Jeffrey Dahmer
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Jeffrey Lionel Dahmer (May 21, 1960 – November 28, 1994), also known as the Milwaukee Cannibal, was an American serial killer and sex offender, who committed the rape, murder, and dismemberment of seventeen men and boys between 1978 and 1991, with many of his later murders also involving necrophilia,¹ cannibalism, and the permanent preservation of body parts—typically all or part of the skeletal structure.²

Although diagnosed with borderline personality disorder,³ schizotypal personality disorder,⁴ and a psychotic disorder, Dahmer was found to be legally sane at his trial. Convicted of fifteen of the sixteen murders he had committed in Wisconsin, Dahmer was sentenced to fifteen terms of life imprisonment on February 15, 1992.⁵ He was later sentenced to a sixteenth term of life imprisonment for an additional homicide committed in Ohio in 1978.

On November 28, 1994, Dahmer was beaten to death in prison by Christopher Scarver, a fellow inmate at the Columbia Correctional Institution.

Contents

1 Early life
   1.1 Early childhood
   1.2 Adolescence and high school
2 Late teens and early twenties
   2.1 First murder and Army service
   2.2 Return to Ohio and relocation to West Allis
3 Late twenties: subsequent murders
   3.1 Ambassador Hotel
   3.2 Intermediate incidents
   3.3 924 North 25th Street
      3.3.1 1990 killings
      3.3.2 1991 killings
4 Arrest
   4.1 Confession
   4.2 Indictment
   4.3 Trial

Mug shot of Jeffrey Dahmer, taken immediately after his 1991 arrest by the Milwaukee Police Department

Born
Jeffrey Lionel Dahmer
May 21, 1960
West Allis, Wisconsin, U.S.

Died
November 28, 1994 (aged 34)
Portage, Wisconsin, U.S.

Cause of death
Homicide (severe head trauma)

Other names
The Milwaukee Cannibal
The Milwaukee Monster

Height
6 ft 0 in (1.83 m)

Weight
180 lb (82 kg)

Criminal penalty
Life imprisonment (16 life terms)

Conviction(s)
Child molestation
Disorderly conduct
Indecent exposure
Murder
Public intoxication
Early life

Early childhood

Jeffrey Dahmer was born on May 21, 1960 in West Allis, Wisconsin, the first of two sons born to Joyce Annette (née Flint) and Lionel Herbert Dahmer. Dahmer's mother worked as a teletype machine instructor,[6] whereas his father was a student at Marquette University, working towards a degree in chemistry. His father was of German ancestry, and his mother was of Welsh ancestry.[7]

Although Dahmer was doted upon as an infant and toddler by both parents, his mother was known to be tense, greedy for attention, and argumentative with both her husband and her neighbors.[5] As her son entered first grade, Joyce Dahmer began to spend an increasing amount of her time in bed recovering from weakness. Lionel's university studies kept him away from home much of the time; when he was home, Joyce demanded constant attention. She reportedly would work herself into a state of anxiety over trivial matters simply to achieve appeasement from her husband. On one occasion, Joyce Dahmer attempted suicide from an overdose of the Equanil pills to which she had become addicted.[8] Consequently, neither parent devoted much time to their son.[9]

Dahmer himself recalled his early years of family life as being of "extreme tension" which he noted between his parents, whom he observed to be constantly arguing with each other. At elementary school, he was regarded as both quiet and timid by his peers. On his first grade report card, one teacher described Dahmer as a reserved child whom she sensed to feel neglected.[10] This teacher did note that this sense of neglect seemed to stem from his mother's illnesses.[11] Nonetheless, although largely reserved and uncommunicative in grade school, Dahmer did have a small number of friends.[12]
From an early age, Dahmer manifested an interest in animals. Friends later recalled Dahmer initially collected large insects, dragonflies, and butterflies, which he placed inside jars. Later, Dahmer—occasionally accompanied by one or more of his few friends—would collect animal carcasses from the roadside; these animals Dahmer would dismember either at home or in an expanse of woodland behind the family home. According to one friend, Dahmer would dismember these animals and store the parts in jars in the family's wooden toolshed, always explaining that he was curious as to how each animal "fitted together."[13] In one instance, he is known to have impaled a dog's head upon a stake behind his house.[14] Dahmer's fascination with dead animals might have begun when, at the age of four, he noted his father removing animal bones from beneath the family home. According to Lionel Dahmer, his son was "oddly thrilled" by the sound the bones made, and instantly developed a fixation for playing with and collecting animal bones. He would occasionally search beneath and around the family home for additional bones. With live animals, he would explore their bodies to discover where their bones were located.[8]

The Dahmer family relocated to Doylestown, Ohio, in October 1966.[15] At the time, Joyce Dahmer was pregnant with her second child. When she gave birth to a baby boy on December 18, 1966, Jeffrey was allowed to choose the name of the baby. He chose the name David for his younger brother.[16] The same year, Lionel Dahmer achieved his degree and subsequently obtained employment as an analytical chemist in the city of Akron.[17]

In 1968, the family relocated to Bath, Ohio. Two years later, over a family meal of chicken, Dahmer asked his father what would happen if the bones of the chicken were to be placed in a bleach solution.[18] Lionel Dahmer was, by this stage, concerned as to his elder son's placid and lethargic attitude and his solitary existence; therefore, he was delighted at the initiative displayed by his son towards what he believed to be scientific curiosity.[18] He willingly demonstrated to his son how to safely bleach and, later, preserve animal bones. This knowledge regarding the cleansing and preserving of bones would be used by Dahmer upon many of the animal remains which he continued to avidly collect.[19]

**Adolescence and high school**

From his freshman year at Revere High School, Dahmer was seen by his peers as an outcast with few friends. Many of Dahmer's classmates later recollected being disturbed by the fact that he was known to drink both beer and spirits, which he smuggled into school inside the lining of his army fatigue jacket[20] and which he is also known to have surreptitiously concealed inside his locker. This alcohol abuse was known to occur before, during, and after school, and was first noted when Dahmer was 14. On one occasion, a classmate observed Dahmer consuming a cup of gin and asked him why he was drinking liquor in class, to which Dahmer casually replied, "It's my medicine."[21] Nonetheless, in his freshman year at Revere High School, Dahmer, although largely uncommunicative, was observed by staff to be a polite student who was known to be highly intelligent. He initially achieved only average grades, which staff attributed to his apathy.[22] He was also known to have been a keen tennis player and to have briefly played in the high school band.[23]

When he reached puberty, Dahmer discovered that he was homosexual. He did not divulge his sexual orientation to his parents, although in his early teens, he did engage in a brief relationship with another youth, although the pair never had intercourse.[24] By his own later admission, as he began to fantasize sexually, issues of dominance and control over a completely subservient partner were prevalent in his thoughts. These thoughts
gradually became intertwined with dissection. On one occasion when he was approximately 16 years old, Dahmer conceived a fantasy of rendering a particular male jogger he found attractive unconscious and then making sexual use of his unconscious body. To render the man unconscious, Dahmer concealed himself in bushes on the route he had noted the jogger took, baseball bat in hand, and lay in wait for the jogger. On this particular day, the jogger did not pass him and, although Dahmer never attempted to implement this plan again,[25] he later stated this was his first attempt to attack another individual.

Despite being regarded as a loner and an oddball among his peers at Revere High School, Dahmer nonetheless became something of a well-known class clown among some students due to the pranks he was known to stage regularly—some of which were done to amuse his classmates, others apparently to simply attract attention.[26] These pranks became known as "Doing a Dahmer" and included bleating, simulating epileptic seizures or cerebral palsy,[27] and knocking over items at school and at local stores.[28] By 1977, Dahmer's grades had declined, owing to his alcohol abuse and his continuing apathy toward academic and social interactions.[29] His parents hired a private tutor for their son, but the tutor only had limited success. The same year, Dahmer's parents attended counseling sessions to try and resolve personal differences and thus save their marriage. The counseling was ultimately unsuccessful, and they decided to divorce. Although initially on amicable grounds, both of Dahmer's parents began to frequently quarrel in the presence of their sons and, in early 1978, Lionel Dahmer moved out of the house.[30]

In May 1978, Dahmer graduated from high school. A few weeks before his graduation, one of his teachers observed Dahmer sitting close to the school parking lot, drinking several cans of beer.[31] When the teacher threatened to report the matter, Dahmer informed him he was experiencing "a lot of problems" at home and that the school's guidance counselor was aware of them. Shortly after this incident, Joyce was awarded custody of her younger son and vacated the family residence, moving in with family members of hers; Dahmer, having just turned 18, was legally an adult and therefore not subject to court custodial considerations.[32]

**Late teens and early twenties**

**First murder and Army service**

Dahmer committed his first murder in the summer of 1978 at the age of 18, just three weeks after his graduation. At the time, he was living alone in the family home: owing to his recent divorce from Dahmer's mother, Dahmer's father temporarily lived in a nearby motel and his mother had relocated to Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin[33] with his younger brother. On June 18,[34] Dahmer picked up an 18-year-old hitchhiker named Steven Mark Hicks.[35][36] Dahmer lured the youth to his house on the pretext of the pair drinking alcohol together. Hicks, who had been hitchhiking to a rock concert in Lockwood Corners, agreed to accompany Dahmer to his house. According to Dahmer, after several hours' drinking and listening to music, Hicks "wanted to leave and [I] didn't want him to."[37] In response, Dahmer bludgeoned him with a 10 lb. dumbbell. Dahmer later stated he struck Hicks twice from behind[38] with the dumbbell as he (Hicks) sat upon a chair. When Hicks fell unconscious, Dahmer strangled him to death with the bar of the dumbbell, then stripped the clothes from
Hicks' body before masturbating as he stood above the corpse.[38] The following day,[39] Dahmer dissected Hicks' body in his crawl space; he later buried the remains in a shallow grave in his backyard[40] before, several weeks later, unearthing the remains and paring the flesh from the bones.[41] He dissolved the flesh in acid before flushing the solution down the toilet; he crushed the bones with a sledgehammer and scattered them in the woodland behind the family home.[42] Six weeks after the murder of Hicks, Dahmer's father and his fiancée returned to his home where they discovered Jeffrey living alone at the house. That August, Dahmer enrolled at Ohio State University, hoping to major in business.[43] Dahmer's sole term at Ohio State University was completely unproductive, largely because of his persistent alcohol abuse throughout the majority of the term.[44][45] On one occasion, Lionel Dahmer paid a surprise visit to his son, only to find his room strewn with empty liquor bottles. Despite his father having paid in advance for the second term, Dahmer dropped out of university after just three months.[46]

In January 1979,[47] upon his father's urging, Dahmer enlisted in the U.S. Army,[48] where he trained as a medical specialist at Fort Sam Houston before July 13, 1979, when he was deployed to Baumholder in West Germany where he served as a combat medic. According to published reports, in Dahmer's first year of service, he was an "average or slightly above average" soldier.[49][50] Two soldiers attest to having been raped by Dahmer while in the army; one of whom stated in 2010 that while stationed at Baumholder, Dahmer had repeatedly raped him over a 17-month period, while another soldier believes he was drugged,[51] then raped by Dahmer inside an armoured personnel carrier in 1979.[52][53] Owing to Dahmer's alcohol abuse, his performance deteriorated and, in March 1981, he was deemed unsuitable for military service and later formally discharged from the Army[54] (albeit honorably, as his superiors did not believe that any problems Dahmer had in the Army would be applicable to civilian life).[55]

On March 24, 1981, Dahmer was sent to Fort Jackson for debriefing and provided with a plane ticket to travel anywhere in the country. Dahmer later told police he felt he could not return home to face his father, so he opted to travel to Miami Beach, Florida, both because he was "tired of the cold"[56] and in an attempt to live by his own means. In Florida, Dahmer found employment at a delicatessen and rented a room in a nearby motel. Dahmer spent most of his salary on alcohol, and was soon evicted from the motel for nonpayment. He initially spent his evenings on the beach as he continued to work at the sandwich shop before, in September 1981, phoning his father and asking to return to Ohio.[57]

**Return to Ohio and relocation to West Allis**

Upon his return to Ohio, Dahmer initially resided with his father and stepmother, and insisted on being delegated numerous chores to occupy his time while he looked for work. However, he continued to drink heavily and, just two weeks after his return, Dahmer was arrested for drunk and disorderly conduct,[58] for which he was fined $60 and given a suspended ten-day jail sentence.[59] Dahmer's father tried unsuccessfully to wean his son off alcohol. In December 1981, Dahmer's father and stepmother sent him to live with his grandmother in West Allis. Dahmer's grandmother was the only family member to whom he displayed any affection;[60] they hoped that her influence, plus the change of scenery, might inspire Dahmer to refrain from alcohol, find a job, and live responsibly.[61][62] Initially, Dahmer's living arrangements with his grandmother
were harmonious: he accompanied her to church; willingly undertook chores; actively sought work; and abided by most of her house rules (although he did continue to drink). This new influence in his life initially brought results and, in early 1982, Dahmer found employment as a phlebotomist at the Milwaukee Blood Plasma Center. He held this job for a total of 10 months before being laid off. He remained unemployed for over two years, during which he lived upon whatever money his grandmother gave him.

Shortly before losing his job, Dahmer was arrested for indecent exposure. On August 7, 1982, at Wisconsin State Fair Park, Dahmer was observed to expose himself to a crowd of 25 women and children. For this incident, he was convicted and fined $50 plus court costs.

In January 1985, Dahmer was hired as a mixer at the Milwaukee Ambrosia Chocolate Factory, where he worked from 11 p.m.–7 a.m. six nights a week, with Saturday evenings off. Shortly after Dahmer found this employment, an incident occurred in which he was propositioned by another man while sitting reading in the West Allis Public Library. The stranger threw Dahmer a note offering to perform fellatio upon him. Although Dahmer did not respond to this proposition, the incident stirred in his mind the fantasies of control and dominance he had developed as a teenager, and he began to familiarize himself with Milwaukee's gay bars, bookstores, and gay bathhouses. He is also known to have stolen a male mannequin from a store, which he briefly used for sexual stimulation before his grandmother, having discovered the item stowed in a closet, demanded that he discard it.

By late 1985, he had begun to regularly frequent the bathhouses, which he later described as being "relaxing places", but during his sexual encounters, he became frustrated at his partners' moving during the sexual act. Following his arrest, he stated: "I trained myself to view people as objects of pleasure instead of [as] people." For this reason, from June 1986, he began to administer sleeping pills to his partners, to whom he would give liquor laced with the sedatives, then make sexual use of their unconscious bodies. After approximately 12 such instances, the bathhouses' administration revoked Dahmer's membership, and he began to use hotel rooms to continue this practice. Shortly after his membership of the bathhouses was revoked Dahmer read a report in a newspaper regarding the upcoming funeral of an 18-year-old male; he conceived the idea of stealing the freshly-interred corpse and taking it home. According to Dahmer, he attempted to dig the coffin from the ground, but found the soil too hard, before abandoning the plan.

In August 1986, Dahmer was arrested for masturbating in front of two 12-year-old boys as he stood close to the Kinnickinnic River. Dahmer initially admitted the offense and was again charged with indecent exposure, but quickly changed his story and claimed he had merely been urinating, unaware that there were witnesses. The charge was changed to disorderly conduct and, on March 10, 1987, Dahmer was sentenced to one year's probation, with additional instructions he was to undergo counseling.

Late twenties: subsequent murders
Ambassador Hotel

In November 1987, Dahmer—at the time residing with his grandmother in West Allis—encountered a 25-year-old Ontonagon native named Steven Tuomi at a bar and persuaded him to return to the Ambassador Hotel, where Dahmer had rented a room for the evening. According to Dahmer, he had no intention of murdering Tuomi, but simply intended to drug him and have intercourse with him as he lay unconscious. The following morning, however, he awoke to find Tuomi lying beneath him on the bed, his chest "crushed in" and blood seeping from his mouth, with bruises on Dahmer's own fists and one forearm. Dahmer stated he had absolutely no memory of having killed Tuomi, and later informed investigators that he simply "could not believe this had happened." To dispose of Tuomi's body, he purchased a large suitcase in which he transported the body to his grandmother's residence. There, one week later, he severed the head, arms, and legs from the torso, then filleted the bones from the body before cutting the flesh into pieces small enough to handle. He then placed the flesh inside plastic garbage bags. He wrapped the bones inside a sheet and pounded them into splinters with a sledgehammer. The entire dismemberment process took Dahmer approximately two hours to complete, and all of Tuomi's remains—excluding the severed head—were disposed of in the trash.

For a total of two weeks following Tuomi's murder, Dahmer retained the victim's head wrapped in a blanket. After two weeks, Dahmer boiled the head in a mixture of Soilex (an alkali-based industrial detergent) and bleach in an effort to retain the skull, which he then used as stimulus for masturbation. Eventually, the skull was rendered too brittle by this bleaching process, and was also pulverized and disposed of.

Intermediate incidents

Following the murder of Tuomi, Dahmer began to actively seek victims, most of whom he encountered in or close to gay bars, and whom he would typically lure to his grandmother's home, where they would be drugged before or shortly after engaging in sexual activity with him. Once he had rendered the victim unconscious with sleeping pills, he would kill them by strangulation.

Two months after the murder of Steven Tuomi, Dahmer encountered a 14-year-old Native American male prostitute named James Doxtator; Dahmer lured the youth to his home with an offer of $50 to pose for nude pictures. At Dahmer's West Allis residence, the pair engaged in sexual activity before Dahmer drugged Doxtator and strangled him on the floor of the cellar. Dahmer left the body in the cellar for one week before dismembering it in much the same manner as he had with Tuomi. He placed all of Doxtator's remains (excluding the skull) in the trash. He boiled the skull, and initially retained it before pulverizing it. On March 24, 1988, Dahmer met a 22-year-old bisexual man named Richard Guerrero outside a gay bar called The Phoenix. Dahmer lured Guerrero to his grandmother's residence, although the incentive on this occasion was $50 to simply spend the remainder of the night with him; he then drugged Guerrero with sleeping pills and strangled him with a leather strap, with Dahmer then performing oral sex upon the corpse. Guerrero's body was dismembered within 24 hours of his murder, with the remains again disposed of in the trash and the skull again retained before being pulverized several months later.

On April 23, Dahmer lured another young man to his house; however, after giving the victim a drugged coffee, both he and the victim heard Dahmer's grandmother call, "Is that you, Jeff?" Although Dahmer replied in a manner that led his grandmother to believe he was alone, his grandmother did observe that Dahmer was not
alone. Because of this, Dahmer opted not to kill this particular victim, instead waiting until he had become unconscious before taking him to the County General Hospital.[87]

In September 1988, Dahmer's grandmother asked him to move out of her house both because of his habit of bringing young men to her house late at night and because of the foul smells she had noted emanating from both the basement and the garage. Dahmer found a one-bedroom apartment on North Twenty-fifth Street and moved into his new residence on September 25.[88] The following day, Dahmer was arrested for drugging and sexually fondling a 13-year-old boy whom he had lured to his home on the pretext of posing nude for photographs.[89] In January 1989, Dahmer was convicted of second-degree sexual assault and of enticing a child for immoral purposes.[90] Sentencing for the assault was suspended until May 1989.[91] On March 20,[92] Dahmer commenced a ten-day Easter absence from work, during which he moved back into his grandmother's home.

Two months after his conviction and two months prior to his sentencing for the sexual assault, Dahmer killed for the fifth time. The victim was a mixed-race 24-year-old aspiring model named Anthony Sears, whom Dahmer met at a gay bar on March 25, 1989. According to Dahmer, on this particular occasion, he was not planning on looking for a victim; however, shortly before closing time that evening, Sears "just started talking to me." Dahmer lured Sears to his grandmother's home, where the pair engaged in oral sex before Dahmer drugged and strangled Sears. The following morning, Dahmer placed the corpse in his grandmother's bathtub, where he decapitated the body before attempting to flay the corpse.[93] He then stripped the flesh from the body and pulverized the bones, which were again disposed of in the trash. According to Dahmer, he found Sears "exceptionally attractive", and Sears was the first victim from whom he permanently retained any body parts: he preserved Sears' head and genitalia in acetone[94] and stored them in his work locker. When he moved to a new address the following year, he took the remains there.[95]

On May 23, 1989,[91] Dahmer was sentenced to five years' probation and one year in the House of Correction, with work release permitted in order that he be able to keep his job; he was also required to register as a sex offender.[96]

Two months before his scheduled release from the work camp, Dahmer was paroled from this regime. (His five years' probation imposed in 1989 began at this point.)[97] Upon his release, Dahmer initially moved back with his grandmother in West Allis[98] before, in May 1990, moving into the Oxford Apartments, located on North 25th Street in Milwaukee. Although located in a high crime area, the apartment was close to his workplace, was furnished and, at $300 a month inclusive of all bills excluding electricity, was economical.[99]

924 North 25th Street

1990 killings

On May 14, 1990, Dahmer moved out of his grandmother's house and into 924 North 25th Street, Apartment 213, taking Anthony Sears' skull, scalp, and painted genitals with him.[99] Within one week of his moving into his new apartment, Dahmer had killed his sixth victim, Raymond Smith. Smith was a 32-year-old male prostitute whom Dahmer lured to Apartment 213 with the promise of $50 for sex.[100] At Dahmer's apartment, he gave Smith a drink laced with seven sleeping pills and manually strangled him. The following day, Dahmer purchased a Polaroid camera with which he took several pictures of Smith's body in suggestive positions before
dismembering him in the bathroom. He boiled the legs, arms, and pelvis in a steel kettle with Soilex, which enabled him to then rinse the bones in his sink; he dissolved the remainder of Smith's skeleton—excluding the skull—in a container he filled with acid. He spray-painted Smith's skull and placed it alongside the skull of Anthony Sears.

Approximately one week after the murder of Raymond Smith, on or about May 27, Dahmer lured another young man to his apartment. On this occasion, however, Dahmer himself accidentally consumed the drink laden with sedatives intended for consumption by his guest. When he awoke the following day, he discovered his intended victim had stolen several items of his clothing, $300, and a watch. Dahmer never reported this incident to the police, although on May 29 he divulged to his probation officer that he had been robbed.

In June 1990, Dahmer lured a 27-year-old acquaintance named Edward Smith to his apartment. He drugged and strangled Smith. On this occasion, rather than immediately acidifying the skeleton or repeating previous processes of bleaching (which had rendered previous victims' skulls brittle), Dahmer placed the skeleton of Smith in his freezer for several months in the hope it would not retain moisture. Freezing the skeleton did not remove moisture, and the skeleton would be acidified several months later. The skull was destroyed unintentionally when placed in the oven to dry—a process which caused the skull to explode. (Dahmer himself was to later inform police he had felt "rotten" about Smith's murder as he had been unable to retain any parts of his body.)

Less than three months after the murder of Smith, Dahmer encountered a 22-year-old Chicago native named Ernest Miller on the corner of North 27th Street. Miller agreed to accompany Dahmer to his apartment for $50 and further agreed to allow him to listen to his heart and stomach. When Dahmer attempted to perform oral sex upon Miller, he was informed: "That'll cost you extra," whereupon Dahmer gave his intended victim a drink laced with two sleeping pills. On this occasion, however, he had had only two sleeping pills to give his victim; therefore, he killed Miller by slashing his carotid artery with the same knife he used to dissect his victims' bodies. Miller bled to death within minutes. Dahmer then posed the nude body for various suggestive Polaroid photographs before placing the body in his bathtub for dismemberment. Dahmer repeatedly kissed and talked to the severed head while he dismembered the remainder of the body. He wrapped Miller's heart, biceps, and portions of flesh from the legs in plastic bags and placed them in the fridge for later consumption. Dahmer boiled the remaining flesh and organs into a "jelly-like substance" using Soilex, which again enabled him to rinse the flesh off the skeleton, which he intended to retain. To preserve the skeleton, he placed the bones in a light bleach solution for 24 hours before allowing them to dry upon a cloth for one week; the severed head was initially placed in the fridge before also being stripped of flesh, then painted and coated with enamel.

Three weeks after the murder of Ernest Miller, on September 24, Dahmer encountered a 22-year-old father of one named David Thomas at the Grand Avenue Mall and persuaded him to return to his apartment for a few drinks, with additional money on offer if he would pose for photographs. In his statement to police after his arrest, Dahmer stated that after giving Thomas a drink laden with sedatives, he did not feel attracted to him, but was afraid to allow him to awake in case he would be angry over having been drugged. Therefore, he strangled him and dismembered the body—intentionally retaining no body parts whatsoever. Nonetheless, he did photograph the dismemberment process and retained these photographs, which would aid in Thomas' subsequent identification.
Following the murder of David Thomas, Dahmer did not kill for almost five months, although on a minimum of five occasions between October 1990 and February 1991, he unsuccessfully attempted to lure men to his apartment.[105] He is also known to have regularly complained of feelings of both anxiety and depression to his probation officer throughout 1990; with frequent references to his sexuality, his solitary lifestyle, and financial difficulties. On several occasions, he is also known to have referred to harboring suicidal thoughts.[110]

1991 killings

In February 1991, Dahmer observed a 17-year-old named Curtis Straughter standing at a bus stop near Marquette University. According to Dahmer, he lured Straughter into his apartment with an offer of money for posing for nude photos,[111] with the added incentive of sexual intercourse. Dahmer drugged and strangled Straughter with a leather strap, then dismembered him, with Dahmer retaining the youth's skull, hands, and genitals and photographing each stage of the dismemberment process. Less than two months later, on April 7, Dahmer encountered a 19-year-old named Errol Lindsey[112][113] walking to get a key cut. Lindsey was a heterosexual. Dahmer lured Lindsey to his apartment, where he drugged him, drilled a hole in his skull and poured muriatic acid into it. According to Dahmer, Lindsey awoke after this experiment (which Dahmer had conceived in the hope of inducing a permanent, unresistant, submissive state), saying: "I have a headache. What time is it?"[114] In response to this, Dahmer again drugged Lindsey, then strangled him. He decapitated Lindsey and retained his skull; he then flayed Lindsey’s body, placing the skin in a solution of cold water and salt for several weeks in the hope of permanently retaining it. Reluctantly, Dahmer disposed of Lindsey's skin when he noted it had become too frayed and brittle.[115]

By 1991, fellow residents of the Oxford Apartments had complained of the smells emanating from Apartment 213, in addition to the sounds of falling objects and the occasional sound of a chainsaw.[116] The manager of the Oxford Apartments, Sopa Princewill, did contact Dahmer in response to these complaints on several occasions, to which Dahmer initially excused the odors from his apartment as being caused by his freezer breaking, causing the contents to become "spoiled". On another occasion, he informed the manager that the reason for the resurgence of the odor was that several of his tropical fish had recently died.[117]

On the afternoon of May 26, 1991, Dahmer encountered a 14-year-old named Konerak Sinthasomphone on Wisconsin Avenue; he approached the youth with an offer of money to accompany him to his apartment to pose for Polaroid pictures. According to Dahmer, Sinthasomphone—the younger brother of the boy whom he had molested in 1988—was initially reluctant to the proposal, before changing his mind and accompanying Dahmer to his apartment, where the youth posed for two pictures in his underwear before Dahmer drugged him into unconsciousness and performed oral sex on him. On this occasion, Dahmer drilled a single hole into Sinthasomphone's skull, through which he injected muriatic acid into the frontal lobe.[118] Before Sinthasomphone fell unconscious, Dahmer led the boy into his bedroom, where the nude body of 31-year-old Tony Hughes, whom Dahmer had killed three days earlier, lay naked on the floor.[119] According to Dahmer, he "believed [that Sinthasomphone] saw this body," yet did not react to seeing the bloated corpse—likely because of the effects of the sleeping pills he had ingested and the muriatic acid Dahmer had injected into his skull. Sinthasomphone soon became unconscious, whereupon Dahmer drank several beers while lying alongside Sinthasomphone before leaving his apartment to drink at a bar, then purchase more alcohol[120]
In the early morning hours of May 27, Dahmer returned towards his apartment to discover Sinthasomphone sitting naked on the corner of 25th and State, talking in Laotian, with three hysterical young women standing near him.[121] Dahmer approached the trio and explained to the women that Sinthasomphone (whom he referred to by an alias) was his lover, and attempted to lead him to his apartment by the arm. The three women dissuaded Dahmer, explaining they had phoned 911.[122] Upon the arrival of two officers named John Balcerzak and Joseph Gabrish, Dahmer's demeanor relaxed: he informed the officers that Sinthasomphone was his 19-year-old boyfriend, that he had drank too much following a quarrel, and that he frequently behaved in this manner when intoxicated. The three women were exasperated and when one of the trio attempted to indicate to one of the officers that Sinthasomphone was bleeding from his buttocks and that he had seemingly struggled against Dahmer's attempts to walk him to his apartment, the officer harshly informed her to "butt out,"[123] "shut the hell up"[124] and to not interfere, adding the incident was "domestic."[125]

Against the protests of the three women, the officers simply covered Sinthasomphone with a towel and walked him to Dahmer's apartment where, in an effort to verify his claim that he and Sinthasomphone were lovers, Dahmer showed the officers the two semi-nude Polaroid pictures he had taken of the youth the previous evening. The officers later reported having noted a strange scent reminiscent of excrement inside the apartment (this odor emanated from the decomposing body of Hughes).[126] Dahmer stated that to investigate this, one officer simply "peeked his head around the bedroom but really didn't take a good look." The officers then left, with a departing remark that Dahmer "take good care" of Sinthasomphone.[124][127] Had they conducted a background check upon Dahmer, it would have revealed that he was a convicted child molester under probation.[128] Upon the departure of the two police officers from his apartment, Dahmer again injected muriatic acid into Sinthasomphone's brain; on this second occasion, the injection proved fatal. The following day, May 28, Dahmer took a day's leave from work to devote himself to the dismemberment of the bodies of Sinthasomphone and Hughes, whose decomposing body had been lying in his bedroom as police brought Sinthasomphone back to his apartment. He retained both victims' skulls.[129]

On June 30, Dahmer traveled to Chicago, where he encountered a 20-year-old named Matt Turner at a bus station.[130] Turner accepted Dahmer's offer to travel to Milwaukee for a professional photo shoot. At Dahmer's apartment, Dahmer drugged, strangled and dismembered Turner, and placed his head and internal organs in separate plastic bags in the freezer. Turner was not reported missing. Five days later, on July 5, Dahmer lured 23-year-old Jeremiah Weinberger from a Chicago bar to his apartment on the promise of spending the weekend with him. He drugged Weinberger and twice injected boiling water into his skull, sending him into a coma from which he died two days later.[131]

On July 15, Dahmer encountered 24-year-old[132] Oliver Lacy at the corner of 27th and Kilbourn.[133] Lacy agreed to Dahmer's ruse of posing nude for photographs and accompanied him to his apartment, where the pair engaged in tentative sexual activity before Dahmer drugged Lacy. On this occasion, Dahmer intended to prolong the time he spent with Lacy while alive: after unsuccessfully attempting to render Lacy unconscious with chloroform,[134] he phoned his workplace to request a day's absence; this was granted, although the next day, he was suspended. After strangling Lacy, Dahmer had sex with the corpse before dismembering him. He placed Lacy's head and heart in the refrigerator, and his skeleton in the freezer.[132] Four days later, on July 19, Dahmer received word that he was fired.[135] Upon receipt of this news, Dahmer lured 25-year-old Joseph Bradhoft to his apartment. Bradhoft was strangled and left lying on Dahmer's bed, covered with a sheet, for
two days. On July 21, Dahmer removed these sheets to find the head covered in maggots, whereupon he decapitated the body, cleaned the head, and placed it in the refrigerator.[136] He later acidified Bradehoft's torso, along with those of two other victims killed within the previous month.[137][138]

Arrest

On July 22, 1991, Dahmer approached three men with an offer of $100 to accompany him to his apartment to pose for nude photographs,[139] drink beer, and simply keep him company.[140] One of the trio, 32-year-old Tracy Edwards, agreed to accompany him to his apartment. Upon entering Dahmer's apartment, Edwards noted a foul odor and several boxes of muriatic acid on the floor, which Dahmer claimed to use for cleaning bricks. After some minor conversation, Edwards responded to Dahmer's request to turn his head and view his tropical fish, whereupon Dahmer placed a handcuff upon his wrist. When Edwards asked, "What's happening?" Dahmer unsuccessfully attempted to cuff his wrists together,[141] then told Edwards to accompany him to the bedroom to pose for nude pictures. While inside the bedroom, Edwards noted nude male posters on the wall and that a videotape of The Exorcist III was playing,[140][142] he also noted a blue 57-gallon drum in the corner, from which a strong odor emanated.[143]

Dahmer then brandished a knife and informed Edwards he intended to take nude pictures of him. In an attempt to appease Dahmer, Edwards unbuttoned his shirt, saying he would allow him to do so if he would remove the handcuffs and put the knife away. In response to this promise, Dahmer simply turned his attention towards the TV; Edwards observed Dahmer rocking back and forth and chanting before turning his attention back to him: he placed his head on Edwards' chest, listened to his heartbeat and, with the knife pressed against his intended victim, informed Edwards he intended to eat his heart.[144] In continuous attempts to prevent Dahmer from attacking him, Edwards repeated that he was Dahmer's friend and that he was not going to run away.[145] (Edwards had decided he was going to either jump from a window or run through the unlocked front door upon the next available opportunity.) When Edwards next stated he needed to use the bathroom, he asked if they could sit with a beer in the living room, where there was air conditioning, to which Dahmer consented, and the pair walked to the living room when Edwards exited the bathroom. Inside the living room, Edwards waited until he observed Dahmer have a momentary lapse of concentration before requesting to use the bathroom again.[146] When Edwards rose from the couch, he noted Dahmer was not holding the handcuffs, whereupon Edwards punched him in the face, knocking Dahmer off balance, and ran out the front door.[147]

At 11:30 p.m. on July 22, Edwards flagged down two Milwaukee police officers at the corner of North 25th Street. The officers noted Edwards had a handcuff attached to his wrist,[148][149] whereupon Edwards explained to the officers that a "freak" had placed the handcuffs upon him and asked if the police could remove them. When the officers' own handcuff keys failed to fit the brand of handcuffs, Edwards agreed to accompany the officers to the apartment where, Edwards stated, he had spent the previous five hours before escaping.[148] When the officers and Edwards arrived at Apartment 213, Dahmer invited the trio inside and acknowledged he had indeed placed the handcuffs upon Edwards, although he offered no explanation as to why he had done so. At this point, Edwards divulged to the officers that Dahmer had also brandished a large knife upon him and that this had happened in the bedroom. Dahmer made no comment to this revelation; indicating to one of the
officers, Rolf Mueller, that the key to the handcuffs was in his bedside dresser in the bedroom. As Mueller entered the bedroom, Dahmer attempted to pass Mueller to himself retrieve the key, whereupon the second officer present, Robert Rauth, informed him to "back off".[150]

In the bedroom, Mueller noted there was indeed a large knife beneath the bed; he also saw an open drawer which, upon closer inspection, contained scores of Polaroid pictures—many of which were of human bodies in various stages of dismemberment. Mueller noted the decor indicated they had been taken in the very apartment in which they were standing. He walked into the living room to show them to his partner,[151] uttering the words, "These are for real."[150] When Dahmer saw that Mueller was holding several of his Polaroids, he fought with the officers in an effort to resist arrest. The officers quickly overpowered him, cuffed his hands behind his back, and called a second squad car for backup. At this point, Mueller opened the refrigerator to reveal the freshly severed head of a black male on the bottom shelf.[152] As Dahmer lay pinned on the floor beneath Rauth, he turned his head towards the officers and muttered the words: "For what I did I should be dead."[153]

A more detailed search of the apartment, conducted by the Criminal Investigation Bureau, revealed a total of four severed heads in Dahmer's kitchen. A total of seven skulls—some painted, some bleached—were found in Dahmer's bedroom and inside a closet.[154] In addition, investigators discovered collected blood drippings upon a tray at the bottom of Dahmer's refrigerator, plus two human hearts[155] and a portion of arm muscle, each wrapped inside plastic bags upon the shelves. In Dahmer's freezer, investigators discovered an entire torso, plus a bag of human organs and flesh stuck to the ice at the bottom.[156] Elsewhere in Apartment 213, investigators discovered two entire skeletons, a pair of severed hands, two severed and preserved penises, a mummified scalp and, in the 57-gallon drum, three further dismembered torsos dissolving in the acid solution. A total of 74 Polaroid pictures detailing the dismemberment of Dahmer's victims were found.[157] In reference to the recovery of body parts and artifacts at 924 North 25th Street, the chief medical examiner later stated: "It was more like dismantling someone's museum than an actual crime scene."[158]

Confession

Beginning in the early hours of July 23, 1991, Dahmer was questioned by Detective Patrick Kennedy as to the murders he had committed and the evidence found at his apartment. Over the following two weeks, Kennedy and, later, Detective Patrick Murphy would conduct numerous interviews with Dahmer which, when combined, would total over 60 hours.[159] Dahmer waived his right to have a lawyer present throughout his interrogations,[160] adding he wished to confess all as he had "created this horror and it only makes sense I do everything to put an end to it."[161] He readily admitted to having murdered 16 young men in Wisconsin since 1987, with one further victim—Steven Hicks—killed in Ohio back in 1978.

Most of the victims had been rendered unconscious prior to their murder, although some had died as a result of having acid or boiling water injected into their brain. (As he had no memory of the murder of Tuomi, he was unsure whether he was unconscious when beaten to death, although he did concede it was possible that his viewing the exposed chest of Steven Tuomi while in a drunken stupor may have led him to unsuccessfully attempt to tear Tuomi's heart from his chest.[162]) Almost all the murders Dahmer committed after moving into the Oxford Apartments had involved a ritual of posing the victims' bodies in suggestive positions—typically with the chest thrust outwards—prior to dismemberment.[163] He readily admitted to performing necrophilia
with several of his victims' bodies, including performing sexual acts with their viscera as he dismembered their bodies in his bathtub. Having noted that much of the blood pooled inside his victims' chest after death, Dahmer would first remove the internal organs, then suspend the torso so the blood would drain into his bathtub, before dicing any organs he did not wish to retain and paring the flesh from the body. The bones he wished to dispose of would be pulverized or acidified, with Soilex and bleach solutions used to aid in the preservation of the skeletons and skulls he wished to keep. In addition, he confessed to having consumed the hearts, livers, biceps, and portions of thighs of several victims killed within the previous year.

Describing the increase in his rate of killing in the two months prior to his arrest, he stated he had been "completely swept along" with his compulsion to kill, adding: "It was an incessant and never-ending desire to be with someone at whatever cost. Someone good looking, really nice looking. It just filled my thoughts all day long." When asked as to why he had preserved a total of seven skulls and the entire skeletons of two victims, Dahmer stated he had been in the process of constructing a private altar of victims' skulls which he had intended to adorn upon the black table located in his living room and upon which he had photographed the bodies of many of his victims. This display of skulls was to be adorned at each side with the complete skeletons of Ernest Miller and Oliver Lacy. The four severed heads found in his kitchen were to be removed of all flesh and used in this altar, as was the skull of at least one future victim. Incense sticks were to be placed at each end of the black table, above which Dahmer intended to place a large blue lamp with extending blue globe lights. The entire construction was to be placed before a window covered with a black, opaque shower curtain, in front of which Dahmer intended to sit in a black leather chair. When asked in a November 18, 1991 interview whom the altar was dedicated to, Dahmer replied: "Myself ... It was a place where I could feel at home." He further described his intended altar as a "place for meditation," from where he believed he could draw a sense of power, adding: "If this [his arrest] had happened six months later, that's what they would have found."

Indictment

On July 25, 1991, Dahmer was charged with four counts of murder. By August 22, he would be charged with a further 11 murders committed in the state of Wisconsin. On September 14, investigators in Ohio, having uncovered hundreds of bone fragments in woodland behind the address in which Dahmer had confessed to killing his first victim, formally identified two molars and a vertebra with X-ray records of Steven Mark Hicks. Three days later, Dahmer would be charged by authorities in Ohio with the murder of Steven Hicks.

Dahmer was not charged with the attempted murder of Tracy Edwards, nor with the murder of Steven Tuomi. He was not charged with Tuomi's murder because the Milwaukee County District Attorney only brought charges where murder could be proven beyond a reasonable doubt and Dahmer had no memory of actually committing this particular murder, for which no physical evidence of the crime existed. At a scheduled preliminary hearing on January 13, 1992, Dahmer pleaded guilty but insane to 15 counts of murder.
Trial

The trial of Jeffrey Dahmer began on January 30, 1992. By pleading guilty on January 13 to the charges brought against him, Dahmer had waived his rights to an initial trial to establish guilt (as defined in Wisconsin law). The issue debated by opposing counsels at Dahmer's trial was to determine whether he suffered from either a mental or a personality disorder: the prosecution claiming that any disorders did not deprive Dahmer of the ability to appreciate the criminality of his conduct or to deprive him of the ability to resist his impulses; the defense arguing that Dahmer suffered from a mental disease and was driven by obsessions and impulses he was unable to control.

Defense experts argued that Dahmer was insane due to his necrophilic drive—his compulsion to have sexual encounters with corpses. Defense expert Dr. Fred Berlin testified that Dahmer was unable to conform his conduct at the time that he committed the crimes because he was suffering from paraphilia or, more specifically, necrophilia. Dr. Judith Becker, a professor of Psychiatry and Psychology, was the second expert witness for the defense; Becker also diagnosed Dahmer with necrophilia. The final defense expert to testify, forensic psychiatrist Dr. Carl Wahlstrom, diagnosed Dahmer with borderline personality disorder, schizotypal personality disorder, necrophilia, alcohol dependence, and a psychotic disorder.

The prosecution rejected the defense's argument that Dahmer was insane. Forensic psychiatrist Dr. Phillip Resnick testified that Dahmer did not suffer from primary necrophilia because he preferred live sexual partners as evidenced by his efforts to create unresistant, submissive sexual partners devoid of rational thought and to whose needs he did not have to cater. Another prosecution expert to testify, Dr. Fred Fosdel, testified to his belief that Dahmer was without mental disease or defect at the time he committed the murders. He described Dahmer as a calculating and cunning individual, able to differentiate between right and wrong, with the ability to control his actions. Although Fosdel did state his belief that Dahmer suffered from paraphilia, his conclusion was that Dahmer was not a sadist.

The final witness to appear for the prosecution, forensic psychiatrist Park Dietz, began his testimony on February 12. Dietz testified that he did not believe Dahmer to be suffering from any mental disease or defect at the time that he committed the crimes, stating: "Dahmer went to great lengths to be alone with his victim and to have no witnesses." He explained that there was ample evidence that Dahmer prepared in advance for each murder, therefore, his crimes were not impulsive. He also felt that Dahmer's habit of becoming intoxicated prior to committing each of the murders was significant, stating: "If he had a compulsion to kill, he would not have to drink alcohol. He had to drink alcohol to overcome his inhibition, to do the crime which he would rather not do." Dietz diagnosed Dahmer with substance use disorder, paraphilia, and schizotypal personality disorder.

Two court-appointed mental health professionals—testifying independently of either prosecution or defense—were forensic psychiatrist George Palermo and clinical psychologist Samuel Friedman. Palermo stated that the murders were the result of a "pent-up aggression within himself [Dahmer]. He killed those men because he wanted to kill the source of his homosexual attraction to them. In killing them, he killed what he hated in himself." Palermo concluded that Dahmer was a sexual sadist with antisocial personality disorder, but legally sane. Friedman testified that it was a longing for companionship that caused Dahmer to kill. He stated, "Mr.
Jeffrey Dahmer's April 1992 mug shot, taken after his extradition to Ohio to be charged with the murder of Steven Hicks.

Dahmer is not psychotic." He spoke kindly of Dahmer, describing him as "Amiable, pleasant to be with, courteous, with a sense of humor, conventionally handsome, and charming in manner. He was, and still is, a bright young man."[2][71][188] He diagnosed Dahmer with a personality disorder not otherwise specified featuring borderline, obsessive-compulsive, and sadistic traits.[189]

The trial lasted two weeks.[113] On February 14, both counsels delivered their closing arguments to the jury. Each counsel was allowed to speak for two hours. Defense attorney Gerald Boyle argued first. Repeatedly harking to the testimony of the mental health professionals—almost all of whom had agreed Dahmer was suffering from a mental disease[190]—Boyle argued that Dahmer's compulsive killings had been a result of "a sickness he discovered, not chose."[191] Boyle portrayed Dahmer as a desperately lonely and profoundly sick individual "so out of control he could not conform his conduct any more."[192] Following the defense counsel's 75-minute closing argument, Michael McCann delivered his closing argument for the prosecution, describing Dahmer as a sane man, in full control of his actions, who simply strove to avoid detection.[193] McCann argued that the act of murder was committed in hostility, anger, resentment, frustration, or hatred, and that the 15 victims for whose murder he was tried "died merely to afford Dahmer a period of sexual pleasure." McCann further argued that by pleading guilty but insane to the charges, Dahmer was seeking to escape responsibility for his crimes.

On February 15, the court reconvened to hear the verdict: Dahmer was ruled to be sane and not suffering from a mental disorder at the time of each of the 15 murders for which he was tried,[194] although in each count, two of the 12 jurors signified their dissent.[194] On the first two counts, Dahmer was sentenced to life imprisonment plus ten years,[195] with the remaining 13 counts carrying a mandatory sentence of life imprisonment plus 70 years. The death penalty was not an option for Judge Gram to consider at the penalty phase as the State of Wisconsin had abolished capital punishment in 1853.[196]

Upon hearing of Jeffrey's sentencing, his father Lionel and stepmother Shari, requested to be allowed a 10-minute private meeting with their son before he was transferred to the Columbia Correctional Institution in Portage to begin his sentence.[197] This request was granted and the trio exchanged hugs and well-wishes before Dahmer was escorted away to begin his sentence.

Three months after his conviction for 15 murders in Milwaukee, Dahmer was extradited to Ohio to be tried for the murder of his first victim, Steven Hicks.[198] In a court hearing lasting just 45 minutes,[199] Dahmer again pleaded guilty to the charges and was sentenced to a 16th term of life imprisonment on May 1, 1992.[200]

**Imprisonment**

Upon sentencing, Dahmer was transferred to the Columbia Correctional Institution in Portage, Wisconsin.[201] For the first year of his incarceration, Dahmer was placed in solitary confinement due to concerns for his physical safety should he come into contact with fellow inmates.[202] With Dahmer's consent, after one year in
solitary confinement, he was transferred to a less secure unit, where he was assigned a two-hour daily work detail cleaning the toilet block.

Shortly after completing his lengthy confessions in 1991, Dahmer had requested to Detective Patrick Murphy that he be given a copy of the Bible.[176] This request was granted and Dahmer gradually devoted himself to Christianity and became a born-again Christian. On his father's urging, he also read creationist books from the Institute for Creation Research.[203] In May 1994, Dahmer was baptized by Roy Ratcliff, a minister in the Church Of Christ and a graduate of Oklahoma Christian University, in the prison whirlpool.[204][205] Following his baptism, Ratcliff visited Dahmer on a weekly basis up until November 1994. Dahmer and Ratcliff regularly discussed the prospect of death, and Dahmer questioned whether he was sinning against God by continuing to live.[206]

In July 1994, a fellow inmate, Osvaldo Durruthy, attempted to slash Dahmer's throat with a razor embedded in a toothbrush as Dahmer returned to his cell from Roy Ratcliff's weekly church service conducted in the prison chapel.[207] Dahmer received superficial wounds and was not seriously hurt in this incident. According to Dahmer's family, he had long been ready to die, and accepted any punishment which he may endure in prison. In addition to his father and stepmother retaining regular contact, Dahmer's mother, Joyce, retained regular contact with her son (although prior to his arrest, the two had not seen each other since Christmas 1983).[208] Joyce Dahmer related that in her weekly phone calls, whenever she expressed concerns for her son's physical well-being, Dahmer would respond with comments to the effect of: "It doesn't matter, Mom. I don't care if something happens to me."[206]

Death

On the morning of November 28, 1994, Dahmer left his cell to conduct his assigned work detail. Accompanying him were two fellow inmates: Jesse Anderson and Christopher Scarver. The trio was left unsupervised in the showers of the prison gym for approximately 20 minutes. At approximately 8:10 a.m.[209] Dahmer was discovered on the floor of the bathrooms of the gym suffering from extreme head and facial[210] wounds; he had been severely bludgeoned about the head and face with a 20-inch (51 cm) metal bar.[211] His head had also been repeatedly struck against the wall in the assault.[212] Although Dahmer was still alive and was rushed to a nearby hospital, he was pronounced dead one hour later. Anderson had also been beaten with the same instrument, and died two days later from his wounds.[206][213] Scarver, who was serving a life sentence for a murder committed in 1990, informed authorities he had first attacked Dahmer with the metal bar as he (Dahmer) was cleaning a staff locker room, before attacking Anderson as he (Anderson) cleaned an inmate locker room. According to Scarver, Dahmer did not yell or make any noise as he was attacked. Immediately after attacking both men, Scarver returned to his cell and informed a prison guard: "God told me to do it. Jesse Anderson and Jeffrey Dahmer are dead."[212][214] Scarver was adamant he had not planned the attacks in advance,[215] although he would later divulge to investigators he had concealed the 20-inch iron bar used to kill both men in his clothing shortly before the killings.[214]
Upon learning of his death, Dahmer's mother Joyce Flint responded angrily to the media: "Now is everybody happy? Now that he's bludgeoned to death, is that good enough for everyone?"[216] The response of the families of Dahmer's victims was mixed, although it appears most were pleased with his death. The district attorney who prosecuted Dahmer cautioned against turning Scarver into a folk hero, noting that Dahmer's death was still murder.[206] On May 15, 1995, Scarver was sentenced to two additional terms of life imprisonment for the murders of Dahmer and Anderson.[217] Although Scarver had confessed in 1994 to having concealed the weapon used to kill Dahmer and Anderson in his clothing on the morning of the murders, in 2015 he publicly stated the murders of Dahmer and Anderson had resulted from a confrontation in which one of the two men had poked him (Scarver) in the back as the three had begun their assigned work detail. In this renewed account of events, Scarver claimed that the two had laughed at him when he had turned around in response before Dahmer and Anderson each walked to separate rooms to begin their cleaning duty, with Scarver following Dahmer toward the staff locker room.

Scarver alleges that immediately before murdering Dahmer, he had cornered him, presented a newspaper article detailing Dahmer's crimes, and demanded that Dahmer answer whether the account was true.[218] Scarver further alleged he had been revolted by Dahmer's crimes and that Dahmer had been openly unrepentant for his crimes; that Dahmer taunted prison employees and fellow inmates by shaping his prison food into imitations of severed limbs, complete with ketchup to simulate blood spattering; and that prison staff, knowing of Scarver's hatred for Dahmer, had deliberately left the two men unsupervised so that he could kill him.[218] Furthermore, Scarver stated that Dahmer was so disliked by fellow inmates that he required a personal escort of at least one guard whenever he was out of his cell to prevent inmates from attacking him.

Dahmer had stated in his will he wished for no services to be conducted and that he wished to be cremated.[219] In September 1995, Dahmer's body was cremated, and his ashes divided between his parents.[220]

**Aftermath**

Dahmer's estate was awarded to the families of 11 of his victims who had sued for damages. In 1996, Thomas Jacobson, a lawyer representing eight of the families, announced a planned auction of Dahmer's estate. Although victims' relatives stated the motivation was not greed, the announcement sparked controversy.[221][222] A civic group, Milwaukee Civic Pride, was quickly established in an effort to raise the funds to purchase and destroy Dahmer's possessions. The group pledged $407,225, including a $100,000 gift by Milwaukee real estate developer Joseph Zilber, for purchase of Dahmer's estate; five of the eight families represented by Jacobson agreed to the terms, and Dahmer's possessions were subsequently destroyed and buried in an undisclosed Illinois landfill.[223]

On August 5, 1991, a candlelight vigil to celebrate and heal the Milwaukee community was attended by more than 400 people. Present at the vigil were community leaders, gay rights activists and family members of several of Dahmer's victims. Organizers stated the purpose of the vigil was to enable Milwaukeeans to "share their feelings of pain and anger over what happened."[224]

The Oxford Apartments at 924 North 25th Street, where Dahmer had killed 12 of his victims, were demolished in November 1992.[225] The site is now a vacant lot. Alternate plans to convert the site into either a memorial garden, a playground, or to reconstruct new housing have failed to materialize.
Lionel Dahmer retired from his career as an analytical chemist and lived with his new wife, Shari, in Medina County, Ohio. Lionel is an advocate for creationism, and his wife was a member of the board of the Medina County Ohio Horseman's Council. Both have refused to change their surname and have professed their love of Jeffrey in spite of his crimes. In 1994, Lionel published a book, *A Father's Story*, and donated a portion of the proceeds from his book to the victims’ families. Most of the families showed support for Lionel and Shari, although three families subsequently sued Lionel Dahmer: two for using their names in the book without obtaining prior consent; and a third family—that of Steven Hicks—filing a wrongful death suit against Lionel Dahmer, Shari, and former wife Joyce, citing parental negligence as the cause for the claim. Joyce Flint died of cancer in November 2000. Prior to her death, she had attempted suicide on at least one occasion. Jeffrey's younger brother, David, changed his surname and lives in anonymity.([229]

**Known murder victims**

Jeffrey Dahmer is known to have killed 17 young men between 1978 and 1991. Of these victims, 12 were killed in his North 25th Street apartment. Three further victims were murdered and dismembered at his grandmother's West Allis residence, with his first and second victims being murdered at his parents' home in Bath, Ohio and at the Ambassador Hotel in Wisconsin respectively. A total of 14 of Dahmer's victims were from various ethnic minority backgrounds, with nine victims being black, although Dahmer was adamant the race of his victims was incidental to him and that it was the body form of a potential victim which attracted his attention.([201]

Most of Dahmer's victims were killed by strangulation after being drugged with sedatives, although his first victim was killed by a combination of bludgeoning and strangulation and his second victim was battered to death, with one further victim killed in 1990, Ernest Miller, dying of a combination of shock and blood loss due to his carotid artery being cut.([2] Many of Dahmer's victims killed in 1991 had holes bored into their skulls through which Dahmer injected muriatic acid or, later, boiling water, directly into the brain in an attempt to render a permanent, submissive, unresistant state. On at least three occasions, this proved fatal although on none of these occasions was this Dahmer's intention.([131]

**1978**

- **June 18**: Steven Hicks, 18. Last seen hitchhiking to a rock concert in Chippewa Lake Park.([232] By Dahmer's own admission, what caught his attention to Steven Hicks hitchhiking was the fact that the youth was bare-chested. He was bludgeoned and strangled to death with a dumbbell before being dismembered. Remains pulverized and scattered in woodland behind Dahmer's childhood home.

**1987**

- **November 20**: Steven Tuomi, 25. Killed in a rented room at the Ambassador Hotel. Dahmer claimed to have no memory of murdering Tuomi, yet stated he must have battered him to death in a drunken stupor. His body was dismembered in the basement of Dahmer's grandmother's house and the remains discarded in the trash. No remains were ever found.

**1988**
- **January 16**: James Doxtator, 14. Met Dahmer outside a gay bar in Wisconsin. Doxtator was lured to West Allis on the pretext of earning $50 for posing for nude pictures. Dahmer strangled Doxtator and kept his body in the basement for a week before dismembering him and discarding the remains in the trash. No remains were ever found.

- **March 24**: Richard Guerrero, 22. Drugged and strangled in Dahmer's bedroom at West Allis. Dahmer dismembered Guerrero's corpse in the basement, dissolved the flesh in acid and disposed of the bones in the trash. He bleached and retained the skull for several months before disposing of it. No remains were ever found.

1989

- **March 25**: Anthony Sears, 24. Sears was the last victim to be drugged and strangled at Dahmer's grandmother's residence; he was also the first victim from whom Dahmer permanently retained any body parts. His preserved skull and genitals would be found in a filing cabinet at 924 North 25th Street following Dahmer's arrest in 1991.

1990

- **May 20**: Raymond Smith, 32. The first victim to be killed at Dahmer's North 25th Street apartment. Smith was a male prostitute whom Dahmer encountered at a tavern. Dahmer gave Smith a drink laced with sleeping pills, then strangled him on his kitchen floor. His skull was spray-painted and retained.

- **June 14**: Edward Smith, 27. A known acquaintance of Dahmer who was last seen in his company at a party. Dahmer acidified Smith's skeleton; his skull was destroyed unintentionally when placed in the oven in an effort to remove moisture. No remains were ever found.

- **September 2**: Ernest Miller, 22. Miller was a dance student whom Dahmer encountered outside a bookstore. According to Dahmer, he was especially attracted to Miller's physique. He was killed by having his carotid artery severed before being dismembered in the bathtub, with Dahmer storing his entire skeleton in the bottom drawer of a filing cabinet and his heart, biceps, and portions of his legs in the freezer for later consumption.

- **September 24**: David Thomas, 22. Encountered Dahmer near the Grand Avenue Mall; he was lured to Dahmer's apartment on the promise of money for posing nude. Once a laced drink had rendered Thomas unconscious, Dahmer decided he "wasn't my type." Nonetheless, Dahmer strangled Thomas, taking Polaroid photos of the dismemberment process. No remains were ever found.

1991

- **February 18**: Curtis Straughter, 17. Approached by Dahmer as he waited at a bus stop near Marquette University. Dahmer lured Straughter to his apartment, where the youth was drugged, and then handcuffed and strangled before being dismembered in the bathtub. His skull, hands, and genitals were retained.

- **April 7**: Errol Lindsey, 19. The first victim upon whom Dahmer practised what he would describe to investigators as his "drilling technique;" a procedure in which he drilled holes into the victim's skull, through which he injected muriatic acid into the brain. According to Dahmer, Lindsey awoke after this practice, after which he was again rendered unconscious with a drink laced with sedatives, then strangled to death. Dahmer flayed Lindsey's body and retained the skin for several weeks. His skull was found following Dahmer's arrest.

- **May 24**: Tony Hughes, 31. Hughes was a deaf-mute whom Dahmer lured to his apartment upon the promise of posing nude for photographs. As Hughes was deaf, he and Dahmer communicated using handwritten notes. He was strangled and his body left on Dahmer's bedroom floor for three days before
being dismembered, with Dahmer photographing the dismemberment process. His skull was retained and identified from dental records.[238]

- **May 27:** Konerak Sinthasomphone, 14. The younger brother of the boy Dahmer had assaulted in 1988. Sinthasomphone was drugged and had muriatic acid injected into his brain before Dahmer left the youth unattended as he left the apartment to purchase beer. When he returned, he discovered Sinthasomphone naked and disoriented in the street, with three hysterical young women attempting to assist him. When police arrived, Dahmer persuaded them he and Sinthasomphone were lovers and that the youth was simply intoxicated. When police left Sinthasomphone with Dahmer in his apartment, Dahmer again injected muriatic acid into Sinthasomphone's brain, and this proved fatal. His head was retained in the freezer and his body dismembered.

- **June 30:** Matt Turner, 20. On June 30, Dahmer attended the Chicago Pride Parade. At a bus stop, he encountered a 20-year-old named Matt Turner and persuaded him to accompany him to Milwaukee to pose for a photo shoot. Turner was drugged, strangled, and then dismembered in the bathtub. His head and internal organs were placed in the freezer and his torso subsequently placed in the 57-gallon drum Dahmer purchased on July 12.[239]

- **July 5:** Jeremiah Weinberger, 23. Met Dahmer at a gay bar in Chicago and agreed to accompany him to Milwaukee for the weekend. Dahmer drilled through Weinberger's skull and injected boiling water into the cavity. He later recalled Weinberger's death to be exceptional, as he was the only victim who died with his eyes open.[240] Weinberger's decapitated body was kept in the bathtub for a week before being dismembered; his torso was placed in the 57-gallon drum.

- **July 15:** Oliver Lacy, 24. A bodybuilding enthusiast whom Dahmer enticed to his apartment on the promise of money for posing for photographs. Lacy was drugged and strangled with a leather strap before being decapitated, with his head and heart being placed in the refrigerator.[241] His skeleton was retained to adorn one side of the private shrine of skulls and skeletons Dahmer was in the process of creating when arrested one week later.

- **July 19:** Joseph Bradehoft, 25. Dahmer's last victim. Bradehoft was a father of three children from Minnesota who was looking for work in Milwaukee at the time of his murder.[242] He was left on Dahmer's bed for two days following his murder before, on July 21, being decapitated. His head was placed in the refrigerator and his torso in the 57-gallon drum.

### In media

#### Film

- The film *Jeffrey Dahmer: The Secret Life* was released in 1993. The film stars Carl Crew as Dahmer.[243]
- The biographical film *Dahmer*, was released in 2002. This film stars Jeremy Renner in the title role and Bruce Davison as his father, Lionel.[244]
- A further film, *Raising Jeffrey Dahmer*, was released in 2006. This film stars Rusty Sneary as Dahmer and co-stars Scott Cordes as his father, Lionel. This film revolves around the reactions of Dahmer's parents following his arrest in 1991.
- In 2012, an independent documentary film, *Jeff* (also known as *The Jeffrey Dahmer Files*), premiered at the South by Southwest festival. This film features interviews with Dahmer's former neighbor, Pamela Bass, Detective Patrick Kennedy, and the city medical examiner, Jeffrey Jentzen.[245]

#### Books


Television

- The Discovery Channel has broadcast an episode focusing upon Dahmer's crimes.
- The Investigation Discovery channel have also broadcast a documentary focusing upon Dahmer within their documentary series *Most Evil*. This documentary features excerpts of Dahmer's 1994 interview with Stone Phillips and was first broadcast in August 2006.

See also

- Incidents of necrophilia
- List of serial killers by number of victims

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6. Murder In Mind issue 5. ISSN 1364-5803 (https://www.worldcat.org/search?q=x0:jrnl&q=n2:1364-5803) p. 11
9. Murder In Mind issue 5. ISSN 1364-5803 (https://www.worldcat.org/search?q=x0:jrnl&q=n2:1364-5803) pp. 11–12
86. *Murder In Mind*, issue 5, ISSN 1364-5803 (https://www.worldcat.org/search?q=x0:jrnl&q=n2:1364-5803), p. 22
104. Dahmer 1994, p. 211.
105. Killers, issue 5, p. 40.


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203. Lionel & Sheri Dahmer on Larry King Live (mentioned at around 37:35) (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gnf1j4hRbJU)
212. "Murder in Mind" (5): 37. ISSN 1364-5803. OCLC 498473511.
226. "Some modern scientists who have accepted the biblical account of creation". Answers in Genesis. Archived from the original on 2007-07-27.
230. Murder In Mind, issue 5.ISSN 1364-5803 (https://www.worldcat.org/search?q=x0:jrnl&q=n2:1364-5803), p. 14
Cited works and further reading


External links

- Excerpts (http://www.tornadohills.com/dahmer/confess.htm) of Jeffrey Dahmer's confession
- Sections of Dahmer's confession to Detective Patrick Kennedy (https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1368&dat=19920201&id=doZRAAAAIBAJ&sjid=wRIEAAAAIBAJ&pg=5785,8078&hl=en), as recited at his 1992 trial (pages 8a & 9a)
- CNN interview (http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0406/17/lkl.00.html) with Lionel and Shari Dahmer
- MSNBC Interview (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vPMBfX7D4WU) of Jeffrey Dahmer
- Jeffrey Dahmer (http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0197213/) at the Internet Movie Database