

Halloween Sadism:

The Evidence

Joel Best
Professor of Sociology and Criminal Justice
University of Delaware
Newark, DE 19716-2580
302-985-7710
joelbest@udel.edu

The practice of giving contaminated treats to children during trick-or-treating has been termed *Halloween sadism* (Trubo 1974). In 1985, I published an article that reviewed press coverage of Halloween sadism in four U.S. newspapers: the leading papers in the three largest metropolitan areas (*New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Chicago Tribune*); as well as the *Fresno Bee* (at the time, I lived in Fresno, California). The article, co-authored with one of my undergraduate students, examined those papers for the period 1958-84 (Best and Horiuchi 1985). An updated version, covering the same four newspapers through 1989 appeared in my book, *Threatened Children* (Best 1990), and I have continued tallying these reports in this document (which is revised each fall).

In reviewing the press coverage, I searched for reports which specified (a) where the incident had occurred, and (b) how the treat had been contaminated. Thus, a story reporting that a child in Boston had received a candy bar with a pin in it would have counted as an incident. In reviewing these reports, a couple things stood out. First, there weren't all that many incidents reported. Although the belief in Halloween sadism is widespread, I don't think that media coverage can be blamed--there simply haven't been that many stories. (The media do, however, often warn parents about the risk of Halloween sadism. Lists of recommended precautions routinely advise parents to inspect their children's treats, in addition to making sure they can see through the eyeholes in their masks, etc.) Second, there were relatively few reports of children being injured by Halloween sadism; most of the reported incidents involved the discovery of a contaminated treat, but no injury. (This is confirmed by efforts to follow up on reports of Halloween sadism; researchers who have done this have concluded that a large proportion of these reports are hoaxes [*Editor and Publisher* 1973; National Confectioners Association et al. 1982]. For more recent coverage of hoaxing, see De

Groot [2015]; Walker [2015].) In my own research, *I have been unable to find a substantiated report of a child being killed or seriously injured by a contaminated treat picked up in the course of trick-or-treating.*

Since 1985, I have been interviewed by hundreds of reporters from television, radio, magazines, newspapers, and websites. They often ask whether I have updated my research. Therefore, I am posting both my original data, supplemented by my efforts to bring the research up to date. I also list all of the cases that have come to my attention in which children's deaths were initially attributed to Halloween sadism (in each of those cases, follow-up stories offered a different interpretation), and I am including discussions of the medical literature's treatment of Halloween sadism, and of the Internet's impact on reporting.

A basic logical principle is that one cannot prove a negative. Therefore, I can never prove that no child has been killed by a Halloween sadist. I can simply note that such a death probably would be a major news story, yet I can't find any evidence of such a story being covered by major media.

Halloween sadism is best seen as a contemporary legend (sometimes called an urban legend) (Best and Horiuchi 1985, Grider 1984, Ellis 1994). That is, it is a story that is told as true, even though there may be little or no evidence that the events in the story ever occurred. Contemporary legends are ways we express anxiety. Note that concerns about Halloween tend to be particularly acute in years when some sort of terrible recent crime has heightened public fears. Thus, the September 1982 reports of deaths due to poisoned Tylenol capsules led to many warnings about trick-or-treating's dangers in that year. Similarly, the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks were followed by legends warning against visiting malls on Halloween. Of course, many malls now offer "safe" trick-or-treating, just as some church congregations now host "trunk or treat" events in their parking lots, and this legend may be seen as a way of expressing fears that Americans are no longer safe. (There are related legends in more recent years, that children have received cryptic, terrorist-related messages in their treats.)

The concern lives on. A 2011 Harris Interactive poll of parents of children 12 and under found that 24 percent had concerns about poisoned treats (and 15 percent stated that abduction was a concern) (Mickalide, Rosenthal, and Donahue 2011). A 2022 survey of Canadians found that 84 percent got through their childrens' treats to remove potentially harmful items; 75 percent were looking for opened packaging, 71 percent for razor blades (Agri-Food Analytics Lab. 2022). In 2014 (the first year recreational marijuana was legally available in Colorado), the Denver police warned that children might be given pot-infused candy, although there were no reports of that actually having happened.

The risk of THC (a psychoactive component of marijuana)-infused candy reappears every few years, although these concerns did not lead to reports of a child having been taken to an emergency room after receiving a THC infused treat. In 2019, there were warnings about THC ingested through vaping. News reports of vaping dangers had

spread in September, but most vaping deaths seemed to involve black-market cartridges that contained THC. (The deaths were attributed, not to the THC itself, but to emulsifiers used to thicken the liquid in the cartridge.) Still, many news stories linked THC with vaping deaths. Then, a drug bust in Pennsylvania led to reports that law enforcement had confiscated some commercially manufactured marijuana edibles presumably purchased in a state where recreational marijuana was legal and then brought into Pennsylvania, where it was not legal. The candy label featured a warning that the product contained THC, which led to warnings that candy containing THC—the same ingredient linked in vaping death stories—might be distributed in Halloween treats. Again, I did not find any reports of this actually having happened.

And there was another link to drug news in 2019. Someone on Twitter, claiming to support Antifa, posted a declaration that he had given children dressed in pro-Trump costumes fentanyl-laced candy. However, no cases of children poisoned by fentanyl were reported.

In 2022, Halloween sadism received far more pre-Halloween attention than in any year since the 1982 Tylenol poisonings. In August, the Drug Enforcement Administration (2022) issued a warning about “rainbow fentanyl”—pills be produced in a variety of colors. (Because fentanyl is an extremely powerful synthetic opioid, it is likely that the pills being described were actually mixtures of drugs that included a small amount of fentanyl, rather than the pure drug.) The press release included a quote from DEA Administrator Ann Milgram: “Rainbow fentanyl—fentanyl pills and powder that come in a variety of bright colors, shapes, and sizes—is a deliberate effort by drug traffickers to drive addiction amongst kids and young adults.” Republican National Committee Chair Ronna McDaniel gave a FOX News interview where she linked rainbow fentanyl to Halloween: “Every mom in the country is worried, what if this gets into my kid’s Halloween basket?” Other FOX commentators and Republican officials picked up on this concern, and the issue received considerable attention. I wrote a piece debunking the scare (Best 2022), and wound up giving more than 40 interviews (nearly three times as many as in 2021). I am not aware of any U.S. reports of children receiving—let alone hurt by—fentanyl-contaminated treats in 2022 (there was an early report from central Alberta of a child whose parents found a substance “presumed to be fentanyl” among their child’s treats,” but further testing revealed that this was a false alarm). Interestingly, in 2023, fentanyl had largely disappeared from the Halloween conversation.

FIRST-HAND REPORTS OF EXPERIENCES WITH HALLOWEEN SADISM AND OTHER EMAIL COMMENTS

In 2015, during my 31st year of giving pre-Halloween interviews about my research, I received an e-mail message from a man reporting his experience as a victim of Halloween sadism:

My incident happened Halloween night in 1984. I was 9 at the time and I began hallucinating that night after eating a small amount of candy. Rushed to the hospital I was treated by several doctors who had concluded I had symptoms of being given LSD. In the years since I've seen many specialists and I still do today for a medical condition I now have as a result. My parents, who are still alive, have the police and hospital reports which I've already verified myself as I got older and more curious. Personally I've never seen this in any news report and I'm not sure why. I do know my parents did their very best to keep the attention off of me so that could be what happened.

This happened in St. Clair Shores, Michigan and the police were involved on November 1st, 1984 after I was already in the hospital. The police took all of the candy that me and my siblings received that night. It's been so long and I do not know if they tested it. Based on the doctors and their tests on me is how they concluded what I had in my system.

I received a similar message from a woman in 2017:

I was born in 1957, and when I was about 7 years old, I brought home an apple among my Halloween treats. Back in the early 60s, lots of people in our suburban Los Angeles county neighborhood gave out whole fruit or homemade treats such as popcorn balls. My parents didn't think much about it, or even were pleased that not everyone gave out sugary candy treats. We weren't allowed to eat more than a few pieces of candy at a time, so when I wanted to try the beautiful apple, my parents allowed me to. I took a bite into the fruit, and my front teeth came together, top and bottom, on something hard. I showed it to my mother, and she carefully cut apart the apple, revealing a straight-edge razorblade inside it. I was lucky enough to bite down just the way I did and thus escaped injury. We did not report the incident to the police, but my parents immediately went through all the treats and discarded any that were not commercially prepackaged candies. We continued that process as long as I trick-or-treated, and I did the same with my own daughter. I know that a lot of these rumors that are spread come from secondary or greater sources, but this one actually happened to *me*. I remember my confusion and dismay as a small child, wondering why some adult who probably didn't even know me would want me to suffer in this way.

Two other messages reached me in 2021:

Every year at this time, I remember that as a kid in the early 1970s, I did in fact bite into a Halloween apple from my candy bag and cut my gums pretty well on a blade that was placed in the apple. I didn't get any medical attention, but I did bleed badly for some time. I think I might have been too upset by the entire event to even tell my parents at the time.

Interestingly, it wasn't a razor blade, but rather the blade from a pencil sharpener. At the time, this seemed to me to obviously indicate this had been done by another child who would have an easier time getting one of those than a razor blade. I did look at the apple and found the slit where the blade had been inserted. At the time, this sort of nastiness did not seem beyond imaginable for some of the kids I knew in school.

* * *

Just wanted to let you know I grew up in Alaska. One year maybe 1983 or 1984 I went trick or treating with a friend. One of her snickers had a razor blade in it. So the police confiscated my candy but no razor blades were in mine or my brothers. She narrowly escaped biting into the snickers because she tried to share it.

And, again, in 2022, I received another message:

I was around 6 years old I'd say (so 20 years ago), and my dad took me trick or treating near the Fort McCoy area in Florida. We didn't make it to too many house that night, but

there was one house that was having a party. I knocked on the door and said “trick or treat smell my feet” when they opened it. The people who answered the door just laughed and told me they’d be right back, and closed the door. They then opened it and gave me a full sized snickers bar. I guess my dad got bad vibes from them, maybe because of their mannerisms, which I didn’t notice because I was only a kid. We get back to the car and my dad immediately opened the candy bar wrapper. He noticed a tiny hole in the candy bar. He then broke it close to where the hole was, and there was a needle inside. I don’t remember what kind of needle it was, but it was definitely there. It was never reported. After that, my parents always checked all of my candy bars.

Now, a lot of people don’t believe me and I totally get why, but this is something that happened to me in real life, and I know I can’t be the only one. I thought maybe I just imagined it as a kid, but my dad confirms it really did happen.

And, two from 2023:

- (1) I just heard your NPR interview about legends of tainted trick-or-treat candy. I actually did receive a tainted treat as a child. I’m sure it was 1965 as I was 4-years old, and it was in Vineland, NJ. My mom drove us around door-to-door. When we got home, she looked in one of those small paper bags that had a bunch of loose raisins in it. She noticed that the raisins each had a small piece of a broken toothpick. Thought you’d be interested to hear this one anecdotal experience. I probably wouldn’t earn the raisins anyway, and they were clearly visible. In any event, it was definitely more of a trick than a treat.
- (2) I agree that you are right that it is very rare and not something that parents need to be too concerned about.
But you are most definitely wrong that it has never happened. How do I know this? Because I was there. My account is firsthand. It happened at the house at the other end of the block, on our block, around the early to mid '60's, in Blue Island, IL. And I was there to even see police effect an arrest. I think I was about 7 at the time. The house at the other end of the block was handing out apples to kids trick or treating. I got one of those apples. The apples had razor blades inserted into them. One of the other kids that got one of the apples bit into it and got cut. Luckily not severely. Me, I saw a slice in mine and threw the apple away. I wasn't a big apple eater. So I wasn't hurt. But I WAS THERE. I SAW THIS FIRST HAND AND GOT ONE OF THE CONTAMINATED APPLES. So don't even try to tell me that it's an urban legend because I was there. As for the newspaper, I cannot tell you if it was in the paper or not and if not, why it wasn't. But it most certainly happened.

These are the only firsthand reports of victimization I’ve received. If only because it is impossible to prove a negative, I can’t say that there have never been incidents of children being harmed. What I can say is that I’ve reviewed press coverage back to the late 1950s, and I have not found reports of serious injury. Nor have lots of people contacted me with stories that suggest Halloween sadism is widespread but unreported.

On the other hand, I received some interesting 2022 messages:

What you say makes sense, unless, like the Tylenol, there is terrorism involved. That would explain the economics and negate much of your argument.

Who would want to destabilize America?

Why not research this connection....

* * *

For a 'professor of Sociology and Criminal Justice at the University of Delaware' I am completely shocked, disappointed and very upset with your uneducated, ill-informed and totally baseless cavalier attitude and article posted today on CNN regarding the very real, fact-based threats of rainbow-colored fentanyl that D.E.A. Agents have actually found inside tens of thousands of sealed boxes and bags of halloween candy entering the

United States all along the border with Mexico and Canada too! 🤔

So while it may be safer in your Disney-like area of Delaware, I live in Texas and my fiancée & her 10 year old daughter live close to the Arizona border with Mexico and, unlike you, we are in danger of receiving boxes and/or bags of Halloween candy that contains rainbow-colored fentanyl.

Now I understand and even agree with the premise of your article, i.e. that based on your extensive & historically accurate research, most Halloween candy concerns are mostly harmless urban legends that media outlets use to increase viewership and readership; however, you have knowingly and purposefully endangered tens of thousands of children by writing your article essentially telling parents not to be concerned about their kids being harmed by fentanyl.

Perhaps you are not aware of the secret proxy 'drug war' that has been raging in the United States for many years where Russia, China, Iran along with the Taliban controlled Afghanistan (both of which are the world's largest producers of heroine harvested from poppy flowers).

Perhaps you don't know that the ingredients for fentanyl, ecstasy (MDMA) and heroine are mostly produced in & exported from China and Russia to the United States.

The Chinese and Russians were partly behind the astounding increase in heroine, opioid & fentanyl addiction and an explosion in the death rates for each one caused by overdosing.

And perhaps you are also unaware that my 16 year old stepdaughter cannot drink from any container that has been out of her possession for any period of time because rainbow-colored fentanyl is so pervasive in all of the high schools throughout the Dallas area that kids are literally spiking or dropping the tiny candy-like fentanyl pills into other kids drinks or soda cans for fun just to watch them get high without knowing it.

Or perhaps you haven't spoken to the emergency room staff, as I did over the weekend, who told me they are seeing record breaking numbers of fentanyl overdoses.

I could go on and on but you get my point and, if it were possible, you should have to pay for all of the medical bills, the mental anguish and the funerals of the children whose deaths you caused.

* * *

I greatly appreciate your devotion to truth and checking out myths. I am dealing with parents at the Christian High school I work accusing me of not taking the safety of their kids seriously. Students were eating starburst and thought it had a strange test and began demanding class end because of a ridiculous fear the starburst was laced with fentanyl. I refused to buy into what I could tell was an absurd assertion... even before reading your article and only having rational suspicion of the yearly "Halloween scare" I knew the warnings in the media (besides being silly) were about pills that look like candy. Nothing was about fentanyl being laced into taffy or chocolate, which would take grinding it up and mixing it in before packaging or repackaging it ... especially unlikely as it was brand-name candy bought in a store, not handed out by strangers.

When parents came after me by telling my administration how disturbing it was a teacher did not take seriously a "real danger in our society" I went to double-check that none of the media warnings mentioned lacing. How reassured I was that not only did I confirm that, but I noticed your articles pointing out what I also suspected- there has never been a case of even non-laced pills made to look like candy being passed out and causing injury or death (besides that one parent.)

Thank you. Living in light of reality is greatly helped by those like you who take time to factual disprove ridiculous assertions.

DEATHS ATTRIBUTED TO HALLOWEEN SADISM

1. *Kevin Totson* (Detroit, 1970). Five-year-old Kevin died after eating heroin supposedly hidden in his Halloween candy. Less heavily publicized was a follow-up story that Kevin had found the heroin in a relative's home.
2. *Timothy O'Bryan* (Pasadena, TX, 1974). Eight-year-old Timothy died after eating cyanide-laced Halloween candy. Later investigation revealed that he had received the candy from his father (who had taken out a life insurance policy on his son). The father (who never admitted committing the crime) was tried, convicted, and executed for the murder of his son.
3. *Patrick Wiederhold* (Flint, MI, 1978). Two-year-old Patrick died after eating Halloween treats. However, tests of tissue samples failed to find traces of drugs or poison, and police concluded that Patrick's death was from natural causes.
4. *Ariel Katz* (Santa Monica, CA, 1990). Seven-year-old Ariel collapsed while trick-or-treating and died. Although her parents told the authorities that she had heart problems, the initial press reports blamed Halloween sadism. The coroner attributed the death to an enlarged heart.
5. *Name Withheld* (Vancouver, British Columbia, 2001). A four-year-old girl died after eating some Halloween candy, leading police to advise parents to throw out all Halloween treats. However, pathology tests showed no evidence of poisoning, and the autopsy showed she died of a streptococcus infection.

Other rumors may be less specific. In 2010, police in Waterloo, Ontario dismissed reports on social media sites that someone had died after eating contaminated candy.

WHAT DOES THE MEDICAL LITERATURE SHOW?

One medical overview argues that Halloween sadism is “quite rare and the risk may be exaggerated” (Weir 2000: 1046). I know of only two reports of foreign bodies having been ingested and the injury attributed to Halloween sadism; in one of these cases, a pin was swallowed nearly a week before Halloween; in the other, a 55-year-old man ingested a needle thought to have been in a caramel-covered apple. In other words, it seems unlikely that either incident was directly related to trick-or-treating (Conforti et al 1987; Bajwa 2003). In a third case, an adolescent entered a hospital on Halloween suffering from abdominal pain. He attributed this to a commercially wrapped cupcake that he had purchased at a gas station; however, he later acknowledged that he had overdosed on prescription medication (White et al. 2002). In other words, the medical literature does not offer any reports of children poisoned or otherwise harmed by treats they received while trick-or-treating.

Although many hospitals once offered to X-ray Halloween treats, this practice is controversial among radiologists both because few foreign objects are found, and because some worry that the practice may induce a false sense of security, since X-rays cannot detect drugs or poisons (Calvanese 1986, 1988; Cappelle et al. 1993; Malott 1987). For whatever reason, the practice seems to have largely died out.

In recent years, some communities have banned known sex offenders from passing out treats, but a study of “nonfamilial sex crimes against children” found no evidence that these offenses increased on or around Halloween (Chaffin et al. 2009).

The medical literature does offer evidence that Halloween is indeed a dangerous holiday. After all, it is a night when tens of millions of children are wandering through the streets. Studies show that children’s risk of being struck by a car is four times higher on Halloween than on other nights (*Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 1997), and the Halloween has more child-pedestrian fatalities than any other day of the year (with fatal accidents concentrated in the late-afternoon/early evening hours (Staples, Yip, and Redelmeier 2019; State Farm Insurance 2012—for UK statistics, see Hsu et al. 2021)). An analysis of “pediatric holiday-related injuries” in emergency rooms found that, among eight holidays, Halloween ranked fourth in the number of injuries, behind Labor Day, Memorial Day, and the Fourth of July, and just ahead of Easter (D’Ippolito et al. 2010). (An insurance-claims-based analysis argues that even these dangers are exaggerated [Zhang and Kahn 2020].)

HOW MEDIA COVERAGE IS CHANGING

I began trying to track press coverage of Halloween sadism in the early 1980s. At that

time, print journalism offered the most thorough news coverage, and I concentrated on examining the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *Chicago Tribune*—the three leading newspapers in the three largest urban areas. But newspapers are in trouble—readership and advertising is down, and newspapers have fewer reporters writing fewer stories. In contrast, the Internet continues to expand. There are online professionals, such as the websites maintained by newspapers and television stations, but also stand-alone websites and podcasts. Moreover, social media allow anyone with a Facebook page or a Twitter account to report news.

Consider 2015. In 2015, a Facebook user posted a picture of a host of colorful pieces of what were said to be Ecstasy in a variety of unusual shapes (e.g., skulls, etc.) accompanied by a warning that might be given as candy to trick-or-treaters. The warning circulated through Facebook until it received a boost in October when the police department in Jackson, Mississippi relayed it. That story was picked up by a variety of news outlets, and was debunked on *Snopes.com* (LaCapria 2015). (On the flip side, a comic post entitled “How to Spot Suspicious Halloween Treats” got millions of hits [<http://aboveaverage.com/how-to-spot-suspicious-halloween-candy/#.vc5jt6:QeyV>].)

Local reports of Halloween sadism often involve posts on Facebook or on the websites of local media. In 2015, there were such reports in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Minnesota, Ontario, and Alberta. Typically, these reports involve some easily available sharp object (needles, tacks, etc.); only a single child reports finding something and there are no injuries. And, in many cases, follow-up stories reveal that the child has acknowledged that the report is a hoax (for examples, see De Groot 2015; Walker 2015). (In 2017, a 57-year-old Connecticut man was charged with second-degree breach of the peace after making Facebook posts in which he called himself “The Halloween Lunatic” and implied that he planned to give trick-or-treaters poisoned candy.) Precisely because these stories are too minor to receive newspaper coverage, most of them don’t appear in the tally I update each year.

REPORTED INCIDENTS OF HALLOWEEN SADISM IN U.S. AND CANADA BY YEAR

1958 – 0	1978 – 1	1998 – 2	2018 – 8
1959 – 1	1979 – 3	1999 – 0	2019 -- 4
1960 – 0	1980 – 0	2000 – 2	2020 -- 1
1961 – 0	1981 – 0	2001 – 1	2021 -- 3
1962 – 1	1982 – 12	2002 – 0	2022 – 6*
1963 – 1	1983 – 1	2003 – 1	2023 – 5**
1964 – 3	1984 – 0	2004 – 0	
1965 – 1	1985 – 0	2005 – 0	
1966 – 5	1986 – 1	2006 – 0	
1967 – 4	1987 – 0	2007 – 1	
1968 – 3	1988 – 1	2008 -- 1	
1969 – 7	1989 – 0	2009 -- 0	

1970 – 10	1990 – 1	2010 -- 0
1971 – 14	1991 – 0	2011 -- 0
1972 – 1	1992 – 1	2012 -- 1
1973 – 4	1993 – 0	2013 -- 0
1974 – 1	1994 – 0	2014 -- 0
1975 – 2	1995 – 1	2015 -- 3
1976 – 2	1996 – 1	2016 -- 3
1977 – 0	1997 – 0	2017 -- 0

Methodological note: The numbers in this table are derived from slightly different sources (which reflect changes in the ways newspapers are indexed). For the period 1958-84, I searched the printed annual indexes for the *New York Times*, the “morgue” files of the *Fresno Bee*, and microfilmed copies of the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Los Angeles Times* for Nov. 1-3. Beginning in 1985, I was able to draw upon the LEXIS-NEXIS database (this is an electronic database that covers major newspapers). I do not include Internet-only reports.

The above table uses a more-or-less standard method which focuses on newspaper reports from larger cities. It is increasingly possible to find other incidents reported on the websites of smaller newspapers and TV stations, or in social media (see above section on changing media). While it is impossible to devise a complete list of reported incidents, it should be evident that these reports are not very common, and that the incidents reported are not very serious.

* 2022 also featured a report of a razor blade being found in a treat in the UK.

**2023 also had reports from Australia, Mexico, and the UK.

REFERENCES

- Agri-Food Analytics Lab. 2022. “New Report Suggests 62% of Canadians Buy Candy for Trick-or-Treaters That They Would Eat Themselves, with Price the Second Most Important Factor.” Dalhousie University. (<https://www.dal.ca/sites/agri-food/research/halloween-2022.html>)
- Bajwa, Hammad Ahmed. 2003. “Needle Ingestion via Halloween Caramel Apples,” *Mayo Clinic Proceedings* 78: 1311-12.
- Best, Joel. 1990. *Threatened Children: Rhetoric and Concern about Child-Victims*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Best, Joel. 2022. “Rainbow Fentanyl—The Newest Halloween Scare.” *The Conversation* (October 12, 2022). (<https://theconversation.com/rainbow-fentanyl-the-newest-halloween-scare-191818>)
- Best, Joel, and Gerald T. Horiuchi. 1985. “The Razor Blade in the Apple: The Social Construction of Urban Legends,” *Social Problems* 32: 488-99.
- Calvanese, Jerry. 1986. “Should We X-Ray Halloween Candy?,” *American Journal of*

- Roentgenology 147: 854-55.
- Calvanese, Jerry. 1988. "Should We X-Ray Halloween Candy? Revisited." *Veterinary and Human Toxicology* 30: 165-69.
- Cappelle, Christine, Steve Eberly, and Ronald I. Paul. 1993. "Routine Screening of Halloween Candy: Helpful or Hazardous?," *Annals of Emergency Medicine* 22: 1541-44.
- Chaffin, Mark, Jill Levenson, Elizabeth Letourneau, and Paul Stern. 2009. "How Safe Are Trick-or-Treaters? An Analysis of Child Sex Crime Rates on Halloween," *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment* 21: 363-74.
- Conforti, Frederick P., Douglas R. Smego, and Kirk K. Kazarian. 1987. "Halloween Appendicitis: Pin Perforation of the Appendix," *Connecticut Medicine* 8: 507.
- De Groot, Kristen. 2015. "Tis the Season: Halloween Candy Scares Mostly Hoaxes." Associated Press (November 6). (<http://abcnews.go.com/US/wireStory/tis-season-halloween-candy-scares-hoaxes-35018136>)
- D'Ippolito, Christy L. Collins, and Dawn R. Comstock. 2010. "Epidemiology of Pediatric Holiday-Related Injuries Presenting to US Emergency Departments," *Pediatrics* 125: 931-37.
- Drug Enforcement Administration. 2022. "DEA Warns of Brightly-Colored Fentanyl Used to Target Young Americans." August 30. (<https://www.dea.gov/press-releases/2022/08/30/dea-warns-brightly-colored-fentanyl-used-target-young-americans>)
- Editor and Publisher*. 1973. "Press Finds Halloween Sadism Rare But Warns of Danger." 106 (March 3): 22.
- Ellis, Bill. 1994. "Safe Spooks: New Halloween Traditions in Response to Sadism Legends." Pp. 24-44 in *Halloween and Other Festivals of Death and Life*, edited by Jack Santino. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Gottlieb, Scott. 2019. "Pot Legalization Makes Vaping Deadly," *Wall Street Journal* (October 10).
- Grider, Sylvia. 1984. "The Razor Blades in the Apples Syndrome." Pp. 128-49 in *Perspectives on Contemporary Legend*, edited by Paul Smith. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Hsu, Li-Min, et al. 2021. "Pediatric Traffic Injuries on Halloween in the United Kingdom: Prevalence and Injury Report." *Environmental Research and Public Health* 18, 9093. (<https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph18179093>)
- LaCapria, Kim. 2015. "Molly Twaddle." *Snopes.com* (September 29). (<http://www.snopes.com/ecstasy-halloween-candy/>)
- Malott, Jack C. 1987. "X-Raying Halloween Candy: A Public Service?," *Radiology Management* 9 (Fall): 78-79.
- Mickalide, A. D., K. M. Rosenthal, and M. P. Donahue. 2011. *Halloween Safety: A National Survey of Parents' Knowledge, Attitudes, and Behaviors*. Washington: Safe Kids Worldwide.
- Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*. 1997. "Childhood Pedestrian Deaths During Halloween—United States, 1975-1996." 46 (October 24): 987-90.
- National Confectioners Association, Chocolate Manufacturers Association, and National Candy Wholesalers Association. 1982. "Halloween/1982: An Overview." Unpublished paper.

- Staples, John A., Candace Yip, and Donald A. Redelmeier. 2019. "Pedestrian Fatalities Associated with Halloween in the United States," *JAMA Pediatrics* 173 (January): 101-03.
- State Farm Insurance. 2012. "Halloween Is "Deadliest Day" of the Year for Child Pedestrian Fatalities." Press release at: <http://www.multivu.com/mnr/56790-state-farm-halloween-pedestrian-child-safety>.
- Trubo, Richard. 1974. "Holiday for Sadists," *PTA Magazine* 69 (October): 28-29.
- Walker, Jesse. 2015. "Another Halloween, Another Crop of Tampered-Treat Hoaxes." *Reason.com*, November 4. (<https://reason.com/blog/2015/11/04/another-halloween-another-crop-of-tamper>)
- Weir, Erica. 2000. "The Hazards of Halloween," *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 163: 1046.
- White, Suzanne, Grace Dy, and John M. Wilson. 2002. "The Case of the Slandered Halloween Cupcake," *Pediatric Emergency Care* 18: 185-88.
- Zhang, H., and A. Khan. 2020. "Risk of Preventable Injuries Associated with Halloween," *Public Health* 189: 94-96.