

# A History of Criminal Profiling

**Brent E. Turvey, M.S.**

We must gather wisdom while we are not required to use it; when the time for use arrives, the time for harvest is over.

—Hans Gross, *Criminal Psychology*, 1968, p. 4

## KEY TERMS

Academy of Behavioral Profiling (ABP)	(a.k.a. <i>Criminal Investigation, A Practical Textbook for Magistrates, Police Officers, and Lawyers</i> )	Pseudo-Rational Attribution
Blood Libel		Pseudo-Rational Attribution Effects
Criminal Profiling		Salem Witch Trials
Criminology		Spanish Inquisition
<i>Handbuch fur Untersuchunsrichter, als System der Kriminalistik</i>	<i>The Malleus Maleficarum</i>	

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Before we begin our study of current evidence-based criminal profiling methods and fundamentals, we must first understand what has come before. This is done in the hope that we may uncover how we have come to this place and time. That is the province of history—to provide a look back, to gauge progress and wandering, to mark the growth and depth of our placements and philosophies, to let us know what we have been and what we are becoming.

History, the chronicling and study of past events, is a quiet but feared discipline. History reminds us where our knowledge and wisdom came from when we lose sight of those who cut the path. History teaches us what has been lost to fire and fancy, despite conquering or dominant ideologies that would leave us ignorant of all that came before. History collects; history records; and history remembers. And it patiently waits for unsatisfied minds to discover it.

From this it may be rightly inferred that the purpose of studying history is not to learn dry facts for later academic recitation in order to appear intellectual. The study of history is about going back to see what has come before in order to honestly gauge where we are right now and, it is hoped, why. The study of history is about

**Criminal Profiling**

Inferring the traits of individuals responsible for committing criminal acts.

digging beneath and beyond cultural and institutional indoctrination because what you know, and what you've been told, are not always so.

The study of history is for critical thinkers—those who will not blindly and politely accept what they have been handed by someone claiming to be an authority. It is for those who would rather come to understand things and their relationships for themselves. It is for those who understand the value of hunting down information and sourcing it, and who would prefer not to be led by the hand into intellectual servitude. It is a bold and dangerous journey that can educate, inspire, and inflame a lifetime of study.

It has been argued that a competent, accurate history of any subject can only be written generations after an event or series of events. This supposedly helps provide the requisite clarity and objectivity on the part of historians and presumably keeps them from feeling the pressure to paint facts in a light more favorable to their confederates. This can be true. It is also true that objectivity can never be attained in even the most detached recounting of history because, despite valiant efforts, one cannot hope to separate the message from the messenger. The historian Edward Cheney offers a warning that is well worth our consideration (Cheney, 1988):

*Everything comes to the reader as interpreted by the historian. Everything is seen through the medium of personality ... the reader is at the historian's mercy.... The conflicts of the past are perpetuated by the very chroniclers who recount their history. Thus history sells its birthright of truth for a mess of the pottage partisanship.*

This is something to keep in mind when reading this or any of the available histories of criminal profiling<sup>1</sup> or histories of anything else for that matter. The historical view here will, despite all attempts at objectivity, be presented through the eyes of the author, in the author's language. It is intended to examine the nature of the roles and contributions of multiple organizations and disciplines to the field as it has developed. While admittedly incomplete, it should lay the groundwork for a basic understanding of those contributing perspectives. Readers are encouraged to use this historical rendering as a first blush only and to look beyond for a more complete understanding of the history and origins of criminal profiling.

Inferring the traits of individuals responsible for committing criminal acts has commonly been referred to as *criminal profiling*. Professionals engaged in the practice of criminal profiling have historically included a broad spectrum of investigators, behavioral scientists, social scientists, and forensic scientists. Their involvement in unsolved casework has most commonly been concerned with criminal investigative efforts and suspect identification. In that capacity, a wide variety of faith-based, inductive (statistical/experiential), and deductive (logical/rational) criminal profiling techniques have been sought out to help identify criminals, narrow

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<sup>1</sup>Even with the first publication of a more complete historical rendering (Turvey, 2002), histories of criminal profiling are still noticeably few, and they infrequently begin with anything other than the FBI's involvement in the practice or some mention of profiling Hitler (which was actually a psychological assessment, not a profile). Brief mass media histories of criminal profiling remain the most common, written as a paragraph or two at the beginning of a piece about a particular criminal profiler, personality, or profiling technique.

suspect pools, assist with case linkage, and develop investigatively relevant leads and strategies with respect to unsolved cases.<sup>2</sup> As we will learn, various incarnations of profiling methodology also have a long-standing forensic tradition.<sup>3</sup>

Criminal profiling has also been referred to, among less common terms, as *behavioral profiling*, *crime scene profiling*, *criminal personality profiling*, *offender profiling*, *psychological profiling*, *criminal investigative analysis*, and, more recently, *investigative psychology*. Because of the variety of profilers, their respective methods, and their various levels of actual education on the subject, there remains a general lack of uniformity or agreement in the applications and definitions of these terms across and even within some profiling communities. Consequently, these terms are used inconsistently and interchangeably. For our purposes, we will be using the general term *criminal profiling*.

As students will learn, there has been a considerable and uneasy relationship between criminal profiling, politics, religion, and prejudice—such that each has too often been an expression for the other. Historically, investigators working for various religions or governments have used profiles and profiling to demonize a particular group, often in the most literal sense. The result has been much ignorance, and much blood.

We cannot ignore this part of criminal profiling history. It must be studied. We must learn its lessons to better avoid becoming its victims.

## BLOOD LIBEL

It's not just an act of murder and of a ritual murder. Removing the blood from the body and then using it for a ritual or religious purpose—there is something horrific, but yet as fascinating as it is repulsive in this notion.

—Professor Robert Wistrich, University of Jerusalem (Levinson, 2004)

One of the first documented uses of criminal profiling involves the demonization of Jews with a fairly crude form of profiling. Its origins are found in a report made by the anti-Semite scholar Apion to the Roman Emperor Caligula in 38 CE. Apion felt the Jews of Alexandria, where he had studied, had too many rights and privileges. Apion, documented in the writings of Flavius Josephus (*Contra Apionem*, circa 90s CE), falsely reported to Caligula that the Jews were often responsible for the ritual killing and eating of Greeks as part of Passover.

This idea of ritual abduction and murder by depraved Jews took particular hold in the 1100s because of widespread European ant-Semitism, and because of one monk's desire to martyr a slain child. As discussed in Levinson (2004):

### Blood Libel

A false accusation of ritual killing made against one or more persons, typically of the Jewish faith.

<sup>2</sup>See general discussions of criminal profiling use and efficacy in Gross (1924), Depue *et al.* (1995), Kirk (1974), Cooley and Turvey (2002), Petherick (2002), and Turvey (1999). It will become evident throughout this text that specifically identifying criminals is one of the more hazardous uses of criminal profiling—because it is more susceptible to bias and abuse.

<sup>3</sup>As explained in Thornton (1997): “Forensic” comes to us from the Latin *forensis*, meaning “of the forum.” In Ancient Rome, the forum was where governmental debates were held, but it was also where trials were held. It was the courthouse. So forensic science has come to mean the application of the natural and physical sciences to the resolution of conflicts within a legal setting.

**FIGURE 1.1**

A 15th-century woodcut of Jews murdering the child Simon of Trent. This alleged “murder” is one of the sources of the medieval blood libel. Jews can be recognized by the circular patches sewn on their clothing and by the moneybags they carry. Found in facsimile of Hartmann Schedel’s *Nuremberg Chronicle* or *Buch der Chroniken*, printed by Anton Koberger in 1493.



The origins of this anti-Semitic myth, known as the blood libel, lie in medieval England. In 1144 a skinner’s apprentice called William went missing in Norwich. When his body was found, the monks who examined the corpse claimed that the boy’s head had been pierced by a crown of thorns.

Some years later, a monk called Thomas began to gather evidence about William’s death. His main aim was to establish the boy as a holy martyr and draw pilgrims to the cathedral. Almost as an incidental matter, he accused the Jews of Norwich of killing the boy.

“The unforeseen outcome of what Thomas did was to create the blood libel, which then itself takes on a life of its own,” says Dr Victor Morgan, of the University of East Anglia.

The “blood libel,” or false accusation of ritual killing, is an early and persistent form of criminal profiling because it involves a predetermined set of crime-related characteristics used to infer and consequently accuse a particular suspect pool—namely the Jews. From the available literature cited in this work, a general profile used includes one or more of the following elements:

- A young Christian male goes missing.
- A Jewish community is nearby.
- The child goes missing on or just prior to Passover.

- The body may have injuries that appear to be the result of a ritual.
- The body may have lost a great deal of blood or may simply appear so.

The inference is then drawn that the Jewish community has effected a ritual abduction, torture, and murder, and this fear is fanned by some preexisting anti-Semitic sentiment. As the term implies, the accusations are libelous—intentionally false and inflammatory. The blood libel is therefore not just one of the first uses of profiling, it is one of the earliest documented forms of false reporting.

Unfortunately, blood libel cases have followed us to the 20th century and threaten to remain with us for as long as there is value in anti-Semitic rhetoric. Levinson (2004) describes the path it has taken across the centuries and why:

The accusation that Jews would drain the blood of children and then use it for ritual purposes is bizarre, as Judaism has a powerful taboo against blood. Indeed, kosher butchering is meant to remove all blood from meat. But the idea seems to have had a powerful hold on the mediaeval imagination....

The blood libel spread across England and Continental Europe over the centuries, with hundreds of accusations, all based on hysteria rather than evidence. There were notorious blood libel cases in Lincoln in 1255 and Trento, Italy, in 1475. Many Jews were executed. Others were killed by mobs seeking revenge.

There was another rash of accusations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Eastern Europe—societies gripped by economic transformation and political uncertainty, climaxing with the Beilis case of 1913.

In 1911, Mendel Beilis was arrested by the Kiev Secret Police and put on trial for the ritual murder of a Christian boy. He was jailed for two years while prosecutors tried to build their case, all the while concealing exculpatory evidence. He was ultimately acquitted in 1913—sort of. As Murav (2000) explains:

In March 1911 in Kiev, the body of a thirteen-year-old boy, Andrei Iushchinskii, was found in a cave. Soviet scholar Alexandr Tager, who used archives closed until 1917, showed that Iushchinskii was murdered by a gang of thieves headed by Vera Cheberiak because the gang believed Iushchinskii was going to inform the police about them. Iushchinskii and Cheberiak's son were friends. Vera Cheberiak was arrested and released in July of the same year, at which time Mendel Beilis was arrested. Beilis had been identified as the "man with the black beard," whom witnesses claimed they saw with Iushchinskii. He was a clerk at a brick factory on the territory of which Iushchinskii's body was found. Beilis was tried in 1913. The indictment charged that he had committed the murder "out of religious fanaticism, for ritual purposes." Two questions were put to the jury. The first suggested that the murder had been committed in such a way as to allow the perpetrator to harvest the maximum amount of blood from the



**FIGURE 1.2**

*Mendel Beilis, who worked at a brick factory outside of Kiev.*

victim's body. The language of the question implied that the purpose was to consume the blood. The question asked whether it had been shown that Iushchinskii had been subjected to wounds which produced "five glasses of blood" and then subjected to a second series of wounds which killed him and left his body in a state of "almost complete bloodlessness." The second question was whether Beilis was guilty of the crime. The jury, consisting mostly of peasants, answered "yes" to the first question, but acquitted Beilis. The jury's finding left open the possibility that ritual murder had been committed.

According to Murav (2000), the state used the expert testimony of a Catholic priest to cement their case regarding the ritualistic behaviors and motives of Jews, including their "dogma of blood."

Sadly, in the new millennium, blood libel accusations continue to be made against the Jewish community in the context of religious extremism and ongoing conflict in the Middle East.<sup>4</sup>

## WITCHES AND THE MEDIEVAL INQUISITIONS

Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.<sup>5</sup>

—King James Bible, Exodus 22:18

Whether the belief that there are such beings as witches is so essential a part of the Catholic faith that obstinately to maintain the opposite opinion manifestly savours of heresy.

—*The Malleus Maleficarum*, p. 1

### *The Malleus Maleficarum* (ca. 1486)

One of the first published texts that offered explicit instruction on the subject and practice of profiling criminal behavior—essentially a rationale and guide for those involved with the Inquisition to assist in the identification, prosecution, and punishment of witches.

One of the first published texts that offered explicit instruction on the subject and practice of profiling criminal behavior is *The Malleus Maleficarum* (a.k.a. *The Witches' Hammer*). Two Dominican monks, Henry Kramer and James Sprenger, professors of Theology of the Order of Friars Preachers, originally published this work around 1486. Written in Latin, it was intended as a rationale and guide for those involved with the Inquisition (namely the authors), to assist in the identification, prosecution, and punishment of witches.

Upon publication, *The Malleus Maleficarum* was fully sanctioned by the Catholic Church in fear of being made impotent by the existence of heretics, nonbelievers, and the failed Crusades against the Muslims, which had been waged in vain to occupy and control the Holy Land. Included in *The Malleus Maleficarum* was the Bull of Pope Innocent VIII, written two years previously on December 9, 1484.<sup>6</sup> This was an official church mandate from Innocent VIII explaining the powers and jurisdictions of the Inquisitors. It effectively deputized Kramer and Sprenger as unimpeachable enforcers working directly at the request of the Innocent VIII, the Catholic Church, and, more specifically, God. Anyone who got in their way was in defiance of divine will and consequently a heretic.

<sup>4</sup>Only recently has the United Nations Commission on Human Rights acknowledged the blood libel as one form of anti-Semitism.

<sup>5</sup>In the *NIV Study Bible* (Exodus 22:18; p. 119), the same verse reads, "Do not allow a sorceress to live."

<sup>6</sup>A *Bull* is formal papal document with papal seal, or *Bulla*.

**FIGURE 1.3**

*Innocent VIII (1432–1492) was born Giovanni Battista Cibo. He became Pope in 1484. After several failed attempts (starting in 1498), Innocent VIII successfully launched the Fourth Crusade to invade the Holy Land with the intent of recapturing the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Islamic General Saladin, a Sunni Muslim and Sultan of Egypt, had claimed Jerusalem in a military victory in 1187. This Fourth Crusade failed miserably: the army ran out of money in Venice and never made it to the Holy Land. These bankrupt crusaders ultimately wound up working for the Venetians as a mercenary force. They attacked Christian and Muslim cities alike, including Constantinople. Innocent VIII was infuriated by this and excommunicated the entire Crusade as well as the city of Venice. He is remembered for his miserably failed crusade, for being bad with money, and for his undying zeal against witches and other heretics. It is likely that these symptoms were all related.*

**FIGURE 1.4**

*Alphonsus Joseph-Mary Augustus Montague Summers (1880–1948), a Catholic priest, a devout believer in witches, and a “vampiologist,” was the first to translate the *Malleus Maleficarum* into English, circa 1928. His published works include *Demonology and Witchcraft* (1926), *The Vampire: His Kith and Kin* (1928), and *The Vampire in Europe* (1929).*

When *The Malleus Maleficarum* was written, and in years since, the Catholic Church held that witches and other heretics were in league with the Devil and, moreover, that they were fanatically bent on the destruction of God, the Catholic Church, and the domination of Western civilization.

According to *The Malleus Maleficarum*, witches and other criminals may be identified by specific circumstances, abilities, and characteristics—as defined by the experiences of both authors in concert with their interpretation of the Bible (Kramer and Sprenger, 1971). Witches were described primarily as women who

- have a spot, scar, or birthmark, sometimes on the genitals and sometimes invisible to the Inquisitor’s eye<sup>7</sup>
- live alone
- keep pets (a demon in animal form known as a *familiar*)
- suffer the symptoms of mental illness (auditory or visual hallucinations, etc.)
- cultivate medicinal herbs
- have no children

The authors provide a number of case examples throughout, though upon close inspection they seem to be misogynistic fables more than anything else. One, for example, could be



<sup>7</sup>This was referred to as the witch’s mark, or the Devil’s mark.

interpreted to suggest that women may suffer consequences for being “quarrelsome” with the honest men they meet (pp. 136–137):

[I]n the diocese of Basel, in the district of Alsace and Lorraine, a certain honest labourer spoke roughly to a certain quarrelsome woman, and she angrily threatened him that she would soon avenge herself on him. He took little notice of her; but on the same night he felt a pustule grow upon his neck, and he rubbed it a little, and found his whole face and neck puffed up and swollen, and a horrible form of leprosy appeared all over his body. He immediately went to his friends for advice, and told them of the woman's threat, and said that he would stake his life on the suspicion that this had been done to him by the magic art of that same witch. In short, the woman was taken, questioned, and confessed her crimes. But when the judge asked her particularly about the reason for it, and how she had done it, she answered: “When that man used abusive words to me, I was angry and went home; and my familiar began to ask the reason for my ill humour. I told him, and begged him to avenge me on the man. And he asked what I wanted him to do to him; and I answered that I wished he would always have a swollen face. And the devil went away and afflicted the man even beyond my asking; for I had not hoped that he would infect him with such sore leprosy.” And so the woman was burned.

Specific descriptions of witches, devils, and murderers found in *The Malleus Maleficarum* are telling of the Inquisitors' profiling methods and reasoning, which are entirely faith based. Some examples include the following:

- Witches have the power make men impotent and unable to copulate (p. 4):

[T]here are those writers who speak of men impotent and bewitched, and therefore by this impediment brought about by witchcraft they are unable to copulate, and so the contract of marriage is rendered void and matrimony in their cases has become impossible.

- Witches use spells, images, and charms (p. 13):

[W]itches use certain images and other strange periapts, which they are wont to place under the lintels of the doors of houses, or in those meadows where flocks are herding, or even where men congregate, and thus they cast spells over their victims, who have oft-times been known to die.

- And witches cannot bear children (p. 23):

[T]o beget a child is the act of a living body, but devils cannot bestow life upon the bodies which they assume; because life formally only proceeds from the soul, and the act of generation is the act of the physical organs which have bodily life. Therefore bodies which are assumed in this way cannot either beget or bear.

Yet it may be said that these devils assume a body not in order that they may bestow life upon it, but that they may by the means of this body preserve human semen, and pass the semen on to another body.

With respect to murder, *The Malleus Maleficarum* explains that dead bodies will flow blood from their wounds when their murderer is near.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the living

<sup>8</sup>There is some reason to think that this passage may be one origin for the beliefs about the dead held by Dr. Micki Pistorius of South Africa, as discussed in the preface of this text. She is a graduate of the University of Liverpool's Investigative psychology program and was mentored by Dr. David Canter. She practices the belief that violent crime scenes, and murderers, can be perceived on a psychic level.



will be seized with fear when a dead body is present—even when they don't know it's there (p. 13):

In the presence of a murderer blood flows from the wounds in the corpse of the person he has slain. Therefore without any mental powers bodies can produce wonderful effects, and so a living man if he pass by near the corpse of a murdered man, although he may not be aware of the dead body, is often seized with fear.

Burr (1896) explains the typical rationale for identifying a witch at trial using *The Malleus Maleficarum* as a guide, which presents the innocent with inescapable dilemmas (p. 31):

Either Gaia<sup>9</sup> has led a bad and improper life, or she has led a good proper one. If a bad one, then, say they, the proof is cogent against her; for from malice to malice the presumption is strong. If, however, she has led a good one, this also is none the less a proof; for thus, they say, are witches wont to cloak themselves and try to seem especially proper....

Therefore it is ordered that Gaia be haled away to prison. And lo now a new proof is gained against her by this other dilemma: Either she then shows fear or she does not show it. If she does show it (hearing forsooth of the grievous tortures wont to be used in this matter), this is of itself a proof; for conscience, they say, accuses her. If she does not show it (trusting forsooth in her innocence), this too is a proof; for it is most characteristic of witches, they say, to pretend themselves peculiarly innocent and wear a bold front.

Moreover, none was allowed to defend the witch, neither through witness testimony nor legal counsel. Guilt was assumed, and the result of the legal proceeding preordained (p. 32):

[I]n these trials there is granted to nobody an advocate or any means of fair defense, for the cry is that the crime is an excepted one, and whoever ventures to defend the prisoner is brought into suspicion of the crime—are all those who dare to utter a protest in these cases and to urge the judges to caution; for they are forthwith dubbed patrons of the witches. Thus all mouths are closed and all pens blunted, lest they speak or write.

The penalties for heresy and witchcraft prescribed by Kramer and Sprenger (1971) were specific and brutal—providing a strong deterrent against any outward appearance of disbelief in God or the Catholic Church. The accused were often tortured and typically executed whether they confessed or not (pp. 5–6).

As for doubts raised against some of the more fantastical claims regarding the existence of witches and their powers, a brief excerpt gives some insight into the authors' ability to make a rational defense of their methods and means (Kramer and Sprenger, 1971, p. 89):

We pray God that the reader will not look for proofs in every case, since it is enough to adduce examples that have been personally seen or heard, or are accepted at the word of credible witnesses.

The instruction given is explicit that readers of *The Malleus Maleficarum* should take what they are being told on the basis of the expertise and credibility of the authors alone, without applying any scrutiny.<sup>10</sup> Their methods were faith based, their

<sup>9</sup> *Gaia* was the name used for a female culprit by the Roman law—like using John or Jane Doe for unidentified males and females in various forensic contexts.

<sup>10</sup> This kind of reasoning has survived even in today's modern profiling and forensic community. Assertions and opinions are often levied as fact on the basis of expertise alone, with no substantive foundation or explanation. Thornton (1997, pp. 15–17) warns us against this practice, where he states: "Experience should not make the expert less responsible, but rather more responsible for justifying an opinion with defensible scientific facts." We will explore this seriously in future chapters.

conclusions were final, and their authority was divine. Unfortunately, many readers heeded their plea to avoid seeking proofs—they failed to question the logic of Inquisitors out of fear, ignorance, or both. Consequently, during the time of these Medieval Inquisitions, one could be branded a witch or heretic by mere accusation, tried by an Inquisitors' court, tortured, and ultimately burned at the stake.

The faith-based profiling methods used by Medieval Inquisitors to prove the identity of witches and other heretics played on irrational fears and were logically unsound, personally and politically motivated, and divinely sanctioned. They were also consequently ripe for abuse. Abuse, however, was the point. When *The Malleus Maleficarum* was written, the Catholic Church was fighting on all fronts against what it perceived as direct threats to its authority and legitimacy—and had been for centuries. Heathens, heretics, Jews, and Muslims appeared to challenge the Catholic Church from without and within, and anyone who questioned its supreme authority was labeled as such.

*The Malleus Maleficarum* gave Inquisitors a divine mandate to dispose of a particular group of heretics and heathens. The fight for hearts, minds, and wealth was everywhere. Inspiring fear and obedience to the Catholic Church through abuse of power and manipulation with faith was their intention—fear God and give total subservience to the Catholic Church or else. The irony was that by fomenting the Inquisitions the Catholic Church became exactly what it purported to despise. As a result, it is believed that some 30,000 suspected witches in England and 100,000 suspected witches in Germany were put to death.

This is probably a good time to remind ourselves that the abuse of faith-based profiling methods did not stop, or even start, with witches. The Catholic Church initiated the first of the Medieval Inquisitions in 1184 (called the Episcopal Inquisition), centuries before the publication of *The Malleus Maleficarum*, in response to the heretics gaining traction in the south of France.<sup>11</sup> The Medieval Inquisitions focused on any group or religion posing threat to the divine authority of the Catholic Church, and they spanned the centuries. The Medieval Inquisitions, ordained and administered by the Catholic Church, were separate from the Spanish Inquisition, which was administered by the Spanish government.

## THE SPANISH INQUISITION (1478–1834)

### Spanish Inquisition (1478–1834)

The formal authorization of the Catholic Church to assist the Spanish government with the identification of conversos, mainly Muslims (Moors) and Jews (*marranos*), who had pretended to convert to Christianity but secretly continued the practice of their former religion.

Nobody expects the Spanish Inquisition!

—Cardinal Ximenez of Spain in *Monty Python's Flying Circus* (1970)<sup>12</sup>

The Spanish Inquisition was originally ordained by the Catholic Church to assist the Spanish government with the identification of *conversos*, mainly Muslims (Moors) and Jews (*marranos*), who had pretended to convert to Christianity but secretly continued the practice of their former religion. To help Catholics better inform on their heretical neighbors, religious behavioral profiling was one of the tools of choice.

<sup>11</sup>The heretics of the Episcopal Inquisition were the Cathars, also known as the *Albigensians*. There was a Christian religion based on apocryphal scriptures and the writings of the Persian (Iranian) Prophet Mani. Mani presented himself as a savior and as an apostle of Jesus Christ. The Catholic Church disagreed—violently.

<sup>12</sup>*Monty Python's Flying Circus*, Season 2, Episode 2; originally aired September 22, 1970, on the BBC.

Some history and geography are required for context. Bear with the dates, as they are necessary to establish who were allies and who were slaves, until when—and why:<sup>13</sup>

In 711, Muslim forces invaded Spain from Africa to conquer the Visigoths who were primarily Roman Catholic. Jews of the Iberian Peninsula, enslaved by the Visigoths for almost a century, were subsequently freed and allowed to form their own communities. For the next 750 years, Spain was largely under Muslim control with some minor Christian kingdoms remaining in the north. During this time, the kingdom of Cordoba became perhaps the greatest cultural center in the world. It established a library with hundreds of thousands of texts; mosques were built along with public baths, orchards, courtyards, and aqueducts; and the population swelled to more than a half-million people. Other kingdoms in Spain experienced similar cultural and intellectual growth. Many Jews ultimately immigrated to Spain from the east to enjoy religious freedom, resulting in a historical exchange of culture and knowledge.

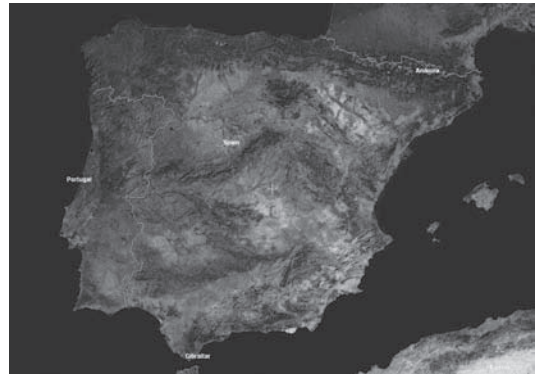
In 1031, however, the kingdom of Cordoba dissolved into smaller Muslim kingdoms; the noble Arabian families began to disagree; and the Christian kingdoms in the north of Spain began the *Reconquista*—the centuries-long process of reconquering Spain. This would prove to have a fairly horrible outcome for the Jews—especially since so many had emigrated there from the east or from England and France.<sup>14</sup>

In this context, Spain was unified by the marriage of Isabel of Castilia and Ferdinand of Aragon in 1469 (uniting the two largest Christian families in the north of Spain)—whose rule saw the Muslims lose their remaining Spanish territories. King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella set themselves to the task of re-Christianizing Spain or, in their view, purifying it. Fearing that there were traitors in their midst who might open the gates for Muslim armies seeking to take back the Iberian Peninsula, armies looming a mere 16 miles away, they went to work. In their minds, the Jews were a threat to Spanish purity, to Catholic supremacy, and were not to be trusted.

In 1478, Pope Sixtus IV (predecessor to Pope Innocent VIII) reluctantly authorized the Spanish Inquisition, giving total authority of its administration to the secular government under King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. It began in earnest not two years later. By 1487, Innocent VIII appointed Tomas de Torquemada, a Dominican priest and Queen Isabella's confessor, to be the first Grand Inquisitor of Spain. His administration of the Spanish Inquisition was characterized by meticulous brutality and vigorous expeditions of torture against any and all accused (Longhurst, 1962, pp. 91–92).

In 1492, all Spanish Jews were ordered expelled from Spain.<sup>15</sup> Torquemada's office established a profile of Jewish behavior to help Catholics inform on their neighbors based on a book written specifically for his office, titled *Censure and Confutation of the Talmud*. Adoption of this text by Torquemada rendered the practices of Judaism itself (accurately described or not) an ad hoc criminal profile to be used as behavioral evidence against the accused of "secret Judiazing" (Longhurst, 1962, p. 101).

The appointment of Torquemada was a beginning for the Spanish Inquisition, but by no means its end. Worldwide death estimates over its full course range from the tens of thousands to a million or more. The true numbers are not known.



**FIGURE 1.5**

*The Iberian Peninsula, today consisting primarily of Spain and Portugal—as well as the small but significant British Territory of Gibraltar—just 16 miles off the coast of Africa.*

<sup>13</sup>Attentive students will realize that these events are not only important for contextualizing the history and use of faith-based profiling but also for contextualizing modern conflicts in the Middle East.

<sup>14</sup>In 1290, all Jews were expelled from England, with most moving to Spain. In 1306, all Jews were expelled from France, with most moving to the Spanish cities of Barcelona and Toledo.

<sup>15</sup>That same year that Christopher Columbus discovered the "New World," claiming it for God and Queen Isabella.

## WITCHES AND PURITANS (1688–1692): GOODWIFE ANN GLOVER AND THE SALEM WITCH TRIALS

### Salem Witch Trials (1692–1693)

A series of court proceedings and trials in the furtherance of prosecuting those alleged to have committed acts of witchcraft in Massachusetts from 1692 to 1693. Expert “scientific” testimony on the profiles of witches allowed as evidence in court for the first time in what would eventually become the United States.

The Medieval and Spanish Inquisitions involved Catholics who felt strongly that Jews and others outside their faith were blasphemous and needed to be eradicated. Ironically, the *Salem Witch Trials* involved religious reformers commonly referred to now as *Puritans*. They believed that the Church of England was beyond reform and held strongly that Catholics were the blasphemers. Many Puritans fled England for North America, starting in the 1600s, so that they could practice their particular form of religious extremism beyond the reach of the church and the King of England. But there was more than that, as Moriarty (2001) explains:

“Magical thinking” and an unquestioned belief in the invisible world were part of the belief system of early New Englanders, faithful Puritans and non-believers alike. While “folk persons” may have believed in “spells” and the use of poppets and potions, likewise intellectuals held a universal belief in the “unseen hand” that animated natural events.

To be clearer, the Puritans believed strongly that only a select few were going to heaven, that God had already decided who they were, and that the Devil, capable of the supernatural, was behind every evil deed.

### Goodwife Ann Glover

In 1689, the Rev. Cotton Mather, Puritan minister of the Old North Church in Boston, authored his now infamous text, *Memorable Providences, Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions* (Mather, 1689).<sup>16</sup> In much the same sensational style and fashion as a modern-day true crime novel or memoir, it presents the case of a mason named John Goodwin. In 1688, it was alleged that Mr. Goodwin’s children had become possessed by demons because of a witch in their midst—their widowed Irish housekeeper, Ann Glover (a.k.a. Goodwife<sup>17</sup> Ann Glover, a.k.a. Goody Glover). It was written in the first person, with Rev. Mather presenting himself as a reluctant, humble, but expert fighter of witches, demons, and the Devil.

According to Mather (1689, Sect. III), John Goodwin’s eldest daughter, 13-year-old Martha, confronted Ann Glover about stealing the linens (clothes and other items from the laundry). Martha and several of her siblings subsequently fell violently ill, suffering “The Diseases of Astonishment.” Over the course of a few weeks as the children’s symptoms worsened, various doctors were consulted, including a family friend named Dr. Thomas Oakes. After examining the children, Dr. Oakes bravely ruled out all natural causes, declaring that (Mather, 1689, Sect. IV) “nothing but an hellish Witchcraft could be the Original of these Maladies.”

Their symptoms, the purported effects of witchcraft and what one author has recently come to refer to as “witchcraft syndrome evidence” (Moriarty, 2001), included the following (Mather, 1689, Sect. V):

Sometimes they would be Deaf, sometimes Dumb, and sometimes Blind, and often, all this at once. One while their Tongues would be drawn down their Throats; another while they would be pull’d out upon their Chins, to a prodigious length. They would have their Mouths opened unto such a Wideness, that their Jaws went out of joint; and anon they would clap

<sup>16</sup>According to Moriarty (2001): “Some scholars opine that the genesis of the Salem witchcraft trials may have been the publication in 1689 of Cotton Mather’s widely-disseminated treatise, *Memorable Providences*.”

<sup>17</sup>*Goodwife* was a courtesy title for a married woman, not unlike the modern use of the title *Mrs*.

together again with a Force like that of a strong Spring-Lock. The same would happen to their Shoulder-Blades, and their Elbows, and Hand-wrists, and several of their joints. They would at times ly in a benumbed condition and be drawn together as those that are ty'd Neck and Heels; and presently be stretched out, yea, drawn Backwards, to such a degree that it was fear'd the very skin of their Bellies would have crack'd. They would make most pitteous out-cries, that they were cut with Knives, and struck with Blows that they could not bear. Their Necks would be broken, so that their Neck-bone would seem dissolved unto them that felt after it; and yet on the sudden, it would become, again so stiff that there was no stirring of their Heads; yea, their Heads would be twisted almost round; and if main Force at any time obstructed a dangerous motion which they seem'd to be upon, they would roar exceedingly.<sup>18</sup> ...and this while as a further Demonstration of Witchcraft in these horrid Effects, when I went to Prayer by one of them, that was very desirous to hear what I said, the Child utterly lost her Hearing till our Prayer was over.

The logic used by Dr. Oakes and Rev. Mather was equal parts swift and flawed, with strong notes of circular and *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* reasoning.<sup>19</sup> It went something like this: The symptoms were caused by the housekeeper because they came after the eldest daughter's confrontation with her; the housekeeper was obviously a witch because these were classic symptoms of witchcraft; these were obvious symptoms of witchcraft because the woman was so obviously a witch.

According to Rev. Mather, the "washerwoman" Ann Glover evidenced at least the following characteristics consistent with being witch—a profile he developed once she had been arrested and he was able to examine her: she was a "hag"; she was afflicted with the same symptoms as the children; she gave a blasphemous response when asked if she believed in God (she was Irish-Catholic, so any answer consistent with that faith would have been blasphemous to a Puritan reverend); she could not accurately recite the Lord's Prayer; and the children, whose symptoms had subsided with her incarceration, became ill again when in the presence of one of Goody Glover's female relatives. Rev. Mather also made certain that her body was examined for the witch's mark (Mather, 1689, Sect. VII).

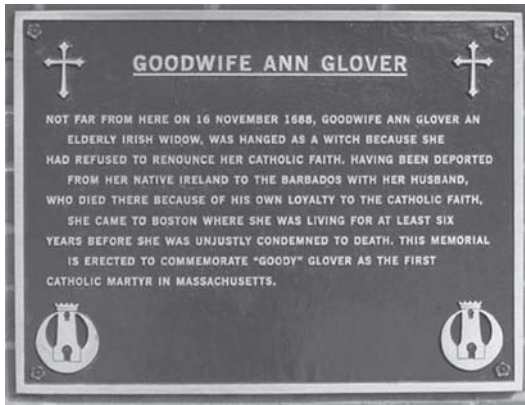
Rev. Mather further advised that incriminating evidence consistent with the rituals of witchcraft was found in Ann Glover's home, after it was searched by the authorities (Mather, 1689, Sect. VIII):

Order was given to search the old womans house, from whence there were brought into the Court, several small Images, or Puppets, or Babies, made of Raggs, and stuff't with Goat's hair, and other such Ingredients. When these were produced, the vile Woman acknowledged, that her way to torment the Objects of her malice, was by wetting of her Finger with her Spittle, and streaking of those little Images.

The examinations and inferences of Rev. Mather echoed earlier writings on the subject, notably those of William Perkins, minister of Finchingfield, Essex, in his book from 1613, *A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft; So Farre*. Minister Perkins offered the following profile of a witch, arguing these characteristics to be infinitely more reliable than lesser proofs accepted in some jurisdictions. But then he also

<sup>18</sup>This particular set of symptoms would be mimicked almost precisely in 1692 by the witch accusers in Salem, as will be discussed presently. They were also featured prominently in a famous scene in the film *The Exorcist* (1973). The endurance of the demonic possession myth has been greatly assisted by this now iconic image of twisting heads and satanic roars.

<sup>19</sup>Circular reasoning occurs when the premise of an argument assumes the conclusion to be true; *post hoc ergo propter hoc* is Latin for "after this, therefore because of this." These fallacies of logic are discussed in future chapters.



**FIGURE 1.6**

On November 16, 1688, Goodwife Ann Glover was hanged in Boston, Massachusetts, for being a witch. This placard currently hangs outside on the brick wall of the tavern bearing her name in Boston's North End District, Goody Glover's.

explained that being accused of witchcraft was fairly reliable proof of the fact. Taken from Perkins (1613, pp. 44–47):

- They have the Devil's mark.
- They lie or give inconsistent statements.
- They have a *familiar*—a demon in animal form.

At her trial, Ann Glover refused to speak in anything but her native Irish language. This caused a great deal of confusion about the precise content of her testimony. Subsequently, Rev. Mather conveniently interpreted her refusal to renounce the Catholic faith as a confession to witchcraft. She was shortly thereafter convicted and sentenced to death. On November 16, 1688, Ann Glover was hanged for being a witch in the city of Boston.

Three hundred years later, on November 16, 1988, the Boston city council formally recognized that Ann Glover had suffered an injustice. They proclaimed that day “Goody Glover Day,” condemning her arrest, trial, and execution.

Rev. Mather's true crime memoir, *Memorable Providences, Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions* (Mather, 1689), was a best seller and widely read throughout New England. This “case study” of children possessed at the hand of a witch would become the prototype for investigating and establishing the characteristics of witches and evidence of witchcraft in Salem.

## The Salem Witch Trials

The events in Salem, from June through September of 1692, followed naturally as a result of Ann Glover's witch trial in Boston and the publication of Rev. Mather's sensational true crime memoir detailing his involvement.

It began locally, in 1689, when Salem Village negotiated with and hired its new minister, Rev. Samuel Parris from Boston. Rev. Parris moved to Salem Village with his wife, a son, two daughters, and a slave brought with him from Boston by way of his earlier days in Barbados—named Tituba. The community eventually became unhappy with his ministerial abilities and stopped paying him on a regular basis. In October of 1691, the community failed to support a tax increase to pay for his salary and the firewood he would need to last through the winter. Worse, some vowed to drive him out of the community. As a consequence, Rev. Parris began preaching about a conspiracy in the Village—one against the church and himself alike. He naturally attributed this to Satan taking hold of the community.

On January 20, 1692, 9-year-old Elizabeth Parris and 11-year-old Abigail Williams, her cousin and from the same home, began acting in a fashion quite similar to the Goodwin children in Boston only four years previously. Eventually, other young girls in Salem Village began acting similarly. With talk of witchcraft already in the air, Dr. William Griggs arrived in mid-February to examine all of the afflicted girls. Finding nothing physically wrong with them, he concluded that the cause was supernatural. Then began the accusations.

Before the Salem Witch Trials came to an end, 20 people had been executed (14 women and 6 men), at least 5 had died in prison, and more than 150 had been jailed. Most of those executed were hung, but one man was actually crushed beneath rocks. The evidence against the accused in each case included that they fit a particular profile—that of a witch. As explained in Moriarty (2001):

Prosecutorial profile evidence is defined as a proffered conclusion about the existence of criminal activity that is based upon observable behaviors or physical features of an alleged perpetrator. Profile evidence does not seem to possess the clear causal relationship that syndrome evidence does when associated with criminal activity. However, relevant profile evidence rests on an assumption that the accused's behavior is affiliated with the criminal behavior in a meaningful fashion. Thus, profile behaviors or features were indicative of witchcraft, if not actually caused by it.

Of primary significance for profile evidence was the belief that witches acted in abnormal ways and displayed identifying features. There was testimony about inexplicable acts committed by the defendants—such as remarkable feats of strength—that supported convictions for witchcraft. Witchcraft experts also permitted the use of certain behavioral tests, such as the “touching test” and the “recitation of the Lord's prayer test.” The judges also decreed significant the display of curious physical features, commonly referred to as “witches' marks.” The experts indicated that these behaviors and physical phenomena, along with physical symptoms, were consistent with witchcraft. This type of evidence is collected here under the heading of “witchcraft profile testimony.”



**FIGURE 1.7**

Examination of a Witch by  
T. H. Matteson, 1853.  
Depicts a forensic  
examination conducted  
in search of “The Devil’s  
Mark.”

**Pseudo-Rational Attribution**

A form of false deduction defined as the practice of falsely suggesting that traits, conditions, phenomena, or causal relationships exist because they can be traced to a divine or authoritative source—usually written—which was actually penned in response to a prejudice or belief rather than proving it with evidence and reason. It is pseudo-rational because it mimics reason by the citation of an unquestioned authority—evading the delivery of verifiable proofs.

**Pseudo-Rational Attribution Effects**

Any of the various consequences of pseudo-rational attribution, including false accusations, witch hunts, and miscarriages of justice such as wrongful arrests, convictions, and executions.

It is worth mentioning that the Puritans prided themselves in being fair and rational in their methods. They employed the best judges, experts, and texts available. Unfortunately, “Despite [the Puritans] claimed concern for fairness and certainty, defendants were convicted on flimsy and insubstantial evidence premised strongly upon the belief in the invisible world” (Moriarty, 2001).

The Salem Witch Trials are a dark and painful bruise on the history of criminal profiling. Not just because of what was done under the guise of informed justice but because forensic experts of that time were making particular errors in logic and reasoning that are repeated by profilers today. This will become evident in the later chapters of this text. Serious students are encouraged to source out the references provided in this section regarding the Salem Witch Trials in order to learn these lessons more completely.

Additionally, as with other early examples of criminal profiling, the Salem Witch Trials were facilitated by prejudice, ignorance, and the publication of pseudo-authoritative books used to legitimize both. The result was a localized form of mass *pseudo-rational attribution*.<sup>20</sup>

Mass pseudo-rational attribution in criminal profiling tends to work this way: A societal ill is perceived, be it heresy, immorality, impurity, or economic loss; an explanation is conceived, falsely blaming a particular group be they real or imagined; and profiles and punishments follow—studiously described and prescribed—carried out under the aegis of written law, religious doctrine, or both. The aptly named “witch hunt” is a consequence of mass pseudo-rational attribution, but it is only one of many possible *pseudo-rational attribution effects*.<sup>21</sup> The hope is that in the modern era we can learn these lessons and, at the very least, avoid similar pitfalls.

## MODERN PROFILERS: A MULTIDISCIPLINARY HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Modern criminal profiling is, owing to a diverse history, grounded in the study of crime and criminal behavior (criminology), the study of mental health and illness (psychology and psychiatry), and the examination of physical evidence (the forensic sciences). In its many forms, it has always involved the inference of criminal characteristics for investigative and judicial purposes. The reasoning behind those inferences, however, has not always been consistent. It ranges from a basis in statistical argumentation, to examining specific criminal behaviors, to subjective intuitive opinions based on personal belief and experience. We will break our historical study of the subject apart in just that fashion.

<sup>20</sup>In criminal profiling, this refers to a form of false deduction defined as the practice of falsely suggesting that traits, conditions, phenomena, or causal relationships exist because they can be traced to a divine or authoritative source—usually written—which was actually penned in response to a prejudice or belief rather than proving it with evidence and reason. It is pseudo-rational because it mimics reason by the citation of an unquestioned authority—evading the delivery of verifiable proofs.

<sup>21</sup>In criminal profiling, these refer to any of the various consequences of pseudo-rational attribution, including false accusations, witch hunts, and miscarriages of justice such as wrongful arrests, convictions, and executions.



## THE SEARCH FOR ORIGINS: CRIMINOLOGISTS

Integral to criminal profiling has been both understanding origins of crime and classifying criminal behavior. This pursuit falls under the banner of criminology. *Criminology* is the study of crime, criminals, and criminal behavior. It involves the documentation of factual information about criminality and the development of theories to help explain those facts. A review of the literature suggests that two types of criminologists have intersected criminal profiling theory more than the rest: those who study the physical characteristics of criminals in order to make inferences about criminal character and those who are concerned with applied criminal investigation.

### **Criminology**

The study of crime, criminals, and criminal behavior.

### **Physical Characteristics of Criminals**

The renowned Italian physician Cesare Lombroso (1835–1909) is generally thought to have been one of the first criminologists to attempt to formally classify criminals for statistical comparison.<sup>22</sup> In 1876, Lombroso published his book *The Criminal Man*. By comparing information about similar offenders such as race, age, sex, physical characteristics, education, and geographic region, Lombroso reasoned, the origins and motivations of criminal behavior could be better understood and subsequently predicted.

Lombroso studied 383 Italian prisoners. His evolutionary and anthropological theories about the origins of criminal behavior suggested that, based on his research, there were three major types of criminals (Bernard and Vold, 1986, pp. 37–38):

*Born criminals.* These were degenerate, primitive offenders who were lower evolutionary reversions in terms of their physical characteristics.

*Insane criminals.* These were offenders who suffered from mental or physical illnesses and deficiencies.

*Criminaloids.* These were a large general class of offenders without specific characteristics. They were not afflicted by recognizable mental defects, but their mental and emotional makeup predisposed them to criminal behavior under certain circumstances. This classification has been compared to the diagnosis of psychopathic personality disorder that came later from the psychiatric community.

According to Lombroso's theory of criminal anthropology, there are 18 physical characteristics indicative of a born criminal, providing at least 5 or more are present. Some of the physical characteristics Lombroso thought indicated a born criminal included the following (Bernard and Vold, 1986, pp. 50–51):

1. Deviation in head size and shape from the type common to the race and region from which the criminal came
2. Asymmetry of the face
3. Excessive dimensions of the jaw and cheekbones
4. Eye defects and peculiarities
5. Ears of unusual size, or occasionally very small, or standing out from the head as do those of the chimpanzee
6. Nose twisted, upturned, or flattened in thieves, or aquiline or beaklike in murderers, or with a tip rising like peak from swollen nostrils
7. Lips fleshy, swollen, and protruding

<sup>22</sup> Jean Morris Ellis wrote an altogether gushing book called *Character Analysis* (Ellis, 1929), in which she unabashedly argued that the research of the European anatomist Dr. Francis Joseph Gall (1758–1828) was the basis for most current thinking in both character analysis (a.k.a. phrenology) and criminology. Others have argued that Gall was the first criminologist (Dickman *et al.*, 1977).

8. Pouches in the cheek like those of some animals
9. Peculiarities of the palate, such as a large, central ridge, a series of cavities and protuberances such as are found in some reptiles, and cleft palate
10. Abnormal dentition
11. Chin receding, or excessively long, or short and flat, as in apes
12. Abundance, variety, and precocity of wrinkles
13. Anomalies of the hair, marked by characteristics of the hair of the opposite sex
14. Defects of the thorax, such as too many or too few ribs, or supernumerary nipples
15. Inversion of sex characters in the pelvic organs
16. Excessive length of arms
17. Supernumerary fingers and toes
18. Imbalance of the hemispheres of the brain (asymmetry of the cranium)

His theory of criminal origins was evolutionary in nature, suggesting that they represented a reversion to a more atavistic (ape-like) human state. Noncriminals, of course, were thought to be more evolved and therefore less ape-like. Lombroso felt that, based on his research, he could recognize those physical features that he had correlated with criminality. This notion was something akin to a “mark of Cain,” by which all evil could be biblically identified and classified, to be subsequently cast from Eden.

A wide variety of criminologists have made many similar attempts since then to classify and label criminals and potential criminals based on intelligence, race, heredity, poverty, and other biological or environmental factors. These would include body type theorists.

In 1914, the American character analyst Gerald Fosbroke published the first edition of his work, *Character Reading through Analysis of the Features*. In it, he argued the following (Fosbroke, 1938, p. xx):

As our bodies and minds grow so do our character traits mature. As our characters form, our faces evolve, upon them is written largely the story of what we are, whether strong or weak, for those who will to read.

Our faces are literally made by ourselves. Nature does not contradict or lie. What we are we reflect in our structures.

Fosbroke’s work was based, by his own account, on “thirty years of observation and study” (Fosbroke, 1938, p. xx). From examining the physical features of an individual’s face, Fosbroke reasoned, his or her character would become evident.

This era also gave us the widely referenced work of the German criminologist Dr. Erich Wulffen, the ministerial director and head of the Department of Crime—Pardon and Parole—and of the Administration of Prisons of the Ministry of Justice of Saxony, *Woman as a Sexual Criminal* (Wulffen, 1935). Dedicated entirely to female criminal behavior, and not just sex crime as the title implies, Dr. Wulffen explored social, psychological, biological, and moral causes. He also argued for various female criminal profiles and motives, adducing the necessary examples along the way. For example, of the *murderous wife* he states:

The cases resemble one another very closely, and the methods of carrying them out are almost stereotyped.... The husband may be brutal; he mistreats his wife and drinks excessively; or he spends his life in other dissipations, neglecting

her, etc. ... she is disappointed in marriage; feels forsaken, suppressed; her sexual needs can find gratification only outside of the marriage bonds; a lover comes along, who later becomes the accomplice in the murder. Only rarely does the woman venture to commit the crime herself ... In the details of the crime she shows a certain inventiveness. An originally slight inclination or indifference for the husband are easily turned into disinclination or hate ... The murder is regarded as a freeing from the subjugation by the male and is therefore supported by strong impulses ... When a man is her abettor or accomplice in the crime the female murderess is sure, courageous and reckless.

Throughout the text, Dr. Wulffen continually argues (in keeping with the title) that most female crime is related to peculiar female sexuality, female sexual disturbances, or female sexual abnormalities.

The German criminologist Ernst Kretschmer moved deep into the predictive arena with his research. He proposed that there is a high degree of correlation between body type, personality type, and criminal potential. In 1955, Kretschmer proposed that there were four main body types, based on an unconfirmed study of 4,414 cases. These types were as follows (Bernard and Vold, 1986, pp. 57–58):

- *Leptosome or asthenic*. Those who are tall and thin. Associated with petty thievery and fraud.
- *Athletic*. Those with well-developed muscles. Associated with crimes of violence.
- *Pyknic*. Those who are short and fat. Associated most commonly with crimes of deception and fraud, but sometimes correlated with crimes of violence.
- *Dysplastic or mixed*. Those who fit into more than one body type. Associated with crimes against decency and morality, as well as crimes of violence.

Kretschmer's theories, however, were viewed as extremely dubious because he never disclosed his research, his inferences and descriptions were always incredibly vague, and no specific comparisons were performed with noncriminal populations. In short, he would not submit his findings for any form of peer review, and his approach was clearly unscientific. As a result, many argued that the theories born of his findings were nothing more than unfounded inference and correlation masquerading as science. The assumption beneath many of the criminological studies into biological and environmental criminal origins has been, and continues to be, that if the right combination of shared characteristics can be decoded, then criminal behavior can be predicted, and criminal potential can be inferred and manipulated. The danger, of course, is that sharing arbitrary characteristics with any one criminal type does not make one a criminal, and the term *criminal* should be applied to reflect a legal reality as opposed to being the basis for an inductive probability.<sup>23</sup>

Furthermore, while Lombroso's and Kretschmer's specific theories may seem absurd to some in light of modern wisdom, the scientific community has yet to abandon the spirit of Lombroso's three essential criminal classifications. Both modern criminologists and the modern scientific community of forensic neurologists, psychiatrists, and psychologists continue to look for the "mark of Cain." Today's tools include CAT scans, cutter enzymes, and heuristic personality inventories. Modern methods of correlating brain abnormalities, genes, or personality types with criminal potential could be criticized in the same fashion as the theories of Lombroso: an unconscious intention of the scientific community to stamp preconceived ideas about the origins of criminal behavior with the approval of science.

<sup>23</sup>Retired FBI profiler Robert K. Ressler is one of the modern-day proponents of utilizing the inductive findings of Dr. Kretschmer in criminal profiling and references their use in his own casework (Ressler and Shatchman, 1992, p. 4).

## INVESTIGATIVE CRIMINOLOGISTS

### Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (1859–1930)<sup>24</sup>

Crime is common. Logic is rare.

—Sherlock Holmes in *The Adventure of the Copper Beeches*

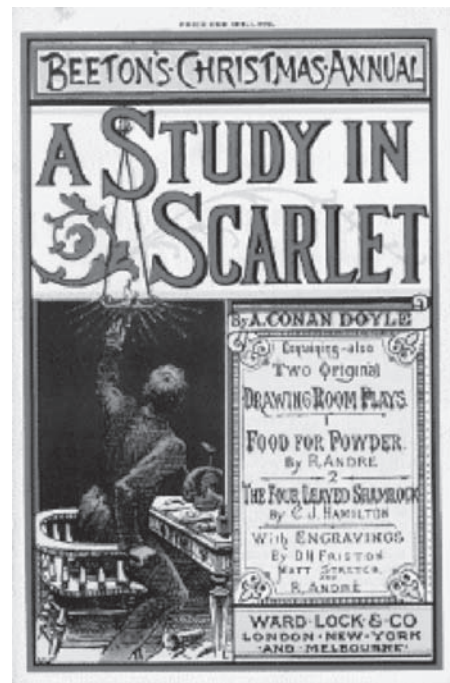
Arthur Conan Doyle was born in Edinburgh on May 22, 1859. He received a Jesuit education and went on to study medicine at the University of Edinburgh Medical School under Dr. Joseph Bell in 1877.

In 1886, Conan Doyle split his time between his medical practice and his writing of the first story that was to launch the fictional career of Sherlock Holmes, *A Study in Scarlet*, published in 1887. It has been widely theorized that the name “Sherlock Holmes” was chosen based on the American jurist and fellow doctor of medicine, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Alfred Sherlock, a prominent violinist.

In *A Study in Scarlet*, through the character of Dr. John Watson, Conan Doyle outlined the evidence-based method of inference and deduction that would become the defining element of Sherlock Holmes’s fictional reconstruction and criminal profiling casework (Doyle, 1887):



**FIGURE 1.8**  
Sir Arthur Conan Doyle.



**FIGURE 1.9**  
*A Study in Scarlet*, published in November 1887 as the main part of Beeton's Christmas Annual.

<sup>24</sup>Parts of this section has been adapted from Chisum and Turvey (2006).

Like all other arts, the Science of Deduction and Analysis is one which can only be acquired by long and patient study, nor is life long enough to allow any mortal to attain the highest possible perfection in it. Before turning to those moral and mental aspects of the matter which present the greatest difficulties, let the inquirer begin by mastering more elementary problems. Let him, on meeting a fellow mortal, learn at a glance to distinguish the history of the man, and the trade or profession to which he belongs. Puerile as such an exercise may seem, it sharpens the faculties of observation, and teaches one where to look and what to look for. By a man's finger-nails, by his coat-sleeve, by his boots, by his trouser-knees, by the callosities of his forefinger and thumb, by his expression, by his shirt-cuffs—by each of these things a man's calling is plainly revealed. That all united should fail to enlighten the competent inquirer in any case is almost inconceivable.

Conan Doyle's protagonist also held fast to the principle of eliminating unnecessary bias and reducing preconceived theories in any interpretation of the facts. Through Holmes, he chastised those impatient for results in the absence of evidence with comments such as "It is a capital mistake to theorize before you have all the evidence. It biases the judgment" (Doyle, 1887).

The second Sherlock Holmes story, *The Sign of the Four*, was written for *Lippincott's Magazine*, and other subsequent stories were written for *The Strand Magazine*. In carefully woven plots, Conan Doyle continually referenced observation, logic, and dispassion as invaluable to the detection of scientific facts, the reconstruction of crime, the profiling of criminals, and the establishment of legal truth.

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's work with fictional crime fighting did not just entertain and inspire others, although that would have been enough to heavily influence the forensic sciences, specifically crime reconstruction and criminal profiling, forever; it also had practical applications in his own work outside of writing and medicine. Conan Doyle, it is often forgotten, was a chief architect of the concept of postconviction case review in the early 20th century and a firm believer in overturning miscarriages of justice.

This included the case of George Edalji, an Indian who had been wrongly convicted of mutilating and killing sheep, cows, and horses. In 1903, someone was inflicting long, shallow cuts to these animals in the Great Wyrley area of the United Kingdom, under cover of night, causing them to bleed to death. Anonymous letters were written to the police, taunting them and identifying the offender as George Edalji, a local Indian solicitor. Edalji was arrested and a trial was held. He was found guilty and he was sentenced to seven years in prison. However, there was a public outcry that an injustice had been done and that Edalji had been framed for reasons of race.

In 1906, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle learned of the Edalji case, became deeply concerned about the circumstances of the conviction, and set about to examine the facts for himself. When the forensic evidence and the context of the crimes pointed away from Edalji's involvement, Conan Doyle became determined to

**FIGURE 1.10**  
George Edalji at his trial in 1903.



educate the public. The British government took notice in more ways than one (“The George Edalji Case,” 2005):

As he reviewed the facts it seemed to Conan Doyle that the evidence was overwhelming.

Edalji was innocent. The bloody razors found in the Edalji home were later discovered to be merely rusty razors. The handwriting expert who testified that Edalji’s handwriting matched the writing on the taunting letters was discovered to have made a serious mistake on another case causing an innocent man to be convicted. The mud on George’s boots was of a different soil type than that of the field where the last mutilation took place. The killings and letters continued after Edalji was prosecuted.

And then there was the final piece of evidence that Conan Doyle gathered. The evidence that he saw in an instant the first time he set eyes on George Edalji. Conan Doyle stated, “He had come to my hotel by appointment, but I had been delayed, and he was passing the time by reading the paper. I recognized my man by his dark face, so I stood and observed him. He held the paper close to his eyes and rather sideways, proving not only a high degree of myopia, but marked astigmatism. The idea of such a man scouring fields at night and assaulting cattle while avoiding the watching police was ludicrous.... There, in a single physical defect, lay the moral certainty of his innocence.”

Conan Doyle wrote a series of articles for the *Daily Telegraph* about the Edalji case. He outlined everything in great detail. These articles caught the public’s attention and that caught the attention of the British government. At that time there was no procedure for a retrial so there was a private committee meeting to consider the matter. In the spring of 1907 the committee decided that Edalji was innocent of the mutilations, but still found him guilty of writing the anonymous letters.

Conan Doyle found anything less than a finding of innocent on all charges a miscarriage of justice, however the decision made a huge difference for Edalji. The Law Society readmitted him. Edalji was once again able to practice as a solicitor. It is important to note that partially as a result of this case the Court of Criminal Appeal was established in 1907. So not only did Conan Doyle help George Edalji, his work helped to establish a way to correct other miscarriages of justice.

#### FIGURE 1.11

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle at work in his home office.



It should be remembered that when he discovered the likely culprit in the crimes (a school student and butcher’s apprentice) and made it known, Conan Doyle began to receive anonymous threatening letters. Also, the panel that was eventually appointed to investigate Conan Doyle’s new evidence in the Edalji case was made up of three commissioners, one of whom was a cousin to the original lead investigator. Conan Doyle was disgusted by their slander of Edalji and their collusion to protect each other’s reputations even while being forced to pardon him for crimes he clearly had not committed. Conan Doyle’s involvement with the Edalji case left him more than a little jaded, to say the least.

In 1909, a German named Oscar Slater was tried and convicted in Edinburgh for murdering an elderly woman named Marion Gilchrist with a hammer the year before. Gilchrist had been bludgeoned to death, her personal papers had been rifled through, and a diamond brooch had been stolen. That case came to Conan Doyle's attention as well, and once again he was compelled to investigate. What he learned did not require much deduction, only observation and the force of indefatigable publicity ("The Oscar Slater Case," 2005):

While it was true that Slater did possess a small hammer it wasn't large enough to inflict the type of wounds that Miss Gilchrist had sustained. Conan Doyle stated that a medical examiner at the crime scene declared that a large chair, dripping with blood, seemed to be the murder weapon.

Conan Doyle also concluded that Miss Gilchrist had opened the door to her murderer herself. He surmised that she knew the murderer. Despite the fact that Miss Gilchrist and Oscar Slater lived near one another, they had never met.

*The Case of Oscar Slater* caused some demand for a new trial. However the authorities said the evidence didn't justify that the case be reopened. In 1914 there were more calls for a retrial. New evidence had come to light. Another witness was found that could verify Slater's whereabouts during the time of the crime. Also, it was learned that before Helen Lambie [Gilchrist's only servant] named Slater as the man she'd seen in the hallway the day of the murder she had given the police another name. Unbelievably, the officials decided to let the matter rest.

Conan Doyle was outraged. "How the verdict could be that there was no fresh cause for reversing the conviction is incomprehensible. The whole case will, in my opinion, remain immortal in the classics of crime as the supreme example of official incompetence and obstinacy."

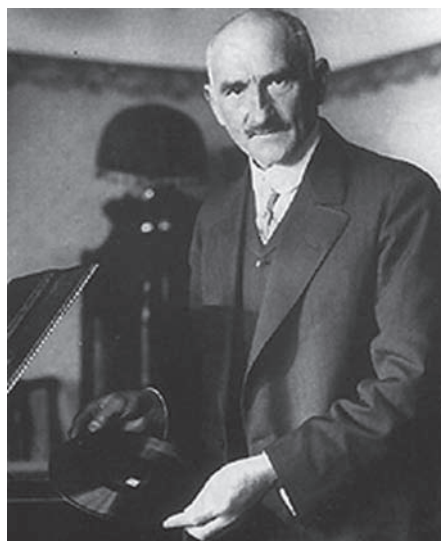
The matter probably would have ended there in 1914, but in 1925 a message from Oscar Slater was smuggled out of Peterhead Prison, addressed directly to Conan Doyle. In it, he begged Conan Doyle not to forget his case and also to make one last effort to free him. Reinvigorated, Conan Doyle began lobbying once more, writing everyone he knew in the media and government.

As a result of the renewed interest, an investigative journalist in Glasgow named William Park published a book about the case that brought public interest in the Slater case to a fever pitch. The story was in every newspaper.

Helen Lambie was subsequently sought out and found living in the United States; she then confessed during an interview that she had actually known the real murderer, just as Conan Doyle had suggested years before. She further confessed that the police had talked her out of this initial identification and persuaded her she was mistaken. In short, she confessed to falsely accusing Oscar Slater of a crime she knew he did not commit to protect someone of her acquaintance who she refused to name.

**FIGURE 1.12**

*A middle-aged Oscar Slater pictured in his home.*



Mary Barrowman, a 14-year-old girl at the time of the murder who claimed she bumped into a man under a lamppost running from Gilchrist's apartment on the day of the murder, also came forward. She confessed that she had, under some pressure by police, tailored her eyewitness identification to match the accused.

In 1927, having been contacted by Conan Doyle, the secretary of state for Scotland ordered the release of Oscar Slater. Eventually, an appeal was granted. However, officials still refused to admit to any wrongdoing and would not suggest corruption or blame other officials for any breakdowns or wrongdoing. Slater's conviction was ultimately overturned on a technicality, allowing the authorities to save face. According to Gildart and Howell (2004, p. 3):

Arthur Conan Doyle had always been convinced of Slater's innocence. An inquiry into the verdict in 1914 had upheld the original decision, but in 1927 Conan Doyle sent to [Prime Minister J. Ramsay] MacDonald a copy of a newly published book by William Park, *The Truth about Oscar Slater*. This suggested both the weakness of the prosecution's case and that the police had suppressed inconvenient evidence.

Discussions between MacDonald and the secretary of state for Scotland, Sir John Gilmour, preceded Slater's release on 15 November 1927. The Court of Criminal Appeal for Scotland had only been inaugurated the preceding year and had no power to deal with cases that predated its foundation. However a single-clause bill was passed that permitted Slater to appeal [championed by Arthur Conan Doyle].

[Lord Craig Mason] Aitchison appeared for Slater before the High Court of Justiciary in July 1928. He spoke for 13 hours, claiming that "the Crown's conduct of the case was calculated to prevent and did prevent a fair trial" [*The Times*, July 10, 1928]. The verdict was given on 20 July. The court ruled against the defense claim that on the basis of the evidence offered at the original trial the jury had acted unreasonably. Similarly new evidence did not justify the overturning of the original verdict. However the appeal was allowed on the ground that the judge in 1909, Lord Guthrie, had misdirected the jury; he had underlined the prosecution's emphasis on Slater's unattractive character. The defendant had allegedly lived off prostitution. This was held to have weakened the presumption of innocence [*The Times*, July 21, 1928, pp. 10–13; Marquand (1977), pp. 412–413; for a location of the trial in the context of anti-Jewish prejudice see Barber (2003)].

Though it was not the absolute exoneration Conan Doyle's efforts sought, an innocent man was set free, the level of public debate on the justice system was raised, and the creation of the court of criminal appeal was successfully leveraged.

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle was far more than the creator of a popular fictional character. He was a medical doctor and a scientist. He was a forensic practitioner and a forensic reformer. He believed in logic, he believed in the scientific examination of evidence, and he taught these philosophies through his stories, which remain inspirational to forensic scientists and criminal profilers of modern day. When he died in 1930 of heart disease, it was not without having helped to create much of the philosophical forensic landscape that we currently find ourselves navigating.



## Dr. Johann (Hans) Baptist Gustav Gross (1847–1925)<sup>25</sup>

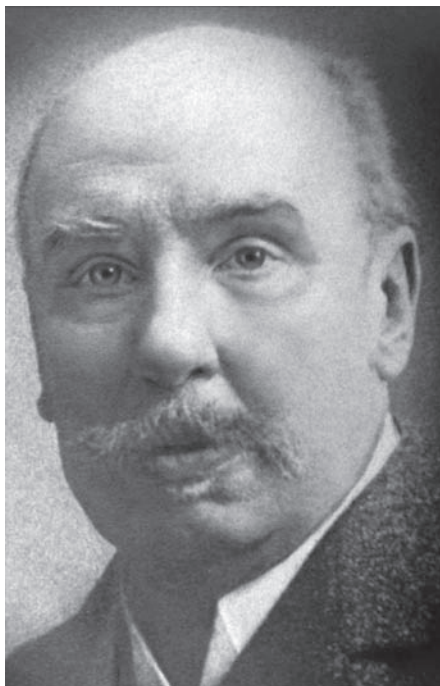
A thousand mistakes of every description would be avoided if people did not base their conclusions upon premises furnished by others, take as established fact what is only possibility, or as a constantly recurring incident what has only been observed once.

—Dr. Hans Gross (1906)

Hans Gross was born on December 26, 1847, in Graz, Austria. He studied criminology and the law, and he eventually came to serve as an examining magistrate of the Criminal Court at Czernovitz. It was during this time that Gross observed firsthand the failings of apathetic and incompetent criminal investigators, as well as criminal identifications made by flawed and biased eyewitness accounts. He also became painfully familiar with the continuous stream of false suspect, eyewitness, and alleged victim accounts that poured into his office as a regular matter of course. These experiences led him to the conclusion that because people were essentially unreliable, and investigators were often their own worst enemy, a methodical, systematic way of determining the facts of a case was needed.

It is not known whether the works of Conan Doyle directly inspired Gross, but both men were moving in precisely the same direction at precisely the same time. In 1893, the same year that Conan Doyle killed off the Sherlock Holmes character, Gross finished work on his seminal work, *Handbuch fur Untersuchungsrichter, als System der Kriminalistik* [*Criminal Investigation, A Practical Textbook for Magistrates, Police Officers, and Lawyers* (Gross, 1906)]. It was a watershed event in which Gross proclaimed the virtues of science against intuition, and a systematic approach to holistic crime reconstruction and criminal profiling against uninformed experience and overspecialization.

The success of this groundbreaking textbook was, without exaggeration, unparalleled in the history of forensic science, crime reconstruction, and criminal profiling. The forensic community, as it existed, perhaps made fertile and hungry by the works of Conan Doyle, enthusiastically devoured *System der Kriminalistik*. It achieved a fifth edition and was translated into eight languages by 1907. This included versions in French, Spanish, Danish, Russian, Hungarian, Serbian, English, and Japanese, each with an overwhelmingly supportive foreword written by a forensic contemporary impatient to see it printed and adopted in his respective country. As described in Thorwald (1966, pp. 234–235):



*Handbuch fur Untersuchungsrichter, als System der Kriminalistik* (1893) [a.k.a. *Criminal Investigation, A Practical Textbook for Magistrates, Police Officers, and Lawyers* (Gross, 1906)]

Seminal textbook by the Austrian Jurist Dr. Hans Gross that proclaims the virtues of science against intuition, and a systematic approach to holistic crime reconstruction and criminal profiling against uninformed experience and overspecialization.

**FIGURE 1.13**  
Dr. Hans Gross.

<sup>25</sup>This section has been adapted from Chisum and Turvey (2006).

You had only to open Gross's book to see the dawning of a new age.... Each of his chapters was an appeal to examining magistrates (his word for criminologists) to avail themselves of the potentialities of science and technology far more than they had done so far.

Gross became a professor of criminal law at the University of Czernovitz, a professor of criminology at the University of Prague, and later a professor of criminal law at the University of Graz. With the success of *System der Kriminalistik* as a platform, he launched other professional ventures that continue to contribute significantly to the development of forensic science. In 1898, Gross began serving as the editor for the *Archiv fur Kriminalanthropologie und Kriminalistik*, a journal to which he was a frequent contributor. He also introduced the forensic journal *Kriminologie*, which still serves as a respected medium for reporting improved methods of scientific crime detection. In 1912, he established the Museum of Criminology, the *Kriminalmuseum*, at the University of Graz.

Arguably a founding father of modern criminal profiling, Gross wrote authoritatively on the importance of carefully studying offender behavior. In *Criminal Investigation*, for example, he offers various methods for profiling the behavior of murderers, arsonists, thieves, counterfeiters, and females falsely reporting rape, to mention just a few (Gross, 1924). Strong examples of his philosophy that criminals can be best understood through their crimes are found throughout this text, including this passage on the investigative utility of *modus operandi* from *Criminal Investigation* (Gross, 1924, p. 478):

In nearly every case the thief has left the most important trace of his passage, namely, the manner in which he has committed the theft. Every thief has in fact a characteristic style or *modus operandi* which he rarely departs from, and which he is incapable of completely getting rid of; at times this distinctive feature is so visible and so striking that even the novice can spot it without difficulty; but on the one hand the novice does not know how to group, differentiate or utilise what he has observed, and on the other hand the particular character of the procedure is not always so easy to recognise.

In his other well-known work, *Criminal Psychology*, he shows the same underlying propensity toward the necessity of criminal profiling (Gross, 1968, pp. 54–55):

Is it not known that every deed is an outcome of the total character of the doer? Is it not considered that deed and character are correlative concepts, and that the character by means of which the deed is to be established cannot be inferred from the deed alone? ...Each particular deed is thinkable only when a determinate character of the doer is brought in relation with it—a certain character predisposes to determinate deeds, another character makes them unthinkable and unrelatable with this or that person.

Gross then goes on to offer a variety of these types of insights. The following discussion is a good example. It argues for the inclusion of females, mothers of victims in particular, as suspects in child murder cases regardless of their character or circumstance (Gross, 1968, pp. 358–359):

With regard to child-murder the consideration of psychopathic conditions need not absolutely be undertaken. Whether they are present must, of

course, be determined, and therefore it is first of all necessary to learn the character of the suspect's conduct. The opportunity for this is given in any text-book on legal medicine, forensic psychopathology, and criminal psychology. There are a good many older authors. Most of the cases cited by authorities show that women in the best of circumstances have behaved innumerable times in such a way that if they had been poor girls child-murder would immediately have been assumed. Again, they have shown that the sweetest and most harmless creatures become real beasts at the time of accouchement, or shortly after it develop an unbelievable hatred toward child and husband. Many a child-murder may possibly be explained by the habit of some animals of consuming their young immediately after giving birth to them. Such cases bind us in every trial for child-murder to have the mental state of the mother thoroughly examined by a psychiatrist, and to interpret everything connected with the matter as psychologist and humanitarian.

The significance of *System der Kriminalistik* cannot be understated. It was the first comprehensive textbook to systematically cover the integrated philosophy and practice of scientific criminal investigation, forensic analysis, crime reconstruction, and criminal profiling. Its philosophies have not been diminished by the passage of time and should be required study for any student of these subjects.

### O'Connell and Soderman (1935)

In 1935, the first edition of *Modern Criminal Investigation* was published by coauthors John J. O'Connell, deputy chief inspector of the New York City Police Department (and dean of the police academy), and Harry Soderman, D.Sc., head of the Institute of Police Science in the School of Law at the University of Stockholm, Sweden. The second edition opens with the following directive to investigators (O'Connell and Soderman, 1936, p. 1):

Knowledge of the *Modus Operandi* of criminals and methods, their apprehension, skill, patience, tact, industry, and thoroughness, together with a flair peculiar to the successful detective, will be everlasting primary assets in detective work.

O'Connell and Soderman (1936) provide quite detailed profiles of different types of criminals. In regard to the crime of burglary, they describe the various personality characteristics of *Loft Burglars*, *Window Smashers*, *Store Burglars*, *Residence Burglars*, *Flat and Apartment-House Burglars*, *House Mobs*, *Supper Burglars*, *Night Burglars*, and the different types of *Private-Dwelling Burglars* (pp. 302–313). In regard to the crime of larceny, they describe the various personality characteristics of *Sneak Thieves*, *Pickpockets*, *Swindlers*, and *Confidence Men* (pp. 330–355). They give the same attention to the different types of robberies (pp. 362–376) and arson, including the pyromaniac (p. 382).

It is interesting to note that while O'Connell and Soderman (1936) provide the above coverage with an emphasis on what we would refer to as criminal profiling, their coverage of homicide investigation in general (pp. 251–296) is more systematic. They do not talk about typical offenders; rather they discuss how the examination of physical evidence and offender actions can lead to good suspects. Their emphasis remains consistently on the recognition and reconstruction of physical evidence. In their investigative guidelines (pp. 254–260), they are explicit about determining the characteristics of the perpetrator through what may be referred to

as *crime analysis*: the examination of behavioral evidence such as motive, weapons used, routes taken, vehicle use, and items taken.

In terms of criminal profiling, the works of investigative criminologists have been folded into the works of forensic scientists. This was perhaps the next logical course of disciplinary evolution. Criminal investigation has become more about fact gathering (through interview and interrogation), forensic investigation has been placed under the banner of physical evidence and the forensic sciences, and the psychosocial aspects of crime remain more the province of the behavioral sciences.

## THE SEARCH FOR ORIGINS: FORENSIC SCIENTISTS

*Forensic pathology* is the branch of medicine that applies the principles and knowledge of the medical sciences to problems in the field of law (DiMaio and DiMaio, 1993, p. 1). It is the charge of the forensic pathologist to document and understand the nature of the interaction between victims and their environment in such a manner as it caused their death. In medicolegal death investigations, the forensic pathologist is in charge of the body of the deceased and all of the forensic evidence that is related to that body (wound patterns, diseases, environmental conditions, victim history, etc.).

### Whitechapel (1888)

During the Whitechapel (a.k.a. Jack the Ripper) murders in Great Britain in 1888, Dr. George B. Phillips, the divisional police surgeon (the equivalent of a forensic pathologist), engaged in a more direct method of inferring criminal characteristics. Rather than comparing the characteristics of statistically averaged offenders, he relied on a careful examination of the wounds of a particular offender's victims. That is to say, he inferred a criminal's personality by examining the behavior of that particular criminal with his victim. In this paradigm, offender behavior is manifested in the physical evidence as interpreted by an expert in the field of wound pattern analysis.

For example, Dr. Phillips noted that injuries to one of the Whitechapel victims, Annie Chapman, indicated what he felt was evidence of professional skill and knowledge in their execution. In particular, he was referring to the postmortem removal of some of Annie Chapman's organs and what he felt was the cleanliness and preciseness of the incisions involved. As discussed in Appendix I of the first edition of this work (Turvey, 1999), the premises of this and other conclusions about the unknown offender's characteristics deserve a more critical eye.

Whatever the basis of inferences regarding the unknown offender's level of skill, the implication of this type of interpretation is very straightforward. As Dr. Wynne E. Baxter, coroner for the South Eastern District of Middlesex, stated to Dr. Phillips during a coroner's inquest into the death of Annie Chapman, "The object of the inquiry is not only to ascertain the cause of death, but the means by which it occurred. Any mutilation which took place afterwards may suggest the character of the man who did it." Behavior, they understood, was evidence suggestive of personality characteristics (Sugden, 1995, p. 131).

**FIGURE 1.14**

Front page of the *Police News*, September 22, 1888, depicting illustrations of the fate of Annie Chapman.

At the time of the Whitechapel murders, coroners were required to inquire into the nature, character, and size of all wounds and to document them thoroughly (though not necessarily by photograph). This practice speaks to the value placed, even then, on what today may be referred to as wound pattern analysis.<sup>26</sup> It is extremely unlikely that the Whitechapel murders were the first crimes in which investigators and forensic personnel engaged in wound pattern analysis. However, the investigation does offer some of the earliest written documentation of the types of inferences drawn from violent, aberrant, predatory criminal behavior by those involved in criminal investigations.

<sup>26</sup>Understanding the nature and extent of victim and offender injuries is considered an important aspect in criminal profiling to this day. Knowing what happened to a victim, through their specific injuries (or lack thereof) and other forensic evidence, is crucial to the goal of understanding the characteristics of the offender responsible. Modern criminal profilers have come to understand that a deep appreciation of forensic pathology, as well as the many other forensic sciences, can provide this type of information.

**Dr. Paul L. Kirk (1902–1970)<sup>27</sup>**

This is evidence that does not forget. It is not confused by the excitement of the moment. It is not absent because human witnesses are. It is factual evidence. Physical evidence cannot be wrong; it cannot perjure itself; it cannot be wholly absent. Only its interpretation can err.

—Dr. Paul Kirk (1953, p. 4)

Paul Leland Kirk was born in Colorado Springs, Colorado, in 1902. He was first and foremost a scientist, but he was also a man of practical application as opposed to pure theory. He was educated at Ohio State University, where he received a B.A. in chemistry; the University of Pittsburgh, where he received an M.S. in chemistry; and the University of California, where he received a Ph.D. in biochemistry.

From 1929 to 1945, Kirk served as a professor of biochemistry at UC Berkeley. Later in his career, he would tell students that he was initially drawn to forensic science in his early teaching days when a biochemistry student approached him with a question about a deceased dog and whether or not it could be determined if the dog had been poisoned. Investigating this issue piqued Kirk's forensic curiosities. Soon after, authorities contacted him to examine the clothing of a rape victim—they wanted to know whether or not anything on the clothing could be found, at the microscopic level, to associate the victim with her attacker. Kirk's discovery of fibers from the attacker's shirt, and the subsequent conviction of the rapist, sealed his interest and secured his reputation for solid results based on careful examinations. Subsequently, in 1937, Kirk assumed leadership of the criminology program at UC Berkeley. The program gained momentum and grew in its reputation under his charge.

**FIGURE 1.15**

Dr. Paul Kirk. Source: John E. Murdock, ATF Forensic Lab, Walnut Creek, California.



In 1953, subsequent to his work on the Manhattan Project during World War II, Kirk published the first edition of *Crime Investigation*, a treatise on criminal investigation, crime reconstruction, and forensic examination that endures to this day as a foundational industry standard with few equals (Kirk, 1953).

Kirk took a much bolder position on the importance of crime reconstruction and behavioral evidence analysis than most are aware. He repeatedly discussed what could only be referred to as criminal profiling in both editions of his seminal forensic textbook, *Crime Investigation* (Kirk, 1953, 1974). He more or less viewed criminal profiling as the natural outcome of physical evidence examination (Kirk, 1974, pp. 4–5):

<sup>27</sup>Parts of this section have been adapted from Chisum and Turvey (2006).

The study of physical evidence can be a material aid in locating the perpetrator of a crime....

Physical evidence is often very useful to the police investigator before he has a suspect in custody or, in fact, before he even has suspicion of a possible perpetrator. If, for instance, the laboratory can describe the clothes worn by the criminal, give an idea of his stature, age, hair color, or similar information, the officer's search is correspondingly narrowed.

Frequently it is possible to indicate a probable occupation, or to describe a habitat with remarkable accuracy from careful examination of some apparently trifling object found at the scene of the crime. Such facts do not necessarily constitute proof of guilt of any particular person, but they may give a background that is of the greatest value....

As an illustration of the possibilities and the pitfalls attendant upon deductions from laboratory findings, the following example is illuminating. From the examination of a glove left at the scene of a burglary, the following inferences were drawn:

1. The culprit was a laborer associated with building construction.
2. His main occupation was pushing a wheelbarrow.
3. He lived outside the town proper, on a small farm or garden plot.
4. He was a southern European.
5. He raised chickens, and kept a cow or a horse.

As suggested by this passage, Kirk was an advocate of the investigative use of criminal profiling well before its potential was recognized by even the criminal investigators of his time.

This advocacy continued in the first edition of *Fire Investigation* (1969), where Kirk provided a basic guideline for crime reconstruction and criminal profiling that has not been significantly eroded by developments in either field. First, he defined three types of arsonists (pp. 159–160): arsonists for profit, arsonists for spite, and arsonists for “kicks.”

Kirk explains how his arson typology may not be important to lab analysts, but that the overall investigation can benefit (p. 160):

It is evident that the investigators of the physical evidence of the fire is concerned very little with the type of arsonist who may have set it. However, there are differences in the *modus operandi* which he may note in the investigation, and these can be of great help in both tracing the arsonist and in producing information useful for trial purposes.

Kirk also argues that fire investigators should have sufficient knowledge of fire to get inside the mind of the arsonist (Kirk, 1969, p. 161):

It has been noted for a long time that the investigator of crime is most effective when he can place himself in the role of the criminal; the best investigators are those who can do this most effectively. They can learn to think as the criminal thinks, react as he reacts, and from this they can estimate how he operates.

Subsequent to the works of Dr. Paul Kirk, other forensic science texts have given a nod (or a chapter) to the important role that physical evidence examination

and crime reconstruction can play in both criminal profiling and suspect development (Bevel and Gardner, 2002; DeForest *et al.*, 1983; DeHaan, 1997; DiMaio and DiMaio, 1993; Geberth, 1996, 2006; James and Nordby, 2003; Lee, 1994).

## THE SEARCH FOR ORIGINS: BEHAVIORAL SCIENTISTS

Psychiatry is the branch of medicine that deals with the diagnosis and treatment of mental disorders. A forensic psychiatrist, or alienist, is a psychiatrist who specializes in the legal aspects of mental illness. The psychiatrist is trained to elicit information specific to mental disorders through face-to-face clinical interviews, a thorough examination of individual history, and the use of tested and validated personality measures. It has been historically uncommon for psychiatrists to apply their expertise to investigative matters, but not forensic ones.

Previously in this chapter we discussed the case of Mendel Beilis, who was arrested in 1911 by the Kiev Secret Police and put on trial for the ritual murder of a Christian boy. Criminal profiling was used in this case as well, in the form of expert testimony from a forensic psychiatrist. By virtue of comparison to similar cases, Dr. Ivan Sikorsky opined on the issue of motive, and the characteristics of blood libel cases in specific. According to Murav (2000):

[T]he act of indictment relied on psychological and anthropological findings of Dr. Ivan Sikorskii, a psychiatrist and a professor at Kiev University. The indictment paraphrased Sikorskii, who alleged that based on historical and anthropological considerations, and judging from the way the murder was committed, that is, the gradual extraction of the victim's blood from his body, that the crime showed a similarity to other murders in Russia and elsewhere. Its psychological basis was, according to Professor Sikorskii (here the indictment directly quotes him), "the racial revenge and vendetta of the sons of Jacob" against subjects of another race.

In the United States, the work of the American psychiatrist Dr. James A. Brussel of Greenwich Village, New York, is considered by many to have advanced the investigative thinking behind the criminal profiling process significantly. As a clinician, his approach to profiling was diagnostic. Dr. Brussel's method included the diagnosis of an unknown offender's mental disorders from behaviors evident from their crime scenes. He would infer the characteristics of an unknown offender, in part, by comparing the criminal behavior to his own experiences with the behavior of patients who shared similar disorders. Dr. Brussel also subscribed to the opinion that certain mental illnesses were associated with certain physical builds, not unlike the theories of criminologists a century before (specifically Ernst Kretschmer in the case of the "Mad Bomber"). As a result, an unknown offender's likely physical characteristics were included in Dr. Brussel's profiles of unsolved cases (Brussel, 1968, pp. 32–33).

During the 1940s and 1950s, the "Mad Bomber" terrorized the city of New York. He set off at least 37 bombs in train stations and theaters all over the city. Dr. Brussel was asked to analyze the case, and he determined that the man responsible for the crimes had the following characteristics (Brussel, 1968, pp. 29–46):



- Male
- Knowledge of metalworking, pipefitting, and electricity
- Had suffered some grave injustice by Con Ed, which had rendered him chronically ill
- Suffered from paranoia
- Suffered from insidious development of his disorder
- Had a chronic disorder
- Suffered from persistent delusions
- Had unalterable, systematized, logically constructed delusions
- Was pathologically self-centered
- Had a symmetric “athletic” body type due to his paranoia
- Middle-aged, due to onset of mental illness and duration of bombings
- Good education, not college but most if not all of high school
- Unmarried
- Possibly a virgin
- Lived alone or with a female, mother-like relative
- Slavic
- Roman Catholic
- Lived in Connecticut
- Wore a buttoned, double-breasted suit



**FIGURE 1.16**

*George Metesky, New York's "Mad Bomber," 1957.*

On December 25, 1956, the *New York Times* carried a story containing some of Dr. Brussel's predictions about the bomber. It did not contain the prediction about the double-breasted suit (Brussel, 1968, p. 47). When the police finally identified and arrested George Metesky for the bombings in 1957, Dr. Brussel's profile was determined to be generally accurate. Despite popular myth, Matesky was arrested wearing faded pajamas and not his double-breasted suit (Brussel, 1968, p. 69). He was allowed to change before being taken into custody, and that is when he put on a double-breasted suit—a common style at the time.

Between June 1962 and January 1964, 13 sexual strangulation homicides were committed in the city of Boston, Massachusetts, that law enforcement felt were related. Traditional investigative efforts by law enforcement to develop viable suspects and identify the “Boston Strangler” were unsuccessful. A profiling committee composed of a psychiatrist, a gynecologist, an anthropologist, and other professionals was brought together to create what was referred to as a “psychiatric profile” of the type of person responsible for the killings.

The profiling committee came to the opinion that the homicides were the work of two separate offenders. They based this opinion on the fact that one group of victims was older women and that one group of victims was younger women. The profiling committee also felt that the psychosexual behavior differed between the victim groups. They felt that the older victims were being strangled and murdered by a man who was raised by a domineering and seductive mother, and that he was unable to express hatred toward his mother and as result directed it toward older women. They felt that he lived alone, and that if he was able to conquer his domineering mother he could express love like a normal person. They were further of the opinion that a homosexual male, likely an acquaintance, had killed the younger group of victims.



**FIGURE 1.17**

*Albert DeSalvo, arrested for the “Green Man” crimes in November 1964. He was never tried for the crimes committed by the “Boston Strangler.”*

Not everyone agreed with the profiling committee. Law enforcement invited Dr. Brussel into the investigation in April of 1964, in hopes that he would provide them with the same types of insights that helped solve the Mad Bomber case in New York. Dr. Brussel disagreed with the profiling committee, being of the opinion that the homicides were the work of a single offender. But by then the killings had stopped, and the profiling committee was disbanded.

In November 1964, Albert DeSalvo was arrested for the “Green Man” sex crimes. He subsequently confessed to his psychiatrist that he was the Boston Strangler. Since he so closely “fit” the profile that Dr. Brussel had provided law enforcement, they identified him as their offender and closed the case without filing charges. In 1973, while serving a sentence for the Green Man crimes, a fellow inmate stabbed DeSalvo to death in his cell. DeSalvo was never tried for, or convicted of, the crimes committed by the Boston Strangler, and therefore neither profile has ever been validated.<sup>28</sup>

It is of note that in late 2001 (when the second edition of this text was already at press), DeSalvo received posthumous interest with respect to the possibility that his initial confession may have been false. As discussed in “DNA Doubts” (2001):

*A forensic investigation has cast doubts over whether the man who confessed to being the Boston Strangler actually was the infamous 1960s serial killer, and raised the possibility that the real murderer could still be at large.*

*DNA evidence found on one of the 11 women killed by the Boston Strangler does not match that of Albert DeSalvo, who had confessed to murdering the women between 1962 and 1964.*

*James Starrs, professor of forensic science at George Washington University, told a news conference that DNA evidence could not associate DeSalvo with the murder of 19-year-old Mary Sullivan—believed to be the Boston Strangler’s last victim.*

*DeSalvo said he was the killer while serving a life sentence on unrelated crimes. He later recanted, but was knifed to death in 1973 before any charges could be brought.*

*Sullivan’s body was exhumed last year and DeSalvo’s a few weeks ago as part of the efforts by both their families to find out who was responsible for the murders.*

*The women were all sexually assaulted before being strangled.*

*Professor Starrs said an examination of a semen-like substance on her body did not match DeSalvo’s DNA.*

*“I’m not saying it exonerates Albert DeSalvo but it’s strongly indicative of the fact that he was not the rape-murderer of Mary Sullivan,” Professor Starrs said.*

<sup>28</sup>According to Dr. Brussel’s own memoir, the Mad Bomber case represented the first time that the police had ever consulted with him on a case (Brussel, 1968, p. 12). It is further interesting to note that of his involvement he stated (Brussel, 1968, p. 15): “I felt that my profession was being judged as well as myself. And, curiously, I was one of my own accusers in this bizarre trial of wits. Did I really know enough about criminals to say anything sensible...?”

Professor Starrs also found that Mary Sullivan's hyoid bone had not been broken, which is inconsistent with a strangulation death. This evidence would tend to contradict DeSalvo's confession, which he recanted while in prison.

It should be noted that only one of Brussel's profiles was ever partially validated (though it was not formally written, so one can never be certain). The other is merely presumed to be valid without any sort of investigation or corroboration. The concern here is that reliance on a profile alone—any profile—for the ultimate closure of a case leaves open the possibility that justice may not be fully served. Today, Brussel's method of profiling would be generally referred to as a *diagnostic evaluation*, which will be discussed in later chapters.

## THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION (FBI)

During the 1960s, an American law enforcement officer, Howard Teten, began to develop his approach to criminal profiling while still at the San Leandro Police Department in California. Teten studied under and was inspired by Dr. Paul Kirk, the internationally renowned criminalist, Dr. Breyfocal, the then San Francisco medical examiner, and Dr. Douglas Kelly, a psychiatrist noted for his work in the Nuremberg war trials. They had been his instructors at the School of Criminology, at the University of California, Berkeley, during the late 1950s. His inspiration for the work also included the work of Dr. Hans Gross (who is cited extensively in this text). A multidisciplinary understanding of forensic science, medicolegal death investigation, and psychiatric knowledge became the cornerstone of Teten's investigative skills early on and shaped his approach to criminal profiling. He also sought out and spent hours discussing cases with Dr. James Brussels, to develop his appreciation of the mental health perspective (Hazelwood and Michaud, 1998, p. 116).

As a special agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Howard Teten initiated his criminal profiling program in 1970. He taught criminal profiling techniques as an investigative aid, to be used in conjunction with other investigative tools. Teten taught his first profiling course, called applied criminology, to the FBI National Academy in 1970. Later that same year, Teten rendered his first actual profile as a FBI agent in Amarillo, Texas. In 1970, Teten also teamed with Pat Mullany, then assigned to the New York Division of the FBI, to teach the abnormal psychological aspects of criminal profiling. Mullany and Teten team-taught at several other schools around the country during the next year while Mullany was stationed in New York. They would dissect a crime, Mullany would talk about a range of abnormal behavior, and Teten would discuss how that behavior could be determined from the evidence found at the scene.

In 1972, the federal government of the United States opened the new FBI Academy and Teten requested that Mullany be transferred there. Shortly after coming to the new FBI Academy, Teten and Mullany applied their concepts to the first FBI hostage negotiation guidelines. In 1974 and 1975, Mullany negotiated several major hostage situations successfully with these new techniques. These adaptations, based on criminal profiling techniques, were the first to be taught to all FBI negotiators. They were later modified and expanded by FBI Special Agents Con Hassel and Tom Strenz.

Also in 1972, an FBI agent named Jack Kirsch started the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit (BSU). He was a former newspaper reporter for the *Erie Dispatch*

*Herald*. He was a major contributor to criminal profiling in that he was far-sighted enough to give both Mullany and Teten the freedom to do research and construct profiles in addition to their regular duties. After they had helped solve a number of cases, the word spread. Soon, police departments were making daily requests for profiles. Special Agents Con Hassel and Tom Strenz were subsequently trained to handle half of the teaching of the applied criminology course.

Heading the BSU after Jack Kirsch were Special Agent John Phaff and then Special Agent Roger DePue in 1978. Special Agent John Douglas took over the BSU when DePue retired. Neither Pat Mullany nor Howard Teten, the formative minds behind the development of early criminal profiling techniques at the FBI, ever headed the unit (Teten, May 5, 1997, personal communication). Mullany went on to become Assistant Special Agent in Charge of the LA office, and Teten became chief of research and development.

According to McNamara and Morton (2007), the FBI's National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC) was created subsequent to the profiling unit:

NCAVC was created in 1985 during an expansion of the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit (BSU).

The BSU was one of the instructional units of the FBI's Training and Development Division. In 1994, the FBI created the Critical Incident Response Group (CIRG), and the operational behavioural components of the NCAVC were transferred to CIRG, where they now reside.

The NCAVC is comprised of four units: three Behavioral Analysis Units (BAUs) and the computer data-based Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (ViCAP) Unit. BAU-1 handles cases involving threat assessments or counter-terrorism; BAU-2 handles all cases involving adult victims, including serial murder, murder and serial sexual assaults; and BAU-3 handles crimes involving child victims.

The units have a threefold mission. The primary purpose of each is to provide operational investigative case support. This is done by either working with case investigators on-site, having the investigators travel to the NCAVC in Quantico, Virginia, for a case consultation, or discussing the case with the investigators remotely.

The BAUs offer a broad array of operational services for case investigators: crime-scene analysis, profiles of unknown offenders, investigative recommendations, interview strategies, search warrant affidavit assistance, prosecution strategies, case-linkage analysis and expert-witness testimony.

Second, in collaboration with other law enforcement agencies and academic institutions, the units also conduct research into a number of violent crime areas. This includes statistically-based research and interviews of convicted violent offenders. The research includes many factors, such as offender characteristics, victim characteristics and the interaction between victims and offenders. They apply the insight gained from this research to the practical operational investigative support they provide to investigators.

The third mission of the BAUs is to share the knowledge gained through operational experience and research with law enforcement agencies through a variety of training venues.

It should be mentioned that despite the aspirations of many eager students, each of the BAU units employs only eight agents (*California v. Vincent Brothers*, 2007). These agents do not typically hold graduate education prior to being appointed, and few hold degrees in any of the behavioral sciences.<sup>29</sup>

The FBI is not alone in the development of formal profiling units or research in the areas of criminal profiling theory and methodology. Many law enforcement agencies in the United States have their own dedicated profiling or crime analysis units, and their number has grown internationally as well. In the United States, profiling units can be found in a number of federal agencies, as well as numerous state law enforcement agencies. Internationally, law enforcement agencies with dedicated profiling-related units can be found in countries such as Australia, Canada, England, Finland, the Netherlands, Singapore, and South Africa—to name but a few.

Furthermore, there are quite a few private companies and organizations involved in criminal profiling casework and research around the world. The first precedent for this was set in the mid-1980s by former FBI profilers who retired to consult on their own or through the Academy Group, Inc., based in Virginia. Some former FBI profilers admit that their techniques and methods have not changed in years. However, they have trained others who have adapted, built upon, and ultimately reshaped profiling methodology in both law enforcement and the private sector alike.

## THE MODERN PROFILING COMMUNITY

Today's profiling community is made up of professionals and nonprofessionals from a variety of related and unrelated backgrounds. At one forefront is the *Academy of Behavioral Profiling (ABP)*, founded March 1999 (the author is one of five founding members and a voting member of the board of directors). It is the first international, independent, multidisciplinary professional organization for those who are profiling or who are studying profiling. It has a student section; an affiliate section for the interested, nonprofiling professional; and four full member sections (Behavioral, Criminology, Investigative, and Forensic). As stated in an excerpt from the "Letter from the Editor" in the very first issue of the *Journal of Behavioral Profiling* (Turvey, 2000):

The Academy of Behavioral Profiling (ABP; [www.profiling.org](http://www.profiling.org)) was formed, in part, to address the rapid de-professionalization of this field. Not content to watch the decline of the profession, those who participate in this organization are determined to build something meaningful and legitimate within the field. A multi-disciplinary effort comprised of forensic, behavioral, and investigative professionals, it has developed a professional code of ethics, the first written criminal profiling guidelines, and is currently developing a profiling general knowledge exam.

### Academy of Behavioral Profiling (ABP)

Founded March 1999, the ABP is the first international, independent, multidisciplinary professional organization for professionals engaged in criminal profiling or students of related disciplines. Developed and adopted the first ethical guidelines and practice standards for the criminal profiling profession to be published.

<sup>29</sup>According to retired FBI profiler John Douglas, former head of the Behavioral Sciences Unit, this lack of education in the behavioral sciences led to the decision to change the name of the Behavioral Sciences Unit to the Behavioral Analysis Unit.

Rather than being merely a training organization or a social organization, the ABP has developed firm practice standards and ethical guidelines, which the membership agrees to follow under penalty of various levels of sanction.<sup>30</sup> And more recently, it has developed and deployed the Profiling General Knowledge Exam for those seeking to become full members. The desired impact of this organization is to provide structure and support for those diverse professionals actively involved in profiling work, as well as allowing members to advance within that structure based solely on their knowledge and the quality of their work.

Regardless of who is involved and regardless of the professional outlook, criminal profiling still is not typically a career in itself—though there are exceptions who have made it so. Rather it is a multidisciplinary skill that is nurtured and developed once one has become proficient in other requisite disciplines. Hence, there are few full-time criminal profilers. This is changing, however, as awareness about what profiling involves increases, as more competent training becomes available, as the literature increases, and as those in the profiling community begin to communicate.

## SUMMARY

Inferring the traits of individuals responsible for committing criminal acts has commonly been referred to as *criminal profiling*. Professionals engaged in the practice of criminal profiling have historically included a broad spectrum of investigators, behavioral scientists, social scientists, and forensic scientists. Criminal profiling has a legal history that can be traced back to the blood libel of Jews in Rome, 38 CE.

Modern criminal profiling is, owing to a diverse history, grounded in the study of crime and criminal behavior (criminology), the study of mental health and illness (psychology and psychiatry), and the examination of physical evidence (the forensic sciences). In its many forms, it has always involved the inference of criminal characteristics for investigative and judicial purposes. The reasoning behind those inferences, however, has not always been consistent. It ranges from a basis in statistical argumentation, to examining specific criminal behaviors, to subjective intuitive opinions based on personal belief and experience.

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<sup>30</sup>The ABP is not affiliated with, or adjunct to, any university, organization, or agency, and as such is not as susceptible to the political influences that such institutions engender. This is a major issue in terms of building objective standards and guidelines within the professional community. Additionally, the majority of the ABP's ethical guidelines are unexceptionable within the forensic community: don't lie about your findings or your credentials, don't steal other people's ideas, be impartial, and so on. However, several of the ethical guidelines have somewhat more teeth, including the requirement that ABP members "maintain the quality and standards of the professional community by reporting unethical conduct to the appropriate authorities or professional organizations" and that ABP members "make efforts to inform the court of the nature and implications of pertinent evidence if reasonably assured that this information will not be disclosed in court." These, in concert with the other ethical guidelines, provide that the ABP members must be essentially intolerant of unethical conduct from any forensic professional. The subject of ethics is discussed further in other chapters of this text.

## QUESTIONS

1. True or False: The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was the first to develop and publish criminal profiling techniques.
2. *The Malleus Maleficarum* was developed by members of the clergy and endorsed by the Catholic Church, to facilitate the profiling and subsequent criminal prosecution of \_\_\_\_\_.
3. Name one of the first criminologists to attempt to formally classify criminals for statistical comparison.
4. The Spanish Inquisition was ordained by the Catholic Church to assist the Spanish government with the identification of \_\_\_\_\_.
5. Criminal profiling is a multidisciplinary community. Name three general or specific professions from which profilers tend to hail (e.g., criminal investigator).
6. One of the first published attempts to apply the scientific method to criminal investigation and criminal profiling techniques was \_\_\_\_\_.

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