

1925

Loeb-Leopold Case

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THE LOEB-LEOPOLD CASE—(Continued)

C. PSYCHIATRISTS' REPORT FOR THE DEFENSE (JOINT SUMMARY)

The study and opinion recorded below represents an attempt to combine into a single report the findings and conclusions of the examination of the defendants by Doctors WILLIAM A. WHITE, Superintendent of St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, D. C.; WILLIAM HEALY, Director of Judge Baker Foundation, Boston, formerly Director of the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute, Chicago; BERNARD GLUECK, formerly Director Psychiatric Clinic, Sing Sing Prison and Bureau of Children's Guidance, New York; and RALPH C. HAMILL, Neuropsychiatrist, of Chicago.

The examinations were carried out at intervals between July 1st and 27th, 1924, at the Cook County Jail, in Chicago, in the presence of Walter Bachrach, Esq., one of the attorneys for the defense. The facilities furnished by the jail authorities, the complete co-operation of the defendants, and the ample time allowed for the examination made it possible to approximate the conditions of the examination ordinarily obtaining in the consultation room of the physician, and our conclusions are believed to be as reliable as are those ordinarily reached by us after a thorough-going examination of a patient applying to us for treatment. The data obtained as a result of the direct examination of the defendants were supplemented by data taken from the reports of the original examination by Doctors Bowman and Hulbert, and by conversations with relatives and acquaintances of the defendants.

The two defendants, neither of whom has reached the age of twenty, have maintained a very intimate and peculiar relationship since 1921. The Franks crime, as is well known, was carried out by them together, and, it might be added, that in our opinion the mental condition and conduct of the two defendants, certainly in so far as this crime is concerned, can best be understood when adequate consideration is given to the nature of this relationship between them and to the factors which led to its establishment and maintenance.

An unbiased estimate of the facts pertaining to this association between the two defendants leads us to the conviction that their criminal activities were the outgrowth of an unique coming-together of two peculiarly maladjusted adolescents, each of whom brought into relationship a long-standing background of abnormal mental life. This

has made a situation so unique that it probably will never repeat itself. There is justification for stressing the uniqueness of this case if for no other reason than that it has created widespread panic among parents of young people.

How is one to account for this most peculiar relationship of the defendants and their criminal action? Our studies have revealed the following evolution of the situation:

Nathan F. Leopold, Junior

The characteristics that Leopold presents today and which make his criminal conduct comprehensible, have their roots in his mental life, his thinking and his feelings, during the years of early childhood.

EARLY PECULIAR TENDENCIES

We find that already from five to seven years of age peculiar tendencies were shown quite at variance with the trends of normal childhood. He was not only precocious in his mental interests, but these interests assumed a degree of intensity and showed themselves in special directions which were in themselves indications of abnormality. As examples we may cite that when about five he showed an intense pre-occupation with questions of religion, cataloguing churches, insisting upon visiting the different ones in his neighborhood, learning the names and something of the lives of the minor Saints of the Catholic Church, dwelling upon the idea of the crucifixion, which he now states had a very peculiar fascination for him, and wondering greatly why there should be so many different ideas about God. And at this time he exhibited other curious interests, such as in the specific meanings of words, especially the meaning of "Yes" in different languages. He wanted to complete a series of numbers, to be roused up at odd hours of the night, to visit a street that had a certain attraction because of its number, to visit the church where there was a Madonna picture.

HIS DELUSIONALLY DISORDERED PERSONALITY

There are many well substantiated facts concerning Leopold's gradual development of a pathological, disordered conception of himself. Beginning very early in life with conceptions of his own superiority, which in intellectual ways were founded on fact, there has been a steady growth of delusional tendencies concerning himself, and to the extent that he definitely conceives of himself as a superior being, quite set apart and not called on to be amenable to the social regulations or legal restrictions which govern the ordinary human

being. His ego is all-important, right or wrong, his desires and will being the only determinants of his conduct. There is conclusive evidence of this conception and attitude developing years ago and being steadily cumulative in his world of ideas as well as his world of behavior. He says without the slightest exhibition of doubt or uncertainty that anything which gives him satisfaction is justified by this fact itself. Even the commission of murder is perfectly tolerable to him on this basis of his conception of himself.

This abnormal tendency had its beginnings early. Early recognition of his superior attainments by his teacher and by his mother made him feel unlike and apart from others and superior to them.

As a young child he placed his mother and a favorite aunt on the same level with the Madonna, about whom he came to know through having a Catholic nurse at four years of age, as being the most wonderful persons of whom he had any conception. And later in life, as he looked down with contempt on women on account of their intellectual inferiority to him, he steadily maintained the above exceptions. He thus transferred his own abnormal egotistical standpoint to his own immediate family life and what is more significant psychologically, to his own origin.

He early showed a well-defined tendency to whip himself into superior accomplishment, and to do those things which would set him apart from others on the basis of his superiority. He believed, for example, that his mental ability was stepped-up about twenty per cent following a night without sleep, and that when he showed increased ability as a result of the lack of sleep it demonstrated to the world his uniqueness. He prides himself on the fact that he has done something important at every hour during the twenty-four hours of the day, something that others have not done. Many of his college studies, such as Sanskrit, Oscan and Umbrian dialects, Russian and modern Greek, were chosen to emphasize his being different. He says he strove for perfection, he trained himself to think in the fourth dimension, he hoped to find the universal language.

While yet a child he began to strive to be the cold-blooded ego-centric intellectualist, turning gradually from the usual and intense early childhood interest in religion to a deliberate overthrowing and eliminating of God, conscience, sympathy, social responsibility and loyalty as being thoroughly unnecessary to him and unworthy of him as a completely intelligent individual.

(And, as his career shows, he developed these ideas to the extent that they have led him into conduct which, if it had not been for his

delusions and his defective judgment, he might have seen would certainly cause his own destruction.)

As it stands now, he looks upon his present predicament for the most part as offering him occasion for the utmost satisfaction. He says that in the eyes of the world, although despised and hated, he is considered as a Napoleon on St. Helena.

Through the pathological development of his ego he has gradually come to develop a personal philosophy which admits of only one motive, his own advantage. He estimates murder as a very small thing to weigh in the balance as against his pleasure. In a class on torts this year he challenged the professor in open class with the argument that legal regulations should not apply to one who is a superman.

It is of interest to note that for years he has been excessively hypercritical of others and has studiously avoided the making of friendships which might even through ordinary demands interfere with his delusionally cherished ego.

As it is now he ridicules the idea that he may be considered as mentally diseased, unbalanced or insane; saying that while he knows he is different from others, the difference is one of superiority only.

If he is going to have to die at the hands of the law, he has two main plans: First, he will write down ten of the world's riddles as he conceives them, put them into a safety deposit vault, select a committee of scientists who will try to get into communication with him after his death and get his aid in solving these riddles. Then he wants to write a book or books, particularly his autobiography, because he thinks he is different from others and has led a most unusual and interesting life and one that is worth recording. He would include an apologia or interpretation which would, among other things, show that he played his part and went to his end consistently; that he did not change as many expect him to. (At another time, speaking of his childhood ideas of self-perfection, he stated that consistency has always been a sort of God to him.)

Furthermore he wishes to be allowed to go to his death in his own way, and to address the public freely. It is vastly more important for him to preserve his dignity than to have his life preserved.

Another feature of Leopold's personality characteristics, which students of abnormal psychology all recognize as belonging to the same picture, namely, that of the paranoic personality, is concerned with the abnormal and intense energy which he has for many years displayed. His relatives and friends speak of his restlessness and excessive mental energy, and we have various records of his great mental output. He

has not been subject to the normal limitations of ordinary fatigue. There is much that bears upon this point. When interested in the study of birds he would remain up all night in preparation for his early morning observations. He was continually reaching out for new subjects to study, and a list of what he has undertaken is really formidable. In the same way he continually sought new life experience, new ideas, new sensations. He is a tremendous talker and arguer. His tense physical and mental attitude has been continued over many years and was noted by us throughout our examinations. In all this he presents what is known as the manic drive of the paranoic personality.

EMOTIONAL LIFE

Another outstanding abnormality in Leopold's life is related to his emotions. From childhood on there has been a definite and often very conscious effort on his part to suppress sentiment and sympathy, as being entirely out of accord with his well defined idea of himself as a being primarily intellectual and superior, one who could and should rule his actions by coldly logical notions of what he was pleased to do.

His pursuance of this idea of inhibiting emotions stimulated and made further possible an intensely energetic activity. We note that he not only liked to make collections in a normal boyish way, but he pursued a search for information about his numerous collections and about groups of ideas in his mind, which were themselves of the nature of collections, with an avidity that was altogether far beyond what is normal in child life. He wasted but little energy even then in emotional ways, and as time went on his conscious repressions in this sphere, made possible excessive and feverish exhibitions of mental activities in many directions, some of which have been thoroughly unhealthy from a mental and moral standpoint.

These peculiarities pertaining to his emotional life started in a direction determined by his early feeling of inferiority. His repression of feelings and emotions began with conscious realization of his own sensitiveness to the opinions of others, by discovering that he readily suffered from what others said or thought of him, notably in his school life. His feelings he found interfered with his self-satisfaction and soon he consciously determined that he could get most out of life by destroying emotions in favor of intellect, or, putting it in another way, by freeing his thought life as much as possible from admixture with normal emotions. But his continuously planned antag-

onism to emotional expression has led to a most abnormal dependence upon his own phantasy life and its expressions for the satisfactions which make life tolerable

Comparing his emotional life with his intellectual precocity we can definitely say that his emotional nature in its development (and in this he, strangely enough, closely resembles his comrade) is on an immature childish level. He now demonstrates a well defined incapacity for appreciating through emotional life his place in the social order; there is abnormal lack of ordinary ethical motivations. The normal "sense of right and wrong," is no longer a part of his makeup, having been effectually forced into the background by the manifestations of his delusional ego.

All through the various examinations by each of us, Leopold spoke with the utmost indifference and lack of emotional display concerning the details of the Franks crime, freely acknowledging that he had not the slightest remorse or what might be considered anything like an appropriate emotional reaction. The same absence of feeling characterizes his adjustment to his confinement in jail, under conditions so utterly different to what he has been accustomed to, and particularly as a prisoner awaiting sentence.

He expatiates on his own coldness and speaks of it as a desirable phenomenon in that it makes it possible for him to enjoy the dramatics of the situation, stating that he looks forward to his trial as the moment of the keenest intellectual enjoyment of his life. In this his attitude resembles that which he evidently displayed before the murder itself—he had considerable interest in the thought of observing himself as a murderer. Indeed, he goes further and sets up the picture of the possible and probable enjoyment of his own execution, if that takes place; his nature showing such an abnormal hiatus between normally constituted and correlated emotion and intellect that he can look on such an ending of his life as a keen-minded observer of human behavior.

The essence of his abnormality in this clearly perceivable lack in his emotional life is found, then, in the fact of the constant subordination of normal feelings of loyalty and obligation and sympathy to his intellectual life, and to the demands of his diseased ego. Herein lies also the explanation of the absence of natural feeling on his part about the commission of criminal acts.

This separation of intellect and emotions with certainty indicates mental abnormality. It is a symptom belonging to the same group of mental abnormalities as the manifestations of the pathologically developed ego or self.

ABNORMAL PHANTASY LIFE

Related to many important phases of his subsequent career has been Leopold's early and intense turning of his interests to phantasy life (conscious dreaming), spending a considerable part of the time each day in the weaving of phantasies. These day-dreams which have persisted continuously and with great vividness up to the present, have been indulged in to a tremendous extent and variety, forming for years a sort of serial story with many variations. The psychological significance of the persistent intrusion of this kind of abnormal imaginative life into the daily existence of a child, and particularly into the life of an adolescent, is very great, since it has the power of eventually leading to the confusion of reality with unreality—as was the case here.

In contrast to the imaginative life of normal childhood which is always in touch more or less with the realities surrounding child life, Leopold's phantasies were from the beginning out of accord with the usual demands of social life, and never seem to have undergone the natural fate of phantasy life in being increasingly matched or assimilated into the facts of reality. Thus the normal child identifies himself with the persons in his immediate environment, he day-dreams of being a motorman, an engineer, a policeman, showing thereby in his desires a normal response to the influences which surround him. These responses lead to the evolution of ideals and interests of a social quality which accords with the social status of the individual. Of peculiar significance in this case is the extent to which the ideals of the boy Leopold deviated from what might have been expected of him in his social setting—his ideals and behavior have evolved in line with the thoroughly abnormal phantasy life which since childhood has dominated him.

One of the earliest of Leopold's waking dreams was related to his peculiar religious interests; he persistently visualized the crucifixion—the idea of somebody suffering, or, as he states it now, the idea of some one being nailed down to something, had an abnormal appeal for him. And it is most important to note that in his later phantasies he very frequently indeed played the role of the one who suffered.

Earliest and throughout his life the most predominating has been a series of what may be called his King-Slave phantasies. He began these, as he remembers, before he was ten years old, and even recently these imaginations have played an immense part in his thought and in the directing of his impulses. They began with imaginings about a slave who was intensely devoted to a king or master. This slave was

extremely good looking, the strongest man in the world, and in some way or another, the way varying greatly in different pictures, this slave saved the life of a king. The latter was very grateful and wanted to give the slave his liberty, but he refused. As a rule, the lot of the slave was good. He belonged to a class or caste of slaves, each of whom was bound to his special king by a chain—our day dreamer himself, who was in the vast majority of his phantasies the slave, was bound to his king in later phantasies by a golden chain which he easily could have broken. There would be combats and slaves chosen to represent a side; the dreamer would always be chosen and would always win.

Other variations of this theme were that the dreamer thought of himself as a boy captured and beaten and then the king would come along and save his life; or that he was stolen away by gypsies and brought up subject to much punishment, or that he was taken during war times and made to serve a nice young girl, being frequently beaten by others but always saved by her.

When his phantasies grew too impossible or illogical for him even in his dream life to entertain, as when he found himself combatting and overcoming a thousand men in trying to save his king, he would consciously dismiss the idea as too absurd and improbable, and readjust his phantasy to accord more with the possibilities of real life.

The above is but a slight sketch of this realm of Leopold's mental life where abnormal thoughts and phantasies held sway. Very many details and variations of the above topics have been given to us.

We are impressed with the validity of his recital of this phase of his mental life because it is so explicitly similar in type to the phantasy life of which we are accustomed to learn during our studies of patients who have various sorts of psychoses (mental disorders). All of it came to the surface spontaneously in the original examination and then has been told to the different physicians with a free elaboration which is so characteristic in some forms of abnormal mental life.

CARRYING HIS PHANTASIES OVER TO REALITY

Even as early as at twelve years there was outcropping of phantasy life in the world of reality—he began to identify actual persons with the characters in his imaginings. There began then a confusion of the real with the unreal which has come to play an increasing and most important part in his daily intercourse with others. A specially good looking counsellor at camp was nightly fitted into the role of

slave. Other boys gradually were identified with characters in his life of phantasy. Every boy who appealed to him became eligible for some part in his inner dramas; an elaborate system of capturing them and even of branding them, with a very specially designed brand, on the inner surface of the calf of the leg, was evolved.

But of most significance is the fact that for three or more years his companion, Loeb, has been very definitely woven into his phantasy life. For the most part it has been a King-Slave affair, with Loeb as king, but there have been many variations to it. Latterly Loeb has been transfigured into an individual who has played the part of an ideal man, wonderfully good looking, an athletic star, a brilliant scholar, who gets the highest marks in college. Although in life none of these things have been true, Leopold has forcibly transformed his companion and, even apart from his definite day-dreamings, tried to make himself believe that he was this perfect individual. Thus he actually made a chart of the "perfect man," in which Loeb received a score of 90, Leopold himself grading as only 62, and other acquaintances ranging from 30 to 40. But as he says when looking back on these phases of his inner mental life, "there was at this time an almost complete identification of myself with Dick. It was a blind hero worship."

The abnormal and puerile unreality of Leopold's mental life is exhibited in the fact that he frequently told others that his companion was the superman, and often tried to convince Loeb himself that his mental powers were far above his own—knowing all the time that Loeb was thoroughly untruthful in boasting of his good marks in college, and that he was much inferior intellectually to Leopold himself.

We can see how the ready acceptance of Loeb's suggestions with respect to their joint criminal activity fitted in perfectly with Leopold's phantasying for years himself in the role of a slave, first to a phantasy kind and then transferring his allegiance to his idealized king-like companion.

The pathological admixture of inferiority and superiority concepts and strivings not only in his abnormal imaginations, but also in his behavior reactions to real life is a matter of great practical as well as professional interest in this case. It reflects, on the one hand, the profound disorder of judgment which permits such contradictory ideas and impulses to live side by side, and it indicates, on the other hand, a tremendous and altogether abnormal rift between Leopold's intellectual precocity and the emotional immaturity which made possible the ready acceptance by him of either role. The strange admixture demonstrates that no normally integrated or consistent personality was ever evolved in Leopold's mental life.

CONCERNING POSSIBLE CAUSES OF LEOPOLD'S MENTAL ABNORMALITY

If one attempt to discover underlying causes of Leopold's above described abnormal mental life, one comes upon possibly significant factors in the following background:

Leopold, who is not quite twenty years of age, a first-year law student in the University of Chicago, comes from a well-to-do and socially well placed German-Jewish household. His father is a successful business man, who impresses one distinctly with his earnestness and solidity of character. The mother, who died about three years ago, was a socially minded, gentle and highly esteemed member of her community. Nathan Junior is the youngest of three boys, and with the exception of the fact that his mother was considered dangerously ill with nephritis during the pregnancy with him, there is nothing of special interest in his early physical development. He was unusually precocious in talking; it is recorded in his baby book that he spoke his first words at four months. Up to the age of nine he was considered poorly developed. His inferior physical status, together with the fact that he attended for the first two years of his school life a girls' school, on account of which he was taunted by other boys, and also because he was regularly taken by a nurse to and from public schools until he was eleven years old, tended very clearly to give him the feeling, which he himself now remembers well, that he was a person apart from the ordinary and physically inferior. It was all through this early school period that he was particularly sensitive to the opinions and criticisms of others. Among the people with whom he came into contact at this time most influential, probably, was a nurse, a woman who was dishonest, suspicious, irritable, jealous, and who showed marked indiscretions in her physical contact with this boy. For a considerable time he was very fond of her. She succeeded in winning his affections to the extent of his being fonder of her than he was of his own mother.

At school where his intellectual precocity was at once recognized by his scholastic performance, he was pushed ahead one grade. Later, in preparatory school, we find that he was characterized in the school publication as "The Great Nathan," "The Crazy Bird," "Flea" (because the boy was smaller than average in stature), and "This-Crazed Genius."

He progressed very rapidly, and at the age of fifteen years and ten months he entered the University of Chicago, from which he graduated, although his studies were interfered with by illness of himself and in the family, with Phi Beta Kappa honors at eighteen years and

four months. Throughout his academic career he has engaged in considerable extra-curricular studies, during the school term or in vacation time. His studies and field researches in ornithology represent decidedly good work and he has contributed articles of note in that field, and has also taught classes in this subject. This and his work in languages, including philology, represent his best efforts. In much of this there is evidence of expression of his own desire for superiority through being different from others—once he was the only student in a course of advanced Greek.

Of significance in the case of Leopold (although probably of not so much import as in the case of his comrade) is the fact that this boy who had, during his early years lived such a guarded life, in respect to his contacts with other boys, at the age of fifteen was thrown with college students much older than himself and exposed to the temptations and obvious desirability of living up to what, in his particular set, were considered standards of manly behavior. He began to drink at the age of fifteen, and has been a more or less frequent consumer of alcohol ever since. It was when he was fifteen that he became intimate with Loeb, who is a little younger, he having barely known this boy before then. It is significant that up to this time no tendencies were shown to criminal behavior.

FINDINGS AND DATA OBTAINED THROUGH DIRECT EXAMINATION

Physical Status

There are definite signs of instability of the nervous system: a neurotic makeup. Even in ordinary conversation is noted exaggerated use of facial muscles, nervous gestures, flushing and pallor of the face. The examination of Doctors Bowman and Hulbert brings out the point that beyond these neurotic conditions, there is some evidence of pathology of the endocrine system (the glands of internal secretion) and the sympathetic nervous system

Mental Status

Given a number of mental tests, Leopold is found to have very considerably super-normal general intelligence, as indicated by all tests where the use of language, the comprehension of language and vocabulary are mainly involved. Up to a certain point he is good in abstract reasoning. His mental activity is extraordinary, his mental reactions are tremendously quick, his associations are abnormally rich, so much so that they are rather difficult for him to control. He is voluble, self-assertive and indeed aggressive in the use of his mind,

thoroughly enjoying mental tasks and doing special memory stunts by the use of associational memory devices—and altogether being very much interested in his own mental processes. In his reasoning power and especially in his common sense judgments, as might indeed be known by his life career, he is extraordinarily lacking, in comparison. Shrewdness is shown in only a very limited field and rarely takes into account the validity of premises which he assumes.

Personality Traits

Leopold's personality traits have been mainly indicated above. In review we may restate that he is pathologically egocentric; extremely energetic, showing a great pressure toward mental activity; hypercritical of others but not at all of himself; very appreciative of the dramatic when he plays a main part; astonishingly and quite abnormally devoid of any show of feelings of sympathy or obligation or conceptions of gratitude; persistent and obstinate in mental attitudes and behavior trends; enthusiastic and forceful about anything that he himself undertakes. Beyond this we note that he is not changeable in mood or subject to depressions, even under most unfavorable conditions. Whatever his native endowment of normal emotions may have been, they have been schooled by his intellect to remain in the background. Only occasionally, as noted during some mental testing periods, he may momentarily show evidences, however, of feelings which ordinarily do not come at all to the surface. He is a play-actor in a play-world of his own constructing and proposes to play out his part.

There have been alterations in his personality that show the progressive deterioration that is going on in his mental life. But all the evidences are minor as compared to our knowledge of his having gone downhill steadily along the paths of defective judgment in relation to the part which he should and might play in the world and of his development of various pernicious interests—all in utter contradiction to his notions of himself as a superior being and to his self-formulated desires of wishing to play the part of a superman.

THE PROBLEM OF MENTAL DISORDER IN LEOPOLD'S CASE

We could draw no other conclusions from Leopold's abnormal phantasy life, his delusional development of notions about himself, his defective or deteriorated judgment which has not permitted him to see the pathological absurdity of mixing up phantasy and real life; his repression and misplacement of emotional life; his abnormal urge towards activity and search for the experience of new mental and

physical sensations; his disintegrated personality to the extent that he has shown an essential and abnormal lack of foresight and care even for his much beloved ego—we can draw no other conclusions from the above than that Leopold is and was on the twenty-first day of May, 1924, a thoroughly unbalanced individual in his mental life.

He represents a picture of a special abnormal type, the paranoid psychopathic personality. His ability as a conversationalist and as a student had led to his being unrecognized for what he really is, and his delusional conceptions about himself have therefore not been taken seriously. His very manic (over-excitabile and over-energetic) tendencies have been misinterpreted as evidences of cleverness. The fact that he has been able to carry himself along in the world without being recognized as being abnormal is in itself typical of individuals who belong to this special group of mental disorders

Richard Loeb

The facts and circumstances which have, as leading forces, combined to make this adolescent what he is and which serve to explain his criminal conduct reach back, as in the case of Leopold, to his early boyhood days.

The challenging fact in the personality of this boy as we see him today, lies in his most remarkable unscrupulousness, untruthfulness, unfairness, ingratitude, disloyalty, and in his total lack of human feeling and sympathy with respect to the deed, to which he has, with his companion, pleaded guilty. His characteristics assume a particularly abnormal nature when one views them in the light of the kind of home and social setting that he came from. The Loeb home has been noted for its high standards of virtue and culture and a place where the task of bringing up children was viewed with unusual seriousness.

It is therefore clearly indicative of some abnormal tendencies in this boy himself that he should have developed the above characteristics and that he should have felt from early childhood estranged and not wanted in his home, so that at one time he told his mother that he was thinking of running away, and that he should have missed during his developmental period the feeling that he could find some one who could understand him and to whom he could reveal his inner mental life.

It is astounding to contemplate how this boy's mind from the time before he was nine years of age, was filled with a curiously abnormal and criminalistic set of ideas and visions. For example, at

this early age he very strangely pictured himself frequently as being a prisoner in a jail yard. He would imagine himself stripped of clothing, shoved around and being whipped. This "picturization," as he calls it, was worked out with great detail. There were other people in the yard, he was ashamed of seeing the others and particularly the women naked or partly clothed, he made a burrow in the earth where he felt warm and comfortable, people looked at him through a fence that separated the yard from the street; at first it was only people in general and then it was young girls who looked at him with wonder because he was a criminal and they sympathized with him. There was a great feeling of self-pity in this, but no feeling of fear. "I was abused but it was a very pleasant thought; the punishment inflicted on me in jail was pleasant; I enjoyed being looked at through the bars, because I was a famous criminal."

(As bearing upon the validity of Loeb's testimony concerning these phantasies, we may note that the detailed picture which he gave us of the jail yard and fence was suggestive to us of the fence around the Chicago House of Correction, as it was years ago. Although he does not remember it, the family state that the boy occasionally was driven with his father to the latter's place of business, going over the boulevard that passes the House of Correction.)

Linked up with this phantasy of being in jail and evidently directly evolved from it and coming sometime later was the notion of being some sort of a celebrated criminal. Still later grew up the phantasy of being a "master-mind" directing criminal activities.

There seems to have been an endless variety to his imaginings about his own sufferings as a prisoner and about his being a criminal, working up to his being "the master criminal mind of the century." In his phantasies about crime he gradually imagined himself committing all sorts of crimes. He derived intense pleasure, he says, from this, particularly in having a feeling of being superior to others, inasmuch as they would not know how the crime was committed and who was connected with it, whereas he did.

He as the "master mind" was so clever at planning that he could escape detection from the greatest detectives of the world. He phantasied working out a wonderful plan of a great crime which would stir all the country and which would never be solved. None of this was undertaken for financial profit, and if the question of money did appear in his imaginings, it was only to make the "picturization" consistent and logical. In all of his phantasies he had one or more

associates, but he was always the leader. One reason for this was that others might appreciate his skill.

He states that these imaginings have recurred with very great vividness, so that he remembers them now as well as he does the actual occurrences of his earlier every-day life.

Among other types of phantasies which occurred early, but which was stopped, was that of thinking of himself as a frontiersman shooting at others. In this he would get under the bedclothes, which in his imagination were impregnable to bullets. We speak of this particularly because we note a photograph of Loeb as a child in cowboy outfit holding a toy pistol, and in this photograph he exhibits an extraordinary set, intense, facial expression; he is doing a bit of acting out of his phantasy life with a zest that remarkably changes his ordinary appearance, and indicating a deep leaning toward adventure.

(Here it may be noted that throughout his life, Loeb has shown a very great and indeed abnormal love of excitement and adventure. Unfortunately the repressive and sheltered life in which he was brought up by his governess and family, afforded him no normal outlets in healthy natural ways for his adventuresome spirit. The main satisfactions which he derived in this connection were through his curious and abnormal phantasies which he indulged in with such regularity.)

How completely his phantasies have controlled him and have been a habit with him is illustrated by the fact that, as he tells us, at night in the jail he has caught himself saying, "As you know, Teddy," this being the formula with which he introduced for many years his phantasy life to himself in his evening reveries. He began with his talking to his teddy bear who would understand all things and so obviate the necessity for the narrator or day-dreamer squaring himself with the necessities and logic and consistencies of ordinary life. And, of course, this, too, illustrates Loeb's dual nature, his being even now essentially a child in some respects, while otherwise he is so strikingly capable of hardened and vicious behavior.

ABNORMAL MIXING OF PHANTASY WITH REAL LIFE

As early as at eleven years of age Loeb actually began to live out his phantasy in his daily behavior—he would walk down the street as if he were directing people under his command in the carrying out of burglaries; in fact, he has kept up this play acting until very recently. It was a trick that his comrade, Leopold, told us he himself thought extremely foolish and childish as he observed it.

Loeb invented various games in which he played the role of

detective, and at about ten years of age he actually shadowed people persistently for hours. Somewhat later he was caught at this game by members of his family, who, however, knew nothing of the real significance of his behavior.

And the pleasure which Loeb first experienced in his phantasies from doing something that others did not know about, thus feeling in a sense superior to them, was likewise gradually carried over into real life. In fact, it has come to be one of the chief elements in the so-called thrill that he has derived from the planning of crime and from the mystification of others who did not know the real facts or his part in it.

He appears to have actually stolen first at about the age of nine and his experiences in connection with that event are still so vivid to him that he relates them in great detail—he had a curious set of physical sensations of the nature of exhilaration and power. He remembers in many such affairs how he has enjoyed the rapid beating of the heart.

As time has gone on, Loeb has endeavored to bring in line more and more his actual behavior and experiences with his phantasy life, with even his earlier phantasies. This is not only shown in the development of his crime ideas as such, but also in the fact and method of the enjoyment of his experiences connected with the crime. Under his present predicament, for example, he is much pleased over the fact that he knows more about the details of the events connected with the Franks case than any one has been able to find out.

Very remarkable in the light of his early imaginings is the fact that in jail he is endeavoring to obtain sympathy for himself through inviting friends, especially girls, to come and gaze at him behind the bars, to look up at the jail windows where he is, being stationed at places which he designates on the street. Also his ready adaptation to jail conditions, for a boy of his social status, shows the continuous influence on his mind of these early phantasies. Spontaneously he says on July 27th, "It's sort of all right, it seems, to be in jail. It seems to be a sort of confirmation of my early picturization. I had a very pleasant sort of feeling in the jail outfit when I first came in; this self-pity entered into it, but I was a little glad of the jail clothes, of being in jail. I was glad to have a ragged coat. When they offered me a better one, I refused it. The one they gave me was torn up the sleeve. I was living out being subjected to worse conditions than the other prisoners. I feel comfortable here. I am living it out—what I used to picture as a child." In these ways the thoroughly abnormal

ideas of some of his first phantasies of criminality are shown even today.

(Of considerable interest to students of abnormal psychology and mental disease must be the unquestioned fact that this boy, selfishly seeking in an extraordinary fashion his own peculiar pleasure at anybody's expense, even to the point of entering into situations which were most dangerous to him, is quite in line with his abnormal early phantasy of self-suffering and almost leads to the conclusion that he has been unconsciously bent, as it were, on self-destruction.)

EMOTIONAL NATURE

Another outstanding fact in explanation of Loeb's abnormal career is the extraordinary moral callousness which has been growing upon him. He has become incapable of viewing his criminal acts with any natural feeling. Nothing, perhaps, emphasizes this point any more than the fact that it was possible for him to contemplate the kidnaping of members of his own family, particularly his younger brother, of whom he professes to have been fondest.

This pathological moral obtuseness which all recognize who have been in contact with Loeb, especially when placed side by side with his intelligence and school achievement, points to a disordered condition of his personality and mental life, a type of condition not uncommonly encountered among the obviously insane

A careful estimate of the way in which this boy has developed his tendencies shows that the divergence between his thinking and his feeling or emotional life had its origin even before he was ten years old. Already that early he hit upon persistent lying as a means of avoiding the difficulties of his environment.

And while he continued to develop intellectually and to be capable of entering college extremely early and to obtain passing marks all through his college life, he has remained pathologically backward in his emotional make-up, and perhaps also retrograded to the point of being now absolutely defective or abnormal in this phase of his personality.

His notoriously unfeeling behavior in connection with his immediate situation, as a person about to be tried for murder, is ample illustration of the depths of his emotional displacement or defect. The absence, all along, of normal remorse, revulsion, disgust, depression, fear, or even apprehension, in any way concerning the planning, discussing and carrying out of the gruesome details of the kidnaping and murder, or in considering the outcome, also sharply emphasizes the thoroughly disordered character of his mental life. His own aston-

ishment at his lack of feeling is worthy of much note. He has repeatedly stated that certainly for years he had hardly any of the slightest evidences of being moved by ordinary sympathy. He says, "I would have supposed I would have cried at the testimony of Mrs. Franks, but I did not feel anything much. I was not sorry about any of the things I did that were wrong. I did not have any feeling about it. I did not have much of any feeling from the first. That is why I could do those things. I think I am getting worse in my mind in the last few years. I used to be quicker in my mind." "There was nothing inside me to stop me." "Of course, I feel sorry about my folks, but not so much as I ought to feel."

And to the same point, we have the manifestation in him of the outward characteristics of affability, good manners, desire for friendship, pushed to the point of deliberate planning to achieve better social relationships, desire for sympathy, all in the strangest contrast to his satisfaction in conduct and in the thought of conduct that could easily be seen to include every chance of negating all these desires. This makes a contradictory picture, both in the realms of judgment and emotional life that is incomprehensible except as it is seen so surely to involve mental abnormality.

CONDITIONING FACTORS OF LOEB'S PATHOLOGICAL MENTAL DEVELOPMENT

The above mentioned pathological features of Loeb's inner mental and emotional life were somewhat conditioned and probably strengthened by the following most important facts:

(a) Between the ages of four and a half and fourteen he was very largely in the company and under the domination and guidance of a peculiarly repressive and jealous governess. Through this he was very considerably deprived of the self-development that comes from free and healthy contacts with other children.

(b) Through this woman's scholastic ambitions for the boy and through her tutoring he was most rapidly pushed through his school classes, the boy having, however, exhibited no special abilities and particularly having developed no normal ambitions and interests. It is all during the period when he was supposed to be doing so well in meeting the requirements of formal education that he was forced to fall back for his real satisfactions upon the abnormal features of his phantasy life.

(c) The culmination of these efforts to push this boy rapidly through school was in his entrance to the university at the age of fourteen years and three months. This proved to be an unfortunate

circumstance in relation to his development, one that Loeb himself emphasizes as having been pernicious. Soon after his matriculation he was thrown among young fellows four to six or seven years older than himself, and the ways of some of the wildest and most immoral of them he soon imitated. Like his comrade, Leopold, he began to drink at fifteen. His very release at this age from the restraining influence of his repressive governess he reacted to by going rapidly in other and immoral directions.

(d) Beginning at ten years of age the boy found opportunity to secretly feed his cravings by reading exciting detective stories which made a great impress upon him and which afforded material for his criminalistic phantasies. A number of books of this kind he read over and over and the characters entered into his imaginative life. This reading interest also signifies that extreme attention was paid to the formal education of this boy without developing normal and healthy interest in his inner mental life and this left him with no vestige of ambition or ideal to counteract his eccentric and pathological interests.

PRESENT FINDINGS THROUGH DIRECT EXAMINATION OF LOEB

Physical Status

Although this active and well-built young fellow usually preserves a calm and pleasant demeanor, he shows marked signs of some nervous instabilities in certain involuntary twitchings of the muscles of his face and in the asymmetrical use of the muscles controlling the lips.

Mental Status

Given a number of mental tests of different sorts we find him grading as having only average general ability for a person of his educational advantages; and we find him evidencing no particularly good abilities of any sort. This is interesting because it seems out of consonance with his precocious academic record.

Concerning his personality traits we note that he takes very little pleasure in ordinary mental activity and that he appears to be very limited in his interests, to the extent of being almost ambitionless along any ordinary lines. His energies appear to be directed almost exclusively into the channels of his abnormal tendencies. He can easily take command of a situation and is strong in emergency. He has a pathological love of excitement and adventure. There is a very striking pathological contradiction between his desires for sympathy and friendships and the fact that he is unscrupulous, unfair and ungrateful. His unfortunate qualities he freely confesses and claims to wonder at them in his own makeup. He is rather even tempered and

shows no superficial evidences of repressed emotions, no special irritabilities. He can be decidedly courageous on occasions. He does, however, have times of mild and probably pathologically significant depressions, which, however, are easily changed by making pleasant social contacts. During these depressions he tells us, he has repeatedly contemplated suicide.

Thus a central indication of his abnormality is to be found in the great emotional peculiarities which are indicated by the extreme lack of feeling and of sympathy in certain spheres of life, by a lack of appropriate emotional response in connection with many situations which normally call forth certain emotional reactions, and in certain curious twists or misplacements, so that the few loyalties that he does express are quite incongruous and relate to issues of relatively minor social consequence. Thus when compared with the normal person, his entire scale of emotional values is seen to be defective and in certain aspects decidedly abnormal.

THE PROBLEM OF MENTAL DISORDER IN LOEB'S CASE

It is evident from the foregoing that in this case we are dealing with an adolescent who in his development has manifested a markedly pathological divergence or split between his intellectual and emotional life, so that while he may be considered mature intellectually, he is decidedly infantile in his capacity for reacting to the ordinary situations of life with normal, appropriate emotions. His whole behavior in connection with the Franks case before and after its occurrence and up to the present moment, indicates a degree of callousness which is wholly incomprehensible except on the basis of a disordered mentality.

The opinion is inescapable that in Loeb we have an individual with a pathological mental life, who is driven in his actions by the compulsive force of his abnormally twisted life of phantasy or imagination, and at this time expresses himself in his thinking and feeling and acting as a split personality, a type of condition not uncommonly met with among the insane.

We therefore conclude that Richard Loeb is now mentally abnormal and was so abnormal on May 21st, 1924, and, in so far as anyone can predict at this time, will continue, perhaps with increasing gravity, as time goes on.

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