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SECOND EDITION

THE MURDERER AND HIS VICTIM

With a Chapter by

Stuart Boyd, Ph.D.

*Tutor
St. Johns College
Santa Fe, New Mexico*

Here is the long-awaited revision of this penetrating look at people who kill and get killed. Drawing on decades of forensic psychiatric experience (including interviews with over 400 murderers), the author reviews the origins and circumstances of murder, probes the mind of the murderer, and discusses the victim. Unique to this edition is a separate chapter on the essential elements of criminal investigation—the crime scene search and the questioning of witnesses and suspects. Other topics new to this Second Edition include: multiple personality disorder and the insanity plea, Mafia hit men, and the influence of fantasy role playing games such as *Dungeons and Dragons*. Also highlighted is recent research from the Behavioral Science Unit of the FBI Academy.

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**THE MURDERER AND
HIS VICTIM**

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Indecent Exposure

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Criminal Investigation of Drug Offenses

(Co-Author Jerry Kennedy)

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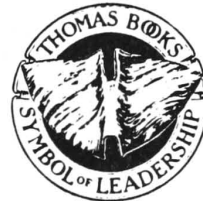
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PREFACE

MMURDER COMPELS attention and seldom a month passes without publication of a book on some sensational case of murder or mass murder. Books which provide a comprehensive report on this crime are less often encountered. The aims of this book are to review the origins and circumstances of murder; to explore the mind of the murderer, his repeated return to the scene of his crime, and his strange compulsion to confess. The victims, criminal investigation, punishment, and prevention of murder are also considered.

Psychiatric examination of over 400 murderers forms the basis of my personal experience. These murderers ranged from eleven to eighty years of age, and over thirty had committed more than one murder. One man alone had killed forty-four persons. These men, women and children provided numerous illustrative case histories that are used in this book. Attendance at over fifty homicide scenes immediately following the homicide in the company of homicide detectives provided additional insights into the ultimate crime.

This second edition has undergone extensive revision. New topics include research of the Behavioral Science Unit of the FBI Academy on crime scene and profile characteristics of organized and disorganized murderers, fantasy role playing games and homicide, the multiple personality, recent serial murderers, and a new chapter on the criminal investigation of murder. References additional to those articles or books quoted in the text are given in some chapters. These references have been selected because they contain original contributions or comprehensive reviews.

In preparing this book I have kept in mind the warning of Doctor Samuel Johnson that what is written without effort is in general read without pleasure. The enigma of murder will, I hope, compensate for any deficiencies in style.

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I WISH TO THANK many physicians, law enforcement officers, lawyers and criminal offenders who have helped me in one way or another. Doctors George I. Ogura, George E. Thomas, Seymour Z. Sundell, and Kathy A. Morall as well as Craig L. Truman, Attorney at Law, were most helpful. Dr. Doris Gilbert provided information on Jack Chester.

Police Chief Thomas E. Coogan of the Denver Police Department has continued to provide the generous cooperation and assistance which I received for many years from his predecessor, Arthur G. Dill. Division Chief, Investigative Division, Donald B. Mulnix, Commander Crimes Against Persons, Bureau, Captain Douglas A. White as well as Lieutenants James J. Fitzpatrick and Gary K. Walter were all most helpful.

I am particularly indebted to those detectives who served in the homicide detail during the last three years. It was a valuable learning experience to stand alongside them at homicide scenes and at the morgue; to watch their interviews and to listen to their discussions. Thank you Lieutenant David L. Michaud, Sergeant Thomas P. Haney, and Detectives Steven L. Antuna, Russel Brooks, James Burkhalter, Peter Diaz, Raymond P. Estrada, Donald A. Gabel, F. Gene Guigli, Ervin L. Haynes, Kirk Hon, George B. Kennedy, Richard E. Pennington, James A. Rock and, last but not least, John D. Wyckoff who has served longer in the homicide detail than any of his colleagues.

FBI Special Agents Donald A. Gunnarson, Neal W. Fore, Brian Jovic, Donald W. Lyon Jr. and William H. Matens have extended many courtesies over the years. I attended an excellent four day seminar on psychological profiling of criminal offenders taught by Special Agents William Hagmaier and Ronald P. Walker of the Behavioral Science Unit of the FBI Academy. The responsibility for any statements regarding the work of the FBI is solely mine, except for direct quotations from articles by special agents published in the *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*.

My thanks are due to many authors and publishers who have permitted reproduction of material. Permission to quote at length is greatly appreciated. For copyright purposes, the source of quotation has been listed, unless otherwise requested, under author, title and publisher in the references. Permission of the Controller of Her Britannic Majesty's Stationery Office has been obtained to quote from official reports.

This is the fourth book that Mrs. Carolyn Zwibecker has typed for me and, as always, she has been most skillful and remarkably tolerant of unreasonable requests. She has also made many useful suggestions.

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**THE MURDERER AND
HIS VICTIM**

CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM OF MURDER

*"For I must talk of murders, rapes and massacres
Acts of black night, abominable deeds."*

Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*

DEATH as the Psalmist saith is certain to all. Life itself is but the shadow of death, and death has so many doors to let out life. Murder, as a cause of death, attracts attention out of all proportion to its statistical significance. The tragedy of death from criminal homicide arouses, in all of us, hate and fear. These emotions are inflamed by exposure to a constant procession of murderers and their victims across the pages of our newspapers. Reports of murder repel and yet fascinate the reader. Fascination with this morbid subject remains yet unsatisfied and murder, as a literary theme, competes in popularity with its frequent companion — sexual deviation.

The problem of criminal homicide may be approached from several viewpoints. The policeman is concerned with the detection of the murderer, the discovery of clues and the subtleties of criminal interrogation. The District Attorney seeks the execution of justice, and perhaps the defendant as well, with one eye on the voter if election time is approaching. The defense attorney searches for some legal technicality which will save his client from the gallows. The psychiatrist explores the mind of the murderer and the motives behind the deed. The author's experience includes interviews with over 400 murderers.

The sociologist does not confine himself to the individual offender, but analyzes homicide statistics and considers tensions within society that contribute to this crime. Wolfgang, for example, studied 588 criminal homicides involving 621 offenders in Philadelphia. He noted

the locations and times of these crimes, the weapons used, the characteristics of the offenders and the victims, the relationships of the antagonists to one another, the circumstances of the crimes, the motives involved, and what happened later to the offenders.

Wolfgang has suggested that from the subculture of violence in densely populated areas of cities in the United States come most violent crimes. A subculture of violence does not define personal assaults as wrong or antisocial, and quick resort to physical aggression is socially approved. When a blow of the fist is casually accepted as normal response to certain stimuli, when knives are commonly carried for personal defense, and a homicidal stabbing is as frequent as Saturday night, then social control against violence is weak (22).

HOMICIDE DEFINED

Homicide is a general term used to describe the killing of one person by another. Not all homicide is criminal. Lawful homicide includes justifiable and excusable homicide. The executioner who electrocutes the condemned criminal on the order of a court, and the policeman who shoots a felon in the lawful course of his duties commit justifiable homicide. Excusable homicide generally includes killing in self-defense and accidental killings during the commission of lawful acts.

Criminal homicide includes murder and manslaughter. Murder is defined as the unlawful killing of one human being by another with malice aforethought, express or implied. The meaning of "malice aforethought" requires consideration as "the 'malice' may have in it nothing really malicious; and need never be really 'aforethought,' except in the sense that every desire must necessarily come before—though perhaps only an instant before—the act which is desired" (14).

Express malice refers to the actual intent to kill. It matters not if the actual victim was not the intended victim. Malice is usually implied if there was intent to inflict great bodily harm; if the act or its omission was likely to cause great bodily harm; and if the killing occurred during resistance to lawful arrest or commission of certain felonies.

Many states have divided murder into two degrees according to the intent, premeditation or deliberation of the offender. The verdict of murder in the first degree is usually mandatory when the murder occurred during the commission, or attempted commission, of certain felonies such as rape, arson and robbery.

Manslaughter differs from murder in that there is no malice aforethought, either express or implied. Voluntary manslaughter refers to an intentional homicide done under conditions of extreme provocation or mutual combat, in which there are mitigating circumstances. Adequate provocation occurs when a husband sees his wife in adultery.

Involuntary manslaughter is the killing of another human being without any intent to do so, by the commission of an unlawful act (e.g., an illegal abortion operation), or the commission of a lawful act in an unlawful manner (e.g, reckless driving). A building contractor is guilty of involuntary manslaughter if, by using defective materials, he constructs a building which later collapses because of his negligence, with fatal outcome.

Whether a person who kills another is found by the jury to have committed murder, manslaughter or excusable homicide sometimes depends as much upon the skill of his attorney as upon the circumstances of the killing. Dean Swift was uncharitable when he wrote in **Gulliver's Travels** that lawyers are "a society of men bred up from their youth in the art of proving, by words multiplied for the purpose, that, white is black and black is white, according as they are paid." Nevertheless, there is some point in Bierce's facetious comment that it makes no great difference to the person slain whether he fell by one kind of homicide or another — the classification is for advantage of the lawyers.

HOMICIDE RATES

The annual homicide rate in the United States increased between 1900 and 1930 when there was a peak of 9.8 homicides per 100,000 population, then the rate declined slowly in the 1940's and 1950's. There was a sharp decline during World War II when millions of young men were serving overseas in the armed services. Between the 1960's and the 1980's the homicide rate increased. There were 5.1 victims of murder and nonnegligent manslaughter per 100,000 population in 1960, 7.8 victims in 1970 and 9.7 victims in 1980 when there were 23,044 homicides.

Southern states have higher homicide rates (13 victims per 100,000 population) than other regions, and metropolitan areas (12 victims) have higher rates than rural areas (7 victims). Metropolitan areas with high rates in 1980 included Miami (32.7 victims), Houston (27.6), Los Angeles (23.3), New Orleans (22.3) and New York (21). In contrast

Boston (5.2), Lincoln, Nebraska (4.7) and Madison, Wisconsin (1.6) had low homicide rates according to **Uniform Crime Reports** of the FBI.

Many foreign countries, such as England, Ireland, France, Germany, and Switzerland to name a few, have much lower homicide rates than the United States. In these countries the rates range from 0.4 to less than two homicides, compared with nine homicides in the United States, per 100,000 population each year. Among the theories advanced to explain the high rates in the United States are the ready availability of handguns, great material wealth in the midst of poverty, the declining influence of the church and religious beliefs, the slow administration of justice compared with the swiftness and certainty of judgment in some other countries, the frontier spirit and a traditional opposition to any legal restriction on individual behavior.

Family disorganization resulting from a high divorce rate and great social mobility may adversely affect personality development of children, but it is difficult to measure its significance with relation to the homicide rate. Certainly many murderers come from broken homes and family discord is a prominent feature in the life history of criminal offenders. Much has been written about the relationship between crime and religion. Miner many years ago found that states with large proportions of church members had on the average lower homicide rates than states with small proportions. Other factors which influence the homicide rate were not taken into consideration. Any study of religion and crime which is based upon statistics of claimed church affiliation is suspect. Church affiliation may bear little relation to church attendance and even the latter is not a reliable measure of religious belief.

William Palmer, the English physician who murdered fourteen persons, was an unremitting church goer and never failed to be in his place on Sundays — and even used to be observed taking notes of the sermon upon the margin of his Bible. "Faith has a heavenly influence" he wrote upon one of these occasions. The human heart is a mystery even to itself, and who shall say whether Palmer was so profoundly and coldly hypocritical that these private notes made in his Bible were all part of his relentless scheme, or whether in that distorted egoism of the true criminal he did not perhaps hope that by certain concessions of his mind to the Deity he might not keep his immortal accounts squared? (12).

The community influences exerted by movies and television, have been held responsible for the increasing incidence of juvenile delinquency and adult criminality through disproportionate attention to

morbid sexuality, sadism and crime. The quantity of violence on the television screen is staggering. In one week, mostly in children's viewing time, one station showed 334 completed or attempted killings. The different channels in one large city showed in one week 7,887 acts of violence and 1,087 threats of violence such as "I'll break your legs" (20). It has been estimated that the average American child by the age of fourteen has seen 12,000 killings on television.

Wertham is convinced that the moving visual image on movie or TV screen, complete with sound has a much greater impact on most children than the images they conceive in their own mind's eye from reading a story or having one read to them. When reading a violent story in book form, a child is protected by the limits of his own imagination, to which, in even the grisliest fairy story, something is left. On the screen violence and horror are spelled out. They are so much "realer," as a seven year old told Wertham.

Although some criminals state that they committed their crime after seeing a similar crime on a television show, it is possible that these crimes would have been committed in the absence of such a stimulus. "The devil made me do it" has long been proffered as an excuse for criminal behavior, and the devil may take many forms. Imitative violence captures national attention.

In October 1973, six youths in Boston set upon a young woman carrying a can of gasoline to her car, forced her to douse herself with the gasoline and then set her afire, burning her to death. This happened two days after the nationwide showing of a movie, **Fuzz**, a police drama set in Boston, which contained a scene portraying teenagers burning a derelict to death "for kicks" (8).

There is much that is to be deplored in television programs and movies, but the extent of their influence on criminal behavior is not clear.

Two public groups, the National Coalition on Television Violence (NCTV) and Bothered About D & D (BADD) have claimed that the popular fantasy role-playing game **Dungeons and Dragons** has been a major factor in causing a number of suicides and homicides. Other critics claim that the game fosters not only violence but also an interest in occult beliefs. Some young persons spend twenty or more hours a week on this hobby. Games continue for many hours but can be interrupted at any time. Some campaigns have continued at regular group meetings for several years.

Each player, but not the Dungeon Master, creates a character by rolling dice to determine the relative strength or weakness of such abilities

as intelligence, dexterity, strength and charisma. After each player has decided whether his character will be a fighter, thief, assassin, magic user, cleric or whatever the Dungeon Master assigns the players a task such as rescuing the king's kidnapped daughter from a heavily guarded fortress.

There is no playing board as in chess and **Monopoly**, but each player keeps a character sheet in which he lists his character's skills such as the ability to use special weapons, wear armor, administer poison, cast spells or become invisible. He will also record any increase in power resulting from combat experience. The Dungeon Master usually draws a map of the dungeons for his own information but he does not show it to the players. However he does give the players information from time to time about their present location. He also keeps a list of the monsters, demons, wild animals and mercenaries as well as a record of their skills.

The Dungeon Master's role is to test the skills of his players taking care to avoid making their task either too difficult or too easy. The players through their characters have to cope with the Dungeon Master's fantasy world of missiles, trap doors, monsters and diseases. A character can be struck by insanity due to a mental attack, curse or whatever. The twenty types of insanity include schizophrenia, catatonia, manic-depressive, sadomasochism, homicidal mania and paranoia.

The person with homicidal mania appears completely normal but occasionally he becomes interested in weapons, poisons and other lethal devices. At one to four day intervals he becomes obsessed with the desire to kill. If prevented from killing he will become uncontrollably maniacal and will attack the first person he encounters, but then he falls into melancholia for one to six days before becoming homicidal again (9). Gygax states that the Dungeon Master will have to assume the role of the insane character whenever the madness strikes, for most players will not be willing to go so far.

The outcome of any encounter between a character and a demon, dragon or other opponent is determined by rolling four, six, ten, twelve and twenty sided dice. The Dungeon Master acts as an impartial referee and knows well **The Advanced Dungeons and Dragon Masters Guide**, a book of over 200 pages in small type that contains complex combat tables and much intriguing information. For example, Lizard men who are non-human troops, tend to devour wounded men of either side if not strictly officered at all times. A vampire in gaseous form cannot be harmed by holy water (9). Characters can be killed, but they can be resurrected so the campaigns can continue for years.

In **Villains and Vigilantes**, another role-playing game the character used by the player is himself, with the addition of super-powers to fight crime and protect society. He may have to cope with "Big Bill" Buckford, one of several villains in the Crusher Crimewave Team. "Big Bill" bit the head off his pet dog at the age of six and his personality has not mellowed much since then. After a few years in and out of criminal and mental institutions he nearly murdered his entire family.

After being found unfit to stand trial he escaped from a medium security mental hospital. Bill, who weighs 540 pounds, once threw an elephant at police officers. He attacks any moving red object he sees. Supposedly he hates the color red because he was hit by a red sports car when he was small. Bill was not injured but his ice cream cone and the car that struck him were both demolished. The doctors tried to reattach the driver's lungs, but to no avail (5).

John Holmes, a professor of neurology and practicing Dungeon Master, reports: "The level of violence in this make-believe world runs high. There is hardly a game in which the players do not indulge in murder, arson, torture, rape, or highway robbery." The descriptions of violent persons and monsters in role-playing games have a whimsical quality which softens the violence. Play enables children to master situations and most children play these games without apparent ill effect. Avid players who kill themselves or others may well have psychological problems but these problems may not be the consequence of their game playing.

Homicide or suicide by a teenager is an especially tragic event. In the search for a cause of the tragedy it is easy for parents, family friends and others with a personal relationship to seize upon some untoward event (his best friend moved elsewhere or braces were put on his teeth that day) or time consuming involvement in some questionable activity (going out with the "wrong crowd," taking LSD, or playing fantasy games).

Such simple explanations deflect search for deeper causes of social isolation, lack of confidence, uncertainty about choice of occupation, or conflicts over sexual impulses. All too often the origins of an adolescent's despair are locked within his heart and he may not himself be aware of all the sources of his anguish.

HOMICIDE AND ALCOHOL

Homicide is frequently committed by persons who have taken alcohol prior to the crime. The role of alcohol as a cause of homicide is, however,

difficult to evaluate. Although it is often stated that alcohol is a frequent cause of homicide, it should be noted that many offenses are assumed to be due to alcohol on insufficient grounds. It would be more accurate, in the light of available information, to say that homicide is commonly associated with indulgence in alcohol. Indulgence in alcohol does not, however, commonly lead to homicide. Excessive consumption of alcohol and homicidal behavior may have the same root cause in psychological conflict.

Wolfgang found that either or both the victim and the offender had been drinking immediately prior to the slaying in nearly two thirds of 588 homicides in Philadelphia. Offenders had been drinking in 54 percent and victims in 52 percent of the homicides. Alcohol was a factor strongly related to the violence with which an offender kills his victim. He noted that alcoholic indulgence by either the victim, the offender, or both, was much higher in weekend murders, than in those occurring during other days in the week. He also found a significantly higher proportion of murders occurred at weekends and suggested a possible association between alcohol, weekend slayings and the payment of wages on Friday.

The percentage of murderers taking alcohol prior to the crime in various cities is as follows: Memphis 86 percent, Columbus 83 percent, Chicago 55 percent, Helsinki 66 percent and Glasgow, Scotland 55 percent (10). Shupe reported the urine alcohol concentrations of thirty murderers who were arrested immediately after the crime. He found that 83 percent had been drinking at the time of the murder.

HOMICIDE AND DRUGS

In a study of 110 men charged with first degree murder in Missouri, Holcomb and Anderson found that 36 percent had abused drugs prior to the crime. Those who took drugs, alcohol, or both, had a greater likelihood of overkilling the victim. Kozel and DuPont checked the urinalysis data on over 9,000 persons arrested in Washington, D.C. Almost 25 percent of these persons had drug positive urines for heroin or for methadone. Those whose urine tested positive for heroin accounted for 9.7 percent of all homicides. In Philadelphia homicide was the leading cause of death among drug users, higher even than deaths due to the adverse effects of drugs (23).

Major drug abusers are not usually singled out for their scrupulous observance of the ten commandments, but even among major drug abusers

there is some recognition that speed freaks (amphetamine abusers) in their behavior are likely to go over the edge. Their tendency to become extremely paranoid makes them dangerous associates. Ellinwood has described the histories of thirteen persons who committed homicide while intoxicated with amphetamines. Murders have been committed by persons under the influence of other drugs, especially LSD (acid) and PCP (angel dust). Paranoid beliefs, wild excitement and loss of pain perception are a dangerous combination in persons who have taken PCP.

Drug dealers and drug abusers contribute to the incidence of criminal homicide not only through acts of violence while under the influence of illicit drugs. Millions of dollars in profits are made from the sale of drugs and those who interfere with this trade do so at some risk. The dealer who sells poor quality drugs, the addict who fails to pay for his drugs, the snitch who provides information to the police, the person suspected of being an informant, and drug enforcement officers, especially in Sicily and Colombia can all become victims of homicide.

In large cities competition between gangs for control of sales and "copping corners" has been associated with a significant number of homicides, including many execution style slayings. In 1984 the Peruvian government temporarily halted a program financed by the United States to destroy coca leaves after nineteen men working on an eradication program were massacred.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF MURDER

In the United States about 40 percent of homicides involve disagreements between acquaintances, friends and neighbors. About 20 percent of homicides involve killings within the family. One half of these family killings are spouse killing spouse. About 10 percent of homicides occur during a robbery and another 10 percent occur during other felonies such as narcotics offenses, sex offenses, arson and other crimes.

THE SCENE OF THE CRIME

*"The very air rests thick and heavily
Where murder has been done."*

Joanna Baillie, *Orra*

More slayings occur in the home than outside the home. Men kill

and are killed most frequently in the street, while women kill most often in the kitchen, but are killed most often in the bedroom (22). In both Philadelphia and Baltimore the most dangerous single place is on the highway—public street, public alley or field (28 to 30 percent of homicides). The most dangerous room in the house is the bedroom (19 to 20 percent), followed by the kitchen and living room which are equally dangerous (8 to 12 percent). Taverns are also a frequent place for homicides (8 to 9 percent).

Murder is more likely to occur in poor, densely populated, deteriorating city neighborhoods. Of 2,389 homicides in Chicago, 495 (21 percent) occurred in an area of 375 blocks. Thus, two percent of the blocks of Chicago accounted for 21 percent of the homicides. The blocks where these homicides occurred are among the most economically depressed areas of the city (3).

MURDER ON WEEKENDS AND HOLIDAYS

Weekends and public holidays are the main times for murder. For the most part homicide occurs during leisure time and is frequently associated with recreational activities. Drinking is often a factor in crimes of personal violence and Saturday night is the traditional time of the drinking spree. Homicide is generally committed against persons with whom one has personal feelings—friends, family members, lovers, acquaintances—and opportunities for personal contacts are much greater during leisure time.

Several studies have shown that homicide reaches a peak on Friday and Saturday nights. Almost two thirds of 588 criminal homicides in Philadelphia occurred between 8 PM Friday and midnight Sunday. In Baltimore 27 percent of 578 homicides occurred on Saturday nights. Throughout the week the most dangerous hours are between 8 PM and 2 AM accounting for almost 50 percent of homicides in Philadelphia. The least dangerous period of the day is between 8 AM and 2 PM. Only nine percent of homicides in Philadelphia occurred during these hours.

Depressed murderers have a noticeable tendency to murder between 6 AM and 8 AM. If one excludes such obvious exceptions as a burglar who meets a policeman on his way home from a night's work, or a man who has been drunk and quarrelling all night, one can say that murder at breakfast time is nearly always the act of the insane, or by a man so weighed down by circumstances that he is seriously ill mentally (7).

SEASONAL VARIATIONS IN HOMICIDE

In the United States homicides tend to be more frequent in the summer than in the winter, but there are usually more murders in December than in any other month of the year. The occurrence in Seattle many years ago of more homicides in winter than in summer was attributed to the distress and disorder among the large numbers of migratory seasonal workers who made the city their headquarters during cold weather (18).

If the seasons do affect the distribution of homicide, they probably do so indirectly, through their effect upon the social behavior of people. Thus, climatic conditions may be important, but for their social rather than their biological significance. As Howard Jones points out "The dark nights of winter in the northern hemisphere are very convenient aids to the thief or the burglar. Winter is also a time when nature is niggardly. Then, if at all, there will be high prices and material privation. The economic privation is likely to be at its strongest during the darkest months of the year. The light and (at least relatively) warm months of the summer, on the other hand, facilitate social intercourse. It is easier to meet people — and to fall out with them. The location of the main annual holiday during the summer tends to the same end."

COMMUNITY ATTITUDES TOWARD MURDER

Criminal homicide usually arouses an immediate aggressive response in society, especially if the victim is a child, a woman or a crippled person; if there are several victims or if the circumstances of the deed show great cruelty. Absence of remorse on the part of the slayer adds to the public indignation. On the other hand if the victim has a bad reputation, for example, as a criminal or as a brutal alcoholic husband the community may show considerable sympathy for the slayer. Many years ago in a Western state the dismembered body of a wealthy but extremely unpopular landlord was found in his own home. Although the trunk of the body was found in one room and the severed head in another room, the coroner's jury returned a verdict of death from natural causes.

An active newspaper campaign in support of the accused person may lead to substitution of manslaughter for murder charges by a vote conscious district attorney or may influence a jury to return a verdict of not guilty in spite of overwhelming evidence to the contrary. Newspapers in the United States also publish information which may prejudice the

defendant in his later trial. Trial, or rather pretrial, by newspaper, which is so common in the United States, is not permitted in England. In 1949 an English newspaper published lurid stories of a man awaiting trial for murder but did not mention his name; nevertheless the identity of this man was obvious and it was possible that the newspaper reports might have prejudiced his defense. Three weeks later the company owning the newspaper was fined \$28,000 and the editor was sent to prison for three months. The Lord Chief Justice ordered the directors of the newspaper into court and warned them — “In the opinion of the court what had been done was not the result of an error of judgment, but was done as a matter of policy in pandering to sensationalism for the purpose of increasing the circulation of the newspaper. Let the directors beware; they know now the conduct of which their employees are capable, and the view which the court takes of the matter. If for the purposes of increasing the circulation of their paper they should again venture to publish such matter as this, the directors themselves may find that the arm of this court is long enough to reach them and to deal with them individually.”

Rebecca West has commented that if a gentleman were arrested carrying a lady's severed head in his hands and wearing her large intestine as a garland round his neck and crying aloud that he and he alone, had been responsible for her reduction from a whole to parts, it would still be an offense for any newspaper to suggest that he might have had any connection with her demise until he had been convicted of this offense by a jury and sentenced by a judge.

COMMUNITY REACTIONS TO AN UNUSUAL CASE OF MURDER

The following report by Arndt of community reactions to an unusual case of murder is of particular interest.

During late November, 1957, in a small Wisconsin farming community, Mrs. Bernice Worden disappeared from her general store. Blood stains were found on the floor. The last entry in her sales book was for antifreeze. Police investigations and inquiry as to her last customers led the sheriff to the farm of the 51 year old bachelor recluse, Ed Gein (the name rhymes with “wean”). The sheriff's visit to the Gein farm exposed bizarre activities which drew a horrified but fascinated press to document the news to the country.

Mrs. Worden was shot by Gein with a .22 rifle, was decapitated, eviscerated, and hung by the heels from a rafter in his "summer kitchen." During the questioning, Gein confessed to the 1955 murder of Mary Hogan, a tavern keeper in a nearby town, and to robbing fresh graves (only female bodies) in the local cemetery over a period of several years. One of the corpses was removed from a grave adjacent to his mother's burial plot.

Portions of viscera, sections of human skin, a box of noses and remains of extremities were found in the trash-littered, dingy rooms of his home. Ten human skulls neatly arranged in a row, books on anatomy, embalming equipment, pulp magazines, furniture upholstered with skin, and dirty kerosene lamps completed the macabre scene. Gein also stated he made belts and purses from skin sections. The largest piece of skin found, neatly rolled, was from an anterior chest, including the mammaries.

An immaculate portion of the house, his mother's bedroom and sitting room, had been sealed off by nailed doors and windows after her death in 1945.

Ed Gein was described as a relatively quiet, lazy, friendly, good-natured handyman and neighbor who earned his living doing odd jobs. Few people visited him as he was considered "peculiar," "dull-witted" and prone to discuss crimes, especially murders—the mistakes of criminals that exposed them to detection—and women. He did no courting as a youth and had few female friends during the years. Evidently he was accepted as a "town fool."

Although he often gave obvious clues to his bizarre activities—in a local group discussing the disappearance of Mary Hogan he joked, "She's up at the house now"—these were passed off as crude witticisms. When the final crime was uncovered, the body found hanging and dressed as if it were a deer, neighbors recalled that he had frequently given them portions of "venison," although he remarked, while under psychiatric observation, "I've never shot a deer."

Grim jokes about Gein were told throughout Wisconsin. All ages participated in the humor, and before the Christmas holidays, the children were chanting:

"Twas the night before Christmas
And all through the school
Not a creature was stirring
Not even a mule.
The teachers were hung