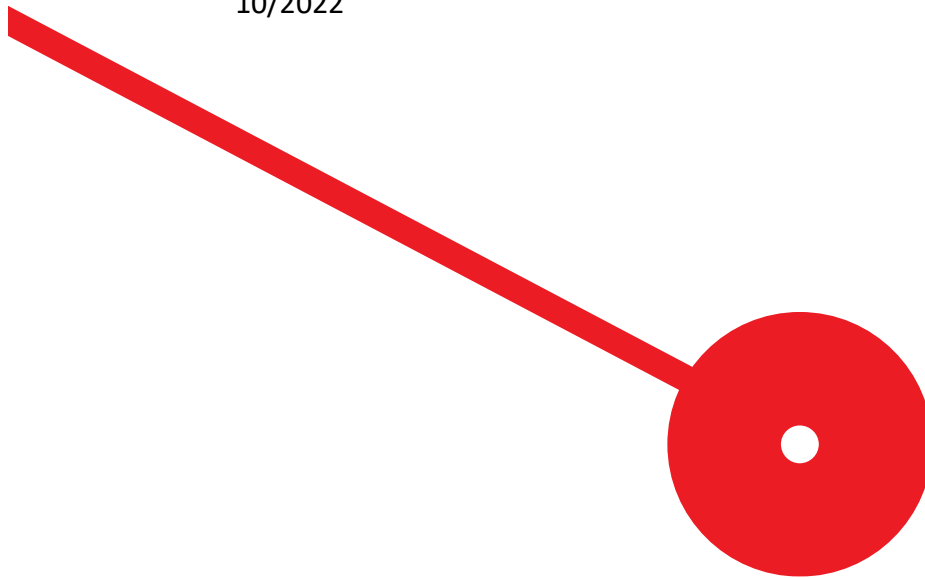




True Crime in Portugal and in the world: An intercultural perspective on murder and serial homicide within thanatourism

Isabel de Nunes Seabra

10/2022



Isabel Seabra. Dark Tourism: True Crime in Portugal and in the world: An intercultural perspective on murder and serial homicide within thanatourism
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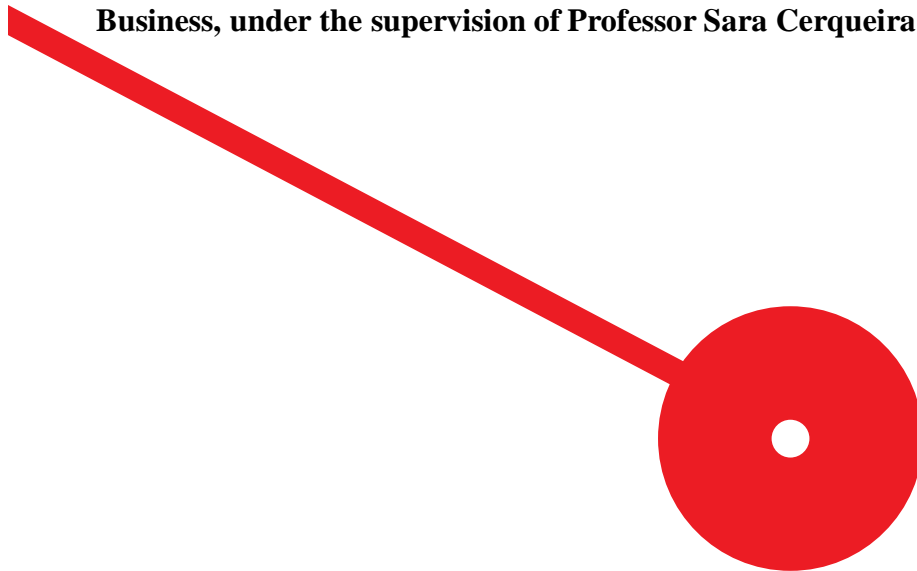


True Crime in Portugal and in the world: An intercultural perspective on murder and serial homicide within thanatourism

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Master's Dissertation presented to the Instituto Superior de Contabilidade e Administração do Porto to obtain the master's degree in Intercultural Studies for Business, under the supervision of Professor Sara Cerqueira Pascoal.

Isabel Seabra. Dark Tourism: True Crime in Portugal and in the world: An intercultural perspective on murder and serial homicide within thanatourism
10/2022



Dedication

For my twin sister, Nicole, who taught me that there is a meaning in every path, lightning in every storm, goodness in every heart, and to never fear the dark for, as long as the stars may bright, and the wind may whistle, I shall always have her by my side.

-To whatever end, lets go and rattle the stars.

Aknowledges

Sou eternamente grata ao meu pai e irmã, que sempre estiveram presentes e me motivaram constantemente, à tia e às primas pelo companheirismo.

Ao tubaroscas e aqueles que encontrei num baú no fundo do oceano, pois “*é melhor cá*”, segue-se “*Tu és mais forte e sei que no fim vais vencer. Sim, acredita, num novo amanhecer. Sai à rua e abraça alguém, e vai correr bem, tu vais ver.*”. Melpi, perdi o jogo. Brabra, só contigo consegui terminar a dissertação sem ser atropelada. Ariana de caneta na mão e mar no coração. Disney, que me ensinaste a ser paciente com esses teus gritos de morte, Cafunés sempre com uma palavra amiga e um vocabulário... peculiar para animar a situação, Vickie, gata das botas e parceira até ao fim. “

Ao Beyoncé, flup-iscapiano que me mostrou o que é ser um amigo de verdade.

À TFFLUP e às furaconas que me acompanharam no azul e me ensinaram que “*contigo Porto de emoções aprendi a amar*”. Às madrinhas, Marinho e Luigi, que me mostraram que eu também posso pertencer a um lugar e à afilhada Meisel que me ajudou a perceber que não sou invisível.

Às BAPs e às estandartis a quem eu tive o prazer de ensaiar e introduzir ao azul, aprendendo com elas o significado de compaixão. BAPs, “*Oh Cool, mas ABel*”, ogres de fundo de poço e *pom pom pons*. Estandartis, a nossa estrela eternamente marcada na constelação de Hércules, ninfas de Eolo e tudo o vento levou. Estandartis são princesas.

Ao Mochi the pug e à ilustradora Gemma, por me tocarem no coração e me fazerem sorrir mesmo nos tempos mais negros.

À FLUP e ao ISCAP, ao azul e ao azul e vermelho que me acolheram.

Por fim, à minha orientadora, Sara Pascoal, que sempre me apoiou e que esteve lá para mim a qualquer hora e em qualquer lugar, que me mostrou o verdadeiro significado de aprendizagem e solidariedade. Sem o seu apoio, nada seria possível.

Para sempre, *Inbellis*.

“ You can always count on a murderer for a fancy prose style.”

(Nabokov, 1995)

This dissertation aims to better understand how dark tourism can be exploited in Portugal and if the country has heritage that can induce to a larger interest on this intercultural phenomenon. Furthermore, the focus is established on serial killers and the excitement around them that has been continuously growing, demonstrating how they are present in Portugal and, as in other cultures, can also define our identity and be present in our culture.

Thanatourism, can be described as visitation to places such as battlefields, cemeteries, and other sites related to murder or death. These events congregate natural disasters, accidental disasters, wars, broad group atrocities, massacres, genocide, and large-scale killing. Inside this genre of tourism, there is the visitation to places connected to death, to the story of the murders and the killers that performed them. By studying it, it is possible to understand more about the dark side of the history of a country and its impact on culture.

Regarding the intercultural point of view, it is possible to establish a connection between various countries through the existence of serial killers in them and the excitement that they cause on the population as there is a macabre curiosity towards death in everyone, allowing the features needed to explore the dark heritage and touristic sites that they provide.

Key words: DARK TOURISM; TRUE CRIME; SERIAL KILLER; MURDER; THANATOURISM;

Esta dissertação tem como objetivo o melhor entendimento sobre turismo negro e como este pode ser explorado em Portugal. É ainda analisado o património que o país tem para oferecer e conduzir a um maior interesse público neste fenómeno intercultural.

Para além do objetivo previamente identificado, o foco desta dissertação é reduzido à noção de assassinos em série e ao entusiasmo crescente que rodeia o conceito, evidenciando que também em território português estes estão presentes. Deste modo, assim como em diversas outras culturas, turismo negro e a existência de assassinos em série pode ser um traço característico não só da cultura portuguesa como ainda da sua identidade.

Thanatourism por sua vez pode ser definido pela visita a lugares conectados com o conceito de assassinato e morte tais como campos de batalhas, cemitérios, entre outros. Estes locais contemplam ainda incidentes como desastres naturais ou provenientes de erro humano, guerras, atrocidades cometidas em larga escala, massacres, genocídio e homicídio em larga amplitude.

Analisando e estudando a história de assassinatos e dos assassinos que os cometeram é possível obter um melhor conhecimento sobre o lado mais sombrio da história de um país e o impacto que o mesmo desempenha na cultura deste.

Relativamente ao ponto de vista intercultural, uma conexão entre vários países pode ser estabelecida através da existência de assassinos em série nos mesmos e na exaltação que estes provocam na população uma vez que a curiosidade macabra sobre o conceito de morte e a sua existência é comum a todos. Isto permite que o património mais sombrio de um país assim como os locais turísticos associados à morte que este proporciona sejam também alvo de exploração turística.

Key words: DARK TOURISM; TRUE CRIME; SERIAL KILLER; MURDER; THANATOURISM;

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ABBREVIATIONS LIST

BBC [News]- British Broadcasting Cooperation

CAT- Cognitive Appraisal Theory

DPP- Department of Public Prosecutions

EPAL- Empresa Portuguesa das Águas Livres

GMP- Greater Manchester Police

MO- Modus Operandi

URSS- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

USA- United States of America

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation aims to better understand how dark tourism, taking a look into thanatourism and serial crime, can be exploited in Portugal and if the country has heritage that can induce to a larger interest on this intercultural phenomenon.

Thanatourism has been increasing during the past years and it is useful to comprehend how Portugal can use this attraction and curiosity towards death subject and link it as part of our cultural heritage and, therefore, to the country's identity.

By establishing this theme and developing the knowledge on the subject, taking in consideration the cases studied, it is possible to understand the connection between Portuguese and international serial killers, the motifs that lead to the people's enthusiasm on their stories and how they can function as an advantage for our country. The objective of this study is to determine the intercultural nature of human interest and attraction on serial murders and how this interest led to the boost of economic and tourist activities connected to their stories.

For that purpose, the methodology used was first based on a literature review on thanatourism and dark tourism research, followed by an analysis of stories of several serial murders around the world, of which resulted the corpus that we've approached. After the corpus was determined, and grounded on cultural and tourism studies, a qualitative and hermeneutical reading of the spaces and historic heritage linked to these serial murders stories was conducted.

In this context, Chapter I disclaims the theoretical studies on thanatourism, the concept incorporated and what it is known about it and its origins and specifies a genre inside thanatourism, the criminal aspect of death. There, the concept of serial murder is further explained. Regarding chapter II, a more detailed study is done on different serial killers around the world and the different dark heritage that they provide, including two different Portuguese serial killers.

The serial killers mentioned on the last chapter were selected as they perfectly demonstrate the effect of storytelling, the mysticism, the gruesomeness, and the psychological, ideological, historical and anthropological view on the subject.

The use of such structure allows the reader to be inserted in a pyramid scale of knowledge on thanatourism through an intercultural point of view, going further and further on more details regarding the specificity of serial homicide.

It is very important to note that there are many contradictory information about the serial murders circulating and that many times it is impossible to know the truth about some aspects as the serial killers remain changing their affirmations, which cannot be guaranteed to be truthfull, and the act of storytelling, in an exaggerated way, aiming to attract more audience, can lead to mistakes of the veracity of the gathered data.

1 Tourism

Through ever-finer subdivisions and more in-depth typologies, tourist studies have been driven to deal with an expanding field culminating eventually in the creation of a classificatory grid in which tourism might be defined and governed (Franklin & Crang, 2011).

Tourism is considered by (Sarmiento, 2020).a global intercultural business, resorting to notions of culture, identity, representation, and territory, among other concepts used in intercultural studies.

It revolves around history, identity and heritage and can be explored as a cultural phenomenon that results from globalization (Sarmiento, 2020).

2 Dark tourism: definitions and scope

Lennon & Foley (2000) describe dark tourism as visitation to places such as battlefields, cemeteries, and other sites related to murder or death. These events congregate natural disasters, accidental disasters, wars, broad group atrocities, massacres, genocide, and large-scale killings (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

For them dark tourism was “the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites”, (Lennon & Foley, 1996) , so the focus relays on the spectacle of death.

(Seaton, 1996) defined thanatourism differently stating it referred to “travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death”

This means that thanatourism can be inserted into dark tourism as a way of seeking in specific the heritage connected to death.

The definition comes from the junction of the words “dark” and “tourism”, as the latest refer to a feeling of hedonism or pleasure and the first to death related events (Sharpley & Stone, 2009).

Dark tourism has also been referred as places associated with death and destruction in the current years, but it has been occurring since the beginning of traveling (Sharpley & Stone, 2009).

The hype of dark tourism analysis as a phenomenon emerged in the twenty first century (White & Frew, 2013) and is inserted within the academic spheres that aim to identify and label specific kinds of tourism and subdivide tourism into markets and small segments of those (Novelli, 2005).

The growing interest in this kind of tourism can be examined by demand and by supply perspectives, culmination of the motives of visits to sites of death and the provision of those locations (White & Frew, 2013).

The transformation of these horrific sites into tourism products is not unusual and it causes even new itineraries as part of this kind of tourism (Urry, 2004).

Regarding the supply side perspective, there are many sites who provide dark tourism events such as museums, memorials, commemoration of war crime victims and other places that deal with sensitive issues (Beech, 2000), (Miles, 2002), (Wight & Lennon, 2007).

Tourism sites and attractions are numerous and can go from horror houses to death sites of famous people, death camps and places of major disasters and they all demand suitable development management, positioning and understanding (Sharpley & Stone, 2009).

From a demand perspective, these sites need to be carefully interpreted in order to show respect for the victims of the event, their families and their communities as well as to avoid perpetrators of the crimes (White & Frew, 2013).

Memorials are built to honor the memory of the dead and not of the causer of their death. They remind the society of the experience of other people's lives and the importance of the awareness on behalf of the population (Manderson, 2008).

Concerning the marketing, management, and interpretation of dark tourism sites, it is essential to define their legacies of historical value, understand the victims and avoid the glorification of the disaster or the criminal responsible for the event (White & Frew, 2013).

Understanding these sites can help planners and managers to better understand the proper way to regard to these events as well as how to respectfully develop and decipher them (White & Frew, 2013).

Taking this in consideration, it is possible for the visitors to understand the tragedy and atrocity, to value the location and pay respect to the dead as well as, in a sociological point of view, connect the people life events and understand past events of the society (White & Frew, 2013).

Experiences of shared grief can help knit generations together (Frow, 2000) and commemorations of tragic events in a nation's history can reflect various aspects of its nationality (Cooke, 2000), (Nanda, 2004), (Rivera, 2008).

“To worship at the alter of collective identity” can also show “a commitment to the values and goals of a nation” (Hogan, 2009).

3 Dark Heritage sites

Heritage “features belonging to the culture of a particular society, such as traditions, languages, or buildings, that were created in the past and still have historical importance” (Press, Cambridge University, 2022) and it can help to define a nation's identity (Palmer, 2005), (Pretes, 2003).

The purposeful selection from the past, to satisfy present needs and demands of dark tourism sites (Ashworth, 2008), are challenged by depicting the locations that are most suitable to commemorate and to be interpreted (White & Frew, 2013).

Each of these attractions can promote a discourse of national inclusion and a shared past and identity between a country's population that aim to overcome diversity and difference between them (Pretes, 2003).

They represent a hegemonic nationalist message of inclusion that includes all citizens (Pretes, 2003), (White & Frew, 2013).

Sensitive sites like concentration camps and sites of atomic bomb explosions can even develop such an international significance that are declared World Heritage Sites (Uzzel, 1989).

The function of heritage can be presented in the sites that are inserted there. For this, they need to be displayed for the tourists and categorize the needed classifications to be considered heritage (Uzzel, 1989).

3.1 Dark Heritage: coping mechanism and emotions

Coping, as described in (Shaw, Brown, & Dunn, 2013), “is a cognitive and behavioral strategy used to manage stressful situations”.

The response of the individual that faces a place with dark historical value and is, therefore, considered a dark tourism site, can be problem-focused or emotion-focused (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980).

If the focus is on the problem, then actions must be taken to approach the relationship between the individual and the circumstance whereas if the emotion is the central element, the coping mechanism regards the way the individual measures them (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980).

3.1.1 Cognitive Appraisal Theory

CAT is the result of experiences studied by psychologists regarding how individuals respond to the environment (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984), (Lazarus, Fifty Years of Research and Theory by R.S. Lazarus: An Analysis of Historical and Perennial Issues, 1998). According to (Roseman, 1990), “this theory has the ability to distinguish between different types of emotions based on the appraisal of similar events”.

In the tourism field, the appraisals that impact the most the emotions of the individual that is interpreting the event are goal relevance and goal congruence (Zheng, Ritchie, & Benckendorff, 2021).

The theory also states that the appraisals made by the person are the ones that produce emotions, rather than the event or circumstance (Baggozi, Gopinath, & Nyer, 1999).

The process of CAT contains three major elements: Cognitive appraisal, emotions, and coping (Ma, Jianyu, Gao, Scott, & Ding, 2013).

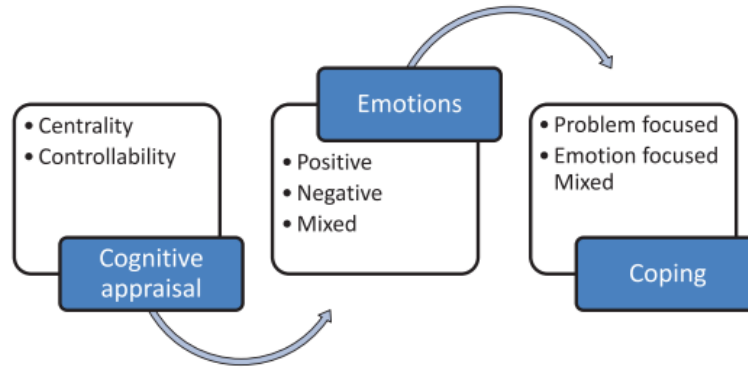


Figure 1 Cognitive Appraisal Theory process

Source: (Jordan & Prayag, 2021)

In the Cognitive appraisal segment the individual determines whether the event is relevant to him, and if it is controllable or not, then an emotion response emerges from the previous appraisal and it can be either positive, negative, or both (Larsen & McGraw, 2011).

To conclude, the individual must cope with the situation focusing on the problem, the emotion, and the relationship between them as well as being aware of the external circumstance stimuli (Lazarus & Folkman, Transactional Theory and Research on Emotions and Coping, 1987).

3.2 Dark Tourism Issues

Dark tourism sites require appropriate development, management, interpretation and promotion in order to proliferate but may face some cultural, social, historical and even political matters to do so. There are multiple issues to take into consideration when analyzing the concept and action of Dark tourism (Harpley & Stone, 2009).

3.2.1 Ethical issues

The ethical standards that surround dark tourism are one of the key problems. Many families' locations of grief will be visited by tourists; thus, it is important to distinguish between what is and isn't morally acceptable to do there (Lisle, 2004).

The issue of commercializing such websites is contentious, and there is a thin line in what concerns respect and empathy for the victims and their loved ones since there is no way to guarantee that the visit will display them. (Harpley & Stone, 2009).

The potential location can also be the place of the construction of a memorial, which many think may not be appropriate and may go against the rights of those close to the incident that make the site a place of sorrow (Harpley & Stone, 2009).

The ethics and morality of heritage connected to death and the obscure must be well considered and the places treated with care so the grief and sites to remember the dead are not exploited and reduced to a voyeuristic tourist contemplation that stands above other's hardship and pain (Stone, 2006), (Karki, 2020).

3.2.2 Interpretation issues

The interpretation of dark sites and attractions and the information that they convey has been a focus of the academic studies on the topic (Sharpley & Stone, 2009).

The word "dark" is usually associated with negative concepts, meaning that it can influence the perception of the first listeners to this term and, therefore, the places where it is practiced dark tourism (Sather-Wagstaff, 2011).

Touring sites about murder, human trafficking, crime, among other, can show us that humans are indeed capable of many unspeakable atrocities (de Botton, 2002).

The urge to explore these concepts and the feelings towards them make us realize how tenuous is the notion of life, our moral values and purpose in the world, bringing up emotions that may be positive, negative, or a mix of both and certainly despite curiosity among many (Bowman & Pezzulo, 2010).

However, if interpreted well, dark tourism can provide a way to gain awareness and educate people on multiple cases of catastrophes and horrific events as well as fascinate those who are interested on the subject (Karki, 2020).

(Sharpley & Stone, 2009) also argues that "dark tourism sites offer the opportunity to write or rewrite the history of people's lives and deaths, or to provide particular (political) interpretations of past events".

According to (Stone, 2006), dark tourism can also provide a way for people to cope with mortality and our relationship with death, easing our anxieties about such a taboo.

3.2.3 Site management

Since most dark sites are places surrounded by death, there is a proper need to manage them correctly, in order not to create any further problems and maintain the respect for the families and communities and assure the integrity of the site (Sharpley & Stone, 2009).

Some places are open to public display, but others need to be restrained or even demolished, which is the case of 25 Cromwell Street in England, the house where the infamous couple Frederick and Rosemary West lived and committed multiple murders (Sharpley & Stone, 2009).



Figure 2 25th Cromwell Street location before 1996

Source: (Aspinall, 2019)



Figure 3 25th Cromwell street 2022

Source: (Google Maps, 2022)

3.2.4 Marketing issues

Dark tourism sites are often commercialized and the marketing perspective towards them are not only relevant in financial but also in cultural terms (White & Frew, 2013).

The media also regularly plays a part in "promoting" dark sites. Frequently, the popularity of such sites may be increased by the marketing and promotional activity of businesses or groups eager to profit from tourism (Seaton, 1996).

Regarding intercultural business, is an opening for the development, safety and awareness of cultural itineraries, communities, and heritage. It also has an exceptionally large influence on economic growth, environmental and heritage protection as well as identity manifestation (Sarmiento, 2020).

4 Serial murder

The significance of serial murder can be taken by a vast diversity of opinions considering the number of killers, victims, the specialists' beliefs, the problematic understated and the tendency that goes towards increased serial homicide (Gibson, 2006).

Multiple possible definitions of serial murder have indeed been introduced by the various agencies involved on the crime understanding (Gibson, 2006).

Scholars, law enforcement, and many others have discussed what differs a serial killer from a killer, serial homicide from mass murder and until today the debate remains (Gibson, 2006).

In a conference addressed to study the case, the Serial Murder Symposium, a serial killer was defined by the number of victims taken accordingly to the time between each murder (National Ctr for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC) FBI, 2008). It was concluded that for a serial murder to happen, there was the need to exist murders separated by a cooling-off period and emotional decrease (National Ctr for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC) FBI, 2008).

Mass murder, on the other hand, implicates at least four victims during a single event, with no cooling-off period, usually in a single location (National Ctr for the

Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC) FBI, 2008). In 1998, a federal law was passed by the United States Congress, titled: Protection of Children from Sexual Predator Act of 1998 (Title 18, United States Code, Chapter 51, and Section 1111) (National Ctr for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC) FBI, 2008).

This legislation defines serial homicides as follows: The term "serial killings" refers to a string of three or more homicides, at least one of which must have taken place in the United States, and which share enough similarities to make it plausible that the same actor or actors may have committed all the crimes (National Ctr for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC) FBI, 2008).

This definition aimed only to establish when the FBI could intercede on a case so during the symposium other factors were considered (National Ctr for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC) FBI, 2008).

The ultimate definition of Serial Murder, which is the one taken by the FBI, claims that Serial Murder is "the unlawful killing of two or more victims by the same offender(s), in separate events" (National Ctr for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC) FBI, 2008).

4.1 Causality and the serial murder realm

Robert S. Mueller, the director of the Federal Bureau Investigation from 2008 until 2013, acknowledged that it has been an aim for academics, law enforcement investigators, mental health experts and even the media to study and understand serial killers' behavior (National Ctr for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC) FBI, 2008).

(Petee & Jarvis, 2000) state that the academic study on serial murderers is often generalized as they focus mainly on a psychological and following behavioral approach.

Numerous academic fields, law enforcement organizations, journalistic organizations, and popular culture are both fascinated and repulsed by the crime of serial murder (White S. M., 2014). The media and popular culture have sensationalized serial murder and people have become very interested in the subject, seeking many practices to learn about it and explore their curiosity being one of them tourism (Egger, 1990).

Achenbach argues that "The serial killer has become an American original, a romantic icon, like the cowboy" (Achenbach, 1991) and this phenomenon has been spreading around the world.

The demand for culture artefacts on serial murder keeps growing and the search for its heritage as well. Nowadays not only the media explores this sensation in order to improve their viewers but also the scholars became more interested in this new concept in order to seek a social dimension in terms of causation and victimization (Jenkins, 2017).

Serial murder has become profitable and can be exploited by a vast group of entities as they offer a possible direction of philosophical understanding on people's beliefs and actions (Zarefsky, 1986).

Serial murder study engages in the of insight on social perspectives, therefore, it also takes a vision on culture (Jenkins, 2017).

Sociologists often approach the public views of the prevalence and gravity of criminal conduct, as well as the factors that contribute to crime's popularity as a subject in the media.

A constructionist view regarding the interest of the public into the proliferation of problematic events (Best, 1990) explains how crime can be contextualized into a social event in a specific time and location. It presents a mechanism of interpretation of how consumers of this phenomenon art can combine it with the culture surroundings (Papke, 1987) determining which phenomena do and do not fit within the domain of a particular problematic. This means that a certain serial murder case, for instance, can be placed into a culture and explored for different frameworks and once it is placed into one of them, like mental health or criminal behavior, can be used to attract different audiences.

Best, therefore, argues that the "issue x is significant because it can be portrayed as a part of known problem y, and therefore requires the package of responses and reactions that have already been felt appropriate for problem", a term known as convergence (Jenkins, 2017).

The conclusion taken with this view is that serial murder can be exploited by many angles accordingly to the frame it is inserted in. With exploitations comes profit for both the entity that provides the situation and the one that receives it. Analyzing

these criminal events, those who are interested in them benefit from them in distinct ways, being one of them personal pleasure. Therefore, there is a reason and a cause for each individual to search serial murder heritage and approach it in a touristic point of view and, due to that, the same motif for them to be explored, to generate profit.

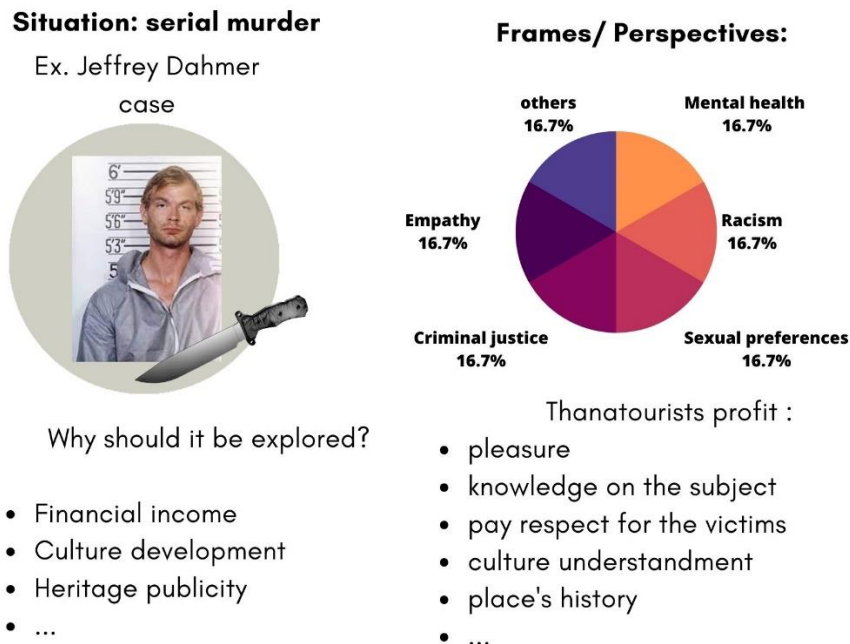


Figure 4 Example of how a serial murder can be explored

5 Serial Killers and Tourism activities

Since the early 1990's, an exceptionable attention has been given to violence and true crime in culture features such as literature, cinema, and even tourism (Jarvis, 2007).

Standard tourism activities associated with serial murder activity include not only travel and sightseeing but also lodging, photo-opportunities, entertainment and even souvenirs (Gibson, 2006).

Gibson (Gibson, 2006) analyzed the connections between travel, tourism and serial killings. Serial killing was discovered to be a quantitatively important criminal act, and on the rise. Due to fear, the overall pattern of the public's reaction to serial murder included decreased travel and purchasing. However, serial murder also piqued the public's curiosity in visiting serial crime scenes, and Gibson's study documented several instances of such travel and tourism that serial murder has sparked.

CHAPTER II – SERIAL HOMICIDE AROUND THE WORLD

The following cases are presented geographically ordered from West to East as this dissertation relates to heritage around the world and the different cultures it offers.

6 Jeffrey Dahmer- USA



Figure 5 Jeffrey Dahmer's mugshot 1991

Source: (wikipedia , 2007)

6.1 Background

Jeffrey Dahmer was born on the 21st of May of 1960. He was the only son of Joyce and Lionel Dahmer, a chemist. His mother was mentally ill and even during her pregnancy had to be on medication, which ended up affecting the child as he grew up (López, 2019). Dahmer was not a conventional child growing up. He was very quiet and demonstrated problems exposing his emotions “*having body posture that made him appear rigid, unusual in the straightness of his body with a sense that the knees were locked and the feet dragging stiff*” (Dahmer, 1994). This apathy of behavior made him face difficulties finding friends and later further relationships during adolescence who labeled him as “socially awkward” (Silva, Ferrari, & Leong, 2002). Growing up, the only interest Dahmer had ever demonstrated was into finding dead animals on the street and dissecting them to study their anatomy (Dahmer, 1994). Jeffrey’s knowledge on chemistry, provided by his father, would later be used by him while he murdered and desiccated his victims, collecting body parts and photographs of the corpses as souvenirs, such as he collected insects in his childhood (Silva, Ferrari, & Leong,

2002). He had learned with his father how to use hydrochloric acid to separate the flesh of the animals from their bones and used it as a mechanism to both occupy his days as well as avoiding his home situation, which was not favorable (López, 2019). His parents constantly fought as his mother was always into heavy medication, which made her incapable of taking care of her children, and his father was mostly out of town to work. They also frequently argued due to Jeffrey's behavior as his father insisted that he should be making more friends (López, 2019).

When Jeffrey was 8 years old, his family moved from Milwaukee to Ohio, and his brother David was born. This led to the boy to become even more reclusive and emotional detached from others (Dahmer, 1994). As an adult, Dahmer started to approach other men at gay bars but remained incapable to engage in any way of relationship (Silva, Ferrari, & Leong, 2002). Dahmer had even joined the army, where he surprisingly managed to be during two years before being expelled due to alcohol addiction, which caused him to become aggressive (Silva, Ferrari, & Leong, 2002). He longed for "*complete predictability, for rigid structure*" (Dahmer, 1994). In his book, Lionel Dahmer clarifies

"The subtleties of social life were beyond my grasp. When children liked me, I did not know why. Nor could I formulate a plan for winning their affection. I simply didn't know how things worked with other people. There seemed to be a certain randomness and unpredictability in their attitudes and actions. And try as I might, I couldn't make other people seem less strange and unknowable. Because of that, the social world seemed vague and threatening. And, as a boy, I had approached it with a great lack of confidence, even dread" (Dahmer, 1994).

Regarding sexual relationships, Jeffrey was caught multiple times exposing himself to men and minors, masturbating in public. Despite being categorized by many as a necrophiliac, someone who takes pleasure by having sex with dead people, Dahmer goal was to perform the intercourse while his victims were alive, however, heavily drugged (Silva, Ferrari, & Leong, 2002). Because of this, the forensic psychiatrist responsible for Dahmer's prosecution, Philip J. Resnick, claimed that he did not suffer from primary necrophilia (Silva, Ferrari, & Leong, 2002). He argued, however, that Dahmer experienced low self-esteem, depression, and a tendency to suicidal thoughts (Silva, Ferrari, & Leong, 2002).

6.2 Victims

One very important aspect in the Dahmer case is that not all his victims¹ ended up dead. His drunkenness made him commit fatal mistakes that led to his victim's escape and eventually to his arrest (López, 2019). Dahmer, however, claimed that he purposely allowed some of the men he took home to leave his apartment alive either because he did not feel the need to be with them or was not feeling attracted to them, stating that he was always in control (Ressler & Shachtman, 1997). The serial killer would lure his victims to his apartment promising them sex, alcohol, or money in exchange of nude photographs (López, 2019). Once they were inside, Dahmer would drug the victims, kill them, dismember the bodies and then use the body parts as he felt fit (López, 2019).

Dahmer also tried to lobotomize his victims into becoming zombie-like sex slaves, completely subdued to him. He desired a lover who had no will but was still alive (Chéze E., 2009).

In essence, Dahmer desired a sexual slave he could control and that would never leave him (López, 2019). One of the killer's victims, Konerak Sinthasomphone, faced this unique feature. Before attempting to lobotomize him, Jeffrey enticed him to the apartment and drugged him. Dahmer punctured the brain "*just through the bone. Injected him [with acid], he was sleeping*" (Ressler & Shachtman, 1997).

On one occasion the boy managed to escape but was too weak. Dahmer managed to take him back, convincing people that he was his boyfriend. Konerak Sinthasomphone ended up dying as he was no longer of use to Dahmer (Chéze E., 2009).

Dahmer described the incident stating that

"Sinthasomphone was asleep: [I] went for a quick beer across the street before the bar closed; and I was walking back and saw him sitting on the sidewalk, and somebody had called the police. I had to think quickly, and told 'em that he was a friend that had

¹ See Appendix I for a chart on the victims of Jeffrey Dahmer.

gotten drunk, and they believed me... they try to talk with him, he answers in his native tongue. There's no blood showing, they checked him out and figured he was real drunk. They told me to take him back; he was not wanting to go back; and one officer grabbed him on one arm, the other officer grabbed him on the other arm, and they walked him up to the apartment. ... They laid him on the sofa, looked around the apartment. They didn't go into my bedroom. If they had, they would've seen the body of [Hughes], still lying there. They saw the two pictures that I'd taken earlier, lying on the dining room table. One of 'em said to the other, 'See, he's telling the truth.' And they left." (Ressler & Shachtman, 1997).

Besides the segmentation of his victims, Dahmer took a particular pleasure in eating their organs, in specific their hearts and sexual organs (López, 2019). After his last victim, Tracy Edwards, escaped and the police entered his appartement, Jeffrey Dahmer was taken into custody (Blanco J. I., 2022).

Inside Dahmer's apartment the police found photos of the victims, dismembered and a head lying on the floor (López, 2019).



Figure 6 Dahmer's victim polaroid photo

Source: (A GRAPHIC Look Inside Jeffrey Dahmer's Dresser Drawer, 2020)

The fridge had 3 bags containing a heart, flesh and a portion of muscle and there was also a freezer with 3 heads, a human torso, a bag containing flesh and some internal organs (López, 2019). The cupboard contained numerous chemicals and 2 bleached skulls (López, 2019). On the floor there was a large pot holding 2 hands, a penis, and testicles and in a cabinet, there were found 3 more skulls (López, 2019).



Figure 7 Hands, a head and a penis found in Dahmer's apartment

Source: (A GRAPHIC Look Inside Jeffrey Dahmer's Dresser Drawer, 2020)

A wardrobe contained a complete skeleton, dried human scalp and more genitals (López, 2019). Inside a box there were 2 more skulls, and next to it there was a 260 liter tank containing acid where police found 3 human torsos in various stages of decomposition (López, 2019).

- **Keison Sinthasomphone**



Figure 8 Keison Sinthasomphone

Source: (Blanco J. I., 2022)

Keison was only 13 years old when Dahmer lured him to his apartment, drugged him and raped him. The boy, however, managed to escape (López, 2019).

After the incident being reported to the police Dahmer was taken into custody and charged with sexual assault (López, 2019).

After only one week the serial killer was released, and despite being found guilty his sentence was yet to be taking place (Blanco J. I., 2022).

- **Tracy Edwards**



Figure 9 Tracy Edwards

Source: (Blanco J. I., 2022)

Tracy Edwards was the last victim of Jeffrey Dahmer.

6.3 Dark Cultural heritage and tourism sites

Currently, the search for dark tourism is increasing by the year and there are many who seek out for new ways to get involved in this way of leisure.

Regarding Jeffrey Dahmer's case, there are multiple tours around Milwaukee that can take the tourist to an immersive experience throughout the city that Dahmer terrorized.

At Hangman Tours website, it is possible to find ghost tours – tours regarding the dark and scariest places of the area – and they cannot exclude some tour connected to Dahmer as he was the most infamous cannibal of the city (Hangmantours, 2015).

A tour regarding Dahmer was planned by the responsible of the website, and it is so gruesome that only adults can take it. It is called “Cream City Cannibal” and it features a 75min walk through the exact footsteps of the serial killer.

OCTOBER SCHEDULE
We are adding tours to our schedule daily, so click "book now" for latest & greatest offerings

THURSDAY
6PM | 8PM | 10PM

FRIDAY
4PM | 6PM | 8PM | 10PM

SATURDAY
4PM | 5PM | 6PM | 7PM | 8PM | 9PM | 10PM

SUNDAY
3PM | 5PM

\$40/PERSON
422 S. 2ND ST MILWAUKEE

BOOK NOW

Figure 10 "Cream City Cannibal" tour schedule for October 2022

Source: (Hangmantours, 2015)

The tour propaganda strongly advises about the macabre of the excursion and even is a ghost tour indemnification regarding it.

"By purchasing tickets, you assume all risk for any injuries, damage, harm, death or psychic calamity while on this location and participating in and all activities related to taking a Ghost Tour and agree to hold-harmless the management, staff, and owners of this location. We realize you may opt out of this indemnification by providing written notice at least 14 days prior to taking a Ghost Tour" (Hangmantours, 2015).

This tour is so famous that it has been recorded and presented on BBC, in the John Borowski film "Serial killer Culture" and even on the Netflix series "Dark Tourist" (Hangmantours, 2015).

Because of the harsh content of the tour, it has been removed from Groupon (a service that helps you places to visit locals near you that), more than once (Mroch, 2017).

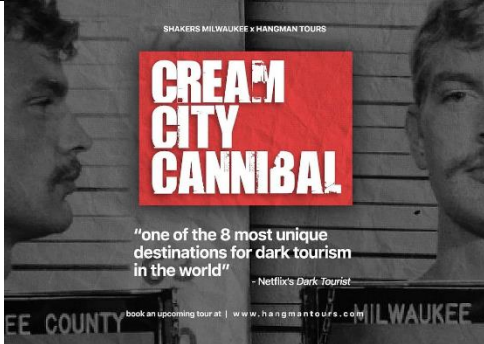

Figure	 <p data-bbox="459 548 944 604"><i>Figure 11 Dark Tourist Series: cream city cannibal</i></p>	 <p data-bbox="970 548 1200 604"><i>Figure 12 Serial killer culture poster</i></p>
Source	(Hangmantours, 2015)	(ImbD, 2004)

Table 1 Content on Jeffrey Dahmer's case

Regarding the material that the tourist can use to get more informed on the subject, there are many documentaries, series, films, and books on Dahmer's case².

7 Jack the Ripper- England

7.1 The Whitechapel Murders

From April 3rd, 1888, until February 13th, 1891, London was terrorized by a series of murders that were happening. In total, eleven bodies were found, five of which would become known as "Whitechapel murders" victims, the infamous canonical five (Eddleston, 2001). The London Metropolitan Police Service was responsible for the investigation and even inside the force, there was no consensus on whether the other six victims belonged to the same killer as the Whitechapel murders (The History Press, 2022).

Even though the identity of the murderer was never discovered, despite the many suspects that existed, the canonical five murders were attributed to a mythical figure that would become a piece of England's identity, Jack the Ripper (Eddleston, 2001).

² See Appendix II to find more examples.

7.2 Victims

On Appendix III there is a chart regarding the victims, and the alleged ones, of Jack the Ripper.

- **Mary Ann Nichols**

The first victim official determined to be killed by Jack the Ripper was, like all the others, a prostitute. Her name was Mary Ann Nichols, and her body was found on the last day of August 1888 (Jones, Jack the Ripper Victims, 2022). Mary Ann was a mother of six, native from London and married to a man called William Nichols (Eddleston, 2001). She started to sell her body for sex at East End as a way to keep her addiction to alcohol after trying several of London's workhouses, and infirmaries (The History Press, 2022). The woman became homeless since she had no money to pay for a shelter as she would spend all she earned on drinks (Eddleston, 2001). This led her to such a dire situation that she was even sleeping in public spaces like Trafalgar Square. It was, indeed, at this chaotic state that she was last seen alive by an acquaintance, at 2:30h a.m., between Osborn Street and Whitechapel Road (The History Press, 2022). At around a quarter to 4 a.m., Mary Ann's body was discovered at the pathway by two men that were going through Buck's Row (Jones, Jack the Ripper Victims, 2022). Her throat was slashed, and she was in a pool of blood. When an autopsy was made, the mortician discovered that she had multiple cuts, and her intestines were out of the abdomen (Eddleston, 2001).

- **Annie Chapman**

Annie Chapman had spent some of her life in Windsor, even during her marriage, so in opposition to Mary Ann, she actually had economic stability, not being rich nor poor (The History Press, 2022). A picture of Annie and her husband John from 1869 was discovered in 2001, demonstrating how comfortable she was given her circumstances because being photographed was out of the reach of the less privileged (The History Press, 2022). On the following years, however, Anne took the same habit as the Ripper's first victim and became an alcoholic, distancing herself from her family and her wellbeing condition (Eddleston, 2001). Mrs. Chapman developed chronic mental

diseases, became malnourished and in at least one occasion she even had to fight to get a soup. During the conflict, on the 5th of September 1888, she was hit by a woman named Eliza Cooper on the face and left with a scar (The History Press, 2022). Three days later her body was found on a yard behind 29 Hanbury Street, on the same conditions as the previous victim (Jones, Jack the Ripper Victims, 2022).

- **Elizabeth Stride**

The third victim of Jack the Ripper was a woman named Elizabeth Stride (Eddleston, 2001). Elizabeth had been working on the streets of Gothernburg, until she left to London (Eddleston, 2001). There, she continued to work for sex until she married a man in the Weast End, where she tried to make herself more comfortable as the owner of a coffee shop. The environment of the area, however, lacked the needs for the business to proliferate and with the death of her husband, Elizabeth became again slave of prostitution (The History Press, 2022). She was last seen 30 minutes after midnight on the last day of September 1888 in Berner Street before going into Dutfield's Yard (Eddleston, 2001).

Her body was discovered right there and her throat, such as Mary Ann's was also slaughtered, however, her abdomen was not mutilated, which indicated that the murder could have been interrupted in the middle (Jones, Jack the Ripper Victims, 2022).



Figure 13 The Scene of Elizabeth Stride's murder in Berner Street

Source: (Jones, RIP ELIZABETH STRIDE AND CATHERINE EDDOWES, 2016)

- **Catherine Eddowes**

Less than a mile away and an hour after the discovery of Elizabeth Stride's body, Catherine Eddowes was found dead (Jones, Jack the Ripper Victims, 2022). She was last seen on the previous day at around 8:30 p.m. by the policeman Louis Robinson, and a crowd that was gathering around them, near a shop at Bishopsgate, severely intoxicated (The History Press, 2022). The woman was imprisoned at the police station only to be released after her condition got slightly better. To be cautious, she gave a fake name to the police (The History Press, 2022). It was around 1 a.m. when Catherine left the station and turned away from Whitechapel and at a quarter to 2 a.m. she was found brutally murdered at Mitre Square, in a worst condition than the previous three victims (The History Press, 2022).

The police, however, was fortunate enough to find some clues on the case on Whitechapel (The History Press, 2022). Catherine's apron had been slashed and a piece of it was found in a doorway, filled with blood. The policeman that had been on the previous rotation did not notice anything but later an anti-Semitic graffiti emerged over the entrance (Eddleston, 2001). After a month of investigating the case, the trail went cold as the murders had stopped (Jones, Jack the Ripper Victims, 2022).

- **Mary Jane Kelly**

As opposed to the other victims, the background of Mary Jane Kelly's veracity remains doubtful (The History Press, 2022). Her body, however, told a story that the people of London would never forget (Eddleston, 2001). Mary Jane Kelly was found brutally mutilated and disfigured on her bed. Some of her body parts had even been purposely placed between her legs and on a table (Eddleston, 2001). It is known that she was engaged in a relationship with a fisherman named Joseph Barnett, who had just left her after living together for a few weeks in a room in Miller Court (The History Press, 2022). The fisherman was outraged with the woman's decision to go back into prostitution, so the woman ended up, as the other victims, alone (Eddleston, 2001). Shortly before 11 a.m. on the 9th of November 1888, Mary Jane's corpse was found on that very same room (Jones, Jack the Ripper Victims, 2022). Her upstairs neighbor, Elizabeth Prater, confessed to have heard the screams of the victim at around 4 a.m. but failed to act (The History Press, 2022).

7.3 The media and the mysticism of the figure

The Ripper may not have been the first or the only serial killer to haunt the Victorian England, but he certainly was the most infamous one to do so (Mishou, 2019).

On the Victorian England there were newsletters devoted to report the crimes of the society. Papers as “*The Illustrated Police News*” were devoted to report the dark side of the reign and graphic pictures of the crimes were often printed there, which captivated the public that was eager to consume such information (The History Press, 2022). The power of storytelling and its association with the dark and the evil was causing a sensationalism trend that can be seen even nowadays. For the murder enthusiasts, this was, of course, the golden time as a mysterious serial killer emerged in London and the story of Jack the Ripper soon travelled not only through all the England, but also the world (The History Press, 2022).

The media started not only to name the unidentified murderer (as Jack the Ripper) but also to possibly fake evidence and stories in order to provide more entertainment and new content to the population, which greatly contributed for the difficulty of finding the serial killer (Eddleston, 2001). However, this enlarged the identity of a frightened city that would forever be known as the Ripper’s London (The History Press, 2022). Hundreds of letters were, indeed, sent to the police or left in the streets and the media attention was an aim of those who had written them (Eddleston, 2001).

7.4 Cultural heritage

Some of the letters discovered or delivered to the police that may have been written by the Ripper are even nowadays studied by Ripperologists and fans that aim to discover their veracity (Eddleston, 2001). The letters can be found on the Public Record Office as they are officially, as the other documents on the case, on the National Archives of the United Kingdom (Eddleston, 2001). One example can be found attached on Attachment I.

The letter, dated 17th September 1888, wrote “...Lusk can look forever hell never find me but I am rite under his nose all the time. I watch them looking for me and it gives me fits ha ha I love my work an I shant stop until I get buckled and even then watch out for your old pal Jacky. Catch me if you Can.

Jack the Ripper” (Eddleston, 2001).

Regarding artistic explorations of Rippler’s story, there are way too many instances on the subject to properly list. Between documentaries, books (fictional or not), movies and others, Jack the Ripper became one of the most infamous figures of London’s identity as well as serial killer’s characterization individual.

In the following chart there are some examples of the attention given to the mystical character in the world of art.

Book	Movie	Documentary series
 <p data-bbox="225 1294 408 1406"><i>Figure 14 The Complete Jack the Ripper by Donald Rumbelow</i></p>	 <p data-bbox="469 1305 687 1361"><i>Figure 15 Jack the Ripper movie of 2016</i></p>	 <p data-bbox="735 1240 1270 1296"><i>Figure 16 The Ripper- a British documentary series on the serial killer</i></p>
<p data-bbox="225 1447 387 1585">Source: (Rumbelow, 2013)</p>	<p data-bbox="469 1447 695 1536">Source: (Niemann, 2016)</p>	<p data-bbox="735 1447 1015 1536">Source: (Vile & Wood, 2020)</p>

Table 2 Content on Jack the Ripper's case

7.5 Dark Tourism: Jack the Ripper

The "Jack the Ripper Murders" occurred during the fall of 1888 in a region to the east of London's City (The History Press, 2022).It was an area that included the Spitalfields and Whitechapel neighborhoods, two of the most impoverished and criminalized areas of the Victorian London (Eddleston, 2001).All the murders, however,

took place in the small area of Whitechapel that at the time was put together by random narrow alleys and passageways (The History Press, 2022).

Some of the locations that can be included in this dark cultural heritage that surrounds the murders are:

- **Dorset Street**

At Dorset Street, Mary Jane Kelly was found dead (Eddleston, 2001).

- **Goulston Street**

It was there that the evidence connected to Jack the Ripper was found, the bloody piece of Catherine Eddowes' apron (Eddleston, 2001).

- **Mitre Square**

It was at Mitre Square that the corpse of Catherine Eddowes was discovered (Eddleston, 2001).

- **Buck's Row, now known as Durward Street**

Mary Ann Nichols was found lifeless at Buck's row in 1888 (Eddleston, 2001).

- **Dutfield's Yard on Berner Street**

Elizabeth Stride was found dead in Dutfield's Yard (Eddleston, 2001).

- **The Princess Alice Pub**

At the time, this pub was often frequented by prostitutes and criminals. It was also the last place where Mary Jane Kelly was seen alive (Eddleston, 2001).

- **The Ten Bells Pub**

As the previous pub, this one was also a common place for prostitutes, among which there were some of the Ripper's victims (Eddleston, 2001).

- **Hanbury Street**

It was in this Street that the body of Annie Chapman was found (Eddleston, 2001).

- **"Ye Frying Pan" – Brick Lane**

On this pub, Mary Nichols, one of the Ripper's victims, was seen drinking, right before being murdered (Eddleston, 2001).

- **The London Hospital**

Dr. Openshaw, an assistant surgeon, examined a kidney that had been sent anonymously in the mail there at the London Hospital (Jones, Letters from Jack the Ripper, 2022). He thought Catherine Eddowes, who had been killed a month earlier, might have been the owner of the kidney (Jones, Letters from Jack the Ripper, 2022). Following Dr. Openshaw's report, he got a letter from Jack the Ripper corroborating his findings (Jones, Letters from Jack the Ripper, 2022).

- **City of London Cemetery**

There are memorial plaques marking the places where once stood the graves of Mary Nichols and Catherine Eddowes and where their bodies were laid to rest (Casebook Jack the Ripper, 2022).



Figure 17 Mary Ann Nichols' burial place

Source: (Casebook Jack the Ripper, 2022)



Figure 18 Catherine Eddowes' burial place

Source: (Casebook Jack the Ripper, 2022)

- **East London Cemetery**

As of Elizabeth Stride, her body was buried in the East London Cemetery, where her grave still stands (Casebook Jack the Ripper, 2022).



Figure 19 Elizabeth Stride's grave

Source: (Casebook Jack the Ripper, 2022)

- **Manor Park Cemetery**

Annie Chapman was buried in Manor Park Cemetery on the 14th of September 1888.



Figure 20 Annie Chapman's burial place

Source: (Jones, Visiting the Grave of Annie Chapman, 1017)

- **St. Patrick's Cemetery – Leytonstone**

Mary Kelly, the last confirmed victim of Jack the Ripper was laid to rest in this cemetery (Casebook Jack the Ripper, 2022).



Figure 21 Mary Jane Kelly's grave

Source: (Casebook Jack the Ripper, 2022)

In what concerns ghost tours, there is a vast number of them that relates to Jack the Ripper. The Ripper is such a mystic figure in London that even those who are not usually interested in dark tourism know him (Mroch, 2017).

In (Viator, 2022) it is possible to find a large range of tours from different prices that take different perspectives on the matter and engage tourists into Jack the Ripper's world. These tours take place on London, on the very streets where the murders were perpetrated and have the duration of about one and a half to three hours. Some of the tours are private and the prices range from 18,09 euros to 420,22 euros, what does not negatively affect the popularity and possibility of being sold out easily (Viator, 2022).

Some of the excursions feature projections, and walks guided by experts on the theme, “*Ripperologists*”, take the tourists to eat the famous fish and chips that London is known for, go to the murder sites and even explore galleries (Viator, 2022).

One tour that is particularly interesting is the “Jack the Ripper Happy Hour Tasting Tour” in which the tourists walk through the steps of Jack the Ripper, stopping at pubs for their happy hour to have some bagels and beer, just like a pub crawl (Mroch, 2017).

Some of the tours are taken at night so the mysticism grows deeper.



Figure 22 People taking one of the London Jack the Ripper tours.

Source: (Viator, 2022).

8 The Moors murders



Figure 23 Myra Hindley and Ian Brady

Source: (Keeling, 2018)

8.1 Ian Brady

Born in Glasgow, Scotland, Ian Brady was the son of Margaret “Peggy” Stewart, tea-room waitress, and an unknown man. (Cummins & King, 2019). Peggy opted to give up Ian to a family from the Gorbals neighborhood, the Sloane's, who adopted him and raised him as their own since she found it impossible to raise a kid on her own, especially in a setting where illegitimacy was a social taboo (Wilson & Wilson, 2015).

Though he was smart and good looking, Brady showed signs of dysfunctional conduct and irritability since his childhood (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022). This, along with the boys’ illegitimacy, made him unpopular in the society (Harrison, 2016). Since his pre-teenage years Brady also became obsessed with Nazi Germany and its symbolism (Harrison, 2016).

The boy would face trouble with the authorities for burglary and housebreaking and at the age of 17 years old, he was sentenced to leave Glasgow and move in with his birth mother, who had moved to Manchester and married an Irish laborer named Patrick Brady, from whom Brady took his last name (Wilson & Wilson, 2015).

As a result of his exile, Brady developed a sense of isolation and started to embrace the idea that it was acceptable to torment, control, and even commit atrocities against the weaker members of society (Harrison, 2016). Among his hobbies, Brady started to collect books on sadomasochism, torture, and subjugation. He also developed habits that often put him into a situation with low financial power to endure his lifestyle (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022). To support himself Brady worked as a butcher’s assistant, which may have nurtured even more his obsession into acts of mutilation and resorted to theft that, combined with other felonies, led to his arrest (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022).

The serial killer developed new, illicit means of making money while behind bars and came to believe that he could avoid manual labor and also started to study bookkeeping (Laurence, 2013).

After being released Ian faced several time unemployed until he found a job at Boddington's Brewery where he worked from between April and October of 1958 (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022). Following other months without a job, Brady began to work as a stock clerk at Milward's Merchandising in February 1959. There, in January 1961, he would later meet Myra Hindley, his famous wife and partner in crime (Odell & Gregg, 2006).

8.2 Myra Hindley

Myra Hindley was born on the 23rd of July 1942. Daughter of Nellie and Bob Hindley, she was born in Gorton and then grew up in a working-class area of Manchester (Cummins & King, 2019). The future wife of Ian Brady suffered from violence as she was regular beat up by her father, an ex-military alcoholic, and her mother, that also suffered at the hands of her husband (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022). The serial killer's father trained her and encouraged her to fight and stand up for herself because he expected her to be just as aggressive (Cummins & King, 2019).

Malcom MacCulloch, a professor of forensic psychiatry at Cardiff University, suggested that this behavior from the girl, largely encouraged by her father, would later result on her to agree, and understand the violence and murdered habits of Brady (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022).

The Hindley family lived in poor conditions that only became worse when in 1946 Myra's sister, Maureen, was born. After the birth of Maureen, Myra, at the tender age of five, and her sister Maureen, were sent to live with her grandmother, in a nearby neighborhood. This happened so the girls would not be home as their father started to overdrink. They would sleep in their grandmother's house but, in order to have a connection to their parents, had to take the three meals of the day at their place (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022).

Later in life Myra would experience a darker period as a close friend drowned in a reservoir and the girl blamed herself for not being there with him (Brady, 2015).

Myra began attending Ryder Brow Secondary Modern after the funeral because she had a growing affinity for the Catholic Church. There, she was taking classes to prepare for her formal ordination into the Church (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022).

Hindley secured her first position as a junior assistant at a nearby electrical engineering company, where she would run errands, type documents, and serve tea. She was well-liked by her coworkers, and when she lost her pay packet for the first week, they all came together to replace it (Wilson & Wilson, 2015).

Since the Christmas of 1958 Myra began a short relationship with Ronnie Sinclair, from whom she got engaged at the age of 17. Nevertheless, a few months later, Hindley called off the engagement stating that Sinclair was immature and would not be able to provide her with the life she wanted for herself (Wilson & Wilson, 2015).

Later, Hindley would land a new position at Bratby and Hinchliffe, an engineering firm in Gorton, but it would only last for six months when she was fired for persistent absence. At the age of 18 years old, in 1961, Myra Hindley joined Milward's Merchandising where she would work as a typist. There, she met her future husband and partner in crime, Ian Brady (Brady, 2015).

8.3 After they meet

It was between July and December of 1961 that Myra and Hindley started to get spend time together. Myra would become even and even more submerged into Hindley's world as they spent time together and his Nazi ideals became hers (King, Foley, & Cummins, 2016).

As mentioned in her over 30-thousand-word plea for parole submitted to Home Secretary Merlyn Rees and written between 1978 and 1979, Hindley confessed that she was awestruck by Brady and that would believe him in any circumstance (Brady, 2015).

“Within months he [Brady] had convinced me that there was no God at all: he could have told me that the earth was flat, the moon was made of green cheese and the sun rose in the west, I would have believed him” (Wilson & Wilson, 2015).

Despite her obsession, Hindley was capable to recognize the mindsets of Bradley and decide by herself as she did express some concerns about him in a letter written to a childhood friend (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022).

The couple's interests relayed on entertainment on crime and torture, weapons and photography, which would later be incorporated in their *modus operandi* (Wilson & Wilson, 2015).

8.4 Murders- victims

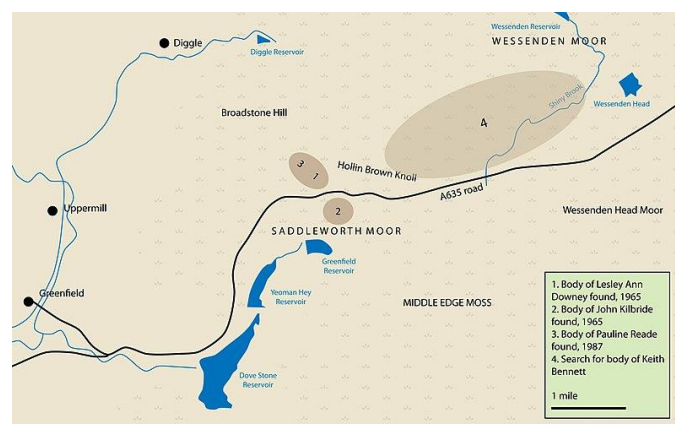


Figure 24 'The Moors' murders' locations - map

Source: (wikimedia, 2009)

Brady would follow Myra, who would be driving her minivan through town, in his motorcycle and signal her once he spotted the victim, flashing his headlight. Hindley would then offer a lift to the victim and ask them for help to look for a lost expensive glove in the Saddleworth Moor, or the Moors as it was known. There, the crimes would be committed (King, Foley, & Cummins, 2016) (Wilson & Wilson, 2015).

- **Pauline Reade**

On July 12, 1963, Ian Brady and Myra Hindley took their first life. Their first victim was a 16-year-old girl named Pauline Reade (Brady, 2015). That day, at around 8pm, Brady signaled Hindley as he stopped Pauline Reade walking down Froxmer Street (Wilson & Wilson, 2015). Once the girls arrived at the Moors, Brady appeared and was

introduced as Myra's boyfriend, who was also there to search for the glove (Brady, 2015).

On the site, Brady raped Pauline. Then, he hit her with a shovel, shattering her skull, and slashed her throat open, almost decapitating her. The collar of the girl's coat had also been purposely pushed into one of her wounds in order to cause her more pain (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022).

Myra Hindley, who allegedly waited on the van while Brady and Pauline went to "search for the lost glove" later reported that he came back about half an hour later, alone, and took her to the spot where he committed the crime (Brady, 2015).

Ian Brady, however, claims that Myra was there the entire time, participating in the torture, raping, and killing of the young girl (Wilson & Wilson, 2015).

Pauline's body would not be discovered until 20 years from then, on the 1st of July, 1987 since the first searches in 1985 ended up in nothing (King, Foley, & Cummins, 2016).



Figure 25 Ian Brady attempting to pinpoint the grave of victims Keith Bennett and Pauline Reade

Source: (Atkinson, 2016)



Figure 26 A search is carried out on Saddleworth Moor for missing children Keith Bennett (top right), Pauline Reade (bottom left) and John Kilbride (bottom right), October 1965. All three were the victims of Ian Brady and Myra Hindley.

Source: (Getty images, 2016)

- **John Kilbride**

The Moors killers took their second victim on the 23rd of November of 1963 (Cummins & King, 2019). Following the same modus operandi, Hindley approached 12-year-old John Kilbride at a market in Ashton under Lyne and asked him for help to carry some boxes (Wilson & Wilson, 2015).

Kilbride was sexually assaulted, and his throat was almost cut open with a six inch serrated blade but since it didn't work, Brady strangled the boy with a piece of string (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022). The body was buried in a shallow grave and when it was discovered, the boy's jeans and underpants were still pulled down, the underpants even being knotted at the back (Wilson & Wilson, 2015).



Figure 27 Myra Hindley standing over John Kilbride's grave with her dog, Puppet.

Source: (Moorsmurdersincolour, 2017)

- **Keith Bennett**

Keith Bennett was the third victim of Ian Brady and Myra Hindley. The 12-year-old boy was on his way to his grandmother's house in Longsight when he was approached by Hindley in her minivan that asked him for help to search for a lost glove (Wilson & Wilson, 2015). The woman said that she would offer him a lift home afterwards, so Keith Bennett agreed to help her (Wilson & Wilson, 2015).

Once they arrived at the Moors, Brady took Keith into a ravine and came back half an hour later with a shovel. Brady had just sexually assaulted Bennett and strangled him with a piece of string while Hindley watched. Keith Bennett's body has not been found since his death (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022). Later, Myra Hindley admitted that she had access to photos taken at the crime scene, but she had destroyed them after Brady's arrest (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022). A new search for the child's body began in 1987, but it proved unsuccessful (Cummins & King, 2019).

THE RIDDLE OF KEITH BENNETT

June 14, 1964: Keith (below) walking to his grandmother's, accepts a lift from Hindley, who drives him to the moors, where he is sexually assaulted and killed by Brady

Mid-1980s: Hindley and Brady are taken - separately - back to the Moors to assist with the search for Keith

2001: Hindley draws a map of where she believes Keith was buried, but to no avail

November 15, 2002: Hindley dies. Winnie Johnson,

Keith's mother, vows to keep up the search for her son's body

2003: Officers try to interview Brady about where he buried Keith but he refuses to speak

2005: Police begin Operation Maida to find Keith's body

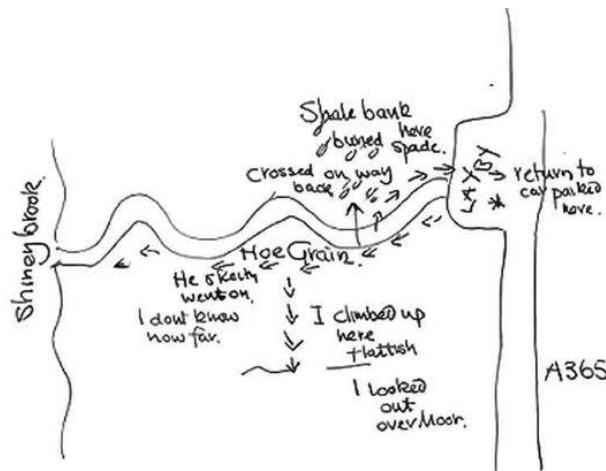
July 29, 2008: Team finds bones on Saddleworth Moor. They turn out to be from a sheep carcass

July 1, 2009: Greater Manchester Police call off the search



Figure 28 Chronological events of the Keith Bennett murder

Source: (Blanco J. I., Myra HINDLEY, 2022)



On the way out we walked on the left of the stream - back to layby - on the way back we crossed to stream to bury spade in shale.

Figure 29 Map draw done by Hindley of where she believes Keith Bennett was buried

Source: (Manchester Evening News, 2013)

- **Lesley Ann Downey**

Lesley Ann Downey was the fourth victim of Brady and Hindley. On boxing day 1964, the 10-year-old girl was at a funfair in Ancoats when she was approached by Hindley that conveniently dropped some of the packages she was carrying near the girl. Hindley then proceeded to ask Lesley Ann for help to transport the boxes to her car and then her home (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022). Once they arrived at their house at 16 Wardle Brook Avenue, the girl was stripped naked and gagged. She was forced to pose as she was being photographed and recorded before being strangled with a piece of string. (Wilson & Wilson, 2015).

Brady and Hindley's voices can be heard on the sixteen-minute tape³ pleading with and threatening the girl while she cries, retches, screams, and begs to be let to go home to her mother safely (Wilson & Wilson, 2015).

“Among the contents of the brown suitcase were five photographs of a child in the nude. [Superintendent Robert Alexander] also found two recording tapes. On two tracks, when played, he found voices of a man, a woman, and a child. The recordings on the tracks were identical. At the end of each tape was a recording of music – “Jolly Old St Nicholas” and “The Little Drummer Boy”. During the course of the investigation, he had spoken to Brady and Hindley on many occasions, and he was able to identify their voices on the tapes” (The Guardian, 1966), (Clark, 2011).

On her trial Hindley would claim that she was not present during the murder as she went off to the kitchen and then to prepare a bath for the child and only when she returned did she find the girl dead (Brady, 2015). Brady, however, made a telling misjudgment of speech while being cross-examined in the witness stand during their trial in April 1966, saying to the prosecutor that "we all got dressed" after the tape had been made (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022). This suggests that Hindley was also actively involved in the sexual abuse of the child and possibly the killing as well (Brady, 2015). In an open letter to the press written by Ian Brady in 1990, he asserted that not only did Hindley take part in the murder, as she also insisted on killing the girl herself with a silk cord that she would later toy with in public, remembering the murder (Wilson & Wilson, 2015).

³ A section of the tape transcript can be found in the attachment II.

On the following morning, December 27th, the couple drove to the Moors where they buried Downey, naked, with her clothes at her feet, in a shallow grave (Cummins & King, 2019).



Figure 30 Lesley Ann photographed by Brady

Source: (Noite Sinistra, 2012)



Figure 31 Downey and Kilbride's burial place

Source: (Getty images, 2016)

- **Edward Evans**

The final victim of the Moors serial killers was a 17-year-old boy named Edward Evans (Cummins & King, 2019). It was the 6th of October 1965, when the couple managed to lure Edward from Manchester Central Station into their house in Hattersley

(Odell & Gregg, 2006). Brady claimed that he had managed to persuade the boy by promising him sex, as the boy was thought to be homosexual, but it is unclear if this was truth or only a way of Brady to insult Edward as it was illegal to be homosexual in Britain at the time. Hindley had been introduced to Edward as Brady's sister (Odell & Gregg, 2006). There, Brady sneaked up on the boy and hit his head with an axe before finally strangling him. Afterwards, he ordered a man named David Smith, Hindley's brother-in-law, who was visiting her after she offered to give him some miniature bottles of wine, to help him carry the cadaver into their bedroom (Wilson & Wilson, 2015). Smith, however, after helping to clean up the room as he feared for his life if he didn't oblige, went home, and called the police. Involving the man in his murderers was Brady's fatal mistake that led to his arrest (Odell & Gregg, 2006). David himself has previously been in trouble with the police, having many convictions of violent offenses in juvenile courts and had been captivated by Brady's ideologies, noting in his own diary: "Rape is not a crime, it is a state of mind. Murder is a hobby and a supreme pleasure" (Harrison, 2016). The truth though was that the boy was only agreeing with these convictions to obtain Brady's friendship and never believed in the stories of Brady committing murder. (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022).



*Figure 32 Edward Evans
body photograph*

Source: (crimethroughtimecollection, 2019)

8.5 Arrest

The murder of Edward Evans, Smith had agreed to meet Brady the following evening to dispose of Evans' body but instead he contacted the police (Laurence, 2013). Smith related his experience in the night before at 16 Wardle Brook Ave, Hattersley, where his wife's grandmother, sister and brother-in-law lived, to the on-duty officer

(Serial Killer Calendar, 2022). The police rushed to the house where they found the body of 17-year-old Edward Evans and proceeded to arrest Ian Brady (Cummins & King, 2019). Myra Hindley was arrested four days later as there was no proof of her taking part in the murder yet. On the 11th of October Hindley was charged as an accessory of the murder of Edward Evans and was incarcerated at Risley (Laurence, 2013).

In the attachment III it can be found a piece of the call between Smith and the Hyde officer.

8.6 Investigation

On the first day of interrogation, Brady said that Smith had participated in the murder of Evans and that Hindley had only done what she was ordered to do. Smith however, claimed that he did not take any part on the murder. He also told the police that there were suitcases from the couple somewhere hidden in a left-luggage office in Manchester (Brady, 2015). British Transport police took a search all over Manchester and eventually, on the 15th of October, found the two suitcases at Manchester Central Station (Cummins & King, 2019). Photographs and a tape documenting the first round of torture done to Lesley Ann Downey were kept in the bags (Cummins & King, 2019). Ann Downey, Lesley Ann Downey's mother, after the discovery of her daughter's body, listened to the tape and confirmed that it was a recording of her daughter's voice. This evidence was crucial in court to sentence both Ian Brady and Myra Hindley. The left-luggage ticket had been hidden in the back of Myra's praying book. At the house where the couple lived, a book with the name of "John Kilbride", a missing boy, was also found. This led the police to start believing that Edward Evans was not the only murder committed by Brady and Hindley (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022).

Many photographs of the couple were found to be taken at Saddleworth Moor so on October 16th 150 officers were sent there to look for evidence (Brady, 2015). On the very same day that they were sent there, the police found an arm bone sticking out of the ground at the Moors. The bone was thought to be from John Kilbride but it was soon identified as belonging to Lesley Ann Downey. Her mother, who was there accompanying the investigation was presented to pieces of clothing recovered there and immediately identified them as belonging to her daughter (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022).

Five days later, on the opposite side of the A635 road where they had found the 10-year-old girl's body, Kilbride's cadaver was found (Odell & Gregg, 2006). The corpse was badly decomposed so the only way it was able to be identified was through his clothing. On the same day, Brady, who was already facing charges of the murder of Edward Evans, and Hindley, were charged with the murder of Lesley Ann Downey's and were taken into custody. Brady claimed that Lesley Ann had be taken to him and then from him alive by two men (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022).

On the 28th of October they both made a separately brief appearance at court and then remained into custody. The search on the Moors continued but with the winter coming, they were called off in November (Cummins & King, 2019).

On the 2nd of December Brady was charged with the murder of John Killbride and Hindley with the one of Edward Evans (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022). Brady and Hindley were both charged with the murders of Edward Evans, John Kilbride, and Lesley Ann Downey at the committal hearing on December 6. Hindley was also accused with harboring Brady while knowing that he had slain Kilbride (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022). Hindley and Brady were presented to three magistrates in Hyde during a 11-day period in December before being referred to Chester Assizes for trial (Cummins & King, 2019).

8.7 Trial and the public interest on the case

After just one month after the couple's arrest, death penalty was abolished in Britain and life imprisonment was the punishment for murder by the time they went to trial on the next April (Brady, 2015). Brady and Hindley's trial began on the 19th of April 1966 and took the duration of a fortnight. Presiding the court was Mr. Justice Fenton Atkinson (Cummins & King, 2019). The couple were given security to protect them as the crown inside the court was very disturbed. On this day they were both being charged with the murders of Evans, Downey and Kilbride, as it was believed that there was enough evidence to associate Myra's participation in the murder (Cummins & King, 2019). David Smith was the prosecution's key witness; however, it came to light during the trial that he had signed a contract with a newspaper—which he at first

refused to identify—guaranteeing him £1,000 (roughly £10,000 as of 2011) for the syndication rights to his story in the event Brady and Hindley were found guilty. The trial judge referred to this as a "gross interference with the course of justice" (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022). Finally, Smith acknowledged in court that the tabloid was the News of the World, which had already paid for a trip to France for him and his wife, was providing them with a regular income of £20 per week and was lodging them in a five-star hotel during the trial (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022).

At trial both elements of the couple pleaded not guilty, a statement that they maintained until 1985. They were called to give testimony, Hindley during six hours and Brady during eight (Cummins & King, 2019). Brady admitted to hitting Evans with an axe, however, as the boy's death was accelerated by strangulation, he argued that he did not kill him. (Cummins & King, 2019).

Hindley on her statement defended that she was unaware that the photographs at the Moors were taken near the graves found. Regarding the tape concerning Lesley Ann Downey, she agreed that she was cruel and rough on the child, but only because she feared that her screams would alert someone (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022). Besides claiming that she was preparing a bath during the time of the murder, Hindley also claimed that she was in another room looking out of the window while the photos of the girl were taken as she was stripped naked (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022).

In 1985 Brady allegedly confessed the murder of Pauline Reade and Keith Bennet to Fred Harrison, a journalist of *The Sunday People* (Cummins & King, 2019). Following this, the media pressured the police to reopen their cold cases. Detective Chief Superintendent Peter Topping, who had previously been appointed the Head of GMP's Criminal Investigation Department, visited Brady on July 3rd, 1985, at Gartree Prison where he was being held at the time. Brady, however, presented himself cynical about making such confession. Nevertheless, the search for the bodies continued (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022).

In November 1986 Keith Bennett's mother, Winnie Johnson, wrote a letter ⁴to Hindley begging her to say the location of her son's grave. Hindley, who was incarcerated at Cookham Wood at the time, is said to be genuinely moved by the letter,

⁴ See attachment IV

to which she responded ⁵agreeing to help her by looking at the photographs taken at the Moors and maps (Cummins & King, 2019).

Myra discarded herself of the act of the murder, and by so claimed not to know the precise location of the burial site. The area around Hollin Brown Knoll and Shiny Brook were the ones to which the killer paid more attention, but she claimed that it was impossible to know the exact location without going to the Moors (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022). Despite knowing that this would put Hindley's in danger, as she was a very hated woman in England, as stated by (Clark, 2011), the Home Secretary Douglas Hurd and detective Topping established that it was worth the risk to take her there to find the graves. In 1989 Topping told that he believed that Hindley's real reason to help in the searches was because she was aware of Brady's mental condition and was afraid that he would co-operate with the police and obtain profit from that situation, so she decided to do it first. The first visit that Hindley took to the Moors was made on the 16 of December 1986 (Brady, 2015). The police closed all the roads to Saddleworth Moor and four police cars were sent there at about 04:30h am. At the same time 200 officers, 40 of them armed were set there. Hindley arrived with her lawyer at about 8:30h am by helicopter. She was walking through the area, still, she found it difficult to trigger any memory and it ended up in nothing (Brady, 2015).

Topping continued to visit Hindley at prison, accompanied by her solicitor and her spiritual counsellor and it ultimately ended in her confessing to the police, on February 10th, 1987, her participation in all the five murders. Hindley's confession was recorded and had the duration of 17 hours. Topping pointed out that it was a "very well worked out performance in which, I believe, she told me just as much as she wanted me to know, and no more" and that he "was struck by the fact that she was never there when the killings took place" (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022). When the police presented Brady with the details of Hindley's confession, Brady agreed to confess in one condition, that he would be given means to commit suicide immediately afterwards. The authorities declined his request. At the time, Hindley received yet another letter from Winnie Johnson, making the same request as before, to which Hindley responded and revealed that had the letter been written 17 years before, she would have confessed and helped the police (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022).

⁵ See attachment V

On March of 1987, Hindley took her second visit to the Moors while being highly secured by the police, even spending the night at the flat of the police chief that oversaw the GMP at the time (Brady, 2015). Hindley visited the Moors twice and was able to identify two areas of interest- Hollin Brown Knoll and Hoe Grain. Despite not being able to precise the location of the graves, Hindley later confirmed that Pauline Reade had been buried in a place where she, sitting next to it on a patch of grass, was able to see the rocks of Hollin Brown Knoll, lit up against the night sky (Brady, 2015).

In April 1987 Hindley's confession became public information and Lord Lonford pleaded for her release. Her attorney, however, persuaded Hindley to write a statement on the reasons why she had denied her involvement in the murders before and that her religious experiences in prison as well as the letter from Keith Bennett's mother made her believe that there was no possible way of her release (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022). In this report Hindley also made it clear that David Smith had taken no part into any murders apart from the one of Edward Evans (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022). On the 1st of July 1987, after month of searching when the pursuit had been diminishing, a body was found in a shallow grave, 3 feet down and only about 90m away from the place where Lesley Ann Downey had been found (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022). Brady, who had been co-operating with the police already, made a formal confession to Topping as he discovered the news that Pauline Reade's body had been found. In a public statement to the press, Brady also agreed to help the police in their search (Brady, 2015). The serial killer was taken to the Moors on the 3rd of July. On his visit he claimed that too many changes had taken place in the Moors over the year, and he couldn't find the right direction to the graves so, at 3:00h pm, in front of a large crowd of the press, the search for the day was called off (Brady, 2015). After his visit, Ian Brady wrote a letter to the BBC television reporter Peter Gould giving some details on another 5 murders he claimed to have done, however, he refused to give any names. As the details were sketchy and Hindley affirmed never to know about those, the police, who never found any unsolved crimes with such details, disregarded it (Serial Killer Calendar, 2022).

Brady, attempted to visit the Moors a second time, but Topping and the police force denied it. On the 24th of August, the search on the Moors was called off. Brady was taken there in December, on the first day of the month, but he failed to pinpoint the burial place of Keith Bennett, which remains undiscovered until this day. In 2003 the

operation Maida was launched by the police in order to recover the body of Keith Bennett and more sophisticated equipment was used as well as the use of a US satellite, but it did not result in anything (Cummins & King, 2019).

In 2009, July 1st, the GMP officially called off the search of the body of the child, arguing that "only a major scientific breakthrough or fresh evidence would see the hunt for his body restart". The public, in another hand, started to make donations in order to fund another search on the Moors performed by volunteers from a Welsh search and rescue team that began in March of 2010 (Cummins & King, 2019).

8.8 Sentencing

On May 6th, 1966, after the jury deliberated for two hours and fourteen minutes, Brady was convicted on three counts of murder and sentenced to three terms of life imprisonment (Cummins & King, 2019). Hindley was found guilty of the murder of Evans and Downey and for harboring Brady in the murder of Kilbride, which led her to be given, for the respective murders, two life sentences and a seven-year verdict of incarceration.

8.9 Media on the Moors murders

A journalist from the Daily Sketch once claimed that, regarding the whole case, "The story just exploded. We had the world's press coming to us; not just Britain but everywhere. New Zealand, America, Japan, Paris. Every night we went to the Queen's Hotel in Hyde, where the police also congregated, to swap information. It was a colossal story" (Cummins & King, 2019).

The case has rarely, if ever, been out of the headlines.

Since the knowledge of the murders came to the public, the press was rushing to cover everything and obtain every information. Later, the murders were not only on newspapers but also on TV, documentaries, books and films were being made.

In 2005 a TV drama about the Moors murders was released. Danny Kilbride, the brother of the victim John Kilbride, supported it, however, in 2001, he had the opposite attitude regarding the release of Ian Brady's book, claiming that with that he would be able to obtain a small fortune and that it would not be ethically correct (Cummins &

King, 2019). He stated that "They're actually building up a small fortune for when they are released, if ever they are released, which is wrong in my view ... in Brady's case... well, I appeal to Brady's mother not to accept this money because I certainly couldn't. If it was one of my children, I would be ashamed..." (Cummins & King, 2019).

The society, hungry to understand such evil acts and comprehend how they happened and the outcome of such, became increasingly interested and it was not long until dark tourism took place.

In this situation, either to pay respect to the victims, to the sites associated with the murders and learn about them or even to fulfil themselves for craving this dark content, people started to not only acquire content on the subject but also to search for the sites and take a more cultural point of view.

Regarding Brady's book, quoted several times in this thesis, was released in August 2001. It was a report on serial killers and the psychological facts associated with them. The families of the victims opposed to the publication of the book, entitled *The Gates of Janus*, but editors argued that "Brady considers the idea of good and evil and believes that people should be able to do what they want. It is very persuasive."

Another author previously mentioned, Colin Wilson, also supported the publisher's decision claiming that the book could be helpful for criminologists and psychologists who are trying to understand the concept of murder. The case has rarely, if ever, been out of the headlines.

8.10 Dark cultural heritage

The first and most iconic site related to the murders is, without a doubt, Saddleworth Moor. The place was a favorite of the couple and there they not only often went to drink and take photographs, but also murdered, raped, and buried most of their victims.



Figure 33 The Serpent stone, where the couple liked to sit in Saddleworth Moor.

Source: (Ludchurchmyblog wordpress, 2013)



Figure 34 A view of Saddleworth Moor, in Greater Manchester, from Hollin Brown Knoll. The A635 road cuts through the moor, and in the distance Yeoman Hey reservoir, and Dove Stones reservoir, are visible.

Source: (Wikipedia contributors, 2022)

It is also believed that Keith Bennett's body, who is still to be found, is buried there.

On the Moors, at Wessenden Head, West Yorkshire, there is also a small memorial in honor to Keith where many visit to pay their respects and leave teddy bears and flowers.



Figure 35 Keith Bennett's memorial site

Source: (Bracchi, 2022)

Tours through the precise location of the burial of the remaining victims of Brady and Hindley were expected to take place for the small amount of 10 pounds but Chris Crowther, a member of the family who own that specific piece of land claimed that such would be utterly disrespectful for the victims and their families (Wilkinson, 2018).

Many true crime fans aim to visit the homes of serial killers as they become dark celebrities. Regarding the Moors murderers, however, this is not possible since the house was demolished by the local council in 1987. For the still curious, at the present time it only remains there an open space (Laurence, 2013).

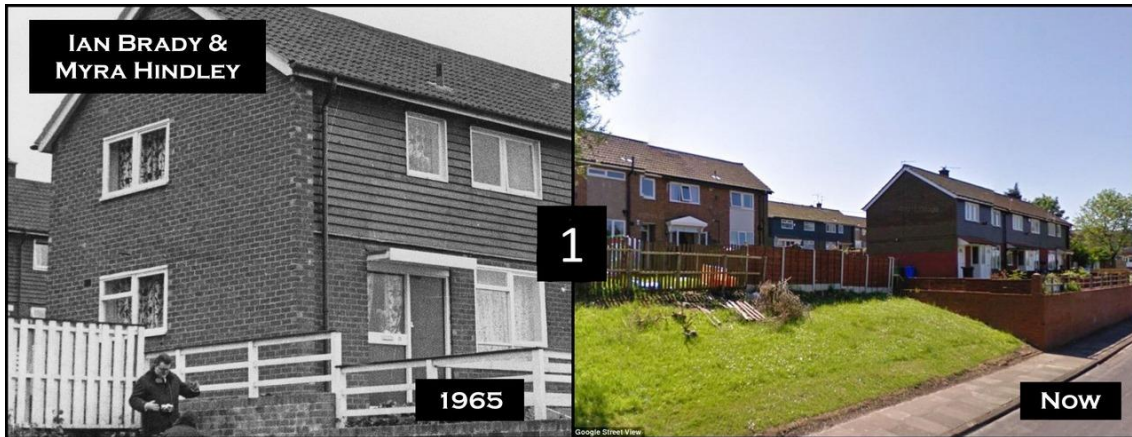


Figure 36 Myra Hindley and Ian Brady's home, then and now

Source: (Freya, 2019)

For those who are interested in the Moors murder, they can also visit littledean jail at Littledean, Nr. Cinderford, U.K. There, people can find an exhibition of items that belonged to Hindley and were left to a fellow prisoner, Linda Calvey.



Figure 37 Froxmer Street view

Froxmer Street in Manchester is the place where Pauline Reade, the couple's first victim, was taken by Myra Hindley



Figure 38 Killbride's grave

Source: (Halley, 2022)

John Killbride's grave can be found at the Ashton under Lyne cemetery. The boy was Hindley and Brady's second victim.



Figure 39 Littledean Jail

Source: (Littledean Jail, 2022)

Calvey donated them to the littledean jail as her relationship with Myra was not pleasant and she had no idea why she decided to leave her such objects (Littledean Jail, 2017). Littledean jail is a museum that is open until October, 2022, and has tours and visits that vary from free entrance (for children under 3 and people above 100 years old) to 9 pounds. Despite being allowed to enter, the museum strongly advise that the place is not suitable for children (Littledean Jail, 2017).

9 Andrei Chikatilo- URSS

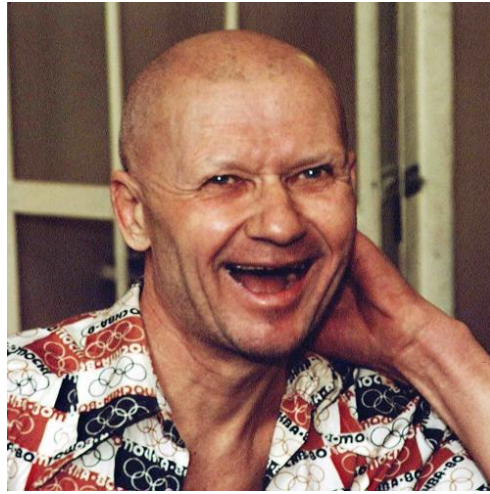


Figure 40 Andrei Chikatilo

Source: (Semensato, 2021)

Andrei Chikatilo, also known as the werewolf, butcher, or ripper of Rostov, or even the red ripper, was a serial killer convicted to the murder of 52 people and judged by the murder of 53. Between 1978 and 1990 Chikatilo killed 14 girls, 18 women, and 21 boys. He did so dismembering and even feasting on some of his victims (Fox & Levin, 1994).

Chikatilo is considered a hedonist, someone who murders for sexual pleasure and personal satisfaction (Makliuk , 2013). A complex mix of biological, psychological, and sociocultural elements may explain the beginning and persistence of his homicidal behavior, according to research that takes into consideration psychodynamic and behaviorist viewpoints (Willmott, Boduszek, & Robins, 2018).

9.1 Portrait of the serial killer psyche

Born in 1936 in Yablochnoye, Sums kaya Oblast belonging, in the modern-day Ukraine, Chikatilo had, as many serial killers did, a ruff childhood. The serial killer undoubtedly grew up in conditions that would develop his murderous impulses, including experiencing poverty and hunger under Stalin's collectivization as well as hearing multiple times about an older sibling, Stepan, who was killed and eaten by

neighbors during the Holodomor's famine since a very young age, (Newton, 2000). The story of Stepan cannot be officially confirmed since there is no record of his birth or death, however, there were many reports of cannibalism and profanation of corpses during that time in the area (López, 2019). Regarding the veracity of the story, it affected profoundly Andrei Chikatilo. In accordance to Bob Cullen, the author of *The killer Department* (a book on the case of Andrei Chikatilo), another traumatic factor that may have contributed to the psyche of the serial killer was the sight of his mother being raped by a German soldier in his own home, from which later, in 1943, would result in the birth of his sister Tatyana (Robinson, 2004). The ultimate circumstance that shaped the future of Chikatilo and those who cross-pathed with him, was his impotence. The serial killer was born with a slightly hydrocephalic skull, a condition that is characterized by the excess of cerebrospinal fluid in the fluid-containing cavities or ventricles of the brain, resulting in pressure on the tissues of the brain that are enclosed in the skull (Shuer, Thakkar, MD, & FAANS, 2022). The symptoms of the condition are innumerable, and the serial killer presented papilledema (swelling of the optic disc), urinary incontinence, bladder incontinence and, later in life, premature ejaculation, and sexual impotence (Cullen, 1993).

9.2 Murders and arrest

Chikatilo presented as an average man in what concerns his public life. He had a university degree, a wife and two children that he treated with much care, which made people more confused about how he could do what he did to other children (López, 2019). The serial killer behavior started to show as he, employed as a school dormitory supervisor, was accused of molesting young boys. This led to him getting fired, however, the director of the school covered up the situation, trying not to ruin the institution public image (Newton, 2000). At the time, the Soviet Union was ruled by a regime where it was advertised that in a "people's republic" there were no such thing as murders. After being fired, Chikatilo took a new job as a factor supply clerk in Rostov-on-Don, a place that would forever be associated with him. This new occupation, the serial killer was provided with the perfect circumstances to travel without suspicion and kill in separate places, which made harder to link the murders (Newton, 2000). Chikatilo would often use the railway stations to lure his victims (López, 2019).

The first murder took place on the 22nd of December 1978, in a town named Shakhty (Newton, 2000). The victim was a 9-year-old girl named Lena Zakotnova and her body was found merely days after her death in Grushevka River. The body presented signs of the girl being strangled, raped, and repeatedly stabbed (López, 2019). Despite being one of the first individuals to be questioned in the case, as a trail of blood went from a forest to his cabin, Chikatilo managed to avoid suspicions as the police believed in the apparently respected man and, instead, sentenced Chikatilo's neighbor, Alexander Kravchenko (López, 2019). Kravchenko was a 25-year-old ex-convict pedophile who had served time for murder and rape, so he fitted the profile of the murder that the police was looking for (Newton, 2000). After being beat up, Kravchenko falsely confessed to the murder of Zakotnova and for that, he was sentenced to death (Newton, 2000).

At the time, Russia had a different view on murder and sex crimes since it was believed that in a communist society there were no such things as those (Rosenfel, 2009). This philosophy replaced the concern of public security, which led to many crimes being wrongly closed by the police, that neglected them, and natural death or accidents were stated as the official cause of death of the victims (Rosenfel, 2009). Another outcome was to force a confession of a suspect, being guilty or not as "The confession was the pivotal stage in any investigation... some Russians, even now, hold the mistaken belief that a defendant who does not confess cannot be convicted" (Rosenfel, 2009). After the conviction of Chikatilo, Kravchenko was given a posthumous pardon for this account (Newton, 2000).

In the following years, Chikatilo murdered 52 more people, mutilating the victims, raping them and butchering them up in such a way that it was clear that murder was not the goal of the killer, but the act of the violence itself (López, 2019). In 1984, when eight victims were found in only one month and Chikatilo's murder spree seemed to never end, the man was again held for questioning, however, had to be released for lack of evidence against him. In the end, police interviewed over 25 thousand suspects and solved 95 other murder cases and 254 accounts of rape in Rostov-on-Don due to the investigation taken by them, before finally arresting Chikatilo (Newton, 2000). In November of 1990, Chikatilo was spotted at a railway station by a undercover police officer. He had bloodstains on his face and his hand, so his name was taken down by the police officer (Newton, 2000). On November 20th Chikatilo was taken to the police

station to be questioned as another victim was found near the railway station where he had been (Newton, 2000). Eight days later, after an intense row of interrogation, Chikatilo confessed to 55 murders, leading the police to murders that they haven't yet linked to the case or even bodies they had not found (López, 2019).

After his arrest, Chikatilo helped the authorities to understand how the murders were performed, even replicating them on mannequins. He admitted mutilating the victims prior to their death (López, 2019).



Figure 41 Chikatilo showing how he killed his victims with the aid of a mannequin

Source: (Blanco J. I., Andrei Romanovich CHIKATILO- photos bn, 2022)

In June 1992, Chikatilo went to trial, charged with the murder of 53 people. By the 15th of October the serial killer was sentenced to death by gun shot after being convicted to 52 of the 53 claims against him (Newton, 2000). Despite the appeal for clemency taken last-minute, which was rejected by the then President Boris Yeltsin, Andrei Chikatilo was executed on February 14th (Rosenfel, 2009).

Regarding the victims that Chikatilo was not charged with, despite his confession, that were said by the serial killer to have taken place in Shakhty between 1980 and 1982, no remains were found on such locations and the description he made of them didn't match any missing report files so there was not enough evidence to plea charges against him (Newton, 2000). At his trial Chikatilo claimed to have killed 4 more people that the 52 he was charged and convicted for, being the last addition an 18-year-old girl from Bataysk named Irina Pogoryelova (Newton, 2000). Pogoryelova had been missing

since August 11th, 1986, and her remains had been found seven days later at a collective farm. Chikatilo is considered the prime suspect in the investigation taken into the case, however, official charges were not taken into him as there was not enough evidence (Newton, 2000). Chikatilo had been questioned about Poroyelova at the moment of his confession of 53 people but he declined such accusations, only to acknowledge them to be true at his trial (Newton, 2000).

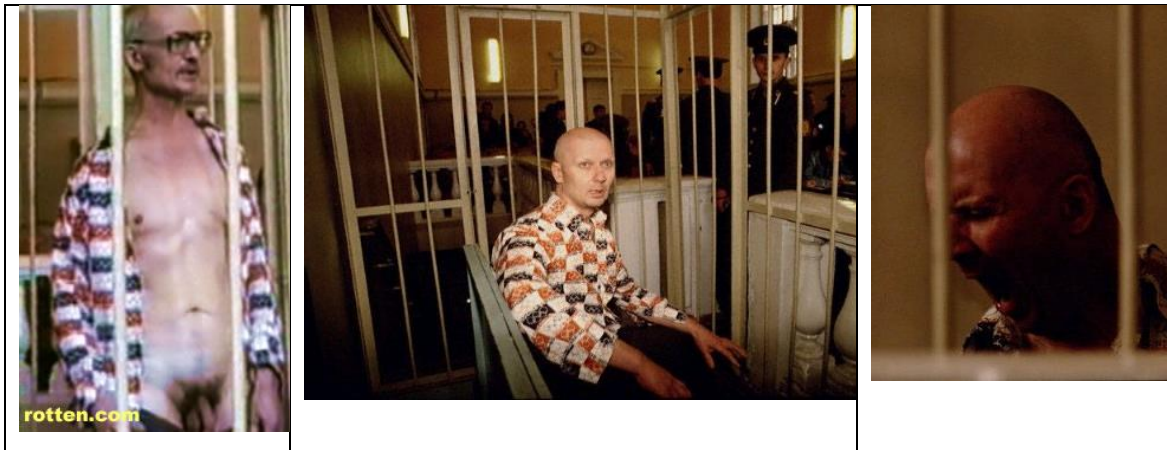


Table 3 Chikatilo during his trial

Source: (Blanco J. I., Andrei Romanovich CHIKATILO- photos color, 2022)

Chikatilo had a very peculiar court hearing. His crimes were so horrific that, to protect him from the families of the victims and the enraged population of the URSS, he was put in a metal cage inside the court room (López, 2019). Despite the scenery, Chikatilo was smiling, even laughing, and yawning sometimes (López, 2019). His behavior was completely disrespectful towards the victims and their relatives, and he showed no sign of remorse having even dropped his pants during one occasion (López, 2019).

9.3 *Modus Operandi*



Figure 42 Chikatilo's victims wounds

Source: (Blanco J. I., Andrei Romanovich CHIKATILO- crime scenes, 2022)

Andrei Chikatilo's MO was very consistent. He lured his victims, the majority of which were minors, and then strapped them or immobilized them by other means (López, 2019).

A signature of the serial killer was to remove the eyeballs of his victims as accordingly to an old soviet myth, the last picture that the individual would see before his death would be engraved in his eyes (López, 2019).

9.4 Dark cultural heritage

Regarding material that those who are interested in the case can consume in order to get more knowledge on the subject there were movies, documentaries and even books made about it. The desire for information about the serial killer made the tourism sites more appealing for the enthusiasts, and vice-versa.

Movie	Miniseries	Book
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<p>Citizen X- movie Source: (NA, 2004)</p>	<p>Chikatilo- Miniseries Source: (IMDb, 2021)</p>	<p>Killers: As vidas e as mortes de onze terríveis assassinos em série – book Source: (López, 2019)</p>

Table 4 Content on Chikatilo's murders

9.5 Tourism sites

After Chikatilo's crimes, many became interested in the case and started to look into ways to get closer to it. Some locations became dark heritage associated with the serial killer and can be visited by the most curious of the tourists.

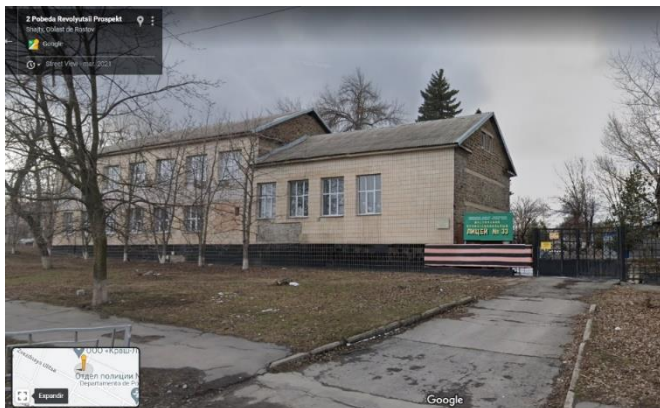


Figure 43 Rostov school n°33 where Chikatilo worked

Source: (Google Maps, 2022)

It was there that Chikatilo began to sexually assault students between 1978 and 1981 when he was finally fired (Cruz, 2019).



Figure 44 Aviator's Park

Source: (inspirock, 2022)

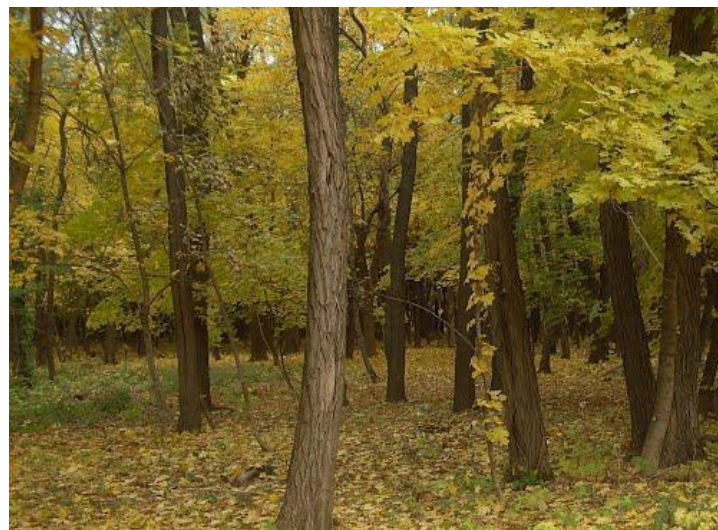


Figure 45 Wooded area of Aviator's Park, Rostov

Source: (wikimapia, 2022)

At the wooded area of the Aviator's Park, a symbol of the city of Rostov, even present in some postcards, Chikatilo murdered many of his victims, including his

youngest victim, Igor Gudkov (Cruz, 2019). With only 8 years old, Gudkov was severely stabbed and his genital organs, as well as his eyes, were removed.



Figure 46 Novocherkassk Prison

Source: (Google Maps, 2022)

The Rostov Ripper, as Chikatillo became known, was executed at Novocherkassk prison, now Ulkrainskaya Ulitsa,1 at Fku Sizo-3 Gufsin Rossii Po Rostovskoy Oblasti (Cruz, 2019).

10 Diogo Alves-Portugal



Figure 47 Head of Diogo Alves at the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Lisbon

Source: (Torre de Babel blog, 2017)

Diogo Alves, or “*Pancada*” as he became known, was a famous Portuguese serial killer that inhabited Lisbon during the XIX century (Bastos, 2021). The serial killer was born in 1810 in Lugo, Galicia, son of Anselmo and Rosa Alves, and his family was very poor (Bastos, 2021). As it was customary at the time, once the boy was old enough, he was sent to Lisbon to find a job. Even though most of the Spanish boys who went to Lisbon were doing so to find a job at the construction of the new aqueduct, Diogo Alves found a job as a stable boy and later as a charioteer (Bastos, 2021).

Growing up, the serial killer started to gamble more money than what he could earn, making debts and starting to resort to crime in order to pay them. Alves was fired from some families that had employed him as he was no longer trustable for them, and besides stealing and gambling, he often spent much time at the bars (Iñiguez, 2018).

10.1 The Murders

To obtain money, Diogo Alves became a fierce thief of Lisbon. Around 1836 he formed a team with some of his friends and together they would rob houses and attack merchants in the place that would become the crime scene of the serial killer’s murders, the aqueduct of Águas Livres (Iñiguez, 2018).

Diogo Alves had access to the aqueduct since he somehow managed to have the copies to the keys that allowed him to go to the top of it without leaving a trail. There, he would attack his victims, rob them and, to avoid that they would tell the authorities anything about the criminal act, he would throw them down to a certain death from a 65m fall (Bastos, 2021).

Since Portugal was facing a liberal revolution and many were those who faced extreme poverty and hunger, the deaths were ruled as suicides and the authorities took no effort into the matter. Diogo Alves murdered more than 70 people but the exact number cannot be identified as he did not confess to the murders and no proper investigation was done (Iñiguez, 2018).

With the time going by and the murders going on, citizens started to wonder if the deaths were actually from suicides, and many started to believe that at the top of

the aqueduct there was a supernatural monster that was killing people. Afraid, the population started to avoid the location and in 1837 the road was officially closed (Bastos, 2021).

After the aqueduct was closed Diogo Alves continued to rob properties and kill people with his gang and that was what led him to his arrest as he murdered an entire family of a well-known doctor in Lisbon (Bastos, 2021). For that, he was snitched out to the authorities by a member of his own gang, a man nicknamed the “*Enterrador*”, and was decapitated three years after the massacre, in February of 1841, at *Cais do Tojo* of Lisbon. After his death, his head was taken by the doctors of the *Escola Médico-Cirúrgica* (Medical-surgical school of Lisbon) so they could study it and try to discover what led him to become such a vile murder (Iñiguez, 2018).

The serial killer’s head remains preserved in formol at the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Lisbon (Iñiguez, 2018).

10.2 Cultural heritage

- *Os Crimes de Diogo Alves*



Figure 48 *Os Crimes de Diogo Alves*- photo of the movie

Source: (wikimedia, 2006)

Os Crimes de Diogo Alves was a silent film made in 1911, in Portugal about the story of Diogo Alves and his crimes.

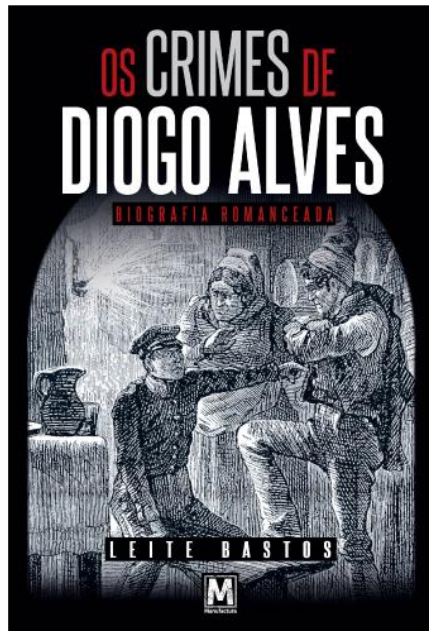


Figure 49 *Os Crimes de Diogo Alves* by Leite Batos cover

Source: (Europress editora, 2021)

The book *Os Crimes the Diogo Alves*, with the same title as the movie of 1911, also portray the story of Diogo Alves and his murder spree. It was first published in 1877 and later republished in 2006, being one of the few pieces ever written about the serial killer.

10.3 Tourism sites

- **Aqueduct of Águas Livres:**



Figure 50 Aqueduct of Águas Livres

Source: (wikimedia, 2022)

The aqueduct of Águas Livres of Lisbon, located at the Alcântara valley, is a construction of 65m high bridge with arches with a system that allowed a reservoir to be made and the store of water. On the top there is a road that was used by merchants to travel. Nowadays it is possible to have a tour through the aqueduct and even visit the reservoir. The facilities also provide with a museum that regards the structure's history.



Figure 51 Aqueduct of Águas livres and the museum logo

Source: (EPAL, 2022)

11 Luísa de Jesus- Serial Killer



Descrição: Luísa de Jesus

Source: (Pereira, Luísa de Jesus: a primeira assassina em série portuguesa, 2022)

11.1 About her

Luísa/ Luiza (as it was written at the time) de Jesus would become not only the first but also the most notorious female serial killer in Portugal, being the last woman to be executed in Portugal (however, not the last one to be convicted to death) (Serra, 2021).

The serial killer was born on December 10th, 1750, at the Gavinhos mountain's, Penacova, Luísa de Jesus was the daughter of galician descendants Manoel and Mariana Rodrigues/Roiz (there are no official documents stating which one was it) (Pereira, Luísa de Jesus: a primeira assassina em série portuguesa, 2022). It is known that she was married to a man named Manoel Gomes that seemed to have disappeared as there is no record of his location during the years of Luísa's murder spree (Dias, 2020).

In 1772, when she was caught, she worked as a freight carrier, transporting packages and products to and from *serranas* (a special kind of boat known to be popular at the Mondego River in Coimbra) (Serra, 2021). The serial killer was convicted to have murdered 33 children, having however only confessed to kill 28 (Dias, 2020). She also appeared for the first time in the *Misericórdia* as a maid, to feed a baby in exchange for money, meaning she had just given birth to a child, which fate is still unknown (Dias, 2020).

Another aspect is that according to the records, even though 33 bodies were found, Luísa had picked 34 from the wheel (Dias, 2020). Despite not being her real last name, Luísa took de Jesus as it, which is ironic since these was the family name assigned to the abandoned babies, along with other religious ones such as “dos Santos” and “dos Anjos” (Dias, 2020).

11.2 Life in Portugal- A social and economic Perspective

In the XVIII century, due to harsh social demands that disapproved bastard children, those with deformities or born before the marriage of the parents, many were the babies who were abandoned (Serra, 2021). The rate of abandoned children was increased due to a lack of financial resources to care for the child, undesired or forced pregnancies brought on by either forced sexual interactions or a lack of access to contraception (Dias, 2020).

11.3 The Wheel and how it worked

In Portugal, at the XVIII century, over 80% of the children that were taken to the wheel would never survive (Serra, 2021). Since many of the children were already ill or would succumb to the device itself, becoming sick, they were suffocated as in an act of mercy (since they were terminal) (Serra, 2021). The foundling wheel, or the baby hatch, was founded in Italy in the Middle Ages and it remained very popular until the XVIII/ XIX centuries, spreading throughout the Europe (Overmyer, 2019).

In Portugal, they were from the responsibility of the governors until the XVI century when the called “*misericórdias*” appeared (Serra, 2021). *Misericórdias* were facilities specially design to receive the children that were ill or abandoned (Serra, 2021).

Queen Maria I (also known as Maria Pia) proclaimed on May 24th, 1783, that all towns in the reign must had a founding wheel (Serra, 2021).The wheel of the exposed were two feet tall devices made of wood integrated into the facility (churches, hospitals or *casas da misericordia*). They appeared to be windows, however, inside, they had a cylinder mechanism, as large as a newborn baby, that would rotate in order to take the baby that was placed there (Overmyer, 2019).Once the babies were put in the wheel, the carrier would pull a string attached to a bell that would ring in the other side of the wall, signaling the person inside the facility, often nurses or nuns, that a baby was there (Overmyer, 2019).They would rotate the device towards them as the bell rang and take the child (Serra, 2021).This way, the anonymity of the people who would dispose the children would be secured, as well as the babies’ safety (Dias, 2020).

When the mothers left off the newborns, they would occasionally include notes designating a local nurse, such as themselves. In this way, women could see and nurse their own children while the facility took care of the baby's other expenses (Overmyer, 2019).Mothers would also deposit their babies in the wheel only to retrieve them and then collect the money and cloth that came with it (Dias, 2020).

In Coimbra, where the serial killer operated, the *Misericórdia* was the one that ruled “the royal house of the exposed”, build in 1712 at the Arroio hill (Dias, 2020).The weather was not ideal neither in the winter nor in the summer so many children would succumb there, roughly 100 of them per year (Dias, 2020).Their bodies would be buried around the walls of the facility (Dias, 2020).



Figure 52 The Wheel

Source: (Rodrigues, 2017)

11.4 The Murders

Luísa de Jesus would often use her job as an excuse to pick up children from the *Casa da Misericórdia* in Coimbra, as she could use the fact of working with merchandizing and claim to collect babies and deliver them to other people (Dias, 2020). To do so, Luísa would fake the addresses and names to put in the records or use names of actual couples that after being questioned, claimed to never ask or receive a baby. The serial killer would also fake her name as she picked children in different locations (Dias, 2020). After picking the babies from facilities that had a wheel, Luísa de Jesus would either walk into the woods from Monte Arroio to garrotte and burry them or killed them and then move to her house (Serra, 2021).

There she would dismember them and put them underneath her floor, made of hay, as at the time the poor people had in their small houses, on wholes on the ground or even in pots (Serra, 2021). Luísa became known to be one of the largest infanticides on history, getting into the category of “angels of death” and compared to Beverly Gail Allit, Dagmar Overbye and Amelia Dyer, three other notorious female serial killers and infanticides ever known (Dias, 2020).

11.5 After being caught

Luísa de Jesus was caught after a woman that worked on the house of the wheel of Coimbra, Angélica Maria, found a baby at Mount Arroio with severe evidence of strangulation (Dias, 2020). She soon reported it to the police and told them that there as a woman named Luísa de Jesus that often went to pick babies from the wheel (Dias, 2020). The serial killer had been murdering for years without anyone noticed as she was a friend of both the responsible of the director of the house of the wheel, Maria de Conceição, and a caregiver that worked there, Margarida Joaquina (Pereira, Luísa de Jesus: a primeira assassina em série portuguesa, 2022). The two latest, as well as the man responsible to register the names of the people who went to pick babies and which ones, the lawyer Pascoal Ribeiro da Silva, were detained for malpractice and for not performing the regular check-ups on the families, as they should, but soon they were released as there was not enough evidence to convict them (Pereira, Luísa de Jesus: a primeira assassina em série portuguesa, 2022). Rute Serra, a Master of Laws graduate, came across the conviction handed down by the *Casa da Suplicação* de Lisboa in 1772 upon Luísa de Jesus, a 22-year-old woman (Serra, 2021). The offender was charged with the murder of 33 infants from the *Roda da Misericórdia* in Coimbra (Serra, 2021). As she was said to only be 22 years old⁶, “*florente idade de vinte e dois annos em que se encontra*” the defendant team tried to use it as a way to exonerate Luísa de Jesus from her crimes, since at the time for women, 25 was the age at which they would officially become old enough to be judge for such crimes (Pereira, Luísa de Jesus: a primeira assassina em série portuguesa, 2022). The court, however, having not only her confession but also the evidence found at her home, decided that she was capable to be judged and convicted for her crimes (Pereira, Luísa de Jesus: a primeira assassina em série portuguesa, 2022).

Luísa de Jesus was sentenced⁷ to the most painful of the punishments, she was to be publicly tortured by walking the streets of Lisbon with a spleen around her neck as her crimes were read out loud (Serra, 2021). In the trail to her death site, she would also

⁶ See attachment VI

⁷ See attachment VII

suffer from a process called *atenazar*, which regards her being burn repeatedly by tongs between 200°C and 450°C. This method of torture has a biblical connection that regards purification and closeness to God (Dias, 2020). Finally, her hands would be cut off and a tourniquet around her neck would be made as she was tied up to a chair, asphyxiating (Dias, 2020). Once she was dead, her body was burned into ashes so there would not be no religious burial or aftermath and for the memory of such heinous crimes to be obliviaded (Dias, 2020).

A second sentence was given to the serial killer in which she had to pay 50 thousand *reis* (the coin used in Portugal at the time) for the expenses of the court and the thefts that she performed by collecting the reward of taking the children with her (Esteves, 2017).

11.6 Cultural heritage

From April 29th until May 30th, 2021, an adaptation of the story of Luísa de Jesus, written by Rute de Carvalho Serra and based on her own novel on the theme, was made for the theatres (Lusa, 2021). The play, titled “Luísa de Jesus- *a assassina da roda*”, was performed at the Trindade theatre, in Lisbon (Lusa, 2021).



Figure 53 Actress performing as Luísa de Jesus

Source: (Teatro da Trindade, 2021)

“O meu nome é luiza de jesus” is a movie written by Rita Roberto on the female serial case (c7nema, 2022).

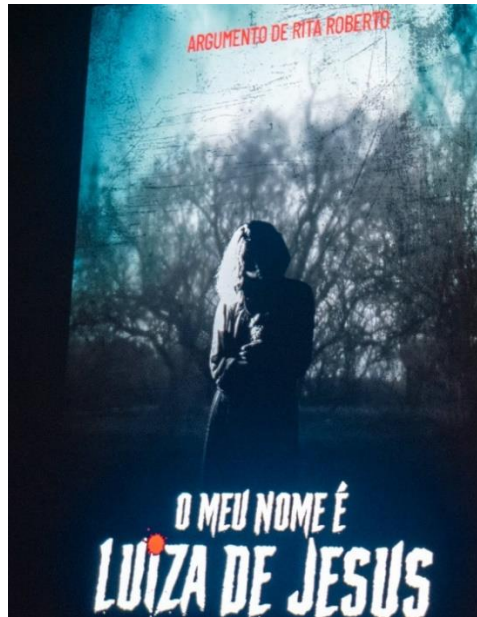


Figure 54 "O meu nome é Luiza de Jesus" movie poster

Source: (c7nema, 2022)

Regarding books, there are two books on the subject known.

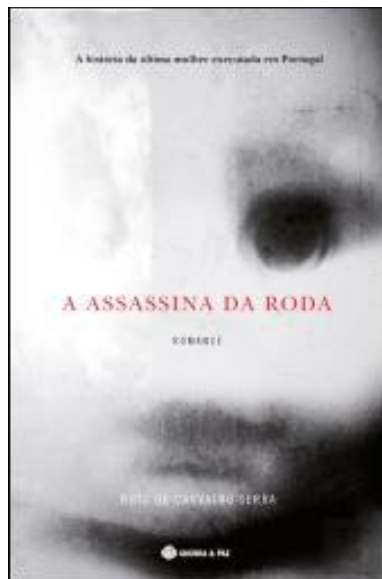


Figure 55 "A assassina da roda" by Rute de Carvalho Serra cover

Source: (Serra, 2021)

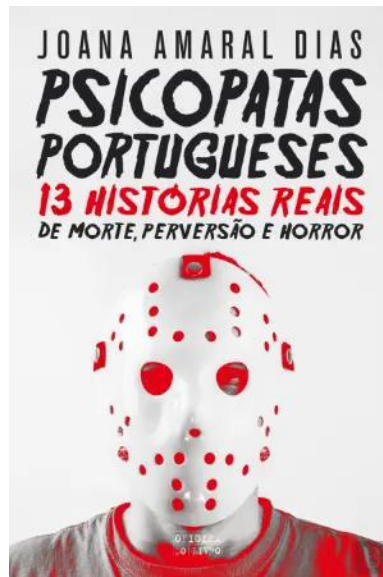


Figure 56 “*Psicopatas portugueses: 13 histórias reais de morte, perversão e horror*” by Joana Amaral Dias cover

Source: (Dias, 2020)

Nevertheless, the cultural heritage around this case remains low.

11.7 Tourism sites

The first place that tourists can visit is Mount Arroio, where many of the bodies were buried and found.

This place is known from its beauty. In his book intitled *Belezas de Coimbra* (Beauties of Coimbra), António Corte-Real describes it as “... coberta de oliveiras, os vaga-lumes que parecem lanternaes voando pelos ares e luzindo entre as ervas, as exalações do Céu, risos de Vénus e Vulcano, com lhes chamavam os antigos, vem aumentar o segredo da melancolia que parece habitar nesta solidão” (Corte-Real, 2015)



Figure 57 Mountains at Figueira de Lorvão where Luísa de Jesus lived and committed her crimes

Source: (Carricho, 2014)

To better comprehend the system of the wheel, when visiting Portugal, the individual can find remains of the wheel of the exposed such as the Wheel of the exposed in Almeida, Guarda, at Rua da Muralha (Castro, 2015). The Wheel in Coimbra can no longer be found as the Casa da Misericórdia building is no longer the same.



Table 5 House of the Wheel of the exposed and the respective wheel, a view from the outside street

Source: (Castro, 2015)

CONCLUSION- AN INTERCULTURAL VIEW ON TRUE CRIME TOURISM

Despite the fact that thanatourism and serial crime seem to be a part of the Anglo-Saxon tradition, explored and publicized by Hollywood movies or Netflix series, it is possible to understand that it also takes a place in Portugal, not being, however, properly studied and noticed.

The appeal towards death and locations connected to the dark, religion and mysticism have long been present in Portugal's culture, as in many other countries around the world, but only during the recent years have people denoted it and discovered that many mundane acts can be inserted in the category of thanatourism, exploring this heritage for tourist purposes.

Taking special attention into serial murders and the excitement around it that has been taking place around the globe, it is importante for the country's culture and economy to recognize that Portugal also has serial killers, and that they can be linked to local heritage, providing an opportunity to explore this stories and heritage as a source of tourism.

Death and murder interconnects Portugal's culture to other cultures , as murder is present everywhere, and so is the interest on the macabre aspect of death, on understanding how someone died and the story behind it. Storytelling plays an important role as it elevates the cultural view of serial murder and gives it mysticism to every case and it should be used to create narratives about plac's identity in order to attract more tourist and give a sense to the locations.

An analysis of the subject of thanatourism and serial crime concluded that there is indeed heritage in Portugal that can be linked to serial killers and also be a source of tourism, thanatourism, providing a further knowledge on a side of Portuguese culture that is often disregarded. The development of the study of touristic sites around the world connected to serial murder has created a new source of economic exploitation as well as heritage growth, acknowledging a dark trait of the countries' identity.

It is, therefore, significant for the country to use thanatourism as a way to develop storytelling on its heritage as it provides benefits that go behind the historiography of the serial killers and further into the anthropological view on them as

well as the cultural development and interests given by the myths and stories that surround each serial murder.

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13 [Jeffrey Dahmer victims]

			
Steven Hicks ??-06-1978	Steven Tuomi 21-11-1987	James Doxtator 16-01-1988	Richard Guerrero 24-03-1988
			
Anthony Lee Sears 25-03-1989	Raymond Lamont Smith 20-05-1990	Edward W. Smith 14-06-1990	Ernest Miller ??-??-1990
			
David Thomas 24-09-1990	Curtis Straughter 18-02-1991	Errol Lindsay 07-04-1991	Anthony Hughs 24-05-1991
			
Konerak	Matt Turner	Jeremiah	Oliver Lacy

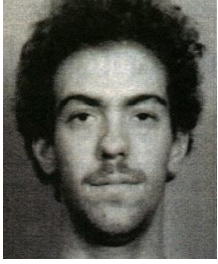
Sinthasomphone 27-05-1991	30-06-1991	Weinberger 07-07-1991	15-07-1991
			
Joseph Bradehoft 19-07-1991			

Table 6 Jeffrey Dahmer's victims

(Blanco J. I., 2022)

14 [Jeffrey Dahmer – Culture material]

<p>Dahmer - Monster: The Jeffrey Dahmer Story - series (Brennan & Murphy, 2022)</p>	<p>Dahmer – movie (Birk & Jacobson, 2022)</p>	<p>Conversations with a Killer: The Jeffrey Dahmer Tapes Series (ImbD, 2022)</p>	<p>Monster: The True Story of the Jeffrey Dahmer Murders – book (Schwartz, 2021)</p>	<p>Killers: As vidas e as mortes de onze terríveis assassinos em série – book (López, 2019)</p>

Table 7 Material on Jeffrey Dahmer's crimes

15 [Jack the Ripper victims]






The Canonical Five		
		
Mary Ann Nichols	Annie Chapman	Elizabeth Stride
Found: 31-08-1888	Found: 08-09-1888	Found: 30-09-1888
		
Catherine Eddowes	Mary Jane Kelly	
Found: 30-09-1888	Found: 09-11-1888	

Table 8 Victims of Jack the Ripper

(Eddleston, 2001)

Other alleged victims				
				
“Fairy Fay” 26-12-1887	Annie Millwood 25-02-1888	Ada Wilson 28-03-1888	Emma Smith 03-04-1888	Martha Tabram 07-08-1888
				
“Whitehall Mystery” 03-10-1888	Annie Farmer 20-11-1888	Rose Mylett 20-12-1888	Elizabeth Jackson ??-06-1889	Alice Mackenzie 17-07-1889
				
“Pinchin St Murder” 10-09-1889	Frances Coles 13-02-1891	Carrie Brown 24-04-1891		

Table 9 Alleged victims of the Ripper

(Casebook org, 2022)

16 [Ian Brady and Myra Hindley victims]



















Photo					
Name	Pauline Reade	John Kilbride	Keith Bennett	Lesley Ann Downey	Edward Evans
Age at death time:	16 year old	12 year old	12 year old	10 year old	17 year old
Date of death	12-07-1963	23-11-1963	16-06-1964	26-12-1964	06-10- 1965
Disposed	At the Moors				-
Date of the body discovery	01-07-1987	21-10-1965	Never found	April 1966	07-10- 1965











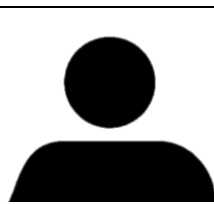


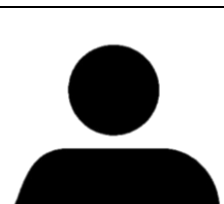
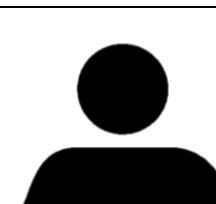
Table 10 The Moors murders victims





(Blanco J. I., Myra HINDLEY, 2022)

APPENDIX V

17 [Andrei Chikatilo victims]

				
Lena Zakotnova Female- 9 y.o 13.11.1969- 22.12.1978	Larisa Tkachenko Female- 17 y.o 28.06.1964- 03.09.1981	Lyubov Biryuk Female- 13 y.o 20.04.1969- 12.06.1982	Lyubov Volobuyeva Female- 14 y.o 25.06.1968- 25.07.1982	Oleg Pozhidayev Male- 9 y.o 19-05-1973- 13.08.1982
				
Olga Kuprina Female- 16 y.o 10.04.1966- ??.08.1982	Irina Karabelnikova Female- 19 y.o 08.11.1963- 12.09.1982	Sergey Kuzmin Male- 15 y.o 21.10.1966-??.09.1982	Olga Stalmachenok Female-10 y.o 01.05.1972- 11.12.1982	Laura Sarkisyan Female- 15 y.o
				
Irina Dunenkova Female- 13 y.o 13.05.1970- ??.07.1983	Lyudmila Kushuba Female- 24 y.o 29.06.1959- Summer 1983	Igor Gudkov Male- 7 y.o 26.12.1975- 09.08.1983	Valentina Chuchulina Female- 22 y.o 26.01.1961-	Jane Doe Female- 18-25 y.o

			??.09.1983	
				
Vera Shevkun Female- 19 y.o 23.09.1964- 27.10.1983	Sergey Markov Male- 14. y.o 03.04.1969- 27.12.1983	Natalya Shalopinina Female- 17 y.o 16.05.1966- 09.01.1984	Marta Ryabenko Female- 45 y.o 18.03.1939- 21.02.1984	Dmitriy Ptashnikov Male- 10 y.o 19.09.1973- 24.03.1984
				
Tatyana Petrosyan Female- 32 y.o 25.07.1954- 25.05.1984	Svetlana Petrosyan Female- 11 y.o 12.11.1973- 25.05.1984	Yelena Bakulina Female- 22 y.o 14.12.1962-??.06.1984	Dmitriy Illarionov Male- 13 y.o 21.03.1971- 10.07.1984	Anna Lemesheva Female- 19 y.o 09.09.1964- 19.07.1984
				
Svetlana Tsana Female- 20 y.o 03.05.1964- ??.07.1984	Natalya Golosovskaya Female- 16 y.o 03.03.1968- 02.08.1984	Lyudmilla Alekseyeva Female- 17 y.o 07.04.1967- 07.08.1984	Jane Doe II Female- 20-25	Akmaral Seydaliyeva Female- 11 y.o 19.05.1974- 13.08.1984

				
Alexander Chepel Male- 11 y.o 12.02.1973- 28.08.1984	Irina Luchinskaya Female- 24 y.o 28.02.1960- 06.09.1984	Natalya Pokhlistova Female- 18 y.o 23.02.1967- 01.08.1985	Irina Gulyayeva Female- 18 y.o 16.03.1967- 27.08.1985	Oleg Makarenkov Male- 13 y.o 19.03.1974- 16.05.1987
				
Ivan Bilovetskiy Male- 12 y.o 10.01.1975- 29.07.1987	Yuri Tereshonok Male- 16.y.o 18.06.1971- 15.09.1987	Jane Doe III Female- 18-25	Alexey Voronko Male- 9 y.o 14.03.1979- 14.05.1988	Yevgeniy Muratov Male- 15 y.o 11.11.1972- 14.07.1988
				
Tatyana Ryzhova Female- 16 y.o 26.02.1973- ???.02.1989	Alexander Dyakonov Male- 8 y.o 10.05.1981- 11.05.1989	Alexey Moiseyev Male- 10 y.o 13.10.1978- 20.06.1989	Helena Varga Female- 19 y.o 25.20.2970- 29.08.2989	Alexey Khobotov Male- 10 y.o 01.01.1979- 28.08.1989









				
Andrei Kravchenko Male- 11 y.o 27.04.1978- 14.01.1990	Yaroslav Makarov Male- 10 y.o 14.04.1979- 07.03.1990	Lyubov Zuyeva Female- 31 y.o 30.08.1958-??.04.1990	Viktor Petrov Male- 13 y.o 25.02.1977- 27.07.1990	Ivan Fomin Male- 11 y.o 20.05.1979- 14.08.1990
				
Vadim Gromov Male- 16 y.o 22.07.1974- 17.10.1990	Viktor Tishchenko Male- 16 y.o 15.04-1974- 30.10.1990	Svetlana Korostik Female- 22 y.o 06.08. 1968- 06.11.1990		

Table 11 Chikatilo's victims

(Blanco J. I., Andrei Romanovich CHIKATILO- victims, 2022)

Note: Jane Doe stands for unknown woman

18 [Letter from the Ripper (allegedly)]

17th Sept. 1888

Dear Boss

I now they say I
 am a Yield when will they
 learn Dear old Boss? You an
 me know the truth don't we.
 Luck can look forever hell
 never find me but I am sit
 under his nose all the time.
 I watch them looking for me
 an it gives me fits ha ha. I
 love my work an I shant stop
 untill I get breasted and in
then walk out for you old
pal Jacky

Catch me if you can

Jack the Ripper

Sorry about the blood still
 messy from the last one. What
 a pretty release I give ha

Figure 58 A letter that may have been written by Jack the Ripper

Source: (Eddleston, 2001)

**19 [Transcript of the tape with recorded murder of Lesley Ann
Downey Man- transcript 4]**

Man - Get out of the fucking road.

Man - Get in the fucking basket. (sound of door banging) (crackling noise) (footsteps-heavy) (steps across the room and then a recording noise followed by blowing sound into the microphone) (Footsteps)

Woman - (Voice quiet, unreadable) (footsteps, light, walking across room; whispered conversation at the same time) (footsteps) (speech, distant, containing word 'upstairs'; then two footsteps)

...

Woman - Shut up. Shut UP. (Screams and gurgles)

Child - Oh. Oh. Oh. (child crying) Woman -(whispering) Keep - and you'll be all right.

Woman - (whispering) Go on. (Quick footsteps mounting stairs, then entering room) (Child crying, muffled)

Man - (whispering) Here.

Woman - Hush, hush. Go on. (woman speaking, unreadable) (Child crying)

Woman - You are all right. Hush, hush. Put it in your mouth - hush and shift that hand. (child crying)

Woman- Put it in your mouth and keep it in and you'll be all right.

Woman - Put it in, stop it.

Woman- If you don't-shh. (child crying)

Woman - In your mouth. Hush, hush. Shut up or I'll forget myself and hit you one. Keep it in. (Child whimpering)

...

Man - Quick. Put it in now. (Child whimpering) (retching noise)

Man - Just put it in now, love. Put it in now. (retching noise)

Child - (muffled) What's this in for?

Man - Put it in.

Child - Can I just tell you summat? I must tell you summat. Please, take your hands off me a minute, please, please— Mummy—please.

Child- I can't tell you. (Grunting)

Child - (in quick sequence) I can't tell you, I can't breathe. Oh.

Child - I can't—Dad—Will you take your hands off me? (man whispering)

Man - No. Tell me.

...

Child - I can't while you've got your hands on me. (mumbling sound)

Man - Why don't you keep it in?

Child - Why? What are you going to do with me?

Man - I want some photographs, that's all.

Man - Put it in.

Child - Don't undress me, will you?

...

Child - It hurts me. I want to see Mummy, honest to God.

Man - Put it in. Child - I'll swear on the Bible.

Man - Put it in, and hurry up now. The quicker you do this, the quicker you'll get home.

Child - I've got to go, because I'm going out with my Mamma. Leave me, please. Help me, will you?

Man - Put it in your mouth and you'll be all right.

Child - Will you let me go when this is out?

Man - Yes. the longer it takes you to do this, the longer it takes you to get home.

...

Man - Put it in. If you don't keep that hand down, I'll slit your neck. (pause) Put it in.

Child - Won't you let me go? Please.

Man - No, no. Put it in, stop talking.

Man - What's your name?

Child - Lesley. Man - Lesley what? Child - Ann.

Man - What's your second name?

Child - Westford. Westford.

Man - Westford?

Child - I have to get home before 8 o'clock. I got to get –(pause) Or I'll get killed if I don't. Honest to God.

Man - Yes. (Quick footsteps of woman leaving room and going downstairs; then a click; then woman's footsteps coming upstairs; then eight longer strides)

Man - What is it?

Woman - I've left the light on.

Man - You 'ave?

Woman - So that –(remainder of sentence unreadable) (Child starts crying)

Child - It hurts me neck.

Man - Hush, put it in your mouth and you'll be all right.

Woman - Now listen, shurrup crying.

Child - (crying) It hurts on me –

Woman - (interrupting) Hush! Shut up. Now, put it in. Pull that hand away and don't dally and just keep your mouth shut, please.

Woman - Wait a bit, I'll put this on again. D'you get me?

Child - (whining) No, I – (remainder of sentence unreadable)

Woman - *Sh. Hush. Put that in your mouth. And again, packed more solid. (whispered sentences, unreadable)*

Child - *I want to go home. Honest to god. I'll (further speech muffled but uninterrupted) – before eight o'clock.*

Woman - *No, it's all right.*

Man - *Eh! (Music commences, country-style tune followed by 'Jolly St Nicholas', during which various non-vocal noises can be heard; then tune 'The Little Drummer Boy' during which a voice speaks -unreadable) (Three loud cracks, systematic, even-timed) (Music- 'The Little Drummer Boy' – goes fainter) (Footsteps) (Sounds on tape cease) (Child sobbing frantically)*

Child: *"I've got to get back before eight o' clock. I got to get...or I will get killed if I don't. Honest to god!"*

Man: *"Yes." (movement, steps, etc)*

Man: *"What is it?"*

Woman: *"I've left the light on."*

Man: *"You 'ave?"*

Woman: *"So that..." (Child crying loudly)*

Child: *"It hurts me neck."*

Man: *"Put it in your mouth and you'll be alright."*

Woman: *"Shut up crying!"*

Child: *(shrieking) "It hurts me!"*

Woman: *"Hush. Shut up now. Put it in and don't dally. Just keep your mouth shut, please."*

Woman: *"Wait a bit. I'll put This on again. Do you get me?"*

Child: *(whining) No, I...(mumbling, crying) Woman: "Sh. Shush. Put it in your mouth!"*

Woman: *"And again, packed more solid...No, it's alright."*

Man: *"Eh?"*

[Three loud cracks were heard next on the tape. Brady explained that they were the sound of his Camera tripod being lowered. Christmas music, "The Little Drummer Boy", was the last thing heard on the Tape]

Source: (frightday, 2017)

20 [Piece of the call between David Smith and an officer of Manchester Hyde police]

[Brady] opened the door and he said in a very loud voice for him [...] "Do you want those miniatures?" I nodded my head to say yes and he led me into the kitchen [...] and he gave me three miniature bottles of spirits and said: "Do you want the rest?" When I first walked into the house, the door to the living room [...] was closed. [...] Ian went into the living room and I waited in the kitchen. I waited about a minute or two then suddenly I heard a hell of a scream; it sounded like a woman, really high-pitched. Then the screams carried on, one after another really loud. Then I heard Myra shout, "Dave, help him," very loud. When I ran in I just stood inside the living room and I saw a young lad. He was lying with his head and shoulders on the couch and his legs were on the floor. He was facing upwards. Ian was standing over him, facing him, with his legs on either side of the young lad's legs. The lad was still screaming. [...] Ian had a hatchet in his hand [...] he was holding it above his head and he hit the lad on the left side of his head with the hatchet. I heard the blow, it was a terrible hard blow, it sounded horrible.

Source: (Laurence, 2013)

21 [Keith Bennett's mother letter written to Myra Hindley]

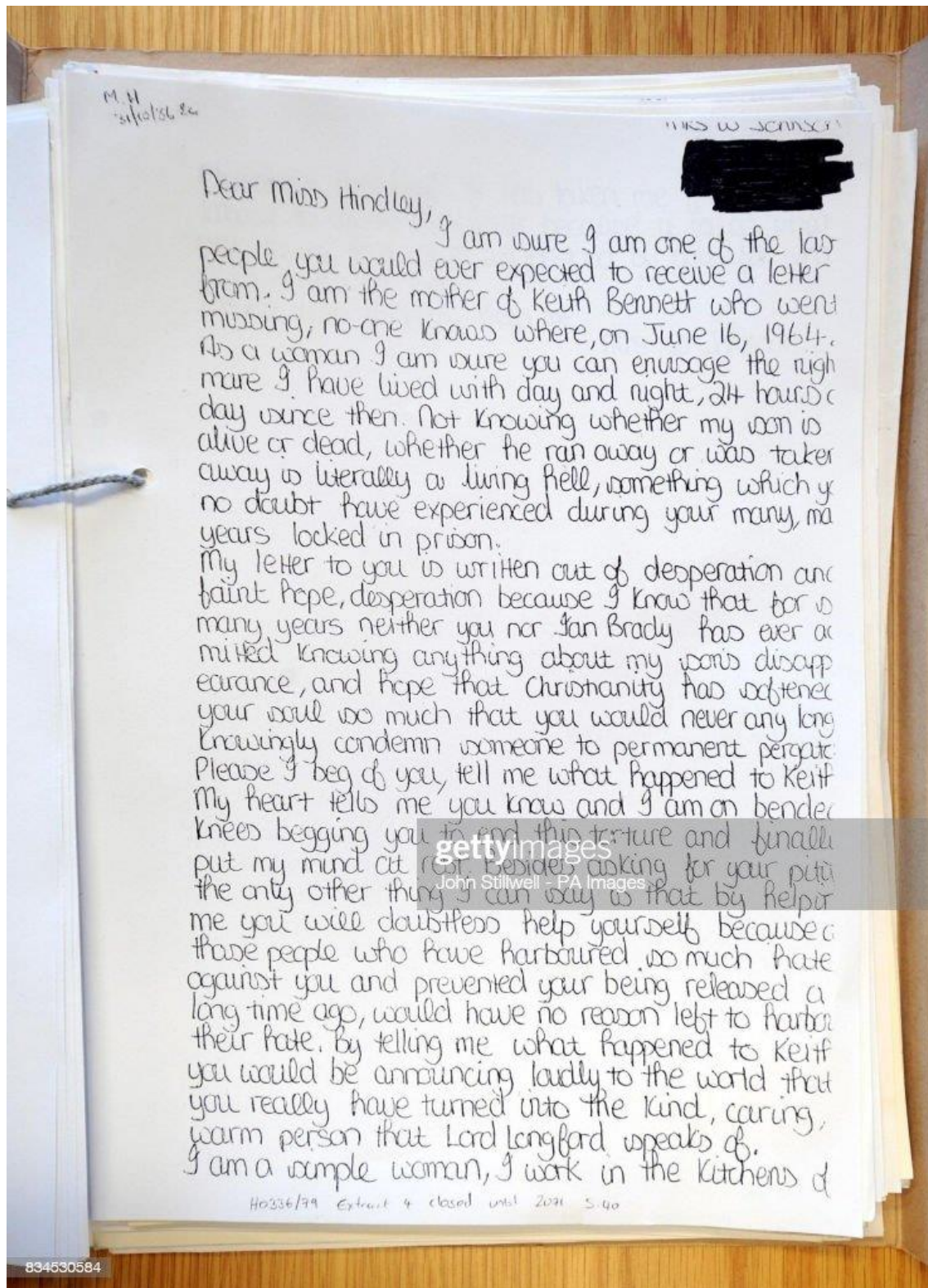


Figure 59 Letter to Hindley part 1

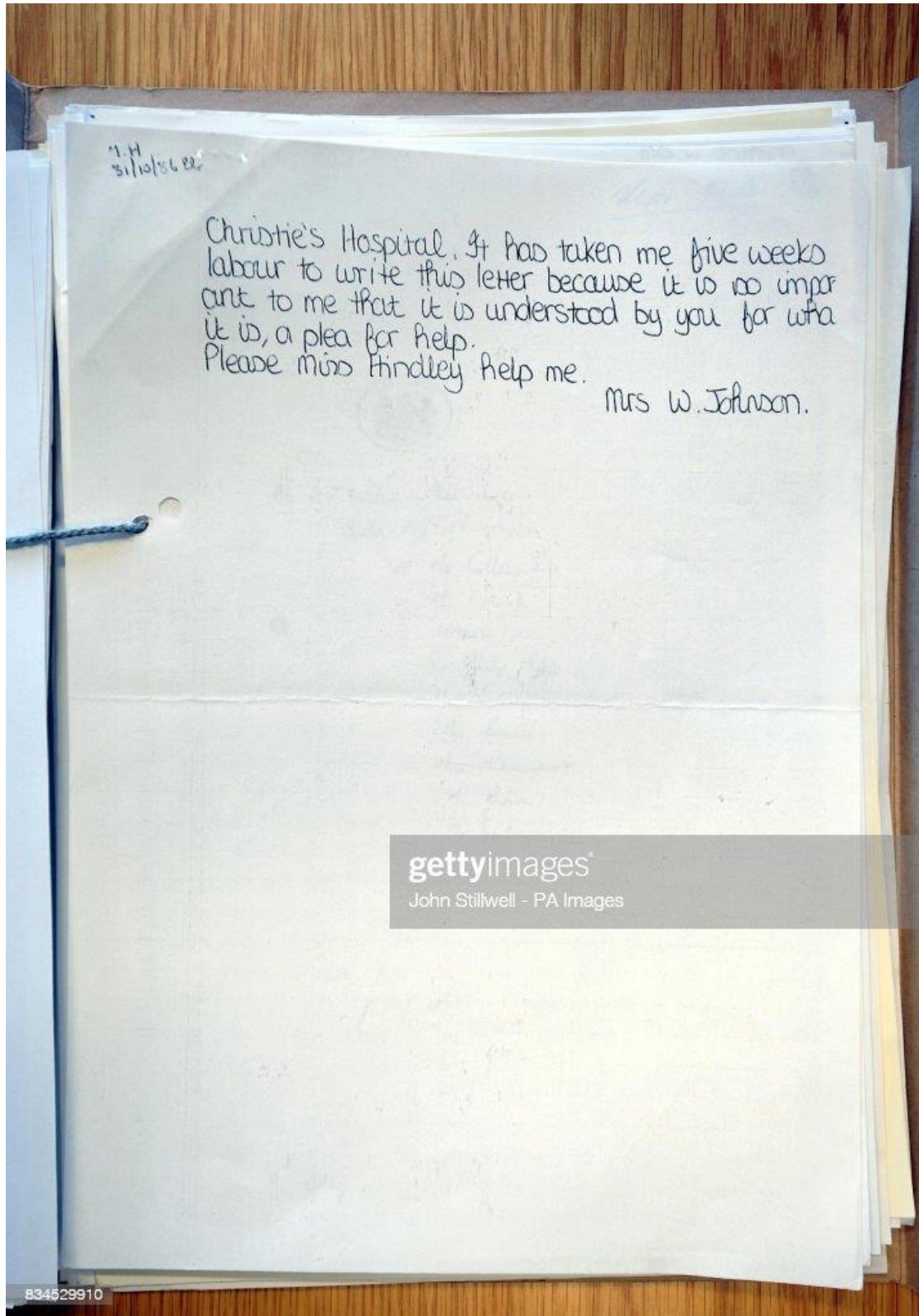


Figure 60 letter to Hindley part 2

Source: (Marshall, 2008)

22 [Report of Myra Hindley's response to Keith Better's mother letter]

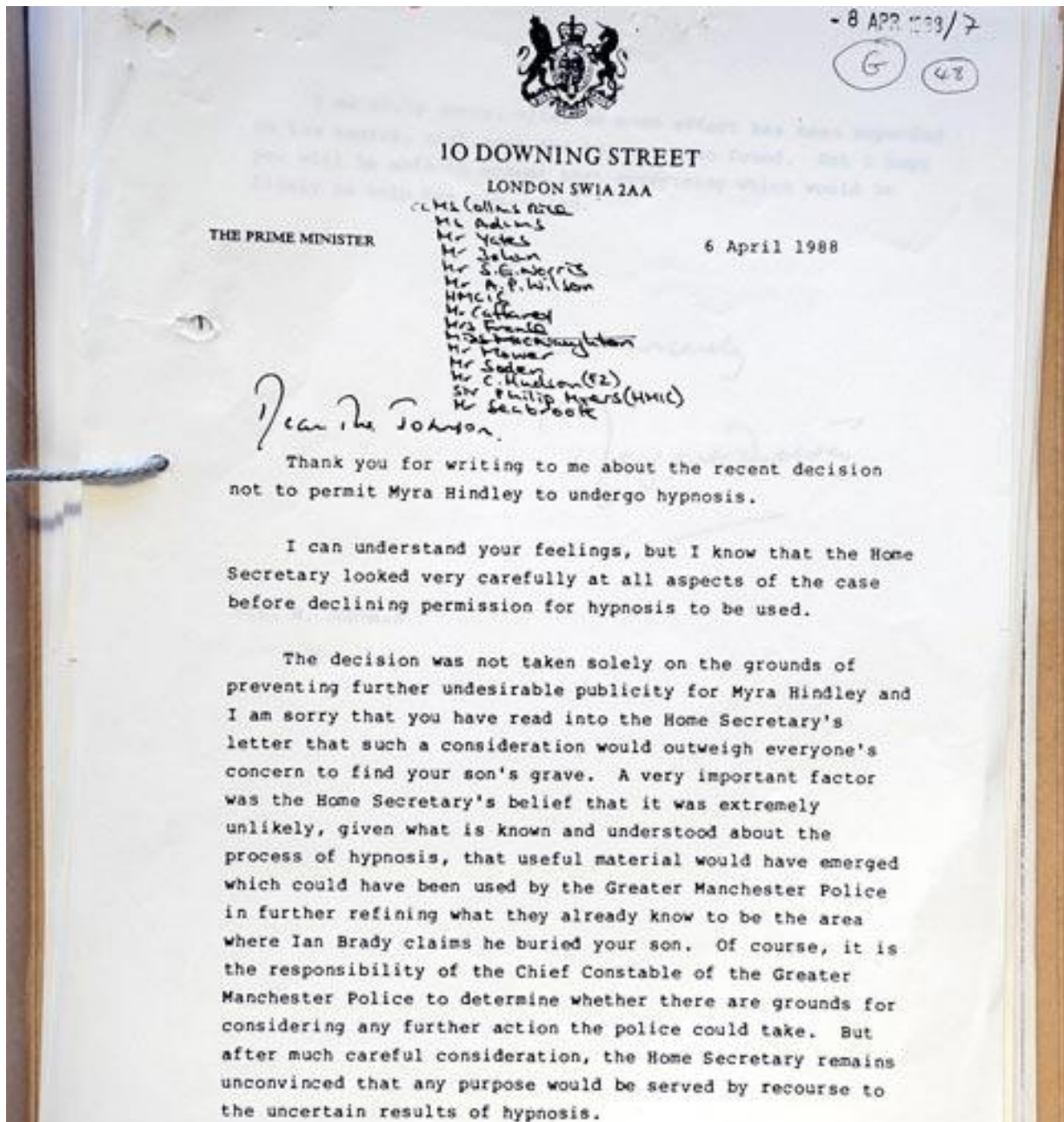


Figure 61 letter from Hindley part 1

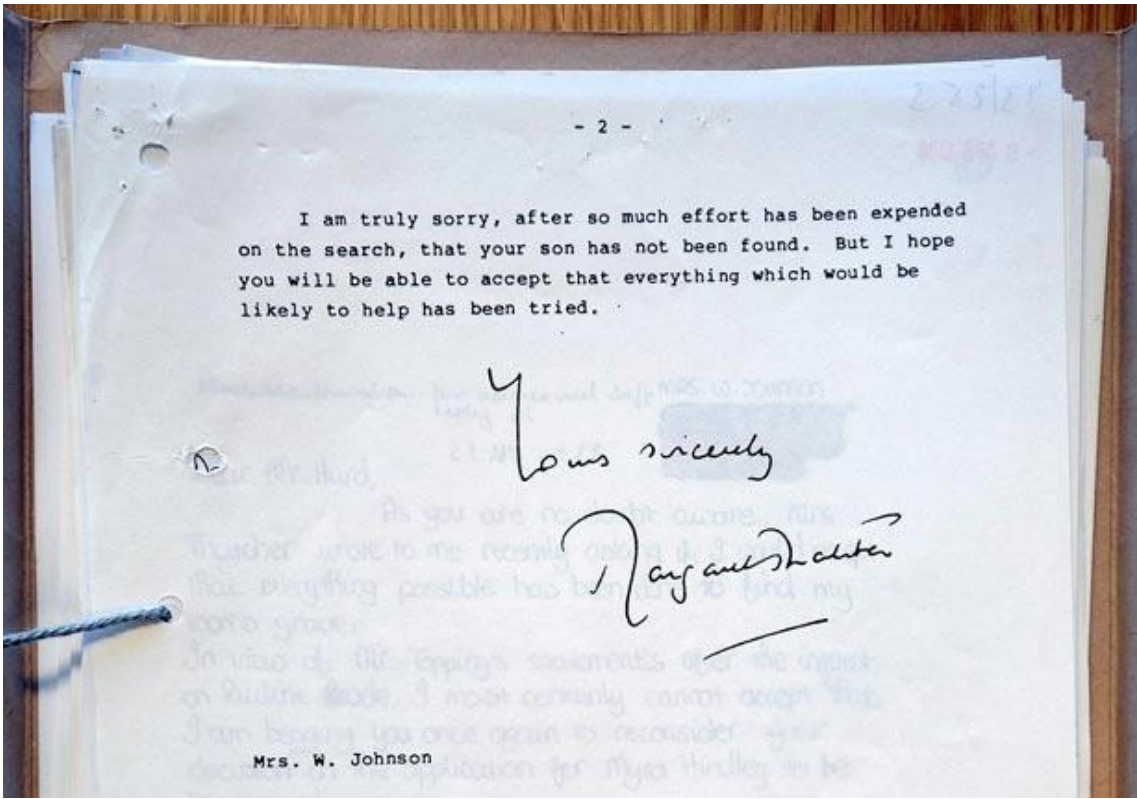


Figure 62 letter from Hindley part 2

Source: (Marshall, 2008)

23 [Defense of Luísa de Jesus- statement]

(5)

seu officio : Finalmente chegou a mesma Ré (possuida de ambição , e fereza) a trocar o premio , que recebia de dinheiro , baeta , e berço , em huma desordenada paixão de appetecer precipitar-se com maior frequencia em outras semelhantes tyrannias da mesma graduacão , e qualidade : Por cuja causa está incurfa nas graves penas , que lhe devem ser impostas , para exemplo , e satisfacão daquelles abominaveis delictos perpetrados na florente idade de vinte e dois annos , em que se acha.

Sem lhe poder servir de defeza , o ter feito a dita confissão fol. 4. a respeito dos dois Expostos , que foraõ achados no referido dia do 1. de Abril , sem ainda estar a culpa formada , nem ser feita com assistencia de Curador , como era preciso para lhe poder obstar a sua mesma confissão : Porque segundo a Lei , ella se acha em idade competente para ser punida , conforme a gravidade dos seus delictos. Nem o ser perguntada , antes de serem os mesmos descubertos , ainda que o foi já depois de ser achada morta , e garrotada huma das sobreditas crianças , que tinha levado no referido dia : He esta huma escrupulosidade , com que se explicaõ alguns Doutores , que não pode destruir a verdade , que posteriormente se alcançou , pela qual he , que no Senado se deve julgar , e decidir : E por isso supposta a que se identificou das contempladas Testemunhas fol. 6. e seg. , nada mais he preciso para ter lugar huma rigorosa condemnacão. Quanto mais , que as achadas posteriores dos outros innocentes , que foram descubertos na dita sua casa , corroboram todas , e quaelquer faltas , que se pertendam allegar em desculpa da expendida confissão. Nem lhe póde tambem valer o ser feita sem a dita assistencia de Curador ; porque a Ratificacão a fol. 2. vers. do Appello já foi feita com elle , e ficou supprindo a sobredita falta ; e todo , e qualquer defeito , que podesse haver. Pelo que de nenhum modo deve ser relevada , antes tratar-se , como inimiga declarada da Innocencia ; e como hum Monstro de coracão tão perverso , e corrompido , de que não haverá facilmente exemplo no presente Seculo , para como convencida no dito atroz , e aleivo delicto de tantos Infanticidios , e roubos ser competentemente justicada.

a ii

Por

Figure 63 Sentence given by the Casa da Suplicação (court) against the defendant Luiza de Jesus on the 1st of July 1772. It is a legal sentence given by the Inquisition in Lisbon, Portugal, XVIII century, page 5

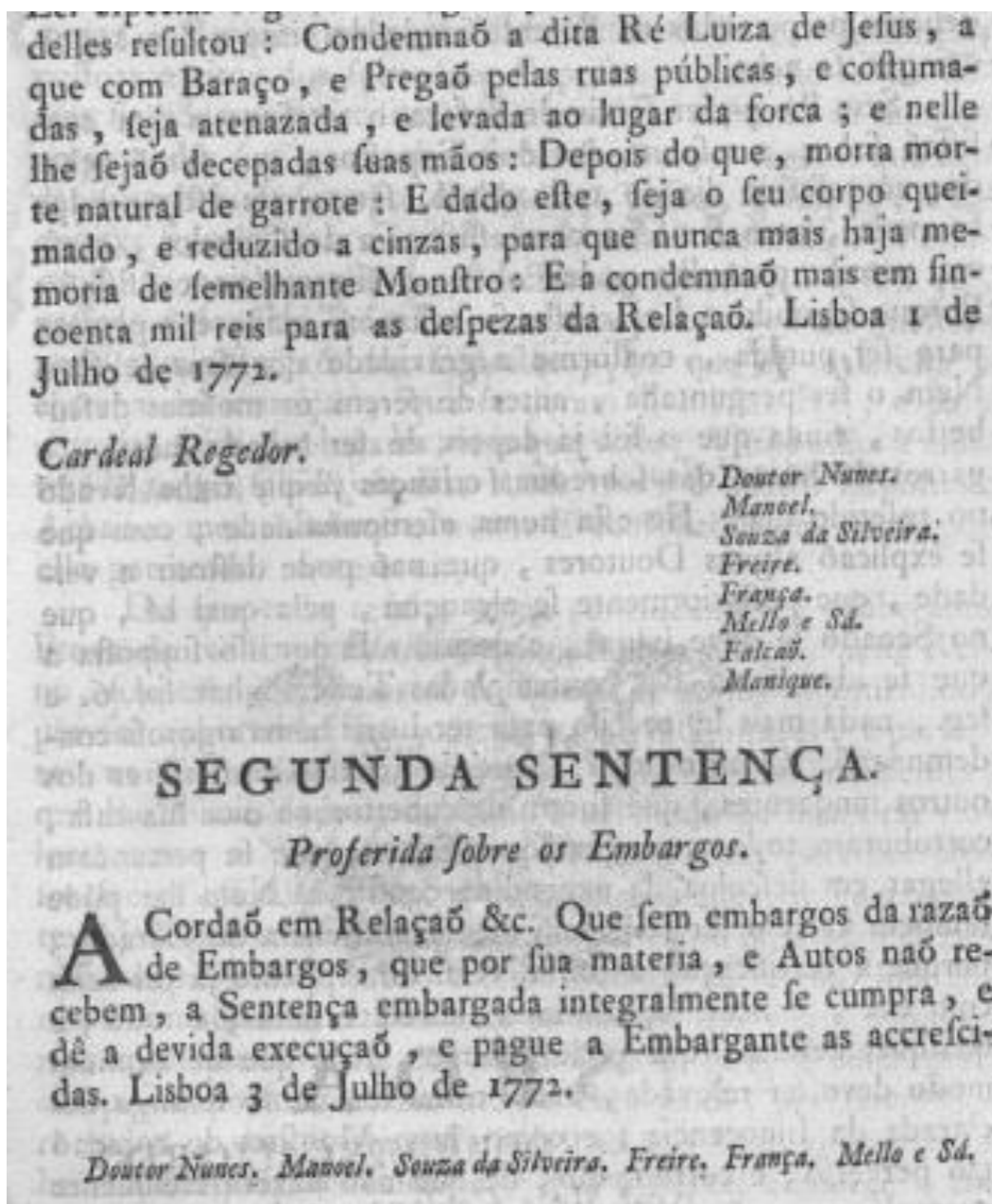


Figure 64 Sentence given by the Casa da Suplicação (court) against the defendant Luísa de Jesus on the 1st of July 1772. It is a legal sentence given by the Inquisition in Lisbon, Portugal, XVIII century, page 6

Source: (Esteves, 2017)