working class. w/ possibly some periods of impoverishment.
Parental Employment	Stable for Ma, who apparently always worked at home. Fa was a factory worker at the same factory for long time, but when S was 14, Fa was imprisoned. Afterwards, he returned to the same factory.
Location/Pop. Density	Köln-Mülheim, Germany. A town on the Rhine; probably low to moderate density. In 1895, moved w/ Pas to Düsseldorf Grafenberg.
Family Life	Fa & Fa's family were heavy drinkers w/ violent criminal propensities. Ma & Ma's family sane, decent & respectable. Fa had a violent temper, particularly when drunk, & in 1897 imprisoned for incest w/ daughter. Pas separated then & both later remarried.
Early Childhood	S claimed he suffered terribly fr Fa's violence & that he became a vagabond for wks at a time. Has to work w/ Fa on Sundays. All lived in 1 room, which he sd affected him sexually.
Elementary School	At school age: saw violent scenes at home. At 9 became apprenticed to a sadistic dogcatcher, who encouraged his sadism. Also he drowned 2 boys in Rhine. He sd of school experience: "I passed easily & was a gd scholar."
High School	He completed primary school, where he was a gd pupil, then learned trade of his Fa. Strong interest in crime & criminology developed, too.
Patterns	
Level of Educ.	Completed primary school; apprenticed in the trade of sand moulder.
Social Development	Repeated references to friends he played w/ as a child. But, as an adult, made few friends. Known to use all situations to his advantage. A sycophant. Considered vain.
Sexual Development	4 facets: exp. w/ animals; crimes, particularly arson; heterosexual exp.; & fantasy. Began sadistic practices w/ animals. Exp. pleasure fr arson. Gave up animals; began w/ females to have sex & then to wound. Found pleasure was enhanced by fantasy.
Role Models	Jack the Ripper & other "blood & thunder" stories were imitated. Fascinated by the models of murderers at the wax museum.
Aspirations/ Occupations	Had wanted to be a draughtsman, but was forced to learn his Fa's trade at which he fd. work. His goal was fame from the time he 1st saw the wax models of murderers. Enjoyed the attent'n his crimes created & wd. have liked to kill huge #s of people, whole segments of the population.
Marital Status	1st married at the age of 38. Was married at arrest to a decent woman who thought him a good husband.
Early Criminality	Childhood murderer. By 16, was an habitual criminal, usually theft, fr. B&E to larceny. Served sentences for theft, brutality & menace w/ intent to do bodily harm. Arson.
Med./Psych. History	Extensive medical & psychiatric investigations were made for the court, including a study of S's genealogy. Drs. all testified that S cd. have w/stood any negative hereditary or environmental influences & was entirely responsible for his actions. Considered a psychopath & a sadist, but not psychotic or otherwise disturbed.

Table 19

## Henri Desire' Landru

Categories	
<u>Lifespan</u>	(1869-1922)
<u>Race/Sex</u>	White male
<u>Socio-Economic Status (SES)</u>	Pas called "pillars of the admirable Parisian working class." Father was a self-improving man who later became white-collar. Poor, but upwardly mobile.
<u>Parental Employment Pattern</u>	Stable. Father worked long and hard (21 yrs.) at Forges de Vulcain as a foundry stoker. Mother's "skill and industry" led to her acquiring a steady, humble clientele as a dressmaker at home, allowing her to remain at home full-time. Parents considered honest and upright according to the trial judge.
<u>Location/Population Density</u>	Born and raised in Paris, France in the 19th arrondissements. That area referred to as a residential area of tenements, but where there is security and freedom in the streets. So probably high density area.
<u>Family Life</u>	An only child, Subject was adored by Pas. Reared in a pious,honest & hardworking home. Ma. died in 1912. Fa., overwhelmed w/ grief came to visit w/ son, but latter in prison. Fa. committed suicide. "Only sign of instability in either Pa."
<u>Early Childhood</u>	S. was a "sunny, good-natured child," liked by all. Upbringing was "normal & healthy and untroubled." Did the same things as his peers.
<u>Elementary School</u>	Sent to E'cole des Fr'es, a Jersuit academy of great repute. Teachers & priests found him intelligent & responsive. Clever boy: highly praised.
<u>High School Patterns</u>	With sweet voice, given place in the choir. After voice cracked, cure' serve mass. At 16 passed entrance exam to school for mech. engineer'g.
<u>Level of Educ.</u>	Landru learned the jargon, but did not complete schooling: was drafted.
<u>Social Development</u>	Called "sweet, shy & loving little boy," was too shy w/ other kids to play, but--clergy liked him. Later he became "stuck up" to old friends. As a con, he used others.
<u>Sexual Development</u>	It was believed that S. had "had relations" with 283-284 women. He had had some relation w/ them. Honed natural skills w/ women to perfection. A romantic, charming, well-spoken man: charismatic.
<u>Role Models</u>	None mentioned: perhaps generic prof. classes were impressive to S.
<u>Aspirations/Occupations</u>	When S. attained white collar office work, he had achieved middle-class status & wd. forever play the part of a member of prof. classes- made him feel talented. Office work bored him, so he turned to crime.
<u>Marital Status</u>	Had a child by his mistress, whom he married 2 yrs. later.. Marriage intact until after trial. 4 child'n in all. Fond husband & fa. Also "loyal" & loving to mistress. Segret.
<u>Early Criminality</u>	S. 1st became a "dealer" of goods, as a "spiv," then more as an outright crook. Then a confidence man, preying increas'gly on older ladies. Several convictions. At outbreak of war, facing banishment if caught.
<u>Medical/Psychiatric History</u>	3 psychiatrists testified at trial, one of whom had 1st seen him in 1904 when sentenced. Found then to be bordering on the psychopathic, but not mad. In 1921 found "normal at every point," & sane by all 3.

Table 20

## Charles Milles Manson

Categories	
Lifespan	(1934- ). Identified as "no name Maddox" when unmarried 16-yr. old Ma delivered her 1st born. Promiscuous, ran around, drank. Fa--only rumors about him.
Race/Sex	White male.
SES	Lower-class.
Parental Employment	Unstable. No jobs identified for Ma. She was convicted of robbery. While in prison for 5 yrs., S had his only financially & otherwise stable home w/ his aunt & uncle.
Location/ Pop. Density	Born in Cincinnati, Ohio. Early yrs. spent in West Virginia, Ken. or Ohio, w/ density therefore varying.
Family Life	1 of Ma's "succession of men" gave S his name. Lived for varying periods w/ grandma or maternal aunt. Aunt loved him, but strict & religious. Ma very permissive. Ma dragged him w/ her to rundown hotels, then put him away. He wd. run back. Cdn't live together & cdn't live apart.
Early Childhood	"Ma wd. leave the child w/ obliging neighbors for an hr., then disappear for days or wks. Usually grandma or ...aunt wd. have to claim him." Then he wd. live w/ them in one of the above-named states.
Elementary School	All or almost all schooling w/in "schools for boys." At 12, Gibault School, a caretaking institution. Attitude fair at best. At 13, "he did gd. work only for those fr. whom he figured he cd. obtain something."
High School Patterns	After 4 yrs. of schooling, he was illiterate. IQ of 109. Average in intell., mechanical aptitude & dexterity. Raised his level fr 4th to upper 7th.& cd. read & use simple arithmetic. IQ then 121. Educa. per se meant little.
Level of Educ.	Formal educa, never beyond 7th. Began his own studies of magic, music, motivation, Scientology, etc.
Social Development	2 facets: The desire to gain att'n as w/ classroom antics & entering into criminal act. w/ friends. Became sophisticated & socially adept.
Sexual Development	Fr 14-19, only sexual contacts were homosexual. At 17, S raped a boy. He had only been raped. 1st hetero. w/ wife. Then pimp. Used women to his own advantage. Wide sex experience later.
Role Models	1st R.M. probably "outlaws," i.e. prisoners. Then Beatles & Christ. Influ'd by such groups as Scientology & bikers & satanists. Also Hitler.
Aspirations/ Occupations	Like Hitler, S had been a vagrant, a bum w/ artistic aspirations. Felt he deserved as much Rock 'n Roll fame as Beatles. Music brot some status. Wd. have liked to become another Hitler. Did odd jobs when not in prison.
Marital Status	Married & divorced twice. Fa'd 3 children.
Early Criminality	1st, burglaries; at 13, armed robbery. Began committing federal cr--Dyer Act. Also grand theft & prostitution. W/ "Family." stolen credit cards, etc.
Med./Psych. History	Spent half his life in prison before the murders. No reported medical problems & he was given extensive exams thru his CJS involvements. In 1959, a psych. report sd: "sociopathic personality w/out psychosis."

Table 21

## Herbert William Mullin

Categories	
Lifespan	(1947- ). Legitimate; 1st son & 2nd child.
Race/Sex	White male.
SES	Middle-class.
Parental Employment	Stable. Ma, a "concerned housewife." Fa worked long hrs. as a furniture salesman, then became a post office clerk.
Location/ Pop. Density	Born in Salinas, Ca.; moved to suburban Oakland at age of 1, then until high school, in San Fran.. Final move to Santa Cruz. Low density. Wd. become "murder capital." (see Kemper, who also lived there).
Family Life	P.D's office said Pas seemed ordinary & uncomplicated. Fa compensated for long hrs. by involving himself in S's activities, e.g. Scouts. "I did it for Herb-- God, I loved the kid, I loved the kid very, very dearly."
Early Childhood	While there were a couple of moves, S spent early yrs. fitting into the mold of the devoted son who attended Mass every Sunday & worked hard at school. Early life "archetypically normal."
Elementary School	Well adjusted & able student. "His record of deportment & grades was gd. during 8 yrs. at St. Stephen's Grammar School. Taught to use gun by NRA; hunting w/ Fa.
High School Patterns	Record remained gd. at parochial H.S. 1st 2 yrs. In Santa Cruz won a place on varsity team, which brought him a circle of friends. "Had world by the tail."
Level of Educ.	Graduated fr a 2-yr. jr.college w/ an associate of science degree in highway engineering. Then briefly at San Jose State.
Social Development	As a child, S played w/ neighborhd. boys; got along well & enjoyed sch'l. Made friends easily after winning varsity. Joined an informal club & was part of a group he liked. Later became intense & serious & a loner.
Sexual Development	Blossomed sr. yr. Had a very close male friend. And, after a few dates, started going steady. Confused about his own sexual preference. Had homosexual experiences. Sd he was bisexual.
Role Models	Probably Fa, whose strict sexual views, enjoyment of guns & military background he tried to emulate (& then hated).
Aspirations/ Occupations	In 1966 talked of joining the Army Corps of Engineers. Then began to study Eastern religions. Considered the priesthood. Then, after drifting fr 1 menial job to another, tried to become a marine.
Marital Status	Became engaged to his H.S. girlfriend while in college. She broke it off. Lived for a short while w/ a woman. Never married.
Early Criminality	In 1968, fd. to be under the infl. of drugs. Pled guilty to lesser offense & was placed on probat'n for a yr. Interactions w/ authorities bec. of drugs, assaultiveness and/or psychosis.
Med./Psych. History	No reported med. problems. Physically active as a child & a gd. athlete. S was repeatedly admitted to city, cty, & state psych. facilities & released, despite poor prognosis, schizophrenic diagnosis & belief he was a danger to self and to others. Insanity defense; unsuccessful.

Table 22  
Marcel Andre Henri Felix Petiot, M.D.

Categories	
<u>Lifespan</u>	(1897-1946).
<u>Race/Sex</u>	White male.
<u>SES</u>	Middle-class.
<u>Parental Employment</u>	Stable: Both Pas were low-level postal clerks.
<u>Location/ Pop. Density</u>	Born & raised in Auxerre, France, an old small town 100 miles S of Paris, in rural Burgundian dept. of Yonne. Low density. Later lived in Villeneuve-sur-Yonne & in Paris.
<u>Family Life</u>	Conflicting stories; it is most probable that S lived w/ both Pas until age 15, when he lived w/ aunt. Fa lived in nearby village. Not close to anyone in family but younger brother Maurice.
<u>Early Childhood</u>	Played alone. Sd. to have dev. a cruel streak w/ pets. Impaled insects, blinded birds in manner of a sadistic experiment. Put a cat in boiling water. Learned to read early.
<u>Elementary School</u>	Teachers sd. S was extremely intell. but strange, solitary, incorrigible, a difficult but excellent student. Retentive memory, great curiosity, ability to succeed. Disruptive: caught passing obscene pictures in class.
<u>High School Patterns</u>	Multiple disturbances & expellings, during which he fd. he liked studying on his own more. Reading a book a day, on e.g. famous sexual deviates life & death. Devel. gd. study habits & desire to go to med.sch.
<u>Level of Educ.</u>	Obtained his <i>Bachet d'Enseignement Secondaire</i> , and later compl. medical school. Became an M.D.
<u>Social Development</u>	Despite early signs of becoming a loner, S became so social & outgoing that he easily won the election for mayor of his town. Few very close friends. Knew many people who were loyal to him.
<u>Sexual Development</u>	A consuming interest in sex fr age of 13. Read, masterbated, studied abnormal sexual practices. 1st sex in teens. Despite all this, had normal sexual relationships as an adult.
<u>Role Models</u>	Probably famous criminals, particularly Landru. Also very interested in great men who were sexual deviates, such as Caesar.
<u>Aspirations/ Occupations</u>	Wanted to succeed in life & to do so S believed required a power posit'n or a fortune. Liked politics & being well-known. Great int. in life & death & manipulating people. Was an elected official & a physician.
<u>Marital Status</u>	Married w/ one son.
<u>Early Criminality</u>	1st arrest for mail tampering. Also caught for stealing a book; spent 3 mos. in prison for theft. Suspected of numerous & diverse crimes, incl. abortions, supplying drugs to addicts & stealing electricity.
<u>Med./Psych. History</u>	From 1st arrest onward, almost every time S got in trouble, he was sent for psych. evaluation, treated leniently & sd. not to be responsible. Used psych. history to his advantage. Before the murders, a psych. panel sd. he sh. never again be afforded psych. excuses, was not psychotic. No insanity defense.

Table 23

## Charles Howard Schmid, Jr.

Categories	
<u>Lifespan</u>	(1942- ). Illegitimate; legally adopted at birth.
<u>Race/Sex</u>	White male.
<u>SES</u>	Middle-class.
<u>Parental Employment</u>	Stable: both Pas worked as proprietors of a nursing home founded by Schmids in 1921, then opened another. Worked hard. Home across the st.
<u>Location/ Density</u>	Tucson, Arizona, a town surrounded by desert. Low density, but rapid Pop. increase in population. A "teenager's town."
<u>Family Life</u>	Went w/ Pas to church every Sunday. Expressed contempt for religion. S claimed to have been frightened of being left alone while Pas worked-- but they worked across the street & he was usually there. Main. gd. relations w/ both Pas, particularly Ma. Cont. to live by & off them later.
<u>Early Childhood</u>	Spent time around nursing home. Liked to run when frightened & to race bicycles w/ friend. Took many risks.
<u>Elementary School</u>	A trickster whose vivid imagination often overshadowed his abilities. Overly curious, "brighter than most," but independent interests. Below-average grades. "Unreachable." Grades same in high school.
<u>High School Patterns</u>	Had "exceptional intelligence" but "no guiding line." Became interested in competitive gymnastics, winning state championships. Liked risks.
<u>Level of Educ.</u>	Did not graduate fr H.S. temporarily suspended. S never returned.
<u>Social Development</u>	Had friends as a child, but became a well-known personality in H.S. Very popular w/ girls, adults & a leader/trend setter for rebellious kids.
<u>Sexual Development</u>	Very sexually active in H.S. He took money fr girls, claimed to have been a gigolo & conned them/used them, generally, while remaining disloyal.
<u>Role Models</u>	Elvis Presley, but only because he was setting the "pace" professionally.
<u>Aspirations/ Occupations</u>	Music was the primary aspiration, wd. have liked being a rock star. Never really tried, though. He even faked playing at parties. Odd jobs; for Pas, generally lived off them, rent free, food free, car & allowance.
<u>Marital Status</u>	Married a 15 year-old, arrested 22 days later.
<u>Early Criminality</u>	No record, but twice arrested. Had 2 plans for violence: putting Piranha in local lake & murdering girls in San Diego. Did neither.
<u>Med./Psych. History</u>	No known medical problems. No psychiatric history.

Table 24

## George Joseph Smith

Categories	
Lifespan	(1872-1915). Legitimate.
Race/Sex	White male.
SES	Probably rather poor. Fa employed & Ma described as "respectable," so possibly, working-class.
Parental Employment	Fa employed at time of birth as an insurance agent. Later, S claimed his Fa was an "artist, flowers & figures."
Location/ Pop. Density	Born at 92 Roman Rd., Bethnal Green, London, England. Probably high density.
Family Life	Only information is that S was legitimate son of employed man & gd. wife fr whom he received religious training. Also, at an early age he was the "despair" of his Ma.
Early Childhood	At age 9, S was sent to a reformatory where he remained until 16. His crime is not reported, but it need not have been major.
Elementary School	Only formal education was received in reformatory. The form of educa. was one that was "deliberately designed to produce a class of clerks & artisans." Learned "3 R's."
High School Patterns	While S later branded as semi-illiterate & the reform curriculum was limited to fundamentals & trade apprenticeships, this did not eliminate his marked love of poetry & the fine arts.
Level of Educ.	Wd. later partake of Shakespeare, etc. on his own. Thought of self as an innate artist w/out the social & prof. status required for the artistic wrld.
Social Development	S learned early & well how to speak, what tone to use, to impress other's of his goodwill & how to pretend social atonement.
Sexual Development	To him, women were a means to an end, to women he was felt by some to possess some "mysterious powers," magnetism. A lady's man w/ a "pronounced sexuality" & "swaggering virility."
Role Models	Unknown.
Aspirations/ Occupations	The legitimate world of artistic expression. Since he thought he cdn't, he turned to a combination of artistry & sexuality & crime: he became a confidence trickster. He was a professional criminal & career killer.
Marital Status	Marriage was Smith's primary business. Bigamously married under assumed names, the # unknown. He used his own name once; his rela. w/ the woman, Pegler, was different & more permanent.
Early Criminality	Reformatory, as noted. When released, minor sentences for petty theft, then for stealing a bike, then 1 yr. for larceny. Began the use of aliases crimes exploiting women, e.g. a servant girl racket. Primarily swindling.
Med./Psych. History	No reported medical problems. Sd. to have a military bearing. Was in military & claimed he was a physical training instructor. No psych. history or defense. Considered by some to be one of the most unquestionably sane multiple murderers in history.

Table 25  
Charles Raymond Starkweather

Categories	
<u>Lifespan</u>	(1938-1959). One of eight children.
<u>Race/Sex</u>	White male.
<u>SES</u>	Lower SES
<u>Parental Employment</u>	Fa could not work at times due to ill health. Ma began to work steadily fr 1946 onward.
<u>Location/Pop. Density</u>	Lincoln, Nebraska. Low density. House surrounded by trees; outdoor pursuits.
<u>Family Life</u>	Good family life. Third son; 7 boys & 1 girl. He was the "axis" in the family orbit. As a teenager, fought w/ Fa. After arrest, had Pas support.
<u>Early Childhood</u>	This was the very best time of his life. Played w/ bros.; went on outdoor outings w/ Fa; helped his Ma. Wd. later be very nostalgic about these yrs.
<u>Elementary School</u>	Later dwelled on his 1st day of kindergarten-- thought kids laughed at him, teacher picked on him. Kids were indifferent to him. On 2nd day, he had his 1st fight.
<u>High School Patterns</u>	Continued fighting. Kids didn't even remember or hold against him his temper tantrums. Had special attention every yr. fr his teachers. "Dull-normal," but later fd. to be of at least average intelligence.
<u>Level of Educ.</u>	Dropped out at age 16, in 9th grade.
<u>Social Development</u>	Claimed to have hated and been hated by everyone. Did have some male friends & some dates. One best friend.
<u>Sexual Development</u>	Unknown history. Reported very frequent sexual activity w/ girlfriend Caril Fugate in the days following her family's murder. Possibly sodomic.
<u>Role Models</u>	James Dean. Also heroes of violent films, television and comics.
<u>Aspirations/ Occupations</u>	Aspired to be a great criminal, to make a name for himself in the annals of crime. Wanted to be remembered & to this end, wrote his "autobiography" and he drew pictures. He was a garbage man.
<u>Marital Status</u>	Single, although did have a steady relationship w/ Fugate who was also arrested & convicted.
<u>Early Criminality</u>	Unrecorded "joyriding," sometimes stealing parts for self or resale. Did little else until he committed a felony murder.
<u>Med./Psych. History</u>	Poor eyesight, perforated eardrum. Hit on the head in an accident at work as a teenager, but not knocked unconscious. Headaches. Insanity plea, but no diagnosis; it was unsuccessful.

Table 26

## Peter William Sutcliffe

Categories	
Lifespan	(1946- ). Delivered at a maternity hospital. Pas happy, sd. baby wd be fine, as soon as they put some weight on him; low birth weight of 5 lbs.
Race/Sex	White male.
SES	Pas of working-class backgrounds. Fa turned out to be a gd. provider, probably moving up to the lower middle-class.
Parental Employment	Fa, a "stable & gd. provider; beginning at the...textile mills before S was born & wking his way up to the position of production line inspector." Ma, a housewife.
Location/Pop. Density	Raised in Bingley, in the industrial N of England, a "slightly run-down mill-town in a rural setting." (Crimes committed among the multi. juris. of W Yorkshire).
Family Life	6 children altogether, but Peter "was always to be special to" the Ma. The Fa said he had always felt closer to S than to any of the others. Fa, a "man's man." S turned to Ma as a child.
Early Childhood	As a child, S was smaller & more frail than other children. Learned to walk late & by holding on to Ma's skirt. Shy, small & liked to stay inside, reading his comics. S considered "faultless" within his family.
Elementary School	S never wanted to be at school; liked to be home w/ Ma. Fa tried to go by school at playtime, as S wd. otherwise spend the time alone.
High School Patterns	Began secondary sch. as target of bullying. Wdn't fight boys or chase girls, so was different. Began body-building. Gained confidence-- he never refused a dare. Fa was relieved. Academic "anonymity-- the norm for children of the working-classes." Some artistic ability; liked practical lessons in art & crafts.
Level of Educ.	Left sec. school w/out taking his examinations.
Social Development	Sutcliffes had a "noisy, busy" house w/ lots of kids, friends, neighbors around. S had 1 friend who often stayed the night. Fr shy & isolated to school clown; loved motorcycles. Sisters' friends cons. S "weird."
Sexual Development	Little int. in girls or sex before 18, when he began to frequent bars. Began to be w/ prostitutes along w/ "gentlemanly" relationships.
Role Models	Unknown.
Aspirations/ Occupations	Dreamed of becoming a long-distance lorry driver; and did so. (Had had other odd jobs, a laborer, a gravedigger, for instance.)
Marital Status	Married a quiet, serious girl in 1974 who had 2 miscarriages. No children, as they had wanted. Learned about psych. fr wife's treatment.
Early Criminality	No record of early criminality. At 19, picked up a 10 yr. old girl at top of stairs in S's house & threw her down.
Med./Psych. History	S wd. overcome the low birth weight & frailty as a child. No medical problems reported. Did become very strong (& was cons. handsome). No psych. history. Then used insanity defense (unsuccessfully).

Table 27

## Wayne Bertram Williams

<u>Categories</u>	
Lifespan	(1958- ). 1st & only child of couple in their mid-40s, but no reported complications.
Race/Sex	Black male.
SES	Middle-class.
Parental Employment	Stable: Both Pas schoolteachers (retired).
Location/ Pop. Density	Atlanta, Georgia. Lived in home, but home was located w/in blocks of housing projects. Probably moderately high density.
Family Life	S always called "miracle child." All sources agree S was idolized & spoiled. Pas supported him to the pt. of bankruptcy. S may have been abusive to Fa.
Early Childhood	Fr age 11, S was considered a "child genius." His activities included setting up his own radio station. About 12, pictured in Jet w/ Ben. Hooks. Interviewed Andrew Young.
Elementary School	S was president of the student council in the 7th grade. "He was pretty up on things even in elem. school." Rest of kids looked up to him as being brilliant.
High School	Did well & was well liked by teachers.
<u>Patterns</u>	
Level of Educ.	Completed one academic yr. at a university.
Social Development	Fr youth, W was poised, articulate, considered bright, a role model. He had a wide range of acquaintances, but no real intimates. lived w. Pas, closest to them.
Sexual Development	Unknown. Only rumors.
Role Models	Probably media role models, i.e. people "into media," either on screen or behind the scenes. see "Aspirations."
Aspirations/ Occupations	"Hearing W.B.W. talk about big plans that are on the verge of taking shape & reading his impressive resume, one can be persuaded that this... man was born w/ the key to upward mobility in his hand." Self-promoter. He had a radio station, then was a free-lance cameraman for TV. Also, a "police groupie" and a "scanner freak." Loved gadgetry.
Marital Status	Single; never married.
Early Criminality	None.
Med./Psych. History	No reported med. or psych. problems.

### Life History

The major aspects of the life history of each subject were restated in the Life History Tables attached to each case. The tabled material, and all of the relevant descriptive data from the narratives, for each category were then examined across subjects to determine the findings for the subjects as a whole. Tables 1 through 27, The Life History Tables, provide a concise restatement of the life history of each subject, and show the salient points for each subject for each of the categories in the Life History Instrument. (Special tables were constructed to show the findings for three of the categories on the Life History Instrument, "role models," "aspirations" and "occupations;" and these tables appear at the relevant portions of the text.)

### Lifespan

Of the 27 multiple murderers in this study, 9, or one-third, were born in the second half of the nineteenth century, the years of birth ranging from 1849 to 1898. The years of death can be positively determined in seven of the nine cases because of the imposition of the death penalty. The average lifespan for these 7 nineteenth century murderers was 46. On the average, these murderers were committing at least some of their crimes in their forties, because the time between arrest and execution was rarely more than two years.

Of the remaining 18 murderers in the study, only 2 were born between 1900 and 1930, and 1 of these was born in 1929. Six were born in the 1930s, 7 in the 1940s and 3 in the 1950s. Of the 18 multiple murderers who were born in the twentieth century, 2 received the death penalty and 2 were murdered. The average lifespan for the 4 was 34 years. Half of the subjects of this study are alive at the present time, 1988.

### Birth

Generally, there is little information relative to the variable of birth in the literature on the subjects. What information is available, however, indicated that even relatively minor complications tended to be reported. As indicated in the Life History Tables 1 through 27, the following complications were reported: one delivery by high forceps with a near-miscarriage during second month; one breech birth; one low (five pounds) birth weight; first children of mothers 40 and over; and stress during pregnancies without other problems during or after birth itself.

With respect to the emerging biological view of serial murder as a disease (see Darrach and Norris, 1984 or Chapter 2 for discussion), the variable of birth has several components. The first concerns the percentage of multiple murderers born to unwed mothers. In the present study, 6, or 22 percent, of the subjects were illegitimate. The lifestyles of the six unwed mothers varied, as contrasted with the premise that many are prostitutes and are addicted to alcohol or to drugs. Two of the biological mothers were described as promiscuous teenagers who hung around taverns; they may have drunk a lot or only occasionally. Nothing is known about one of the biological mothers. The three remaining women were not promiscuous or drinkers or otherwise conducting themselves in a detrimental manner; each tried to keep the child and one did. At the outside, 7 percent of the mothers were promiscuous or nonprofessional prostitutes who may have abused alcohol during their pregnancies. There were no reported instances of drug addiction among the mothers. None of the subjects in the study were reported to have suffered any withdrawal from either alcohol or drugs during the postnatal period, which is another component of the variable of birth. In all but one case

of illegitimacy, there was specific mention of the baby having been delivered in a hospital.

With respect to the physical stigmata of a disturbed pregnancy-- another component of the variable of birth-- none of the 27 subjects were reported to have been born with such stigmata. Photographs of the subjects as adults showed no instances of undeveloped ears or hare lips. There was no information as to whether or not any of the subjects were born with elongated second toes, another physical symptom associated with a disturbed pregnancy. It seems doubtful that any such stigmata would have gone unnoticed, given the detail of physical descriptions of most of the subjects and/or the medical examinations that were made and reported.

In some cases, the mother, (including, in one instance, an unwed mother), stated that the pregnancy was a happy time for her. In some cases, the child was said to have been a source of joy and/or to have become a favorite of the mother (or father). The subject sometimes had many siblings, all born to the same mother--with no apparent complications to her.

#### Race and Sex

Twenty-five out of 27 subjects (93 percent) were white. One subject was black, and one was Hispanic. Twenty-five of the 27 subjects (or 93 percent) were male; 2 were female.

### Socioeconomic Status

Five of the 27 subjects of the study (18.5 percent) came from the lower class. An additional three subjects came from backgrounds that fell in the lower or the working classes. Seven of the 27 subjects (26 percent) came from backgrounds that ranged from the working-class to the lower-middle-class. Nine (or 33 percent) of the subjects came from the middle class, with two such homes described as "comfortable." The remaining 3 subjects (or 11 percent) came from upper-middle-class backgrounds.

### Parental Employment Pattern

The parental employment pattern for 14 of the 27 cases (or 52 percent) was found to be stable for the following reasons: The father in each of these cases worked steadily during the subject's early years, most often at a single place of employment and/or in a single line of work, and was noted to have put in long days. (In two of these cases, the father did suffer a short-term period of unemployment, but such periods did not reoccur.) The mother in each of these cases worked predominantly in the home and as a housewife and mother, with occasional part-time jobs outside the home. (In two of the cases, the mother took in sewing.)

In 4 of the 27 cases (not counting the unique situation with the Benders), both the parents of the subjects worked; and the employment pattern in these cases was stable.

In two instances, the mothers of the subjects had to assume the role of breadwinner either because of divorce or medical problems on the part of the father. In both these cases, the mothers started working as waitresses when the subjects were young, and their employment pattern was stable.

In 20 out of 27 cases (or 74 percent), the parental employment pattern, therefore, was found to be stable.

Out of 27 cases, there were 3 instances (or 11 percent of the cases) in which the subjects, for different reasons, lived in homes with little to no stability in the parental employment pattern. In one instance, for example, the subject was never exposed to a working parent, and, in another, the subject's mother and guardian lived in a high unemployment/low wage area.

In 11 percent of the cases, information was too sketchy to make any determination as to the parental employment pattern.

#### Location/Region; Population Density

Out of 27 subjects, 18 (or 67 percent) of the subjects lived in the United States. Fourteen of the U.S. subjects were born in the U.S. The four foreign-born subjects had resided in the United States for most of their adult lives, at least; and one subject became a naturalized citizen at the age of five. None of the four foreign-born subjects came from the same country. The country of origin ranged from Canada to Norway. (An additional subject resided in the United States for a few years and committed one of his murders in the U.S., but is known for murders committed in England.)

Six subjects (or 22 percent), lived in and committed their crimes in England. Out of six subjects, two were foreign-born, and both were born in Glasgow, Scotland.

Two subjects (or 7 percent) were French; and one was German. These subjects committed their crimes in their native countries.

As contrasted with England and America, Western Europe's contribution to multiple murders has not only been small, it has also been limited to a specific time frame-- from World War I through World War II.

While far fewer in number than American, the English cases do span the past 100 years and include 2 relatively recent cases.

In the separate Life History Tables for each subject, there is information on what region of the country the subject was from, as well as whatever information was available on the subjects' living/housing situation as that bears on the variable of population density. What was found, however, was that this variable has not been well defined in the literature. The first problem was that of deciding whether the issue of population density pertained to the subjects' life histories or to their crimes. Then there was the problem of the subjects' mobility: many of the subjects lived in several different cities or states and their living/housing situations may have varied from, for instance, small towns to suburban areas. Even subjects who grew up in an urban (or densely populated) area may have moved elsewhere before they committed their crimes.

Primarily because of mobility, regional differences were found to be less clear-cut than, for instance, Levin and Fox (1985) reported about mass killings for the period of 1974-1979. One finding was consistent with these authors, and that was that more subjects (six) committed at least one of their crimes in California than anywhere else, regardless of where they had lived. Chicago was the next highest crime area, with five subjects who committed at least some of their murders in that area.

### Family Life

The first characteristic of family life which is of interest is the issue of adoption. As previously reported, 6 of the 27 subjects were illegitimate. The literature is concerned with both the presumed trauma of subjects born to unwed mothers, and the presumed trauma associated with adoption, namely, the feeling the child experiences of having been rejected by the biological parents.

Three of the six illegitimate subjects were legally adopted at a very young age. Two (David Berkowitz and Charles Schmid) were placed with the adoptive parents right after birth, and one (Kenneth Bianchi) was placed at the age of three months. One of these subjects located his birthmother when he was an adult, and thereafter had two families to care for and about him. In all three instances, the adopted child was an only child, brought into a home in which children had been desired, and was raised by parents whose marriage remained intact.

Of the remaining three illegitimate children, one mother kept her "love child" (Theodore Bundy) and gave him, while he was still a child, a home, a father and the father's name. A second subject, Ian Brady, whom the mother at first tried to keep, was raised by a kind family, visited by the mother, but was never adopted by anyone. The third subject, Charles Manson, was kept by his mother, but farmed out to relatives and institutions; he had very little family life and little of anything resembling a home.

A second characteristic of family life was whether or not the parents' marriages were intact. When all 27 subjects were considered, the only subject who did not spend a year or more in a home where the parental marriage was intact was the above-mentioned Manson. (Brady, who was never adopted either, did spend all his early years in the home of guardians whose marriage

was intact and his later years in the home of his then married mother.) Of the 27 subjects, 18 (or 67 percent) were reared by parents whose marriages remained intact. In two cases, while the subjects were known to have been legitimate and to have lived with both parents, data are insufficient to determine the later status of the parents' relationship. In 6 cases (or 22 percent), the parents' marriages ended in divorce, although in one case, this did not occur until the subject was grown and in prison. As a whole, these findings were not consistent with the FBI's contention that serial murderers tend to come from broken homes.

In those instances in which divorce did occur, it was by no means an inevitably adverse circumstance for the child. In three instances, it was the problematic parent who left, which, in some cases, as Yochelson and Samenow (1976) found, may help to stabilize the home life for the child. In two further instances, the end of the marriage meant that the parents no longer fought or lived unhappily together; and in the sixth case, the subject was already grown, as previously mentioned. With the exception of Kate Bender, in all of the 26 subjects' early lives, including those who were born out of wedlock or who experienced the parents' divorce, there was some stabilizing influence such as a responsible mother, a guardian or a member of the extended family who at least tried to improve the life of the subject as a child. This is the kind of finding that in a cursory examination of the family life and a quest for causal factors is often overlooked.

Most (70 percent) of the subjects grew up in a home with other children, which, as Yochelson and Samenow (1976) found, serves as a mitigating factor which helps to stabilize the home, just as one stabilizing adult can do. There were no instances of siblings who, reared in the same homes and subjected to

the same problems, went on to commit crimes in any way comparable to those of the subjects; the vast majority of the siblings were law-abiding.

A related characteristic of family life is the general level of stability in the parents' relationships during the early lives of the subjects. One indication of instability is the 22 percent divorce rate among the subjects' parents. This percentage (those that ended in divorce) encompassed all of the observably troubled marriages-- from marriages with irreconcilable differences to marriages involving spousal abuse, (with one possible addition to the latter category, although no divorce occurred.) Two subjects were exposed to the abuse of their mothers by their fathers, and this may have occurred in two additional cases. Multiple murderers, as a group, were infrequently exposed to violence as youths. Rather, future multiple murderers were found to more often be exposed to parents whose marriages remained intact, did not involve any spousal violence and were described as relatively happy and stable.

A further characteristic of family life is the general personality characteristics and life styles of the mothers and fathers. There is a belief that multiple murderers reared in two-parent households are exposed to the following parental combination: a violent, sometimes criminally violent, father, and a mother confined for long periods of time in mental hospitals (Darrach and Norris, 1984). Out of 27 subjects in the present study, none were exposed to this parental combination. Not one of the mothers of the subjects were reported to have ever spent any time in any mental hospital. None of the mothers were even reported to be in (outpatient) therapy. Again, of the 27 subjects, 2-- Albert DeSalvo and Peter Kurten-- were exposed to violent fathers (and 2 more-- John Collins and John Gacy-- may have been). The mothers in both cases divorced the fathers, thereby eliminating the problematic parent-- for both mothers were

described by the subjects and by others as being kind, loving and responsible parents. (In the other two instances, one of which resulted in divorce, the mothers were also described as loving and responsible.)

The "parental employment patterns" described previously provide another way of indicating the personality characteristics and life styles of the mothers and fathers of the subjects. In 2 cases (7 percent), that of Bender and Manson, the early family life included rejection and neglect. These two cases differed markedly from the rest in that the parent(s) were involved in crime, were not known to be legitimately employed, and did not attempt to provide a stable home life for the subject. (The homes of DeSalvo and Kurten, on the other hand, involved a violent father, but did have a loving, honest and responsible mother who divorced the father while the subject was still young.)

It has been presumed that the future multiple murderer suffers from the mother's actions (such as rejection, neglect or abuse) or, in the psychoanalytic view, from the mother's traits and the unresolved love/hate relationship with her. With respect to the latter, the four findings are as follows: (1) there is one case (Edmund Kemper) in which the evidence indicated that the mother was a significant, dominant and "overwhelming" woman. In this instance, the subject went on to commit a series of so-called "sex murders" involving women and these culminated in the murder of the mother. (2) Two other cases, that of Manson and Collins, involved a strong mother and an ambivalent relationship with her. (3) There are other cases in which the mothers were found to be strong or dominant, and persevering. However, there was no discernible pattern in the mother-child interaction: the mothers' strengths were not found to have any particular bearing on their relationship with the child. Kemper is, consequently, the only subject for whom the psychoanalytic dynamics are

applicable in that he alone had a relationship with his mother that prevented him from having other and nonperverse relationships with women. He alone felt such intense rage that he could not have normal sexual experiences, and he alone eventually killed his mother. (4) In the case of the then-unsolved Boston Stranglings, the medical-psychiatric committee working on the case expected to find that the mother would be "sweet, orderly, neat compulsive, seductive, punitive, overwhelming..." as well as half-clothed and intolerant of any sexual curiosity (Frank, 1967:168). This expected set of traits was not found applicable to any of the subjects' mothers, and certainly not the mother of the Boston Strangler. The descriptions of the mothers do not, therefore, conform to psychiatric expectations.

While it is difficult to provide precise figures, overall, the parents of multiple murderers were more frequently described in positive rather than in negative terms. The most frequent characterizations were those that had to do with one's respectability and standing in the community, wherein such phrases as these were often used: "hard-working and persevering," "honest and upright," "dutiful," "decent and law-abiding," "devout and respectable," and "pillars of the community." Another type of frequent characterization pertained to religion. One of the highest forms of praise, particularly among the historical cases, pertained to one or both parents being devout and/or providing their children with "a Christian upbringing."

Another type of characterization (with, for instance, such illustrative phrases as "loving" and "kind," or "abusive" or "cruel") bears upon a final characteristic of family life: the observable patterns of interaction between the subject and the family. According to current thinking, the serial murderer's mother begins to reject her child immediately after birth (Darrach and Norris,

1984). According to this view, the anticipated (and observable) patterns of interactions would be a failure to hug, rock, talk to, play with, or care for, the child. The result of such an interaction would be sensory and emotional deprivation (Darrach and Norris, 1984). However, none of the mothers of subjects in this study, with the probable exceptions of Bender and Manson, were reported to have rejected their child in such a manner; and there is no evidence of sensory or emotional deprivation with any of the 27 cases. Since neither the actions leading to deprivation nor the effects of deprivation were reported, it is unlikely that such deprivation "really" existed, but just was not observed. Two further findings which did not support the view of the mothers as rejecting, particularly in the historical cases where ample evidence was not always available, were (1) that there was no indication of any brain damage among the subjects, and (2) that most of the subjects regarded and/or described their mothers as loving.

Then, according to current thought, there is supposedly a period-- from early infancy-- during which the future killer experiences severe brutality (Darrach and Norris, 1984). Again, it was found that two of the subjects (DeSalvo and Kurten) were exposed to spousal and child abuse, (see "Early Childhood," below, for further discussion); and, again, the abusive father left the family. While Gacy and Manson were cited (Darrach and Norris, 1984) as examples of persons who suffered serious head wounds in childhood,\* the findings indicated that Gacy, like Bianchi, Dean Corll, William Heirens and Charles Starkweather suffered no permanent neurological damage from head wounds that were not, in any event, inflicted by a parent, but were the result of a

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\*There is no evidence that Manson suffered any head wounds or that he was ever beaten by his mother.

fall, often at school and usually during play, (see "Medical History," below, for elaboration on these injuries.)

It is further assumed that the parents of future multiple murderers engaged in a game of torture with their children (Darrach and Norris, 1984). Only one instance of this occurred among any of the subjects, and here, the torture cannot be verified: in the case of Kemper, the father accused the "dominant and overwhelming" mother of having locked her son in the basement at night for a while.. While Kemper was not physically abused by either parent, this experience, if true, comes the closest to a game of torture.

Sexual trauma is also said to be common. The example given (Darrach and Norris, 1984) is that of Manson, who is said to have had to sleep in the same room as his prostitute-mother. A greater sexual trauma for Manson, however, occurred when he was gang-raped while in an institution for boys. It is probable that both the Bender males, father and brother, forced themselves upon Kate. At the most, and including Bender, family life exposed as many as 4 subjects, or 15 percent, to some form of sexual trauma. The Bender case is the sole representative of sexual abuse in the form of incest, and in this case, there is no solid evidence.

Another recently expressed view-- that a flaw or "defect" may be occurring in the bonding process-- has never been operationally defined and cannot be addressed by this study.

The observable patterns of interaction among multiple murderers and their mothers/families are those that can be found among any population. Of the 27 subjects, there were 14 (or 52 percent) who were greatly loved. These 14 cases included parents who said the subject had always been the favorite; others were only-children of parents who greatly desired children; and in the

remaining cases, the parents spoke of their love for the subject and had acted consistently throughout the subjects' life.

A second observable pattern of interaction was the extension, on the part of the parent, of love and loyalty, whether or not that love was reciprocated. (For instance, there were mutual bonds of affection between Corll and his mother, whereas Collins' mother gave of herself and received little in return from her son.)

A third, and numerically small, pattern of interaction involved parents and children whose bonds were few and relatively shallow. Brady and Marcel Petiot fit this pattern of interaction.

### Early Childhood

In the review of the literature on this variable, the following positions were identified: (1) that there is a set of childhood characteristics called the "Macdonald triad" associated with violence, and these are bedwetting, firesetting and torturing of insects or animals; (2) that the childhood is characterized by parental rejection, abuse or neglect (with or without the Macdonald triad as a behavioral reaction); (3) that frustration occurs during childhood (and throughout life), and may take the form of illnesses, accidents, abuse, physical defects, isolation and poverty; (4) that rejection occurs on the part of the child, and the child exerts a profound effect on parental behavior; and (5) that the early childhood appears to have been happy and conducive to healthy development.

The first three positions identified above-- those that place the murderer in the role of a victim-- are extensions of single-murderer findings to multiple murderers. The latter two positions identified were derived from studies of psychopaths, by, respectively, Yochelson and Samenow (1976) and Cleckley

(1982). In general, the findings of this study tend to conform more to studies of psychopaths than to studies of persons who committed single murders or other "violent behaviors."

One major problem with the Macdonald triad as it relates to the childhood of multiple murderers is that no multiple murderer was found to have exhibited all three behaviors. The most that can be said, as, indeed, Levin and Fox (1985) and Darrach and Norris (1984) did, is that Kenneth Bianchi, for instance, was a bedwetter, David Berkowitz, a firesetter, and Kemper, a torturer of small animals. Or, as the present study found, there were four subjects for whom the evidence was sufficient to indicate the torture of animals. (Other subjects killed in the more "socially acceptable" manner of hunting or skinning, for instance.) The few reported instances of bedwetting and firesetting were noted in the narratives, but there was insufficient information for the purpose of specifying the prevalence of such behaviors.

With regard to parental abuse, rejection or neglect, as has been previously reported, two subjects (DeSalvo and Kurten) had violent, abusive fathers. Two other subjects (Collins and Gacy) may have seen or experienced some abuse. It would not be correct to say, however, that these two subjects had childhoods characterized by abuse. Bender was probably the victim of incest and Manson had been gang-raped in an institution. Bender and Manson had bleak and probably harrowing childhood, as did two other subjects, G. J. Smith, who was imprisoned at the age of nine, and Kemper, whose relationship with his mother made for a volatile childhood. In the latter two cases the subjects were not the victims of parental abuse, rejection or neglect. There is little support for Ellis and Gullo's (1971) contention, that the histories of multiple

murderers almost always disclose unkind parents and unhappy family situations.

The notion of, for instance, Levin and Fox (1985), that "frustration" is a common theme in the background of multiple murderers, is easier to say than to demonstrate. (The authors did not specify what childhood illnesses constituted severe frustration.) Five (or 18 percent) of the subjects of the present study could be characterized as somewhat sickly children. However, each of the five grew up to be strong and healthy adults. Beyond the poor eyesight of Charles Starkweather and Thomas Cream, there were no outstanding physical defects. Two of the subjects spent their childhoods in physical isolation, but neither became withdrawn adults. There were five subjects who came from poor homes, but this was not synonymous with frustration: the Starkweathers were one of the poorest families of the study, but the subject was the "axis" of his family, and early childhood was, for him, the best time of his life. (Only much later did Charles miss expensive things.)

Beyond the few cases identified, the early childhoods of the 27 multiple murderers studied were found to have few major traumas, no consistent type of trauma and no consistent pattern (or particularly severe type) of "frustration."

The impression that does arise in studying the early childhoods is that many of the subjects were emotionally detached as children. (This is a somewhat different way of looking at patterns of interaction, as reported under "Family Life.") Those subjects who can be categorized as somewhat emotionally detached, either because of their behavior in childhood or because of their emotionally detached attitudes as adults, came from a variety of family types. They are: Brady, Ted Bundy, Collins, Cream, John George Haigh, Heirens, Herman Webster Mudgett (H. H. Holmes), Kemper, Henri Desire'

Landru, Herbert Mullin, Petiot, Charles Schmid, Smith, Peter Sutcliffe and Wayne Williams. As this list indicates, these are not, for the most part, the victims of parental abuse. Emotional detachment, as distinguished from isolation, has something of the air of superiority and the cloak of secrecy about it. The subjects either rejected some or all of their family or abused their trust and/or they kept much of what they did and who they were a secret. This finding is generally consistent with Yochelson and Samenow's (1976) finding about the criminals' rejection of their parents. However, multiple murderers were more subtle in their rejection. Further, the rejection by the criminals of their parents had a clearer purpose-- to hide what they were up to-- than is the case with the subjects of this study.

Most of the 15 emotionally detached subjects came from backgrounds that seemed conducive to normal adjustment. There were an additional five subjects who seemed to have developed strong familial bonds. As with the psychopaths Cleckley (1982:254) studied, a large proportion of multiple murderers show, in Cleckley's words, "backgrounds that appear conducive to happy development and excellent adjustment."

### Elementary School

Scant attention has been paid in the literature to the future multiple murderer during his elementary school years. Current thinking on the subject seems to be that the already damaged child does poorly in school and considers himself a failure. Few of the multiple murderers studied emerged from a childhood of abuse; even those who did could not necessarily be characterized as "numbed by abuse" (Darrach and Norris, 1984:68). There was no evidence to indicate that any of the 27 subjects of the study were clinically

hyperactive. That is-- none of the subjects were found to have been so diagnosed at the time of their schooling.

Descriptions relative to the variable of elementary school include a number of different kinds of findings. At the broadest level, the subjects can be divided into those who, for such reasons as good grades or native intelligence, can be considered as having done well in elementary school; and those who did poorly, who disliked school and/or made poor grades. Ten subjects (or 37 percent) can be described as having done well; 6 subjects (or 22 percent) did poorly in school. Such broad categories do not apply to the average student, such as Corll, or to the bright-but-disruptive students, such as Haigh, Petiot and Schmid, or to the bright-and-troubled students, such as Heirens and Kemper. There are five subjects, including Smith, about whom nothing is known relative to their elementary schooling.

(All of the six illegitimate subjects could be considered to have had some problems, although the problems do differ and two of the six subjects are among the ten who did well in school.)

All of the subjects who were categorized as having done poorly in school, as having been disruptive or as having been troubled, were twentieth century subjects.

One way to assist in judging whether multiple murderers, as elementary school children, can, as a group, be differentiated from their peers, would be to describe the range of performance and conduct found among the subjects. (It would also be helpful to determine the percentage of students whose behavior or attitudes distinguished them from their peers.)

At one end of the spectrum were those subjects who were relatively high achievers in school. This end of the spectrum included Bundy, Holmes, Mullin

and Williams. These subjects ranged from the "promising" Bundy to Williams, the "child genius," and, in between, Holmes was perhaps the "brightest" student in his area, and Mullin was an all-around "well adjusted and able student." Other subjects who did well and were not particularly disruptive or troubled were Brady, John Reginald Christie, Collins, Cream, Haigh, and Landru. At the other end of the spectrum were those subjects who did poorly in school; these included Berkowitz, Bianchi, DeSalvo, Starkweather, Sutcliffe and Manson.

Most of the subjects who disliked school preferred to stay home; Berkowitz and Bianchi feigned illness in order to do so. DeSalvo and Manson rarely did their work and tended to fail in school. However, while Manson maintained a fair-to-poor attitude, DeSalvo admits getting through school by becoming a "teacher's pet." Insofar as IQ or other measures of intelligence, these subjects fall within the normal range: Berkowitz had an IQ of 118; Bianchi's IQ was 116; DeSalvo was found to be "of normal intelligence;" Starkweather, first considered to be "dull-normal," was later found to be of at least average intelligence; Sutcliffe's "academic anonymity" was considered to be the norm for his area and school; and Manson raised his educational level from lower-fourth to upper-seventh grade; his IQ rose from 109 to 121.

One of the more frequent themes running through descriptions of the elementary school years implied underachieving. Phrases which were used to describe underachieving included, "smart but lazy," "could do good work but" there was "little interest" or "if he wanted to."

Some form of religious training during elementary school years was frequently referred to in descriptions of the subjects. Ten subjects (37 percent) received at least some, if not all, of their education from parochial schools, particularly, Catholic schools. In addition, there was Cream's "Presbyterian

upbringing," Corona's Catholicism and that of his family's, Holmes's "Methodist training," Berkowitz's reported attendance at Hebrew School and at services with his parents, Schmid's going to Sunday school, and Christie's church activities-- all of which constituted some religious training. A further finding was that religious education or training was as likely to be found among the twentieth as the nineteenth century subjects.

### High School Patterns

The main finding with respect to this variable comes from a longitudinal assessment-- what happened to the subjects by the time they were in high school? With few exceptions, the subjects in the study tended to "bloom" in school, or to make a better adjustment, or to do as well, if not better, academically as they had in elementary school. (It is possible that, in part, this finding could be a function of the subject being better remembered, and hence, more fully described.) One of the few exceptions was Bundy, who claimed he did not make any progress in high school-- but he was referring to his social, rather than his academic, performance. Of those subjects who went to high (or secondary) school, and for whom data is available, not one did poorly academically in high school who had not done poorly in elementary school, and most performed better.

### Level of Education

Given the above findings for high school patterns, it might be expected that the subjects in this study would graduate from high school, and, of those who continued their education, at least some would be expected to do well in college. This is not exactly what was found for the 21 (or 78 percent) of the

subjects who went to high school. (Four, or 15 percent, did not go on; and no information was available for 2 of the subjects.)

For the 21 subjects who began high school, 9 (or 43 percent) were described as having left school. This 43 percent was comprised of those who quit school (America), left school (Great Britain), and dropped out just prior to graduation, without taking their examinations. Thirteen of the 21 subjects, or 63 percent, completed some college. (The percentages add up to more than 100 because of Gacy, who completed business college after having dropped out of high school, and Corona, who is known to have attended college, although nothing is known about his previous education.)

As Dickson (1958:203) reported about the killers for profit that he studied, "The standard is surprisingly high." Indeed, of the 27 subjects included in this study, 13, or 48 percent, reached the college level of education, and 22 percent earned some kind of degree. The highest levels of education were reached by the three subjects who earned their medical degrees, followed by one law student with an undergraduate degree. One subject graduated from a business college and another from a two-year junior college. While the standard may be high in terms of college attendance, or if one expected multiple murderers to fail in elementary school, these findings did not reflect the quality of stick-to-itiveness. There were very few subjects who could be described as having received an education in the broadest and best sense of the word-- regardless of how highly educated they became.

On the other hand, some of the subjects with the least amount of education (such as Kurten, Smith, and perhaps, Bender and Juan Corona), apparently wanted more education than their circumstances permitted. Consequently, it can be said that the subjects of this study were just as apt to

read or otherwise study something on their own as to attend (and make use of) college: 13 or 48 percent of the subjects studied something on their own. Their studies or readings often were in the area of crime or had some general bearing on criminal pursuits, (as with Smith's use of Shakespeare as part of his "artistic impulse" and his being a confidence man.)

### Social Development

The variable of social development was described in Chapter 2 as having three social-psychological facets: (1) how the individual interacts with others (particularly, whether there are references in the material to friends); (2) how others respond to the individual; and (3) what meaning others have for the individual. Before reporting the findings relative to these facets, the following should be noted. First, for the same subject, the available material might refer to friends, provide evidence of an easy-going, sociable manner and still apply such terms as "solitary" or "loner." It is therefore of great importance to distinguish between the person who chooses solitude and the person who is lonely and does not wish to be alone. Second, one of the more fundamental findings relative to social development was that, of the 27 subjects, all but a couple-- at most-- went through some period in their lives which is remembered as a time of relative social success. That is, with the possible exception of Berkowitz and/or Kurten, all the multiple murderers in this study went through a time in which they were accepted, respected and/or liked by at least some of their peers.

Perhaps the most significant finding about the social interactions of multiple murderers studied was the great diversity in patterns. At the far end of the spectrum were those subjects (particularly, Bianchi, Bundy, Collins, Corll, Gacy, Holmes, Haigh, Manson, Mullin, Petiot, Schmid and Williams) who had a

broad spectrum of social interactions and who were accepted, respected and/or liked by many of their peers. Even among these subjects, the types of social interactions varied. For instance, Petiot, a solitary figure in his youth, became a mayor in adulthood, while Mullin, who had once made friends fairly easily, became a loner in adulthood.

None of the subjects studied were found to have avoided all social interactions; nor were any of the subjects always avoided by others. The diversity in patterns of social interactions seems to be a function of the two remaining facets of social development: the response to the individual and the meaning others have for him.

The extent of social interaction that a given subject had is nothing more than what might be called the "popularity" of the subject. This simply means that Collins, for example, had a broad spectrum of social interactions because he was well liked by a number of different kinds of people, from the adults of his community to the fraternity kids to kids on the fringes of crime. What is perhaps less obvious was that the majority of subjects studied tended to find approval to the extent that they extended themselves. For example, Brady extended himself (made an effort to socialize with) very few people, but when he did he was admired. He was the leader.

Dickson (1958:204) reported in his study of multicides that "perverts," such as Cream, Christie and Kurten, in contrast to killers for profit, could not have grown up with the comforting feeling that they were normal boys because each suffered from a sense of shame or inferiority which set them apart. Dickson noted Cream's poor eyesight and believed he must have dreaded missing the ball he could barely see. This is an overly interpretive conclusion, for what is known is that Cream went on to enjoy watching sports and to

develop style and an "ingratiating manner;" and people did respond well to the latter. Cream, as an adult, had a tendency to take new male acquaintances into his confidence rather quickly; so there were some people who got to know him quickly and rather well. Furthermore, both Cream and Starkweather had poor eyesight, but Starkweather was neither a pervert nor a killer for profit (although his crimes did include a little of each). And, Cream could not have felt so terribly insecure in school that he did poorly or felt inferior, for he went on to become a doctor.

With respect to the meaning others had for the subjects, one finding that emerged from the data was that the subjects often felt at odds with the world. This feeling was discerned among subjects whose social lives were very different: Schmid, for instance, impressed adults, girls and some of his male peers who considered him a leader. On the other hand, Starkweather, no shorter than Schmid, was loved by his family and had a few friends in high school, but experienced little social success in the interim. And yet, much the same feeling was expressed when Schmid said that he never was a part of the world that other people or God had created, and when Starkweather said he had never been able to find his own personal world.

The subjects were frequently described as having been or become socially adept, as ingratiating and as having used people or situations to their own advantage. For such subjects, particularly, it appears that other people have little of what might be called human value; such people have meaning for the subjects only in terms of their usefulness.

It must be emphasized that, for the subjects of the study, either having few close friends or never having felt close to anyone, has a special meaning. Such a statement often says little about the social interactions of the subject. It

does not mean, for instance, that the subject was all alone. It refers, rather, to the shallowness of most of the subjects' relationships to others. This shallowness may be realized by others, or it may come as a surprise to those who thought they were close to the subject.

### Sexual Development

Among the views on the sexual history and development of multiple murderers in the recent literature is Lunde's (1976) contention that such murderers rarely have any experiences of normal sexual intercourse. Along with Darrach and Norris (1984), Lunde viewed the (nonschizophrenic) multiple murderer as a psychotic sadist. For Levin and Fox (1985), serial murderers were sociopathic, and victims of frustration, and, as such, their sense of impotence resulted in their using sex as a vehicle for domination and control. On the other hand, Wilson (1984) and other contributors to the descriptive literature invoked the concept of dominance in discussing multiple murderers, and noted that high dominance seems to be linked to a high sex drive. These views are not merely inconsistent; they refer to different things. Respectively, these views refer to the presence or absence of "normal" sexual activity; the "meaning" of that sexual activity; and the intensity of the sex drive.

The findings of the present study indicate that the sexual histories of multiple murderers are far more diverse, and, individually, more complex than any single view in the literature would indicate. For instance, 7 of the 27 subjects (or 26 percent) began their sex lives early, by the time they were 13. One or two of the subjects had been sexually assaulted, as previously reported. Both (Bender and Manson) grew up to be sexually appealing, active and to have a high sex drive. Both used sex to hold people to them. Two other subjects (DeSalvo and Kurten) had been physically abused and had

experienced sexually explicit scenes at home; both developed a consuming interest in sex from childhood on. Both were able to and did experience normal sexual activities. One (DeSalvo) had an insatiable drive which he indulged in relatively normal fashion, while the other (Kurten) developed an increasing interest in sexual sadism. (While each blamed their father for many things, both these subjects described incidents outside the home which they believed had as much or more effect on the direction of their sexual lives.) In addition to Kurten, there were two further subjects (Kemper and Petiot), who developed such early signs of sexual sadism as torturing animals. However, while Kemper never outgrew this early phase of perverse sexuality, Petiot seems never to have acted upon his. Rather, he went on to have normal sexual experiences and to marry. The seventh subject (Heirens), began early to indulge in burglaries, a sexually arousing crime for him. Of these seven subjects, only two (Kemper and Heirens) had few, if any, experiences of normal sexuality.

Little specific information is known about the sex lives of two recent subjects (Berkowitz and Williams); it is possible that these subjects, like the two previously mentioned, had few, if any, sexual experiences. The reasons for their relative inexperience or inactivity are probably different. At the most, then, 4 subjects (or 15 percent) had little, if any, sexual experiences, normal or otherwise.

The complex nature of sexual development is demonstrated by Brady's history. As a youth he was involved in the torture of an animal. This was accompanied not by any specific or overt interests of a sexual or sadistic nature, but, rather, by an early fascination with Nazis. As a young man, he had occasional sex with "dance hall girls." Then when he began to read the works of the Marquis de Sade, he seemed to do so more for the philosophy than the

pornography. There are indications that as a live-in lover to Myra Hindley, (his partner in the "Moors murders"), Brady still exhibited little interest in sex per se. The pornographic pictures he took of the two of them (and intended to sell) were said to be more clinical than sexual or obscene. Brady was thought to have loved his own naked body and to have been largely asexual; yet Brady was considered to be highly dominant (see, for instance, Hall, 1974).

Other than Brady (and, perhaps, Berkowitz and Williams), two other subjects (Haigh and Starkweather) seemed to have had relatively low sex drives. It is not clear what, if any, relationship exists between sexual perversions and the intensity of the sex drive.

Both of the female subjects, Bender and Belle Gunness, had high sex drives, great sexual appeal, and extensive sexual experiences. Both used their sexual appeal to lure not only partners but victims as well. Both high sex drive and high dominance were found to be appropriate descriptions for the three so-called "ladykillers," Holmes, Landru and Smith, as well.

Two of the subjects were homosexuals-- and homosexual sadists. Both had begun their homosexual activities in adulthood, one after having been married and divorced twice. Another two subjects had had both homosexual and heterosexual experiences, none of which were sadistic.

Three of the subjects (Christie, Cream and Sutcliffe) had a fascination with prostitutes, had often obtained their services and had prostitutes among their murder victims; and this acquaintance with prostitutes has given rise to the belief that such men were therefore perverted. Whether or not this constitutes perversion, each of these three subjects were married at a fairly young age and had had normal sexual experiences.

A most conservative assessment of the data reveal that, at the least, 13 of the 27 subjects, or 48 percent, experienced a moderate-to-high level of social/sexual success. At least these 13 subjects (Bender, Bianchi, Bundy, Collins, Corona, DeSalvo, Gunness, Holmes, Landru, Manson, Petiot, Schmid, and Smith) developed a fairly high degree of social or sexual appeal; they dated and/or were sexually active. These subjects tended to exhibit few sexual abnormalities, and then they were often on the order of an excess or an "insatiable" sexual appetite, for instance. Another five subjects (Christie, Corll, Cream, Gacy and Kurten) exhibited a fairly high sex drive, which was indulged normally or otherwise.

The remaining nine subjects include those with a lower sex drive and/or with less experience with normal sexual activities. The intensity of the sex drive among the sexually abnormal subjects such as Heirens or Kemper is difficult to determine for the reason that-- unlike Kurten-- they had little sexual experience. Kurten was so sexually active that he seems to have little in common with Kemper or Heirens except for the label of a sexual sadist and an early interest in sexual perversion.

There are perhaps 11 subjects who, at one time, if not regularly, used sex in some manner. Many used their own sexual appeal to attract others, or used sex to hold them. Examples are, respectively, Collins, who toyed with many girls, and Brady, who bound Hindley to him.

#### Role Models

For 2 of the 27 subjects (or 7 percent), a specific relative-- in both cases an uncle-- served as a role model. In each case the uncle provided love and security at a time when there was no father. The uncles provided a model for other reasons: in one case, the uncle was "a man of refinement," and the

subject was a snob. In the other case, the uncle was a state trooper and this impressed the subject.

The father may have served as a role model in two other cases. While there is no specific mention of this, the two subjects involved (Cream and Mullin) each exhibited an early interest in following in the father's footsteps and pursuing several of the father's interests. There is a possibility that a fifth subject, Corona, looked up to his brother. With the exception of this brother's one suspected involvement in a crime, the role models were responsible. The other commonality was their dominance.

Although it is difficult to be very precise, it does appear that over one-third of the subjects in the study associated, at some time in their lives, with one or more of the delinquents of their communities. In almost all of these associations, however, there is some evidence that the subjects chose the company they kept. Consistent with the findings of Yochelson and Samenow (1976) on criminals, the subjects of this study were not sought out and corrupted by delinquent subcultures.

A second type of role model is the real but remote person or group that exercises some influence or serves as a source of inspiration or fascination for the subject. For instance, 7 of the 27 subjects, or 26 percent, were found to have exhibited an interest in specific criminals. In all but one case, the subjects were interested in a particular murderer. In two cases, the model was Jack the Ripper. (This percentage does not include those interested in the generic class of, for instance, criminals or murderers.)

Three subjects (11 percent) were found to have been interested in Hitler and the Nazis. Additional readings among these subjects included the writings of the Marquis de Sade, for one subject, Nietzche, Shopenhauer and Spinoza

for another, and the Bible and Scientology writings for a third, (see Table 28 for, respectively, Brady, Heirens and Manson.)

Table 28

Role Models

Name	
Bender	Pretended to be from a family of nobility, a member of professional classes.
Berkowitz	None; later, favorite topics were multiple murderers and the occult.
Bianchi	Comic book. Prince Valiant: the powerful: Angelo Buono
Brady	King Arthur: Walter Scott Condensed: Hitler/Nazis: film characters: de Sade.
Bundy	Uncle, because he was refined. Pornography.
Christie	Multiple murderer. J.G. Haigh.
Corll	Unknown.
Collins	Uncle & state troopers: excitement of authority and of crime.
Corona	Possibly brother. Natividad. Suspected of a crime but—a good businessman.
Cream	Jack the Ripper: possibly Fa.: pornography.
DeSalvo	"The Bob Cummings Show" fr which he became the "Measuring Man."
Gacy	Imitated police by using flashing lights, badges; interested in uniforms. Methods of Dean Corll.
Guinness	Possibly multiple murderer H.H. Hoch and possibly a "lonely hearts" teacher.
Haigh	Murderers G. Sarret (acid baths) & H.H. Holmes: a keen student of crime.
Heirens	Hitler. Goebbles. Goering: tried reading Nietzsche. Shopenhauer. Spinoza.
Holmes	Famous criminals such as glamorous train robber. Marian Hedgepath.
Kemper	John Wayne: N.R.A. man and teacher: police.
Kurten	Jack the Ripper and "blood and thunder" stories.
Landru	Professional classes.
Manson	Outlaws: Beatles: Christ: Scientology: Hitler.
Mullin	Probably the father who also had an interest in the military and in religion.
Petiot	The great sexual deviates, such as Ceasar, and famous criminals, e.g. Landru.
Schmid	Elvis Presley.
Smith	Unknown.
Starkwth	James Dean. Violent film, television and comic book heroes.
Sutcliffe	Unknown.
Williams	Media role models.

Two subjects interested in music and in fame had recording stars whom they hoped to equal; two other subjects were influenced by actors.

Specific fictional characters are also considered here. One subject was found to have been greatly influenced by his reading of the comic book character, Prince Valiant; the reading of Walter Scott Condensed and the story of King Arthur captured the interest of another subject. A third subject was influenced by the movie, "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde." A fourth subject was inspired by his viewing of "The Bob Cummings Show." It appears that any differentiation between the real and the specific fictional model would be an arbitrary one.

A third type of model is the generic class of people and the behaviors of symbolic models. Such role models as criminals and violent film characters-- those models that include the generic and the symbolic-- were found to have impressed at least 10 of the subjects (or 37 percent). Four of the subjects (15 percent) were known to be interested in pornography. One subject was so interested in the media that, presumably, he was influenced by that generic class of role models, the media (cameramen and so forth).

Authority figures, such as the police, fascinated 7 of the subjects (or 26 percent). Other generic classes identified in the available materials on the individual subjects were the nobility, the powerful and the professional classes.

### Aspirations

In the review of the literature on the aspirations of multiple murderers, three positions were identified: (1) Levin and Fox (1985) suggested that multiple murderers, in their attempt to satisfy aspirations for power, are responding to their own feelings of inadequacy and that they express their need for power through a fascination with persons and symbols of authority; (2) Wilson (Wilson and Seaman, 1983) saw the need for power as an expression of the desire for fame and the urge for primary among the dominant; and (3) Hall

(1974; Vol. 1) contended that all of the best known "ladykillers" express a desire to better themselves, to make their presence felt, and that they pretend to a higher class or status. The findings from this study cut across, or synthesized, these positions.

Of the 27 subjects in the study, at least 17 (or 63 percent) exhibited or expressed an aspiration for extraordinary fame or notoriety. This aspiration ranged from a desire to rule the world to the more commonly expressed desire--to be a great criminal.

Considering the aspirations of several of the remaining 10 subjects, the above is a conservative assessment of the data. As Table 29 shows, several others expressed a desire for great wealth, social status, and, in some cases, power. Bundy's ambitions, for instance, which encompassed each of these desires, were no less great than Christie's; Christie, however, wanted a name for himself. Bundy's (stated) aspirations might have been attained without great fame or notoriety; Christie's could not. Several of the subjects expressed a desire to better themselves, some by pretense, and some by hard work

Table 29

## Aspirations

Name	
Bender	Fame-one way or another: to be a professor. Dr.. medium-was trying this.
Berkowitz	Hero in uniform: became auxiliary fireman, policeman and was in army
Bianchi	Future of ill-defined greatness:fame; aristocracy; psych guru; authority
Brady	Wanted to be a great criminal w/ ideology and disciples
Bundy	Power, social status & wealth through e.g. politics or law
Christie	To be better than anyone else: to make a name for himself.
Corll	Wanted (candy) store to be a success & to be a pied piper with kids.
Collins	Education major and possibly a trooper while flirting with crime career.
Corona	Strong drive to succeed: wanted respectability & prosperity.
Cream	To be a great criminal; preferred crime to legal medical practice, abortion to obstetrics, poison to toxicology.
DeSalvo	To be a good family man-- & have enough sex; to con college girls.
Gacy	Love success & power & to this end, became a successful businessman,& a community/business leader w/ Jaycees, in politics & as a volunteer.
Guinness	Great wealth, enough sex, preferably w/ high dominance men or a high turn-over rate: entrepreneurial: hard worker: to be respected.
Haigh	To pursue "razzle dazzle life" of success, cars, money & romance through crime or business-- didn't matter which; saw self as a "gentleman criminal." Probably wanted the notoriety of being a great criminal.
Heirens	To rule world and have great power. Interested in leadership, genocidal.
Holmes	Extremely ambitious & too impatient to make it big legally as a doctor. Always interested in crime.
Kemper	Genocidal ambitions; also interested in law enforcement.
Kurten	Genocidal ambitions; fame as a great criminal-- as the German Ripper; wanted to be type to be in a wax museum. Wanted to be a draftsman.
Landru	Posed as a member of professional classes, with talent & refinement; liked being a white collar clerk, but too dull in long run. Being a con man appealed to his "artistic impulse."
Manson	Rock 'n roll fame: another Hitler; pimp (but not successful); minister.
Mullin	Army Corps of Engineers: priesthood.
Petiot	To succeed in life & to do so he thought he needed powerful position or a fortune. Liked politics (was a mayor). Great interest in life & death (was a doctor and was a sadist as a child). Early interest in great criminals & sexual deviates. Wanted a fortune & fame. Enjoyed manipulating people.
Schmid	Rock 'n roll fame; gigalo; adventure & notoriety:to get away w/ something
Smith	Artistic expression + sexuality + crime = a confidence trickster.
Starkweather	To be a big criminal: to make a name for himself in annals of crime.
Sutcliffe	Long distance lorry driver & did. Also thought of self as a latent genius..
Williams	"Into media;" radio station owner & interviewer as a child; cameraman; police groupie & scanner freak; had early recognition as a leader.

Perhaps the most mundane of the subjects' aspirations was Peter Sutcliffe's: he wanted to become a long distance lorry driver (and did). Even here, Sutcliffe wanted or believed he could obtain something extraordinary, as the following poem (found in his truck later by the police) disclosed:

In this truck is a man  
Whose latent genius if  
Unleashed would rock the  
Nation, whose dynamic energy  
Would overpower those  
Around him. Better let him sleep?  
(Cross, 1981:250).

A more general finding is that an infatuation with law enforcement and such symbols of authority as police sirens and uniforms was expressed by a variety of different types of subjects. Viewed in the context of the different subjects, this infatuation seems to mean different things. By no means was this infatuation an inevitable response to feelings of inadequacy. Bianchi's fascination with law enforcement, for example, was different from Kemper's. Bianchi sensed a future of greatness for himself, while Kemper was more concerned with genocide (or, killing large numbers of people.)

### Occupations

Perhaps the most important pattern that was found emerged from an assessment of occupation(s) in relation to aspiration(s). It was found that most of the 27 subjects had, or were in the process of, achieving some portion of their expressed objectives at the time they were arrested (or were otherwise stopped), or by the time they began their murders, as the details in Table 30 show. Even where the aspiration was extraordinary, such as Heirens' desire to rule the world, and the occupation (in this case, a university student) appeared to be mundane, the gap was not as wide as it seems: Heirens was studying the

issue of leadership and his reading focused on the principles associated with power. In some cases the extraordinary aspiration was accompanied by a more achievable objective, such as the desire to be involved in law enforcement; and the subjects found work as security guards. In several cases, subjects who were overly ambitious, who wanted great success, might have done so legitimately. Bender, for instance, had already won some local acclaim as a professor and lecturer, and there were three subjects who were doctors and could presumably have attained some legitimate successes.

For those subjects whose aspirations were more achievable than for those who aspired to great fame, who wanted, for instance, success and prosperity, the occupations were found to be generally consistent with their aims. For instance, Corona, Gacy and Gunness each wanted prosperity, and each attained a measure of this, as well as respectability and independence, through their own businesses. Corll and DeSalvo are the exceptions here, for Corll wanted a successful candy store and DeSalvo wanted to be a good family man and to have enough sex, and both men failed in this regard. However, upon closer examination one finds that Corll's business had not failed by the time he began to kill. DeSalvo, furthermore, was considered a good family man and was having sexual relations frequently, often outside the marriage, before he began to kill.

Table 3O

## Occupations

Name	
Bender	Bender Inn: lecturer/medium.
Berkowitz	Hero in uniform- auxiliary fire & policeman; odd jobs: post office & security guard.
Bianchi	Pimp; title co.; ambulance & hospital worker; security guard; psych. con (went to school in psychology & police studies).
Brady	Wanted to be a great criminal w/ disciples & had begun to; was a white collar clerk.
Bundy	Involved in law school & politics & interested in law & politics; worked in CJS and had political jobs.
Christie	War reserves/police: postal worker. Crime.
Corll	Wanted candy store to succeed; trainee electrician when he died.
Collins	Education major: career criminal.
Corona	Finally had his own business as a farm labor contractor.
Cream	Had his M.D.: liked his medicine mixed with crime.
DeSalvo	Good family man, worked steadily in semiskilled jobs. Still, had plenty of time for crime and for extramarital sex. Became the "Measuring Man."
Gacy	Loved power & success, so became a successful manager, then had own construction business. Was a community leader. inv. in politics & Jaycees
Gunness	Great wealth, security in her farm, frauds & matrimonial cons (swindling).
Haigh	Salesman in car store (loved cars); own business; swindling & fraud. Saw little difference between crime & business anyway.
Heirens	Student at University of Chicago. studying mass psychology.
Holmes	M.D. but too ambitious. Career criminal plus occasional business dealings.
Kemper	Wanted law enforcement (only w/ police socially). Laborer w/ Highway.
Kurten	Moulding trade. plus criminal career.
Landru	Wanted to be white collar: but got bored. drifted into crime. Posed as prof.
Manson	Pimp. guru: musician: criminal.
Mullin	Almost entered Army Corps of Eng. & thought of priesthood as desired, but menial jobs all he could do after he became mentally ill.
Petiot	M.D.; elected mayor; made a fortune in crime; attained power through medical practice & politics.
Schmid	Played music informally: worked only occasionally.
Smith	Confidence trickster.
Starkweather	Garbage man. crime.
Sutcliffe	Long distance lorry driver. Earlier, a semi-skilled laborer and a gravedigger.
Williams	Own radio station; TV free-lance cameraman; police groupie; talent scout.

Looking solely at the occupations of the subjects, few patterns were found to emerge. Instead, multiple murderers were found to have worked in a number of different types of settings or occupations: three subjects worked at odd jobs occasionally. A few were trained workers. Several held jobs as white collar office workers. A few were students. Many were involved in crime, either full- or part-time. A few of the subjects had their own businesses. Three were interested in politics, and all three found some political success, including Petiot, who became a mayor.

With respect to Levin and Fox's (1985) finding-- that mass killers suffer from frustration from their work lives, either because of such objective failure as unemployment or such perceived failure as the feeling of being underemployed-- the following findings can be noted: the subjects of this study generally did not take their official or public occupational status too seriously or personally. Haigh, for instance, had a long criminal record and a history of business failures, and yet he considered himself a businessman or a "gentleman" criminal, and he admired great criminals. Manson, who had spent much of his life in institutions by the time he was released in the mid-1960s, referred so often to his years in prison that he seemed to wear his criminality

The cases of Bianchi and of Heirens were particularly instructive insofar as any relationship between failure and frustration is concerned. Bianchi did not take it personally when he was rejected for a job with the Sheriff's department. He blamed the nature of the entrance examination. And when, because of his larceny, he was forced to change jobs repeatedly, he never blamed himself. He blamed his employers for failing to understand his needs. Bianchi was utilizing the world view of psychology to provide himself with explanations and excuses for his own failures and illegal activities (O'Brien,

The following is an excerpt from a court-ordered psychiatric report on William Heirens (reprinted in its entirety in Freeman, 1955:314):

Leadership

There is in this young man an immense egocentricity. Despite his continuing failure to rule himself he has no anxiety, fears or lack of confidence in his abilities and power...."Am I not the leader of the ... "I wonder why I can't run the world [Heirens wrote in his school notebook]. It seems only great men have that choice. It's funny but I don't understand why I haven't the same equal chance....Wouldn't it be great to have that much power....There must be an easier and faster way

In short, multiple murderers of the present study were not found to suffer the "final straw" type of occupational frustration or failure that Levin and Fox (1985:69) found among the mass killers they studied. This may be because mass murderers differ from multiple murderers, and Levin and Fox studied both. Multiple murderers certainly may become frustrated or see themselves as failures at times. What seems to be the case, however, is that multiple murderers seemed to want something different out of life-- whether or not it was something extraordinary-- and their aspirations were often coupled with a view of the world with themselves at the center. Consequently, an occupational failure may not be perceived as terribly important. The person who aspires to great fame or notoriety can, as the subjects of this study did, turn to a career of killing. And all of the subjects of the study (with the possible exception of Mullin,

### Marital Status

Seventeen of the 27 subjects (63 percent) studied had married at least once in their lives. Four of these subjects had been married twice, not counting the so-called "ladykillers" who married bigamously or pretended to marry. Consistent with Dickson's (1958) findings, several of those who did marry did so at a fairly early age, and parted from their wives before the murders began. Further, a number of multiple murderers did maintain a lasting sentimental attachment to one woman; and, consistent with Bolitho's (1964) findings, they were often good family men. This pattern may be on the wane, however: among the more recent cases, four subjects, at the most, could be considered good family men. Moreover, among these four were two who were (secretly)

One of the changes that seems to have occurred over time is that an increasing number of multiple murderers are not married when arrested. This is partly a function of recent murderers' generally younger ages. The socially and sexually active Collins was one who remained single, but the unmarried were more apt to be like Berkowitz and Williams, that is, inactive. Among the 10 who remained single, several claimed to have been engaged at one time and others had had the experience of having lived with someone. Another reason for the change in marital status over time is that "lady (or husband) killing" is a type of

None of the subjects of this study were suffering the trauma of separation or divorce when they began their killing, including DeSalvo, who, while still living with his wife, felt he had been treated badly by her.

Three further findings can be noted: (1) Of the 27 subjects, 5 (Brady, Corll, Manson, Schmid and Starkweather) had a strong enough relationship with someone to pull that person(s) into their murders with them. (There was some evidence indicating that perhaps five additional subjects enlisted the aid

of one or more others in some criminal project.) (2) Ultimately, the emotional attachments between these subjects and their partner(s) or subordinate(s) were usually one-sided. These subjects often had a superficial attachment, compared to the depth of involvement others felt toward them. And, (3) there were few, if any, instances of a subject who was married at the time of the arrest whose spouse knew anything about the crimes. This is a further indication that the subjects of the study were much more familiar with taking than giving and were more closed off and secretive than they were open and honest.

#### Early Criminality

The inclusion of petty and/or unrecorded illegal activities made the analysis of early criminality a more difficult task. However, it was found that the extent to which multiple murderers are multiple commission criminals could not be fully determined on the basis of convictions and criminal records for a given

For three of the 27 subjects, (Bender, Corll and Williams), there was no reported early criminality. Another five subjects (Corona, Mullin, Schmid, Starkweather and Sutcliffe) had a minimal criminal history. None of these eight had a criminal record, save for Mullin who had received probation.

Two of the remaining 19 subjects, Gacy and Kemper, were institutionalized for violence, and, years later, for murder. They had no criminal history involving theft or other property crimes.

The remaining 17 subjects, or 63 percent, had moderate-to-very extensive criminal careers, and all of these subjects were multiple commission criminals. Five had no criminal record. (This means that a total of 13 subjects, or 48 percent, had no criminal record.) Out of the five with a criminal history but no record, only one is an historical case. The remaining four (Berkowitz, Bianchi, Bundy and Collins) are still relatively young today.

The criminal careers of the 17 subjects invariably involved some sort of thievery - the absconding of another's funds or properties, whether by swindling or burglary or other means. Among the historical cases, two general types of criminal patterns were discerned. The first involved such offenses as fraud, forgery, false pretenses and swindling. The second type was more sophisticated, and included insurance frauds, arson for profit, complicated swindles and confidence games. Two early twentieth century subjects did commit the crime of breaking and entering (or "B and E"), and there was one case of not-for-profit arson. Other and diverse crimes of the early 1900s

Many of the above-noted types of crimes were rarely found among the recent career criminal subjects. Instead of, for instance, false pretenses and confidence tricksters, the more recent multiple murderers were, as Lunde (1976) also found, apt to have a prior record for B and E. However, many of the recent subjects had no criminal record; only four of the recent subjects (Brady, DeSalvo, Gacy and Manson) could be called ex-convicts at the time they began their murders. The high incidence of convictions among the historical cases (about which Dickson, 1958, reported), as contrasted with the more recent cases, may be related to the more complex nature of the historical offenses. On the other hand, it may be that multiple murderers are generally more adept thieves today. Beyond what has been mentioned, some of the more recent types of crimes include vandalism, arson, the harming of animals, shoplifting,

The findings of this study were not inconsistent with the views of, for instance, Lunde (1976) or Dickson (1958). Rather, this study encompassed more recent cases than either Lunde or Dickson did. Consequently, it was possible to identify some of the apparent changes that have occurred in the criminal histories of multiple murderers as contrasted with the multiple

### Medical History

Of the 27 subjects of the study, 19 (or 70 percent) had no known or reported medical problems.\* There was evidence that, as contrasted with their having no reported medical problems, these subjects had no medical problems at all: First, in many cases, the subjects had had medical examinations and the results of these were reported. Second, the subjects' life histories almost always provide ample opportunity to assess the subjects' health, stamina and general, physical well-being. Evidence of the latter type was supplied by such information as, for instance, that Collins was an exceptional athlete, and that Gunness thought nothing of returning to hard, physical work the day after she

No consistent pattern of medical problems was found for the remaining eight subjects. Three of the subjects had some coronary problems. One of these magnified this and other physical illnesses, according to an examining doctor. Two subjects had very poor eyesight, producing, in one subject, headaches and squinting. Although the problem was remedied by corrective lenses, the subject (Cream) abused morphine and cocaine. Cream admitted he used these drugs largely for their aphrodisiac qualities.

Christie, a "sickly" child, was injured during the war and later hit by a car. The doctors, whom he visited quite often, believed his symptoms to be hysterical and him to be a hypochondriac whose primary medical problems were fibrosis and enteritis.

The findings in regard to head injuries are particularly relevant to the emerging view that serial murder is a disease. Four of the 27 subjects (namely, Bianchi, Gacy, Heirens, and Starkweather), or 15 percent, sustained head

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\*Sutcliffe was included here because he did become healthy, despite a low birth weight. Corona, on the other hand, was not included, for, despite robust health for most of his life, he began to have coronary problems while on trial.

injuries. As the available material on each of these cases made clear, these injuries were sustained outside the home and were not inflicted by the parents. Bianchi fell from a jungle gym at school. Gacy was hit on his head by a playground swing. Heirens fell from his buggy, from a school trapeze, and fell down some steps at school; only in the latter instance did he lose consciousness or faint. Starkweather sustained an accidental blow to the head from a paper baler while at work. While not knocked unconscious, he began to have headaches. (Also, a one-time infection near the brain resulted in a perforated eardrum, and, according to some, at least the possibility of brain damage, but this was not a widely held view.)

Darrach and Norris (1984) stated that both Gacy and Manson suffered serious head injuries during childhood. They cited the psychiatric evaluations conducted by Lewis who found that major brain injuries were frequent among homicidal persons. The authors reported that many serial murderers exhibited such symptoms of (the serial murder) disease as enuresis, headaches, hallucinations, blackouts, seizures and signs of psychomotor epilepsy. Darrach and Norris then referred to Volavka's finding that the (EEGs) of violent persons and psychomotor epileptics are very similar.

To support this facet of the diagnosis of serial murder as a disease, the following theses would have to be confirmed: (1) that multiple (or serial) murderers experienced severe brutality (and, at the hands of their parents); (2) that this brutality entailed serious head wounds in childhood; (3) that multiple murderers exhibited the physical symptoms identified above; and, (4) that the EEGs and other neurological tests indicated epileptiform activity, brain damage or other abnormality such that the examining physician could make a definitive diagnosis of, for instance, epilepsy.

The findings of this study were not consistent with severe brutality, and while Gacy may well have been hit by his father, he did not sustain his head injury that way. It was also found that four of the subjects, as previously indicated, sustained head injuries and that these subjects each exhibited at least one of the physical symptoms identified above. Bianchi occasionally "dribbled," had seizures and had a tendency to roll his eyes when upset; epilepsy was ruled out by the doctors at the time. Gacy had occasional blackouts from age 11 through age 16, at which time a blood clot on the brain was dissolved with medicine. Gacy's medical records included fainting spells and seizures. Heirens and Starkweather each complained of severe headaches.

Each of the four subjects underwent extensive physical and neurological examinations in preparation for their trials. In Bianchi's case, for instance, his attorney indicated to the court that a neurologist would conduct an EEG, a skull series, an echogram and possibly a spinal tap (Schwarz, 1981). *In each of the four cases, the test results were negative as to brain injury, disease or abnormality.*

The conclusions of the doctors examining the subjects shed some light on whether or not the physical symptoms were significant. Bianchi's childhood medical records indicated that he was more of a con artist than truly troubled or physically ill, and this finding was made in particular in regard to Bianchi's "eye-rolling" habit. Similarly, Gacy, the defense psychiatrist concluded, showed no evidence of organic brain disease. And, "... for all his heart attacks, fainting spells, and seizures, [psychiatrist] Rappaport found that it was questionable that he had had 'any real physical illness of any magnitude'" (Sullivan with Maiken, 1984:253). Heirens was found to have an hysterical personality and to be

physically normal, according to examining doctors and tests. Starkweather's physical and neurological examinations were negative save for the eardrum and the possibility of an ulcer. Reinhardt (1962) reported that Starkweather had greatly exaggerated both his own defects (such as red hair and bowlegs) and his peers' cruel responses, and that in doing so, he had created for himself a "right" to hate.

Starkweather refused to go along with a defense strategy of an insanity plea, as he wanted to be remembered as a great criminal. The remaining three subjects, Bianchi, Gacy and Heirens, however, each manufactured another personality to take the blame for their crimes. In all three cases, the multiple personality theory dissolved under scrutiny.

In summary, the most consistent pattern found among the eight subjects\* who were reported to have had medical problems is that these subjects often exaggerated the extent of their ailments to, for instance, gain sympathy or to get out of some responsibility or activity. This is not to say that none suffered at any time from any medical problem, but, rather, that almost all of these subjects were capable of using any problem to their own advantage, and that most were generally strong and fairly healthy.

### Psychiatric History

Psychiatric history, as a variable in the life history, was defined in the narrow sense of having (or not having) treatment. Detail on this variable related to, for instance, the type(s) of treatment, frequency or length of treatment and the

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\*One likely subject, Petiot, was not included here. As a child, his parents consulted a doctor about his "fits," somnambulism, enuresis and his cruelty to animals, which, Maeder (1980) noted, were precisely the characteristics included in the early psychiatric description of psychopathic personality. The doctor said that a cure would take time, not medicine. Petiot feigned many of his symptoms, which further complicated the issues.

diagnosis that was given. Of the 27 subjects, the majority-- 16-- had had no contacts with psychiatrists or any other therapists prior to their trials, if then. An additional two subjects had not followed recommendations for therapy. In all, 67 percent of the subjects had no psychiatric history. (One subjects had only seen a counselor for a very short period of time, as a child, for school-related problems.)

Of the 8 remaining subjects, or 30 percent, only one subject, Juan Corona, had been seen by psychiatrists before, and apart from, the commission of any crime. Corona was committed to a state hospital for a 3-month period 15 years before his crimes. The diagnosis was schizophrenic reaction of the paranoid type, for which Corona was given massive doses of tranquilizers and 23 electroshock treatments. He was discharged as recovered, and, indeed, exhibited none of the bizarre symptoms ever again.

Two subjects were frequently seen by psychiatrists, often at the request of the court. In the case of Mullin, relatively minor crimes were believed to be a function of his schizophrenia and he was frequently hospitalized because he was believed to be a danger to himself and to others. Petiot, on the other hand, was always found to be free of delusions, hallucinations, confusion and other signs of mental disorder. However, from his first crime as a youth onward, psychiatrists were invariably called in and found him not responsible for his actions. He was treated for such things as "mental unbalance," and he was usually quickly discharged. Later, a psychiatric panel found him to be responsible and "amoral," and after reviewing his history of manipulation and leniency, warned against believing his ruse of insanity in the event of any future crimes.

One subject (Kemper), who had committed a double homicide, was adjudged insane and remanded to a state hospital for treatment. Despite an original diagnosis of paranoid schizophrenia, the subject was treated under the diagnostic category of psycho- or sociopath.

The remaining four subjects (DeSalvo, Gacy, Landru and Manson) were evaluated by a psychiatrist as a result of their involvement in the criminal justice system, and each one was labelled as a psycho- or sociopath.  
(The Life History Tables, 1-27, provide further detail on the psychiatric history of these subjects.)

### Summation of the Attributes

One of the most fundamental issues about the type(s) of persons who commit multiple murders concerns the question of sanity or psychosis.

This question was addressed in three ways: (1) through "Psychiatric History," and, as previously reported, very few of the subjects had been hospitalized or otherwise diagnosed or treated for a major mental illness prior to their crimes and/or their trial. (2) The question of sanity among the subjects was addressed through a report of the findings on the use and success of the insanity defense. (3) Finally, the question of sanity was addressed by determining how many of the subjects exhibited obvious symptoms of psychosis-- those symptoms that are traditionally associated with a given psychiatric disorder.

Lunde (1976) and Levin and Fox (1985) reported that the insanity defense was not so commonly used as is believed and that it was even less frequently successful. These authors contended that citizens' fears were unjustified, and that the low success rate of the insanity defense (or the not guilty by reason of insanity verdict, the NGI) may reflect the juries' fears rather than the state of mind of the defendants. As support for their contention, the authors referred to national studies of NGI, in, respectively, all murder cases and all felony cases, as well as to their own studies. However, after reviewing the post-arrest-through-disposition periods for the 27 subjects of this study, it was found that the use and success rate of "insanity" is more complicated than it seems.

Of 27 subjects, 8 (or 30 percent) used the insanity defense, and none of these were successful. It was also found that a number of other subjects had feigned insanity after their arrests, or were intending to plead insanity when, for

some reason, their plea was changed to guilty. (See "Disposition," below for further discussion of this issue.) In both the Berkowitz ("Son of Sam") and the Bianchi ("Hillside Strangler") cases, for instance, the subjects feigned insanity, but their ruse was discovered and they pled guilty. Further, the success rate of the insanity plea seemed much higher because authors often inaccurately reported that a given subject was insane or was found to be insane by a judge or jury. For instance, after Heirens had feigned multiple personality and admitted that he had invented "George," he was found sane by court-appointed psychiatrists; he pled guilty and was sentenced to life imprisonment. Nevertheless, Lunde (1976) still considered Heirens a psychotic sex killer, while Nash (1975) and Gaute and Odell (1980) reported that Heirens was judged insane. These sort of misstatements occurred even when authors also reported that Heirens, for instance, was found to be legally sane; so the facts are not necessarily in dispute.

Often an insanity attempt, such as Berkowitz's "demons," Bianchi's multiple personality defense or Haigh's attempt to portray himself as a vampire, is easier to remember or to learn about than is the determination of sanity - by examining psychiatrists - and the fact that the subject pled or was found to be guilty. That Berkowitz was found to have feigned his demons is blurred by the subsequent publications of two books which portray him as severely disturbed. In short, the disposition of the cases may be difficult to find out and is, in any event, only one way-- the tip end-- of the many uses of psychiatry among these cases.

There is another reason-- beyond what Lunde (1976) and Levin and Fox (1985) have said-- for the failure of the insanity defense. With the exception of

the two Santa Cruz, California, murderers, Kemper and, particularly, Mullin,\* there is more reason to believe that the finding of sanity had merit than that the juries were just afraid or unreceptive. Of the six remaining cases in which the insanity defense was tried and failed, there was little or no evidence of a mental illness, particularly one that constituted legal insanity. Sometimes there was evidence that the defendant had feigned symptoms. In some cases, the defense psychiatrists were unable to offer a diagnostic category at all (as in Starkweather), or one that constituted legal insanity (as in Christie and Haigh) and/or could not contest the prosecutor's case. When 12 psychiatrists examined Haigh (who claimed, among other things, to have drunk the blood of his victims), 11 found him to be sane and to be shamming. Only one doctor testified in his behalf, and since his diagnosis was paranoia, he could not state that Haigh was legally insane. The judge in this case, and in the Sutcliffe and the Bianchi cases, among others, reprimanded the defense psychiatrists for basing their conclusions on the defendant's words alone and for neglecting all other evidence. On the other hand, the 1929 German case of Kurten was conducted in an entirely different manner, with a great deal of time and effort expended in investigating all aspects of the man's life and career. Despite the perverse and sadistic nature of the crimes, all of the examining psychiatrists, to their own surprise, found Kurten to be completely "mentally sound," sane and responsible for his own actions. The problem is not then, as Lunde (1976: vii) stated, that modern psychiatry is too advanced for "the archaic concepts" of the

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\* In the Mullin case, all the psychiatrists agreed the subject was schizophrenic, but since he had been committed and released from mental hospitals five times, the jury may well have been fearful of a recurrence if he were not found guilty. Kemper, about whom the psychiatrists disagreed, had been sent to a hospital after he committed two murders; upon his release, he had gone on to kill six more people.

law. Rather, Lunde's classifying Kurten as a typical "multiple sexual sadist" indicated an ahistorical simplicity that may be on the increase in modern psychiatry.

In the Gacy, Sutcliffe, Christie and Haigh cases, the problem for the defense was finding independent evidence of psychosis. Evidence was needed, for instance, that Sutcliffe really thought God had communicated to him, or that Haigh really did drink either blood or urine as he claimed. The other major problem was that those defendants who used the insanity defense (except for Mullin), had not exhibited, at the time of the trial or in their recent past, such symptoms of psychosis as hallucinations or delusions, mental confusion, severe depression or an inability to behave rationally. In other words, the psychiatrists could say that the defendant was legally insane, but the defendants' friends, family or associates, and their juries, could not see any of this.

Despite the rarity of a psychiatric history or treatment for a psychosis, there are still psychiatrists and psychologists who contend that multiple murderers are always, or almost always, psychotic. This belief exists even if the supposed illness was never exhibited, was kept completely in check or was hidden, even under the most expert examinations, (see, for instance, Ellis and Gullo, 1974; Lunde, 1976; Berger, 1984). Such a contention cannot be disproved, nor is any proof needed. The contention is not a finding; it is a statement of faith.

For the purpose of this study, it was necessary to try to determine the extent of psychosis among the subjects. It was found that for the 27 subjects of the study, 2 (Corona and Mullin) had been previously diagnosed and treated for schizophrenia, a psychosis, and both subjects had exhibited obvious and clear-

cut signs of a major mental illness. Not only were there few subjects who exhibited such signs, but the two who did were observed to be doing so by their family, at the time, and they had been treated. In other words, when there was a psychosis, symptoms were exhibited and there was a lay and a professional response. Among the remaining 25 subjects, several were described as "abnormal" or sexually perverted or mentally "unbalanced," (for example, Christie, Cream, Heirens, Kemper and Petiot). However, as juries were frequently reminded in the judges' instructions, sexual perversion is not an indication of insanity-- sexual perversions are not even particularly uncommon. The necessary signs and symptoms of a psychosis were missing among those subjects considered to be abnormal. Such symptoms were also missing among those subjects who feigned insanity, whether or not there was a sexual perversion. Simply put, subjects have put forth dramatic insanity defenses-- a call from God or from demons or an urge to drink blood, for instance. However well this may work for a while, if it is rejected it reflects back on the subject. It indicates that the subject knew enough to try to evade responsibility by feigning insanity. Further, when the NGI plea was ultimately entered, as it was in 30 percent of the cases, and when it ultimately failed, as it did in all of the cases, fear was not a likely reason for this failure. It was far more likely that judges and juries used sound and "common" sense in arriving at their verdicts.

Another fundamental issue about the type(s) of persons who commit multiple murderers pertained to their personality characteristics. One such characteristic was that of the antisocial personality, or, using the older term, the psychopath; another concerned dominance.

Of the 27 subjects in the study, 11 had been diagnosed as psychopathic personalities at some point in their lives, and, at least another 8 subjects were

so described in the literature used on the individual cases, for a total of 70 percent. Rarely was the diagnosis or description of psychopathic personality specifically excluded for any of the remaining 30 percent. Such a high percentage of psychopathic personalities among the subjects was consistent with Levin and Fox's (1985: 210) contention that the characteristics of this type of personality can be attributed to a "great many" multiple murderers.

Almost half of the subjects (48 percent) were described as dominant or as exhibiting "dominance-feeling."

To elaborate upon the findings of psychopathy and dominance, and to examine the data for additional attributes, the specific descriptions or themes in the "Summative Attributes" for each case were identified. The most common attributes or consistent personality characteristics and patterns were then analyzed. The findings are as follows:

1. There was a strong and consistent tendency for dissembling to occur, as when Bianchi was said to have "arisen from the cradle dissembling" (O'Brien, 1985:89), or Kurten was said to have powers of dissimulation that were masterly (Wagner, 1933). Dissembling was defined (*Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, 1964) as concealing under a false pretense, to falsely resemble, to simulate or feign. To dissemble is to pretend to be something one is not, to deceive and to behave hypocritically. Dissembling was both a general character trait and a specific way of behaving. Bundy, for instance, had to pretend to social development he did not go through, just as he pretended to be a faithful boyfriend and a law-abiding law student. Also, as a general trait, dissembling could be seen in the way Berkowitz and Bianchi were said to have been con artists even in childhood. As a specific way of behaving, dissembling was seen in the way both Berkowitz and Bianchi feigned illnesses

and other problems as children in order to be the center of attention, and in the way both feigned insanity after their arrests.

Another diagnosed psychopath who was also found to have been malingering was Heirens. Heirens (Freeman, 1955:198) articulated the volitional quality of dissembling when he said,

...I feel that I have a better understanding of myself than people realize. I had to have, to have been able to carry on my high school and university work and still lead a double life and not show it in my everyday actions and responses.

The double life to which Heirens referred was comprised of multiple burglaries, arsons and murders. Heirens' powers of dissimulation were so masterly that he was called the best adjusted student at the University of Chicago-- while simultaneously murdering, plotting to, in his words, destroy human nature to his fullest, and reaching sexual orgasms during burglaries.

The phenomenon of dissimulation, of deception and simulation, could explain the observation sometimes made that multiple murderers often seemed so nice, and vicious murders were often committed by "wouldn't-hurt-a-fly" types of people. Megargee (Lunde, 1976:87-88) believed such mild-mannered people to be inhibited (unlike the psychopath who is "undercontrolled aggressive"), and hypothesized that such people are "overcontrolled hostile." Their inability to show anger resulted in their being exploited by others. For Miller (Darrach and Norris, 1984), the future serial murderer was afraid to express anger against the tormenting parents, so swallowed his rage and became a good little automaton. In both these views, the individual was or was trying to be a good person, and was making an heroic-type effort to keep his probably-justified rage from hurting anyone else. When the rage surfaced, there was murder. The phenomenon of dissimulation explains the nice-guy-

who-turns-to-murder much differently: the good-person-facade is expedient. It is not a matter of trying to do what is just or right that accounts for upstanding, altruistic or fair and generous behaviors. The inauthenticity here is different from that of the person who is oversocialized-- the overly inhibited nice guy. In this study, multiple murderers who dissembled knew that they were playing a role. They often did so in the furtherance of some criminal pursuit and always in the furtherance of their own self-interests. (This is not to say that some of the subjects did not believe some of their own roles. Nor is it the case that, for instance, Holmes was only pretending to enjoy children, for he did-- so long as this did not hurt his own self interests.)

Several of the subjects became confidence tricksters, a "career" which was considered to appeal to the offenders' vanity and to allow him to express some artistic sensibilities, not unlike an art forger (Hall, 1974). In the past, a sort of subrole to being a con man was the ability to act, or to resemble falsely, a gentleman, and to consummately play what was referred to as the "man of sentiment."

2. Most of the subjects in the study were found to be egocentric. The specific definition that is most appropriate here was that of "viewing everything in relation to oneself; self-centered" (*Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, 1964:463).\* The egocentric is characterized by a concern with self rather than society (*Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*, 1986).

It was previously noted that many authors in the descriptive literature found multiple murderers to be egocentric. The findings of this study were

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\*"Egocentricity" is a more appropriate term than "egotism," for what characterized the subjects was not only or even mainly that "constant, excessive reference to oneself in speaking or writing" that Webster's defined as egotism.

particularly consistent with Bolitho (1929:7), who found that multiple murderers often constructed a romantic view of themselves. The secret of their life, Bolitho said, is "...a personal myth in which they are the maltreated hero,...."

Starkweather was an excellent example of the egocentricity that was found.

Starkweather portrayed his very early childhood at home as idyllic. At school, he said he suffered the scorn and ridicule of his classmates and teachers because of characteristics he could not help (such as having red hair), and then was deprived of all the good things in life (such as fancy restaurants). (Actually, his schoolmates tended to overlook even his temper tantrums, and *he* was quite proud of his hair.) He believed-- and wanted others to believe-- that anyone who was hated as he had been had a right to kill. He even tried to claim his murders were acts of self-defense, in this sense: his rationale for killing a stranger, a salesman asleep in a car, was that if the stranger had known him (Starkweather), he would have hated him. Starkweather had "...constructed a self-illusion and he made it an object of derision....a defensive form of make-believe" (Reinhardt, 1962:104).

Egocentrism is clearly related, then, to the failure to take responsibility for one's actions. Egocentrics can never really be wrong, since they have an inflated view of themselves. And when things do go wrong, they usually blame anyone or everyone else. Egocentrism (and egotism) was also involved in the inflated view that Starkweather and Schmid had of themselves vis-'a-vis the world or society.

Starkweather and Schmid each, believing they were people worth watching, wove fantasies about Death. That is, both liked to fantasize that Death was hovering near, daring them to do something. It was a perception of

themselves as walking on the edge and driving in the fast lane. Death was a potent friend who did not take time out for just anybody.

3. Egoism was also found among the subjects of the study, and while egoism may seem to be much the same as egocentricity (or egotism), there are some differences which, for purposes of clarity and precision, will be discussed separately.

More than the tendency for self-centeredness, egoism was defined as (and used here to refer to) one who considers only oneself and one's own interests. Conceit may be included. The egoist may be as self-centered as the egotist, and as conceited, but he may not show it by boasting. Egoism refers to the belief that one's own interests and appetites count more than anything else, as the Kurten example, below, shows. Also, there is a particularly appropriate definition of egoism as it is used in ethics. In ethics, egoism refers to "the doctrine that self-interest is the proper goal of all human actions: opposed to *altruism*" (*Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, 1964:463). (Egoism was listed first and defined [*Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*, 1986:398] as a "doctrine that individual self-interest is the actual motive of all conscious action," and that individual self-interest "is the valid end of all actions.")

Kurten exemplified the self-indulgent person who could articulate the belief that he had the right to do whatever he wanted. One psychiatrist testified that Kurten's "egotistical mania for grandeur" gave him subjectively the "right" to seek relief at another's expense. Another psychiatrist pointed out that Kurten's experiences with a particular woman, his readings and the combination of these with his "egotistical megalomania" made him into a sadist (Wagner, 1933). Kurten had spent much of his life in prison where he had deliberately dwelt

upon his sadistic fantasies of killing, and then when released, he blamed the criminal justice system for his murders. The Attorney-General at the trial, noting that the psychiatrists had all found him to be sane, called Kurten an "unappeasable sadist and egocentric indulger in delusions of grandeur." Then he stated that

...[Kurten's] theory of expiation, by which he sought a victim to appease his wronged sense of justice for evil done to himself, was not a delusion but a creation of his own imagination...which he invented consciously to defend his own actions to himself. Nor...[are] his delusions of grandeur...anything in the nature of a morbid disease. These are important as a motive. Kurten believed he had the right to indulge himself at will at the expense of his victims. The psychiatrically technical expressions...[he] used to explain his motives...were derived from his readings of Lombroso's works....Kurten consciously permitted himself full reign (Wagner, 1933:202-204).

Concerning egoism as a doctrine of self-interest, it is not uncommon for people to state today-- when caught cheating or mistreating another, for instance-- that they have the right to do anything in their own self-interests. Multiple murderers were found to voice an extension of this philosophical justification for acting without any regard for right or wrong or for another.

John Collins told his date that he did not believe in the Fifth Commandment, particularly, for

...If a man had to kill, he killed. Whatever someone decided was right for them to do, he said, they had to do it....He said: Did she know what the perfect crime was? It was when there was no guilt. Without guilt, there was no crime; and without guilt, there was no way a person could get caught....(Keyes, 1978:249).

Keyes (1978:249) provided the following excerpt from one of Collins' English papers in which Collins wrote that

If a person wants something, he alone is the deciding factor of whether or not to take it - regardless of what society thinks may be right or wrong. For example, [if a person likes a piece of jewelry]...it is up to him...to take it or not, and up to his own intellect if he is to get away with it or not. It's

the same [where one holds a gun]-- it's up to him to decide whether to take the other's life or not. The point is: It's not society's judgement that's important, but the individual's own choice of will and intellect (Keyes, 1978:249).

Cleckley (1982:211-212) has said that the psychopath's "pathological egocentricity" is expressed in an incapacity for "object love." Whether or not this is the case for the present study, what was applicable to the multiple murderer was Cleckley's finding that the psychopath was often skillful at simulating love for spouse or other family members.

The form of egoism seen here seems to correspond to Maslow's (1973) findings on high dominance-feeling as an expression of an incompletely socialized inner personality. Maslow contended that, aside from expediency, such high dominance persons are apt to recognize few restraints beyond their own desires or their own set of rules. As Wilson (1984:619-620) explained it, around the 1960s there began to be murderers who could argue intelligently that crime was merely a matter of law and laws did not have to be obeyed.

4. Most of the subjects in the study were found to be highly ambitious. They exhibited a strong, if sometimes vague, desire to succeed-- and to do so in a hurry. Those subjects who were ambitious wanted, at the least, wealth, power and status; furthermore, while some were willing to work hard, many did not want to wait or to work for, success that may or may not have come to them eventually and legitimately. Many found legitimate work to be boring, and crime offered a challenge and a short cut. Other than an inclination toward philosophical justifications, there was rarely any concern among the subjects over whether there was an intrinsic value in the aim or whether the means were right or wrong by social standards. Haigh articulated this position:

To find the reason for anti-social conduct involves consideration of the question of right and wrong. What the world regards as right is what the world can get away with. And if the aim can be achieved without

discovery it is called "Success" whatever the purpose might be. Condemnation is the consequence of failure, not the sanction of the wrong.

When I first discovered there were easier ways to make a living than to work long hours in an office, I did not ask myself whether I was doing right or wrong. This seemed to me to be irrelevant. I merely said, "This is what I wish to do." And as the means lay within my power that was what I decided, (Lefebure, 1958:54).

Ambition was also a part of a complex set of characteristics, desires or motivating factors. Haigh, for instance, wanted, on one level, to have money, excitement and an easy life (whether through crime and/or business); and, on another level, he wanted the fame of being a "great" criminal. Like many other subjects, Haigh might have succeeded at either legitimate endeavors or nonviolent crimes-- might have achieved wealth or status, had he put forth the effort that he did in his murders, had he really tried in business or been more careful in the commission of his property crimes. That he did not try harder puts the characteristic of "ambitiousness" in a slightly different light.

5. Ambitiousness and greed appeared to be related, although this was not always the case. Several subjects were described as willing to do anything for money. Gunness, for instance, was "money mad" without being "crazy:" "She was, above all, an entrepreneur. As such, she was intelligent, original, energetic, persistent, ambitious, [and] thoroughly American....She was a sort of female Landru [the French ladykiller]..." (Jones, 1980:137). Bundy's greed was more subtle, even though his emotions seemed to be grounded in greed and materialism. He was a snob from the time he was a small child; he loved the thought of money and status and liked to think he was royalty placed in a lower middle-class home by mistake.

It was found that very often the most greedy of the subjects-- Bender, Bundy, Gunness, Holmes, Haigh, Landru, Petiot, Smith-- took needless risks and failed to channel their energies into the effort to amass great wealth. Petiot

was cited by Hall (1974) as an example of the true greed criminal. Petiot had a history of committing the most absurd kinds of thefts, and, despite his considerable talents and status as a doctor and a mayor, decided to use murder to enrich himself.

6. Ambition also appeared to be related to dominance (or a will to power or an "urge for primacy"). Petiot was cited by Gaute and Odell (1984:137) to illustrate dominance theory. In the following statement, Petiot implied that wealth was a means rather than an end in itself. "To succeed in life," Petiot said, "one must have a fortune or a powerful position. One must want to dominate those who might cause one problems and impose one's will on them." Ambition-as-dominance helped to explain, for instance, Bianchi's sense of ill-defined greatness, Christie's stated ambition: to be somebody, and Starkweather's spoilt-child reaction when his ambition for the good things in life did not immediately spring forth for him.

The craving for dominance appeared to be a more fundamental aspect of ambition than greed, for one of two reasons. It was found that the subjects either had (1) goals which were too ill-defined or unobtainable (such as, respectively, the desire for "greatness" or to rule the world) to be explained by greed, or (2) had met or could have met their stated occupational objectives and yet were still striving for something more.

It seemed, furthermore, that the difference between an urge to express one's uniqueness and an urge for dominance is a matter of energy levels. (Certainly, for instance, Brady could be distinguished from a Cream or a Gacy by his lower energy level-- his more relaxed approach to the recognition of his superiority.) This finding was consistent with Maslow's research (1973:63). His

tentative finding was that some people high in dominance-feeling have a craving for dominance status, and some do not:

This seems to go with the degree of presence of the independent variable of activity or aggressiveness. The dominant person who is high in aggressiveness or activity (in the Adlerian sense) is the extremely ambitious person who craves recognition of superiority by others, or, in other words, dominance status....The dominant person who is not active in this sense is quite content to feel superior without attempting to force recognition of this superiority upon others.

7. The multiple murderers of the present study were, in general, possessed of the feeling that they were different. This feeling was occasionally articulated, as when Haigh said he knew he was different or Schmid and Starkweather felt they were on the outside looking in. With such subjects as Heirens and Bundy, the feeling of being different led to an awareness of the need for a plausible, public persona. Further, the processes by which perverse fantasies, fed by environmental suggestions, were eventually followed by violent actions were recognized by both Heirens and Bundy. That is, essentially, each approached crime and the matter of self control much in the manner of a game, and were, consequently, acutely aware that they were playing.

The manifestation of the feeling of difference may be expressed in a view that social laws have no meaning for the individual, as when Schmid indicated that rules and regulations did not really exist for him. Manson (Emmons, 1986:206) acknowledged that he was without conscience or remorse by the time of the murders when he said that, "A normal person would find the details of the [August 8, 1969] night's events [at Tate's house] shocking and horrifying, but I had long ago stopped measuring myself by society's standards."

The subjective feeling of being different in an intelligent individual may lead, as it did with many of the subjects of the present study, to a great deal of

philosophizing. It was found that the subjects of the study were fairly articulate and that they tended to present an intellectualized view of the world (or some part of it) which served as a rationalization for their own actions and/or a substitute for emotions. Berkowitz ("Son of Sam-- Pen Pals," 1980) illustrated this point when he told the press that it was often pretty hard to feel any guilt over his victims since the media wanted only to exploit his crimes, making them seem exciting, and making the victims seem unimportant-- except as the objects of those crimes. He also claimed that there would always be killers like him, since anyone who wanted recognition was guaranteed publicity by committing murder(s).

There was also a convergence that was found between the susceptible (perhaps the suggestible) personality and preexisting philosophies. Brady and Heirens both felt superior (and were not deeply tied to anyone). Each was drawn to the world view of the Nazis .

Bundy, speaking in the third person (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:104-105), reflected that "...he got sucked into the more sinister doctrines that are implicit in pornography-- the use, the abuse, the possession of women as objects."

By high school, Bundy said he realized that he was different and that he had little understanding of social relationships. However, when he was asked by Michaud and Aynesworth (1984:104) to speculate about "the murderer," Bundy "began his story with a preamble of operatic sweep and dimension," from which the feeling of superiority could be discerned.

Much of it [the preamble] was sociological twaddle, comments on the dissolution of society and the fracturing of the nuclear family, or historical ruminations. It was a picture of the world as he saw it....The other important ingredient, said Ted, was a flaw, a congenital predisposition

[which he called his "entity"], that was exploited by his environment... (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:104).

When Bundy went on to explain the development of the psychopath, he was doing what others had done; that is, he was tracing an evolution from the feeling of difference, through the loosening of all social bonds, to the development of full-blown remorselessness.

8. The subjects of the study were far more apt to present a superior--rather than inferior--posture to the world. Often there was some sense of insecurity associated with the feeling of being different, as, for instance, with Bundy's discomfort at feeling different from his peers. In time, however, this difference was often exaggerated by the subjects. It was nurtured by having been dwelt upon, philosophized about and examined in great detail. This exaggeration of their differences was due to the highly egocentric and egoistic nature of the multiple murderers of the study. One could even say that Bundy became engrossed with his "entity," that Kurten came to enjoy and nurture an originally small or nonfatal perversity, and that Heirens invented his "George" to account to himself (and to authorities) for his own actions without ever having to stop them. Some subjects, such as Starkweather and, particularly, Manson, dwelt upon their experiences as a bum or a downtrodden criminal, but that was only because the heights to which they rose were then made to seem all the higher, and the past all the more romantic or even heroic.

There were several clues which indicated that many of the multiple murderers of the study took a superior posture in regard to the world: (a) the subjects of the study were often described as, for instance, arrogant, cynical, shrewd, scornful, prideful or appraising. The word "supercilious" was invariably associated with Haigh, for example. Scorn towards the world and arrogance toward others were attitudes consistent with a feeling of superiority, whether or

not there was objective superiority. (b) The subjects were found to like challenges; many took up crime just to see if they could get away with it. Here the subject manifested a belief in himself and a simultaneous disdain relative to the rest of the world. By challenging authority, a subject exhibited a feeling of superiority. (c) It was common for the subjects of the study to manipulate or use others to get what they wanted. Simply having the presence of mind to use or manipulate others to one's own end was indicative of a feeling of general capability, a trust in self and a feeling that one is superior to others.

9. Many of the multiple murderers studied appeared to have a low tolerance for monotony and boredom. While often fearless in behavior, many of the subjects had a fear of boredom.

10. Underlying many of the preceding findings was the idea of a person who did not obey the rules and did not feel a part of the society. Some complimentary findings were that the multiple murderers studied (a) never felt bound to exercise self-restraint, and (b) had no emotional ties to bind them to society. In some cases, subjects who originally exercised some self control also had at least one emotional tie. This point was illustrated in the Corll case. Corll was closer to his mother than to anyone else. As long as his mother lived nearby, he maintained control over himself, but ceased to do so once she moved out of town.

11. Some of the subjects in the study had explosive tempers. This was obvious with someone like Starkweather who was always looking for a fight. What was less obvious was that Corll, for example, when angered, began to leave the store to let it out, or that Collins, another "nice guy," could so quickly become stony, and would try to hide his venomous rage or, occasionally, would let out his anger.

Collins' eyes were particularly indicative of his inner state. According to friends and family, Collins could appear to be unmoved-- except for the telltale changes in his eyes. His eyes were described as blue, sometimes icy, but when angry, they seemed to turn a shade darker (Keyes, 1978). The same thing happened with Bundy's eyes. As a child who often kept himself aloof and apart from situations, he was also known to have a short fuse. One of Bundy's friends recalled that

It was really easy to see when Ted got mad. His eyes turned just about black. I suppose that sounds like something out of a cheap novel, but you could see it. He has blue eyes that are kind of flecked with darker colors. When he gets hot, they seem to get less blue and more dark.... Someone [need only] say something, and you could see it in his face. The dark flecks seemed to expand (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:51).

Michaud and Aynesworth (1984:103) saw for themselves that "There is a cold and poisonous luster in Bundy's unguarded gaze." They were surprised to see that when his "entity" retreated, "a softer blue came into Ted's eyes. His irises cleared and pupils constricted. His expression went from sinister to mild in a moment."

Other subjects of the study insisted upon having their own way, and some, particularly Petiot, also had bursts of temper, freely expressed their views and disregarded most rules and regulations. This finding was consistent with the examples of dominance behaviors cited by Maslow (1973:108) such as "bursts of temper, aggressive behavior, insistence upon one's rights, free expression of hostility, overriding rules and arguing freely."

Dominance behaviors are not always indicative of high dominance-feeling. One way of summarizing the preceding findings is to say that they lead inductively to a "diagnosis" of high dominance-feeling. Maslow (1973:107-108) found that,

...High dominance-feeling empirically involves good self-confidence, self assurance, high evaluation of the self, feelings of general capability or superiority, and lack of shyness, timidity, self-consciousness, or embarrassment.

Maslow (1973:108) differentiated variables associated with high dominance-feeling from those associated with low dominance-feeling. When the multiple murderers of the present study were considered with respect to either the high or the low dominance personality variables listed below, it was clear that multiple murderers exhibited most of the characteristics of high dominance-feeling. The following were some of the high dominance-feeling personality variables found by Maslow: "Socially poised;" "relaxed;" "unconventional;" "less respect for rules;" "tendency to 'use' people;" "freer personality expression;" "autonomous code of ethics;" "more independent; less religious; more masculine; less polite; love of adventure, novelty, new experiences." The following variables were associated with low dominance-feeling: Timid; shy; embarrassable; self-conscious; more inhibited; modest; neat; reliable; more honest; prompt; faithful; quiet; introverted; more inferiority; low self estimate; somewhat less secure; retiring; more feminine; more conventional; more conservative" (1973:108,taken from Table 1).

Of particular relevance was Maslow's finding (1973:82) on the issue of conventionality, morality and rules. Maslow reported that,

Our very highest cases [of dominance-feeling] have sometimes said that they had no code of morals or ethics. They felt they could do *anything* if necessary, even to the extent of killing without a qualm. They felt their own ends to be very important and were willing to override all sorts of opposition.

Maslow's high dominance subjects experienced no feelings of guilt or remorse, no matter what their behavior. And this finding, in turn, falls squarely into the realm of what Cleckley (1982:204) designated as characteristic points

of the psychopath. Of particular relevance to multiple murderers and high dominance-feeling were the following points from Cleckley's list:

1. Superficial charm and good 'intelligence'...
3. Absence of 'nervousness'...
4. Unreliability
5. Untruthfulness and insincerity
6. Lack of remorse and shame
7. Inadequately motivated antisocial behavior
8. Poor judgement and failure to learn by experience, [and]
9. ...egocentricity....

### The Crimes

The literature on the crimes of multiple murderers involved five major areas of interest and debate: (1) the link, if any, found between multiple murderers and their victims; (2) method of operation; (3) investigation; (4) apprehension; and (5) disposition of the case. These five areas, phrased as subquestions, became the research instrument. Together, the five subquestions provided the means for answering the research question, "What is the nature of the crimes of multiple murders and how do they differ among themselves?"

### Linkage Between Murderers and Victims

There were three areas in which a victim-offender linkage was possible: (1) the existence of a prior relationship between victim and offender; (2) the existence of an identifiable motive; and (3) the existence of a particular victim-type selected purposefully by the killer. In conducting the research on the individual cases, particular care was taken to specify the exact nature of all the relationships between the victims and the killer(s), to examine the possible motives to determine those which are credible and to identify those

characteristics which either indicated a victim-type or indicated differences among the victims.

Existence of prior relationships. In 10 of the 27 cases (37 percent), the killer was a stranger to each of the victims. In two additional cases (Bianchi and Williams), police or prosecution attempted to link one or more victims to the killers, but the evidence is poor; this justified the addition of these cases to the percentage of stranger homicides. In two cases, all of the existing relationships were predicated upon the murders, and therefore these cases further raised the percentage of stranger homicides. There were two instances in which the serial murders involved all strangers with the exception of one victim with whom there was a prior relationship, meaning that these two killers were predominantly involved in stranger homicides. Therefore, cases involving only stranger-victims accounted for 52 percent of the cases; when the category was all or almost-all stranger-victims, the percentage was raised to 59 percent.

Of the remaining 11 cases, all but 2 involved a combination of stranger-to-stranger murders along with the murders of acquaintances, lovers or family members. (There were only three subjects who murdered family members as well as strangers.) In 2 of the 27 cases (7 percent), the offender apparently did not kill any strangers, although it was possible that Holmes may have developed relationships for the purpose of murder, which, in this study, makes this a stranger murder.

In summary, and as shown in Table 31, in 25 of the 27 cases (or 93 percent), the multiple murderers of this study did kill people who were strangers, but they did not necessarily kill only strangers. On the other hand, the nature of the relationships in the remaining 2 cases-- that of Holmes and Schmid, had qualities that made them more similar to the other 25 than different from them.

Both subjects just took up killing-- to see if they could get away with it or because it was considered a good way to end unwanted relationships or affairs.

Table 31  
Relationship of Killer to Victims

Name	
Render	Strangers
Berkowitz	Strangers
Bianchi	Strangers, with one possible exception
Brady	Strangers
Bundy	Strangers
Christie	Strangers, prior acquaintances, wife
Collins	Strangers
Corll	Strangers and friends of Henley and Brooks
Corona	Strangers or no known prior relationships
Cream*	Relationships predicated upon the murders
DeSalvo	Strangers
Gacy	Friends, employees and strangers
Gunness*	Family and relationships predicated on murder
Haigh*	Prior acquaintances and predicated on murder
Heirens	Strangers
Holmes*	Prior and predicated relationships; no strangers
Kemper	Family, acquaintances and strangers
Kurten	Strangers
Landru*	All but 1 strangers, but relationships predicated on
Manson	Prior relationships and strangers
Mullin	1 prior, 12 strangers
Petiot*	Lovers, acquaintances and relat'ns. predicated on...
Schmid	Acquaintances, lover
Smith*	All relationships predicated on murder
Sutcliffe	Strangers
Starkweather	Close acquaintances, friends, strangers
Williams	Strangers (some possible prior relationships)

\*\*"Ladykillers" and comparable murderers initiate relationships only for the purpose of fraud and murder; these "relationships" are fundamentally stranger-to-stranger murders.

Existence of identifiable motives. As the review of the literature in Chapter 2 indicated, the apparently motiveless murder is almost always

redefined by American social scientists as, for instance, murders for perverse, often sexual, reasons, committed by psychotic persons, or murders brought about by unconscious motives. The finding of sanity in the cases of the present study contradicted the idea that psychosis was the basis of an apparently motiveless crime. Also, the idea of unconscious motivations was beyond the scope of the descriptive approach, and was not, in any event, an idea which could be tested. In general, the current thinking is that apparently motiveless murders can, with sufficient examination, become understandable or be explained as the end result of identifiable needs or emotions, that is, that motiveless murders "really" have motives.

The findings of the present study indicated that, in general, just the opposite may be true. Even among those crimes which the media, for instance, generally considered as apparently motiveless, some sort of explanation for the murders could be found. However, upon further examination and reflection, these explanations break down, for, as Table 32 indicates, these were crimes that did no one any good (Wilson and Seaman, 1983). This phenomenon works in the following way: (1) the victim is, for instance, a poor, old woman, so the murder is considered motiveless; (2) later, the motiveless crime may be viewed as a "sex murder," and the murderer is believed to be a psychotic man in search of his potency; and (3) while the definition of the crime as a sex murder is not likely to change, the murderer may be found to have been highly potent and highly active, sexually, and to have been sane.

Table 32

## Motives

Name	Motives
Bender	Profit: Power: (A to S)*
Berkowitz	Notoriety: center of attention: display of cleverness.
Bianchi	Murder as extension of spirit of adventure: sex.
Brady	Murder as a by-product of power/dominance-based relationships; some sex involved.
Bundy	Adventure of searching out victim, the hunt; ownership of victim and for the fun of it: sex.
Collins	Sexual, but was already sexually active: for excitement.
Christie	Sexual purposes: to avoid detection: fun.
Corll	Sexual sadism- "fun:" dominance-based relationships.
Corona	Possibly bigotry: motives, if any, unknown.
Cream	Sadism and public response or notoriety: challenging authority.
DeSalvo	Sex involved, but didn't see that as a motive or a reason for deaths.
Gacy	Sexual sadism; posed a threat, raised the price for sex; said he was "ridding the world of trash."
Guinness	Profit: to cover up a crime, possibly appealed to something(A to S)
Haigh	Profit: A to S.
Heirens	Murder not sexually exciting: genocidal/power: loved risks.
Holmes	Profit: sexual: "enjoyed being a wolf preying on society".
Kemper	Thrill was sexual, but said murder replaced the sex drive; blamed victims (Vs) for flaunting themselves; to make a social statement triumph over death: winning over death, over "them," the Vs.
Kurten	Sexual urge developed gradually as a motive-not involved in first three murders: notoriety: challenge as the "Dusseldorf Ripper."
Landru	Profit: elimination of witnesses: A to S.
Manson	A to S: dominance-based: profit: copy-cat: revenge: notoriety.
Mullin	Prevent earthquakes and be a savior: also revenge.
Petiot	Profit: elimination: A to S.
Schmid	Recreational: wanted to kill someone and get away with it; rape. secondary: elimination of "unwanted lovers;" dominance-based.
Smith	Profit: A to S.
Starkweather	Robbery: arguments: ridding path of obstacles: dominance-based.
Sutcliffe	Not sex or hatred for prostitutes, as believed. No known motive.
Williams	Possible bigotry against poor blacks; not sex; no known motive.

\* A to S: Appealed to Something

Nine of the 27 subjects (33 percent), as shown in Table 32, were motivated by profit-- whether or not this motive applied to all or just a few of the murders, and, whether or not additional motives could be identified. Five of the nine subjects (Bender, Gunness, Holmes, Landru and Smith) were representatives of that always rare and now almost extinct type of killer, the person who murders a succession of victims of the opposite sex as a means of making a living. This is the category referred to as the "ladykiller" (Hall, 1974). Of all the murderers who presumably were motivated by profit, Petiot seems to be the only one who became a rich man doing so. The two most recent American subjects who attempted to rob in the course of their murders (Starkweather and Manson) had additional motives for the majority of their murders. A secondary motive in many of these cases was found to be murder for the purpose of eliminating witnesses.

Even in the nine cases of murder for profit, where murder presumably had some advantage, this explanation often broke down upon further reflection. Considering what paltry sums were usually made and how able many of the subjects were, it seemed likely that most could have made at least that much money in ways that did not entail the risks of murder or the constant pressures of detection and/or a life on the run. It consequently seemed likely and logical to think that there was something appealing about a career of murder to such persons.

The sexual motive is the one most often associated with multiple (or serial) murders, and under the umbrella of the so-called "sex murder" falls all those cases of the male murderers of women (such as Bundy or Bianchi), the male murderers of boys or men (such as Gacy or Corll), the female murderers of primarily men (such as Bender), and the male murderers of men, women and

children (such as Holmes or Kurten). In other words, most of the subjects of the study have been referred to as sex murderers, or murderers involved in murders with a sexual element. And, indeed, there were, depending upon the criteria involved in the counting, approximately 18 cases (or 67 percent) in which 1 or more of the victims either were or were believed to have been sexually assaulted, in which sadism was involved, in which the perpetrator was considered perverted (whether or not this was exhibited in the crimes), and, in the Corona and Williams cases, 2 instances in which the murders were still presumed to be (homo-)sexual murders despite the absence of evidence of homosexuality or of sexual assaults upon the victims. While it was obvious that a sexual element was involved in many cases, it was not at all clear what was meant by a "sex crime" or exactly what characterized a sexually motivated murder.

The findings of this study indicated that there are three types of sex-related murder series which are probably not sexually motivated: (1) murder series with a sexual overtone, such as the above-mentioned Corona and Williams cases; (2) murder series with a sexual element, that is, murders in which one or more victims were sexually assaulted and/or injured in the genital area before, during or after death; and (3) murder series in which the sexual assault is consistent and obvious to investigators. It could be argued that, in regard to this last type, even such so-called "sex killers" as DeSalvo and Kemper may not have been motivated by sex alone. The sexually active DeSalvo admitted that sex played a part in his stranglings, but did not believe this was the only reason, and particularly, that it was a sufficient reason, for his victims to die. According to him, there was no motive or none that he could use to account to himself for his crimes. Kemper had had no normal sex life. Yet his

so-called sex murders involved little sex: he ejaculated only once (and came close to it a second time). While Kemper said that the sensual, sexual excitement was the thrill, he went on to explain that in some ways the crimes actually replaced the sex drive. Where DeSalvo felt hostility and anger at himself for his murders, Kemper exalted over his murders. If DeSalvo and Kemper were sex killers (as Lunde, 1976, called them), it seems likely that: (1) sex would have played a greater part in the murders themselves; (2) these subjects would not be so completely different in their sexual histories and adult sex lives; and (3) they might have committed somewhat similar crimes. Crimes with a sexual element, whether the sexual assault occurred once (as with Starkweather), more than once or almost always, are not, by any means, crimes that are motivated by sex alone. This point was illustrated by Norris, who, with Lawrence Bittaker, tortured, raped and murdered five girls in 1979. However, "As Roy Norris admitted about his assaults against women, 'the rape wasn't the important part, it was the dominance'" (Levin and Fox, 1985:68).

Norris (Levin and Fox, 1985) was making a fundamental point, for, as Storr (1975) explained, human cruelty is not really a sexual phenomenon. Storr reported that, independent of each other, Maslow and Russell both concluded in the 1950s that much of what seemed to be sexual behavior in humans and other primates was not what it appeared to be, but was, rather,

...concerned much more with aggression, status, dominance, and related concepts than with sensual pleasure or with sexual satisfaction. Both Professor Maslow and Mrs. Russell refer to the behavior they are describing as "pseudo-sex."

One of the remarkable features of behavior which has been repeatedly observed in different species... is that behavior patterns which are clearly sexual in their original intention are not used for sexual purposes, but to indicate or to establish dominance relationships (Storr, 1975:52-53).

Similarly, pornography may have more to do with dominance than with sexuality per se. Bundy (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984) described "the killer's" original interests as sexual. He said that his attraction to pornography began with fairly normal sexual stimuli, such as *Playboy*. Then he got sucked into the abundant pornographic material depicting male violence, in a variety of sexual situations wherein the victim is the woman. This is because, Storr (1975:61) explained, "Most of this literature is concerned far more with dominance and submission than with sensual pleasure." Storr agreed with Marcus's findings on pornography-- that it is a literature presumably about pleasure but one which is without pleasure or possible gratification, where women are indistinguishable, where men dominate and where violence and aggression indicate an impulse towards destruction. Bundy's motivation did seem to have more to do with dominance than with either sexual pleasure or sadism. He said he received no pleasure or gratification from the killings themselves and did not like to inflict pain. He was most aroused by "the hunt" for the victim and likened his murderous adventures to a sport or a hobby (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984). While Bundy and Kemper had little else in common, they shared an enjoyment in feeling that they possessed a person. In Bundy's words, he liked feeling that he owned the victim.

Storr (1975) raised another issue which bolstered the thesis presented here that the sex of a so-called sex crime is really a "pseudo-sexual" activity more concerned with power than with pleasure per se. Along with Wilson (1984), Storr pointed out that repeated observations of human and primate behavior disclosed a tendency for extensive, even indiscriminate, sexual activities to occur after a time of shock or threatened survival, and, further, that such sex served as both a diversion and a reassurance. Certainly the

commission of a murder serves as a time of stress and as a threat to one's survival. Wilson (1984:611) argued that the rise in sex crimes could be traced to the combination of two factors-- "man's violent reaction to boredom, and his sexual response to any survival problem...." What this means is that the high IQ killer of Wilson (Wilson and Seaman, 1983) is a thinking man with too much time to brood and a low "violence threshold" for boredom. He tends to be motivated by a vague sense of resentment against society, a desire for adventure and a need to eliminate boredom in a manner that heightens and assures his sense of primacy. According to Wilson and Hall (1974), the murders with a sexual element that have occurred within the past 40 years-- such as the crimes of Christie, Starkweather, Gacy, Sutcliffe and Bundy-- have an element of passionate ego assertion which made the sadism of the murders not just a matter of sexual desire, but one of a need for ego-assertion.

The questions that remain to be answered are, what characterizes a murder that is sexually motivated, and what cases in the present study can be so categorized? The findings of the present study indicated, nevertheless, that one answer to the above question is that murders that are sexually motivated seem to involve particularly sadistic killers who enjoy the killing because of the sex. Corll was the best example of the sexually motivated murderer, for his motivation was simply, as he put it, to have "his fun." He was uninterested in "the hunt" or, apparently, in outwitting the police. As was reported in the narrative on the case, Corll's fun was in having a helpless victim so that he could do whatever he wanted to do to him. He was sadistic before the murders and sometimes mutilatory afterwards. Moreover, Corll specified to his partners in murder the kind of victim he wanted, and he wanted young, good looking white boys, which makes the victims probably similar if not identical to his ordinary choice for a

sexual partner. Gacy, who copied Corll's use of a torture board, was another example-- although Gacy had rationalizations for his killings and additional motives beyond sex. (For that matter, Corll's murders may have been at least partially engendered as an extension of the dominance-based partnerships of Corll to Henley and Brooks.) Kurten was another example of a sexually motivated murderer-- he worked hard in developing a high degree of sadism and then allowed himself the right to indulge himself at his victims' expense. He, too, had additional motives. Christie's primary motivation was sexual; the same could legitimately be said of Cream as well.

In summary, a majority of multiple murderers committed crimes with some sexual element, although sex was not a primary characteristic in the sense of a motive. A few of the murderers did have sexual motivations, but this does not mean that sex was their only motive-- nor does this mean that their sadism entailed a compulsion to kill. There was free will.

Perhaps the most basic finding in regard to motivation was that, for almost all the subjects, murder was a volitional act, a positive declaration or affirmation, a statement which said, "I was here." Most of the subjects committed most of their murders after having thought about it, brooded, fantasized and/or planned, although a first murder may have been committed before any of this thinking began. This means that multiple murders are the least likely of any form of homicide, short of genocide, to be the blind and mindless striking out that many have assumed. Rather than being a response to pain or failure, multiple murders are positive actions in the sense that they are characterized by the presence of certain attributes and not their absence. (*Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language* [1964:1140] used the example of a "positive evil.") The multiple murders of the present study can be perceived as

options almost on the order of careers to which the subjects-- with their remorselessness and cleverness-- were so well suited.

Almost all of the multiple murders in the study, whether or not they were committed ostensibly for profit or sexual perversion, appealed to the subjects' vanity and desire to express themselves. The motivation for the murders studied for this research differed somewhat from Levin and Fox's (1985) finding that multiple murderers want to dominate their victims. Dominance is more than a property of the killings per se. Often the killers of this study referred to themselves as hunters out for a kill; they said they had no more rancor toward their victims than a fox has toward chickens. Multiple murder is perceived as an alternative to boredom and obscurity, and it proceeds from a spirit of adventure, a desire to get away with something, a desire for challenges, thrills and "fun," and occasionally, as an extension of dominance-based partnerships. It is sustained by rationalizations, by being in a position of power with respect to police, by being the center of media attention and public fear, and by the resultant notoriety. In the end, the motives for this type of crime are about as significant as the motives for choosing a career or a hobby or playing a game, for that is the spirit in which most subjects pursued their murders.

Existence of victim-types. There is a pervasive belief among American social scientists that multiple murderers always target particular types of victims, that there are consistent characteristics that can be easily identified for any given murder series, and that the targeted class has some symbolic significance for the killer and/or by being vulnerable, allows the murderer to feel powerful. Those categories of persons most often cited in the literature as victim-types included women, children, the elderly, the homeless, prostitutes and anyone identified as a symbolic surrogate for the killer's parents (or, perhaps, lover,

girlfriend or wife). In general, the belief that multiple murderers methodically choose victim-types is a reflection of the more fundamental assumption that multiple murderers kill because they have been hurt and need to avenge themselves, or have failed and need to feel powerful.

The findings of the present study did not support the pervasive belief in the existence of victim-types, certainly not to the extent that victims are thought to be typed. In not a single case out of a total of 27 (see Table 33) were the victims so strikingly similar in both appearance and lifestyles or occupations that differences were hard to detect. This was true even for the Bundy case, for instance, where the victims were not nearly so similar as Rule (U.S. Congress, 1984:15) claimed when she said Bundy looked for "slim, pretty young women with long dark hair parted in the middle." In this particular case, the victims were young and white and often college co-eds, but they differed in other respects and not all fit that profile. Furthermore, when Bundy was asked whether the victims shared some detectable vulnerability, he responded that this was not the case, that selection was all a matter of opportunity.

Table 33

The Existence of Victim-Types and the  
Characteristics of the Victims

Names	Victim-Type?	Characteristics of the Victims
Bender	No - but:	Men of different circumstances but w/ money: 2 females.
Berkowitz	No	Males and females, ages 15-30, blondes and brunettes.
Bianchi	No	Females, but ranged in appearance, lifestyles, occupations, ages (12-28); most whites, but one black, one Hispanic.
Brady	No	One boy, one girl and one adult.
Bundy	No - but:	All white young females, but ranged in ages, looks, lifestyle
Christie	No	Because he killed young women, wife, child--different ages, lifestyles, backgrounds and looks.
Collins	No - but:	All young women, but varied in their characteristics, ages.
Corll	Yes:	Wanted young, attractive white males. Many from same area. Did vary in size, hair, eye color, for instance.
Corona	Yes:	All but 2 were white, all itinerant farm workers, older men.
Cream	No	Killed a man, lovers and prostitutes.
DeSalvo	No	"I never went for no specific woman;" white, black, young and old.
Gacy	Yes:	Young white teenaged males w/ slight builds, but hetero-, homo- and bi-sexual victims from different circumstances.
Guinness	No	Men and women and female children; many Norwegians.
Haigh	No	Diverse: young, middle and older Vs; male and females.
Heirens	No	Random and varied-didn't know who would be inside apts.
Holmes	No	Men, women and children of varying ages and circumst's.
Kemper	No - but:	In that he killed older people-men and women and co-eds. Wanted certain type of co-eds, but Vs not all of that type.
Kurten	No	Anything living, from swans to men, women, children.
Landru	Yes - but:	Differences among mistresses and 1 male; other Vs were white women from 30s on, mostly widows, different SES.
Manson	No	Despite talk of killing "piggies" killed a young hippie, men & women of wealth & young ranch hand.
Mullin	No	Older and younger men, females, children, priest, hippy.
Petiot	No	Mistresses, underworld, Jews: men, women and children.
Schmid	Yes:	All white female teens, but different ages, looks, SES.
Smith	Yes:	Females ages 26-38: spinsters of a higher social class.
Starkweather	No	Men: young-old; 2-yr.-old girl-middle-aged females; farmer to wealthy, powerful family.
Sutcliffe	No - but:	Thought to be prostitutes, but Vs included young respectables-- any available women.
Williams	Yes - but:	Almost all black males, poor, but 2 adults and 2 females.

Out of 27 cases, 20 (or 74 percent), could not be categorized as involving the selection of a victim-type. In the remaining 7 cases (or 26 percent), the similarities among the victims outweighed the differences, and, together with the stated or implied intent of the killer, the similarities constituted the selection of a victim-type.

As Table 33 shows, among the majority of cases not involving a victim-type are the following: (1) 9 cases, or 33 percent, in which the murderer killed males and females and children and adults; (2) 6 cases in which the victims varied in at least 2 or 3 different areas such as sex, ages, race, appearance and/or lifestyles; and (3) 5 cases of serial murders involving female victims wherein there were differences among the victims, reasons, such as fashion, for some of the similarities, and statements or other data reported in these cases which indicated the killer was not seeking a very specific type of victim. These five cases were Bianchi, Bundy, Collins, DeSalvo and Sutcliffe. The apparent similarities among the Bundy victims and among the Collins victims can largely be explained away. In both cases, the killer, a college student, selected girls who were available-- that is, who lived on or near campus, and at a time when the fashion was long, straight hair, parted in the middle.

As to the seven cases that may be considered to have involved the selection of a victim-type, two cases involved the explicit desire on the part of the killer for victims who were young, white and male. (Differences among the victims of Corll and Gacy existed but were outweighed by the similarities and the killers' desires or intent.) The Corona and the Williams cases also involved male victims, from two different but equally vulnerable populations. These were, respectively, relatively old, itinerant farm workers, many of whom drank, were homeless, and all but two of whom were white; and, in the Williams case,

poor blacks who ranged from children to adults-- and included two females. In these two cases, the victims were vulnerable and relatively similar, but, other than the bigotry motive that was suggested, there is still no explanation as to why the killers selected their victim-types, if indeed there was such a selection. The remaining three cases (Schmid, Smith and Landru) involved, with one exception, female victims. Schmid selected young white girls who were otherwise different; his reasons for killing also differed. As for the latter two cases, the "ladykillers," Dickson (1958:207) wrote that multicides do not always select women, and that, "Of the killers for profit, women victims were necessary with the marriage-proposal gambits of Smith and Landru...."

In addition to the finding that the majority of multiple murders involved relatively diverse victims, it was found that multiple murder victims could not readily be categorized. The victims were not primarily women who possessed some symbolic, psychological or sexual significance to the killer, for it was found that in 18 out of 27 cases, or 67 percent, anywhere from 1 to all the victims were men. These males were not found to be primarily the very old or the very young. Even the so-called Atlanta "child killings" included adults who were bigger and stronger than Williams-- who was convicted for the killing of two adults. Many of the victims of the two female murderers, Bender and Gunness, were men who were strong, healthy and relatively young. Rarely could all the victims fit into a category such as prostitutes, homosexuals or transients-- because the victims were not all weak and/or vulnerable people, separate from everyone else and possessing some psychological significance in and of themselves.

### The Method of Operation

This study addressed that "largely uncharted territory" (Porter, 1983:49) of how multiple murderers actually worked: how they obtained their victims, how they killed, and what happened to the bodies afterwards (referred to here as the "method of disposal"). A particularly vital question for law enforcement purposes was whether-- and to what extent-- multiple murderers exhibited patterns in their methods, and patterns that remained constant over time.

Commonality in the method(s) killer used to obtain victims. Table 34 shows, in the first column, that there was some commonality in the methods used to obtain victims in 19 of the 27 cases of murder (or, in 70 percent, which takes into account the 3 cases with "some" commonality). This 70 percent of the cases does not mean that the murderer did not vary his M. O. Rather, the 70 percent reflected both those killers who, generally speaking, did not vary their M.O.s and those killers who changed or switched their methods up to 3 different times.

Table 34

## Method of Obtaining the Victims

<u>Level of Constancy:</u>			
Name	Commonality?	Method(s) of Obtaining Victims(Vs)	Same: Change: Diverse
Bender	Yes:	Vs all came to Benders'.	Same
Berkowitz	Yes:	Approached Vs who were in parked cars	Same
Bianchi	Little:	Used e.g. police ruse, call-girls; hitchhikers	Diverse
Brady	Yes:	Each V offered ride home at dusk or night	Same
Bundy	Some:	Appr'd Vs in a cast police ruse; sudden attack	Change
Christie	No:	Obt'd through jobs, prior relat'n's; streets	Diverse
Collins	Yes:	Offered rides-whether hitching or not	Same
Corll	Yes:	Two ways: hitchhikers & giving parties	Change
Corona	Yes:	Picked Vs up as temporary farm workers	Same
Cream	Yes:	Ministering in role of a doctor to the Vs.	Change
DeSalvo	Yes:	Gained access to aps. by handyman ruse	Same
Gacy	Yes:	3 ways: business, sexual pursuits, police ruse	Change (2-3)
Gunness	Yes:	Family; lovers & employees; matrimonials	Change
Haigh	No:	Prior relat'n's, responded to ads. business ruse	Diverse
Heirens	Yes:	Random select'n of aps. of strangers	Same
Holmes	Some:	Some came to hotel, employees, lovers; ads etc.	Change
Kemper	Yes:	2 groups: Family and hitchhikers	Change
Kurten	Little:	Friends, burglary Vs, passing strangers, etc.	Diverse
Landru	Yes:	Pattern of the matrimonial cheat; ads etc.	Same
Manson	No:	Vs- from strangers to knowns when he wanted	Diverse
Mullin	No:	Hitchhikers, campers, a stranger in a yard, etc	Diverse
Petiot	Some:	Unwanted lovers, witnesses, Nazi Vs. as a Dr.	Change
Schmid	No:	Friend/date, unwanted lover and acquaintance	Diverse
Smith	Yes:	Never varied: appr'd, courted, married	Diverse
Starkweather	No:	Killed people at home, work, or in cars	Diverse
Sutcliffe	Yes:	Prostitutes or others attacked on streets, cars	Change
Williams	Yes:	Most probably seduced off street	Change ?

As Table 34 also shows in the last column under "Constancy," an approximately equal number were found to have changed their M.O.s as were found to have remained the same. (The number of cases were, respectively, 10, or 37 percent, and 8, or 30 percent.) In the remaining 9 cases, or 33 percent, the killers used diverse methods to obtain their victims. The term "diverse" was used here to reflect, for instance, the way Starkweather just

moved, impulsively and randomly, from one murder episode to the next. He had no method as such and his murders were often referred to as a "rampage." On the other hand, Bianchi's murders were also diverse. Even though the picking up of street people such as prostitutes did constitute a pattern, Bianchi used several other methods for obtaining his victims. When there are four or more methods for obtaining victims, "diversity" is a more appropriate descriptive term than "change."

The specific methods (or types of methods) the subjects used are shown in Table 34. As the data show, there are a number of different ways in which victims were obtained. There was, furthermore, greater intercase diversity than the intracase 30 percent that was found and discussed previously. That is, there is more diversity between cases than within them. This finding was, at least in part, a function of the use of an historical, cross cultural sample, whereas almost all of the current opinion on this issue focused on recent American cases. One implication here is that the automobile may not be the critical factor some researchers have assumed. The automobile was used, at most, by 11 of the subjects (41 percent)-- but many of those who did use a car also used other methods for obtaining victims. (Those who did not use a car specifically to obtain their victims, as opposed to driving before or after the murders, included recent, as well as historical, multiple murderers.)

It is logical to think that the existence of such groups as prostitutes or hitchhikers, in conjunction with the use of the automobile, would create a particularly risky situation. This situation does not explain, however, why-- in the midst of an ongoing serial murder case-- otherwise wary and frightened prostitutes and cautious hitchhikers felt they were safe in the presence of the serial killer, or why someone who never went off with strangers willingly went

off with the killer (as Collins's last victim did). Furthermore, not all the victims of serial or multiple murderers can be categorized as members of some particularly vulnerable group. Nor was it the case that the use of a car automatically made it easier to murder, for the killer still had the problem of getting the stranger to enter the car, handling the car, overpowering the victim, committing the murder and carrying the body around until it could be disposed of elsewhere, and then eliminating all traces of the crime. Otherwise the car could become the greatest liability, for it is the crime scene.

As Table 35 indicates, the method(s) the killer used to obtain victims have been categorized as "Seduction," "Abduction," and "Sudden Attack." It was found that when sufficient information existed on the obtaining of victims, each such instance could be so categorized.

One of the major findings in regard to the methods was that 24 out of 27 murderers (89 percent) were able to obtain some or all of their victims through some form of seduction. This finding indicates that the murderer is the most critical factor, as opposed to the vulnerability of the victims or the use of the car. A "seduced" victim\* is one who is not forced into being with the killer, but rather, a person who, having seen the killer, goes voluntarily. Seduction covers a fairly wide range of interactions, from the hitchhiker who enters the car to the woman who is wooed, swindled and murdered.

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\* The use of the term "seduction" does *not* imply that the victim somehow precipitated the murder or even allowed any sort of seduction to take place. "Seduction" refers to, for instance, a trusting hitchhiker or an elderly Boston woman who allowed into her apartment a man whom she thought to be a maintenance man.

Table 35  
Classification of Methods of Obtaining Victims

Name	Seduction	Abduction	Sudden Attack
Bender	X		X
Berkowitz			X
Bianchi	X	X?	
Brady	X		
Bundy	X		X
Chrisie	X		
Collins	X	X?	
Corll	X		
Corona	X		
Cream	X		
DeSalvo	X		
Gacy	X		
Guinness	X		X
Haigh	X		X
Heirens			X
Holmes*	X	X?	X
Kemper	X		X
Kurten	X		X
Landru	X		
Manson		X?	X
Mullin	X		X
Petiot	X		X
Schmid	X		X
Smith	X		
Starkweather	X	X	X
Sutcliffe	X		X
Williams*	X	X	X

\*Holmes's and Williams's methods have not been positively determined for all victims.

"Abduction" refers to the kidnapping or otherwise forcing of a victim, against their will, to go where they do not wish to go, with someone with whom they do not wish to be. Interactions were not classified as abductions unless force was used from the moment of initial contact. Abductions were relatively

infrequent among the interactions studied: three subjects used abduction, but not as a primary method, and abduction may have occurred with some of the victims of three other murderers, Collins, Holmes and Williams.

"Sudden attack" is the hurting or killing of a stranger, acquaintance or family member, usually without any warning and often from the back (or from behind). Fifteen of the 27 murderers (or 56 percent) used sudden attack to obtain their victims, but in only 3 cases (Berkowitz, Heirens, and Manson) was this method used exclusively. (In such cases as Schmid and Manson, wherein the murders involved people who were known, it is more difficult to classify the murders as "seduction" or "sudden attack".)

An additional finding that emerged from the study of how murderers obtained their victims was that no evidence surfaced on any of the subjects or their individual murders which substantiated the idea that multiple murderers stalk their victims. It is certainly possible that a given multiple murderer stalked a given victim, for longer than a few blacks, that is, but there is no solid evidence of this. Also, as a general pattern, what was known about the relative absence of links between offenders and victims and the methods used to obtain victims supported the notion of random murders and did not support the notion of stalking.

The method of killing and disposal of victims. As the review of the literature on this issue in Chapter 2 illustrated, a number of generalizations have been made about what methods the multiple murderer did and did not use, but there was little documentation. Although not all students of the subject agree, the general tendency was to associate "sex murders" with the use of some form of torture and strangulation, stabbings and/or beatings, rather than with shootings. Whatever the methods assumed, it is also assumed (1) that

these methods will reflect all of the "typical" serial killers and that within a given case, the methods can be counted on to remain constant (so that patterns can be computerized), and (2) that there is some hidden psychological meaning in all that the killer does. The inherent problem here was that, without first documenting what methods had been used, it was impossible to know what was typical of serial murderers, whether intracase patterns existed and remained constant, and what, if any, meaning could be attached to the given behavior.

The research instrument on the crimes (see Appendix A) posed these questions: was there a pattern in the method of killing and/or disposal of bodies? If there was a pattern, what was it? Did it ever vary? These questions were answered for the individual subjects in the narratives and in Table 36. As Table 36 shows, the great majority of multiple murders exhibited some pattern in their methods of killing and of disposal, along with some variation in that pattern. That is, both consistency and change were commonly found. Table 36 also shows that within a single case, patterns were often complex. There were a few cases on either end of the spectrum in which the pattern did not vary-- or there were so many variations that variation itself was the only pattern, (as in the Smith and Kurten cases, respectively). Among those who did not vary their pattern (Christie, Cream and Smith), a whole sequence of events still took place before, during and after the murders. Even for such presumably straightforward cases as the so-called "machete murders" of Corona, the machete was generally used twice on the victims, before and after the victims were killed with a knife. Thus, this case demonstrated complexity in the sequence of events-- in the pattern itself-- as well as in there being more than

one weapon commonly used, including, among the other variations, a victim who had been shot .

The findings on the intracase methods, then, were that multiple murders were highly individualistic, involving a complex sequence of events and often two or more methods of killing and one or more methods of disposal. The data also indicated that the method(s) of disposal were often a major source of concern to the killer, who frequently planned in advance and took particular care in this area. Further, the method(s) of disposal usually formed a pattern, and, while there were usually variations in that pattern, they were less pronounced than for the methods of killing. The method(s) of disposal have occasionally been the most critical or distinctive feature of a murder series. In the "Hillside Strangler" murders, the disposal M.O. was a key item in determining that the murders were linked, that a pattern existed.

On the other hand, it was found that often the actual cause of death was neither a critical nor a helpful factor in determining the existence of a pattern. In the Collins case, for instance, the seven Michigan victims died by four different methods: gunshot, strangulation, stab wounds and skull fractures. Leaving aside any commonality among the victims, the only two indications of a pattern were (1) the multiple and diverse types of injuries inflicted beyond those that caused the deaths, and (2) the way the bodies were moved after death, where they were found and the placement of the wearing apparel nearby.

Table 36

## Method of Operation:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Method of Killing (Pattern [P] and Variation [V])</u>	<u>Method of Disposal (P and V)</u>
Bender	Skulls smashed in fr behind; throats cut (P); 1 suffocation & 1 mutilation (V).	Buried on property.
Berkowitz	May have begun w/ knife (V); rest w/ .44 caliber gun (P).	Left where shot-- usually in cars.
Bianchi	Strangulation (Str'g) w/ sexual assault (P); 2 tortured (V).	Bodies fd. near freeways, in hillsides or in high risk residential areas; not hidden (P). In cars (V).
Brady	Poss. Str'g & hatchet (V).	Buried in Moors.
Bundy	Beatings w/ e.g. tire iron about the head; assaults; Str'g by ligature	Bodies deposited off aband'd roads, left on surface w/ out clothes (P). Beaten & left in bed (V). One, in shed (V).
Christie	Carbon monoxide to knock out, Str'g by lig.; assault. (P)	Wrapped & trussed, burial in yard, cupboard & house (P)
Corll	Handcuffed or shackled; drugged, sodomised; gagged (P). Most shot or Str'g (P). 1 kicked; 1 poss. hanged (V); some beaten about head & mutilated (V).	Wrapped in plastic & buried (P).
Corona	Most struck 1st w/ poss. machete, then killed w/ a knife & then sometimes hit w/ a mach. again. (P). 1 shot (V). Some Vs had heads crushed (V).	Buried; some evid. graves dug in advance (P). Some w/ shoes untied; few w/ pants down & 1 w/ out pants (V).
Collins	2 shot, 2-3 Str'g, 2 stabbed, 1 skull frac. (V in cause of death). (P in # of wounds, types of injuries, & manor inflicted: 20-25 stab wounds, 1 w/ cont. battering, bound & flogged, tree in vagina, etc. by (P).	Found not actually hidden from sight but outside of town (P). Left bodies nude or nearly so, but w/ clothes near Souvenirs (P).
Cream	In role of Dr., gave out meds laced w/ strychnine & left before victims died (P).	None; Vs went home or were poisoned at home (P).
DeSalvo	Vs attacked fr. behind; stripped, assaulted while alive; Str'd, usually w/ lig.; ransacked apts. & careful placement of bodies. Vs w/ bite marks, 2 w/ foreign objects inserted; 1 stabbed; (V).	Placement: Fd naked & exposed in own apts w/ clothed torn & legs parted or otherwise exposed (P). Some w/ bows (V).
Gacy	Drugged; handcuffed. Also used [Corll's] torture board w/ chains. Primarily Str'g by rope (P). All but 1 (V) had "rope trick".	Buried under house or in river (P). Some souvenirs.

Table 36 (continued)

Name	Method of Killing (Pattern [P] and Variation [V])	Method of Disposal (P and V)
Gunness	Strychnine, followed by blows to head, usually w/ hammer.	Limbs & heads removed w/ "surgical" skill . Parts neatly packed in burlap, buried, quicklime in graves. (P). Not for children (V).
Haigh	Vs brought to "factory" & attacked from behind (P). 3 w/ blunt instrument & 3 w/ gun (V). "Shopping list."	Each placed in drum of sulfuric acid. Disposed of sludge in holes & yard (P)
Heirens	Neck injuries (P); overkill (P); washed blood & covered wounds. Remained w/ Vs for 2 hrs (P). 1 w/ neck cut & multiple stabblings & beating. 1 shot. 1 Str'd & dismembered. w/ ransom note (V).	1 fd on bed in own apt w/ body covered up. 1 in a tub (w/ lipstick message). 1 deposited in different sewers (V).
Holmes	Pitzels: 1 chloroform poisoning, 2 prob. suffocations; 1 manual Str'g (V). Castle: gassings; burnings; poisonings & "more violent." Most undetermined. Just disappeared or e.g. bones fd (V).	Pitzels: 1 explosion; 1 buried in earth; 1 in chimney (V). Castle basement, a disposal plant: burned Vs; dissected Vs; vats of acid & quicklime. Crematory (V).
Kemper	Shot 2 in back of head w/ a .22 rifle; moved bodies (P). Strangers: stabblings; gun (P); also Str'g, suffocated, hammer & fists (V). Handcuffs or tied & gagged (P). Some raped.	Left the 1st 2 at house. Strangers: by dismemberment, decapitation, stripping, burying or dumping parts (P). Souvenirs. Ma. & friend (V).
Kurten	Multiple weapons & injuries: axe blows, blow w/ a "tool," w/ scissors, stabbed w/ a dagger, struck w/ hammer; Str'g; Str'g & stabbed. (V).	Left at crime scenes (P).
Landru	Undetermined.	Undetermined, prob. burned & buried or spread ashes.
Manson	Shooting; mutilatory wound w/ a sword. A # of weapons: guns, knives, bayonet, lamp, rope, lamp chord, used in tieing or near-Str'g or suffocation (V). Knife & fork in stomach (V); messages in Vs blood (P).	1 dismembered & buried (V); most left at crime scenes (P).
Mullin	Baseball bat, then knife in 1st 2 cases (V); then gun on rest (P).	1st V pulled off side of road, 2nd dissected (V) & deposited in mts. Then- left Vs at crime scenes (P).

Table 36 (continued)

Name	Method of Killing (Pattern [P] and Variation [V])	Method of Disposal (P and V)
Petiot	Undetermined; blows to head w/ hammer; injection (V). "Escape" murders; undetermined: poss. gas or injection; (P?).	Undetermined; attempted to burn. Left. (V). Then "escape" murders (P): death house w/ triangular chamber; kitchen for dissection; garage for quicklime.
Schmid	Hit w/ rock, assaulted. 2 undetermined (V).	Superficial burial- desert (P).
Smith	3 brides "drowned" in baths by undetermined methods (P).	Left in baths (P).
Starkweather	Primary method, gun (P); also used a knife & gun as club; 1 poss. assault (V).	Some left where died; some placed inside a structure (V).
Sutcliffe	Vs struck, often repeatedly on back of head w/ small hammer. Then clothing pulled away & multiple stabbings to midsection (P). Some w/ boot impression (V). No assault.	Found nude, partially nude & w/ full, but disturbed, (V). Left at scene (P).
Williams	Shooting deaths, Str'g, bludgeonings, stabbings, suffocation/asphyxiation & undetermined (V). No assault.	(V): fd on land, in water, indoors, outdoors. Almost as many as methods of killing. "No pattern to disposal."

While intracase patterns were discerned for the majority of subjects despite the complex nature of the methods involved, there was little in the way of specific intercase patterns that could be said to reflect a so-called "typical" serial killer. Taking, for example, the first six cases (Bender through Christie) named and described in Table 36, the following methods of killing were used: strangulation; battering (with a blunt instrument); cuttings and stabbings; use of a sharp, heavy instrument (such as a hatchet); shooting; poisoning; and suffocation. For the same six cases, the following methods of disposal were used: victims were buried (in three cases); victims were left at the crime scene(s); victims were deposited where they would be found shortly after

death; and bodies, without any possessions, were left in uninhabited areas, exposed to animals and the elements.

Multiple murderers tended to use more than one weapon or method, and for many of their victims, cause of death could not be determined due to decomposition. As a result of these two factors, several assumptions in the literature could not be confirmed. For instance, the use of a gun (in this study, at least once by 11 out of 27 subjects, or 41 percent) was not as low as the literature indicated relative to the use of strangulation (by 13 of the 27 subjects, or 48 percent). On the whole, there were more murderers whose primary method was strangulation (usually by ligature) than murderers whose primary method was shooting. Nevertheless, the use of a gun was a relatively frequent occurrence across cases, and guns figured prominently in cases where there were two primary methods (see, for instance, Corll or Haigh), or one pattern which was deviated by the use of a gun (as in Corona's case), or where there was diversity (as with the Collins case).

The literature also focused upon the assumption that multiple, particularly, serial, murders were sex murders and/or involved torture. The complicated issue of sex has already been discussed in relation to motives, particularly. In relation to methods, evidence of sexual assault was by no means always available; it depended upon the condition of the body. There are several reasons to approach any interpretation of sexual assaults cautiously: (1) certain cases not thought of as sex murders (such as Starkweather's) included one murder which did involve a sexual assault; (2) some murders, such as those committed by Sutcliffe, the so-called "Yorkshire Ripper," involved several prostitutes and were referred to as sex murders-- but they did not involve sexual assaults; and (3) some murderers assaulted some,

but not all their victims. As stated previously, murders involving a sexual element (whether it is stripping of the body or an assault) may or may not mean that the murder was a "sex crime."

Rappaport ("Night Stalker' Not a Typical Serial Killer, Psychologists Say," 1985:8B) said that, "Knives, strangulation and other forms of torture are frequently used...." This statement implies that knives and strangulation are forms of torture *per se*, an implication which is not necessarily true. Often the terms "torture" and "sadism" are used interchangeably. This has made the issue of torture into an issue of personality rather than one of methods. Even as an issue of methods, whether or not torture has occurred-- in general-- was largely a matter of interpretation unless torture was narrowly defined as the purposeful infliction of physical and mental pain over a period of time.

How much pain a victim felt before losing consciousness was often impossible to determine. With certain cases (Corll, Gacy, Cream and Kurten, for instance), the methods themselves indicated that most of the victims suffered, prior to their deaths and in addition to torment and fear, from brutal assaults (such as sodomy) and pain. However, the majority of multiple murder cases studied differed both quantitatively and qualitatively from such infamous cases of torture and murder as those committed by Carl Folk or Donald Fearn, for instance (see Hall, 1974).

### The Investigation

The main finding on the nature of the investigation relative to the murderers' behavior was that the multiple murderer dictated the nature of the investigation, rather than the police. As Levin and Fox (1985:166) put it, "The serial killer... must be considered a skillful practitioner. If he weren't, his murder spree would have been curtailed early on." The authors further

pointed out that "The hard truth is that serial killers, like Gacy, Corll, and Williams, are extremely skillful killers-- 'the cream of the crop'"(Levin and Fox,1985:186). These killers were finally stopped, but there were probably, as Levin and Fox observed, many unknown multiple murderers with the expertise to protect themselves from ever being caught.

The multiple murderer may dictate the nature of the investigation in several ways. For instance, there have been multiple murderers who have known how to keep their crimes completely unknown to the police. They have been able to do so because of two major factors working in conjunction with each other: (1) there were no bodies to be found, as victims had been buried or had been destroyed in such a way as to eliminate all or almost all traces of the victims, or victims were deposited nude and away from the crime scene; and (2) the murders remained undetected because the murderer took advantage of the chaos of war, or the lack of communication between police jurisdictions, or the failure of police to take action on the majority of missing persons reports.

Brady, for instance, decided to switch from children to teenage victims precisely because the disappearance of very young victims attracted too much attention. He explained to a potential follower that "Teenagers is [sic] a better bet, they get forgotten an' [sic] labeled as missin' [sic] perrsons [sic]" (Williams, 1968:246).

In the Corll case, both victims and killers came, for the most part, from the same small area of Houston known as the Heights. Corll knew he was not jeopardizing himself even though he was killing so many boys for whom missing reports were filed. If he did not know from the beginning, he had to

have learned rather quickly that the police were not going to investigate, and that the police were passing off the disappearances as runaways.

Later, Gacy would study the Corll case and commit a similar series of crimes. Gacy was a most receptive audience when the Houston police had expressed their attitudes toward the victims in the Corll case. The Houston police had said that the kids were nothing more than male whores who knew what they were getting into. Gacy would subsequently claim that he was ridding the world of trash, of homosexual hustlers. In Chicago, there were missing persons reports in two "Police Areas" naming Gacy as someone acquainted with the victims, but there was never any follow-up or link at that point in the Gacy case.

In 16 out of 27 cases studied (or 59 percent) the police either did not know that crimes had been committed or were not aware that crimes they considered isolated were actually linked. It was found that local police departments, almost without exception, took the attitude that murders were never part of a series, unless this had somehow been proven to be the case. It was also found that the impetus for investigating the murders as a series was usually the behavior of the murderer: specifically, the murderer increased the frequency and brutality of the crimes so that police (and press) would have to take notice.

It was no coincidence that Bianchi, who thought his first murders deserved more press attention, created panic and forced police to see the connections when he (and Buono) disposed of five more bodies during the 1977 Thanksgiving week. As Levin and Fox (1985:143) reported, the Hillside Stranglings, "true to form," became increasingly more brutal as the victim count rose. The same pattern noted by Levin and Fox for Bianchi also occurred

earlier in Michigan in the Collins case. The first two murders occurred almost a year apart, and, despite the similarities, "It had not been reasonable to conclude a 'series' from such scattered incidents. Thus, the [second] murder had been logged only as a second homicide, not *the* second in some fearful progression" (Keyes, 1978:95). The third murder further directed attention away from the idea of a series, for the killer had used different methods and the victim was different. This victim was shot and had not apparently been sexually assaulted. It was the fourth victim which, as Keyes noted, made everything seem different, even to the police, who began to talk about *the* murders. What had happened was that the killer had "brought everybody up short" by using an M.O. similar to the first murders-- and, by inflicting injuries in a multiple and more brutal manner, he had insured that the murders could not be ignored.

A related way in which multiple murderers have directed the nature of the investigation occurred among cases which were eventually investigated as serial murders. It was found that several subjects of the study essentially decided or determined which crimes would be linked and which would not-- and when. For example, Bundy (who was talking in the third person about the killer in Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:125) said that the killer purposely departed from his M.O. at several points, as when he selected a dissimilar victim. The reason, he said, was so as "... not to fan the flames of community outrage or the intensity of the police investigation." Bundy also said that the killer had once committed a rape, on impulse, and had let the victim go afterwards. This was a risky thing to do, but, Bundy (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:133) explained, after debating with himself the killer decided

...he did not want to create a great amount of public furor because it would reduce the opportunity for victims later on and it would increase

the possibility of eyewitness reports. And he knew enough about these circumstances that, in all likelihood, it wouldn't be reported. Or if it was reported, nothing much would be done about it. They [the police] wouldn't necessarily link it to the other crimes. It would have been a simple act of rape of the type that is fairly common.

Bundy illustrated how intertwined the killer's behavior was with the investigation. He said that there was great anxiety after the first murder. "The tension was concentrated principally upon the progress of the police investigation. If nothing of any significance was disclosed in the newspapers," the tension was reduced (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:116). But after the first murder and the resolve not to do it again diminished, and "once it became clear that there was going to be no link made-- or that he would not be under investigation..." Bundy said that all that mattered to the killer was not exposing himself to risk ever again (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:116). Referring frequently to the killer's knowledge of the criminal investigation process, Bundy also pointed to areas of common knowledge, such as the fact that badly decomposed bodies are identified through dental records. Bundy suggested that the killer has a purposeful desire to change his M.O.

Over 50 years ago in Germany, Kurten was employing what can be characterized as "premeditated variability," for, as he explained to the judge:

I hoped by changing the method to bring about the theory that there were several murderers at work. I hoped this would afford me still greater satisfaction. There appeared long newspaper articles which dealt with the idea of there being a number of different men murdering in different ways. As you know, the Berlin criminal commissioner, Gennat, was the chief upholder of this theory (Rumbelow, 1975:269).

Some of the literature on these issues gives the impression that multiple murderers are, in Rule's (U.S. Congress, 1984) words, trollers, and that, secondarily, they cross multiple jurisdictions. This, in turn, seems to be viewed as "only" a technological problem for which the proposed solution is the FBI's VI-CAP. The findings of this study indicated that multiple murderers did not all

travel nor all stay at home and kill. The problem is that these killers may travel, but among those who did not, many still killed in separate police jurisdictions. Sometimes they committed murders in the same jurisdictions but were investigated by different departments or personnel. If police in the same area do not detect a pattern among unsolved murders, it seems unlikely that, "With VI-CAP, the M.O. pattern would literally leap out of the computers" (Rule, U.S. Congress, 1984:24).

There were two seemingly contradictory findings in regard to the multiple murderer's patterns. The first-- that multiple murderers often changed their methods and picked dissimilar victims-- has been discussed. The second was that multiple murderers have generally exhibited some pattern-- some aspect of their murders was often consistent. This means that, for the purposes of identifying individual patterns and developing computerized programs (such as VI-CAP), there is a necessity for a very broad perspective. For instance, the placement of the bodies may be the most distinctive feature of a series, while the methods might indicate that there is no series. The broad perspective or definition of methods is needed, for the more specific the circumstances that are known about a given case, as Levin and Fox (1985) found, the more likely that case is to be uniquely indicative of the crimes of a single, serial killer.

#### Apprehension

The arrest of the multiple murderer was found to result from one or more of the following factors: (1) the tenacity of a victim's relatives or friends; (2) a fortuitous circumstance, such as being questioned on an unrelated matter or getting a parking ticket near a crime; (3) the loquacity of the murderer (or a co-conspirator) up to and including a confession to police; and (4) the general

downfall of the murderer. (See Table 37 for details on the apprehension of each subject.) Discussion in the literature focused predominantly upon the second factor, luck. However, the latter two factors also bear on the murderer's behavior and need to be considered here.

The talkativeness of some multiple murderers may be a function of the phenomenon of dominance-based partnerships (see discussion in Chapter 2). Those subjects who brought others into their crimes were, by definition, talking to others. Further, some subjects (such as Brady, Manson and Schmid), also talked about their crimes to non-partners-- other friends who were not involved in their crimes. In either case, the subjects were increasing the likelihood of their own apprehension.

Table 37

## Apprehension (Appr)

Name	
Bender	The tenacity of a victim's (V) brother led to queries along route V must have taken. After twice being questioned by a posse, Benders fled & never seen again. Posse then returned to the "inn" & discovered bodies.
Berkowitz	Parking ticket. Also a "circumstantial" witness who saw him around time of the murder.
Bianchi	Appr not in L.A. for those murders, but (relatively easily) for 2 Wash. State Vs. His Ca. license prompted a call to L.A.
Brady	His 3rd murder was witnessed by a friend who went to police. Linked to 1st & 2nd Vs by his own manufactured evidence-- e.g. photos & tapes.
Bundy	Erratic driving, calling attention to himself in Utah & then in Flo. Desperate actions in Flo-- fighting police, etc. made certain his arrest.
Christie	Ran himself & his death house into the ground. Broke, out of work, he gave up house. Soon Vs in his cupboard were found by occupant. As it was his house & he was still wandering aimlessly around London, he was quickly found & Appr.
Collins	1 of the more forensic, intentional Apps. 2 different officers (uncle & an acq.) began to focus in on him. Trace evidence (hairs & blood) fd. in uncle's basement linked last V to this crime scene.
Corll	Case was solved after his death, by the confession of the person who killed him. Henley, a co-killer, told police that he, Corll & Brooks had committed about 27 murders-- about which the police had not known.
Corona	Police were notified of something unusual on property & then fd. mass graves (again, police had not known of any murders). Graves contained some evidence (e.g. receipts) linking murders to Corona.
Cream	Assisted police in his own Appr by talking to everyone, writing "scurrilous letters" & generally not leaving his murders alone. Put under surveillance; accused 1st of blackmail.
DeSalvo	After last murder, S committed a rape. Police able to identify him from V's description. S Appr as the "Green Man," then began to confess.
Gacy	Like Bender, the tenacity of (last) V's family brought case to a close. Pas pursued leads & pressed for inquiry. (Again, police unaware of S's murders.) S put under surveillance; bodies discovered. S began to talk.
Gunness	Fire at Gunness farm. Several bodies fd., but also discovered these had been murdered before fire. There had been no investigation before fire (again, no knowledge of murders), but after fire, other Vs were fd. buried on property. S escaped & was never Appr or seen again.
Haigh	Overly confident: S's last V was someone who wd. be immediately missed & linked to him. He & V's friend went to police to report V missing. S almost too calm; suspicions were aroused. Some of V's belongings fd. in his possession. Confession a result of his mistaken belief in <i>Corpus Delicti</i> & faith that he wd. be sent to mental hospital.

Table 37 (continued)

<u>Name</u>	
Heirens	Apprehended while committing another crime. Prints automatically sent to police investigating the last murder-- he had left a print. <u>Malingering: confession.</u>
Holmes	S boasted to a daring famed robber while in jail-- latter told authorities
Kemper	Drove fr Ca. to Colorado; placed a call to Ca. police to confess. They were not even looking for him.
Kurten	Appr "totally unforeseen, not due to the efforts of police, but to a sheer coincidence, coupled with... lack of caution," Berg said. 1 V escaped & accused him.
Landru	Spotted in a shop by tenacious sister of a V (who was in touch with another V's relative & police. Got S's name & address. Appr next day.
Manson	While in jail on other charges, a co-killer made incriminating statements to fellow-prisoners who went to authorities. Later recanted, but by then things in a downward spiral for S & there was already too much talking.
Mullin	Carelessly shot a V fr his car & was seen. Car soon spotted & S arrested.
Petiot	After fire & discovery of his death house, S escaped. For mos., played the role of a Resistance leader. In the press, he was called a Gestapo agent & he egotistically wrote back in defense of his honor. His handwriting was compared to all FFI officers & he was located & arrested.
Schmid	Schmid told many people & 1 of them told police.
Starkw'ther	Was fighting with someone on a road when a Wyoming deputy sheriff happened to come along. S fled, was pursued & was soon arrested.
Smith	Last murder occurred in London & so was reported by major press. This brought about reports of similar cases in which other brides had also died in other baths. Once Vs were linked, they were linked to Smith.
Sutcliffe	"Almost [Appr] by accident": in a routine check of his car, police fd. he had affixed false #ed plates to his car. Got out to relieve himself & hid weapons. Later, on a hunch, officer went back to spot & fd. them. S confessed (but feigned insanity).
Williams	Drove across a bridge where there was a police stake-out in progress. 1 officer claimed he heard a "splash." Questioned & released. Placed under surveillance. Became a media circus-- then arrested.

There was a rash and foolish aspect to such murderers as Brady and Schmid who hardly needed the kind of partners they picked, partners who did not want to kill and who were likely to talk. There was a similarly foolish aspect to murderers such as Cream or Holmes who just could not leave their crimes

alone and who took to boasting or to talking. The latter cases were much like the case of Herbert Mills described in Chapter 2. This was a man who had believed he had committed a "perfect murder," but, because no one knew it, fell to boasting and was then apprehended and hanged. An additional and relevant finding here was that several other subjects (such as Bianchi, Bundy and Collins) liked to joke that they could be the killer police were then looking for-- at least their friends thought they were joking.

Concerning the general downfall of the murderer, it was found that perhaps half of the subjects studied had, at the very least, begun to take too many risks, or to call attention to themselves or to think the police knew more than they did around the time when they were caught. Other subjects, however, were found to have entered, prior to their apprehension (or death or other demise), a stage of decline and disaster. That is, many multiple murderers began to fall apart. For instance, the once careful and skillful serial killer, Bundy, whose knowledge of police procedures has been discussed, began to act recklessly while free in Florida. Where once he had known it was risky to have killed two girls in one day, he committed, in a single night, two incidents of mass and attempted mass murder, leaving behind witnesses, trace evidence and the bodies at the crime scene. Christie's last days were macabre and pathetic; Corll's were very strained. Both had begun to kill with increasing frequency. For Manson and his so-called "Family," the last days were filled with paranoia and plans for escape and preparations for further violence. Everywhere there was decay. Holmes, when imprisoned for murder, saw in his own face signs of degeneracy he had not had before, and he speculated that this degeneracy was not the cause, but the result, of his many murders.

Others have theorized that the murderer "really" wants to get caught and punished, but this is a premature explanation and one that is not altogether consistent with many of the other findings on multiple murderers.

### Disposition

An obvious finding in regard to the different dispositions in cases of multiple murders was that all the subjects who were born in the nineteenth century and two who were born in the early twentieth were executed. (The two murderers, Bender and Gunness, were exceptions, for both originally escaped and were possibly murdered shortly thereafter.) In contrast, none of the remaining twentieth century subjects have been executed.

Upon further examination of the subjects' dispositions, however, the death penalty assumes less importance in the history of multiple murders.. Of the 16 remaining cases, there were 2-- Bundy and Gacy-- for whom the death penalty is still in effect. Manson and Schmid were both sentenced to death, but when their sentences were nullified by the Supreme Court's ruling, they were sentenced to life imprisonment. Two subjects-- Corll and DeSalvo-- were murdered. The remaining subjects are serving life sentences in prison. Even Heirens, whose last murder occurred in 1946, was not sentenced to death-- even though he had pled guilty to 30 counts-- for 3 murders and for assaults with intent to kill, burglaries and robberies. The reason seems to be the involvement of psychiatry in sentencing.

Table 38 shows that psychiatric testimony was frequently heard and the issue of insanity was frequently raised. About the only times that psychiatric testimony was not offered was when the defendant claimed he was innocent. Even then an insanity defense may be offered (as in the Starkweather case) or a presentencing evaluation may be ordered (as occurred with Bundy's first

conviction in Utah). As was reported under the findings for "Summation of the Attributes," 8 of the 27 subjects (or 30 percent) used the insanity defense. There were also 7 subjects (or 26 percent) who were known to have feigned insanity, and some of these used the insanity defense while others went on to plead guilty.

The final disposition on many of the twentieth century cases was very often difficult to find out. Usually much was written about the crimes and the perpetrators, while very little was reported about what happened after the person was apprehended. Often there was no trial. For instance, after months of feigning insanity, both Berkowitz and Bianchi pled guilty and were quietly sentenced to life imprisonment with parole eligibility. Through the early-to-middle twentieth century, trials were usually covered as extensively as the crimes. Increasingly in modern times, however, the fate of the murderer has been decided behind closed doors, and/or in extralegal fashion. Even when there is a trial, it may not be extensively covered by the press, the Manson trial being a major exception. It seems to be the case, however, that when the murderer wants a show-- as Manson and Brady and Bundy apparently did-- then the trial does get press coverage.

Table 38

## Disposition

Name	
Bender	<u>Unknown; escaped then believed to have been lynched by posse.</u>
Berkowitz	Feigned insanity. Competency hearing. Fd. fit to stand trial. Since his demon story was shaky, he pled guilty. (Subsequently admitted he had faked the dog/demon story.) No trial. Sentenced to a total of 547 yrs. Eligible for parole after 25 yrs. In Attica, New York.
Bianchi	Feigned insanity. Insanity def (I.D.). entered in Wash. It fell apart, so made a deal w/ L.A.: pled guilty to Wash. and 5 L.A. murders & agreed to testify ag. Buono. In return, sentenced to life with poss. of parole.
Brady	Tried for all 3 murders. Pled not guilty. Fd. guilty. Concurrent sentences of life for each murder. (Tried w/ Myra Hindley). Now in prison.
Bundy	Fd. guilty of aggra. kidnapping in Utah: 1-15 yrs. Extradited to Colo. Escaped twice. In Flo., tried twice for two sets of murders & received death sentence for each of 3 murders. Now on death row. Flo. State. Raiford.
Christie	Confessed. Tried for 1 nonsexual murder only. Pled insanity, but diag. of his own psych. was only "hysteria." Fd. guilty w/in 1.5 hrs. Executed.
Collins	Tried for only 1 murder. Pled not guilty. Never confessed; didn't testify. Discussed I.D. w/ lawyer. After a polygraph lawyer suggested changing plea. S sd. no. Convicted. Sentenced to life. At S. Mich. State Prison. Appeals have failed. Cd. be extradited to Ca. for a murder there.
Corll	Murdered. Henley tried, fd. guilty & sentenced to 6- 99 yr. terms. Conviction overturned, fd. guilty again. Had agreed to a max. of 99 yrs.
Corona	Tried & fd. guilty & sent. to 25 life sent. Overturned; retried & again fd. guilty. Eligible for parole. Denied in 1984 & again in 1987.
Cream	1st fd. guilty of murder in Chicago. W/ "connections," released after 10 yrs. Tried for only 1 of London murders, but court allowed in evidence relative to all-- this was decisive. After 12 min., fd. guilty. As he was hanged, yelled out, "I am Jack the..." which could not have been true.
DeSalvo	Never tried for the stranglings, despite confession. Sent. to life for armed robbery, B & E, etc. Wanted to be ID'd as Strangler & fd. N.G.I., but lawyer failed. S was murdered in prison.
Gacy	Claimed multiple personality. This was dismissed, but NGI was used. Failed. Conviction & death sent. are currently being appealed.
Gunness	Escaped from the fire, but whether or not she got away or was murdered remains a mystery. (Her lover was convicted of arson.)
Haigh	Asked police about Broadmoor Hospital. Then confessed. Only (like Christie) added Vs to the list & claimed insanity. Sd. he drank Vs' blood, etc. 12 psych. examined him; 11 sd. S was faking. 12th sd. he was a paranoid. Jury disagreed & he was executed.
Heirens	After malingering, he confessed. He had tried multiple personality. Pled guilty; court sent. him to 3 consecutive life sent, plus time for other crimes. In prison as was fd. sane. Cont. involvement w/ psych..however.

Table 38 (continued)

<u>Name</u>	
Holmes	Tried for only 1 murder. 1st acted as own attorney (att), using Not Guilty (NG) plea, but even w/ att., never put on a defense. 1st degree conviction. Wrote a confession; retracted. Converted. Made a speech on the scaffold saying he never murdered. Executed.
Kemper	Adjudged insane for earlier murders. Released fr hospital. Att entered NGI plea, but was almost forced to waive trial & plead guilty as no psych. fd. him to be legally insane. Tried for 8 counts of 1st degree murder. 2 psych. testified he was sane during murders. Jury fd. him guilty & sane. Life sent. Now in prison.
Kurten	Confessed in great detail. Exhaustive study of his mental state & heredity. Psych. all testified that he was sane & responsible. Fd. guilty of 9 murders & 7 attempted murders. Executed.
Landru	Charged w/ 11 murders. Then: 2 1/2 yrs. of investigation. Pled NG. 3 psych. testified he was sane. Fd. guilty. (Had kept notebooks, etc., but no confession or evidence of methods.) Sd. to chaplain, "I am very sorry but I must not keep these gentlemen [executioners] waiting." Turned down the traditional brandy & was executed.
Manson	Trial was a circus (as w/ Landru's). S & 3 co-defendants had different atts who had different aims; atts fired; S wanted to be his own att. Girls tried to take stand to exonerate S, so their atts rested the case. S took the stand-- just rambled. Fd. guilty & sane. Death sent-- later abolished. Currently: Vacaville Med. Facility. Has parole eligibility. Publ. <i>Manson In His Own Words</i> (1986) with Emmons.
Mullin	Att entered plea of NG & NGI because in Ca defendants must enter both. Instead of the usual 2 trials, here, guilt was not at issue, so only 1 trial. Principle issue was sanity. Both sides agreed he was schizophrenic, but not necessarily legally insane. Jury did not want him to be released once again fr a Ca. mental hospital. Fd. guilty of 2 counts of 1st degree murder & 8 counts of diminished responsibility, the former insuring life without parole.
Petiot	Ironically, for a person whose every infraction throughout life was treated by psychs, S's trial for 27 murders did not involve a NGI plea. He added to the #s, claiming he'd killed 63-- as a member of the French Resistance-- all for his country. Fd. guilty. In cell he wrote a "guillotine song," following ex. of other famous criminals. Executed.
Schmid	Tried for 2; pled NG. Fd. guilty of 1st degree & sent. to death. Then att Bailey came in & asked local att why no NGI defense. Told there had been assessments & that the results wd. "scare the pants off any att." In next trial, Bailey entered guilty to 2nd degree. 2 psychs. brought in for sent. Testified S knew "right fr wrong," nature of his acts, etc. After other confusing legal turns of events, sent. to 50 yrs.-life. Death pen. overturned. Currently serving sentences in prison.

Table 38 (continued)

Name	
Smith	Tried for 1 murder, but court allowed evidence of a "system." Executed.
Starkw'ther	Separate trial for S & for Fugate. Charged w/ 1 murder. Balked at NGI--but att used it anyway. Fd. guilty & executed.
Sutcliffe	S confided to wife that he intended to feign insanity (had learned how by his wife's illness); S sd. he'd only serve 10 yrs. that way. Told psychs that God had commanded him to kill all prostitutes. NGI used. The Crown accused psychs of "remarkable indifference" in neglecting all other evidence & basing all on his word alone (also happened in Bianchi & Haigh's trials). Jury fd. S guilty & sane & he received 30 yrs & life sent.
Williams	Tried for murders of 2 adults by means unknown & yet prosecution allowed to link these 2 to 10 others, in a doctrine called "prior bad acts." This admission of "pattern" evidence is still being debated. Fd. guilty, S currently serving life sent. Case seems unsettled: possible new trial.

In general, it was found that, from apprehension through trial and sentencing, the multiple murderer tends to attract attention to himself and that he often makes trouble. However, when the murderer has reached his final place of incarceration, he is only rarely brought into the limelight by his or the press's doing, ever again.

## Chapter 5

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, DISCUSSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Within the span of a relatively few years, the once rare crime of multiple murder has increased dramatically, particularly in America. As a consequence, there has been an increasing interest in the problem on the part of the American social scientific and law enforcement communities. Conclusions about the problem range from the view that multiple murders have always and everywhere occurred to the view that they are an American problem of recent origin and that they represent a new personality type. Nevertheless, most of the academic and law enforcement interest has been in the application of traditional orientations and theories to the study of a largely unknown phenomenon. This is an attempt to solve, treat and explain a problem apart from its historical context and without having adequately or systematically described that problem.

#### Summary

The purpose of the present study was to initiate the establishment of a data base on multiple murderers by describing, in a systematic manner, 27 multiple murderers and their crimes. The sample was comprised of historical, cross cultural and recent American cases. The available materials on these cases were the data sources, and the extraction of material was structured through procedures and research instruments. The specific purposes of the study were to determine the characteristics of multiple murderers and their

crimes, including commonalities and differences, and to analyze the characteristics of the persons to determine what, if any, correspondence existed between these murderers and their crimes.

Chapter 2 began by reviewing the early descriptive studies of multiple murderers. Using available materials, Bolitho (1926), Douthwaite (1929) and Dickson (1958) each concluded that multiple murderers could not be differentiated from the general population, and that they were neither madmen nor monsters. These authors found several characteristics to be common, such as egocentrism, greed, selfishness and feelings of superiority.

After placing the cross cultural phenomenon of multiple murder in its historical context, the increase in such murders was documented. Further, in the second half of this century, according to Godwin (1978: 9), multiple murders have become commonplace, and yet these crimes have no visible connection with poverty or any of those causes usually cited as a factor in America's murder crisis. This view is substantiated by a range of statistical and research data indicating, for instance, that the rise in violent crimes has been accompanied by increasing affluence and that stranger-to-stranger violence is committed predominantly by white males. Wilson (Wilson and Seaman, 1983: ix-xx) argued that motiveless murders are committed by persons whose basic needs have been met and who live in an era of increased leisure, education and boredom. Indeed, Wilson believed that the emergence of apparently motiveless crimes is due to the emergence of the self-esteem level of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. That is, mass, serial and motiveless murderers are self-esteem murderers who feel a vague or unmotivated sense of resentment against a society that thwarts their primacy or fails to reward them. The concepts of psychopathy and dominance were reviewed in relation to the characteristics of

multiple murderers, and, to some extent, the increase in these and related crimes.

Relevant criminological work was reviewed for the three major areas, the multiple murderer's life history, personality characteristics and crimes. Briefly stated, current thinking about the life history encompasses most of the traditional assumptions about violence and about criminals, plus some new or resurrected views. To such traditional assumptions regarding race, socioeconomic status, population density, inadequate or broken families and traumas of early environment are added the emerging biological view - that serial murder is a disease as well as a crime. Lunde (1976) articulated the psychiatric view that multiple murderers are almost always insane. In reviewing relevant criminological work on the crimes, several untested notions were explored. These include the beliefs that victims are generally stalked, are not selected at random, but, rather, because of their symbolic significance or because they are representatives of the desired victim-type, and that the killer commits certain types of killings and rarely varies his Modus Operandi. It is also generally held to be the case that the absence of any clear motive is an indication of psychopathology in the killer or can otherwise be explained as, for instance, "really" having a sexual motive.

In designing the study, it was decided that the term "multiple murder" would be used, as contrasted with mass or serial, and would be operationally defined as a murder case involving three or more victims who were killed in two or more episodes. The final sample of solved cases for which there was adequate information was judged to be representative of the countries, chronology and diversity of crime-types that constitute multiple murders committed. Two instruments were developed from the content themes reviewed

in the literature: the Life History and The Crimes (see Appendix A). The procedures to be followed in data collection were specified. For each case, a narrative was written which included an introduction, a description of the life history, a statement of the summative attributes, a description of the crimes, and a restatement of the life history in tabled format.

To arrive at the findings, the narrative reports for 27 subjects were written. (See Appendix B for five total cases which serve as an exemplar for the sample). Next, analysis focused on the findings for the subjects as a whole; and this material was divided into the three areas of life history, personality and crimes. Some of the major findings were as follows: Two-thirds of the subjects were born in the twentieth century in America, and most of the remaining subjects were English. The majority of subjects were white males whose families clustered at or around the socioeconomic status of the middle-class. Most of the parents had stable employment patterns.

The majority of the subjects studied, including adoptees, were reared by parents whose marriages remained intact. Almost all were found to have some stabilizing influence in their immediate or extended families. There were few instances of physical abuse or sexual traumas or neglect. Few had any medical problems of any magnitude or a psychiatric history. The subjects were far more likely than not to grow up in homes in which the parents offered love, stability and, often, a "Christian upbringing." Few exhibited more than one of the so-called "Macdonald triad" behaviors: firesetting, bedwetting and torturing of animals.

Of the subjects who were disruptive in elementary school, all had at least an average IQ. The majority of subjects began to "bloom" in high school, indicating that they had not learned to think of themselves as failures. It was

only among the twentieth century subjects that school disruptions even occurred. Almost half reached the college level of education. A majority of the subjects had high, if vague, aspirations.

Few of the subjects had a psychiatric history, and fewer still had ever been treated for a psychosis. While a third used "insanity" as part of their defense, none were successful.

The following personality traits were common: dissimulation, egocentrism, egoism, ambitiousness, ambitiousness and greed, ambitiousness and an urge for primacy, the feeling of being different, the feeling of superiority, low tolerance to boredom, disregard for social rules and disdain for society, anger, and, in general, high dominance-feeling and psychopathy.

Findings relative to the crimes include the following: The vast majority of multiple murderers kill strangers, but they do not always and only kill strangers. Among the cases of the study, there were murders for profit and many murders with a sexual element. Upon further examination, however, few of these cases could so easily or fully be explained with reference to such traditional motives. Crimes with a sexual element are common, but crimes with a sexual motive are not. It was found that murder is a volitional act, a declaration which says, most dramatically, "I am here."

Multiple murderers were found to select victims who were often dissimilar. The finding that the murderer was most likely to obtain victims by some form of seduction rather than force means that the murderer is a more critical factor than either the vulnerability of the victim or the use of a car, as is commonly thought. Methods of killing varied-- within a case and across cases-- and included such methods as poisonings and shootings as well as those believed to be typical of serial murder, such as strangulation and stabbings.

There were few instances of outright, physical torture. More often than not, disposal of the bodies had been carefully thought out. Multiple murderers often change their patterns; they are difficult to apprehend.

### Conclusions

Based on the findings presented in Chapter 4 and general knowledge from the literature, the following conclusions are established as to the meanings of the findings:

1. Life histories of multiple murderers are not unlike the typical patterns of non-murderers, and, consequently, life histories in and of themselves do not explain or account for the crimes of multiple murder.
2. Personality characteristics of multiple murderers appear useful for explaining the murders but are, by themselves, not sufficient to distinguish murderers from non-murderers.
3. Multiple murderers commonly exhibit both high-dominance feeling and psychopathy, with dominance taking the more primary role in the personalities.
4. The increase in multiple murders since the early 1960s has been limited to the United States and has not been a cross cultural problem.
5. At present, there is no evidence that a "typical" serial murder pattern exists, in the sense of predetermined, unchanging methods and identifiable victim-types.
6. Multiple murder is a chosen career and not a psychopathological response or sign of mental illness.
7. Aside from the general motivating force of a unique career, there are few, apparent, traditional motives involved in multiple murders.

### Discussion

Each of the conclusions are discussed in some detail below, and, where appropriate, related to the literature.

Conclusion 1: as a group, multiple murderers' life histories reveal a relatively normal background and one that contains no sufficient or consistent explanatory factors. This conclusion is based upon three sets of findings: (1) the irrelevancy or absence of those particularly traumatic variables suggested in the literature; (2) the relatively typical range of life history patterns; and, (3) the existence of some social, biological, or environmental advantages found among some of the subjects.

The notion of serial murder as a disease as well as a crime could not be confirmed by this study: Multiple murderers were not found to have suffered prenatal, birth, or postnatal traumas associated with such a disease. Multiple murderers were not found to have suffered from emotional or sensorial deprivation, from rejection or neglect, or from the brutal and arbitrary punishments of broken homes and troubled parents.

The problem of child abuse-- and recent concern about it-- has given rise to the belief that multiple murderers must have been gravely abused during childhood. The evidence cited on this point has been anecdotal and largely inaccurate. While it is often claimed that abused children grow up to be abusive toward their own families, the finding that multiple murderers grow up to kill repeatedly-- and usually to kill strangers-- is never explained. It seems to be presumed that the multiple murderer hides his rage against his parents, plans his revenge for most of his life, and then, too afraid to kill his parents, kills strangers instead. No evidence was found in this study to indicate that the majority of multiple murderers were ever abused, and to place the multiple

murderer in the status of abused victim is inappropriate. Further, the notion that the multiple murderer is afraid to kill his mother or father is rather absurd: by definition, multiple murderers are not afraid to kill. In the one instance in which a subject did have immense hostility against a dominant and "overwhelming" mother, the subject killed her. Consequently, it appears that multiple murderers are not "really" seeking to kill their parents, or they would.

Of the many other variables associated with crime, with violence and/or with multiple murders, such as mental illness or urban disorders, none were found to be particularly relevant to multiple murders. Moreover, there is nothing particularly unusual about the background of multiple murderers. And certainly, there was nothing like a specific, consistent and devastating trauma found which could account for such extremely violent behavior. If multiple murderers do have any of the emotional, social or biological deficits or problems discussed in the literature, these are of so minute and/or different a form that they were not and perhaps could not be detected. Most of the problems specifically mentioned in the literature-- from harelips to hyperactivity-- are observable. Even when it is assumed that the behavior of the multiple murderer is "symbolic," this cannot be assumed unless the referent is identified and supported by evidence.

The vast majority of multiple murderers, on the other hand, began life with certain advantages. For instance, most of the subjects were found to be relatively economically secure white males, with good intelligence, with some educational opportunities, many with good looks, and many with good health. Further, multiple murderers almost always came to live in a loving home where they were wanted, where the parents' marriage was intact, and where the parents had been generally considered to have been good and decent people

who had done their best. This is not to say that the parents' marriage was ideal, but then, few marriages are. There were a few cases in which the home life was far from ideal, but such cases as that of Manson, DeSalvo and Kurten, for instance, were the exceptions, and not the rule.

One of the life history findings reported in Chapter 4-- that of early emotional detachment-- has more to do with personality and, again, little to do with anything done to the subject. It was found that over half of the subjects were emotionally detached in childhood. Further, some of the subjects did not return their parents' (or guardians') love and concern, and some stood aloof from their family or peers. As with all forms of detachment, the emotional detachment of childhood can hardly be detected except in hindsight. That is, while it was noticed at the time, there was not a great deal of importance attached to it. It was also found that there was detachment among some of the subjects with respect to education and to occupations, that there was some social detachment in that the subjects often had shallow relations with others; many felt at odds with the world (regardless of any social success) and had aspirations which set them apart.

These findings on the detachment of some multiple murderers are consistent with Yochelson and Samenow's (1976) findings that criminals do not internalize the concepts of family, work, education and so forth. Also consistent is Yochelson and Samenow's conclusion that none of the supposedly significant variables seemed to be causal in the development of the criminals they studied.

Conclusion 2: the personality characteristics of multiple murderers, while not necessarily unique to this group, are fairly consistent across subjects, and appear useful for explaining the murders. Yochelson and Samenow (1976)

also emphasized the importance of the personality, as contrasted with social and psychological factors, in their study of criminals. Wilson (Wilson and Seaman, 1983), in analyzing motiveless murders, has similarly concluded that such crimes cannot be accounted for by insanity, physiological or neurological factors, or social pressures, and that the problem lies in the realm of the personality. These authors, as well as Levin and Fox (1985), concluded that multiple murderers (or "criminals") are sane.

The absence of mental illness and the diversity of environments among the criminals they studied led Yochelson and Samenow (1976) to begin to discern the element of choice involved in criminal behavior. Similarly, Wilson (Wilson and Seaman, 1983) stated of such subjects of the present study as Brady, Corll and Manson, that these were free individuals who decided to kill, and that they had avoided any effort at self-control. These authors focused specifically on the thinking process involved in habitual crime and multiple murder, respectively.

Yochelson and Samenow (1976) were able to specify the thinking process of criminals, but it may be more difficult to do so with multiple murderers, for there are differences between the two groups. One difference is that criminals, as children, begin to think in terms of the forbidden - and their thinking patterns have an early and an immediate relationship with crime and crime-related behaviors. This is not necessarily the case with multiple murderers, who may develop comparable thinking patterns and manifestations of the so-called "criminal personality" before crimes are ever committed or perhaps even considered. That is, while many of the characteristics of criminals and multiple murderers-- such as egocentricity and feelings of superiority-- may be the same, there seems to be little or no relationship between the

manifestations of the "criminal personality" and any criminal activities in the multiple murderer.

The relationship in the criminal between thinking patterns in childhood and later criminal behavior provides some basis for prediction that is absent in the case of multiple murderers. Also absent for multiple murderers is the thinking pattern that is the basis for Yochelson and Samenow's (1976) distinguishing between criminals and what the authors refer to as responsible people. Multiple murderers do not always have an early criminal history. And further, multiple murderers, unlike the criminals of Yochelson and Samenow's study, are not often openly scornful of such aspects of life as work, education and family. Multiple murderers are dissemblers, as has been noted, and they are adept at faking most anything. Consequently, it is difficult to detect most types of detachments. It is often only in hindsight that one can see that a multiple murderer's commitment to most aspects of a responsible life is very frail indeed.

Conclusion 3: multiple murderers combine most of the specific characteristics of high dominance-feeling and behavior with many of the characteristics associated with the psychopath. This conclusion was drawn from the finding that multiple murderers studied exhibited the personality variables characteristic of high dominance-feeling and the characteristic points of Cleckley's (1982) psychopath. Problems arise in assessing the appropriateness of either high dominance or psychopathy as applied to multiple murderers. However, when high dominance and psychopathy are conceived of as having combined in the subjects of the study, these problems are eliminated.

One problem with the concept of psychopathy-- alone-- is that it lacks the dynamic element of a "will to power." Without this element, the psychopath is,

as Cleckley (1982) saw him, more of a nuisance than a source of potential and great danger. Dominance contributes the dynamic element.

Another problem is that the psychopath, according to Cleckley (1982), fails to follow through on any plan, thereby ruining, by his own folly, any pursuit, whether good or bad. Many multiple murderers, however, were following through with some pursuit (occupational, educational, or other), and were even succeeding, in some cases, when they turned to murder. The problem here is that multiple murderers often go further in their careers or social spheres than the typical psychopath discussed in the literature. A murder series, furthermore, is a well-defined pursuit or plan to which the subjects applied themselves for varying lengths of time. (Some of the multiple murderers studied did begin to ruin this pursuit toward the end, regardless of how well thought out and careful they may have once been in their murder series.)

Many of the problems associated with the concept of psychopathy in relation to multiple murderers arise from the limited notions of the term as having to do only or mainly with issues of sanity, with mental illness "disguised" as sanity, and with various defects or incapacities. As far as the present study is concerned, the concept of psychopathy is of value because (1) as a personality type, it combines the negative with the superficially positive attributes, and (2) there are studies indicating that psychopathy is a reflection of the over-arching culture and that its incidence can be changed by changing cultural values, as is discussed below.

In contrast to psychopathy, the over-arching culture has little effect on dominance-feeling (although dominance status and dominance behavior are culturally conditioned, according to Maslow, 1973); and the incidence of high dominance does not appear to change. Hall (1974) cited evidence indicating a

dominant 5 percent among all populations, and noted that it is from their ranks that the leaders in all fields come. Accompanying the text is a photographic display of some famous, dominant leaders, such as the boxer, Muhammad Ali, the evangelist, Billy Graham, civil rights leader Martin Luther King and the gangster, Al Capone. The commonalities among such persons as a Martin Luther King, a Capone or a Manson, seem to be confined, however, to those neutral or positive attributes of high dominance-feeling, such as poise, self-confidence and independence. However, it is psychopathy versus high social standards that determine the effect high dominance has on an individual. This is what differentiates Dr. King from the murderers or the musicians or millionaires pictured in Hall. Maslow (1973:166) explained in "A Theory of Human Motivation" that a most important exception to the usual hierarchy of basic needs involves "ideals, high social standards, high values and the like. With such values people become martyrs...." High dominance per se, then, may provide the common link among the martyrs, successful leaders and multiple murderers. However, high social standards combine with the dominance to give rise to such a man as Dr. King or comparable leaders, while psychopathy combines with the dominance in the case of the subjects of this study.

Beyond the combination of high dominance-feeling and psychopathy, many of the subjects had a strong desire to be powerful-- without readymade outlets or sufficient talent or the perseverance to obtain the desired status legitimately. The feeling of entitlement existed among all the subjects of the study, and this feeling helps to account for those historical subjects who turned to murder for profit and for the increasing number of more recent cases in which people have turned to murder in order to be "somebody," to be famous.

Wilson (Wilson and Seaman, 1983: ix-xx) described the brutality of the modern multiple murderer as the "Roman emperor syndrome" because, historically, such brutality was the province of tyrants and men of great wealth. Such people think of others as "throwaways," as if others exist just to do their bidding. While Wilson indicated only that the modern multiple murderer lacks the wealth of his historical predecessors, the more important point is that most multiple murderers are economically secure white males, which means that they have a culturally defined form of superiority-- what Maslow (1973) referred to as "dominance status."

Dominance status is significant since multiple murderers in Western cultures have generally come from that group which has, historically and traditionally, been used to thinking of themselves as in charge, and of others-- those in a subordinate position-- as existing to do their bidding. Those who feel superior, who feel entitled, have contributed most to the three types of "climates for violence" noted by Wertham (1966: 71-96) : fascism, colonialism and racism. Women, nonwhites, and the very poor have not been likely to commit multiple murder, because such groups have had little or no experience in feeling superior, or that their lives count more than all others. Lower dominance men, minorities, the poor, women, children and foreigners assume the subordinate position to the middle-class adult white males in this country. Anytime there is a mixture of dominance status, high dominance-feeling and an unfulfilled desire for power and recognition of superiority, the danger exists that those in a subordinate position will be viewed as inferiors and will become depersonalized strangers. Furthermore, when psychopathy is also involved, there is the added danger that those strangers will become the object of resentment and/or of violence, which is rationalized and self-indulgent.

Dominance status, then, would seem to have a more primary role in the lives of the subjects than would psychopathy.

Another major reason for concluding that dominance may play a more major role than psychopathy is that, under certain conditions, psychopathy could be an expression or form of dominance-- there is no evidence to the contrary-- and this could explain why the two concepts seem so similar.

Conclusion 4: the increase in multiple murders over the past 20 to 25 years has occurred in only one of the countries of the Western world, and that is America. This conclusion, which is consistent with other sources on this issue, was based on the lifespan and geographic patterns found among the subjects that indicate that multiple murders are relatively rare outside the English-speaking countries of England and America.

Historical and cross cultural evidence indicates that multiple murders are neither new nor are they an exclusively American phenomenon. These crimes began to occur in the late 1900s, and English and American cases have spanned the past century. (The few cases in this study that have occurred outside these two countries did so only during wars and post-war periods.) From the emergence of multiple murders through the mid-twentieth century, America did not contribute a disproportionate number of cases. Therefore, serial murder is not, as Rule (U.S. Congress, 1984) has stated, a relatively new phenomenon in this country, beginning in the 1970s. Nor does the serial murderer represent a new personality type, as both Morrison (Berger, 1984) and Cartel (1985) have suggested.

The problem, then, is one of quantity as much as quality. The question to be addressed is why this once rare crime has recently begun to increase dramatically-- and why it has done so in America only.

Any explanation for multiple murders must account for both the individual or collective characteristics of the offenders and the increase in the numbers of such crimes in America. To date, researchers have rarely taken both aspects of the problem into account. FBI consultants, Ann Rule and Pierce Brooks, have each offered some of the most plausible explanations for the increase. For instance, both Rule and Brooks have pointed to increasing mobility in America as a factor; and Brooks has observed that America is becoming a society of strangers, (Berger, 1984). Elsewhere, Rule (U.S. Congress, 1984) related the problem to the mass media, noting that there is a glorification of multiple murders as if they were somehow acceptable. Levin and Fox (1985) went further in taking into account the two aspects of the problem, for in addition to indicating some characteristics of the murderers, they briefly referred to several factors which could explain "America's growing menace." Three such factors appear to be particularly relevant. These are: (1) the prevalence of mass and serial murders in the most transient area of the country-- Southern California-- where the life style encourages the "do your own thing" ethic; (2) the recent self-help movement's war against guilt which may have been responsible for the increasing number of sociopaths in American society; and, (3) the imitative consequences of viewing extensive news coverage of multiple murders and the media's portrayal of violence laced with sex (Levin and Fox, 1985).

These three factors are consistent with the finding that multiple murderers are generally dominant, psychopathic, and have a desire to be somebody. Further, these factors are consistent with some of the research discussed in Chapter 2 of this study. In particular, Calhoun's (1962) study of dominance and overcrowding is relevant to the issue of dominance and the prevalence of multiple murders in Southern California. Smith's (1978) study of

psychopathy and Western, particularly American, values is relevant to the issue of psychopathy and the effect of the over-arching culture on its prevalence. And, finally, the extensive research on mass media and murders (see review, Chapter 2: 21-31, particularly) is relevant to the desire to be somebody and the increase in multiple murders.

Mobility is one of the more frequently cited contributors to the rise in multiple murders, but this issue needs to be spelled out. What seems to be happening specifically is that there are more serial murders in California than anywhere else in America. And California, Wilson (Wilson and Seaman, 1983) noted, has the largest and steadiest influx of population. This results in an unending population explosion. (Texas, as Levin and Fox [1985] reported, also has a disproportionate number of mass killings and has experienced an influx of population, whereas the rest of the South, particularly the Deep South, has remained relatively stable, and the incidence of mass murders there has remained low.) What can occur under these circumstances of mobility and migration is a situation of "behavioral sink." In his studies of dominance conducted at the National Institute of Mental Health in Bethesda, Maryland, Calhoun discovered that under conditions of stress such as overcrowding, the dominant minority quickly becomes a "criminal" minority (Hall, 1974). In a situation of transiency and mobility, there is a feeling of rootlessness, and there are few rules.

It is not only the loosening of social bonds through mobility and the absence of informal social control through transiency that characterize California. This is also the area where "doing your own thing" is the predominate mode. It is this ethic, as well as the spirit of adventure and experimentation, Levin and Fox (1985: 64) suggested, that may well be

attracting "those who want few social and cultural sanctions against behaving in an outrageous manner." And then there is the heritage, according to these and other authors, that was passed on to the more recent killers by such subjects of the present study as Manson and Corona.

Smith, in *The Psychopath in Society* (1978), takes the position that of all the countries in the Western world, American values have most served to encourage psychopathic behaviors. The incidence of psychopathy would therefore vary with different cultural values. As Smith (1978: 115) has said,

...Preoccupation with self-interest also matches a psychopathic modus operandi. Certainly, the psychopath, with his casual disregard of the humanity and basic rights of others, would have to be in favor of a "do your own thing" philosophy. His unbridled egoism makes him a model figure for a philosophy stressing "every man for himself...." Once again the psychopath may only represent the extreme of a continuum along which general self-interest is prime....

According to Smith (1978), American values since World War II have become increasingly more compatible with psychopathy. However, Smith thought it possible that the countercultural attack upon established institutions and values during the 1960s and early 1970s could lead to new values less conducive to psychopathy. The irony is that the exact opposite has happened. In the political climate of the 1980s, the profit motive is preeminent. The few social scientists cited by Smith for their critique of extreme individualism, would today be considered by many as near-Communists. And California has contributed more than her share to the national social and political themes of the 1980s as well as to the self-help movement and literature which has stressed personal fulfillment via the elimination of any guilt feelings. These seemingly conflicting movements-- the right wing and the self-help/humanist-- have one other thing in common besides California, and that is the stress on

individualism and freedom. Few would argue against individualism or freedom, but, as Wilson (Wilson and Seaman, 1983) suggested, the cost may be the rising tide of violence. If this is to change, Wilson believed, then the price of freedom must be understood to be responsibility and discipline.

The desire to be somebody runs through the literature on dominance and psychopathy. Smith (1978) argued that this is a particularly American desire, for here the respect goes to those persons who possess the most "market value." Further, Smith (1978:75-76) wrote that, "It is in America that the saying 'I don't care what you say about me as long as you spell my name right,' has been raised to the level of ...a slogan to live by." This could well be the motto of many multiple murderers.

The relationship of the mass media to increasing rates of violence has been supported by more research and more different kinds of studies than has any other variable, notwithstanding all the scientific revisionism and distortion of research evidence of late. It is true that multiple murderers began killing long before the advent of television (or radio), and that television and violent programming exist in other countries where this crime has not increased. As Levin and Fox (1985) pointed out, murderers were taking their cues from print media long before television was even invented. But the point is that murderers were taking their cues from the media. The difference is that, with the well-publicized poisoning-murder of 1898 which Levin and Fox (1985:22) cited, the "copycat murder syndrome" inspired a few poisonings, whereas the 1982 Tylenol murder "was aided by the presence of powerful electronic media which bombarded us with daily reminders of poisoned pain pills." This time, the authors reported, there were at least 100 copycat poisonings in more than a dozen states. Levin and Fox (1985: 21-22) further noted that,

In reaction to a very real trend, the news media have headlined the growing incidence of mass murder, particularly serial killings.

Not only have newspapers carried daily reports of...killings, manhunts, trials, and sentencing, but the wire services have run feature stories on the topic of serial murder. In addition, television's ubiquitous impact has enhanced public awareness of the "epidemic:" [with specials]...on *Frontline*,...*Nightline*...; and even HBO.....

The extensive news coverage given mass killings may have the unintended consequence of encouraging others to commit murder.

It was suggested in Chapter 2 that ever since the mass and serial murderers of the late 1950s burst upon the American scene, the idea of multiple murder has become a part of the public consciousness. And since that time, multiple murder has increasingly presented itself as a means of quickly attaining fame and power.

The role of the mass media in increasing multiple murders in America, rather than in other countries, such as England, is suggested by the following:

- (1) More homes are outfitted with television in America; the programming time is more extensive, and more time is spent watching television than is true of any other country, (Smith, 1978; Eysenck and Nias, 1978). (2) The content of American television has reached and maintained a higher level of violence than in any country, including England, and the portrayal of violence has changed in the direction of increasing eroticism. With more such television being watched, and with parents and other institutions having less control than in previous generations, television has had more of an effect than elsewhere in emphasizing unacceptable social values about violence and violent ways of dealing with life. (3) One of the more significant factors accounting for the far greater number of multiple murders in America than in the number-two country of England could be that in America, multiple murderers are identified by name as soon as they are caught. This results in a sort of celebrity status until the disposition, for after they are imprisoned, their names are rarely mentioned.

This contrasts with the practice in England wherein no names can be published until after the disposition.

Conclusion 5: there is very little about the crimes of the multiple or serial murderer which would support the idea of a "typical" serial murder pattern. The literature on the crimes suggests otherwise: that individual murderers methodically select the same type of victim again and again, compulsively repeating the same type of killing, and rarely varying their methods over time. The literature also indicates what specific intercase patterns will be found among multiple murders. Such specifics include the particular victim-types that are the most likely targets, and the corresponding notions of motivation. For instance, Levin and Fox (1985) cited as potential victims such vulnerable groups as children, hitchhikers and prostitutes; this is consistent with their view that such victims as these can be easily overpowered and that serial murderers want most to dominate. On the other hand, Rule (U.S. Congress, 1984), Darrach and Norris (1984) and others have referred to women as a vulnerable group, for they consider the victims to be symbolic representatives of those who hurt the killer during childhood. The findings of this study indicate, however, that the vast majority of multiple murderers are not attempting to kill a parent-substitute, for almost three-fourths of the subjects did not even select a victim-type. Most multiple murders involve relatively diverse victims, victims who cannot readily be categorized; and since many cases involved the killing of adult (or at least adolescent) males, the victims cannot even be generally categorized as particularly vulnerable.

Another facet of the presumed intercase patterns among serial murders is that such crimes always involve particular methods of killing and that the methods are rarely varied. The general view is that, since multiple murders

tend to involve expressions of rage and/or sexual motives, the killer selects the more intimate methods, such as stabbings or strangulation, rather than shootings. It is further believed that the killer tortures and/or humiliates the victims. The assumption that serial murderers invariably use the same methods throughout their crime series has given rise of late to the development of the FBI's Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VI-CAP) which is a computerized system for gathering and analyzing data on similar "pattern murders" on a nationwide basis.

It would seem that multiple murder cases would not be exceedingly difficult to solve if such cases actually did involve predetermined and consistent victim-types and methods. Moreover, if multiple murderers could be so readily identified by their patterns but are not currently being detected because they travel, it is probably true that, as one official has said, "'VICAP will raise the probability that separate jurisdictions will recognize a serial killer, and the quicker this recognition, the greater the chance of interdiction,'" (Levin and Fox, 1985: 183).

The findings of this study indicate that when multiple murders are examined in great detail, they turn out to be more intricate than either theory or journalistic labels (such as the Hillside Strangler) would suggest. Each murder may be a complex sequence of events, involving, perhaps, more than one weapon or type of injury. Such murders are highly individualistic behaviors, and, in contrast to theory, frequently do involve shootings. In general, however, it is usually possible to detect intracase patterns, even where the nature of the methods is very complex. Thus VI-CAP might be of great benefit in detecting intracase patterns across jurisdictions, if these computer-assisted investigations contained the great amount of data required to properly describe a complex

series. As for the existence of intercase patterns, however, no specific methods were found which could be said to reflect a typical serial murder pattern. The only thing that is typical of serial killings is the likelihood that there will be differences among the victims and variety in the methods.

What this means is that serial killers do not necessarily or often commit crimes that are consistent with the theory that behaviors exhibited by the murderer have psychological or symbolic meaning.

Conclusion 6: multiple murder is a chosen career and not a psychopathological response or sign of mental illness.

In regard to the latter, professionals interested in multiple murders have generally assumed that the murderer's choice of victims and the nature of the crimes has symbolic significance, and that the behavior reveals the personality characteristics, the nature of the specific disorder and the "fact" of a psychosis. The FBI's basic premise for psychological profiling is that a crime is a symptom of a disease or defect and that the psychological make-up of the criminal can be discerned from the psychological "clues" left at the crime scene. FBI Special Agents Ault and Reese (U.S. Congress, 1984:61) wrote that, "The primary psychological evidence which the profiler is looking for is motive." The findings of the present study fail to support the assumption of psychosis or other profound disorders or defects. On the contrary, multiple murderers were found to be sane. Consequently, the apparent motivelessness of their crimes cannot be said to reflect the depth or the nature of the murderers' specific disorders. Further, without being able to determine what, if any, motivations "really" explain the crime, without the existence of clearly identifiable victim-types, without any set M.O.s, and without evidence that murderers do stalk their victims, there is

little justification for the widespread assumption that what a serial killer does has psychological or symbolic significance.

That multiple murder is a career, on the other hand, is indicated not only by the sanity of the killer but by the complex nature of the crimes and the skill with which they were carried out. As Levin and Fox (1985: 186) have observed of such subjects of the present study as Gacy, Corl, and Williams, these are "extremely skillful killers-- 'the cream of the crop.'" The crimes-- which may include the obtaining of victims by seduction, the selection of diverse and random victims and the use of diverse methods--indicate an individualized "career" pattern. It is primarily the careerist aspect of serial or multiple murder that distinguishes it from the crime of mass murder. Instead, the notion of a career killer places the serial killer in the company of the so-called "hit man."

Furthermore, most of the subjects of the study had already begun their adult social lives and their occupational pursuits when they turned to murder. Many had attained, or had the potential for attaining, the more customary, if unspectacular, forms of success; but such success was rarely enough. This means that they had not necessarily failed in normal life, but, rather, that normal life had failed to satisfy them. For what the multiple murderers studied most often wanted was one or both of these things: widespread recognition (or notoriety) and excitement. And, both are almost guaranteed to accrue to the person who commits such a spectacular crime as multiple murder.

Most of the subjects thought a great deal about what they were doing, if not before their first murder, then subsequent to it. They knew they were embarking upon a new way of life, one that would increase both the dangers to themselves and the excitement. Whatever the circumstances leading to the first

murder(s), at some point multiple murder per se came to be perceived as a career, a way to be somebody, and as an alternative to boredom.

Most of the points articulated above can be illustrated with the case of John Wayne Gacy. One psychiatrist, testifying at Gacy's trial, said that the defendant did not suffer from a borderline personality or schizophrenia because he was so well accomplished, efficient and successful. Reifman, who considered Gacy to be a narcissistic personality said Gacy was successful as a politician, as a businessman, and as a clown, that he had lots of friends and was extremely efficient with respect to the crimes. Gacy, Reifman testified, had "...literally conned [his victims] into putting the handcuffs on. A person who...was out of touch with reality cannot function in that kind of goal-directed behavior... If he is angry or disturbed, ...it would have been unlikely that anyone would have gone along with him" (Cahill, 1987:337). Reifman said he thought Gacy wanted to be famous. Indeed, Gacy referred to his murders as "the crime of the century," and to himself as a "multimillion-dollar property." He thought Rod Steiger would be a good choice to play him in a movie, and that Joseph Wambaugh would be a good author to write the book about him (Cahill, 1987).

Gacy thought of his first murder as almost an accident; it had occurred without prior planning. While he realized from then on that, for him, death was the "ultimate thrill," it was another three and a half years before he turned to murder full-time. The killing-period was, he said, the best time, the most fun time of his life. This was the period when he outsmarted the police by burying his "trophies" (the victims) in the crawl space of his home. After the first 12 or so, "killing them was almost too easy," he said (Cahill, 1987:350). So he had increased the challenge by using different methods and doing two killings at the same time. He thought the murders were evidence of great brilliance, "animal

genius," and he was proud that he was mentioned in the *Guinness Book of World Records*.

Conclusion 7: aside from the career as a general motivating force, there are few apparent, traditional motives involved in multiple murders. In the past, the discovery of a crime without any apparent motive has signaled an inquiry into the person. This inquiry often results in a psychological profile if the crime is unsolved. For solved cases, the inquiry often entails an assessment of the background and perhaps the mental status of the offender as well. Professionals are usually able to see something in the life history material that they perceive as a cause or a motive. The findings of the present study place the issue of motivation in a very different light.

It was found, first of all, that multiple murders may involve a profit or a sexual element, but that such elements often break down under thorough analysis and do not necessarily constitute a fundamental motive. While the validity of any assumed motive rests in the degree of correspondence between persons and crimes, multiple murderers, it was found, do not often or necessarily present characteristics consistent with any ostensible motive: Those who commit murders ostensibly for profit are no more poor and sometimes no more greedy than those whose murders involve a sexual element. Those whose murders involve a sexual element may be sexually active, may be married or may have had little or no prior sexual experiences. There is, moreover, no evidence to suggest that the absence of any identifiable motive for a crime is any indication that one can be supplied by searching the life history material and/or assessing the mental status. The absence of an identifiable, specific motive for a crime is just as apt as not to correspond to a person who does not exhibit any indication of psychosis and who has lived a

relatively trauma-free life. Consequently, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the backgrounds of multiple murderers and the nature of their crimes. Furthermore, the finding that multiple murderers are perhaps more likely to have had certain advantages, social or otherwise, than to have experienced great trauma, means that there is less in the way of motive than has been previously assumed and that what there is must be qualitatively different to be consistent with the characteristics of the these offenders.

As multiple murder, seen in the long run, is a career with a high probability of recognition and notoriety, it is as a career that these crimes can be perceived as a general motivating factor. A more specific, immediate incentive may be the excitement or the "thrills." Diverse students of the subject (such as Lunde, 1976; Rule, 1980) tend to agree that, at some point, the thrills, the adventure, the chase, the challenge, the notoriety, and the cat-and-mouse games with police came to be powerful incentives in themselves for the crimes.

Many of the subjects seemed to kill simply because they considered it one of the most immediate, exciting, or (in the words of the "Zodiac" killer), "thrilling" things to do. Murder seems to be one of the few things to capture the imagination of restless, rootless, fundamentally bored and detached persons, whose aim is to indulge themselves, who could not care less about the victims, and who could not care more about themselves.

Multiple murder cases tend to cluster about midway between completely motiveless actions and crimes having the traditional motives that police recognize and use in solving their cases. To the extent that motivelessness implies a blind and mindless action, multiple murders are not motiveless. These crimes tend to occur after, or in conjunction with, thinking and planning;

these are crimes involving premeditation, even if the victims are picked at random. On the other hand, multiple murders are very often committed for reasons that are, for police purposes, insufficient and hard to identify. They are often committed for murky or flimsy reasons, such as, "I felt like it."

Zimring's (Atkinson, 1984) notion of a recreational homicide may be appropriate for many multiple murder cases, as multiple murderer are usually desirous of new sensations, adventures and thrills. There is more than recreation involved, however, for multiple murderers also like to exhibit their power over others as well as their cleverness and skill. Ultimately, it is a matter of opinion as to whether the recreational character of the murder or the careerist aspects, such as the offender's liking to exhibit power and skill, could be said to constitute motives.

With the substantive data base on multiple murders generated by the present study, one begins to conjecture about the possibility of a serious-minded effort to try to build a theory. One area of relevance is that orientation in social psychology known as "symbolic interactionism."

Williams (1976:117) has observed that "Symbolic interactionism is rarely spoken of as 'a theory'; more usually the terms 'theoretical perspective' or 'orientation' are used to ... express its logical status." It is as an orientation to the study of human association that symbolic interactionism is of relevance, rather than through any specific theoretical applications to the explanation of crime.\*

This study has shown that the crime of multiple murder cannot be explained in terms of any given psychological structure or makeup of the

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\*Nettler (1974), in *Explaining Crime*, classified both the "labeling" and the "differential- association theory" as examples of the application of symbolic interactionism to the study of crime.

individual; and that multiple murderers generally have some association with a variety of people. It was further shown that, while the first murder may not have been planned, subsequent murders occur after a great deal of thinking. Yet--the individual murders in a given series may exhibit diversity in method and an increasing, general skill. That is, the murderer becomes so adept that he can vary his M.O. Some basic assumptions of symbolic interactionism could explain such seemingly unrelated findings as these.

According to symbolic interactionists, individuals are not preprogrammed to act in a given way, nor is their behavior dictated by some psychological factor. Rather, the individual is engaged in an unending process of developing his responses to another; he defines, judges and evaluates incoming stimuli and charts his path during the course of the given interaction itself. Blumer (1967) wrote that human interaction is a transaction with a developing character. This means that the homicide situation, too, has a developing character as it changes from one definition to another, depending upon the different perceptions and judgments that are made. The reason why the murders are so rarely committed, or the victims obtained, in precisely the same way, could perhaps be explained by Blumer's (1967:91) thesis that "this picture of human association as a flowing process in which each participant is guiding his action in the light of the action of the other suggests its many potentialities for divergent direction."

The developing character of the transaction means that (1) the individual homicides are part of a developing, flowing interaction, involving not only the murderer's attitudes and desires that are brought to the situation, but those that are arrived at during the occurrence; (2) it is an action predicated upon the flow of events, actions and definitions, and not upon some theoretically traumatic period of life; and, (3) if there had been such trauma it would have been

incorporated into the actions that immediately (and subsequently) followed, rather than the effects being hidden until the murders occurred. According to this view, the individual would not be formed by his parents and his childhood. Symbolic interactionism would, moreover, be consistent with the results of this study indicating that the evolution of a murderer does not require direct experience with violence or with an environment conducive to violence. As Williams (1976:118) wrote of the symbolic interactionist perspective, the individual "is in a real sense the creator of his world, ... and the world of others is not received by him as uninterpreted stimuli; he is self-conscious and creative."

According to Williams (1976:118), the critical factor in symbolic interactionism is the development of a methodological stance which, in Blumer's words, reflects an attitude of "respect for the nature of the empirical world." That is the stance taken in designing this study.

For the purpose of this study, the problem of multiple murder was framed in terms of three research questions: (1) What are the characteristics of multiple murderers? (2) What are the characteristics of the crimes of multiple murder? And, (3) What, if any, correspondence exists between the characteristics of multiple murderers and the nature of their crimes? These questions have been addressed in the previous and the present chapters, and the answers can be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Multiple murderers are, for the most part, sane white males whose personalities combine, in varying proportions, psychopathic tendencies and high dominance-feeling.
2. Multiple murders are, for the most part, crimes involving victims who are strangers selected at random and obtained by enticement rather than force.

The crimes themselves are often complex, and the methods of operation are diverse. These cases are usually difficult to solve.

3. There appears to be no clear or convincing correspondence between the characteristics of multiple murderers and the nature of their crimes.

#### Suggestions for Further Research

The heuristic aspect of this study is indicated by two very different approaches that could be developed in further research, one a discriminant analysis, and the other a phenomenological approach.

Discriminant analysis is a statistical procedure which would provide for the possibility of predicting group membership-- in this case, predicting multiple murderers as distinguished from one or more other groups-- on the basis of two or more independent variables. Discriminant analysis can also be used to examine the relationships among the independent variables in different populations.

Briefly stated, a study could be conducted with three criterion groups, multiple murderers, mass murderers or single-victim murderers and heroes, for instance. Such groups would be appropriate for use with document, or available materials, research. Age and sex would be kept constant. The independent variables would be the same as those of the present study, although each would be assigned numerical measures. The data would then be processed by a discriminant analysis program to produce a matrix of relative weight factors, correlating membership groups with independent variables.

A second type of study would employ a phenomenological approach. Here, the cooperation of convicted multiple murderers would have to be secured. In an interview setting, each subject would be asked, "Tell me your

experiences," and each would be encouraged to add his own meaning. The interview would preferably be taped and then transcribed.

The following procedures would be employed with the transcribed text:

- (1) The first task would be an editorial one, taking out any unessential aspects of the monologue.
- (2) Next, a single-word/phrase idea would be noted in the margins to indicate the meaning the subject has attached to what was said.
- (3) Duplications would be eliminated.
- (4) Ideas would be threaded into themes to get at higher meanings.
- (5) A final analysis would be conducted from which the number of themes might be broken down into a smaller number of major ideas.

The phenomenological approach could be effectively employed with multiple murderers, for such persons are usually very articulate and philosophical. They enjoy discussing themselves, and what they have done; and they rarely need encouragement to seek philosophical justifications for their actions.

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## **APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX A**

**LIFE HISTORY INSTRUMENT AND  
THE CRIMES INSTRUMENT**

## LIFE HISTORY INSTRUMENT

Categories	Subject
<u>Lifespan/Birth</u>	
<u>Race/Sex</u>	
<u>Socio-Economic Status</u>	
<u>Parental Employment Pattern</u>	
<u>Location/Region/Pop. Density</u>	
<u>Family Life</u>	
<u>Early Childhood</u>	
<u>Elementary School Development</u>	
<u>High School Patterns</u>	
<u>Level of Education</u>	
<u>Social Development</u>	
<u>Sexual History/Development</u>	
<u>Role Models</u>	
<u>Aspirations/Occupations</u>	
<u>Marital Status</u>	
<u>Early Criminality</u>	
<u>Medical/Psychiatric History</u>	

## THE CRIMES INSTRUMENT

*Research Question : What is the nature of the crimes of multiple murders and how do they differ among themselves ?*

Subquestions:

- I. What, if any, link was found between the killer and victims?
  - a. Did the killer know all, most, some, any of the victims? Was there any relationship prior to-- and not predicated upon-- the killing?
  - b. Did the victim provoke (e.g. anger)? Did the death provide some advantage (e.g. profit)? Was there an identifiable motive involved in any of the murders?
  - c. Was there a victim-type selected by the killer? Were there striking similarities among all or almost all the victims, and, if so, what similarities constituted the victim-type? What characteristics (e.g. age, race, lifestyles) differentiated the victims?
- II. What was the method of operation?
  - a. Was there any commonality in the method/manner killer used to obtain victims?
    1. Can the method be classified as seduction (i.e. no use of force; voluntary); abduction; sudden attack; other?
    2. Did the method of obtaining victims change over time, remain the same or vary throughout?
  - b. Was there a pattern in the method of killing and/or disposal of bodies? If there was a pattern, what was it? Did it ever vary?
- III. What was the nature of the investigation?
  - a. Was there potential evidence? Were there potential witnesses?
  - b. Were multiple jurisdictions involved?
  - c. Was investigation impeded by conceptions such as belief in constancy of method, in victim-types or suspect-types?
- IV. How was the killer apprehended?
- V. What was the disposition?

## **APPENDIX B**

**THE CASES: JOHN HAIGH, CHARLES MANSON, HENRI LANDRU,  
THEODORE BUNDY AND CHARLES SCHMID, JR.**

### **John George Haigh**

John George Haigh was charming and very well-mannered, a man with a long criminal record, but to himself, no more than a businessman and no less than a gentleman criminal. For a man fully convinced of the saying that the end justifies the means, murder became an easy means for obtaining handsome profits. When Haigh turned to murder, he did so much as a scientist. Through study, experiments with mice, and practice, Haigh became very successful at eliminating the bodies of his murder victims. Following Haigh's sixth murder, he was apprehended. He has been called the "acid bath murderer."

Haigh's knowledge of the law was sketchy, at best, however. He worked under the erroneous belief that murder could not be proved in the absence of the body. "Old Corpus Delicti," as Haigh's fellow prisoners referred to him, "was soon to discover that his pet theory was all wrong and was going to cost him his neck" (Franklin, 1965:101). When arrested, Haigh asked right away what the chances were for his being released from the mental hospital, Broadmoor. He then provided a wealth of material he thought would sustain an insanity defense for himself. Haigh claimed he had killed for the blood of his victims, and not for the money. He even added to the known list of dead three murder victims who were said to have been without money, but whose existence could never be proved. Of 12 psychiatrists who examined him, 11 felt Haigh to be shamming insanity, and one testified that Haigh was a paranoid. The jury dismissed the insanity defense within 15 minutes and came back with a verdict of guilty. In 1949, John George Haigh was hanged in his native land of England.

### Life History

John George Haigh's (1909-1949) parents, John and Emily Haigh,

... were Yorkshire people from Alton. John Haigh, Senior, was a skilled electrical engineer. Both he and his wife were fervently religious, members of the Plymouth Brethren movement from Yorkshire, as their parents and grandparents had been before them. The Haighs were held in high esteem by their fellow-Brethren. They were reserved, proud, in the Victorian sense of the word, genteel, narrow and rather poor. They were unworldly, honest, diligent and dutiful (Lefebure, 1958:5).

"There was no trace of mental trouble" (Dickson, 1958:157) in Haigh's family history.

John George Haigh was the fourth generation of this clan of Plymouth Brethren. A white male, he was born in England at Stamford, in Lincolnshire, on July 24, 1909. His parents had been married for 11 years when they discovered that they were about to bring into the world their first and only child. It is said (Lefebure, 1958) that they were concerned about the disapproval of their neighbors, for John Haigh was 38 and his wife Emily had reached the age of 40.

The birth itself appears to have been trouble-free. Some 40 years later, however, Mrs. Haigh was to lay some blame for her son's problems upon her pregnancy. She came to believe that "the months of strain she underwent during her pregnancy [due to her husband's unemployment] were the cause of the mental illness she believed her son to suffer from, and which, she felt, had turned him into a criminal" (Lefebure, 1958:5).

Several factors weigh against this belief: (1) while Mrs. Haigh's pregnancy was undoubtedly a time of trial for her, her character and history was that of a devout Brethren and the "Brethren believed in being tried, [and] even prayed to the Lord to try them..." (Lefebure, 1958:5). (2) Mr. Haigh, Sr. was of a different opinion, and later wrote of his son that there was nothing wrong with

him mentally. (3) Mrs. Haigh's belief may well have been influenced by her loyalty and love for her son-- who was at that very time drawing heavily upon his early environment to support his insanity defense.

#### Parental Employment; Socioeconomic Status; Location and Density

The cause of Mrs. Haigh's strain began in the spring of 1909, a few months before her son was born, when "Mr. Haigh, through no fault of his own,... became unemployed and real poverty overtook him. He searched vainly for work, his wife took oc'd jobs" (Lefebure, 1958:5).

Six months after the birth of his son, Mr. Haigh's luck improved. He found employment at the "Lofthouse Colliery, near Outwood, where he remained for the next 25 years, until his retirement, in charge of the colliery electrical installations, a respected member of the colliery staff" (Lefebure, 1958:6).

The job in Wakefield included a Ledger Lane house which was nice, comfortable and terraced. The Haigh home was certainly not a poor one, according to observers at the time (Lefebure, 1958). It had an austere atmosphere, but life itself there was never hard. The Haigh's socioeconomic problems were over; life from then on was comfortable.

The town of Wakefield, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, was where John George spent his childhood and youth. Located in the industrial north of England, the town's center is Wakefield Cathedral, and moving away from this center were the cobbled streets, solid Victorian homes and numerous "Nonconformist chapels" that comprised the town of Haigh's youth (Lefebure, 1958).

It was to Wakefield that the Haighs came to improve their lot and raise their child. And it was into the Ledger Lane house that

... Mrs. Haigh stepped, carrying her six-month-old son, and was discreetly observed by her neighbors, for whom this little moment remained an indelible memory: the neat, very upright, ladylike woman, carrying her baby in a white shawl (Lefebure, 1958:6).

### Family Life

Early on there were two opposing forces in the Haigh home: the strictness of a religious life and little George. The Haighs were not so much religious fanatics or tyrants, personally and as parents, as they were secure in their religious beliefs and followers of a puritanical, bare dogma. Haigh (Dickson, 1958:158) described in his post-arrest "Memoirs" a home much like a monastic establishment. "It had the quietness of a strange certainty. It did not belong to the world outside." From his earliest years Haigh's recollection was of his father's saying, "Do not..." or "Thou shalt not...." There was much sermonizing, worried and devoted questionings and the ever-present watchful eyes and the many, many restrictions. "Right or wrong was what pleased, or displeased the Lord," said Haigh (Lefebure, 1958:9) of the Brethren's beliefs. It was also true that his parents were more than stick-figures, and Haigh (Lefebure, 1958:6) recalled "that my parents loved me deeply, and they devoted themselves to moulding my life. Their hopes were high, and to me they remained all that is noble."

The Haighs' love for their son led them to indulge him in ways that greatly reduced the over-all denial and frustration of life as the son of two Brethren. At the age of five or so, a photograph shows Haigh surrounded by a number and variety of good toys and already to have been indulged in his lifetime interest in fine clothes (Lefebure, 1958). He was not only indulged but "astoundingly so for a son of two Brethren who should not have given thought to such a thing as an elegant appearance for their child" (Lefebure, 1958:7). To compensate for

not allowing him to have anyone to play with, his parents gave him rabbits and a puppy. "He adored these pets, tended them carefully. All his life," Lefebure (1958:9) said, "he loved animals and was fond of watching birds and studying nature." The father had had a wall built around the garden to keep the residence private, to shut out the sinful world and as a symbol of the "exclusive" character of the Brethren beliefs (Shew, 1961)-- and this limited Haigh's exposure to much of the outdoors. Again, to compensate, Mr. Haigh took his son on long walks in the countryside, and these Haigh Jr. greatly loved: "He had a great feeling for beauty; trees, flowers, the sunshine, he loved them. His love for the north, and northern scenery, never left him" (Lefebure, 1958:9).

Haigh developed two passions in life, the first one in music and a later one for cars; his parents allowed him to indulge himself in both. For two anti-clerical Brethren, the Haighs were surprisingly lenient. They allowed their son (whom they always called George) to accept a choral scholarship at Wakefield Cathedral, which required that he attend all (very high Church) services and thus to be in "sudden contact with a ritualistic form of religion in violent contrast with the Puritanical austerities of his home" (Shew, 1961:104). They also allowed their son to act as server at High Altar. And even more surprising than permitting their son to go, the parents themselves attended Sunday cathedral services in order to hear George singing as soloist. As Lefebure (1958:12) concluded of the Haighs' behavior in this regard:

It is the first great paradox in the Haigh story. It was tantamount to allowing little George to commune with the Scarlet Woman. It suggests that either the Haighs were very over-indulgent with George, as his schoolfellows thought they were, or were not such strict Brethren as George later claimed them to have been.

One of Haigh's former schoolmates remembered the Haighs as very nice people who doted so much on their son that he became very spoilt: "Ah, there

was no doubt about it, John Haigh was a greatly pampered only child" (Lefebure, 1958:10). Lefebure (1958) found another schoolmate who expressed this same opinion.

Haigh's relationship with his parents remained good throughout his life for two reasons: First, he did not, at least directly, rebel against the prohibitions of his parents. He took to concealing his transgressions from his parents, such that his mother was to say, "To me he was always the perfect son" (Lefebure, 1958:18). Second, Haigh adored his mother; he referred to her as "an angel" even when he was talking to his fellow-prisoners. And "she adored him, unwaveringly, one senses uncritically. His father was equally devoted, equally loyal, but one suspects there were in later years misgivings, stern criticisms, from that quarter. The mother's devotion possibly overruled the father's sounder judgements" (Lefebure, 1958:7). Franklin (1965:84) reported that the love of his parents lasted right up to the end, when "broken-hearted, they sent a message to his condemned cell saying, 'Please inform him he is our dearest treasure on earth."

### Early Childhood

Haigh's early childhood can be described as sterile in both the literal and the figurative sense. Mrs. Haigh kept her home scrubbed clean and tidy, and her son immaculate. From this he developed an aversion to getting his hands dirty; from his elegant appearance as a child, Haigh developed into a meticulous and vain young man. The house itself was unadorned, while Haigh was kept "spotless and unblemished and lonely as a porcelain figure on a spinster's mantelpiece," according to Lefebure (1958:134). "The young Haigh lived a life entirely withdrawn..." (Shew, 1961:104).

The Haighs felt all forms of organized pleasure to be sinful. Their son was not allowed to participate in sports or social activities for "all forms of sport and entertainment were forbidden" (Shew, 1961:104). There were no newspapers or nonreligious books around to tempt a child. He was not allowed to play with other children, and he therefore spent a very solitary childhood (Franklin, 1965). (The Plymouth Brethren were also known as the Peculiar People.)

Dickson (1958:157) summarized what is known about Haigh's childhood: The Haighs' "son was brought up with strict but loving care, taught to read and write before he went to school, impressed with the vital importance of being honest and industrious, and encouraged to study the Bible and play hymns on the little family harmonium."

All remaining information relative to early childhood came from Haigh himself, and not at the time, but later, when he had been charged with murder and was providing psychiatrists with information and thoughts for the purpose of developing an insanity defense. There is no substantiation for Haigh's (Lefebure, 1958) claims about his blood-drinking, that is, that it had all begun with a dream. Haigh claimed his mother was interested in foretelling the future through dreams and that she bought books on the subject which he read as a child. "The first dream I recall...was the tortured Christ on the Cross....It is true to say that I was nurtured on Bible stories, mostly concerned with sacrifice" (Lefebure, 1958:137). According to Haigh, when he was a child his father had told him that a scar on his forehead was the brand of Satan, placed there because he (the father) had sinned. That there was no such scar on the mother was supposedly explained as the result of his mother's being an angel.

Haigh also claimed, in a similar vein, that his mother would sometimes punish him by spanking his hand with a hair brush, and having drawn blood, he said he sucked it, enjoyed it and consequently developed a taste for it.

### Elementary School

John George Haigh emerged from walls and home a "polite, well-spoken, engagingly mannered, [and] cheerful child" (Lefebure, 1958:8), seen hopping and skipping on his way to school. Once he was in school, John George was a mischievous child. His schoolmates laughed when they recalled he had--

An angelic little face, like all the mothers said, but he played plenty of pranks all the same, did plenty of things he shouldn't. But he never got caught because he was in the habit of lying-- lied his way out of everything (Lefebure, 1958:10).

For instance, "that nice little John Haigh" with his charming manners,

... was frequently seen by his pals practicing forging the schoolmasters' initials and in time became adept at forging school record-books with such initials. In these record-books...boys' misdemeanours [*sic*] were entered and ... when the punishment was accomplished a master would initial the entry.... Haigh escaped his punishments by initialling the entries against his name himself (Lefebure, 1958:11).

Haigh had clear and beautiful handwriting, advanced for his age. Aside from being "quick of tongue and neat of appearance, he was a lazy scholar," however (Franklin, 1965:85). He had some liking for science; he later awarded himself a fictitious Bachelor of Science degree.

Haigh never joined any school societies, and he never played any games or sports. In part, this was due to his parents, but also he did not want to get hurt and did not like anything rough. In fact, Haigh did not enjoy any sort of physical activity aside from walking. (Later, he even gave that up, and preferred

going everywhere by car.) "He was lazy, both physically and mentally" (Lefebure, 1958:12).

At the age of 10, Haigh, already in the school choir, won the choral scholarship which led to a broadening of his personal, social and religious experiences. He described the effect of the cathedral upon him as follows:

How well I remember those days at home, especially Sundays when to play with one's toys, or to walk across the fields, was a sin. When I became a choirboy it was a terrific thought to be able to indulge with impunity in hitherto "heinous crimes." I could walk to Wakefield without fearing the wrath of God, who might easily have turned me into a pillar of salt (Lefebure, 1958:13).

He was deeply impressed by the services, claiming the "High Altar... moved me to primitive ambitions" (Lefebure, 1958:13).

Haigh painted a picture of a schizophrenic existence in which he was torn between the cathedral and the Brethren. (Shew [1961] believed the incompatibility of it drove Haigh to collapse.) Several points can be made about this dichotomy: (1) religious perplexities are hardly uncommon as people grow up and analyze life. (2) The double existence says more about his parents than it does about Haigh himself. (3) Haigh admitted that he had never believed in the faith of the Brethren. And, (4) rather than being torn between two different worlds, Haigh found escape from Sabbaths at home, an outlet for his music and a second arena for his pranks.

As a boy of 10, Haigh was an avid and good musical scholar who was particularly interested in the "grammar" of music. Harrison (1958:80) reported that Haigh was artistic and that his ability at the piano was "far above average, as was his musical memory." When he became head of the Cantoris side of the choir, observers remarked upon how well he kept everyone in order and handled his responsibilities. He played his parents' organ, and he achieved his

ambition of playing the organ at the cathedral. His parents got him a piano and he practiced constantly. Even so, Haigh (Lefebure, 1958:17) said, "I knew I should never be brilliant as a pianist."

Of his early years as a chorister, he was perhaps best remembered for the daring pranks he played. During service he once turned out all the lights in the cathedral. Another time he was ordered out of the cathedral in the middle of the sermon. He obeyed, perfectly calmly, but, it was recalled--

His fellows, both in the choir and at school, noted that he was unusual in this respect; he never lost his temper. Instead, he behaved in a manner they found impressive and rather frightening. If his fellow-scholars set on him-- there was one particularly noteworthy moment when in a scrap somebody smacked his face-- he did not retaliate, but merely stood there, looking at them with an expression of real, cold, hatred. That was all, but none of them ever forgot it. They also remember he bore absolutely no malice afterwards, a great point in his favour [sic] (Lefebure, 1958:16).

His classmates (Lefebure, 1958:10) were to say later that he was not the sort of boy anyone would forget: "there was something unusual about him, though it was difficult to say exactly what-- a kind of supercilious withholding of himself, perhaps. He never had any close friends at school... [but] ...he was never exactly unpopular either."

#### High School Patterns: Level of Education

In his last year in high school, John George Haigh was considered "a very good-looking boy, very well-spoken, with a gay, pleasant manner and considerable charm" (Lefebure, 1958:20). He was the kind of "thoroughly nice boy" everyone in Wakefield expected his nice parents to have.

Haigh won distinction in his final year when he was awarded a divinity prize for a 27-page paper entitled, "St. Peter as He Appears in the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles," described as "A praiseworthy effort" by his examiners (Lefebure, 1958:20). Haigh concluded his paper by noting the lesson to be

learned-- that one fall from grace, regardless of any counter efforts or complete rehabilitation, cannot cure a natural disposition: "That the weak link in Peter's chain still existed is manifest" (Lefebure, 1958:20). Lefebure (1958:20) quoted Lord Dunboyne's pertinent observation in his Introduction to *The Trial of John George Haigh* : "So Haigh was already moving towards his fatalistic acceptance of the incurability of a 'natural disposition'.... It is a belief which becomes a menace when translated into action," Lord Dunboyne wrote.

John Haigh did not pass School Certificate. He left school after completing his final year in 1926. He had developed into an intriguing person-- lazy, neat, a glib liar to his parents, and to them, the perfect son, the wonderful young man.

#### Aspirations/Occupation

John George Haigh left school with his mind made up as to what he would do. To pursue his passion for automobiles, he obtained work as a junior salesman in a Wakefield car firm, his parents having given him their blessings. Unlike his father, Haigh had no interest in the messy job of working with motor mechanics. "Cars for him spelled Romance. Speed, money, the razzle-dazzle of success" (Lefebure, 1958:21). A co-worker remembered him in his elegant clothes standing at the showroom window for hours on end "with a little half-grin on his face, quite motionless; just, as it were, watching the world go by. Yet he never appeared bored" (Lefebure, 1958:22). A year passed and Haigh had expanded little energy. He then took a white-collar job as a clerk, then on to another job in Leeds-- but all proved dull to him. So, at the age of 21, and with Leeds providing him with the sensation of being someone, Haigh decided to go into business for himself. Then came his first arrest-- three cases of attempted false pretenses.

Haigh was then employed by a motor insurance company in Leeds where he was highly regarded by the management, and business came pouring into him. A co-worker (Lefebure, 1958:25-26) described Haigh during this period, saying that most any young field representative

has butterflies from time to time, but not J.G.H. He seemed to us all to be so utterly competent without fuss or bother that we really could not make out why he was with us... but we all [had]...the opinion he was something extraordinary-- but with no suspicions yet...that everything about him was not above board. We all found him charming and so did all our connections, except that just in one or two cases people would ask me questions...as though they thought...something...just did not fit exactly.

All this points to the fact that he was unusual.... His turnover etcetera seemed to thrive, and it was understood that a friend of his, obviously well connected and well-to-do (this was made apparent without it being actually said), had gone into the motor trade and was passing all the hire-purchase and insurance through Haigh.

It was about a year and a half later "that the bombshell fell," for that well-to-do "friend" was Haigh himself. According to the same co-worker (Lefebure, 1958:26), Haigh had started "a garage so as to work hire-purchase frauds, and he had done this to some tune. This had been going on almost from the day he started with the company and was apparently beautifully worked."

### Early Criminality

Haigh thus spent his early adulthood engaged variously at different firms as a promising young man, and also engaged in various criminal activities such as fraud and false pretenses. He was sentenced in 1934 to 15 months imprisonment for forgery, false pretenses and conspiracy to defraud. In 1937 Haigh was charged with approximately 30 cases of swindling for which he was sentenced to 4 years of prison. He had been passing himself off as a solicitor selling company shares at below-market prices in order to wind up an estate: "This experience was to prove useful to him later in clearing up the affairs of his

murdered victims," Dickson (1958:159) observed. In 1941 Haigh was sentenced in London to 21 months' hard labor for a series of thefts. "And again he made good use, if that is quite the expression, of his period in prison," Dickson (1958:160) said.

It was during this latter imprisonment that Haigh was observed studying law books and conducting his experiments: he was dissolving the bodies of field mice in sulphuric acid obtained from prison workshops. Also during this imprisonment, Haigh began to talk of murder for the first time. To other prisoners he aired his erroneous theory that murder could not be proved without the corpse, "because there would then be no *corpus delicti*" (Franklin, 1965:89; Lefebure, 1958:37). This was the derivation of Haigh's nickname, "Old Corpus Delicti."

For Haigh, the line between crime and legitimate business had become ever thinner. The night before his first trial he was described as cool and easy, and he explained that he looked upon the matter of his trial as a temporary setback which "All successful business men have....It is unfortunate, but cannot be helped.... There is the capital and experience to set against the 12 months [anticipated prison sentence], and really I don't think I shall have done so badly.... It is really not a bad proposition," Haigh said (Lefebure, 1958:30). A former colleague of Haigh's who was present that night observed that Haigh "seemed to have no feeling of guilt or wrongdoing. It was just a business proposition that had not gone as well as it might.... We all marvelled at it" (Lefebure, 1958:30). This colleague expressed his opinion of Haigh's attitudes on the relationship between crime and business:

...Haigh wanted capital for the various business enterprises he started, or hoped to start, and went in for fraud in order to make money for that purpose, and then realised [sic] it was all so very easy and that he was so

competent that no one suspected him, and therefore he continued in a life of fraud. I really think, too, that beneath it all he was very vain. He was certainly competent, with a most "get-on" personality, and he must have realised [sic] that this asset was his as he went along, and decided to use it rather than do honest work (Lefebure, 1958:30-31).

### Role Models

Haigh was a great and avid student of crime. As Dickson (1958:160) wrote, "Haigh was a perfectly sane individual who pursued for years a course of study in the technique of what he imagined to be unprovable murder." Most sources on the Haigh case (Dickson, 1958; Franklin, 1965; Dunboyne, 1953, for instance) suggested that Haigh's methods were probably derived from his predecessor, Frenchman Georges Sarret who shot and dissolved his victims in "acid baths." Dickson found evidence to indicate that Haigh had studied the H.H. Holmes case more thoroughly and that Haigh's murders may have been crimes of imitation. For instance, Haigh wore the same apparel as Holmes had to protect himself against the acid-- the rubber coat, the rubber gloves, apron and gum boots.

Haigh enjoyed Madame Tussaud's Chamber of Horrors, where he found the bath used by George Joseph Smith in the latter's murders to be particularly interesting and "from which Haigh claimed to have derived some sort of inspiration" (Dickson, 1958:161). It was widely believed that Haigh had studied the insanity defense in the Neville Heath trial. According to Dickson (1958:162), Haigh reportedly told someone when he was in prison that "he got the idea of his blood-drinking from a Continental cannibal story, which suggests that he was familiar with the cases of [Fritz] Haarmann and [Peter] Kurten."

## Social Development

The defense and its psychiatrist, Yellowlees, argued that Haigh suffered from paranoia and offered Haigh's solitary childhood as evidence. However, Allen (Dunboyne, 1953:260), a psychiatrist whose paper, "The Medical Aspects of the Case of John George Haigh" was appended to *The Trial of John George Haigh*, asserted that the solitariness "was imposed by the parents rather than sought willingly by Haigh himself." Lefebure (1958:133-34) agreed with Allen: "None of his schoolfellows recall him as having been of a solitary disposition while...at school [or]... as a choirboy. His childhood solitude was thrust upon him by his parents. Given rein, he might have been a most sociable little chap."

While still a child, Haigh had developed a friendly, easy going manner which made him appealing to most everyone. Beyond that general disposition, his perfect manners appealed to adults, while his brazen pranks appealed to his peers. For such a sheltered and secluded early life, and for having to abide by his parents' strict and, perhaps embarrassing regulations, Haigh had developed an unusual competence and confidence in his school years.

As a young adult, Haigh was still without close friends, but by then, the choice seems to have been his. His co-workers admired him; they found him intriguing and charming. He, however, preferred the company of a richer, faster group of young men. His friends were young racing men with sporty cars, and Haigh was the initiator of Sunday morning racing events. Haigh wanted to be in-- or at least among-- the upper classes (which was why he and his wealthy last victim were residing at the same hotel which he could ill afford). Haigh once said that he chose his friends carefully, whether in- or outside of prison.

Later in his life, Haigh (Lefebure, 1958:18) made the comment that no one understood him, but that he never tried to make them do so; "it takes too long to get to know a person and strangers are such fools," he said.

John George Haigh kept himself apart from other people throughout his life. Haigh (Lefebure, 1958:49), in a very revealing comment, said:

As I grew up I realised [sic], though imperfectly, that I was different from other people, and that the way of life in my home was different from that in the homes of others. Without being able to explain that difference between us, or to measure the chasm which divided me from others, I realised [sic] its existence.

#### Sexual Development: Marital Status

During high school, Haigh never flirted or bothered with girls. He had only one female friend, a next-door-neighbor, several years younger than himself, with whom he walked to school every day. Haigh impressed her greatly with his charm and his politeness.

Then, on July 6, 1934, Haigh married Beatrice Hamer, a girl with whom he had been acquainted for a very short time. Lefebure (1958) suspected that Haigh had only wanted to leave home, and since he could not bring himself to make the break otherwise, marriage provided a good reason. His married life lasted less than five months-- until he received his first prison sentence. While in prison, Haigh's pregnant wife and he agreed that they should separate and give the child up for adoption. While the Haighs remained legally married they never saw each other again.

Haigh, that "well-spoken, dapper little man with the nice eyes and friendly smile" (Shew, 1961:104), that "self-styled engineer" and "charmer" (Gaute and Odell, 1980:161), dated a number of young women. These relationships were platonic. He seemed to enjoy friendships with "properly brought-up" girls who were well-educated and with whom he could share cultural experiences, such as concerts. Haigh had a long and fond relationship with one woman in particular; her name was Barbara Stephens. If there were any sexual overtures

(and Haigh wrote to her that their relationship had always been an honorable one), these were "infrequent and amateurish" (Dickson, 1958:161). The more important aspect of this relationship was that it went on during the murder series and that it was from this woman that Haigh learned a great deal about various forms and symptoms of mental illnesses. Miss Stephens was secretary to a psychiatrist, and Haigh considered the whole field to be a silly joke.

Haigh seemed to have been or become largely asexual. Franklin (1965:86) wrote that "Haigh in fact had a non-active sex life" and that, if anything, he was "undersexed." Haigh (Lefebure, 1968:107) himself said as much: "Apart from the period of 21 to 25, the sex appetite has taken a very small part in my life." Both Dickson (1958) and Franklin (1965) reported that Haigh said he had become "tired of sex" by his twenties.

Part of Haigh's psychiatric defense was the claim that he had-- as a result of his "perversions"-- committed some type of sexual offense against some young girls during his late teens. There was no evidence to support this claim. On the contrary, as Allen (Dunboyne, 1953:262) stated, "One thing which we can say regarding his sexual life is that as far as is known there was no concrete evidence of sexual abnormality at any time." Haigh also claimed that a male Brethren member seduced him when he was a child. It was rumored that Haigh might have had homosexual tendencies or experiences, but, again, there was no evidence of this, nor was there agreement among the sources as to Haigh's sexual preferences, if any. In fact, what was known was Haigh's attitude of supreme disinterest in sex. For, Haigh (Lefebure, 1958:107) wrote:

Sex should not exist. Propagation should be an insensible act, like the throwing off of acorns by an oak tree.

Human nature is a nuisance, and fills me with disgust. Every so often one must let off steam, as it were....

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Not only is sex unimportant, but also irksome.... I hate these instincts, which rob me of self-possession. I even despise the partner of the exercise....

...I shouldn't question the Eternal's methods perhaps, but as a generated sperm of the Eternal I am privileged to think with the infinite mind.

Haigh's distaste for sex has been attributed to his extreme religious training, which undoubtedly taught him that sex displeased the Lord (Lefebure, 1958). However, from written statements on the subject and from his general demeanor, an additional explanation is suggested: Haigh was prim and proper, "very abstemious in smoking and drinking, and deeply shocked by bad language" (Dickson, 1958:161). He was fastidious (in prison, he would wear good gloves on his walks); he did not like to get close to anyone, and he strove to maintain his self-control. In short, beyond a religious upbringing, which he said he had never believed in, his attitude toward sex was one of disdain, distaste and disinterest, perhaps, because he looked down on sex as "animalistic," as something which would bring him down to the level of other humans, as something unclean in a physical and snobbish-cultural (rather than purely religious) sense.

#### Medical/Psychiatric History

Haigh had no psychiatric history prior to his arrest for murder. Then, between his arrest and execution, Lord Dunboyne (1953:74) reported,

Haigh's mental condition was carefully examined in prison by no less than 12 medical doctors. He was given various tests, including one by electroencephalogram... The result...was essentially normal. Between his arrest and trial Haigh was examined, separately, for many hours at different periods, by four experienced prison medical officers, all of whom were satisfied that he was responsible for his actions and merely malingering insanity.

In addition, he was examined for the Defence by three eminent...psychiatrists, none of whom were able to say that Haigh was not responsible for his actions. One of them, Dr. Yellowlees,... believed Haigh to be mentally ill and abnormal but not irresponsible.

After Haigh's conviction for murder, he was put under the daily observation of two more doctors, "neither of whom had reason to think he was insane" (Lord Dunboyne, 1953:75). Still hoping his mental status could save him, Haigh underwent one final assessment: the Home Secretary ordered a statutory inquiry to be made as to Haigh's mental condition, under the Criminal Lunatics Act, 1884. The three appointed psychiatrists undertook the most extensive and detailed inquiry yet made. All three concluded that Haigh had been shamming; they found nothing to indicate that he was medically or legal insane (Lord Dunboyne, 1953; Lefebure, 1958).

#### Summative Attributes

Lefebure (1958) offered an intriguing observation about the photograph of little George Haigh at about the age of five-- that the face is not that of a child, but already the face that the adult Haigh showed some 30 years later: "The appraising, shrewd, cold eyes, the rather hard, cynical mouth, the level brows, the neat nose and self-possessed chin, the eager, go-getting boy on his toes with the smart mind and the unexpected sense of humour [sic]-- all that is already there, frighteningly so" (Lefebure, 1958:7).

This observation, along with all the photos of Haigh (which do disclose a great continuity in pose) corroborate those early impressions of Haigh by his classmates-- that he was arrogant, disdainful, haughty and full of pride. What made him unusual was a "kind of supercilious withholding of himself," they said (Lefebure, 1958:10); and what gives credence to their impressions was the frequent use of the word "supercilious" throughout Haigh's life by people who knew him.

It might be claimed that Haigh's supercilious withholding of himself was a function of his lonely childhood and shyness-turned-into aloofness. As already

discussed, Haigh was never very shy or introverted, however. Rather, he spoke easily and well and was always considered quite humorous. There is nothing of the little, frightened child in the John George who emerged from his formative years a happy, go-lucky boy, lying glibly to his parents and pulling audacious pranks for fun, and forgeries to escape school punishments. Nothing of such a boy was found in the student who stood his ground, whose message got across through his hate-filled eyes, but who never retaliated or held a grudge afterwards. Whatever it was that was different about him, he carried it into adulthood, in his social relationships, his work, his attitude toward the world: he was remembered at work as staring out the window, watching the world go by, with a little half-grin on his face. John George Haigh had always felt himself to be different, and he seemed to know instinctively what that difference was all about. That is, he translated or interpreted that original feeling of difference into a sense of superiority, which was eventually elaborated philosophically, as can be seen, below, in Haigh's discussion of the question of right and wrong.

Certainly difference was thrust upon him by his family life. But as isolated as he was from all non-Brethren influences, and as loving as his relationship was with his parents, Haigh, for whatever reason, was different even within the context of the home and the Brethren. He said he never believed any of it-- that is, his religious training. In that setting that means he was, at best, only incompletely socialized. That does seem to be the case.

Haigh was made what might be called sociable-- a far cry from being socialized. His parents had wanted to reach his soul; instead they managed only to instill good manners: Haigh was, "Always, always the perfect gentleman" (Lefebure, 1958:50). Haigh was "the epitome of charm and well-bred good manners" (Hall, 1974; Vol. 4:38). What Haigh seemed to have

learned from his parents was what the world expected of him and how to behave properly. This was the first step toward learning how to get away with things, for it told him what not to do and how to appear to not be doing such things generally. Dissimulation came naturally to Haigh: he was never the son his parents thought he was. He was an early and adept liar, a fact which he later rationalized as being easier than telling the truth, hurting his parents and being sermonized. Never did he claim that guilt followed lies or that he ever felt guilt for any of his wrongdoings-- from the time he was a child through the time he committed murder and denied any remorse for the latter. "All for an easy life!" Haigh (Lefebure, 1958:54) liked to say, and he said it often.

For Haigh, the notions of right and wrong had no power of their own. He neither felt guilt nor openly rebelled (his pranks aside). However, when Haigh (Lefebure, 1958:13) became a choirboy he found it "a terrific thought to be able to indulge with impunity...in hitherto 'heinous crimes.'" Here, Lefebure (1958:14) felt, was the "key to the enigma" of John George Haigh:

constant excitement provoked in the child by this dabbling in "sin," this playing with "hell fire." No doubt it was an entirely subconscious reaction, but it was there, this thrill of doing something he had been hitherto taught was wrong. Is it too far-fetched to suggest that this childhood thrill of indulging in evil was finally consummated in...[murder]? ...And then, suddenly, [as a choirboy] the taboo was lifted, George could savour [sic] all these things [walks, music, color]. And savour [sic] them he did; but always with that thrill of breaking a taboo. The thrill of taboo-breaking may become an addiction. What is the greatest taboo of all? "Thou shalt do no murder."

This is not the only key to the enigma of Haigh, for something more is needed to account for why sheltered and hell-fire raised Haigh was not frightened but thrilled to indulge with impunity in sin in the first place. It may be that an already cynical little Haigh relished doing things that were supposed to bring down the wrath of the Lord, but did not. Those ties that bound him to be good-- namely,

the fear of God's wrath and the wrath of his parents-- were broken in the realization that no heavenly sanction would occur and that lies sufficed for good behavior with his parents. Haigh, moreover, was unusually receptive to the thrill of taboo-breaking, for Haigh, according to Henderson, Allen (Dunboyne, 1953) and Franklin (1965), among others, was a psychopathic personality. (For still others [Humphreys, 1955; Lustgarten, 1968; Whitehead, 1960], Haigh was sane and cold.)

Haigh had several attributes that contributed to his being fatal. A psychopathic personality, he was smart and he felt himself to be superior. He was lazy in mind and body, yet he wanted the maximum out of life. Being a snob and music lover, he wanted culture in his life. Also, Lefebure (1958:49) pointed out, "Socially he was a great snob.... He dreamed of a future with a large house, a large staff of servants, several first-rate cars, a good social life." That is, he wanted it all; he wanted wealth and elegance and excitement. What he had was his personal charm, his wit, his attractiveness, his greed and his ruthlessness-- and this sufficed for him to get ahead in the world. Furthermore, he was "fully convinced of the truth of the saying that 'the end justifies the means,'" as he said in explaining why "I have never felt remorse" (Lefebure, 1958:34).

Haigh saw himself as a reasonable man in an unreasonable world, and "he viewed life with the quartz-like eye of a reptile," Lefebure (1958:54) said, in introducing Haigh's views from his "Memoirs:"

To find the reason for anti-social conduct involves consideration of the question of right and wrong. What the world regards as right is what the world can get away with. And if the aim can be achieved without discovery it is called "Success" whatever the purpose might be. Condemnation is the consequence of failure, not the sanction of the wrong.

When I first discovered there were easier ways to make a living than to work long hours in an office, I did not ask myself whether I was doing right or wrong. That seemed to me to be irrelevant. I merely said, "This is what I wish to do." And as the means lay within my power that was what I decided (Lefebure, 1958:54).

Haigh viewed life in much the same way as other subjects of this study, such as Ian Brady, Charles Manson and John Collins, who wrote a similar essay.

The argument set forth here is that a fundamental facet of Haigh's character was set as a child. In addition to this fundamental aspect (whether referred to as cynicism, psychopathy, thrill-seeking or other terms), each stage in Haigh's development seemed to be used by him as a preparatory phase in his subsequent criminal career. Whenever any positive trait emerged at a given point in Haigh's development, that trait could also be found later utilized to Haigh's criminal advantage.

For example, Haigh learned early that his "angelic little face," superlative manners and agile tongue could be used to his advantage in distancing himself from his own misbehaviors. These were among his most important attributes when he became a criminal. Also, Haigh developed a beautiful script, and followed this by forging signatures at school. His first prison sentence included a conviction for forgery. Later, Haigh forged a letter to the relative of one of his victims, wherein he succeeded in capturing that person's form and writing style.

Another example was found in Haigh's loose association with engineering. He had some aptitude for science, a father who was a respected engineer and from this he awarded himself the fictitious "B.Sc." degree he had printed by his name on his notepaper. In his pose of an engineer, Haigh came to use two workshops or warehouses from which he could seem to set himself up in some semi-engineering pursuit and thus entice his victims to come there. (Haigh's first victim, W. D. McSwan, was managing his father's pin-table saloon

and Haigh had set up his workshop for repairing these tables. The last victim, Durand-Deacon, was interested in manufacturing false fingernails and went off with Haigh to his Crawley workshop to discuss the project.) Further, whatever smattering of engineering knowledge Haigh may have acquired seems to have been put to use, both in assembling and modifying the tools he needed for his methods-- he used a special green acid-resisting drum and had the leg of the stirrup pump removed, for instance-- and in figuring out the mechanics of managing bodies and drum, for Haigh was a small man.

Haigh's discussions with his friend Barbara Stephens about such things as types of mental illness led him to realize in "his coldly cunning way that here would perhaps be the way out for him if he was ever caught" (Franklin, 1965:97). Franklin (1965:97) thought it significant that Haigh viewed psychiatry as nonsense, but listened anyway:

And so in these innocent conversations with Miss Stephens was born his plan to pose as being insane and not responsible for his actions. The idea of blood-lust and blood-drinking appealed strongly to him....

He could not claim to be a sadistic murderer like Heath, whose case he carefully studied, especially the unsuccessful insanity plea. He thought he would go one better-- drinking blood and urine. Only a real nutcase would do that, in Haigh's estimation.

As the material presented under "Role Models" indicated, Haigh learned all he could in his study of crime. He also utilized all available sources of inspiration right until the end: after his arrest and while under observation in a hospital, Haigh was observed having long conversations with one mentally ill patient from whom he learned "such useful tips as that criminals caught drinking their urine qualify for Broadmoor as mental deficient" (Dickson, 1958:177).

Reference has repeatedly been made to Haigh's psychiatric defense, (and will again, in discussing the crimes, below). It is necessary, at this point, to note the distinction between a psychiatric defense-- a claim of insanity to

escape the death penalty-- and a psychiatric history or history of mental illness. There are two sources of evidence, other than that offered by psychiatrists: (1) what observers of Haigh said about him throughout his life and (2) the absence of anyone or anything to substantiate any of Haigh's symptoms.

From Haigh's classmates to his co-workers to Miss Stephens, who spent a great deal of time with him during the period of the murders, everyone who knew him thought him to be completely sane. One co-worker (Lefebure, 1958:28) said, "So far as his mental health went, he appeared to be completely normal...just cynical and cold-blooded.... We often said afterwards that if he had been straight he would have finished up either as Prime Minister or some super tycoon." Miss Stephens, Lefebure (1958:55) wrote, "found him completely sane, too, completely healthy in outlook. There was nothing in the least bit morbid about either his conversation or his manner." On the other hand, Haigh had never in his life, prior to his murder trial, mentioned to anyone that he had dreams of blood, of Christ, of a forest which turned into crucifixes dripping in blood. Never had Haigh given the impression that he could, much less did, feel his actions to be divinely inspired, as he said. Most acquaintances knew him to be irreligious, a cynic. During all the time that Haigh had spent behind bars, including his final imprisonment when he was on round-the-clock observation, no one saw him drinking his own urine. The single exception was when Haigh publicly demonstrated to a doctor that he was able to do it.

The first hint of Haigh's subsequent psychiatric defense came when he was asked by police how he had come by certain possessions of the missing Durand-Deacon. Before launching into a confession of a murder which he believed could never be proved (as the body was destroyed with acid), Haigh asked Detective-Inspector Webb: "Tell me, frankly, what are the chances of

anyone being released from Broadmoor?" Haigh then confessed to the murder of Durand-Deacon, saying, "How can you prove murder if there is no body?" (Lefebure, 1958:89-90).<sup>\*</sup> He went on to confess fully to the murders of the remaining five victims. Having had "the vampire tales all ready pat on his tongue," (Franklin, 1965:101) Haigh mentioned, but did not enlarge upon his alleged blood-drinking. "Obviously he had thought out this story well in advance," Lefebure (1958:91-92) observed. She quoted Haigh as saying, "I withdrew a glass of blood from his throat and drank it. He was dead within five minutes or so." Later that day he was taken to Lewes Prison, and to the Reception Officer, Haigh said, "This is the result of doing six people, but not for personal gain" (Lefebure, 1958:92; Franklin, 1965:101).

The literature is uniform in its disbelief of Haigh's claims to, for instance, have drunk the blood of his victims. According to Franklin (1965:97), "No one believes he ever did so. Blood is a strong emetic and it would be impossible, certainly unprecedented, to drink it in the quantities claimed by Haigh." While most sources have detailed Haigh's false claims, more revealing aspects of Haigh's thinking and imagination have gone almost unnoticed. For instance, Haigh's views on psychiatry and the law showed his "obvious sanity and calculated cunning" according to Lefebure (1958:157-58) who quoted him as saying:

legal insanity is still governed by a set of rules made over 100 years ago.... Odd it is that these [McNaughten] rules were designed before the science of psychiatry had discovered or diagnosed the strange recesses and vagaries of the human mind. Odder still that unenlightened civilisation [sic] has resisted the urgent need of allowing the law to march hand in hand with science.

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\*The two questions-- the one about Broadmoor and the one about proving murder-- have been quoted in every source to which reference has been made in this narrative on the Haigh case.

In Haigh's immense egocentricity he saw himself as the "foremost actor" in a psychiatry and law debate inspired by his own self-pity and by his own deceptive claims of symptoms:

It may be that one consequence of the happenings in which I have been perhaps the foremost actor may lead to a fresh attempt to bring the McNaughten Rules up to date, so that the anti-social character of the man who kills his neighbor without conscious volition or controlled will may be treated as suffering from some disease of the mind, as a schizophrenic or a paranoic (Lefebure, 1958:158).

### The Crimes

John George Haigh committed six murders, not counting those "victims" Haigh claimed, but who apparently never existed. The only similarity among Haigh's victims-- and it was, for Haigh, the significant one-- was that each had some money, investments or property. Haigh killed a young single man and his elderly parents (the McSwans), a "youngish" couple (the Hendersons) and an older widow (Durrand-Deacon). With respect to Haigh's relationship to these victims, some explanation is required. Haigh had been employed by the elder McSwan at one point. Later, by coincidence, he ran into McSwan's son Donald whose acquaintance Haigh now sought: Donald was running the family business and needed to go underground to avoid military service. Donald was killed first, then his parents. The Hendersons, strangers, were trying to sell their house; Haigh responded to their advertisement, so as to make their acquaintance. Haigh met his last victim, Mrs. Durrand-Deacon, at the residential hotel where both resided. As he had previously spoken to fellow prisoners of his intent to "go after women-- rich old women who like a bit of flattery," the suspicion is that he moved to the hotel precisely because it catered to the market he targeted for "big money" (Lefebure, 1958:37). Thus Haigh's

relationships to his victims might be generally classified as being predicated upon the killing in that relationships were reestablished, initiated or pursued to that end.

Five of Haigh's victims had extended their hospitality and friendship toward him; none of the victims had provoked him. Haigh's motive was financial profit. Prior to each of his killings, he had been hard-pressed for money. After each murder, Haigh set about appropriating his victims' property. Haigh's murders netted him, according to some estimates, about 15,000 pounds. The question has been raised as to a secondary or psychological motive. Lefebure (1958:161), for instance, suggested that murder, while unnecessary, fascinated Haigh; it was a challenge by which he could prove to himself he was a "superman." Then, the sensation of murder "thrilled him [and] he gloried in it." Beyond this suggestion, two further points can be made: (1) Haigh's lack of remorse stemmed from an attitude toward his victims which was inherently genocidal. He felt that his victims were anti-social people of little value. "Haigh's attitude was that of a Hitler; because people are not useful to the community they may with equanimity be exterminated" (Lefebure, 1958:108). (2) Haigh's avarice coupled with the Hitlerian attitude and its complement-- that attitude quoted previously about success having little to do with questions of right or wrong-- were perhaps decisive in facilitating Haigh's murders. However, having committed murder successfully, Haigh became committed to his role as successful murderer, as can be seen in the steady improvements he made in techniques and in his eagerness to boast of his murders and methods to police.

The method used by the subject to obtain victims has been discussed previously in regard to his meeting of the specific victims. In general, the

method varied, the only commonality being that each victim was brought to the crime scene under the pretense that some sort of meeting (of either a business or a personal nature) was to occur there. Once the victim had come voluntarily to the "factory" or "workshop," Haigh's method of operation can be classified as sudden attack. Apparently, Haigh always committed his initial attack from the rear, his first three victims attacked with a blunt instrument and the remaining ones shot with a revolver. (The gun was stolen from his fourth victim.) Haigh then disposed of the bodies by placing each in a drum to which he added sulphuric acid. He then disposed of the "sludge" in manholes and on the grounds of the premises. While his story as to the first murder changed, Haigh admitted having already procured the materials for the disposals of his victims before each was murdered. Police also found among his belongings a list of such materials which the prosecutor called his "shopping list" for the murder of Mrs. Durrand-Deacon.

Until his last victim, Haigh's murders had gone undetected. The disappearance of the McSwan family, for instance, had not been reported to the police. Haigh had managed for the time being to make the relatives of the Hendersons believe that they had gone to South Africa.

John George Haigh had become overly confident by the time he committed his last murder. In addition, he had selected a victim who would be missed immediately by her friend-- and that friend knew she had made an appointment to see Mr. Haigh. Haigh lived in the same hotel as the victim and her friend. When Haigh approached the latter, inquiring as to the whereabouts of the victim, her suspicions were aroused and she indicated she was going to go to the police. Haigh went with her; he spoke calmly and almost courted police questioning. Police suspicions were aroused and a subsequent

investigation determined that Haigh was in possession of some of the missing woman's possessions. When queried, Haigh said (in addition to the question about Broadmoor), "I have destroyed her with acid. You'll find the sludge which remains at Leopold Road. I did the same with the Hendersons and the McSwans. Every trace has gone. How can you prove murder if there is no body?" (Lefebure, 1958:90).

Haigh was wrong on two accounts: Sufficient traces of his victim remained for purposes of identification (the dentures, specifically). Also, murder could be proved. What could not be proved was the plea of insanity. Sir Justice Humphreys (1955:186), who presided at Haigh's trial, grew impatient with Yellowlees's testimony and summed up what ultimately happened:

[The psychiatrist] agreed that, apart from the prisoner's statements, there were no objective signs of insanity, and further that it would be utterly useless to rely upon anything said by the man, who for years had lived by fraud and deceit. Finally, being pressed by the Attorney- General, the witness felt obliged to admit that, in his opinion, the prisoner must have known that what he did was punishable by the law of the country and therefore wrong.

The case for the defence having been completely destroyed by the evidence of their only witness the task of the jury was an easy one.

The Haigh case went to trial in July of 1949. The jury found him guilty in 15 minutes. John George Haigh was hanged at Wandsworth prison on August 6, 1949. The day before he died he had written, "I go forward to finish my mission in other form" (Lefebure, 1958:161). Haigh was dramatic to the end.

Table 39

## John George Haigh

Categories	
Lifespan/ Birth	(1909-1949). No trace of mental trouble in family history. S. was 4th generation of Plymouth Brethren. Ma. was 40; Fa. 38 when they had S., their 1st child. <u>Stressed during pregnancy; but birth itself trouble-free.</u>
Race/Sex	White male.
SES	During the pregnancy, Fa. became unemployed & real poverty overtook them. 6 mos. after birth, Fa. obtained work & life from then on was comfortable. Middle class; owned home; life never again hard.
Parental Employment	The 1 time of unemployment was "thru no fault of his own;" & employment very stable. Fa., a skilled engineer employed at a Colliery where he remained 25 yrs, in charge if installations & respected staff member. Ma., w/ the exception of odd jobs during unemployment, a housewife.
Location/ Pop. Density	From Wakefield, in the W. Riding of Yorkshire in industrial N. of England. W/ cobble alleys & solid homes, not densely populated area.
Family Life	Haighs were very religious members of brethren & respected by all. They were, reserved, proud, genteel, unworldly, honest & dutiful. Loved him deeply & devoted their lives to moulding his. "Their hopes were high & to me they represented all that is noble."
Early Childhood	Despite their own bare dogma & religion, S. had many toys & cloths. "Astoundingly indulged." Allowed no playmates, only pets & Pas. "Sterile."
Elementary School	Emerged fr home, a polite, cheerful child, skipping to school. Mischievous. Forged signatures. Articulate, neat, beautiful, advanced handwriting, but lazy student. Pas allowed S. to accept a choral scholar. & even attended Cath. church to see him. S. loved music.
High School	Well-spoken, charming, gay--very nice boy. Won a divinity prize.
Level of Educ.	Did not pass Sch. Certificate, but completed final yr. of high school.
Social Development	Not a solitary child-- "solitude thrust upon him." Friendly, easy-going child. Perfect manners for adults; pranks for peers. Still, early life & personality made him feel he might be different.
Sexual Development	Little flirting or concern w/ girls. Later, some dating-- mostly platonic. Perhaps asexual.
Role Models	Murderers Georges Sarret & H.H.Holmes, probably. Keen student of crime. Liked to visit the Chamber of Horrors.
Aspirations/ Occupations	Became a car salesman due to love of cars. Liked "razzle-dazzle" of success & \$ & romance. Tried business for himself. No diff between bus. & crime.
Marital St.	Married once, early (maybe just to leave home). 1 child--given up. Separ.
Early Criminality	From working in firms, began various cr. activities: fraud, false pretences. Sentenced for forgery,etc. & later for 30 cases of swindling.
Med./Psych. History	No reported med. problems; & no impairments, defects, etc. He wd. claim insanity (blood drinking)-- but 11 drs. found him sane & malingering.

### **Charles Milles Manson**

Charles Manson, variously described as the man with a thousand faces and a changling with hypnotic eyes and magical powers, has also been referred to as one of the most evil and satanic men who ever walked the face of the earth, and as the most dangerous man alive (Bugliosi and Gentry, 1974; Gaute and Odell, 1980; Watson and Hoekstra, 1978). After having spent almost half his life behind bars, Manson emerged at the age of 32 to behold, for the first time, the age of "flower-power" in the state of California. It was the tumultuous mid-1960s; to be precise, it was just a few months before the "summer of love," 1967. But Manson was prepared. He had learned what he could about the nature and practice of power during his studies in prison, and he proceeded to employ what he had learned, along with his own personal magnetism, in gathering about him a flock of largely middle-class youth. The group that emerged has been called the Manson "Family," and Manson, the undisputed leader, was lover, father, philosopher-king, Christ and Satan, to his group of devoted followers.

In the summer of 1967 Manson was preaching about love; by the end of the summer of 1969 Manson's teachings centered on violence and death, and the activities of the Manson Family already included murder: in a one-month period of time, nine persons were murdered in four separate incidents. The first and fourth episodes involved one victim each, Gary Hinman and Donald "Shorty" Shea, respectively. On the consecutive nights of August 8th and 9th, 1969, there occurred the most highly publicized of the Manson Family crimes: the Tate-LaBianca murders. The trials involved differing combinations of Family members, but Manson was always there. Proclaiming his innocence, Manson

was convicted of first-degree murder in all nine murder cases for which he received a combination of life and death sentences.

Charles Manson was not elated when the death penalty was abolished in California. Off death row, Manson (Emmons, 1986:22) complained, his life was threatened by his great notoriety; it is, he said, "a cross I have had to bear since my arrest in 1969."

#### Life History

Charles Milles Manson (1934- ), a white male, was identified as "no name Maddox" when he was born on November 12, 1934. His mother, an unmarried 16 year-old named Kathleen Maddox, brought her first born into the world in Cincinnati, Ohio. The father's first name remains unknown, but he was identified by Kathleen (Bugliosi and Gentry, 1974:137): In 1939 she filed a "bastardy suit" in Kentucky against an Ashland citizen named "Colonel Scott." The court must have recognized the suit's validity for it awarded a judgement to Kathleen. Col. Scott apparently did nothing, "for as late as 1940 Kathleen was attempting to file an attachment on his wages" (Bugliosi and Gentry, 1974:137). Manson (Emmons, 1986:28-29) himself said

... The child-- me, Charles Milles Manson-- was an outlaw from birth. The guy who planted the seed was a young drugstore cowboy who called himself Colonel Scott. He was a transient laborer... and he didn't stick around long.... Father, my ass! I saw the man once or twice, so I'm told, but don't remember his face.

A rumor arose about the race of Colonel Scott. When Manson was sent to an institution in 1951, his admission summary began: "Father: unknown. He is alleged to have been a colored cook by the name of Scott, with whom the

boy's mother had been promiscuous at the time of the pregnancy" (Bugliosis and Gentry, 1974:410-11). Bugliosi, who prosecuted Manson for the Tate-LaBianca murders and co-authored a book on the case, *Helter Skelter* (1974), suggested three possibilities-- that the information was not true, that Manson had lied about it, and that Scott was black. When asked, Manson emphatically denied that his father was black, and the official records do not prove otherwise. What Bugliosi thought important was that Manson might have believed his father to be black.

### Early Childhood

Kathleen Maddox was depicted by her son at one time (Bugliosi and Gentry, 1974) as a teenaged prostitute, while her relatives tended to see her more as "willing" or wild. Kathleen had run away from an oppressively strict home and then was actively engaged in drinking and running around and generally getting into trouble. There was an older man with whom she lived for a short period of time, and he provided her son with a surname. His name was William Manson (Bugliosis and Gentry, 1974; Emmons, 1986).

Manson has become more charitable toward his mother in recent years. For instance, Manson (Weinstein, *The Vacaville Reporter*, 1978) described his mother as a 1930s-style runaway flower child. He pointed out (Emmons, 1986) that she was 30 years ahead of her times and much like the kids with whom he became involved. Manson has come to realize (or state for the record) that his mother was less a mean and neglectful person than a young girl who was wild and unready to settle down.

According to the mother's relatives (Bugliosis and Gentry, 1974:136),

... Kathleen would leave the child with obliging neighbors for an hour, then disappear for days or weeks. Usually his grandmother or maternal aunt would have to claim him. Most of his early years were spent with one or the other, in West Virginia, Kentucky, or Ohio.

#### Socioeconomic Status: Parental Employment Pattern

While Manson was a child, Kathleen's employment pattern and socioeconomic status was at its best, precarious. There is no information as to what, if any, jobs she held. Manson (Emmons, 1986) emphatically denied that his mother was a prostitute during these early years, although she may have become one later on. For several years mother and child lived in a series of cheap hotel rooms. When Manson was five years old, Kathleen was convicted of armed robbery-- a crime she had committed with her brother Luther. (The victim had been knocked out with a Coke bottle.) For the next few years, Manson lived in the more financially stable home of his relatives.

#### Family Life

While his mother was in prison, Manson lived in McMechen, West Virginia with his aunt and uncle. "Joanne and Bill were good people and tried to do right by me," Manson (Emmons, 1986:31) said, "but it's hard to describe where my head was emotionally with Mom in jail and me living with a couple I didn't belong to." Then, in 1942, his mother came back to get him in what Manson referred to as the best day of his life. They had missed each other, but Kathleen still was not done "running around." According to Bugliosi and Gentry (1974:137), "The next several years were a blur of run-down hotel rooms and newly introduced 'uncles,' most of whom, like his mother, drank heavily." But, as Manson (Emmons, 1986:32) recalled it, "Mom and I definitely did not live a

routine life, yet I dug every minute of it." The only thing he feared or worried about was her "pawning him off" on somebody else. This was precisely what happened. In 1947, Kathleen was trying to place her son in a foster home, but few were willing to take him. Finally, the court put him in the Gibault Home for Boys.

When he was 13, Manson ran away from the school and returned to his mother, but she would not take him back. In the subsequent years, Manson and his mother would occasionally be reunited-- as when he was 20 and moved in with her-- and Manson was not rejected as he had been. "They seemed drawn together, yet unable to stand each other for any length of time" (Bugliosis and Gentry, 1974:137). Manson's family did offer help when, as a young man, he frequently had legal problems. His mother, for instance, later remarried and living with her husband in their own home, wrote to the judge to offer her home as security (Sanders, 1972). When Manson was 17, his aunt told authorities she would supply a home and employment for the subject upon his release (Bugliosis and Gentry, 1974).

Manson's first case worker had observed that "Charlie is a 16-year-old boy who has had an unfavorable family life, if it can be called family life at all" (Bugliosis and Gentry, 1974:138). If Manson's family offered too little too late, Manson himself found a way to exploit his background: he used psychiatrists. According to Bugliosis and Gentry (1974:139), "It would appear that Charles Manson had conned his first psychiatrist" into believing that his sense of insecurity was so great that he required experiences that would bolster his confidence. The psychiatrist recommended the transfer that Manson had been aiming for and the latter "accepted with alacrity the offer of psychiatric

interviews" even though otherwise "quite unable to accept any kind of authoritative direction" (Bugliosis and Gentry, 1974:139).

### Education

Manson's formal education seems to have occurred primarily within the confines of institutions. He had missed a great deal of his schooling living with his mother. His first records were from the Gibault school where he is reported to have made a poor adjustment to the institution. His attitude toward schooling "was at best only fair.' Though 'during the short lapses when Charles was pleasant and feeling happy he presented a likable boy,' he had 'a tendency toward moodiness and a persecution complex..." (Bugliosis and Gentry, 1974:137).

At the age of 13, Manson was sent to the Indiana School for Boys at Plainfield, where he resumed his education for the next 3 years. His teachers wrote that "'He professed no trust in anyone' and 'did good work only for those from whom he figured he could obtain something'" (Bugliosis and Gentry, 1974:138).

Manson again escaped and broke a law-- a federal crime this time, for which he was sentenced to the National Training School for Boys in Washington, D.C. in March of 1951, until he reached adulthood. According to Bugliosis and Gentry (1974:138), the school kept detailed records on Manson.

... On arrival, he was given a battery of aptitude and intelligence tests. Manson's I.Q. was 109. Though he had completed four years of school, he remained illiterate. Intelligence, mechanical aptitude, manual dexterity: all average. Subject liked best: music....

One month after his arrival: "This boy tries to give the impression that he is trying hard to adjust although he actually is not putting forth any effort in this respect.... I feel in time he will try to be a wheel in the cottage."

After three months: "Manson has become somewhat of an 'institutional politician.' He does just enough work to get by on....

Restless and moody most of the time, the boy would rather spend his class time entertaining his friends."

The teacher recommended "some psychiatric orientation," (Bugliosis and Gentry, 1974:138) for which Manson received three months of individual therapy at the end of which he had attained, as previously reported, his aim of a transfer to another institution.\*

At the Federal Reformatory at Chillicothe, Ohio, where Manson was sent in late 1952, his record was initially poor. Then Manson's conduct suddenly changed: he maintained a good record for his conduct throughout 1953, as indicated in a progress report: "Manson has shown a marked improvement in his general attitude and cooperation with officers and is also showing an active interest the educational program.... He is especially proud... that he raised his [educational level from lower fourth to upper seventh grade]...." (Bugliosis and Gentry, 1974:140). Manson could now read and write and use basic arithmetic. He was granted parole.

Imprisoned again in 1956 at Terminal Island, San Pedro, California, Manson was given another battery of tests wherein he "received average marks in all the categories except 'word meaning,' where he had a high score. His I.Q. was now 121" (Bugliosis and Gentry, 1974:141). However, as his 1958 annual report noted, Manson always let down anyone who went to bat for him:

... For example, he was selected to attend the... Dale Carnegie Course, being passed over a number of other applicants because it was felt that this course might be beneficial in his case and he urgently desired enrollment. After attending a few sessions and apparently making excellent progress, he quit in a mood of petulance and has since engaged in no educational activity (Bugliosis and Gentry, 1974:142).

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\*Manson "conned" this psychiatrist despite the latter's having observed that Manson had "developed certain facile techniques for dealing with people.... a good sense of humor" and an "ability to ingratiate himself" which added up to "a fairly 'slick' institutionalized youth" (Bugliosis and Gentry, 1974:139).

Manson's school patterns had early on indicated that education per se held little interest and that he did his work only when he would get something out of it-- a pattern that Yochelson and Samenow (1976) described in their study of criminals. On the other hand, he did raise his educational level and become literate. When combined, this means that Manson had the "raw power" without the formal training such that he could pursue a course of self-education if he wanted to get something out of it.

During the early 1960s, Manson began a course of study much like that of other multiple murderers (see, for instance, Ian Brady and George Joseph Smith and the description of Charles Sobhraj contained in the latter). Like others, Manson explored elements of control through various studies. While bits and pieces of the tumult of the 1960s filtered into him at the prison at McNeil Island, "Manson began studying magic, warlockry, hypnotism, astral projection, Masonic lore, scientology, ego games, subliminal motivation, music and perhaps Rosicrucianism" (Sanders, 1972:30). Sanders (1972) argued that Manson's theories were guided by his reading of Berne's *Transactional Analysis* and by his enthusiasm for Heinlein's *Stranger in a Strange Land*. And, Sanders (1972:32) concluded, "For someone so unskilled in reading and writing, Manson took a high interest in certain books on hypnotism and psychiatry."

Aside from Manson's experiments in posthypnotic suggestion, his most concentrated interests were: (1) Scientology. Manson claimed to have received 150 sessions of "processing" in jail. According to fellow-prisoner and former member of the "Ma Barker" gang, Alvin Karpis, Manson "figured it would enable him to do anything or be anything" (Sanders, 1972:31). Both Sanders (1972) and Bugliosi and Gentry (1974) believed that Scientology provided

Manson with some knowledge of mind control and some specific techniques for controlling the minds of his followers later on. It is also known that Manson "borrowed" such expressions as "cease to exist" from Scientology and that he mixed and matched his influences, never giving anyone or any group credit. (2) Music. Manson learned to play steel guitar from Alvin Karpis. He began to write songs and entertain dreams of being a musical star; he had early on expressed an interest in music. The Beatles first attracted Manson's attention during this period, and according to Karpis (Sanders, 1972:33), "He was constantly telling people he could come on like the Beatles, if he got the chance." (3) The Bible. This was an area in which Manson was familiar. He could quote from the Bible at length. Manson's interests also focused-- both while in prison and right afterwards-- on the occult.

#### Role Models

When he was released from McNeil, Manson was 32 and had spent over half his life behind bars. He liked to associate himself with his criminal career. In one interview (Weinstein, 1978) alone, Manson referred to himself as an outlaw three times. The first chapter of *Manson In His Own Words* (Emmons, 1986) is entitled, "The Education of an Outlaw." It is highly probable that Manson's first role models came from his experiences with other prisoners, such as Alvin Karpis or from listening to stories of former pimps, for instance. In terms of wanting comparable power and voice, the Beatles and Christ were perhaps the most significant. (Manson, of course, would deny having ever modelled himself after either.) Manson also used the Beatles and Christ as a means of exerting greater power: he alone could fathom what the music meant or how the Beatles' messages could be interpreted in light of biblical verses.

Sanders (1972) explored Manson's associations with occult groups with fascistic leanings and power structures, those who worshipped the devil and violence, those who used hypnosis and drugs for indoctrination and the occult motorcycle groups of the period. According to Sanders (1972:74), "Manson was guru-oriented when it came to his education. That is, he received a lot of his information in the form of lectures from friends."

Bugliosi (Bugliosi and Gentry, 1974) explored the genesis of Manson's philosophy (beyond what would be admitted as evidence in the trial.) The prosecutor believed that Manson's philosophy was still being formulated in the spring of 1967 when he may have been in contact with a satanic cult known as The Process or the Church of Final Judgement. Some of the parallels between the two groups included: belief in a violent Armageddon, formulated from the Book of Revelation, a conception of satanic motorcycle groups as soldiers, a combining of Christ and Satan, an emphasis on the benefits of fear and, apparently, extreme racism.

According to Bugliosi and Gentry (1974:473) there was another model:

An apparently important influence on Manson, in both precept and example was a dead man: Adolf Hitler. Manson looked up to Hitler and spoke of him often. He told his followers that "Hitler had the best answer to everything" and that he was "a tuned-in guy who leveled the karma of the Jews." Manson saw himself as no less a historical figure....

#### Aspirations/Occupation

Like Adolph Hitler, Charles Manson was somewhat of a bum and a vagrant, although one with artistic aspirations, prior to becoming a leader of a murderous group. Manson felt he deserved to be a star as great as the Beatles were. He did gain some attention through his music and his associations with people in the entertainment industries (for instance, Dennis Wilson of the Beach

Boys, Gregg Jakobson, a talent scout and songwriter and, to a lesser extent, Terry Melcher, son of Doris Day and a producer in various entertainment enterprises). The Beach Boys recorded two of Manson's songs and he was provided with studio time so that his music could be recorded. But Melcher was never very impressed and Manson's dreams of music (like Hitler's dreams of architecture) never materialized.

Another dream-- that of exercising control over others, of being a leader with immense power-- was realized, although Manson's followers were relatively small in number. (There were around 20 hard-core members, but perhaps 100 had had some ties with the group.) Further, Bugliosi and Gentry (1974:474) contended, "if Manson had had the opportunity, he would have become another Hitler. I can't conceive of his stopping short of murdering huge masses of people."

Manson once wrote down his occupation as "minister" when he was arrested. As to employment, he had at different times worked as a "bus boy, bartender, frozen-food locker concessionaire, canvasser for freezer sales, service station attendant, TV producer [under false pretenses] and pimp" (Sanders, 1972:25).

### Social Development

Relevant information (see "Education," above) indicated two facets to Manson's early social history: (1) the desire to gain attention, as with his classroom antics, and (2) the entering into of criminal activities with friends and/or having his primary associations be fellow-delinquents and prisoners. As Manson (Emmons, 1986:46) admitted, he always did want to be one of the "in-crowd" no matter the cost. He could have gotten himself out of troublesome situations, but, he said, "Trouble was, I always wanted to be part of the power."

In early adulthood, Manson's social status seemed to have progressed upward somewhat in the institutional hierarchy. He associated with the more influential and notorious prisoners, gaining something in the process (instruction in guitar, for instance). While it may be that he received more than he gave, Manson was still in the experimental stages of developing his power over others. He had had little success in proselytizing Scientology or anything else among the inmates. In contrast, he reportedly had been successful in planting post-hypnotic suggestions-- once to root for the prison basketball team and once to applaud when he sang. By the time he left prison after seven years, Manson had made many friends, and he kept up these friendships over the years.

When Manson left prison, he had completed a stage analogous to the lecture phase of a lecture-lab course of study; the practice lab began as soon as he reached the streets. Manson's associations during this period were the gurus and cults and groups from which he took what he found useful for his own power-development.

Charles Manson then showed up at the University of California at Berkeley, "anxious to impress as a minstrel/wandering singer" (Sanders, 1972:35). He found Mary Brunner, Lynnette "Squeaky" Fromme, Patricia Krenwinkel and so on, in quick succession. Then the young men followed suit. While fewer in number, males were also attracted to Manson. Manson also cultivated friendships among influential and other outside persons who had something to offer. These friendships, as well as those from his past, were more symmetrical than the complementary leader/follower relationships he had with his so-called Family.

### Sexual Development: Marital Status

While at Plainfield, Manson was raped by two of the four boys holding him down. From ages 14-19, Manson's only sexual contacts were homosexual. Sometime during this period, Manson forced another boy to have sex with him. Within a month after being paroled at the age of 19, Manson met and married a teenager with whom he apparently had had his first heterosexual relationship. A child was born, but Manson was already back in prison. Manson had been granted some leniency because of his status as a husband and father-to-be. In this, his first heterosexual relationship, he had already used a woman to gain some advantage for himself.

The next stage in Manson's sexual development was as a pimp. He had two young women, but he generally failed as a pimp.

The next time he was released, Manson had a relationship with a woman named Leona. She made a plea to the judge in Manson's behalf, stating she was pregnant and that they planned to marry. Again Manson was placed on probation, even though it was proved that she had lied about her pregnancy and had been arrested for prostitution. Then, for some reason, Manson married Leona. He had been granted a divorce from his first wife, and he soon would be from his second. Each marriage produced one child.

Next, under false pretenses-- "President, 3-Star-Enterprises, Night Club, Radio and TV Productions,"-- Manson swindled a girl out of her savings, got her pregnant, and drugged and raped her roommate.

From the first, then, Manson used women to his own advantage, abused their trust and abused sex. Toward the end of his murder trial he admitted to Bugliosi (Bugliosi and Gentry, 1974:403) that, in regard to the three female co-defendants, "I'm a very selfish guy. I don't give a f--- for these girls. I'm only out for myself."

In general, Manson came to use sex-- and to some extent, drugs-- to break down inhibitions in the prospective follower and orgies to keep these broken down, to impress outsiders and to exercise and maintain control over everyone involved. (He directed the frequently-held orgies; he dictated who took what drugs, what drugs generally could be taken, and when.) Manson also used his female followers to attract the male followers. As one male follower said: "One of Charlie's basic creeds is that all that girls are for is to ---- . And that's all they're for" (Bugliosi and Gentry, 1974:232). Another one of Manson's creeds was that women were inferior to men. According to Sanders (1972:192): "Manson is known to blame women for the institution of capital punishment, for jails and for practically all repression."

Even for a bisexual, Manson's sexuality is complex. His early history is one of enforced abstinence, homosexuality and homosexual rape.\* With his followers, there was continual sexual activity, as part of a group and with individual, though numerous, partners. Homosexuality was limited to, for instance, single demonstrations to prove he had no inhibitions. Yet, when he was about to resume his life behind bars for the last time, Manson expressed indifference over an existence without women, and indicated he preferred the company of men.

#### Early Criminality

Manson's first crimes were burglaries; by the age of 13, he had "graduated" to armed robbery. In 1951 Manson began a pattern of committing federal crimes-- crossing state lines with a stolen vehicle or for purposes of

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\*It is more than the simple sexual trauma that Darrach and Norris (1984), in their article on serial killers, assumed when they pointed to Manson's having slept near where his mother entertained her lovers.

prostitution, for instance. In addition to these crimes, few of which were violent, Manson et al. were arrested on numerous charges prior to being charged with murder, such as arrest for possession of marijuana, stolen credit cards, auto theft and the destruction of federal property.

#### Medical/Psychiatric History

Manson's frequent and extensive involvement with the criminal justice system prompted a number of psychiatric interviews and three months of individual counseling. Manson welcomed those interviews when parole or probation was under consideration. Generally, reports indicated Manson was not psychotic; he was insecure, scheming and institutionalized. The following conclusions were part of a 1959 psychiatric report:

He does not give the impression of being a mean individual. However, he is very unstable emotionally and very insecure.... In my opinion, he is probably a sociopathic personality without psychosis. Unfortunately, he is rapidly becoming an institutionalized individual. However, I certainly cannot recommend him as a good candidate for probation (Sanders, 1972:26).

There were no reported medical problems for this individual.

#### Summative Attributes

It is reasonable to assume that Charles Milles Manson's early environment was a significant factor in his hostility, insecurity and need for attention as a youth and young adult. Further, his mother's conviction for a crime may have contributed to Manson's early and repeated criminal activities. It might be expected that at the age of 32, after 17 years in institutions, with little formal education, only sporadic relationships with women and little, physically, to recommend him (being approximately five foot two inches in height), that Charles Manson would emerge from prison to resume an unsuccessful criminal

career in such areas as auto theft and pimping. Accordingly, murder, if it did occur in this context, would probably have been situational-- he might have killed in the course of a robbery, or he might have murdered a prostitute. Manson's history would hardly have been expected to produce a minstrel, a practicing guru and an undisputed leader of a group of middle-class "flower" kids. Aside from the question of whether any environment might be so conducive, something more was indeed involved in what Manson became than what he went through, and that something was his personality (his will, his charisma and his ability to "read" others), in conjunction with that particular form of training he had.

The Manson case seems particularly instructive with regard to the general assumption that there is a cause and effect relationship between early environment and murder: Manson had a particularly disadvantaged early environment. Manson was apparently a hostile and insecure youth. Manson was convicted of murder. These statements, taken alone, might be assumed to be causally connected. However, the only possible causal connection is that of early environment and youth. There is little connection between the hostile, insecure youth and the man convicted of murder.

In between his youthful feelings of inadequacy and his conviction for murder, Manson was able to exercise his personal dominance and dreams of power by being the undisputed leader of a group. Further, members of his group did the actual killing, not he. This is a critical point, for most thinking by American psychologists on the subject of an "urge to power" or a "superman complex" tends to redefine the situation as emanating from insecurity-- as if murderers were never capable of exercising any type of power outside their own fantasies. Manson's early environment probably did not promote his sense

of security and self-esteem. Neither did that environment or years of institutionalization rob Manson of his strong personality, his dominance and his ability to use these.

The ease and speed with which Manson acquired disciples after his release from prison makes it clear that he brought with him an eclectic stock of principles and techniques by which to attain and hold power. Manson was still in prison until March of 1967; by summer he had attracted a group of young female followers.

If it is true that early environment is related to a deep sense of insecurity, and insecurity, in turn, to murder, then Manson's actions and thoughts should reveal his sense of insecurity and preoccupation with violence from that summer of 1967 on. For instance, did Manson speak of violence from the beginning? Did Manson employ overt force in obtaining and maintaining allegiance from his followers? Did Manson already have murder on his mind and on his agenda?

The answer to the first two questions is "no." Only Manson could answer the last question conclusively, but, with that reservation, the other negative responses would tend to indicate that the answer, again, is "no." Had Manson wanted murder from the beginning, he is unlikely to have pursued this agenda in so circuitous, complex and difficult a fashion as he did. (This is particularly true given the availability of already formed and implicitly, if not explicitly, violent occult groups of that time).

In the summer of love and the center for flower children, Manson could hardly have been a success had he delivered speeches on murder and violence. From the beginning, Manson talked of liberation and freedom, telling everyone to do "their own thing" and to be themselves; even after the murders,

prosecutor Bugliosi found it difficult to discover any explicit examples of Manson's domination or orders. Nor was Manson so insecure that he only tried to appeal to those like himself; his followers had little in common with him in terms of background or experiences. As a group, they were white, Protestant, middle-class kids, and they ranged from hippies and drop-outs to librarians and teachers; they were children of businessmen, ministers and entertainers.

It has been widely held that Manson attracted only drop-outs, drug users and generally disenfranchised youth; conversely, it has been claimed that these were upstanding, if troubled, kids and that Manson turned them into monsters. Both views rest largely on the assumption that the followers were an homogenous group, separate from the surrounding population, and further, that individual perogatives and differing degrees of allegiance to Manson and Family did not exist. This is untrue. Not all of Manson's followers were unwanted losers. Many were employed and traditionally inclined. On the other hand, many who were drop-outs of the already-rebellious sixties did not join when they were given the chance, and not everyone who stayed for a while remained with the Family very long. Most importantly, not all of the long-term converts chose to remain once the violence began, and not all of those expected to kill complied.\*

Perhaps the best way to explain Manson's attraction in the days when he was first developing a following is by identifying those aspects that converged in the creation of a convert: (1) "The times," that is, 1967, particularly in California,

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\*For instance, Paul Watkins, a long-time member in very good standing with Manson and one who thought Manson was Christ, left the Family when the violence began. Also: Manson selected Linda Kasabian, Leslie Van Houten, Pat Krenwinkle, Susan Atkins and Charles "Tex" Watson as the August 8th (Tate) killers, but Linda Kasabian would not kill. Watson (Watson and Hoekstra, 1978:63) overlooked the significance of this when he asked, "Why us? why did we say yes ...." when he might well have asked, "Why didn't I say no?"

were most conducive to new lifestyles, family structures, values and experiences. During this era, there was a subculture in which one's ideas were more important than one's social standing and being an ex-convict was of no consequence-- or perhaps made one more interesting. It was the time to experiment. (2) On the more specific level, many of Manson's followers had been at odds with their parents or had already left home. Some had been living traditional, if unsatisfying lives. They were searching for something more, perhaps floating from one experience or group to another, and felt there was something lacking in their lives. Many people of that time were in search of peak experiences; they wanted bodily and spiritual fulfillment as well as a sense of belonging. (3) When Manson's early followers-to-be saw him for the first time, he was usually surrounded by a group of girls, playing guitar, singing and talking about love. According to Watson (Watson and Hoekstra, 1978:50-51):

There he was -- surrounded by ...girls--... and the first thing I felt was a sort of gentleness, an embracing kind of acceptance and love.

"This is Charlie," Dean said. "Charlie Manson."

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... I suddenly realized that this was what I was looking for: love....[not a parents' love....] I wanted the kind of love talked about in...songs-- the kind of love that didn't ask you to be anything,... didn't set up any rules or regulations-- the kind of love that just...let you...do your thing whatever it was-- the kind of love I seemed to be feeling right now.... It occurred to me that all the love in the room was coming from him, from his music.

To the females, too, Manson's persona was one of all-love. Girls were almost always initiated into the group through love-making, with Manson telling the girl she was perfect and often asking her to picture him (Manson) as her father while they made love. Susan Atkins (Atkins and Slosser, 1978:76) saw how much more of a father Manson was than her own. Also, she reported that

It was obvious from the way those three girls-- Lynn [Fromme], Pat [Krenwinkle], and Mary [Brunner]-- followed him that he could lead. He could make things happen.

If he were head of a family..., there would be no falling apart. He would know how to keep it together. He could make one-for-all-and-all-for-one work. He not only preached love, he had power. What he wanted he could get. He often sounded like God.

Atkins (Atkins and Slosser, 1978:75) thought, "After listening to Charlie sing and talk,... I knew I would go with him if he asked me.... I knew I had never encountered this before, and I knew I had to have what he had." (See Bolitho [1964] on the Landru case where comparable observations were made. That is, both seemed to have will or power and to be able to suggest that they knew something about life that no one else did.)

(4) Once a person became enthralled with Manson and his message, and believed he had the power to make things happen, the next step was to join him, to become part of the Family. For some people, the Family was as great a lure as Manson himself. Watson (Watson and Hoekstra, 1978:51) continued his recollection of the day he met Manson:

Suddenly the girls came out of the kitchen and started serving us sandwiches they'd made.... It was as if we were kings, just because we were men, and nothing could make them happier than waiting on us, making us happy.... I'd never known such peace.

... I'd found what really mattered: love between people, love that made all the old ideas about love... -- just fade away. Charlie Manson was the first person I'd met who really knew what love was all about.

And, *this* was the heart of the matter: it was so easy and so self-serving to attribute to Manson the status of a father or a god who then granted one the freedom to indulge oneself to the fullest and even to frame such self-indulgence in terms of some greater good, an oceanic love.

So, there were three hooks in the beginning, and the first one was Manson. It was a heady experience when this supposedly all-powerful, all-knowing man took pains to make a newcomer feel special. The second hook

was the warmth, trust, comradery and feeling of belonging that accrued to members of the Family. The third hook was that this was a family of one's peers where everyone was young, and in the early days this was a family devoted to pleasure: sexual, chemical, musical or any other. This was one family that had fun.

However, even in the days when the talk and the activities ostensibly centered around love, Family love had its price, and Manson's notions of love had their ominous side. Manson defined love as the total giving of oneself to the other members of the Family-- and to him-- and in so doing, to "cease to exist" as a separate and distinct unit. From the beginning, Manson preached death to the ego. His followers went along with this "gospel according to Charlie," and stressed that Manson had died more completely than anyone else, and "not only in this life but long before, on a cross" (Watson and Hoekstra, 1978:54).

To return to the question of whether murder may have been on Manson's mind, it can be seen from the above that death was a prominent theme. The notion of ego-death may have been pushed to foster slave-like identities and slavish devotion and, simultaneously, to encourage the belief that Manson was Christ. There is an additional possibility-- that Manson saw his own psyche as a model, and that he felt himself "dead in the head," in the sense that his past could not hurt or have any hold on him. Perhaps Manson may have taken some of the ideas floating around (such as "cease to exist") and used them to elevate, elaborate and expand upon his own psychopathic personality to the point where he would no longer suffer the ups and downs and doubts that went along with feeling and with interacting with the world. He did not want anyone to look outside for recognition or confirmation. Manson himself has always had

more faith in his beliefs than in his abilities to do anything successfully, and he tried to make the people around him have a similar priority of judgements.

That may be why he stressed, for instance, that: "Yesterday is dead.... All your roots are cut," and, "The Bible says we must die to self, and that's exactly true. We must die to self so we can be at one with all people. That is love" (Atkins and Slosser, 1978:83). Whatever the original motivation, it was not long before the distinction between self and others and love and death disappeared, and, in time, perhaps some who murdered were half convinced that they were, in a sense, murdering themselves and that murder was, philosophically, an act of love.

This raises an alternative question about the role of murder to Manson's mind and his agenda. Phrased in rhetorical fashion the question is: Where death to oneself is the highest ideal, can death to others ever be ruled out as a possibility for the future?

This is not to say that "death to the ego" is an idea intrinsically dangerous to self or to others, but rather, that the idea was important in effecting psychological changes in the Family members and in creating a greater and increasing receptiveness to murder. As Watson (Watson and Hoekstra, 1978:73) observed, "There was no talk of killing, not yet. But Charlie's theology of death-- death in life, death *as* life-- laid a compelling groundwork for murder." Manson was not the first to lay a groundwork for murder. Nietzsche (who greatly influenced Hitler and whom Manson claimed to have read), McDonald (Ellis and Gullo, 1971:138) noted, "substituted violence for love, evil for good.... [believing] the strong man should be soaked in *blood* .... 'Evil is man's best strength. Man should be trained for war and women for recreation of the warrior. All else is folly.'" Bugliosi (Bugliosi and Gentry, 1974:474) has

further observed that "both Manson and Hitler believed in the three basic tenets of Nietzsche's philosophy: women are inferior to men; the white race is superior to all other races; it is not wrong to kill if the end is right."

Murder was, in part, an outgrowth of Manson's philosophies, his own break with all he had left behind him (his past, society, and so forth), the breaking of past ties among the Family members, the dynamics of dominance relationships between Manson and the others and external events. In the final analysis, a willingness to commit murder was an individualized matter. Manson laid the groundwork-- philosophical, situational, spiritual (invoking his authority as God)-- but no one was ordered to kill or was threatened for not doing so. It is possible, however, that without the Family and its particular dynamics, neither Manson nor his followers would have committed murder, as Hall (1974) and Wilson (1984) argued in their discussion of dominance partnerships.

In prosecuting the case, Bugliosi (Bugliosi and Gentry, 1974) articulated the grandest possible motive, "Helter Skelter." Manson had been lecturing on a black-white race war he felt was imminent. Gradually, Manson, ever the racist, decided that what he referred to as "blackie" was incapable of starting this war and that Armageddon was not imminent. Helter Skelter, the title of a Beatles song, was used to describe this war, and Manson decided he would ignite it by committing terrible, multiple murders and leaving signs that would make the police think blacks had been responsible. In the subsequent race war, Manson et al. would escape to the "bottomless pit" in the desert to wait out the war. The plan was to emerge once blacks had annihilated the whites, for they, according to Manson, would be incapable of ruling and would turn to him as their white Lord and Master. Then, Manson would rule the world. Such a plan suggests

racism, megalomania and an active imagination (or potent hallucinogenics), but it is hard to take such a scheme very seriously as a motive.\* Indeed, Family members themselves have usually dismissed this as a serious motive or have listed it as only one of many. The list of such motives includes robbery (for the Hinman murder), elimination of witnesses (the last, or Shea, murder) and as copy-cat murders to free a Family member-- specifically, Bobby Beausoleil, arrested for the Hinman murder.

Other explanations emerged from a consideration of these forces: (1) a genocidal philosophy and teachings conducive to the commission of violence, as previously discussed; (2) the dynamics of power in dominance relationships. (Manson needed ever new ways of extending his control over his followers-- new ways to satisfy his own need for power and simultaneously offer new and extreme avenues by which his followers could feel ever more gratified at the chance to serve him.) (3) the dream, and the schemes, for making of Manson a musical superstar; and (4) the subsequent revenge and the development of an "us" and "them" mentality.

Implicit in Manson's teachings was the notion of innate (racial) and acquired superiority. The group felt itself special and its leader an inspiration to them and to the world. Music was the vehicle, and Manson had finally talked Gregg Jakobson into arranging a recording session. Watson (Watson and Hoekstra, 1978:76-77) described the mood at this time:

At last Charlie would get his chance, the destiny that was rightfully his. Now the music that all the young people heard would be his music and he would open up their minds just like he had ours; love would triumph and the old world of ego and separation would just fade away. Charlie

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\*Obviously, a distinction is being made here between a general willingness to commit murder (as with Lynette "Squeaky" Fromme who went on to attempt assassination of President Ford) and the specific motives involved in the Manson Family murders.

was going to be a star; we were all certain it would be a matter of months before his face was on the cover of *Rolling Stone*.

As long as Manson believed he would have such an impact upon the world, he had no reason to fear the group's loss of faith in him, no reason to be on other than good terms with the rich and powerful-- including those upon whom he depended to make him a star. As the world would be a world of followers, what need had he to call that world the Enemy?

But the dream failed to materialize. The months passed, and Watson (Watson and Hoekstra, 1978:77-78) recalled that

A bitterness began to set in. If Charlie wasn't getting the recognition he deserved, it had to be because someone was cheating him out of it, because some one of those rich, fat-cat, music industry hippies had betrayed his trust....

For some reason, the frustration slowly came to center on Terry Melcher.... "How does it feel to be one of the beautiful people?" the Beatles [song] had asked...and Terry should have known--he had all the money and material things he could want and lived in the...house...in Benedict Canyon at 10050 Cielo Drive. Terry, Charlie told us, had made him some big promises and then never come through.... Gradually, it seemed clearer and clearer, at least to us, that Terry Melcher was the one who had failed Charlie, who had led him along and then betrayed him, who had kept his music from the world.

Before Manson sent his assassins out to kill everyone who lived in the house on Cielo Drive (which, by then, would be occupied by Sharon Tate), before he made the cover of *Rolling Stone* (1970) but by then it was with a headline that read, "Charles Manson...the Most Dangerous Man Alive," things would reach a feverish pitch. Manson underwent a period of reflection and indecision in the desert, followed by revelation and frenetic activity. "It was as if Charlie were waiting for some kind of direction.... There seemed to be something going on in his head that he couldn't share with us," Watson (Watson and Hoekstra, 1978:80) said. Then, back at Spahn Ranch near Los Angeles, Manson soon found his inspiration in the Beatles' "White Album," which

contained such songs as "Piggies," "Sexy Sadie," "Revolution 9" and "Helter Skelter." Manson interpreted the album in terms of Manson et al., related the lyrics to the Bible, and in a complex set of rationalizations, lay this new, elaborated groundwork for murder upon the old.

Love, by then, had all but disappeared from the vocabulary. Manson, like Jim Jones would later do with the People's Temple, began to harangue his followers with end-of-the-world scenarios on the evils of existing society, on how "they" (the police, for instance) were bent on persecuting the Family, and on the need for defense and for escape. "You all know," Manson (Atkins and Slosser, 1978:109) said, "that they're after us. The cops, the niggers, the establishment-- they're all after us." What had brought Manson's racial hatred, fear and paranoia to a head was his having shot a black man in a drug deal. Manson thought his victim, Bernard Crowe, was a Black Panther-- and he thought he was dead. (He was wrong on both accounts.) "Enemies," such as the Panthers, brought about Manson's insistence upon around-the-clock guards and the carrying of, and ability to use, weapons. Meanwhile Manson was devoting his time to working on songs for a follow-up to the Beatles' White Album. He had decided, furthermore, that the person who should produce this album was none other than Terry Melcher. Manson said Melcher had promised to come hear the music; Melcher never came. According to Watson (Watson and Hoekstra, 1978:99): "Once again Terry Melcher-- in his house at the top of Cielo Drive, with his power and his money-- was the focus of bitterness and sense of betrayal....These 'beautiful people,' Terry and all the others, were really no different from the rich piggies...," and, continuing with the lyrics of the Beatles' song, "Piggies," Watson said, "they too deserved a 'damn good whacking.'"

Manson wanted power and he attained that in his leadership over a small group. Then he wanted immense power, and he tried first to earn it through his music. When that failed, Manson and Family grabbed notoriety by committing multiple murder.

#### The Crimes

By the summer of 1969, Charles Milles Manson had his followers committing a variety of felonies, while he was articulating a number of plans for the killing of rich, establishment "piggies." However, by the time the murderous activities began, they had the character of somewhat haphazard felony homicides. The first incident, as previously mentioned, involved Manson's shooting of a man who had been burned in a drug deal by "Tex" Watson. Manson (Emmons, 1986:177), whose views of the situation were clear and *unchanged*, recently said that after taking the man's \$2400, "Tex decided to screw the nigger. He never did score the grass and he never returned the money." The next murderous activity was a robbery homicide in which the robbery was largely unsuccessful. This was the murder of Gary Hinman. Manson was involved in the wounding of Hinman, as well as in the decision to rob and ultimately murder him.

This, the Hinman murder, was the first to occur in the one-month period between July 27 and August 26, 1969, when a total of nine murders were committed by Charles Manson and varying members of the Manson Family.

The nine murders comprised four separate episodes: The first and the fourth episodes were single-victim murders which involved a prior relationship between murderer(s) and victims. Hinman was a pacifist, teacher and friend to the Family, while Shea, another young white male, was a Spahn ranch hand who disapproved of the Family and was perceived as a threat by them.

The second and third episodes have become collectively known as the Tate-LaBianca murders. At the house on Cielo Drive, a total of five people were killed on the night of August 8, 1969-- all of whom were strangers. On the following night, Leno and Rosemary LaBianca were murdered, and they, too, did not know their killers. While the LaBiancas were affluent members of the establishment, their lifestyle differed from that of actress Sharon Tate and friends in that they were a more reserved and middle-aged couple without the flash and status of celebrities. Aside from what has been previously mentioned in regard to motives and attitudes, Manson had a superficial connection to these residences: he had once been on the grounds of the Cielo Drive home and he had once visited the house next door to the LaBiancas.'

The methods used in this series of killings became progressively more brutal. From a simple shooting (Crowe), Manson next inflicted a mutilatory wound when he slashed Hinman's ear with a sword. This progression culminated in the dismemberment of Shea, whose body has never been found. A number of injuries were inflicted with a variety of weapons-- guns, knives, a bayonet, a large lamp, plus rope, lamp cord and other such tools used in tying, or near-strangling or suffocating the victims. A carving fork and a steak knife were left embedded in Mr. LaBianca, with the word "war" carved into his stomach. At the Hinman murder, the message of "Political Piggy" had been written; at Tate, "Pig," and at the LaBiancas' home was written, "Death to Pigs," "Rise," and a misspelled "Healter Skelter." In each case, these messages had been written in the victim's own blood.

The investigation was hampered by a number of conceptual impediments. Despite the proximity in time, the similarity in the methods-- that is, in terms of comparable brutality and variety of injuries inflicted-- and the

existence of messages which were similar in content and written in blood, the police pursued three separate investigations. Tate detectives were convinced those murders were drug related. The difference in the victims' characteristics was a significant impediment. Multiple jurisdictions were also involved, even though Hinman only lived about 10 miles from the Tate residence. Tate and LaBianca detectives worked within feet of one another, in the same department, but Tate detectives resisted all indications that the cases might be related. There had been an arrest of one Family member for the Hinman case, and, not long after the Tate-LaBianca murders, LaBianca detectives (Sgts. Sartuchi and Patchett, particularly) were following up similarities among the crimes. The murders occurred in August, but, largely because of the failure to work together, it was not until the following November that the case began to break.

Charles Manson and varying members of the group were in jail on unrelated charges when numerous fingers began to point to them. The most significant of these were the self-incriminating statements made by Susan Atkins. After the original charges brought against the Family in Inyo County, California, Atkins was additionally charged with suspicion of murder in the Hinman case and was booked into the Sybil Brand Institute. Soon thereafter Atkins bragged to two inmates of her involvement in the Tate murders and her statements were reported to the police. Still in a talkative mood, Atkins agreed to testify before the grand jury in exchange for the prosecution's not seeking the death penalty. Atkins testified, and then denied her testimony.

The trial of Charles Milles Manson and three female co-defendants (Atkins, Krenwinkle and Van Houten) began on June 15, 1970, in Los Angeles and involved the seven Tate-LaBianca victims. The trial was plagued by a number of problems, such as outbursts from the defendants. There was

confusion among the lawyers charged with defending their respective clients and contending with Manson who wanted to run the defense. Then the defense team lost one attorney through a mysterious death and a new lawyer (for Van Houten) had to be obtained. There were conflicting plans for the defense throughout. Manson's co-defendants wanted to take the stand to offer their confessions in an attempt to exonerate Manson. To stop them, the attorneys decided to rest their case. Before doing so, Manson took the stand outside the presence of the jury. His long and rambling "testimony" was aptly described by Bishop (1972:311) as an accurate, if unintentionally so, "delineation of a not unintelligent but dissociated individual attempting to grope his way through a maze of half-conceived ideas without bringing about his own destruction." The trial lasted nine and a half months, longer than any murder trial in American history.

Charles Manson and co-defendants were each found guilty of first-degree murder. Found sane in the penalty phase, each was sentenced to death. In separate trials for Manson and others on the combined Hinman-Shea murder charges, guilty verdicts were obtained against each; each of the murderers were sentenced to life imprisonment. After the death penalty was abolished, Manson et al. left California's death row. Manson, currently an inmate at the Vacaville Medical Facility, plays his music and is not bothered by the possibility of a lifetime in prison. He continues to get letters from would-be followers who have never met him, and to retain the loyalty of a few Family members.

Table 40

## Charles Milles Manson

<u>Categories</u>	
<u>Lifespan</u>	(1934- ). Identified as "no name Maddox" when unmarried 16-yr. old Ma delivered her 1st born. Promiscuous, ran around, drank. Fa--only rumors about him.
<u>Race/Sex</u>	White male.
<u>SES</u>	Lower-class.
<u>Parental Employment</u>	Unstable. No jobs identified for Ma. She was convicted of robbery. While in prison for 5 yrs., S had his only financially & otherwise stable home w/ his aunt & uncle.
<u>Location/Pop. Density</u>	Born in Cincinnati, Ohio. Early yrs. spent in West Virginia, Ken. or Ohio, w/ density therefore varying.
<u>Family Life</u>	1 of Ma's "succession of men" gave S his name. Lived for varying periods w/ grandma or maternal aunt. Aunt loved him, but strict & religious. Ma very permissive. Ma dragged him w/ her to rundown hotels, then put him away. He wd. run back. Cdn't live together & cdn't live apart.
<u>Early Childhood</u>	"Ma wd. leave the child w/ obliging neighbors for an hr., then disappear for days or wks. Usually grandma or ...aunt wd. have to claim him." Then he wd. live w/ them in one of the above-named states.
<u>Elementary School</u>	All or almost all schooling w/in "schools for boys." At 12, Gibault School, a caretaking institution. Attitude fair at best. At 13, "he did gd. work only for those fr. whom he figured he cd. obtain something."
<u>High School Patterns</u>	After 4 yrs. of schooling, he was illiterate. IQ of 109. Average in intell., mechanical aptitude & dexterity. Raised his level fr 4th to upper 7th.& cd. read & use simple arithmetic. IQ then 121. Educa. per se meant little.
<u>Level of Educ.</u>	Formal educa, never beyond 7th. Began his own studies of magic, music, motivation, Scientology, etc.
<u>Social Development</u>	2 facets: The desire to gain att'n as w/ classroom antics & entering into criminal act. w/ friends. Became sophisticated & socially adept.
<u>Sexual Development</u>	Fr 14-19, only sexual contacts were homosexual. At 17, S raped a boy. He had only been raped. 1st hetero. w/ wife. Then pimp. Used women to his own advantage. Wide sex. experience later.
<u>Role Models</u>	1st R.M. probably "outlaws," i.e. prisoners. Then Beatles & Christ. Influ'd by such groups as Scientology & bikers & satanists. Also Hitler.
<u>Aspirations/ Occupations</u>	Like Hitler, S had been a vagrant, a bum w/ artistic aspirations. Felt he deserved as much Rock 'n Roll fame as Beatles. Music brot some status. Wd. have liked to become another Hitler. Did odd jobs when not in prison.
<u>Marital Status</u>	Married & divorced twice. F'd 3 children.
<u>Early Criminality</u>	1st, burglaries; at 13, armed robbery. Began committing federal cr-Dyer Act. Also grand theft & prostitution. W/ "Family," stolen credit cards, etc.
<u>Med./Psych. History</u>	Spent half his life in prison before the murders. No reported medical problems & he was given extensive exams thru his CJS involvements. In 1959, a psych. report sd: "sociopathic personality w/out psychosis."

### **Henri Desire' Landru**

The crimes of Henri Desire' Landru were not unique, aside from their number (Franklin, 1965). He was a swindler, a seducer and a multiple murderer-- a "ladykiller" who chose to make his living by courting, stealing and killing a succession of women or wives. He murdered 11 times: 10 women and a victim's son. He was reported to have had relations with almost 300. What was unique about Landru was his personality and his times (Scott, 1961). The case came to light at the end of World War I, when returning soldiers hungered for the feel of France and home, when newspapers were starved for peace-time news to fill their empty pages and the oligarchy of Clemenceau and Mandel wanted the public's mind diverted from the Treaty of Versailles being negotiated. At such a time did a slightly shabby little man become a central public figure at the turning point of modern political history (Bolitho, 1964). So that Versailles could be subtly played down, hints came from on high to "cherish [or play up] the Landru case" (Bolitho, 1964:165; Dickson, 1958:115); so, in 1919 the legend of the "French Bluebeard" began. Landru "remained not undeservedly in the headlines for longer than any criminal in Europe has done before or since" (Dickson, 1958:115).

Landru was interrogated and his crimes investigated for two and a half years after his arrest, a period which amounted to a continual press conference (Dickson, 1958). During his trial Landru remained silent, taking the pose of a man of honor, protecting the reputations of his women-friends. The primary evidence against him was his own notebook in which he had named his victims and indicated the financial transactions that had taken place. Landru was meticulous in his accounts. After the jury found him guilty, he went to his death

with some dignity. The Prefect of Police wrote that Landru "was one of the bravest villains ever executed in France" (Dickson, 1958:120).

### Life History

Henri Desire' Landru (1869-1922), a white male, was born in Paris, France, in the nineteenth arrondissement, on April 12, 1869. As no siblings were reported, it is assumed that Henri was the only child of Alexandre Julien and Henriette Flore' Landru. Socioeconomically, the Landrus belonged to that status known as the working class. About that status and the Landrus, it was said that they were "pillars of the admirable Parisian working class" (Lustgarten, 1968:119). The parents were upright people, of fine integrity, if rather poor. The nature of their employment patterns offered good models, as well as security, for their son. The father tried to better himself by working long and hard as a foundry stoker. "His mother eked out their income with dressmaking at home; it says much for her skill and industry that she acquired a steady, if humble patronage" (Lustgarten, 1968:117). As the trial judge remarked to Landru:

Your parents were honest and upright people in the full sense of the word. Your father was a long time fireman at the Vulcain Ironworks. He remained in the service of the firm of Masson from 1889 to 1910 and this long service with one business testifies to his good qualities (Mackenzie, 1928:58).

According to Dickson (1958), the father was later to abandon the factory and join the white "collared classes," working as a publisher's canvasser. The parents retired in 1910 to Lot-et-Garonne, Agen, where the mother died two years later. The judge explained what happened next:

Shortly after her death, your father, overwhelmed with grief, returned to Paris to stay with you and your wife, but you were in prison at the time. He did not find the tranquility and happiness at your hearth that he expected, and overwhelmed more and more with grief, and deeply affected by your bad conduct, he committed suicide on August 28, 1912,

in the Bois de Boulogne. You inherited about 10,000 francs (Mackenzie, 1928:58).

The suicide has been described as "The only sign of instability in either..." parent (Lustgarten, 1968:119). It occurred in the father's old age, and was brought on by grief over the loss of his wife, and perhaps, by the loss of hope and faith in his only child and son.

### Early Childhood

Landru "was a sunny, good-natured child, liked by everyone, and adored by his parents (as his name - Desire'- hints)" (Hall, 1974; Vol. 1:86). He has also been described as "a sweet, shy and loving little boy" (Bolitho, 1964:174; Dickson, 1958:106). Lustgarten (1968:120-121) has written that the suicide

... certainly... had not been foreshadowed against the background of young Landru's upbringing. That was normal and healthy and untroubled, as with many thousands of youngsters every year who inhabit tenements in the houses and lark about the streets of the eastern arrondissements. Young Landru enjoyed the security of his tenement and relished the freedom of the streets.

.....

Nothing, indeed, in his early history suggested that when he attained the prime of his life he would be regarded throughout every continent as the arch-criminal of the century.

Bolitho (1964:174-175) concluded similarly:

In his embryo is indeed little of the finished grotesque that the whole of 1919 is jabbering about. Perhaps only this, that he was too shy to play with other boys. He had a sweet voice, and the clergy, who esteem this type of boy, soon found him and gave him a place in the choir of St. Louis-en-l'I~le, where he sang alto.... His voice cracked late, when he was fifteen years old. The cure', to keep him, allowed him to serve the mass, and wear a dalmatic at the festivals....

### Schooling

"The pious inclinations of his home dictated the nature of [Landru's early] formal education. He was sent to ... a Jesuit academy of merited repute.... His teachers and priests found him intelligent and responsive...." (Lustgarten,

1968:120). The trial judge stated that Landru was a clever boy and had earned high praise from his schoolmasters. At the age of 16, Landru passed the entrance examination for the E'cole des Arts-et-Me'tiers where students learned mechanical engineering. It was here that Landru acquired the impressive technical jargon, "the patter," (Hall, 1974; Vol. 1:86) that enabled him to later pose as an engineer. He was drafted before he had qualified. Whether or not Landru wanted to go back for his final year at school, when he returned to civilian life, he lacked the funds to do so.

#### Military Service

Landru served three years in the third regiment of the infantry, where "his punctuality and submission, qualities prized by officers as well as priests," (Bolitho, 1964:175) earned him the rank of quartermaster-sergeant. Through marriage Landru was able to shorten his term of service, and he returned to civilian life in 1894.

#### Marital Status

Living near to Landru was his cousin, a Mme. Remy, who had two young daughters. One of these, a laundrymaid named Marie, became Landru's mistress and in 1891, bore him a daughter. In 1893 he married Marie. Some sources critisized Landru for the two-year interval, but not Lustgarten (1968:121):

No harsh opinion-- rather the reverse-- of Landru is justified upon this evidence.... It is to Landru's credit that he stood by his mistress; that he stood by his child; that he did not try to shelve or disavow his responsibilities. Not that I think an abstract moral sense was the chief spur. Landru, unlike a dedicated libertine, saw life in terms of domesticity and marriage.

The marriage remained intact until after Landru's murder trial-- when Marie filed for divorce and a change of name-- and the couple had four children. The following, while it does seem sugar-coated, is otherwise consistent with descriptions of Landru-the-family-man:

He was a fond husband and father. He not only loved his wife and their four children but, though sometimes an exacting disciplinarian and a slightly self-conscious head of an obedient tribe, he compensated for that with an unshakeable devotion. No matter how diverse his interests, no matter how prolonged his absences, his family always remained the focal point.... And when trouble came,... he exerted himself to shield and cover them (Lustgarten, 1968:118).

At Landru's trial, for instance, "The only occasions when total self-control, governed by total self-interest, ever faltered were those on which endeavors were made to implicate his family" (Lustgarten, 1968:146). Landru's wife and eldest son had been arrested and imprisoned, with the son a secondary figure in the charges. The thrust of the charge was that Madame Landru had impersonated two of the missing women in order to obtain their savings. It was realized that she had been an unwitting, unknowing accomplice, acting only upon Landru's instructions. As she pointed out, her whole trouble lay in loving her husband too much and too well. Landru spoke out in her defense: "If it is a punishable offense, I am alone responsible. My wife merely acted under my orders. She was an unconscious instrument. So was my son" (Lustgarten, 1968:147). Further,

Any allusion to the matter [of their imprisonment] changed his personality, the cool brain yielding to the hot blood. "I protest!" he cried vehemently, with the mask for once contorted. "I protest against the persecution of my innocent wife!" Landru, the impassive, the indifferent... beat his breast with his clenched fist to mark the words (Lustgarten, 1968:147).

The irony here was that the characteristic of family loyalty existed toward more than one union. At the time of his arrest, Landru was living with his "fiance'," a young woman named Fernande Segret, toward whom he appeared

to be devoted. And inbetween the two unions there had been unions of a different sort-- seductions and proposals with an ulterior motive. Landru's wife and his mistress knew nothing of each other and nothing of his business-- the wedding of marriage to murder.

Aspirations/Occupations

Upon his return to civilian life in 1894, Landru returned to the type of work he had had (by some accounts) before his army service: book-keeper and clerk in an architect's firm--

... -- and his old friends immediately noticed the change. He became "stuck up," and he lost no opportunity to mention that he was a white collar office worker. He had achieved middle-class status-- which, in the French provincial society of the 1890s, meant considerably more than it would today. For the rest of his life, Landru played this part of the member of the professional classes; he posed as lawyer, doctor, engineer, businessman, accountant-- anything that boosted his ego... and made him feel "talented" and a "gentleman" (Hall, 1974; Vol. 1:86).

Landru had no definite occupation; restlessness was the operative word for his employment pattern. He was "... from time to time an accountant, agent, architect's clerk, publicity agent, salesman in a toy factory and so on," in the trial judge's words (Mackenzie, 1928:59). According to Dickson (1958:106), Landru derived from his book-keeping experiences an ability to indulge his "taste for debits and credits and neat little expense accounts which led later to the entries in the *carnet noir* - the little black notebook which brought him to his death." On the surface then, and

Until he was 31 there is nothing we can trace that in any way was opposed to his birth and upbringing; he was a methodical, uninspiring, and supremely uninteresting member of the French lower-middle classes. And then, in the year 1900, he burnt his boats of respectability by earning a sentence of two years' imprisonment for fraud.

What was the cause of the change; by what evolution, slow or germination or of transpontine swiftness, was this ex-choir boy plunged

from the commonplace round of clerical book-keeping to the ... underworld? (Douthwaite, 1929:221-222).

Most available sources on Landru have pondered this question and the many explanations given at the time. Bolitho (1964:177), in countering the "alienists'" hypothesis that Landru must have received a blow to the head, offered a simpler explanation:

So, in this case of Desire' Landru we will not believe that he is a hand-watch that one bang on the case deranged, but that he came under a law of metabolism that works, though in infinitely varying degrees and periods, in the lives of all human beings. At the age of 30 years, quite an ordinary period for a man to reflect on his life, measure his situation, and if he finds it displeasing reform it, this Landru reviewed... his past and present, and then firmly decided to try another road to the future.

The slow accumulation of his experience had come to persuade him that submission did not pay. The sight of the unusual luxury and heightened life that the Exhibition brought to the city sharpened his desires....

That Landru thought himself above the ranks of the office worker, above the French middle-class to which he had once aspired, seems clear. But-- Hall (1974; Vol.1:86) wrote--

Unfortunately for Landru and his future victims, society had no special place for the intelligent but mercurial young man. In the army-- ...his record was excellent. Then he returned to civilian life, married..., and faced the task of making a career for himself and providing security for his family. But the prospect of a lifetime in an office bored him, and he was too unstable to stay in any one job for long. Attempts to launch his own businesses invariably failed. His natural charm and alertness suggested petty fraud and false pretences as a means of tiding his wife and four children over bleak periods. And it was with the enthusiasm of someone who has finally found his niche that he turned to crime - a more exciting, more 'creative', way of living than office work.

### Early Criminality

As Landru lacked the training to engage in the highest-level professions, and disdained the lower occupations and even office work, he took the well-known route and compromise when he became a "dealer." He dealt in many

sorts of goods, emerging first as a "... spiv. At a slightly later stage he approached close to the frontier which separates the spiv from the unequivocal crook" (Lustgarten, 1968:121).

At a later stage, also of undetermined date, Landru passed into that category known as the "confidence man." The reason, as Hall (1974; Vol. 1:86) explained, was that

Being a confidence trickster-- especially such a well-loved and successful one-- appealed to his vanity, to his intelligence, even to his artistic impulse (for, as Thomas Mann, the German Nobel Prize-winner pointed out in his novel *Felix Krull -- Confidence Man*, the confidence trickster has a touch of the artist about him. (See Summative Attributes, below, for discussion of Landru's artistry.)

It is clear that by the time of Landru's first conviction, he was a dealer, a swindler and a confidence man. In the latter two areas, he came to prey more and more upon elderly women-- spinsters, widows and divorcees. It is probable that the character of his first offense-- attempting to cheat an elderly widow over a marriage settlement-- foreshadowed the blurring of a distinction between dealing in second-hand goods and what was for him, second-hand lives.

There were several subsequent convictions: a two-year sentence for swindling in 1904, and another sentence on the same charge in 1906. In 1906, he was sentenced for three years on the charge of abuse of confidence. In 1914, charged with swindling, he was sentenced in his absence to another four years and as soon as he was captured and without another trial, he was to be banished for the rest of his life to New Caledonia (Lustgarten, 1968).

As Dickson (1958) and others have pointed out, it must have been obvious to Landru that even the most minor infraction would mean a life sentence. With banishment hanging over his head, he had to leave his family. He became a fugitive. A desperate and hunted man, Landru found the cover he

needed with the outbreak of the first world war (Bolitho, 1964; Dickson, 1958; Douthwaite, 1929). In August of 1914, when the police might otherwise have been tracking Landru down, they were disorganized, with many of their duties now switched to wartime. With war came a famine in the field of petty crime (Douthwaite, 1929). There was hunger, too. By Douthwaite's account, Landru was thus deprived for 10 days. However, as Bolitho (1964:179) wrote, "Even a day may hold many resolutions for a destitute man...." Further, Landru was "... schooled to self-indulgence as a cat to cream" (Douthwaite, 1929:224). He was putting into practice a life-and-death resolution on August 14th. It has never been suggested that he killed before that date (Dickson, 1958). And, until the war had ended and about April, 1919, Landru was afforded the stimulus of war and the benefits of not being under scrutiny by police.

Landru followed the classical prototype of the matrimonial cheat. He placed advertisements in the newspapers, such as, "Widower... with comfortable income, affectionate, serious... desires to meet widow with a view to matrimony" (Gaute and Odell, 1980:202). He placed seven such ads. He also "dabbled discreetly in the matrimonial agencies. He did not scorn the veiled pick-up ('Madam, your glove, your handkerchief...') if his shrewd perceptions told him that the lady was lonely, fading, and had a little [money] put away" (Lustgarten, 1968:123).

#### Medical/Psychiatric History

At H.D. Landru's murder trial, three psychiatric experts were called to testify. The first, Vallon, had already examined Landru in 1904 when the latter had been charged with fraud. He had found Landru then to be bordering on the psychopathic-- but not to be insane. As Vallon testified,

"I find now that Landru is perfectly lucid, perfectly conscious of what he is doing. He is quick and alert in his mind. He is easy and facile in repartee. In short, he must be considered responsible for the acts of which he is accused" (Hall, 1974; Vol. 1:85).

A second doctor added that he had found no trace of obsession, pathological impulse, of weakened intellectual ability or of a confused mind. In short, he stated that, "... we have found him normal at every point" (Mackenzie, 1928:179). The last psychiatrist, Roubinovich, testified to being effected and surprised by Landru's "presence of mind, his very subtlety, surprising in a person of elementary education" (Mackenzie, 1928:179). Roubinovitch further stated that "His psychology is what might be called that of the 'transportee'.... He will use any means... to avoid transportation. Landru was in this position in 1914" (Hall, 1974; Vol. 1:85).

#### Summative Attributes

A most significant point is presented here separately, for it is upon this factor that so much of the speculation and legend of Landru derived: Landru, it was contended, with some supporting evidence, had "had relations" with no less than 283 women-- occasionally, the number was set at 284 (Bolitho, 1964; Dickson, 1958; Mackenzie, 1928). Landru did record 283 replies he received from the seven advertisements, all of which had been classified and coded according to whether they were worth his investing more time-- as, "without money," "in reserve" or for "further investigation" (Mackenzie, 1928:18). Some relationship had been necessary just to learn such information. Landru corresponded with 169 women, and the police tracked down every one-- except those who were missing and presumably murdered by Landru (Mackenzie, 1928). According to Dickson (1958:116), police had tracked about 100 of the

nearly 300 women with whom he had had affairs. However, "None wished to give evidence against him, and although some whom he had swindled were called as witnesses, they all testified that he was always courteous, affectionate and kind."

It was on this basis that journalists were quick to make of Landru the magnetic, hypnotic seducer that they did. And it is perhaps on the basis of black and white pictures and print that later sources often denied the subject any physical prowess at all.\* Landru was over 50 years old at the time of his trial and the pallor of prison hung on him. To some, he presented a shabby and unimpressive figure. About his eyes-- black and deep-set-- it was claimed that they were magnetic; and, at the other extreme, they were "curious" unmoving, unfocusing black pools-- that is, they were dead eyes. Both descriptions may be valid under different circumstances. The degree of expressiveness in the eyes-- and lack thereof-- is a characteristic found in other subjects of this study.

Counter-claims notwithstanding, the consensus was that Landru's solemn expression and deliberate movements had the effect of dignity. What the (male) sources on the case discerned and considered effective was Landru's manner. According to Dickson (1958:115), "His voice was soft and his manner was grave and courteous and sympathetic." In Bolitho's (1964:181) opinion, Landru's

... speech was highly persuasive to a certain class of women and young persons, for he had a great deal of calm, always based himself on the most assimilable form of reason, Law, and ornamented every statement

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\* It should be noted, however, that Landru, more so than most of the other subjects of this study, loses much of his power with translation and the passage of time-- as well as the prison pallor from which he suffered at the time of his trial. Yet any depiction of Landru without his supposed powers would be at odds with the descriptions of the man at the time. Hence, the only way to fairly depict Landru has been to assume some truth to the multiple observations made of him at the time.

with technical words which gave them an appearance of great dignity. When in argument, he would not allow the contradictor to state his own case, but he would do it for him quickly and fairly, then demolish it, gravely and sometimes with an expression of sympathetic regret. In his walk and when standing, he contrived by slowness and deliberation to expunge the last trace of anything ridiculous in his seediness, by which it appeared to many merely another mark of distinction, as if he were a millionaire too preoccupied to trouble with clothes.

Bolitho further found that Landru's poor physical shape was often seen as thinness and that thinness was perceived as a lack of worldliness, as innocence and as a need for protection. "On the whole, then, Landru gave the impression... of a distinguished gentleman, poor, perhaps, but learned and serious, ... an unofficial professor, whose crankiness was very respectable" (Bolitho, 1964:181).

The attraction for Landru was, on some level, sexual, for most of the relatives of his women-friends were aware of his faults. Still, his mistress, Segret, reported that when Landru met her family, they were charmed by him. He displayed his wit all evening, telling amusing stories that offended no one, including the ladies, and doing little table tricks. He was the center of attention, the main attraction. But there was much more to Landru's charm, and what Bolitho (1964:183) wrote and wrote beautifully about was Landru's dominance:

This second charm can be put: that he knew what he was after in life... this is the strongest lure in the world. However it is looked at: that Landru had will, or direction, or a theory, or a belief, it means in practice that he was positive to the same degree that they [who loved him] were negative, and so they followed him.... This man who had overawed them with his supposed culture drew them pantingly after him with the hope that he possessed the plan they had missed; he promised to let them share it with him in marriage... this man's company] meant a full share in the secret and meaning of life which everything, from his absent eyes to his confident walk, advertised that he possessed.... He was the male, the master of the secret.

They knew he had it, because of his air, because of his eyes (that did not move like their own), because he told them so, and because he believed it himself.

The manner and the mechanism by which Landru delved into the mysteries of life and simultaneously dazzled the lonely widows of his intimacy was as Landru the poet. As Bolitho (1964) explained it, women saw Landru as he saw himself-- as poet and as artist. There may be some truth here, or at least some consensus, for Lustgarten (1968:118) wrote that Landru "...was an aesthetic sensualist. He responded to beauty, and grasped at it with appetite. He had a passion for roses..." and for the opera. His love letters were masterpieces of flowery sentiment. His sense of romance and melodrama was keen: he brought his mistress to see his home, and the first thing she saw was the unforgettable spectacle of

... a real greenhouse. The dining room was nothing but an immense basket of flowers. I have never seen such a display, in size or variety. He had with careful taste mixed humble violets with the rarest gardenias, and everything was so well arranged, with such harmonies of colors, such taste in the bouquets, that mother and I looked at it as if we were paralyzed (Bolitho, 1964:188).

Later, Landru staged a mock suicide for the benefit of his mistress, whose impressions were reported in Bolitho (1964:193):

Slowly and hesitating, I entered his room.... A really macabre scene had been prepared. In its usual place I found my photograph, bordered with crepe, and in front of it a chair placed like a *prie-Dieu*, as if he must have been meditating there as one does before an idol or a holy picture. The floor was strewn with faded rose-petals.

With the desired effect of abject remorse achieved, Landru, who had been hiding, reappeared.

In part, Landru convinced himself that the idealized version of himself was true, so the force of that conviction made the image seem true. For, as Douthwaite (1929) and Bolitho (1964:196) believed, Landru was a self-deceiver. Bolitho elaborated, "...a being who has fabricated out of his nature and his reading a dream, or fiction of things, in which he is the hero, and in

which he has fortified himself against reality by an ingenious rampart of lies." Given Landru's being an imposter, and given his succession of false pretenses, he was a consummate actor-- perhaps one who began to believe his own lines.

In addition to Landru the romantic, and Landru the actor, there was also Landru the businessman. Here there was none of the sweeping generalization of his flowery prose; here all transactions were broken down into the smallest detail. He classified, indexed and filed. He assigned numbers to members of his household. This was not done out of insensitivity, several sources contended, "...but rather," Bolitho (1964:197) wrote, "... the opposite: [a sign of] a man who cannot kill or steal without hypnotizing himself with all the apparatus of business. It is for this that we so often find, to his ruin, a diary and petty accounts in the desk of a multi-murderer." Landru, it was widely believed, had convinced himself early on that he was only a businessman engaged in smart business deals, really no different than others who go free, and the court record of his responses tended to support this. But, as Dickson (1958:106) believed,

...Landru's main interest to the criminologist is that as an individual he towers above most other criminals of this century, a ruthless and efficient killer, but urbane and witty, always the intellectual master of the situation, a man with certain qualities of greatness.

Some points can be made on the basis of the life history and personality data. The murders are far more comprehensible from the perspective of aspects of Landru's personality than from aspects of childhood environment; no one has ever suggested a link between the murders and the latter. From whatever cause, Landru came to be classified as a psychopath and was said to be lacking any sense of moral responsibility (Hall, 1974). But Landru's psychopathy was more on the order of a void, or lack of empathy, than an other-directed force such as hostility. His victims just quietly and efficiently

disappeared; there is no evidence that he enjoyed murder for its own sake. His psychopathy can be conceived of as the immediate facilitator for murder. But Landru's life history is not a succession of actions and expressions typical of the psychopath. Rather, the life history represents the course of dominance, running progressively out of patience, and tinged with psychopathy. As a child and as an adolescent, Landru had no trouble conforming, for, at home, at church and at school, he had his "place in the sun." The immediate precipitator for his entrance into property crime cannot be found in his environment, for he had not been hurt by anyone, nor had he, in any conventional sense of the word, failed. Rather, he found that doing office work bored him. He wanted a higher level of excitement; he needed romance and adventure. So he turned to crime and evolved into a confidence man. He was said to have allowed himself complete self-indulgence and to have been an extreme egotist.

Thus, when banishment was hanging over his head and hunger was nipping at his heels, when he risked exposure by leaving witnesses, Landru turned to murder. That he did so, and so quickly, may be traced to that facilitator, the psychopathic personality.

#### The Crimes

Henri Desire' Landru was charged with murdering 11 people, 10 women and the son of one of these women. All the female victims with one exception--a woman who had been his mistress--had not known Landru previously. And as is the case with ladykillers, Landru entered into a relationship with his victims that was predicated upon murder.

Landru had identifiable motives: financial profit and the elimination of witnesses.

Landru's mistress differed from the other victims. She had no money, so profit could not have been the motive. She may have learned too much about his activities and thus constituted a danger to be eliminated.\* The other women were similar in some characteristics: they were white, ranging in age from the late 30s to middle age. Most were widows and all were wary of any threat to their hard-earned money. Their social positions varied from the highest social classes to the former prostitute (Bolitho, 1964). Most were not totally alone in the world, but were "lonely hearts" set adrift by the peak excitement and vibrancy that war often brings, and hence particularly vulnerable.

Landru's methods were not unique; he followed the pattern of the matrimonial cheat, as noted previously. He placed ads in the newspapers and studied and responded to those that others placed; he visited matrimonial agencies. He carried on correspondence. With the confidence of the victims won (through promises of marriage and the expenditure of charm and energy), Landru bought the train tickets (round-trip for himself) and took his victims on a one-way trip to his home in a village outside Paris. Once their savings and possessions had been entrusted to him, each was murdered.

Even after two and a half years of investigation, the method used in the murders could not be definitely established. (Police Commissioner Belin, however, wrote [Dickson, 1958:108] that he believed that the victims were strangled, but that they had been poisoned first. "Indeed, I found a book in [Landru's] house dealing with poisoners and poisoning.") Nor could it be determined how Landru disposed of the bodies. Bone fragments were found in a stove in Landru's house in the village, and Landru's neighbors reported having seen and smelled smoke occasionally billowing from his house, but no

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\* This was an earlier mistress, not Fernande Segret, whom he did not kill.

one reported this at the time. It was assumed that Landru disposed of the bodies by burning them-- and then buried, spread and/or dumped the ashes. (Some bone fragments were found in his yard.)

Landru's arrest occurred in the following way: he was spotted in a china shop by the sister of a victim who had been in touch with the police and with the relative of another victim. The woman got the current alias and address of the man she suspected. The following day, Landru was arrested at his home and charged with murder.

Henri Desire' Landru was tried at the Court of Assize of the Seine-et-Oise in November of 1921; he was charged with 11 murders. He denied his guilt and he thanked the psychiatrists, commenting, "In acknowledging that I am sane they are thus proclaiming my innocence" (Douthwaite, 1929:203).

The trial became a circus. People crowded the room; some even brought their dogs. Spectators ate and took care of other bodily functions where they sat for fear of losing their places. Photographers were intrusive and the crowd was not silent in responding to the proceedings. Nor was Landru, who was quite witty at times.

The evidence against Landru has been labelled as conclusive and has been called entirely circumstantial. Primarily on the basis of the black notebook and the bone fragments, Landru was found guilty.

On the night before he was to be guillotined, Landru wrote the judge, ending his letter in an articulate manner. Dickson (1958:120) quoted him:

The sentence has been pronounced. I was calm, and you were upset. Can it be that conscience troubles judges who are not sure of themselves? Just as much as it must torture criminals? I wish you farewell, sir. Tomorrow, doubtless, the association which has linked us together will come to an end. I shall die with my soul assured of peace and innocence. With all respect, may I express the wish that yours is in the same happy condition?

On the morning of his execution-- February 25, 1922-- Landru turned down the traditional brandy, saying that he appreciated the offer, but did not need it. He also interrupted the chaplain to say, in a very courteous manner, that he was sorry but he did not want to keep "these gentlemen waiting," nodding toward the executioners (Dickson, 1958:120). Dickson went on to quote the Prefect of Police as saying, "Perhaps as condemned men go, [Landru] was one of the bravest villains ever executed in France."

Table 41

## Henri Desire' Landru

Categories	
<u>Lifespan</u>	(1869-1922)
<u>Race/Sex</u>	White male
<u>Socio-Economic Status (SES)</u>	Pas called "pillars of the admirable Parisian working class." Father was a self-improving man who later became white-collar. Poor, but upwardly mobile.
<u>Parental Employment Pattern</u>	Stable. Father worked long and hard (21 yrs.) at Forges de Vulcain as a foundry stoker. Mother's "skill and industry" led to her acquiring a steady, humble clientele as a dressmaker at home, allowing her to remain at home full-time. Parents considered honest and upright according to the trial judge.
<u>Location/Population Density</u>	Born and raised in Paris, France in the 19th arrondissements. That area referred to as a residential area of tenements, but where there is security and freedom in the streets. So probably high density area.
<u>Family Life</u>	An only child, Subject was adored by Pas. Reared in a pious,honest & hardworking home. Ma. died in 1912. Fa., overwhelmed w/ grief came to visit w/ son, but latter in prison. Fa. committed suicide. "Only sign of instability in either Pa."
<u>Early Childhood</u>	S. was a "sunny, good-natured child," liked by all. Upbringing was "normal & healthy and untroubled." Did the same things as his peers.
<u>Elementary School</u>	Sent to E'cole des Fr'es, a Jesuit academy of great repute. Teachers & priests found him intelligent & responsive. Clever boy: highly praised.
<u>High School Patterns</u>	With sweet voice. given place in the choir. After voice cracked, cure' serve mass. At 16 passed entrance exam to school for mech. engineer'g.
<u>Level of Educ.</u>	Landru learned the jargon, but did not complete schooling; was drafted.
<u>Social Development</u>	Called "sweet, shy & loving little boy," was too shy w/ other kids to play, but--clergy liked him. Later he became "stuck up" to old friends. As a con, he used others.
<u>Sexual Development</u>	It was believed that S. had "had relations" with 283-284 women. He had had some relation w/ them. Honed natural skills w/ women to perfection. A romantic, charming, well-spoken man; charismatic.
<u>Role Models</u>	None mentioned; perhaps generic prof. classes were impressive to S.
<u>Aspirations/ Occupations</u>	When S. attained white collar office work, he had achieved middle-class status & wd. forever play the part of a member of prof. classes-- made him feel talented. Office work bored him, so he turned to crime.
<u>Marital Status</u>	Had a child by his mistress, whom he married 2 yrs. later.. Marriage intact until after trial. 4 child'n in all. Fond husband & fa. Also "loyal" & loving to mistress. Segret.
<u>Early Criminality</u>	S. 1st became a "dealer" of goods, as a "spiv," then more as an outright crook. Then a confidence man, preying increas'gly on older ladies. Several convictions. At outbreak of war, facing banishment if caught.
<u>Medical/ Psychiatric History</u>	3 psychiatrists testified at trial, one of whom had 1st seen him in 1904 when sentenced. Found then to be bordering on the psychopathic, but not mad. In 1921 found "normal at every point," & sane by all 3.

### **Theodore Robert Bundy**

Ted Bundy was such a promising young man, everyone said. He had an aptitude for politics, psychology, law enforcement, criminal justice studies and for the law. He expressed this aptitude in both jobs and academic pursuits. He had a B.A. degree in psychology and had finished his first year in law school. The picture was not, however, perfect, and Bundy was falling short of becoming what everyone expected-- a "winner." Ultimately, he came to excel in only the pursuit of serial murder. Because of Bundy's methods and Bundy himself, most of the 36-40 murders attributed to him will never be brought to trial and some will never be officially solved.

Theodore Bundy is believed by law enforcement to have been involved in a series of murders in multiple jurisdictions across several states. In 1974 at least eight young women disappeared, all but one from universities in the Washington state and Oregon area. Only later-- too late for investigators to find any clues-- were the remains discovered in the wilds of Washington state. When Ted Bundy left the state, the killings had stopped. When Bundy moved to Utah, that state began its series of three murders and an aggravated kidnapping. Bundy visited Colorado, and left at least one woman in his wake. Then Bundy came to the attention of investigators in each of the above-mentioned states. The only case with sufficient grounds for an indictment at that time was the kidnapping. Bundy was convicted of that crime. He was then extradited to Colorado to stand trial for murder. He escaped from Colorado, the second time finding his way to Florida. While living in Tallahassee, five co-eds were assaulted in one night; two died. These crimes were followed shortly by the murder of a young girl in Lake City, Florida.

When Ted Bundy first came to national attention there were questions as to whether he was an incredibly active killer or the victim of circumstances, as indicated by such headlines as, "Bundy-- Always in the Wrong Place" (Whiteley and Effron, 1978) and "Experts Differ on Suspected Mass Killer: Some See Ted Bundy as Scapegoat in 40 Sex Slayings" (1978). Today, 10 years later, Ted Bundy stands convicted and sentenced to death in the 3 Florida murders. While he has not confessed, Bundy's name has come to be associated with multiple (or serial) murder. It may never be known how many people he killed.

#### Life History

Theodore Robert Bundy (1946- ), a white male, was born with the surname of Cowell on November 24, 1946. Louise Cowell gave birth to her illegitimate son ("Teddy," as he was called when he was little), at the Elizabeth Lund Home for Unwed Mothers, located in Burlington, Vermont.

Louise Cowell was a "prim [and] modest department store clerk" (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:47), and, at 22, a "good girl" from the deeply religious family (Rule, 1981) of a Philadelphia nurseryman, his wife and 3 daughters. Louise was an inexperienced young woman fresh out of high school, where she had been very successful ("The head of everything!" according to her son Ted [Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:52].) Along came a rakish young man, perhaps a sailor or a veteran with "old money," some said, and he had seduced her. When she became pregnant, her young man vanished. Louise Cowell made what seemed to many an unusual, even a courageous stand, relative to the period in which it occurred. She decided to keep what she referred to always as her "love child." With her family rallied about her, Louise returned from Vermont with her baby, Theodore Cowell.

There, with a doting grandfather, in a comfortable old house, in a working-class neighborhood, lived mother and child for over four years.

Louise Cowell wanted to raise her son without prejudice and she wanted a new life for herself. So, to deter questions, she had her son's surname changed to Nelson on October 6, 1950. Shortly thereafter, she moved with Ted to Tacoma, Washington, at the invitation of relatives residing there.

The move was a jolt for the child who neither understood the need nor wanted to move away from his grandfather and his comfortable home. Bundy hated Tacoma at first. As Michaud and Aynesworth (1984:48) said,

After Philadelphia, Tacoma seemed raw and impermanent to him-- just a jumble of ugly brown and grey buildings....He would outgrow this initial distaste for his new home, but he never got over an innate arrogant disdain of anything he regarded as common....

Jack Cowell was only a few years older than Louise, his niece, and Teddy always called him Uncle Jack. A music professor at Tacoma's College of Puget Sound, Uncle Jack was a man of some refinement. His gleaming dark piano, the classical music that filled the house, his air of cultivation, drew Teddy to him. Early on, Teddy decided to pattern himself after Uncle Jack.

Nevertheless, Louise Cowell was solidly working-class and so went to work as a secretary at the Council of Churches office in downtown Tacoma. There she made a friend who coaxed the modest and retiring newcomer into attending the young adults' night at the Methodist Church. On one such night, Louise Cowell met John (Johnnie) Culpepper Bundy, a shy, kindly and solid ex-Navy man, a cook at the Veteran's Hospital. After a courtship made up largely of church functions, Cowell and Bundy married on May 19, 1951. Following the ceremony, Bundy adopted the five-year-old child, giving him his third and final name. Mr. Bundy had "fulfilled Louise's first and ultimate requirement by accepting both her and her son" (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:48). The job as a cook turned out to be what he would do the rest of his work life, and

confirmed Bundy's consistent employment pattern and his status among the working-class. The Bundy's marriage remains intact.

Bundy did not accept his new father. Two reasons were given for this rejection. First, he regarded Johnnie as an interloper, fearing a disruption of his life. Second, even as a child, Bundy looked down on his father: "Johnnie's drawl made him seem a little slow, a serious defect as far as Teddy would be concerned. He was unlettered, and his prospects in life were those of a modest southern country boy" (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:48). Rule (1981:9) reported that, "Despite his new name, Ted still considered himself a Cowell. It was always the Cowell side of the family to which he gravitated." The following gives further indications of the family life:

Ted spent time with his stepfather only grudgingly. Johnnie tried. He had accepted Louise's child just as he had accepted her, and he'd been rather pleased to have a son. If Ted seemed increasingly removed from him, he put it down to burgeoning adolescence. In discipline, Louise had the final word, although Johnnie sometimes applied corporal punishment with a belt (Rule, 1981:9).

According to Winn and Merrill (1981:105), Ted suffered only the worries and oppressions of most elementary school kids-- "a father who sometimes made his point with an open hand across the rear"-- for instance.

In the first years of the Bundy marriage, "Life was not as sweet, but not a nightmare," Ted recalled (Winn and Merrill, 1981:105). The family began to grow. To accommodate the family of two girls and another two boys meant moving. So, the family moved-- three times in all. The Bundys were able to buy a home large enough for five children, but "Teddy found his new neighborhood decidedly unappealing. The tract had been thrown up in haste and with no eye toward aesthetics," according to Michaud and Aynesworth (1984:50), who also reported that, in general,

At home, Teddy felt deprived. He was jealous of his cousin John, Uncle Jack's boy, and contemptuous of his own family's modest lifestyle. Ted [told the writer] he was mortified by the sensible Ramblers that Johnnie drove, so much so that he recalls being "humiliated" to be seen in them. Likewise, from the time he could first walk and talk, little Teddy always pulled his mother to the most expensive racks in the clothing stores. The preoccupation with material possessions would stay with the boy and intensify. Even the little Teddy was class-conscious (Michaud and Aynesworth,1984:50).

As a boy of seven or eight, Ted Bundy fantasized about being adopted by Roy Rogers and Dale Evans, although the fantasy did not revolve around a desire for new parents. Rather, its key feature was having his own pony and being rich enough to have anything else he wanted (Michaud and Aynesworth,1984).

Two neighborhood boys became Bundy's closest friends, and the three boys remained close throughout high school. Bundy was good company, according to his friends, but he could sometimes be aloof. The three played guerrilla war games in which spear ferns were used as weapons. Bundy's temper was first noticed in the context of this game. When he was hit just below the eye with the pretend-weapon, he responded in fury and attack, and the others had to pull him off the boy who had injured him. Such a response was unusual for Bundy, a boy who had always kept himself above the fray before. There was another incident, at a boy scout camp ("which he loathed for the discomfort of sweat and overall grittiness" [Michaud and Aynesworth,1984:51]). This time, Bundy shoved a plate into the face of a fellow scout, and deliberately attacked another boy from behind, on the head. Around this time an observation was made by one of Bundy's closest friends, and he later reported it to Michaud and Aynesworth (1984:51):

It was really easy to see when Ted got mad. His eyes turned just about black. I suppose that sounds like something out of a cheap novel, but you could see it. He has blue eyes that are kind of flecked with darker colors. When he gets hot, they seem to get less blue and more dark. It

didn't have to be a physical affront, either. Someone would say something, and you could see it in his face. The dark flecks seemed to expand.

Michaud and Aynesworth (1984:103) had no trouble believing this, for they saw for themselves that "There is a cold and poisonous luster in Bundy's unguarded gaze." At other times (that is, when he was not "speculating" about "the killer," see discussion below), they saw "a softer blue [that] came into Ted's eyes. His irises cleared and pupils constricted. His expression went from sinister to mild in a moment."

#### Elementary and Junior High School

According to his mother, Ted was very fond of his first-grade teacher. On his report card this teacher said that the child understood his numbers, was comfortable speaking before the class and that he could speak well (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984). He did not like his second-grade teacher. Ted, a Protestant, felt his Catholic teacher discriminated against him. She once broke a ruler over his knuckles, but her anger had a cause: Ted had socked a classmate in the nose. Ted was a "not-unusual child from all appearances" (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:49), and "already he had struck friends and relatives as bright, physically active, a promising and thoroughly likable boy. Louise and Johnnie Bundy couldn't have been prouder" (Winn and Merrill, 1981:106).

By junior high, Winn and Merrill (1981:106) wrote,

...Ted was just like his peers, in and out of the house, preoccupied (without thinking about it) with growing up. He had not grown especially close to his stepfather, nor for that matter, did he have much time for searching conversations with his mother. He played football in fifth and sixth grade, then joined the track team at Hunt Junior High, placing third in the hurdles once. He was too short for basketball, however, and his first foray into politics-- a bid for student body vice-president-- was unsuccessful.

"I began," Ted later explained, "to restrict myself to the friends in my neighborhood" instead of the "broader social schemes." To those friends, Ted was one of the gang....

Bundy (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:54) elaborated: "In junior high everything was fine. Nothing that I can recall happened that summer before my sophomore year to stunt me or otherwise hinder my progress. But I got to high school and I didn't make any progress." It is true that insecurities had already arisen. In junior high, for instance, he insisted upon showering in privacy, and the response was scorn and jibes. Scholastically, he did well. "He usually managed to maintain a B average, and would stay up all night to finish a project if need be" (Rule, 1981:10). But, in high school, Bundy acknowledged, there was an abrupt halt to his natural social development.

### High School Patterns

Bundy was never able to explain why he had begun to feel alienated from his old friends: "I wasn't sure what was wrong and what was right. All I knew was that I felt a bit different" (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:55). Nor could his friends fathom the problem, for they found Ted witty and charming. According to one friend (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:55), Bundy "was a lampooner. He had the darts, you know. He was very funny and very much on the mark. To me, he just seemed wonderfully subtle. He could make me laugh with a gesture or one or two words... I took this to be a token of his intelligence." Bundy did not have the confidence to follow this up, however. His friend (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:55) observed that "He could have been a really strong influence on a lot of people if he had had the self-confidence to go along with the intellect." But Bundy floundered in social situations and could not meet people easily.

Others recalled that Bundy, while not in the "top crowd," was nevertheless fairly well known and popular. Part of his success was his physical maturity. By high school, he had become tall and coordinated, with none of the awkwardness of most boys of his age. While his face would remain remarkable for its absence of distinctive features (one judge said he had the face of a changling), he had become what his peers considered handsome.

Ted Bundy felt at ease in two places at this period: on the slopes as a skier and in the classroom with his assumed air of a scholar. Though he maintained no better than a "B" plus average, he spoke up in class. As he explained to Michaud and Aynesworth (1984:56): "It's a formalized setting and the ground rules are fairly strict. Your performance is measured by different rules than what happens when everybody's peeling off into little cliques down the hallway."

The division between Bundy and his social environment stemmed from something more worrisome than adolescent insecurity. In time, he became more secure and he appeared to be confident, but what he lacked as an adolescent, he would not learn later-- or ever: "'I didn't know what made things tick,' Ted [said]. 'I didn't know what made people want to be friends. I didn't know what made people attractive to one another. I didn't know what underlay social interactions'" (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:57).

#### Sexual History: Marital Status

Ted Bundy had very few dates all through high school. Bundy (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:55) stated that in this area he felt "particularly dense, or insensitive, not knowing when a woman's interested in me." He said that while he had been considered handsome, he was very insecure and never believed he was attractive.

Bundy was also insecure when it came to "locker-room" talks with the boys. Even if his friends were lying, or at least exaggerating, their sexual conquests, Bundy "was mystified by what he heard.... [H]e had trouble grasping any of it. 'It kind of went over my head,' he [said]" (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:56).

Nevertheless, from the time he was a juvenile, Bundy was fascinated by pornographic images of women. It began innocently enough-- an interest in the more normal, sexual images of ads and television shows, but then his interests began to veer toward the more violent sexual materials. Initially, Bundy had not imagined himself actually engaged in such behaviors, but found gratification in reading about others who did so.

It was sometime after his freshman year in college that Bundy had his first love affair and his first sexual experience. (Whether or not this was with the same woman was unclear from the available materials.) After his initiation into sex, Bundy became sexually active. His first love affair involved a young woman whom he invariably described as beautiful, wealthy and from a socially prominent family; he was in awe of her. When she broke off the romance, Bundy was left in a state of confusion and shock. However, within the next few years, he made himself over into an image of what he thought she liked. She did. He won her back. They became engaged, and then he left her. At the time he left her, he was simultaneously engaged to another woman, a young mother, and he was unfaithful to them both. That is, he had still other lovers.

Bundy eventually married another young woman, Carole Boone, to whom he remains married today. He had once worked with Boone, a young mother, and their friendship blossomed after he was in prison. Then, during his trial for the murder of a Lake City girl, Bundy put Boone on the stand, ostensibly

to question her. Before anyone guessed what they were up to, they said the words that constituted a legally binding marriage ceremony. She had agreed to marry a man already sentenced to death. They have since had a child.

### College Patterns

Bundy's high school grades were good enough for him to gain admission and a small scholarship to his uncle's university, the University of Puget Sound. Bundy declined to join a fraternity despite his having been "rushed;" he said he felt inept. He lived at home his freshman year and his social life was, he (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:59) said, a "big zero." While he was lonely, he bought one of the two Volkswagens he would own, and the car meant freedom to be alone. Thus began his habit of long-distance driving. In college, however, the pretense of being a scholar just dissolved with the demands of large, survey courses. Bundy became anonymous (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984).

For his sophomore year, Bundy transferred to the University of Washington to join that school's fine Asian studies program. (Bundy thought he would be ahead of the game, for he was certain China would become an even greater power in the world.) That summer, Bundy attended Stanford on a scholarship to study Chinese-- and be near his first girlfriend. When that relationship ended, Bundy fell behind and eventually dropped out of school for a while. He considered architecture, then urban planning. He travelled, returning to Seattle in the spring.

Bundy began his studies again at the University of Washington. He switched his major to psychology and began to do well. Professors were impressed with his work, and he completed his undergraduate program in psychology. By then, however, he had soured on the field:

"It was an interesting, interesting study,... but it just didn't offer enough. Really the state of the art is so low. What can you know from your fellow human being, aside from what he does overtly? You try to get inside his head, and it's a difficult task." There's a built-in bias in professional psychiatric work, he once said: "You'd rather label a guy sick than not because if he ever goes and does anything, then if you said he's well the burden's on you" (Winn and Merrill, 1981:109-110).

"...[T]he social sciences weren't capable of handling sick people. Psychology had failed him," Bundy told Michaud and Aynesworth (1984:67).

Then Bundy decided to go to law school, and prepared his applications. Although his academic record and test scores were not spectacular, Bundy had managed to make a strong impression on his professors. One associate professor of psychology (Winn and Merrill, 1981:110) wrote that he acted more like a "young professional than a student. I would place him in the top 1 percent of the undergraduates with whom I have interacted." Another professor (Winn and Merrill, 1981:110) said that,

It is clear that other students use him as a standard to emulate.... His personal characteristics are all of the highest standards. Ted is a mature young man who is very responsible and emotionally stable (but *not* emotionally flat as many students appear-- he does get excited or upset appropriately in various situations).... I am at a loss to delineate any real weakness he has.

After an initial rejection from the Utah Law School, Bundy's next appeal to admissions contained a recommendation from Washington Governor, Dan Evans (see "Aspirations/Occupation" below). While Bundy was accepted, he put off Utah for a year. Bundy left the Northwest to enter Utah Law School in the fall of 1974. He was arrested in August of 1975, after completing one year of law school in Utah.

Another course of study that Bundy undertook for a short period while attending Temple University was theatrical arts. He did fairly well in his classes and, Michaud and Aynesworth (1984:63) reported, "learned a little something about acting and make-up. He also bought a false moustache." Apparently,

Bundy learned a related skill-- how to work with plaster casting material. He had a job at a medical supply company from which he reportedly stole this material. (The Washington killer used plaster casting when effecting his pose as an injured young man who needed help.)

One final area of expertise was developing. From movies, the more violent police shows on television, the crime stories in detective magazines and his study of the criminal justice system from which he learned of the problems of solving multi-jurisdictional crimes, among other things, Bundy "gradually developed a store of knowledge about criminal techniques-- what worked and what didn't... he was schooling himself....Crime stories fascinated him" (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:105).

#### Aspirations/Occupation

From the time he was in high school, Ted Bundy had had political aspirations, as he explained:

The reason I loved politics was because here was something that allowed me to use my talents and assertiveness.... And the social life came with it. You were accepted....

I didn't have the money or the tennis-club membership or whatever it takes to really have the inside track. So politics was perfect. You can move among the various strata of society. You can talk to people to whom otherwise you'd have no access (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:61-62).

A moderate Republican, in contrast to most of his peers, Bundy accepted a job working for Art Fletcher in his bid for the Republican nomination for Lieutenant Governor of Washington. When this job ended, Bundy maintained his contacts and these landed him a volunteer position in the office of incumbent GOP Governor, Dan Evans, in an election year. He soon impressed the Governor's staff with his manners, loyalty and his "ready grasp of hardball politics" (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:68). Bundy was to keep track of Evan's

opponent. Accordingly, he moved about the state, posing as a reporter or student, asking his target embarrassing questions. A little while after the election, United Press International quoted Bundy who admitted passing himself off as a student and secretly keeping track of the candidate's campaign (Larsen, 1980).

Bundy (Rule, 1981:37) held three positions which he described in his law school application as follows:

*Criminal Corrections Consultant* : January, 1973. Currently retained by the King County Office of Law and Justice Planning to identify recidivism rates for offenders...found guilty of misdemeanors and gross misdemeanors in the 12 county District Courts. The purpose of the study is to determine the nature and number of offenses committed subsequent to a conviction in District Court.

*Crime Commission Assistant Director* : October, 1972 to January, 1973. As assistant to the Director of the Seattle Crime Prevention Commission, suggested and did preliminary investigations into assaults against women, and "white collar"...crime. Wrote press releases, speeches, and newspaper articles for the Commission....

*Psychiatric Counselor* : June, 1972 to September, 1972. Carried a full case-load of 12 clients during a 4-month internship in Harborview Hospital's Outpatient Clinic. [Duties included]...continually re-evaluating psychiatric diagnoses, and referr[ing] clients to physicians for medical and psychotherapeutic medication evaluations. Participated in numerous training sessions [of]... staff psychiatrists.

Bundy was a volunteer at a Crisis Clinic. Before leaving Washington, Bundy also worked at the Washington State Department of Emergency Services.

By the time Ted Bundy wrote his second law school application, his original intention had changed from the ideals of a legal career to a more personal and functional need. His previous ideals were, for instance, to "arbitrate questions between individuals...; to search for the facts...; to provide for the orderly resolution of conflict and the avoidance of 'violence..." (Winn and Merrill, 1981:110). Ideals by the wayside, Bundy (Larsen, 1980:37) now wrote

My lifestyle requires that I obtain knowledge of the law and the ability to practice legal skills. I intend to be my own man. It's that simple. I could go on at length to explain that the practice of law is a lifelong goal, or that I do not have great expectations that a law degree is a guarantee of wealth and prestige. The important factor, however, is that law fulfills a functional need which my daily routine has forced me to recognize.

I apply to law school because this institution will give me the tools to become a more effective actor in the social role I have defined for myself.

Later, Bundy (living under an assumed name) discussed the Tallahassee murders for which he would later be convicted. He remarked to a neighbor how truly stupid the police were, and how a criminal could get away with anything if he knew a little about the law. "I know myself, that I could get away with any crime I wanted to-- even murder if I really wanted to-- because I know how to get around the law," Bundy said (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:226).

### Early Criminality

While Bundy was regarded as a "promising teenager" interested in a career in law enforcement, perhaps, he and several other boys were involved in a ski-lift ticket forgery scam. They were never caught in this activity (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984).

When Bundy was 21, he came to realize the potential thrills and excitement of greater illegal activity: shoplifting and burglary. According to Michaud and Aynesworth (1984:60-61), Bundy was a natural at stealing: "Ted was not a thief in an ordinary sense; he didn't take money...[or] merchandise for the purpose of selling it....Yet he was never once caught for shoplifting anything, a remarkable fact in light of the number of thefts he made...."

When Bundy was first arrested (in Utah), it was because he refused to stop his automobile when an officer signaled him to do so. He had been smoking marijuana, he later said. What turned out to be of greater interest to police was that he was carrying burglary tools, a panyhose mask and handcuffs

in his car. The latter item turned out to be of significance because the police had an unsolved kidnapping case on their hands and it involved handcuffs . The kidnapping would ultimately be Bundy's first conviction.

#### Medical / Psychiatric History

Bundy's first experience with psychiatrists (as a patient) occurred when he was ordered to undergo a 90-day "diagnostic evaluation" at the Utah State Prison. (This was prior to his being sentenced for the first time.) Bundy was the subject of more discussion than any other person in the prison program's history (Winn and Merrill, 1981). After a three-month long series of tests, analyses and interviews, the staff found Bundy to be even more intelligent than his high IQ of 124 indicated. No abnormalities were found from the skull X rays, electroencephalogram or thermographic brain scans. MMPI scores were inconclusive, first rendering a fairly normal profile, and then indicating that Bundy's dependency upon women was in conflict with his need to be independent. (See "Summative Attributes" for other test results and discussion.) Rule (1981:208) reported that, "The psychiatric diagnoses had concluded that Ted Bundy was not psychotic, neurotic, the victim of organic brain disease, alcoholic, addicted to drugs, suffering from a character disorder or amnesia, and was not a sexual deviate." As a result of the interviews psychiatrist Austin had conducted, he wrote: "I feel that Mr. Bundy is either a man who has no problems or is smart enough and clever enough to appear close to the edge of 'normal'" (Rule, 1981:208).

In connection with his Miami, Florida trial (for the Tallahassee murders), Bundy was seen by two more psychiatrists. Tanay, a Detroit psychiatrist, testified that Bundy did not meet the legal criteria for insanity. In a subsequent interview (Berger, 1984:9) Tanay was quoted as saying that Bundy was "just as

lucid and pleasant a person as you would want to meet. You don't find any overt psychopathology in examining him." The second psychiatrist who evaluated Bundy was Cleckley, author of *The Mask of Sanity*, who found that, while the signs of psychopathic personality were difficult to detect, this was a diagnosis he believed appropriate to Theodore Bundy (Rule, 1981).

### Summative Attributes

One issue that arose in considering the development and character of the adult Ted Bundy was the effect of illegitimacy and the circumstances of his parentage. From the available materials it was difficult to determine how, why and when Bundy was apprised of his origins, or what he was told about his adoption at the age of five. That is, sources varied-- in large part because Bundy himself gave out various stories. His mother claimed to be his sister, he said, but he later admitted this was never the case. He told a professor that he had been placed in one foster home after another (see the Charles Schmid, Jr. case for similar stories). He also said he had not known the truth until he was an adult, that he held no animosity toward anyone, and that he knew his mother loved him. The theoretical significance of illegitimacy notwithstanding, there are grounds for arguing that Bundy made use of an uncertain parentage-- deriving from this a source of fantasy and sympathy, rather than being traumatized by it.

The story Bundy told about his being a foster child and about his mother claiming to be his sister brought him sympathy. Since he had lied, this must have been his desire. Even as a child, Bundy was a snob, disdainful of his family's working-class status, and particularly disdainful of Johnny Bundy. In his fantasies, he could have everything he wanted by dreaming of being adopted by Roy Rogers. As disclosed by his high school friend to whom he had confided

his illegitimacy, Bundy's main concern was the possibility of social rejection. Illegitimacy itself, then, was not personally threatening, but was viewed as a negative social status by Bundy. For a person who had always felt himself above his family and who scorned his new father, learning that he was illegitimate meant that he could claim another father, one with "old money." In a similar vein, Rule (1981:398) wrote that

When Ted told me for the first time about his illegitimate birth, I sensed that he seemed to consider himself a changling child, the progeny of royalty dumped by mistake on the doorstep of a blue-collar family. How he loved the thought of money and status....

The findings of the Utah prison diagnostic evaluation unit are relevant to the question of a traumatized childhood and the effect that learning about his illegitimacy might have had upon Bundy's development. The conclusions of the diagnostic staff were, as Winn and Merrill (1981:163) reported,

...drawn up into a "negatives" and a "positives" list. On the plus side...were..."no severely traumatizing influences in childhood or adolescence," "few distortions in relationship with mother and stepfather," "no serious defects in physical development, habits, school adjustment, emotional maturation, or sexual development," "adequate interest in hobbies and recreational pursuits," "average environmental pressures and responsibilities," and "no previous attacks of emotional illness."

Bundy was also given the California Life Goals Evaluation Schedules test by the Utah diagnostic staff. The test indicated Bundy had the following goals: "To have freedom from want. To control the actions of others. To guide others with their consent. To avoid boredom. To be self-fulfilled. To live one's life one's own way" (Rule, 1981:208). While none of these goals were considered abnormal, when combined and viewed as a measure of the ends he desired, rather than the means, these goals have a narcissistic character. The desire to guide others with their consent invokes the concept of dominance as defined by Wilson (1984) or Hall (1974) rather than the quality of being

domineering as described by Levin and Fox (1985) in their discussion of serial murderers. These goals also hint at that subtype of psychopathy that Smith (1978) described as the superior psychopath. Indeed, Cleckley (Rule, 1981:403) himself apparently found that Bundy demonstrated certain aspects of the antisocial personality, while acknowledging that "standard tests seldom reveal this aberration." One reason that Cleckley's findings were never widely publicized or emphasized is that a diagnosis of psychopathy would not have helped Bundy's defense. Another reason is that such a diagnosis is difficult to make in the case of a "superior psychopath"-- a person who appears normal and possesses many superficially positive attributes. Thus no one in Bundy's past could remember anything indicative of future violence, and only by means of a tautology and the assumption of guilt were psychiatrists able to go beyond the appearance of normalcy to hazard a diagnosis of antisocial personality. (What was more unusual was the almost total absence of psychodynamic explanations for Bundy's behavior in subsequent discussions of the case.) Clearly the term psychopathy (or antisocial personality) needs to be better delineated to include within its scope the apparently normal personality of a multiple murderer such as Ted Bundy.

Bundy can best be assessed in this regard by noting three significant social-psychological patterns.\* (1) As a child, Bundy rejected only certain members of his family and aligned himself with others-- the critical factor being wealth (or the relative absence thereof), status and/or cultural pose. It was not the case that his uncle loved him more or was more of a father than Johnny Bundy was. Little Teddy was "contemptuous" and "mortified" and "humiliated"

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\*These patterns could also be referred to as developmental stages. These patterns were exhibited in childhood, in high school and then, in adulthood, with the latter encompassing the themes of the former two stages.

by his family's simple, rather than affluent, lifestyle. Little Teddy wanted his mother to buy him the most expensive things. As Rule (1981:397) said, "...Ted loved *things* more than he loved people." His preoccupation with things-- good things-- indicates that even his emotions were grounded in something akin to materialism and greed or power-needs.

(2) If Bundy was emotionally impersonal as a child, by high school he was incapable of spontaneous interaction and could not even comprehend how affection, attraction and social relationships were created. < The picture that emerges, then, is of a child who wanted things, and who became a thief for the thrill, to have expensive things and because he felt no guilt. As Michaud and Aynesworth (1984:60) explained,

Stealing, especially shoplifting, came naturally to Ted. The unsocialized child within him wanted things-- expensive, shiny things such as rich people owned-- and Ted had no adult compunctions about acquiring them illegally. Moreover, theft was an adventure, a game, a kind of advanced variation on hide-and-seek, not unlike [his habit of] tapping people on the shoulder and then disappearing.

[Speaking of the theft of a cliffside house pulled down by a landslide, Bundy said,] "We [Bundy and a friend] went down there in the dead of night.... The house was full of shit! I still have some luggage from there. It was really thrilling."

The thrill derived from stealing is consistent with what Rule (1981:398) said: that Bundy could only experience physical pleasures, and "a sense of euphoria from the games he substitutes for real feelings." >

The second social-psychological pattern that can be discerned has to do with Bundy's feigning of emotions such as love. He was a person who had a problem learning what the appropriate social behaviors were-- such a problem that his learning was by rote. He was even capable of creating in adulthood a new self, a feigned self, in order to win his girlfriend back. The reason he

wanted her in the first place was most likely because of her wealth and position; it is doubtful he ever felt love for her.

The following observations of Michaud and Aynesworth (1984:57) are pertinent, but their reference to a "mask of sanity" could more appropriately be changed to a mask of humanness. It was not insanity that Bundy was covering up, but rather his inhumanity and the naked, human-less machinery:

Ted's critical challenge from his teen years onward was the perfection and maintenance of a credible public persona, his mask of sanity. Lacking true adult emotions, he had to put on the look of normalcy while inside him the tumult raged unabated.

He underwent a process of mock acculturation, like an alien life form acquiring appropriate behavior through mimicry and artifice.

Rule (1981:397) observed much the same phenomenon in Bundy, saying "...the psychopath might well be a visitor from another planet, struggling to mimic the feelings of those he encounters. Quoting Cleckley on the antisocial personality, Rule (1981:403) wrote that such a personality

"...suggests [not a complete man but] a subtly constructed reflex machine which can mimic the human personality perfectly."

The antisocial personality... is, in essence, an emotional robot, programmed by himself to reflect the responses that he has found society demands.

Despite the fundamental greed, the class consciousness, the inability to feel much for anyone and the sham emotions, there was no inevitable or necessary propensity for violence in Bundy. The problem was that underneath that well-cultivated exterior was only the naked, human-less machinery, as it were, and being only that meant he was exceedingly open to suggestion from without. Bundy lacked that capacity for self-regulation that comes, perhaps, from a capacity to love and to feel empathy. There was nothing but blackness and coldness within. And it was what was most dark and most mean that he

found most interesting when he looked outside himself. That is, he got caught up in pornography-- in the themes of sex and violence.

Bundy agreed to authors Michaud and Aynesworth's (1984:11) suggestion that he "speculate on the nature of a person capable of doing what Ted had been accused (and convicted) of doing." Bundy, speaking in the third person to escape the consequences of a confession, explained that the killer had gotten "sucked into the more sinister doctrines of pornography-- the use, abuse, possession of women as objects" ((Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:105).

Bundy (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984) spoke of a predisposing condition, an internal flaw in the killer that was exploited and nourished by sociological conditions and particular environmental influences. Bundy called it "the entity." Michaud and Aynesworth (1984:12) reported that, "The story of the 'entity's' birth came slowly, chronologically, a consistent tale of gathering psychopathy that nurtured itself on the negative energy around it." Bundy set the birth of the entity within the context of modern society, for Bundy felt himself to be a product of his times. He spoke to the authors of such themes as "violence, the treatment of women, the disintegration of the home, anonymity, stress" (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:12). He then turned to the development of the entity itself and explained (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:104) that "this condition" was not quickly recognized as a real problem by the individual. It seemed at first to be only an interest in sexual images. Over a long, gradual period of time, however, "this interest, for some unknown reason, becomes geared towards matters of a sexual nature that involve violence."

While the first attraction was purely physical, the demand for new material grew. It was a demand that could be catered to through pornographic

book stores. In such stores he found a variety of materials which portrayed women as sexual objects and as victims. Then, "As Ted told it, the preoccupation with sex and violence gave rise to crude fantasies wherein 'this person' first began considering himself as an actor" (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:106). At this point, Bundy happened to see a woman undressing-- and he became a voyeur. "And," Bundy (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:106) said, "became increasingly adept at it [voyeurism], as anyone becomes adept at anything they do over and over and over again."

Voyeurism, in turn, created the demand for a more active form of gratification. He began to disable women's cars. Bundy (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:107) said, "There's not really a strong desire to do this. But it's like toying around with danger almost. It's kind of a game, sort of like 'Let's see how far it goes.'" Alcohol was very important as a trigger, Bundy said, for it sedated the "dominant" or the public persona. Voyeurism was always accompanied by liquor.

Then the first abortive, attempt at violence occurred. It was a novel situation, Bundy (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:108) said, and (still speaking in the third person), he explained that

The revelation of the experience and the frenzied desire that seized him really seemed to usher in a new dimension to that part of him that was obsessed with violence and women and sexual activity-- a composite kind of thing not terribly well defined.... This particular incident spurred him on succeeding evenings to hunt this neighborhood, searching.

He had, in the months and years previous to this, frequently passed women in alleys,...dark streets, ...alone.... But it never occurred to him-- ever...-- to use this as an opportunity to do anything. For some reason, the sight of that woman under those circumstances... sort of signaled a breakthrough. The breaking of the tension. Making a hole in the dam.

Bundy (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:110) described the fear that "the killer" felt in the aftermath of his first assault (on a woman from behind). The fear of apprehension caused a subsequent exercise of self-restraint. Then restraint gave way to the same old "dissatisfactions" and pressures that he had had originally. In addition, "it was more self-sustaining and didn't need as much tension or...disharmony externally as it did before. It sort of reached a point where this condition would generate its own needs.... Gradually, as I say, it would re-emerge." What stuck with the killer, Bundy (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:110) said, was "the incredible danger of allowing himself to fall into spontaneous, unplanned acts of violence." A few months later he was back to thinking of other ways of doing the same kinds of things, but ways that were more clever and less dangerous.

What had happened up to this juncture can be viewed as a form of symbiosis-- the development of a killer "entity" through the gradual merger of the suggestible person with the suggestive materials. It is clear from the preceding that there were stages in this development-- interest, fantasy and action, for instance, and that corresponding stimuli were involved-- from talk show starlets and *Playboy* magazine, to obscenity directed at females inside their homes, to females alone on the streets. Already there are indications, supported by the discussion below, that sex is the initial stimulus, but that his interest, like that of much of the pornographic material itself, soon became focused upon some form of violence. The distinct move from viewing women as provocative to viewing women as victims, was paralleled by a move from voyeurism to the attack upon nameless women from behind, on the street. For the most part, the killer developed by trial and error, "Let's see how far it goes," as Bundy (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:107) explained. But alcohol-- once it

was realized that this served as a trigger-- was imbibed in a manner known by him to spur on illegal and potentially violent behavior, just as it had been used prior to stealing-- and later would be used prior to killing.

Bundy had been cultivating his "entity." Michaud and Aynesworth (1984:13) observed this for themselves; they could see "elements of will, *conscious* will, taking part in the creation for this entity, as if Ted had wanted to become a killer." First it was only visual, normal stimuli; then a new dimension was ushered in by the first attempt at an assault. At that point, the condition became more "self-sustaining," as Bundy said. Then Bundy (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:111) began to describe the killer's development once it had gone beyond the visual and print stimuli:

"What happened was this entity inside was not capable of being controlled any longer," Ted went on, "at least not for any considerable period of time. It began to try to justify itself, to create rationalizations for what it was doing. Perhaps to satisfy the rational, normal part of the individual. One element that came into play was anger, hostility. But I don't think that was an overriding emotion when he would go out hunting, or however you want to describe it. On most occasions it was a high degree of anticipation, of excitement, or arousal. It was an adventuristic kind of thing."

Perhaps the best statement about the killer's intention or motivation came from Bundy himself. Talking in the third person again, Bundy (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:111) said that

He received no pleasure from harming or causing pain to the person he attacked. He received absolutely no gratification. He did everything possible within reason-- considering the unreasonableness of the situation-- not to torture these individuals, at least not physically. The fantasy that accompanies and generates the anticipation that precedes the crime is always more stimulating than the immediate aftermath of the crime itself. He should have recognized that what really fascinated him was the hunt, the adventure of searching out his victims. And, to a degree, possessing them physically as one would possess a potted plant, a painting, or a Porsche. Owning, as it were, this individual.

When it came to the killings, sex was a secondary consideration. Nor were the victims themselves very important in the scheme of things. Bundy insisted to Michaud and Aynesworth (1984:112) that there was

...no more rancor in the killings themselves than a hunter might feel when he puts a bullet through an elk's heart. Less perhaps; at least the elk hunter acknowledges that he is killing a live thing. The girls that Ted Bundy talked about had no more flesh-and-blood reality to their killer than a Coppertone billboard. To him their deaths were consequential only insofar as they placed him in jeopardy of discovery. He often liked the blood lust to a sport or a hobby. "This is on a different level than this individual would deal with women every day," he explained. "Not in the context of the sexual situation, because that is over here someplace, like collecting stamps. He doesn't retain the taste of glue, so to speak, all day long."

From the killing sport came gratification of public recognition and a sense of power. According to Rule (1981:402), Bundy never realized until after the killings how newsworthy he was. Then,

He began to exalt in the thrill of the chase, and it became a part even more satisfying than the murders themselves. His power over the dead girls lasted such a short time, but his power over the police investigations went on and on. That he could do these things, take more and more chances, refine his disguises so that he could come out in the light of day-- and still remain undetected-- was the ultimate euphoria. He could do what no other man could do, and do it with impunity.

How often he would talk to me of being in the limelight, being the Golden Boy. It became life and breath to him.

Rule (1984) believed that Bundy was furious at his arrest and felt that *he* was the one to decide when *he* was through, and not the police.

Once captured, Bundy escaped twice, both times allowing him to test his wits against his would-be captors. Finally, his two Florida trials became a game in which he cared less about the outcome than about being his own lawyer and/or exercising power over his counsel and his defense.

In conclusion, three aspects of the personality of multiple murderer Ted Bundy have been considered. The first is the inability to love, to empathize and

to control his own behavior. The second aspect is the internalization of the philosophies and depiction of violent pornography. The third aspect concerns specific traits that Bundy possessed. These include his adventurism and search for thrills, relative fearlessness, his dominance and desire to dominate, a need for wealth, status and fame, a fear of boredom, an inability to apply himself to his many academic and career pursuits, high intelligence, a love of subterfuge and a high level of energy in the pursuit of something that did interest him. Combined with the first two aspects of his personality, these traits culminated in a careerist or scientific orientation to murder. As Michaud and Aynesworth (1984:87) observed,

Ted was lucky, but he was also supremely capable, an almost perfect killing machine who struck with the poise and art of a born predator. His genius was to know when to kill and where to kill, knowledge that was his by instinct and by dint of careful study of his craft.

### The Crimes

Of all the murder victims attributed to Theodore Robert Bundy, not one had had a prior relationship to the man. The question is whether or not Bundy had a symbolic relationship to the victims-- whether there was a victim-type selected and a psychological motivation to do so.

Rule (1981:401) argued that all of the victims were "prototypes" of that first girlfriend who rejected Bundy (and who was later rejected *by* him): "The same long hair, parted in the middle, the same perfectly even features. None of them were random choices." Rule's belief that the victims were extremely similar in appearance is more valid for the Washington state victims than the others. However, for these victims, the evidence indicated just the opposite of Bundy having stalked his victims: on college campuses a stranger was seen asking several young women for assistance-- at the same locations and on the

same days that four young women disappeared. This is a method inconsistent with stalking.

Michaud and Aynesworth (1984:27) took up the issue of writers having presumed similarities among the victims:

In truth, they were all white, of college age [in Washington], and most of them were attractive. But they ranged from the worldly-wise to the utterly innocent, alike only in that each one was alone and vulnerable in some way-- asleep, distracted, incautious, or upset.

However, when Michaud and Aynesworth (1984:119) asked Bundy to "speculate" as to whether the victims shared some discernable vulnerability, Bundy said no, "What we're talking about is just opportunity, as opposed to more discrete factors that would be exhibited by the person." Bundy hinted that the killer had perhaps selected females who fit within his standards of beauty. This would mean that it was more a matter of excluding women who were not appealing to him, as contrasted with the selection of a victim-type per se. In any event, the victims ranged from a junior-high school student to girls of high school age, to college co-eds to a nurse of 23. As to the commonality of long straight hair parted in the middle, that hair style was more common than not during the early 1970s.

The methods used in obtaining victims varied. In the earlier cases, the pattern was to approach victims for help, to "seduce" victims-- that is, to talk a victim into getting into the car. Much later, Pensacola authorities, Chapman, Bodiford and Poitinger (Depositions, Circuit Court, Leon County, Florida, 1979) reported that Bundy had admitted he preferred Volkswagons because their front seats could be taken out. It was easier to carry "cargo" that way. Asked whether the "cargo" was alive or not, Bundy preferred the word "damaged," and said that sometimes the cargo was damaged and sometimes it was not. Another

methods of obtaining victims was Bundy's posing as an officer and abducting a woman from a shopping center. The Tallahassee murders constituted a great diversion in the pattern for sudden attack was used upon sleeping victims.

For the Washington state victims, the only pattern and the only evidence linking the murders to a single killer came when the remains were discovered close together in three different "dumping sites." No clothing was ever found. The bodies had been left on the surface of the ground so that animals did the work of destroying the bodies and any remaining evidence. Cause of death could not be definitely determined. Two of the Utah victims died by similar methods: beatings, sexual assaults and strangulation. The Colorado victim died from a blunt trauma to the head. The pattern of disposal in uninhabited areas, with cause of death undeterminable (or hard to determine), reoccurred in the last case of the series, in Florida. Before that murder, there were five assaults in one night. Two co-eds died by strangulation and battering about the head. As these victims were not removed from their rooms (did not disappear and were not disposed of out of sight), these crimes constituted a significant divergence in the pattern.

Major problems in solving this series of crimes included the following: (1) multiple disappearances which were presumed to be unconnected; (2) absence of eyewitnesses or evidence and usually no known crime scene; (3) multiple jurisdictions, with one area unaware of the crimes committed elsewhere; (4) lack of coordination and cooperation among agencies working on the same crimes; and (5) problematic prosecutions as a function of the lack of evidence, absence of a confession and the nature of the suspect himself. Some of these problems could have been overcome had the computerized system, VI-CAP, been operational at the time. However, there was

communication among the Washington, Utah and Colorado authorities, and only in the latter state was there even the possibility of trying Bundy for murder. The problem is, Bundy did more than change jurisdictions. He engineered "without a trace" disappearances and the animal depredation that eradicated evidence. Bundy (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:124) had said that "a person that knows even a little bit about law enforcement knows that, in many instances, badly decomposed bodies are identified based on dentition."

As Bundy (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:129) said, "In all likelihood, this person [the killer] knew about the criminal investigation process. Therefore, the killer "was interested in varying his M.O..." Bundy (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1984:125) said. With this kind of knowledge, there is nothing to be gained by *not* varying the methods.

Ted Bundy was arrested, first in Utah and then in Florida, quite by accident: twice he was driving in a manner that called attention to himself.

Bundy was found guilty of aggravated kidnapping in Utah. He was then extradited to Colorado to stand trial for murder. He came to Florida as an escapee. There, on July 31, 1979, Bundy was sentenced to death for the murders of the two Chi Omega sorority girls. To the two death sentences was added a third. A second jury (1980) found Bundy guilty of murdering a Lake City, Florida girl. Bundy had been asked to help the parents and tell the Pensacola officers where the body of the little girl was. He would not. Instead, he rose in his chair, crushed a pack of cigarettes, threw it, and gave the reason why not: "I'm the most cold-hearted son-of-a-bitch you'll ever meet" Ted (Rule, 1981:316) said. Theodore Robert Bundy currently resides at Death Row, Florida State Prison, at Raiford.

Table 42

## Theodore Robert Bundy

Categories	
Lifespan	(1946- ). Illegitimate; remained w/ natural Ma. Adopted by Bundy.
Race/Sex	White male.
SES	Working-class status. However: SES varied from middle to working-class. 1st lived in grandfa's comfortable house in wking-class neighborhood, then w/ "refined" uncle, then with Bundy, working or lower middle-cl.
Parental Employment	Stable: Grandfa, a nurseryman; uncle a music professor. Ma worked as a sec't. Then she married Bundy, who worked steadily as a cook.
Location/ Pop.Density	Began life in Philadelphia, Penn. In 1950, moved to Tacoma, Wash., where he grew up & began college. Northwest: low density.
Family Life	S is the illegitimate son of a prim & modest clerk & a man who abandoned her. S & Ma always had good relationship. Was happy w/ grandfa & his uncle. Didn't admire his new, adoptive Fa. Bundy.
Early Childhood	Early yrs. spent in comfortable surroundings w/ grandfa. & uncle he approved of. Reacted w/ distaste to Tacoma tract house & "unrefined" Fa.
Elementary School	Liked 1st grade teacher, who wrote on his report card that he grasped his #s, was at ease before the class & expressed himself well. Felt picked on by 2nd grade teacher.
High School Patterns	In elem. school, S had seemed a "bright, physically active, promising & likeable boy." And jr. high "was fine," he sd. "But I got to H.S. & didn't make any progress." Still, did fine academically. Not unpopular.
Level of Educ.	Bundy obtained B.A. degree in psychology; completed 1 yr. of law school (before he was arrested).
Social Development	As a child, S had good friends in his neighborhood, was active in school sports & student politics. Then abrupt halt to his social development. Grew withdrawn & lacked confidence. Didn't comprehend social rules.
Sexual Development	While not unpopular, not in "top crowd." Did have assets-- handsome & had appearance of intellectual, but rarely dated. 1st love/sexual affair in college. Then began to have a fairly active sex life. Early int. in porno.
Role Models	"Early on, Teddy decided to pattern himself after Uncle Jack," a man of refinement & culture. ("Teddy" was a snob.)
Aspirations/ Occupations	Since H.S., if not before, Bundy had political aspirations because it offered access to the "inside track" of the social strata. Aspired to be a lawyer as he felt he needed the legal knowledge & skills. Worked for politician, in criminal justice agencies & for state dept of emergency serv's.
Marital Status	Had 2 long relationships. He & long-time friend & supporter got married while she was on the witness stand & he was questioning her during his 2nd murder trial. They remain married & have had one child.
Early Criminality	W/ other boys, involved in a ski-lift forgery scheme. At 21, began stealing: audacious burglaries & shoplifting-- all unrecorded crimes.
Med./Psych. History	No medical problems or psychiatric history. After arrest: no abnormalities found fr skull X-rays, EEG, thermographic brain scans or psych'tric interviews. MMPI inconclusive. No psychiatric defense.

### **Charles Howard Schmid, Jr.**

Tucson, Arizona has a large population of dreamless, drifting teenagers who "cruise" the speedway and drive out to the desert, always in search of something to do. Tucson is surrounded by desert, a cite not uncommonly used for purposes of suicide or murder (Gilmore, 1970).

In the case of Charles Howard Schmid, Jr., these facets of Tucson combined. In addition, Schmid wanted to be different, and he wanted to be known. Already commanding attention by his personality and his appearance, he hit upon something to do, a form of "higher excitement" (Nash, 1975; Bk. 3:315). Schmid told friends he wanted to kill someone, a girl, just to see if he could get away with it. The teenaged Schmid and two teenaged friends took a girl to the desert, where she was murdered in May of 1964. The following year, Schmid disposed of two more victims in the desert. One was his girlfriend and the other her sister.

Perhaps because Tucson, in the 1960s, was a "teenagers' town," it was one of the first places to have a teenaged murderer bring his friends to view his murder victim-- a forerunner of the Milpitas, California and other such cases. According to the police, about 30 of Tucson's teens knew about the murders, but kept the secret for 18 months.

The case was broken when one of Schmid's friends went to the police.

#### Life History

In the midst of the desert, in a valley bordered by mountains, lies the city of Tucson, Arizona. A century ago it was a town of mud-baked adobe shacks. The sleepy Western town grew; while some of the adobe hovels remained,

Tucson became a major urban center unprepared to handle the rapid growth.

Gilmore (1970:7-8) elaborated:

... In 1960 it was estimated that the population had grown at a rate of 368.4 percent over the previous 10 years and since then it has quadrupled....

... [There are not enough jobs] to meet the demand for work. Many young people are unemployed and the prevailing wage scale is low.

Schools are ill-equipped to educate the city's youth. Among the population "are large numbers of transients and drifters, [and] families [are]...ever-shifting....

Their children have little ambition and show a high dropout rate" (Gilmore, 1970:8).

Tucson attracts today, as in the past, those who are sick, handicapped or have retired. Health care centers have become perhaps the most important aspect of the city's economy (Gilmore, 1970). It was from this juncture of refugee seekers and refugee providers that Charles Howard Schmid, Jr. received his parentage.

#### Lifespan/Birth

Charles H. Schmid, Jr., (1942- ), a white male, was born on the night of July 8, 1942. The child's biological mother had come to Tucson that year. At the Hillcrest Nursing Home the girl had explained to proprietors, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Schmid, Sr., that she would be giving birth to an illegitimate child, whose father she did not wish to identify. The Schmids wanted to adopt and arrangements were made: the identity and details of the mother, along with the birth records, were to be sealed in a bank vault and given to the boy when he became 21 years old (Gilmore, 1970).

### Socioeconomic Status and Parental Employment Patterns

Mr. Schmid, a native of Tucson, met and married his wife, a registered nurse, when the latter came to work in the Hillcrest Nursing Home his mother had founded in 1921. The Schmids were hard-working and industrious parents. They provided ample opportunity for the subject to observe the work ethic throughout his life-- and to observe and to benefit from the material success thus derived.

Schmid spent his childhood around the Hillcrest Nursing Home, a sign outside of which read "OVER 31 YEARS' EXPERIENCE IN TUCSON" (Gilmore, 1970:4). The Schmid family lived just across the street in a nice stucco house with a fence. Another house, smaller, with one bedroom, had been built on the property 61 years earlier. It was this house that would eventually become "the 'personal house' of Charles Schmid, Jr." (Gilmore, 1970:4).

By the time Schmid was in high school, his parents had invested in Katharine's Craycroft Center, an expensive, expansive property where Schmid again had a separate residence on the property.

While Mr. and Mrs. Schmid experienced some ups and downs, financially, they were solidly middle-class; the son accepted little of that status, save for his parents' money.

### Early Childhood and Family Life

Schmid claimed to have few recollections of his early childhood, but he did relate the following to Gilmore (1970:37-38):

... When I was younger my parents took me to church every Sunday, but everything the preacher said about God sounded so much like the Easter Bunny. I distinctly recall thinking to myself, what will happen when all the

grown-ups find out the preacher is lying just like they lied to me about the Good Fairy and Santa Claus.\*

As a school-aged youth, Schmid recalled being "very very frightened of being left alone and [he] never went home from school on time because [his] parents were working and being so alone was dreadfully frightening" (Gilmore, 1970:5). Schmid (Gilmore, 1970:5-6) stated that he

... loved to run and run and everytime I ran I didn't feel frightened....

It seemed I always ran across busy roads, over walls and into dangerous places where I was liable to be hurt. I didn't know whether this stemmed from a secret desire to hurt myself for attention, or simply because I just wanted to. When I received a bicycle I ran it off hills and down flights of stairs until we finally made a race track.

Paradoxically, Schmid went to such extremes as creating fright in order to end fright, when he had only to cross the street to be with his parents. The life history material supports the thesis that Schmid enjoyed fright rather than that he feared not being with his parents.

As a teenager in a teenagers' town, Schmid had a fairly ideal set-up. For one thing, he had his own residence. And, while he could have found work in his parents' nursing homes, he did not care to do more than odd jobs and help his mother out when she asked him. Also, since he became 16, "...he had been receiving an allowance of \$300 a month. He had a new car and a motorcycle, and his...parents... later...admit[ted] that they did not interfere in their son's life. Katharine felt that 'Charlie had his own life to lead...'" (Gilmore, 1970:11).

None of Schmid's friends reported having observed any acute or chronic problems in the Schmids' family life. When Schmid got older, he moved no further than the smaller house right next to the home of his family. He had most of his meals with his parents, and sometimes his mother brought his meals to

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\*Whether or not Schmid actually thought this at the time, it is noteworthy that he should consider being told about the Good Fairy or Santa Claus as lies.

him. She cleaned his house. He was frequently at the nursing home. His friends had, on occasion, moved in with him; at least one was given a job at the home. There were frequent, large parties.

Whenever Schmid got into trouble-- both prior to and in conjunction with the murder investigation-- he turned to his parents. His parents were always forthcoming, providing him with advice, money, legal assistance, emotional support and by being there with him, during visiting hours in jail, and during his trials.

Schmid, however, sometimes painted another picture to his friends, according to Gilmore (1970:5). He said "... that his *foster* [emphasis added] father used to whip him at times, 'apparently for no reason. . . . I hate him and he hates me. We can't even sit in the same room and talk about the weather without getting into an argument.'" (It should be noted that Gilmore frequently and inaccurately identifies the legal, adoptive parents as foster parents.)

Schmid (Gilmore, 1970) reportedly told a friend that when he learned he was adopted, he refused to believe it and went immediately to ask his mother. She confirmed the fact, and took him to retrieve the sealed envelope the bank was holding for him. (If this story is true, it obviously negates the possibility that Schmid himself grew up thinking of his parents as foster parents.) Schmid claimed that he had gone to Phoenix to confront his biological mother, who told him she had not wanted him then anymore than she had when he was born (Gilmore, 1970).

The accuracy of these and other accounts for which one has only Schmid's word should be assessed within context: Schmid was an admitted teller of tall tales which he told to his friends, their parents and to prospective lovers. He told about his telling someone he had leukemia.

Other stories ranged from cancer of the heart to 10 or 12 foster parents who had disowned me. Some had tried to sell me across the border for white slavery.

I said that as a child my legs were all twisted and crippled and that was the reason I was so short,...the operations...drained my family into poverty. Then there were sick brothers and sisters... (Gilmore, 1970:27).

According to Nash (1975; Bk. 3:314):

Schmid..., [a] mama's boy, created all kinds of stories in which he triumphed over impossible odds, thinking such tales would fascinate the young girls he dated. To gain sympathy, he told several girls that he was an adopted child and that his real name was Angel Rodriguez (an alias he used in the future to cover his wanderings).

### Elementary School

"As a child, Charles Schmid was a trickster. His vivid imagination often overshadowed his abilities" (Gilmore, 1970:4). One teacher recalled that as a second-grader, Schmid "was an overly curious boy... brighter than most but... interested only in what he wanted to be.... The rest-- like when you draw down a window" (Gilmore, 1970:4). During the fifth grade, his teacher recalled that she had been "at a loss to understand him well. His behavior was more than proper and he was one of the most courteous boys, he never caused any actual trouble... yet he was unreachable in a way." He frequently gave a "below-average account of himself, not because he wasn't able to make more of what he was doing, but as though he just didn't care about it" (Gilmore, 1970:4-5).

The latter was certainly true, for Schmid thought he knew all the answers anyway. He said (Gilmore, 1970:5):

All I really remember about elementary school was that I liked the people, but instead of the challenge of learning something new I'd race through assignments to be the first one done, it didn't matter whether I was right or wrong since I seemed to know the answers anyway. The feeling of this knowledge lying dormant gave me the weirdest sense of hallucinations. I'd shut my eyes and the logical solution would appear.

During the elementary school years, Schmid spent one summer racing his bicycle with his closest friend, Paul. Schmid (Gilmore, 1970:6) stated, "I won most all of those races because something inside me made me win." Schmid almost made his losses into wins by claiming he lost because he took so many risks and was so reckless. He was also "incredibly" reckless with the truth, according to Paul's mother, who said Schmid told the "...tallest tales with such a clear-headed attitude that it made one sit in a trance. Then he would laugh and joke about it" (Gilmore, 1970:6).

### High School Patterns

In high school, Schmid continued to give a below-average account of himself; his grades were mostly "D's." Yet, there was something distinctive about Schmid, as his home-room teacher (Gilmore, 1970:10) reported: "I did think he had exceptional intelligence but did not know what to do with it; there was no *guiding* line."

There was one school-related activity in which Schmid excelled. No guiding line was needed for gymnastics. Schmid (Gilmore, 1970:10-11) explained his interest:

... I wanted something that depended on my actions *solely*, and nobody else was needed to depend on. I decided on gymnastics...[as] I couldn't express myself as an individual in football.... The weird and marvelous exhibitions fascinated me, so head over heels I plunged. I read books, studied techniques of famous gymnasts and then worked to build my body to suit the application. In one year the weird and mystic dream descended and made everything believable to me. I could do it, there was no doubt about it.

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... All I can say is that whatever trick or event seemed impossible to others, I'd shut my eyes and everything would seem logical, so I'd do it.

In 1960 Schmid brought the school to the State Gymnastics Championship. He won the overall Arizona State championship in two events, placed in another,

and on still another, took fifth (Gilmore, 1970; Nash, 1975). However, Schmid admitted that as he progressed, everything got easier. He said he wished "but could not honestly say [he] worked harder than others" (Gilmore, 1970:11).

Schmid did not talk of his interest in gymnastics in terms of a desire to excel. Rather, he wrote (Gilmore, 1970:42) that

... The thing that kept me fascinated with gymnastics was that it frightened me. If I slipped or fell that could very well be the last time. Each trick I did became more and more daring and I was tempted to let go just to know if I really would let go.

It was a paradox, all my life I'd hated and feared to be alone and what occurred to me was that in gymnastics I was tempting injury or death which was surely solitude. I think I wanted to find out if anyone really cared.... I enjoyed gymnastics because I was afraid.

Schmid claimed that he quit gym to prevent himself from getting hurt by his own recklessness. Actually, he became ineligible to compete as a fifth-year student.

Gymnastics was not the first time, nor would it be the last, that Schmid was drawn to adventures associated with death and with risk. His earliest memory was of rushing over water, perhaps on a water ride or in a boat. "That was the first taste of fright and it became thrilling and compelling. Perhaps," Schmid said, "this cast the mold for future events..." (Gilmore, 1970:41). In high school, Schmid said he had accepted a dare to jump across water, and recalled this experience at Sabino Canyon (Gilmore, 1970:43):

... I almost drowned.... I missed by at least 10 feet, but instead of screaming for help, this incredible laughter prevailed. I was swept downstream and this maniacal laughter continued. I found myself actually enjoying the predicament and the feeling that I was completely helpless, that my fate depended on nature, was extremely exciting.... Fast speed and music provide an excitement similar to that incident. Pleasure, laughter, and excitement emanated from most every situation I undertook. Then came skydiving and the motorcycle.

It is difficult to accept this story in its literal sense, for Schmid would have drowned had he been swept downstream while laughing. Other stories could only be believed in the figurative sense. Schmid (Gilmore, 1970:43) reported, for instance, that he had once tried to "overpower the temptation of joining in the raw power" of a hurricane that he observed while on his motorcycle. Concerning skydiving, he said he had felt the impulse to leave the chute closed and that he knew that if he ever went back to parachuting, that that impulse would win out (Gilmore, 1970). If Schmid did mean these stories to be taken literally, and he was lying, it cannot then be assumed that he was being truthful in the figurative sense, that he was attracted to danger because he wanted to commit suicide. Schmid did not want to die-- there are too much data to indicate otherwise. He wanted, rather, to live in the fast lane. Death was something that made people notice him.

#### Level of Education

Charles Schmid did not graduate from high school. Shortly before he was to graduate he was temporarily suspended for attempting to take some tools off the school grounds. He never tried to get his diploma, and said, "I quit out of boredom" (Gilmore, 1970:12).

In order to get money from his mother, Schmid pretended to go to college. He obtained enrollment papers and conned his mother into believing he would be attending classes (Gilmore, 1970).

In his typical, pseudo-philosophical style, Schmid tried to explain how his hatred of ruts and monotony affected his desire to apply himself:

I honestly wish I could channel the furies of my mind and body into a constructive field, but boredom of everything I try causes loss of appeal....On a motorcycle...at 120 miles per hour the world seems so damn appealing....

I truly wish I could be a great surgeon, or philosopher, or author, or anything constructive, but in all honesty I'd rather turn my amplifier full-blast and listen to the noise until I'm enveloped.... Lovemaking combined with animal passions and a hint of cruelty as I reach sexual fulfillment is far more basic and sensible than the involvement with some theoretical manifestation that later proves itself not so absolute after all (Gilmore, 1970:41-42).

### Social Development

While Schmid had some friends as a child, nothing indicated that he had developed his distinctive style prior to high school. His personality, his car and his appearance combined to make Schmid a visual attraction. One friend recalled how all the kids would run to greet him when he came "cruising" by the school in his red convertible, sometimes wearing a sleeveless poncho-- all the better to show off in (Gilmore, 1970).

Schmid certainly and purposefully looked different: his red hair was dyed black, according to some accounts, with shoe polish; he wore make-up on his face at times; he wore ascots and engineer boots. Eventually, he had special boots made-- very high, black, with long laces-- which he stuffed with rags and tin cans to add height to his five foot three inches. The arrest photographs showed he had, at that time, affected a mole with black make-up, and, in the absence of any injury, a splint and a bandage across his nose. As a result, there were many among Schmid's Rincon High School classmates who considered him weird. But, "Everyone knew who Smitty was. They all called him 'Smitty,'" one ex-classmate recalled (Gilmore, 1970:12). This observer also noted that, while Schmid was a loner,

... he had a peculiar popularity, by that I mean the girls went for him, along with those who wanted to act like Smitty. He was strange and probably the most conceited person in Tucson, but he had a way of acting that excited people (Gilmore, 1970:12).

Even the adults were often impressed by Schmid. "He was courteous, attentive, especially to mothers, 'full of life and energy,'" (Gilmore, 1970:18). Schmid was not only a "gentleman" with the mothers, but also a gentleman with their daughters as he conned them into bed. One girl said, "Some girls went out with him just to see what he was like, he'd win them over and then be on his way. And still they didn't know what he was like..." (Gilmore, 1970:30). To summarize:

Smitty was different, they said. It didn't matter that he stuffed his boots,... dyed his hair, and was "disliked by most kids." In fact, it seemed to make him more important. And among those that sought his company he was a leader. "Everyone knew Smitty." He had money, wheels, a pad of his own, and most important, "he did whatever he wanted to do" (Gilmore, 1970:30).

Among the large and various groups of Tucson's teenagers who lived on the fringe and frequented the rock clubs, the hangouts and the parties that made up life along Tucson's Speedway, Schmid was in his element, well known and well liked.

### Sexual History

No documentation was available on the circumstances or age at which Schmid first became sexually active. That he was sexually active at least by high school was not contradicted by his gross exaggerations of the extent of that activity. He bragged, for instance, that over 100 teenaged prostitutes were working for him (Nash, 1975). (During the murder investigations, discussion of a teenaged sex club arose, and some, including Schmid, claimed he was the founder.) Schmid's friend, Richard Bruns described such stories as being out of all proportion, as were the stories "about how great he was, how many girls he knew, how many girls he went out with, and most of all, how many girls he laid" (Nash, 1975; Bk. 3:315).

Nevertheless, Bruns and another friend were witnesses to the frequency of Schmid's sexual encounters. Often Schmid picked up a girl at one of Tucson's popular teen spots, took her out to the desert, and had his two friends wait for him. Or, Bruns waited while Schmid was in a girl's bedroom with her. Schmid's method combined romance with con: music, dancing, and fantastic stories of hard-luck or adventure. He claimed it was hard to keep from laughing at much of what he said. He was able to convince some of his girlfriends to donate their salaries or other funds to further his musical career-- with the understanding he would marry them.

Schmid admitted he had little concern for the girls themselves, that he found it difficult to be faithful or to take girls seriously. He also claimed he had been a gigolo and had enjoyed it:

... Since I thought I'd never fall in love anyway, going with those girls and getting paid for it was my idea of fun.... I also enjoyed taking girls from my buddies. Actually girls were just a plaything at that time. I couldn't believe anyone could take them... seriously.... Life was a funny joke full of phony people... (Gilmore, 1970:26).

#### Role Models: Aspirations/Occupations

It was Schmid's intention to join the "phony people" and "be the A-Number One phoniest" (Gilmore, 1970:26). This phoniness applied not only to Schmid's "romances;" it also pervaded his musical aspirations. He provided an example. When he found he could not both sing and play lead guitar, he tape recorded the guitar playing and hid the tape in an amplifier he had made. Then, at parties, he could impress people by "fak[ing] the playing perfectly" while singing and continuing to clown around (Gilmore, 1970:29).

While Schmid was studying Presley's songs, manners and voice, he claimed he did not "even like the guy. But [Presley's] setting the pace" and to

make it "good" he would have to be better than Presley was (Gilmore, 1970:28).

He needed to make a record; he needed enough money to do so.

Schmid began a few business ventures, including an upholstery business with his friends-- none of whom had any experience, but music remained his primary aspiration.

However, neither music nor romance were sufficient to capture Schmid's attention completely, for, by the spring of 1964, Schmid's friends began to notice a change in him. "He seemed bored with talking about his sexual exploits. He lusted for 'higher excitement'" (Nash, 1975; Bk. 3:315). Some time before the night of May 31st, Schmid told his some-time girlfriend, Mary French, that he wanted to "kill someone" (Gilmore, 1970:51).

#### Early Criminality

Schmid did not have a criminal record. He was twice arrested, once for suspicion of robbery and once for impersonating an officer. Of greater relevance to murder were the two incidents that occurred in the month following the May homicide. Richie Bruns recalled that during the early summer, Schmid had this idea about ordering some South American piranha, which he would keep, breed and dump into the local lake (Gilmore, 1970).

During this same period, the friends had nothing to do, so Schmid suggested they go to San Diego, California. In San Diego, Bruns (Gilmore, 1970:67) reported, Schmid "...suggested we catch a couple of girls, rape them, and murder them. [That night] [w]e prowled around the beaches, even underneath the piers and along those water-front hotdog stands... hunting for victims." Bruns returned to the hotel, came back to the beach and tried to get Schmid to leave with him. But, Bruns (Gilmore, 1970:67) said, "Smitty was still prowling the beach like a wolf and I said, 'Come on, man, come on.'"

### Marital Status

On October 24, 1965, Charles H. Schmid, Jr. married 15 year-old Diane Lynch. Twenty-two days later, the groom was arrested for murder. His wife subsequently filed for divorce.

### Summative Attributes

Schmid was in a hurry to get some place, but he had no place to go. A dominant man (Hall, 1974) with a modicum of talent and ambition, he had a need to express himself, but none of the ties that would have bound him to constructive pursuits. Schmid insisted that he "wasn't really a part of...the world they-- other people or God-- created..." (Gilmore, 1970:45).

Sheriff Burr (Gilmore, 1970:271-272), one of two officials who saw Schmid frequently after his conviction, said that

... Charlie doesn't have any regrets about anything he's done, he doesn't feel sorrow, not even remorse. I don't even think he feels pain. He doesn't like anybody, and says that he has no close ties with anybody. He says he never, never has been close to anyone.

What Burr described is a psychopath. The available material provided no evidence as to how or if Schmid's background may have been related to his psychopathic (or anti-social) personality. However, when Schmid's personality attributes were taken as the starting point-- rather than his background, it was possible to consider the effect, which, in this case, was murder.

"The basic ingredient of this type of crime," Wilson (1969:21) wrote in referring to murderers such as Brady and Kurten, is "a clever misfit with a deep sense of the insecurity of human relations, and a strong sexual appetite." Schmid, an articulate misfit, said that it had long ago become "...accepted to my reasoning that everything in the world exists on a temporary basis only. I

resented it and it accounts for the constant frustrations I endure..." (Gilmore, 1970:40). Schmid (Gilmore, 1970:37) would ask, what is love? Then he answered, "No one loves anyone. They want security." And, Schmid wrote that

... The teenager is frightened beyond belief by the world he is being forced into. What sense is it to wait for sexual intercourse, he reasons, when it's available now? Why not take a pill, or get drunk, at least there is a happy void to fall into. All that matters is the good feeling.... But why shouldn't they [kids] be disillusioned and find other worlds? All the pretty little tinsel and ribbons society wraps the box with to tantalize them in hopes they'll want it and try harder than ever, is just a fairy tale to conceal the dirty contents inside. The blind faith you try to project to seal the leaks is proving to be more and more fallible. It doesn't matter anymore if a button-happy idiot blows up the world (Gilmore, 1970:12-13).

The absence of emotional ties to bind Schmid to other persons was complemented by certain traits-- a strong sex drive, originality, intellectual curiosity, and a need for excitement-- which, combined, made Schmid dangerous. Since Schmid did not buy what he called the gift-wrapped society, he did not feel obliged to follow its rules and regulations. Schmid (Gilmore, 1970:38) reasoned that, "Involvement with pleasure seemed far more sensible than fighting a losing battle with rules and regulations." And, given the notion that "everything was based on a pleasure-pain cycle," he reasoned that it was best to receive more pleasure than pain. According to Gilmore (1970:39), "Smitty was searching for pleasure.... The 'rules and regulations' did not really exist for" him. Bruns said that he and Schmid were "on the outside looking in" (Gilmore, 1970:39). There was a difference, however, for Schmid took nothing very seriously, while the world still had a hold on Bruns, even if the latter had considered the world phony.

The social law, as extension of "rules and regulations," would not have been compelling for Schmid. So he turned to "...philosophies and religion...([saying] I had an incredible urge to read everything I could...)" and

"gave [his] mind to seeking answers on its own" (Gilmore, 1970:37-38). He sought moral laws and a belief system. According to Gilmore (1970:41), "He preferred a God who punished to a God who wasn't there." The major religions were, for him, fraught with inconsistencies. Once Schmid's "doubts about life and the existence of God" took precedence over a "preoccupation with God's punishing him" (Gilmore, 1970:40-41), there was no reason sufficiently strong to convince Schmid not to kill-- if he chose to. Wilson (1969:20) presented this general argument and explained his view-- that

The disquieting thing about such a crime [as Kurten's] is that one could not give the murderer a convincing *reason* why his act should be condemned-- I mean a reason he could not dismiss as social claptrap. Kurten would agree that society has a right to punish him, as a farmer has a right to shoot the fox that kills his chickens. But he would argue that it is no more morally wrong for him to murder children than for a fox to kill chickens.

... Does [this issue] have any relevance to the practical problem of murder? The answer is,... yes, as the Moors case proves. Brady argued, like de Sade, that human beings are small and rotten [for Schmid, puppets and phonyes], and that the law against killing them is a social law, not a moral one. Once he had taken this step, he could tell himself that he was taking the same kind of risk... [as a fox]....

No precipitating event occurred in Schmid's life that could account for his decision to kill someone. Schmid had simply exhausted the options for peak experiences in his quest for pleasure. Furthermore, he needed "the possibility of some unknown element casting disaster in [his] path, to test [his] physical and mental dexterity" (Gilmore, 1970:41). He was bored with his sexual exploits, bored with talking about them. He craved more excitement (Nash, 1975), which meant, as he wrote (Gilmore, 1970:40-41),

... I tried to cram as much experience into my life as possible.... I hated ruts and the constant monotony of life. I grasped and challenged head-on.... Experience has complemented my originality and forced it to project itself in countless channels-- the set patterns and formalities I violate in search of this originality, constantly I searched and devised original plans of action.

By this point, the search for excitement has become both a philosophical and a physiological addiction. To Schmid, murder was the ultimate thrill, for it was some time prior to the night of his first murder that he told Mary French:

... "I want to kill someone. I want to kill a girl." He wanted to see what it would be like and if he "could get away with it." He had prepared a list of names, candidates for killing. One was Alleen Rowe [the first murder victim] (Gilmore, 1970:51; Nash, 1975).

Schmid did not commit this first murder in secret; he was assisted by two friends, Mary French and John Saunders, and, according to police estimates, implicitly, by about 30 teenagers who knew and kept his secret for 18 months--until Bruns told the police what he knew (Wilson, 1969). He had shown Bruns the bodies of the Fritz sisters (Gaute and Odell, 1980). Schmid had long been known as an exhibitionist, and murder was an ultimate exhibitionist action.

The concept of the "dominance syndrome" or dominance-based relationships (Hall, 1974; Wilson, 1984) has been applied to murder cases involving persons with high dominance personalities allied with those of medium dominance. In common with Brady and Manson, for instance, Schmid tied his friends to him through his personality (and, presumably, their desire to be like him or be liked by him), through conversion to his philosophy, and, finally, by using crime to assert his dominance (and their dependency). Schmid seems to have brought French and Saunders into the murder of Rowe for no other reason than to assert his power over them. Certainly he did not need their help, as he killed the Fritz sisters and disposed of them all alone. Furthermore, the statements made by French and Saunders indicated that Schmid *directed* the Rowe murder. According to Saunders (Gilmore, 1970:53-54), "Smitty told me, 'Take her bathing suit off.'" Saunders was unable to--Rowe's hands were tied, so Schmid did; then Schmid said, "Go ahead [and rape her]." Saunders

said, "It's no good, I can't, Smitty, not the way she's acting now [Rowe was crying]." A little later, "Smitty picked up a rock and handed the rock back to me, meaning for me to hit her with it. 'I can't,' I said to him and handed the rock back to him," Saunders stated. Both French and Saunders admitted assisting Schmid in the disposal, however. French (Gilmore, 1970:55; Nash, 1975; Bk. 3:315) recalled what Schmid had said after the murder: "We killed her.... I love you very much." For this, the pay-off, French assisted in the burial.

Wilson (1984:34) suggested that the leader who exercises "hypnotic domination" is himself hypnotized, trapped by a sense of unreality. According to Wilson, a sense of reality is provided by the society's norms and values. Schmid's alienation and detachment from society, would, according to this argument, lead him to "block out" part of the real world and be, through habitual lack of self control, at the mercy of his own emotions. Killing represents an attempt to break out of this state-- to "wake up" and rid oneself of the tension of one's emotional state (Wilson, 1984). Some of Schmid's statements could be interpreted in light of Wilson's argument: Schmid (Gilmore, 1970:40) said, "Without something to tax my brain of its currents of anxiety I was not happy." Schmid became accustomed to relating to a premise about the world-- that everything is temporary-- and he believed that this temporariness accounted for the continual frustrations he claimed to have endured. He blocked out reality, which is that "God-damned phony, rotten insecurity," the world they-- other people or God-- created that he "wasn't really a part of" (Gilmore, 1970:45). He felt "an incredible raw wildness that refuses to lie dormant" and "basic wild and uninhibited attitudes..." (Gilmore, 1970:40) which would result from habitually allowing his emotions to swamp him. Because, Wilson (1984) believed, fear sharpens one's focus and heightens the sense of reality, the following

statement is of relevance. "With any reduction of speed," Schmid (Gilmore, 1970:42) said, "life becomes a reality and catches me, to subdue me in its boredom, frustrations, and other complexities. The extreme speed and dangers frighten me but paradoxically stimulate me as well."

It was Gilmore's (1970:40) belief that Schmid was so fundamentally insecure that it "led him to do what he had to do." Gilmore (1970:40) had insecurity in the popular, psychological sense in mind when he wrote that insecurity was "driving him [Schmid] toward destruction, the 'duels with Death and his disciples,' toward some final liberating act which... [might]...end the chaos he could not understand." There was, however, nothing to support this interpretation. Schmid's outstanding characteristic was not insecurity in the psychological sense.

In summary, habitual lying, bragging, preoccupation with appearance, "using" friends while appearing to be generous, insincerity, feeling superior over environment, rationalizing and pseudo-philosophizing characterize Charles Schmid.

### The Crimes

Charles H. Schmid, killer of three, was acquainted with each of his victims. Alleen Rowe-- the first victim-- was identified by name on a list of "candidates" drawn up by Schmid. Beyond knowing her name and knowing her by sight, there was nothing to indicate that Rowe and Schmid had had any type of relationship prior to the night of the killing. Schmid and Saunders drove by Mary French's house and saw her talking to Rowe on the afternoon of the killing. When Schmid stopped, French approached the car-- Rowe did not. French was told to try to get Rowe to go on a date that evening with Saunders. That evening Schmid told French that, "He wanted to kill someone and that he

wanted to do it tonight and asked me if I would try to talk Alleen into going out with John. He said he would hit her with a rock and bury her in the desert" (Gilmore, 1970:51). In another sense, the killing was indiscriminate, for when French was (initially) unsuccessful in procuring Rowe, Schmid's response to French was, "If you can't get Alleen, get someone else" (Gilmore, 1970:52). As to Schmid's second and third victims, Gretchen Fritz had been dating Schmid for a year. In the course of their relationship, it is fairly certain that he would have become acquainted with Wendy, Gretchen's 13 year-old sister. There is no evidence that Schmid had developed a separate or distinct relationship with Wendy.

Schmid's unambiguous intentions regarding his first victim made the killing of Alleen Rowe a particularly clear case of "recreational murder." Rowe was raped, but, given Schmid's stated intentions, the rape was a secondary and added "thrill" to this recreational murder. Nash (1975; Bk. 3:316) explained the relevance of the first murder to the second: "The brutal slaying only served to increase Schmid's appetite for killing." A supporting account came from Bruns (Gilmore, 1970:100) who said that after Schmid had described his murders of the Fritz sisters Schmid had added, "... that's three, counting Alleen. Each time it gets easier."

The killing of Gretchen Fritz, on the other hand, disposed of an annoying witness, disposed of an unwanted lover, and satisfied Schmid's need for recreational murder. Fritz had been holding the first murder over his head so that he would do exactly what she said, Schmid had explained to Bruns. However, Schmid had himself created the problem by showing Fritz the body of Alleen Rowe even though he had already concluded that Fritz was too demanding and possessive. Hall (1974; Vol. 11:40,37) classified Gretchen

Fritz's killing under murder of "unwanted lovers" with the killing representing an "erosion of normal human feeling" and the killer a "...Don Juan type dominant male with a powerful sex drive." And finally, Schmid's response to learning that Fritz had been unfaithful to him represented classic "right man" (Hall, 1974; Wilson, 1984) behavior: he burst into tears, and later, Bruns (Nash, 1975; Bk. 3:316) reported, "...kicked and punched the walls, screaming at the top of his lungs: 'I really loved that girl! I'll kill her! I'll kill her! I'll kill that bitch!'" While Gretchen Fritz represented a threat to Schmid's presumption that he was all-powerful over her, a threat to his freedom to date other girls and freedom from police, Wendy Fritz was clearly not a threat. Consequently, the fact that Schmid killed Gretchen when the two were not alone, when Wendy was along, and that he killed Wendy, indicates a preparedness and/or priority of murder as a response.

The victims possessed similar characteristics: teenagers, whites, females. Schmid did select "girls." Ages differed, however, as Wendy was four years younger and looked like a little girl. The other two victims looked like young adults. Socioeconomic status also differed.

No commonality existed in the way the victims were obtained, except insofar as they fell within the reach of Schmid's social network and activities. Victims went voluntarily with Schmid. The method of killing varied: Rowe was hit with a rock, while Schmid told Bruns that the Fritz sisters were strangled. (The autopsy could not determine the cause of death.) The method of disposal was the same in all three murders: superficial burial in the desert.

As previously indicated, Schmid permitted potential and actual witnesses to his crimes. After he was questioned several times by police, his parents and those of other teenagers questioned had their lawyers file an injunction against

police to stop the questioning. The two incidents of murder were not originally thought to be related, as the girls did not know each other and the authorities believed they might have been runaways. The latter presumption impeded quick and extensive investigation.

Richard Bruns, Schmid's friend, informed the police of the admissions of guilt Schmid had made to him. Bruns had also been shown the remains of the Fritz sisters by Schmid. Consequently, Schmid was arrested.

Charles Howard Schmid, Jr. was tried for the Fritz sisters' murders, found guilty of first degree murder and sentenced to death. Then attorney F. Lee Bailey entered the case. When he questioned Schmid's local attorney as to the absence of psychiatric testimony, the latter said that "there had been psychiatric examinations, and the results would scare the pants off any attorney" (Gilmore, 1970:235). In the Rowe trial, Bailey eventually entered a plea of guilty to second degree murder. French and Saunders testified against Schmid. Two psychiatrists testified at sentencing that Schmid knew the nature of his actions and knew "right from wrong." After a number of confusing legal turns of events, Schmid received a sentence of 50 years-to-life for this murder. His execution for the Fritz murders was nullified by the Supreme Court decision on capital punishment. Schmid is currently in prison.

Table 43

## Charles Howard Schmid, Jr.

Categories	
<u>Lifespan</u>	(1942- ). Illegitimate; legally adopted at birth.
<u>Race/Sex</u>	White male.
<u>SES</u>	Middle-class.
<u>Parental Employment</u>	Stable: both Pas worked as proprietors of a nursing home founded by Schmids in 1921, then opened another. Worked hard. Home across the st.
<u>Location/ Density</u>	Tucson, Arizona, a town surrounded by desert. Low density, but rapid Pop. increase in population. A "teenager's town."
<u>Family Life</u>	Went w/ Pas to church every Sunday. Expressed contempt for religion. S claimed to have been frightened of being left alone while Pas worked-- but they worked across the street & he was usually there. Main. gd. relations w/ both Pas, particularly Ma. Cont. to live by & off them later.
<u>Early Childhood</u>	Spent time around nursing home. Liked to run when frightened & to race bicycles w/ friend. Took many risks.
<u>Elementary School</u>	A trickster whose vivid imagination often overshadowed his abilities. Overly curious, "brighter than most," but independent interests. Below-average grades. "Unreachable." Grades same in high school.
<u>High School Patterns</u>	Had "exceptional intelligence" but "no guiding line." Became interested in competitive gymnastics, winning state championships. Liked risks.
<u>Level of Educ.</u>	Did not graduate fr H.S. temporarily suspended. S never returned.
<u>Social Development</u>	Had friends as a child, but became a well-known personality in H.S. Very popular w/ girls, adults & a leader/trend setter for rebellious kids.
<u>Sexual Development</u>	Very sexually active in H.S. He took money fr girls, claimed to have been a gigolo & conned them/used them generally, while remaining disloyal.
<u>Role Models</u>	Elvis Presley, but only because he was setting the "pace" professionally.
<u>Aspirations/ Occupations</u>	Music was the primary aspiration, wd. have liked being a rock star. Never really tried, though. He even faked playing at parties. Odd jobs; for Pas, generally lived off them, rent free, food free, car & allowance.
<u>Marital Status</u>	Married a 15 year-old, arrested 22 days later.
<u>Early Criminality</u>	No record, but twice arrested. Had 2 plans for violence: putting Piranha in local lake & murdering girls in San Diego. Did neither.
<u>Med./Psych. History</u>	No known medical problems. No psychiatric history.