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# School Shooters — a Miscellany

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*This document, presented in the form of a compact encyclopedia, provides information on a variety of issues that are too infrequent in the lives of school shooters and other related perpetrators to warrant separate documents on their own. Documents focused on more common issues can be found on the “Information — General Research” page of School Shooters .info.*

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## ADOPTION

Adoption, as a fact, mistaken belief, or delusion, figured in the lives of several shooters. Wellington de Oliveira was adopted from a woman who was reportedly schizophrenic. Nikolas Cruz was adopted. Thomas Hamilton was adopted by his grandparents but was raised believing that they were his parents and that his mother was his older sister. Eric Houston believed he was adopted, but his parents said he wasn't. Andrew Wurst was delusional; he believed that his parents were not his real parents but people he was placed with when brought to earth from another world. Similarly, Michael Carneal may have believed he was an alien, with the implication that his parents were not really his parents.

## THE ANARCHIST'S COOKBOOK

This book (whose title appears in several slightly different forms) provides instruction on making explosives from household materials. Several school shooters owned it, including Michael Carneal, Kip Kinkel, Eric Harris, and Karl Pierson. Also, Jared Loughner (a non-school shooter) had a copy. Kinkel and Harris engaged in bombmaking, and Pierson made Molotov cocktails for his attack. Clay Shroud (who killed his family

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and planned to commit a school shooting but stopped short of doing so) also had *The Anarchist's Cookbook* and claimed to have built bombs.

#### ANIMAL CRUELTY

Though I have seen it stated that many school shooters committed acts of animal cruelty, my research has not substantiated this claim. Clay Shroud reportedly kicked his caged Dalmatians. Andrew Golden tortured and killed cats. Luke Woodham, under the direction of his friend Grant Boyette, tortured and killed his pet dog. Ely Serna reportedly killed animals by crushing them with rocks and 2x4s, though what animals these were is not known. He also reportedly shot and killed a cat with a shotgun. Nikolas Cruz killed many small animals, including squirrels, birds, and frogs. Other shooters have been said to have engaged in animal cruelty, but I have not found any documentation to support these allegations.

#### ARREST OF PEERS

Though peers often had knowledge of impending shootings, they were rarely charged with any involvement in the attacks. In several cases, however, friends of the perpetrators were arrested (though not necessarily convicted) for having played a part in the incidents. These include friends of Jamie Rouse, Evan Ramsey, Luke Woodham, and Jeffrey Weise.

#### ASSIGNMENTS ON SCHOOL SHOOTINGS

Several perpetrators wrote school assignments related to school shootings. Eric Harris wrote a paper called “Guns in School” (dated 10 December 1997). He referenced the recent shooting by Michael Carneal (1 December 1997), though he erroneously said it occurred in Texas. Harris recommended preventing school shootings through metal detectors and an increased police presence in schools. Whether or not he had conceived of carrying out a shooting at this point is unknown. Dylan Klebold, Harris’s partner in the attack at Columbine High School, had written on 3 November 1997 about going on a “killing spree.”

Not long after the Columbine attack, Seung Hui Cho, an eighth-grader at the time, wrote a paper that apparently not only mentioned Columbine but indicated his desire to carry out a similar attack. The paper caused significant concern and led to a psychiatric evaluation for Cho.

Three weeks before his attack, Pekka-Eric Auvinen wrote an essay discussing school shootings and terrorist attacks.

While in his undergraduate program in sociology, Steven Kazmierczak wrote a paper called “No Crazies with Guns!: A Brief Summary of the Aftermath of Virginia Tech and the Ensuing Debate Over Mental Health and Gun Control Legislation.” Kazmierczak reportedly was fascinated by the attack at Virginia Tech. Whether or not he had any thought of committing an attack at the time he wrote the paper is unknown.

Tim Kretschmer had a class in which the attack by Robert Steinhäuser was discussed.

Kretschmer wrote a paper on the shooting but reportedly said what the teacher wanted to hear. Whether Kretschmer had begun to plan his attack at this point is unknown.

Karl Pierson made a slide presentation on *Columbine: A True Crime Story*, by Jeffrey Kass (this may not have been presented in class; it was found after the attack).

#### BEDWETTING (ENURESIS)

Two shooters reportedly had enuresis in adolescence and/or early adulthood: Andrew Wurst and Steven Kazmierczak.

#### COLUMBINE, INFLUENCE OF

The attack at Columbine High School has often been cited by subsequent shooters as an influence on their attacks. These include Todd Smith, T.J. Solomon, Andy Williams, Seth Trickey, and Eric Hainstock. Other shooters were fascinated by Columbine and/or left written documentation of their admiration for Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold. Robert Steinhäuser reportedly admired their methods. Kimveer Gill referred to them as “modern day saints,” and Seung Hui Cho identified with them as “martyrs.” Alvaro Castillo was obsessed with Columbine and, in particular, Eric Harris. He made a pilgrimage to Littleton, Colorado. Sebastian Bosse called Harris “god” and commented about how similar he and Harris were. Pekka-Eric Auvinen quoted and referred to Harris throughout his manifesto. Matti Saari listed Columbine videos as among his favorites. Aaron Ybarra named Harris as an “idol” and claimed he heard Harris’s voice telling him to hurt people. Steven Kazmierczak was fascinated by Columbine. Adam Lanza researched hundreds of mass murderers, including Harris and Klebold; whether their attack was a particular influence is unknown. Jose Reyes researched Columbine online. Karl Pierson studied Columbine and appears to have quoted and imitated Harris. Jeffrey Weise mentioned Columbine in a short story, but there is no direct indication that his attack was influenced by Harris and Klebold. Alex Hribal wrote about Eric Harris being a god. (For additional details, as well as other shooters who cited Columbine, please see my documents “The Influence of Columbine” and “Role Models, Contagions, and Copycats: An Exploration of the Influence of Prior Killers on Subsequent Attacks.”)

#### DATES OF ATTACK, SIGNIFICANCE OF

A few attacks occurred on specific days that were intentionally selected. Eric Harris (and perhaps Dylan Klebold) chose 20 April for their attack because this is Hitler’s birthday. Similarly, Alvaro Castillo chose 30 August for his attack because it is Kip Kinkel’s birthday (as well as the anniversary of Hurricane Katrina). Luke Woodham carried out his attack on the one-year anniversary of the break-up with his girlfriend (whom he targeted and killed). Pekka-Eric Auvinen reportedly chose 7 November 2007 because it was the seventieth anniversary of the October Revolution.

Seung Hui Cho may have chosen 16 April 2007 because it was Holocaust Remembrance Day, as well as being one day off from the one-year anniversary of his encounter with Professor Bean. Bean studied the Holocaust, and on the day of his attack Cho

sent a letter to the English department complaining about Bean's treatment of him and claiming five times in the letter that Bean "went on a holocaust" against him.

The dates of other attacks raise questions about whether or not they were chosen for a reason. Steven Kazmierczak committed his attack on Valentine's Day, but the significance of this is unknown. His girlfriend expected him to propose that day (he had asked for her ring size). Another possibility is that he had been discharged from the military on 13 February several years earlier, returning home on 14 February. Perhaps this date symbolized his failure.

Karl Pierson studied the attack at Sandy Hook Elementary School and committed his own attack on 13 December 2013, one day short of the first anniversary of Sandy Hook. Though he wrote in his journal about the date, no information has been released to indicate that he timed it to coincide. (He couldn't have committed his attack on 14 December because this was a Saturday.)

On at least two occasions, attacks occurred on the anniversaries of other attacks, but in neither case is there any indication that this was planned. Seth Trickey's attack was on the tenth anniversary of Marc Lépine's rampage, and Adam Lanza's attack was on the twentieth anniversary of the shooting by Wayne Lo. In Lanza's case, it is known that he was at least aware of Lo's attack, but there is no evidence that he timed his rampage to coincide with the anniversary of Lo's. Alex Hribal wanted to carry out his attack on the anniversary of Columbine, but school was going to be closed on that day, so he chose Eric Harris's birthday for the day of his attack. Like Steven Kazmierczak, Nikolas Cruz committed his attack on Valentine's Day, but it is not known if there was any significance to his choosing this date.

#### DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Domestic violence occurred in the families of many perpetrators, particularly those who were traumatized school shooters (though it did occur occasionally among the families of psychopathic and psychotic shooters). For details, see my document "School Shooters: The Myth of the Stable Home."

Several school shooters committed, or reportedly committed, domestic violence. This includes Charles Whitman, Peter Odighizuwa, Robert Flores, and Bruco Eastwood. After her marriage ended, Laurie Dann stabbed her ex-husband with an ice pick.

#### EATING DISORDERS

Laurie Dann and Steven Kazmierczak were bulimic. Adam Lanza, who was six feet tall and only weighed 112 pounds, was anorexic. Ely Serna was diagnosed as bulimic after his attack; this may have been his method of keeping his weight down to qualify for his weight class as a wrestler.

#### EMPLOYEE PERPETRATORS

Both Verlin Spencer and Steven Leith worked in secondary education; Spencer was a junior high school principal, and Leith was a teacher. Robert Wickes was fired as a substitute teacher's aide; he committed a shooting at the school.

Perpetrators who were employees in higher education include Edward Allaway (custodian), Valery Fabrikant (professor), and Amy Bishop (professor).

#### ESCAPE ATTEMPTS FROM PRISON

Clay ShROUT planned to escape from prison, but his attempt was foiled. Todd Cameron Smith was transferred from prison to a halfway house; he escaped from there but turned himself in the next day. T.J. Lane escaped from prison and was on the run for six hours before being recaptured.

#### ESCAPE ATTEMPTS FROM THE SCENE

Most school shooters either killed themselves at the scene of their attack or were apprehended there. Several left the scene but waited for the police to pick them up or even called the police to confess what they had done. Very few seem to have intended to escape. These include the following:

Kelvin Love hijacked a car and drove 125 miles before being caught.

Su Yong Kim escaped from the campus and led police on a two-mile chase. When they blocked his vehicle, he shot himself in the head. Despite the attempted suicide, he survived.

Laurie Dann fled the school she attacked, driving away in her car. She ended up entering a private residence and holding people hostage. When police surrounded the house and escape was impossible, she killed herself.

Andrew Golden and Mitchell Johnson had packed a van with supplies and thought they would escape and then return after things had settled down. They were intercepted by police before they reached the van.

Nicco Tatum got on a bus and made it from Las Vegas to Denver, where he was captured; it is believed he was on his way to Chicago.

Tim Kretschmer fled the school he attacked and hijacked a car, going on a shooting spree. He may have intended to escape, though he ended up on foot in a gunfight with police; after being wounded twice, he killed himself.

Stephen Morgan (a non-school shooter) loitered at the scene where he had killed a woman and was questioned by the police as a possible witness to the crime. He then walked away and was at large for two days before turning himself in.

Nikolas Cruz left the school and escaped for over an hour before being apprehended approximately two miles from the school.

#### FAMILY VICTIMS

The following shooters killed members of their families before going on their rampages:

- Charles Whitman: mother, wife
- Clay ShROUT: mother, father, both sisters
- Luke Woodham: mother
- Kip Kinkel: mother, father
- Jeffrey Weise: grandfather, grandfather's girlfriend

- Alvaro Castillo: father
- Adam Lanza: mother
- John Zawahri: father, brother
- Mainak Sarkar: wife
- Jesse Osborne: father

Laurie Dann tried to kill her ex-husband by poisoning him. Other shooters, such as Robert Poulin and Andrew Wurst, thought about killing their parents but decided against it. See the document “Intended and Targeted Victims” for more information.

#### FIRE-SETTING AND ARSON

Robert Poulin set his house on fire after raping and killing a young woman in his bedroom; he then went to his school, where he committed a rampage attack. Luke Woodham used fire (apparently under the direction of his friend, Grant Boyette) in killing his pet dog. Eric Harris liked to set fires and once started a fire in a dumpster at work that was serious enough that the fire department responded. Andy Williams reportedly set a fire that resulted in a fire department response.

Several shooters used fire in their attacks at schools, including Laurie Dann, who tried to burn down a house and two elementary schools, and Pekka-Eric Auvinen and Matti Saari, who both set fires in their schools during their attacks.

John Zawahri set fire to his home after killing his father and brother.

Other shooters made firebombs or Molotov cocktails that they used in their attacks; these include Leo Kelly, Nicholas Elliot (who had Molotov cocktails in his locker but did not use them), and Karl Pierson. Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold used bombs in their attack that started fires in the school.

#### FIREARMS, FAMILY ROLE MODELS FOR MISUSE OF

A pattern I noted in my books was that though many shooters had family members who engaged in the legal, appropriate use of firearms, a high percentage of traumatized school shooters had family role models for the misuse of firearms. These include the following:

- James Wilson: father threatened to shoot him (not known if he was holding a gun at the time)
- Patrick Purdy: father threatened Purdy’s mother with gun
- Eric Houston (probable): uncle killed three men in a fight; not known for sure that this was with a gun; even if not, the uncle may have been a role model for murder
- Jamie Rouse: father killed six pet cats with a shotgun
- Evan Ramsey: father, older brother, and mother’s boyfriend were arrested on firearms charges
- Mitchell Johnson: stepfather was in prison on firearms charges
- Nathaniel Brazill (possible): mother was evasive about possibly having shot someone but admitted to pointing a gun at someone; though this could have been self-defense, her evasiveness raises doubts about this

- Jeffrey Weise: father was in armed standoff with police
- Asa Coon: older brother was arrested on firearms charges
- Jose Reyes: father put a gun to mother's head
- Robert Gladden, Jr.: uncle killed himself with a gun; father and stepfather had firearms charges

On a different note, Kenneth Bartley's father reportedly shot and killed a man in self-defense.

#### GIFTED STUDENTS

Many school shooters were bright, and a number have been described as "gifted" in one or more ways. Those listed here, however, are the only ones I have found who participated in programming specifically designated for gifted students: Kip Kinkel, Dylan Klebold, and Karl Pierson.

#### GLOBAL VIEW OF ATTACK

Several shooters viewed their attacks as having global significance, i.e., believed that they would change society, start a revolution, topple governments, save humanity, or change human nature. These include Eric Harris, Biswanath Halder, Alvaro Castillo, Seung Hui Cho, Pekka-Eric Auvinen, and Elliot Rodger. With the exception of Eric Harris (a psychopathic shooter), these shooters were psychotic (although I categorize Elliot Rodger as also having had psychopathic traits).

#### HOSTAGE SITUATIONS

I differentiate between "hostage" situations and "kidnapping." Hostage situations involved keeping people in a room with the perpetrator in a standoff situation with law enforcement. Kidnapping refers to an incident in which the perpetrator left the scene and hijacked a car at gunpoint, forcing the driver to take him where he wanted to go. In addition, "human shield" refers to the perpetrator's grabbing someone to use as a shield to deter law enforcement from shooting at him. Though someone who is kidnapped or used as a human shield may in a sense be a hostage, the dynamics of the scenarios vary. A hostage was used as a bargaining tool, the kidnap victim was used as a means of escape, and the human shield was used as protection.

Several shooters held hostages behind close doors: Robert Wickes, Eric Houston, Valery Fabrikant, Gary Scott Pennington, Barry Loukaitis, and Robert Flores. Most of these situations did not last long, but Wickes's and Houston's dragged on for hours. Two of these situations were resolved by people in the room overpowering the shooter (Barry Loukaitis and Valery Fabrikant), and three perpetrators released the hostages with no further casualties (Eric Houston, Gary Scott Pennington, and Robert Flores). Houston and Pennington surrendered to police; Flores killed himself. Floyd Warmesley held one student hostage and then surrendered with him.

In a different twist, dozens of people were trapped in the building where Biswanath



Halder and numerous law enforcement officers were engaged in a shootout. This, too, lasted several hours.

Two other hostage situations involved isolating girls in a room and molesting them. Duane Morrison held hostages for hours, gradually letting them go, but indicating that at four o'clock "something" was going to happen. Police broke into the room and in the ensuing chaos Morrison shot and killed one girl as she attempted to flee to safety. Morrison was shot by police and then killed himself. Charles Roberts held ten girls in an Amish schoolhouse, molested them, and then shot them, killing five. He then killed himself.

Kelvin Love kidnapped a woman and drove 125 miles before being caught.

Laurie Dann escaped from the scene of the shooting in a car, then fled on foot. She entered a house and held the family hostage as police surrounded the home. She eventually killed herself.

Tim Kretschmer hijacked a car, kidnapping the driver and telling him where to drive as Kretschmer went on a shooting spree. He then let the driver go. Similarly, John Zawahri hijacked a car and made the driver transport him.

Kimveer Gill briefly tried to use a bystander as a human shield.

#### LITIGATION, HISTORY OF

Valery Fabrikant sued colleagues at his university. His behavior was so inappropriate that he was charged with contempt of court. He committed his attack the day before his contempt hearing.

Peter Odighizuwa initiated a lawsuit against a former employer for unlawful discharge but dropped it. He subsequently sued the former employer regarding worker's compensation.

Biswanath Halder had sued multiple prospective and former employers for discrimination. He also sued several employees at Case Western Reserve University because he believed they had hacked and destroyed his website.

Amy Bishop sued her university for discrimination after she had been denied tenure.

Gang Lu threatened to sue his university because he had not won the prize for best dissertation.

All of these perpetrators were college shooters who carried out targeted attacks at their universities.

#### MARITAL STATUS AND CHILDREN

Though school shooters are often thought of as isolated loners with poor social skills, a number of them married and some of them had children.

Charles Whitman was married. He beat his wife and talked about separation and divorce. He killed his wife prior to his rampage attack.

Edward Allaway was married, divorced, and remarried.

Laurie Dann was married and divorced. She tried to kill her ex-husband with arsenic.

Clemmie Henderson was married and had two children; he had remarried by the time of his attack.



Valery Fabrikant was married and divorced; he then married a second time and had two children.

Jillian Robbins was married and divorced.

Peter Odighizuwa was married with four children. His wife left him and took the children after he assaulted her.

Robert Flores was married and had two children. His wife divorced him, alleging that he had been abusive.

Duane Morrison was married and divorced.

Jiverly Wong reportedly was married and divorced, and according to some accounts, had a child.

Amy Bishop was married with four children.

One Goh was married and divorced; he had one child.

Charles Roberts IV was married and had three children.

Mainak Sarkar was married but separated.

#### NATURAL BORN KILLERS

This movie may have had an influence on several perpetrators. Jamie Rouse said, “It made killing look easy and fun . . . it fascinated me.” Barry Loukaitis quoted from the film repeatedly and talked about going on his own killing spree. Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold used the initials *NBK* as their code name for their attack. Kimveer Gill listed it as one of his favorite movies. Karl Pierson looked for the movie in the library about three weeks before his attack, but the library didn’t have it; whether Pierson had ever seen the film is unknown.

#### NAZI INTEREST

A number of shooters have been interested in Hitler and the Nazis. These include Robert Smith, Marc Lépine, Luke Woodham, Andrew Wurst, Eric Harris, Jeffrey Weise, Kimveer Gill, Pekka-Eric Auvinen, Steven Kazmierczak, Bryan Oliver, Jose Reyes, Karl Pierson, Elliot Rodger, Chris Harper-Mercer, Anton Pettersson, Jared Loughner (not a school shooter), and Solomon Henderson. None of these shooters was connected to any organized neo-Nazi groups.

Seung Hui Cho wrote “88” in his manifesto and used “88” in a fake return address when he mailed the manifesto. Some people use 88 as a code for “Heil Hitler,” because *h* is the eighth letter of the alphabet. Whether this was Cho’s meaning is unknown.

Stephen Morgan (a non-school shooter) made anti-Semitic comments and owned a copy of “The Protocols of the Elders of Zion,” a notorious anti-Semitic document. Whether Morgan had any Nazi interest is unknown.

Nikolas Cruz drew a swastika on his backpack.

#### OBSESSIVE-COMPULSIVE DISORDER (OCD)

Several shooters reportedly had symptoms of obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD), though I believe that all of them were psychotic. Either what initially looked like OCD was really related to their delusions, or else they had both psychotic symptoms and

OCD. These shooters include Laurie Dann, James Wilson, Steven Kazmierczak, and Adam Lanza.

#### OUTDOOR ATTACKS

Multiple attacks took place either partly or wholly outdoors. These occurred before the school day started, during recess or gym class, while shooters were in vehicles, or under other circumstances. These attacks were perpetrated by Charles Whitman, Brenda Spencer, Tyrone Mitchell, Patrick Purdy, Wayne Lo, Kevin Newman, Andrew Golden and Mitchell Johnson, Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, Jason Hoffman, Alvaro Castillo, Kimveer Gill, Tim Kretschmer, Bruco Eastwood, Brendan O'Rourke, John Zawahri, Elliot Rodger, and Jesse Osborne.

#### PILGRIMAGES

A few shooters have traveled to the sites of previous shootings in what appears to be for them a kind of pilgrimage. Alvara Castillo traveled from North Carolina to Littleton, Colorado, to see Columbine High School, the house where Eric Harris had lived, and the pizza shop where Harris had worked.

In Finland, Matti Saari traveled to Jokela to see the town where Pekka-Eric Auvinen had committed his attack the previous year. He took photographs of the school where the attack occurred.

In Germany, Ali David Sonboly (not a school shooter) studied school shooters and made a pilgrimage to Winnenden, where Tim Kretschmer had committed his attack.

#### POLICE INTERVENTION

It is sometimes said that rampage attacks end before the police arrive. This is not always the case. In a number of cases, in fact, gunfire was exchanged between the perpetrators and the police (or on-site security guards). The following sections note the perpetrators who fired at police, those whom the police shot at, and the outcomes of these events.

##### *Perpetrators Who Fired on Police*

The following shooters shot at police, with the outcome noted if the officers were hit:

- Charles Whitman killed an officer
- Larry Harmon
- Brenda Spencer wounded an officer
- Clemmie Henderson killed one officer and wounded another
- Kelvin Love
- Mark Duong wounded an officer
- Evan Ramsey
- Eric Harris
- Robert Steinhäuser killed an officer
- Biswanath Halder

- Jeffrey Weise killed a security guard
- Kimveer Gill
- Pekka-Eric Auvinen
- Matti Saari
- Tim Kretschmer wounded two officers
- John Zawahri
- Elliot Rodger

### *Perpetrators Fired Upon by Police*

The following perpetrators were shot at by police and either wounded or unharmed (those killed by police gunfire are listed below under “Suicide by Cop”):

- Patrick Lizotte was wounded
- Niel Liebeskind was wounded
- Kelvin Love (police reportedly shot at the vehicle)
- Keith Ledeger was wounded
- Evan Ramsey
- Eric Harris
- Jason Hoffman was wounded twice
- Biswanath Halder was wounded
- Jeffrey Weise was wounded
- Kimveer Gill was wounded
- Tim Kretschmer was wounded twice
- Wellington de Oliveira
- Elliot Rodger was wounded

### *Suicide by Cop*

Most shooters who die in their attacks die by their own hand. Several, however, have been killed by police in what is commonly referred to as “suicide by cop.” They did not always leave records indicating that they intended to die during their rampages, but their behavior during the attacks, including their firing upon police officers, suggests that they did not want to live (though they may have fired in the hopes of escaping).

The following shooters were killed by police: Charles Whitman, Clemmie Henderson, Larry Harmon, Jarod Huskey, Mark Duong, John Zawahri, Anton Pettersson, and Myron May. Jason Hoffman said he had wanted to be killed by police; he was wounded twice but survived (though he subsequently killed himself in prison).

### *RAGE, BY STEPHEN KING*

Early in his career Stephen King wrote a novel titled *Rage* that was published under the name Richard Bachman. It tells the story of a high school student who kills a teacher and holds the class hostage. Several school shooters appear to have imitated or been influenced by this story, including Kristofer Hans, Gary Scott Pennington, Barry Loukaitis, and Michael Carneal. In addition, two other students appear to have imitated

the story, holding classes hostage at gunpoint, though they did not kill anybody: Jeffrey Lyne Cox (San Gabriel High School) and Dustin L. Pierce (Jackson County High School).

#### RELEASED FROM PRISON

Several shooters committed their attacks at such a young age that they could not be tried as adults and were released from prison when they reached adulthood (or before). Seth Trickey was released at age eighteen. Elizabeth Bush was also released at eighteen. The following shooters were released at age twenty-one: James Kearbey, Mitchell Johnson, and Andrew Golden. Floyd Warmlesley reportedly was released in his teens. Kenneth Bartley was released in his early twenties. Azizollah Mazooni committed his attack at age twenty-five and was released at thirty-five. T.J. Solomon was released at age thirty-two, after serving seventeen years. Patrick Lizotte was released after thirty-five years. Mason Campbell reportedly will be released when he turns twenty-one. Johnson and Bartley returned to prison on other charges. Warmlesley apparently was charged with drunk driving many years after his release. Golden changed his name to Drew Douglas Grant and applied for a permit to carry a concealed weapon; this was denied. Jon Romano was released in 2020 after serving fifteen years.

#### SATANISM AND THE OCCULT

Eric Houston was interested in Satanism, witchcraft, and the occult. Clay Shrout was interested in Satanism, vampires, and casting spells. Luke Woodham was interested in Satan and the Anti-Christ, and Steven Kazmierczak read about Satanism. Adam Lanza reportedly had a website in middle school that featured some satanic content. Nikolas Cruz reportedly looked up “666” online.

#### SELF-INJURIOUS BEHAVIOR

Several shooters reportedly engaged in “cutting” or other forms of self-injurious behavior: Clay Shrout, Jamie Rouse, Michael Carneal, Mitchell Johnson, Dylan Klebold, Todd Cameron Smith, Jeffrey Weise, Eric Hainstock, Steven Kazmierczak, Douglas Chanthabouly, Robert Gladden, Jr., and Nikolas Cruz.

#### SEXUALITY

Sexuality is a complex subject and is therefore divided into several sections.

##### *Abuse*

Multiple shooters were victims of childhood sexual abuse that occurred in a variety of settings. Eric Houston was molested by a high school teacher. Evan Ramsey was molested in a foster home. Mitchell Johnson was raped repeatedly by an older boy who lived in the same neighborhood as Johnson’s grandmother. Eric Hainstock was sexually abused by a stepbrother.

Two shooters engaged in homosexual prostitution: Patrick Purdy did this at a young

age (perhaps as young as thirteen, but certainly by age fifteen), so that this constituted child sexual abuse. James Wilson, who committed his attack at nineteen, also engaged in prostitution with an older male, but whether or not he was underage at the time is not clear.

In addition, Duane Morrison may have been abused as a child. His long final letter doesn't state this, but suggests it. (See his letter and my article on Morrison.)

### *Assaults and Offenses*

A couple of shooters committed (or were alleged to have committed) sexual offenses well before their attacks. Mitchell Johnson admitted to sticking his finger in the vagina of a two-year-old. Valery Fabrikant allegedly raped a student, and though the student reported this to the university, no charges were ever pressed, so no investigation occurred.

Other shooters committed sexual assaults on the day of their attacks. Robert Poulin raped and killed a young woman in his home and may have attempted to rape women prior to this; he also apparently made obscene telephone calls. Charles Roberts IV and Duane Morrison molested girls at the schools they attacked. Roberts said he molested two young girls twenty years before his attack, but the women in question denied this.

Eric Harris wrote about his fantasies of tricking girls he knew into his room and raping them, but he apparently made no effort to actually do so. Alvaro Castillo reported hearing voices telling him to commit rape. Michael Carneal downloaded a document titled "Raping of a Dead Corpse"; another document on his computer was a story of Smurfs (cartoon characters) who go into a sexual frenzy and apparently commit rape. Stephen Morgan (a non-school shooter) planned to rape and kill a woman he had been stalking before going on a rampage at Wesleyan University. He ended up killing the woman off-campus.

### *Bondage*

Several shooters were interested in sexual bondage. Robert Poulin was obsessed with bondage and rape; he engaged in both on the day of his attack. Laurie Dann had pornography focused on the bondage of men. Both Pekka-Eric Auvinen and Tim Kretschmer had pornography that dealt with bondage, and Auvinen wrote about this interest online. Dylan Klebold referred in his journal to his interest in bondage (as well as a foot fetish). Steven Kazmierczak expressed interest in masochistic sex.

### *Pedophilia*

Alvaro Castillo was sexually aroused by a child and feared that he might be a pedophile.

Adam Lanza wrote at length about pedophilia, defending it as a practice and yet denying that he was a pedophile.

Thomas Hamilton was obsessed with young boys and took thousands of photographs of them in bathing suits, focusing on the middle of their bodies. Though he was suspected of being a pedophile, there are no reliable reports of abusive sexual behavior.

### *Prostitutes and Casual Encounters*

Gang Lu bragged about his visits to prostitutes. Seung Hui Cho hired a woman from an escort service shortly before his rampage, but reportedly she rejected his attempt to have sex with her. Steven Kazmierczak had casual encounters with both males and females. James Holmes (a non-school shooter) reportedly used prostitutes; shortly before his attack he met with a prostitute but was unable to perform.

As noted above, both Patrick Purdy and James Wilson prostituted themselves. Mitchell Johnson used telephone sex lines.

### SNIPER ATTACKS

Charles Whitman carried out his attack from a tower on campus. Brenda Spencer set up a sniper position in her home, as did Tyrone Mitchell. Andrew Golden and Mitchell Johnson had a sniper position on a hill overlooking their school. Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold planned to carry out a sniper attack from positions outside the school; their intention was to shoot people fleeing the building after their bombs detonated. When the bombs failed to detonate, they improvised their attack.

Whitman and Spencer were psychopathic shooters. The apparent leaders in the two attacks noted above that involved pairs of perpetrators were Golden and Harris; they were both psychopathic shooters. There is insufficient information to categorize Tyrone Mitchell.

### SPECIAL EDUCATION

Several perpetrators received special education services, whether for academic assistance or emotional/behavioral support. These include Eric Houston, Kip Kinkel, Jason Hoffman, Eric Hainstock, Douglas Chanthabouly, Seung Hui Cho, Adam Lanza, Jose Reyes, and Nikolas Cruz. Elliot Rodger was evaluated and determined to be eligible for special education services but it isn't clear if he received any school-based services.

### SUICIDE IN PRISON

After his attack, Jason Hoffman said his intention was to be killed by police. Though he survived the attack, he killed himself in prison. Other shooters have tried to kill themselves in prison. These include Jamie Rouse, Michael Carneal, T.J. Solomon, and Haiyang Zhu. [\[SS.I\]](#)