



**RESEARCH  
ARTICLE**

# Evaluating the Mystery of 'Brushy Bill' Roberts (aka Billy the Kid) as a Case of Extreme Celebrity Worship

**James Houran**

Jhouran@aethoscg.com  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1725-582X>

Integrated Knowledge Systems  
Dallas, Texas, USA

Laboratory for Statistics and Com-  
putation, ISLA - Instituto Politécnico  
de Gestão e Tecnologia  
Vila Nova de Gaia, Portugal

**Lorraine Sheridan**

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8705-0531>

Curtin University  
Western Australia, Australia

**Neil Dagnall**

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0657-7604>

Department of Psychology  
Manchester Metropolitan University  
Manchester, UK

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## HIGHLIGHTS

A man who claimed to be 'Billy the Kid' showed behaviors consistent with strong celebrity worship of the famous outlaw, thereby implying that an alter ego persona was possibly at play.

## ABSTRACT

'Brushy Bill' Roberts gained notoriety in 1950 for identifying himself as the presumably deceased outlaw 'Billy the Kid.' We hypothesized that his case reflected extreme celebrity worship, which involves psychological absorption with a target celebrity and potential fantasy–reality breakdowns. A blinded expert panel mapped Roberts' claims, activities, and circumstances against the three phases of celebrity worship and their known correlates. Outcomes from this exercise suggested that (a) his reported attitudes and behaviors equated to an above-average score on the Celebrity Worship Scale (McCutcheon et al., 2002), (b) his identity as the Kid unfolded somewhat similarly to the behavioral progression of celebrity worship, and (c) he ostensibly had the most psychosocial risk factors for the 'Entertainment–Social' level of celebrity worship, though many were also noted for the more extreme 'Intense–Personal' and 'Borderline Pathological' phases. These results imply that Roberts might have intentionally adopted Billy the Kid as an alter ego primarily for leisure and escapism, although this construction perhaps evolved to include more compulsory or addictive aspects.

## KEYWORDS

Absorption, alter ego, celebrity worship, grandiose delusions, narrative reality

## INTRODUCTION

Self and identity anomalies can be a dramatic topic that captures the public's interest and imagination. For instance, supposedly true stories like *Sybil* (Schreiber, 1973) and *The Three Faces of Eve* (Thigpen & Cleckley, 1957/1992) famously publicized the concept of dissociative identity disorder, previously known as multiple personality disorder or 'split personality,' i.e., a mental condition characterized by the maintenance of at least two distinct and relatively enduring personality states (Brand et al., 2016; Dorahy et al., 2014; McAllister, 2000). Other times news reports and television documentaries have highlighted 'identity' mysteries, including the Shakespeare authorship question

(Leigh et al., 2019), the 'Jack the Ripper' serial killer (Louhe-lainen & Miller, 2020), the 17th century French prisoner known as the 'man in the iron mask' (Wilkinson, 2001), and suspected conspirators in the JFK assassination (Linsker et al., 2005). And then there are forensic cases that possibly involve blurred fantasy–reality distinctions, such as individuals who surface under curious circumstances and are believed by some to be various historical figures previously presumed dead. This includes the Grand Duchess Anastasia Nikolaevna of Russia (Kurth, 1983), the mysterious 1971 skyjacker known as 'D. B. Cooper' (Colbert & Szollosi, 2016), Butch Cassidy and Sundance Kid (McPhee, 1998, p. 358), or the three famous escapees from the 1962 prison break from Alcatraz Federal Penitentiary (Noyes, 2016).

A notable example of these latter occurrences—which received national publicity from an *Unsolved Mysteries* television episode (March 1, 1989) and the American Western film *Young Guns II* (1990) concerns the legendary outlaw Henry McCarty, who used the alias ‘William H. Bonney’ but came to be known as ‘Billy the Kid’ or simply ‘the Kid.’ History records that McCarty was shot and killed at the Pete Maxwell home in Fort Sumner by New Mexico Sheriff Pat Garrett on the evening of July 14, 1881 (Garrett, 1882/1954; Rasch, 1995; Utley, 1989; Wallis, 2007). However, a man known as Oliver (Ollie) ‘Brushy Bill’ Roberts appeared rather surreptitiously almost seventy years later claiming to be the Kid incognito. He asserted that Garrett had instead slain a ‘gunslinger’ named Billy Barlow whose body was presented as the Kid (Sonnichsen & Morrison, 1955/2015).

This tale begins in 1948 when probate investigator William V. Morrison was researching an individual named Joe Hines for an inheritance case. This man was a survivor of the ‘Lincoln County War,’ which was the feud that helped to popularize Billy the Kid. Hines reportedly told him that the Kid was still alive but refused to reveal his assumed name or exactly where he was living (Jameson, 2005/2008). In a continued search, Morrison located another man named Frank J. Dalton, who himself claimed to be the notorious bank and train robber Jesse James. Dalton said that the Kid was now known as ‘O. L. Roberts’ and living in Hamilton County, Texas (Walker, 1998). Morrison tracked down Roberts, who eventually ‘confessed’ to being the Kid. Moreover, Roberts’ supporting information and putative evidence apparently so intrigued or impressed Morrison that he became convinced the claim was true.

These events were the genesis of a heated controversy that continues to this day and with interesting points and discrepancies on both sides of the argument (see e.g., Cooper, 2020; Edwards, 2014). Brushy Bill was not unique; however, as at least one other person claimed at a point to be the Kid (Cooper, 2010, 2019). Such reports are occasionally shown to involve imposters or are otherwise settled via DNA testing (Coble et al., 2009; Massie, 1995; Louhelainen & Miller, 2020). However, the latter option is not possible in the present circumstance, since there is no confirmation as to where the remains of the Kid or his mother, Catherine Antrim, are located. Efforts to exhume any such remains have also been legally blocked (Boyle, 2003; Cooper, 2020). That said, other analytical approaches can be applied to certain types of evidence assuming they exist and are available in this case. For example, there have been two separate photographic comparison studies (in 1989 and 1990) between the Kid and Brushy Bill. Neither effort was apparently peer-reviewed, used similar methodologies, nor produced comparable results (cf. Jameson, 2005/2008).

On the other hand, there are techniques in forensic linguistics that purportedly appraise the internal veracity of claimants’ accounts (e.g., Chaski, 2013; Kang & Lee, 2014; Kohnken, 2004). Other procedures, like Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (e.g., Drinkwater et al., 2013; Simmonds-Moore, 2016) and Conversation Analysis (Wooffitt, 1992; Murray & Wooffitt, 2010), take a qualitative, phenomenological approach combining hermeneutics and idiography to understand how people construct meaning from their experiences and likewise how experiences affect the individuals. These methods can be especially relevant given the way that witnesses to controversial events may ‘mould’ their accounts in the face of overt skepticism (Ohashi et al., 2013). To our knowledge, there is unfortunately no affidavit and only very limited free-response narratives from Brushy Bill that are suitable for such text-based appraisals (cf. Sonnichsen & Morrison, 1955/2015).

However, one option that might help to clarify the present case is a content analysis of Roberts’ claims and activities relative to the known and nuanced patterns of attitudes and behaviors that define increasing levels of celebrity worship (McCutcheon et al., 2002). This approach follows from the idea that he exemplified an extreme case of celebrity worship focused on Billy the Kid. Indeed, studies indicate that high levels of celebrity worship involve fans whose personal identities blend with those of their target celebrities (McCutcheon et al., 2004a), i.e., a fan overly empathizes with (or becomes ‘possessed’ by) the persona of a favorite celebrity and may even begin to dress and act like the target person, even sometimes changing their physical appearance to resemble that celebrity’s likeness. Therefore, systematically mapping Roberts’ statements, behaviors, and psychosocial variables against the phenomenology of celebrity worship might reveal whether or not this hypothesis is a viable explanation for this historical and psychological mystery. To clarify, this study was grounded in the working assumptions that Brushy Bill Roberts was not Billy the Kid but rather that his claims reflected extreme celebrity worship for the outlaw.

## THE NARRATIVE OF BRUSHY BILL ROBERTS

This fascinating case involves an array of different, and sometimes confusing or conflicting, information, in contrast to an established collection of well-documented facts and records. Thus, the available and pertinent details arguably constitute a malleable ‘narrative reality’ versus an unequivocal historical account (for a general discussion of this issue, see de Rivera & Sarbin (1998). This situation can frustrate and confound amateur and professional researchers alike, as narratologists note that “simplicity

pleases the mind" (Hoffman, 2014, p. 250). Acknowledging this confound and context, we consulted several commercial books and online resources devoted to Roberts to summarize some of the generally accepted information in this story.

Brushy Bill Roberts [August 26, 1879, to December 27, 1950 (cf. Haws, 2015a, 2015b; Pittmon, 1987); claimed date of birth December 31, 1859] was also apparently known as William Henry Roberts, Ollie Partridge William Roberts, Ollie N. Roberts, and Ollie L. Roberts. He attracted media attention by (a) claiming to be Billy the Kid (implying that Pat Garrett killed the wrong man), and (b) with the assistance of William Morrison, seeking a formal pardon that was supposedly owed to him per an 1879 agreement with territorial governor Lew Wallace. Specifically, the Kid was allegedly offered a pardon in exchange for his grand jury testimony related to a killing he had witnessed during the Lincoln County War (for a discussion, see Cooper, 2018).

Despite affidavits from some acquaintances of the Kid who supported Roberts' claims (see e.g., Edwards, 2014, pp. 197–208; Sonnichsen & Morrison, 1955/2015, pp. 159–171), the pardon application was denied by New Mexico Governor Thomas Mabry in 1950 during a staged press event. It seems that the rejection came, in part, from Roberts' reportedly poor performance at the event, such as his inability to answer basic questions about Billy the Kid and not demonstrating advanced fluency in Spanish. However, advocates insisted that Roberts was impaired in his responses due to a minor stroke that he suffered around the time of the proceedings. Roberts died of natural causes soon after, and the nature of his association to Billy the Kid has been vigorously contested ever since. Brushy Bill's story continues to be promoted in various books, websites, online discussion groups, as well as at the 'Billy the Kid Museum' in Hico, Texas.

There are many intriguing nuances and plot twists in longer versions of this story, which are readily available to interested readers. Our Methods section provides a recommended list from our scoping review. We should note that, irrespective of Brushy Bill's claims, some authors (e.g., Jameson, 2007; for a counterpoint, see Stahl, 2018) have noted the seemingly unusual, if not suspicious, circumstances related to Pat Garrett's (1882/1954) version of the shooting of Billy the Kid and the ensuing inquest and burial. Thus, it could be possible, even if improbable, that Garrett did indeed kill the wrong person, knowingly or unwittingly. Indeed, the assertion that Pat Garrett misconstrued the event is not without some precedent. For a generation after Garrett reportedly shot the Kid, his 1882 account was considered to be factual (Tuska, 1983), but historians have since found his book to have many embellishments and inconsistencies with other accounts of the life of Henry McCarty.

## DIAGNOSTIC POTENTIAL OF THE RASCH MODEL FOR CELEBRITY WORSHIP

'Celebrity worship' refers to a particular type of parasocial relationship, i.e., a one-sided connection in which one party (the 'fan') knows a great deal about the other (the 'celebrity'), but the latter does not know the first" (Lange et al., 2011, p. 117; for a recent review, see Zsila & Demetrovics, 2020). This topic has become a burgeoning research area partly due to McCutcheon et al.'s (2002) psychometric work on the construct. This early research included the design and validation of the 17-item, Rasch-scaled Celebrity Worship Scale (CWS), with a mean of 50 and standard deviation of 10. Most empirical studies forgo the original CWS in favor of a later modified, 23-item version of the measure retitled the Celebrity Attitude Scale (CAS: Maltby et al., 2002; cf. Maltby et al., 2006). The CAS is more popular with researchers for its easy scoring system grounded in Classical Test Theory and clean delineations among the three intensity-levels of celebrity worship: (a) Entertainment–Social, (b) Intense–Personal, and (c) Borderline Pathological phases, respectively.

However, the original CWS was more than an interval-level and validated measure for survey studies. It empirically defined the phenomenology of celebrity worship in terms of a Rasch (1960/1980) scale, which denotes a specific and robust hierarchical sequence of discrete yet additive attitudes and behaviors (see Table 1; cf. McCutcheon et al., 2002, p. 75). Specifically, the lowest levels of celebrity worship are characterized by solitary behaviors that can be interpreted as reflecting sensation-seeking and entertainment ("Keeping up with news about my favorite celebrity is an entertaining pastime"), yet these behaviors take on a social component at higher levels ("I love to talk to others who admire my favorite celebrity"). Interestingly, the most extreme Rasch levels of celebrity worship revert back to the private sphere, but this worship now has obvious obsessive-compulsive features ("I have frequent thoughts about my favorite celebrity even when I don't want to" and "I often feel compelled to learn the personal habits of my favorite celebrity").

McCutcheon et al. (2002, pp. 81–82) accounted for this behavioral hierarchy with an 'Absorption-Addiction Model' (for a detailed discussion, see Lange et al., 2011, pp. 121–124). Particularly, they hypothesized that a compromised identity structure in some individuals (e.g., introverted nature or lack of meaningful relationships) facilitates psychological absorption with a celebrity in an attempt to establish an identity or a sense of fulfillment. The dynamics of the motivational forces driving this absorption, can, in turn, take on an addictive component that leads to more extreme and perhaps delusional-like attitudes and behav-

**TABLE 1. Literature Set Used for the Content Analysis of the 'Brush Bill Roberts' Narrative**

	Source	Connection to BB	Type
1.	Cooper (2020)	Independent researcher	Book
2.	Edwards (2014)	Independent researcher	Book
3.	Hall (2004)	Independent researcher	
4.	Haws (2015a)	Family member	Book
5.	Haws (2015b)	Family member	Book
6.	Hefner (1986/1996)	Independent researcher	Book
7.	Hefner (1991)	Independent researcher	Book
8.	Jameson (2005/2008)	Independent researcher	Book
9.	Jameson (2017)	Independent researcher	Book
10.	Jameson (2018)	Independent researcher	Book
11.	Jameson and Bean (1998)	Independent researcher	Book
12.	Sonnichsen and Morrison (1955/2015)	Personal attorney	
13.	Tucker (2017)	Independent researcher	Book
14.	Tunstill (1988)	Independent researcher	Book
15.	Valdez and Hefner (1995)	Independent researcher	Book
16.	<a href="https://www.amarillopioneer.com/blog/2018/3/16/rossers-ramblings-brushy-bill-roberts-aka-billy-the-kid">https://www.amarillopioneer.com/blog/2018/3/16/rossers-ramblings-brushy-bill-roberts-aka-billy-the-kid</a>	Independent researcher	Website
17.	<a href="http://www.angelfire.com/mi2/billythekid/brushy.html">http://www.angelfire.com/mi2/billythekid/brushy.html</a>	Independent researcher	Website
18.	<a href="http://www.angelfire.com/nm/boybanditking/pageBrushy.html">http://www.angelfire.com/nm/boybanditking/pageBrushy.html</a>	Independent researcher	Website
19.	<a href="https://unsolvedmysteries.fandom.com/wiki/Brushy_Bill_Roberts">https://unsolvedmysteries.fandom.com/wiki/Brushy_Bill_Roberts</a>	Independent researcher	Website
20.	<a href="https://unsolvedmysteries.fandom.com/wiki/Brushy_Bill_Roberts_Timeline">https://unsolvedmysteries.fandom.com/wiki/Brushy_Bill_Roberts_Timeline</a>	Independent researcher	Website
21.	<a href="https://wiki2.org/en/Brushy_Bill_Roberts">https://wiki2.org/en/Brushy_Bill_Roberts</a>	Independent researcher	Website
22.	<a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brushy_Bill_Roberts">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brushy_Bill_Roberts</a>	Independent researcher	Website

iors needed to sustain an individual's satisfaction with the parasocial relationship. The findings of several studies are consistent with the tenets of this model (e.g., Houran et al., 2005; Maltby et al., 2002; Maltby et al., 2001).

Furthermore, research has specified certain risk factors that seemingly influence an individual's progression in the Rasch hierarchy which underlies the model. In fact, each of the hypothesized phases or intensity levels of celebrity worship shows some consistent and distinct correlates with various perceptual-personality variables and cognitive-emotional states (for a summary, see Lange et al., 2011, Table 7.2, p. 126). These collective patterns can potentially serve diagnostic purposes. As applied to a suspected case of extreme celebrity worship, for example, the trends noted above provide a template of standardized clues with which to evaluate an individual's attitudes, behaviors, and ostensible risk factors. Therefore, the CWS and its correlates essentially offer evidence-based screening criteria to infer the presence and intensity of celebrity worship.

## THE PRESENT STUDY

This paper describes a quali-quantitative analysis of the claims and activities of Brushy Bill Roberts, as derived from archival records, methodically compared to McCutcheon et al.'s (2002) Rasch model of celebrity worship and its known correlates. To study qualitative data scientifically, content (or thematic) analysis is often used to simplify complex text-based information into quantifiable data suitable for standardized comparisons or statistical analyses (Namey et al., 2008; Ryan & Bernard, 2000). More specifically, content analysis involves assigning a series of unique labels to sentences of a larger text that reference a particular thematic category of information that maps the "distinct phenomena into descriptive categories" (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 275).

Different techniques are available for such analyses, but we selected a Content Category Dictionary (CCD) approach. CCD is used to retest existing categories, concepts, or models in new contexts (Catanzaro, 1988). Previous stu-



dies have shown this to be an effective method when analyzing reports of unusual or anomalous experiences (e.g., Houran, 2013; O’Keeffe et al., 2019; Laythe, et al., 2021). We designed and implemented a two-tier, deductive protocol using a categorization matrix based on the original CWS measure and empirical literature on its known correlates. In this way, our procedure enabled records related to Brushy Bill to be mapped by experimentally blinded coders and then compared against three general hypotheses. If confirmed, these would cumulatively point to a likely case of extreme celebrity worship:

*Hypothesis 1:* Roberts’ reported attitudes and behaviors will correspond to a score >50 on the Rasch-based CWS measure, indicating an above-average (and possibly a clinically relevant) level of celebrity worship linked to Billy the Kid.

*Hypothesis 2:* Roberts’ sequence of reported attitudes and behaviors will align to the hierarchy of the Rasch-based CWS measure.

*Hypothesis 3:* Roberts’ psychosocial history will contain risk factors consistent with known correlates of higher levels of celebrity worship.

## MATERIALS AND METHODS

### Literature Set

Data derived primarily from archival records such as first-hand accounts, biographic material, news reports, or commercial treatises that we identified via a scoping review of relevant literature. This was done by first consulting four key sources of literature: (a) Google search of the first twenty entries using the terms “Brushy Bill Roberts claims to be Billy the Kid” ( $n = 20$ ), (b) Google scholar search with the terms “Brushy Bill Roberts and Billy the Kid” ( $n = 144$ ), (c) Reference list for the Wikipedia entry on “Brushy Bill Roberts” ( $n = 24$ )<sup>1</sup>, and (d) Amazon.com book search with the terms “Brushy Bill Roberts and Billy the Kid” ( $n = 15$ ). We conducted our searches with these four digital databases on the same date (14 July 2020). Second, a qualitative inspection of this literature set ( $n = 203$ ) screened out (a) overlapping references, (b) earlier versions of texts that were later updated, and (c) references that did not address Roberts’ claims or activities. These selection criteria yielded a final collection of 22 records (including both primary and secondary sources) for content analysis, comprising 15 books and 7 websites (see Table 1).

### Procedure

**CCD Coding.** We designed and implemented a two-tier, deductive protocol using a categorization matrix based on the original Rasch-based CWS (McCutcheon et

al., 2002), which uses a 5-point Likert scale (5 = ‘strongly agree’, 3 = ‘uncertain or neutral’, and 1 = ‘strongly disagree’) and shows excellent psychometric properties and acceptable reliability (the local Rasch reliabilities for the items range from .71 to .96). Note that the CWS has nuances with both computing raw scores and subsequently converting these to Rasch scaled scores. Specifically, before adding, the ‘1 to 5’ Likert ratings for Items 5, 13, 17, 19, 23, 29, and 31 are recoded as ‘0, 1, 1, 2, and 3’, respectively. The ratings of Items 3, 6, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21, and 24 are recoded as ‘0, 1, 1, 2, and 2.’ The panel initially rated items a ‘4’ when they had at least one mention or example per source, whereas they rated items a ‘5’ when there were at least three mentions or examples per source. The panel rated items a ‘3’ that lacked any reasonably clear support, or a ‘1 or 2’ when multiple mentions or examples clearly specified patterns opposite to the CWS items. These ratings were then averaged across the literature set to produce a ‘final (or aggregate)’ rating for each item before being recoded per the system noted above.

Next, we used a binary approach to code for the putative influence of 27 psychosocial correlates of celebrity worship via a study-specific checklist that extended Lange et al.’s (2011, p. 126) summary with more recent research findings (i.e., Ashe et al., 2005; Chia & Poo, 2009; Green et al., 2014; Maltby & Day, 2017; McCutcheon et al., 2004b, 2015, 2016; North et al., 2007; Reeves et al., 2012; Swami et al., 2011). A score of ‘0’ denoted a risk factor that was ‘Ostensibly Absent,’ whereas a score of ‘1’ indicated that a variable was ‘Ostensibly Present’ as supported by at least one mention or example per source. Note that risk factors can pertain to more than one of the three intensity levels of celebrity worship. We then summed the average ratings of these individual risk factors across the literature set. This produced a total score ranging from 0 to 27, with a higher value indicating more risk factors for a potential case of celebrity worship to intensify. Thematic classifications were done by two experimentally blind reviewers who were trained on the coding materials and made judgments collectively as an expert panel to enhance the reliability of the final classifications (see, e.g., Bertens et al., 2013).

## RESULTS

### Hypothesis 1: Aggregate Patterns in the Brushy Bill Case

Using the scoring system described above, the CCD mapping results summarized in Table 2 translated to a raw score of 29 and a corresponding Rasch scaled score of 63.7 ( $SE = 2.1$ ) on the CWS measure. This result slightly exceeds one standard deviation above the mean and thus suggests the possibility that Brushy Bill experienced, at the very

**TABLE 2. Rasch Hierarchy of Items in the Celebrity Worship Scale (McCutcheon et al., 2002, p. 75) Contextualized to the Literature Set for “Brushy Bill” Roberts (BB)**

<b>Celebrity Worship Scale Item</b>	<b>Average Rating by Expert Panel (1 = Strongly Disagree; 3 = Neutral; 5 = Strongly Agree)</b>	<b>Sample Evidence (Table 1 source: page no.)</b>
Did BB enjoy watching, reading, or listening to information about Billy the Kid?	4	1:345
Learning the life story of Billy the Kid was a lot of fun to BB?	3	n/a
Was keeping up with news about Billy the Kid an entertaining pastime for BB?	3	n/a
Did BB love to talk with others who admired Billy the Kid?	5	1:380
Did BB like watching and hearing about Billy the Kid when in a large group of people?	3	n/a
Did BB find it enjoyable just to be with others who liked Billy the Kid?	4	12:92
Did BB and his friends like to discuss what Billy the Kid had done?	4	1:382
Did BB feel compelled to learn what other people claimed were the personal habits of Billy the Kid?	4	3:149
For BB, was ‘following’ Billy the Kid like daydreaming because it took him away from life’s hassles?	3	n/a
Did BB have pictures and/or souvenirs related to Billy the Kid that he always keep in exactly the same place?	4	8:95
Did BB feel that the successes of Billy the Kid were his successes also?	4	12:50
When something bad happened to Billy the Kid, did BB feel like it happened to him?	4	12:96
Did BB have frequent thoughts about Billy the Kid, even when he didn’t want to?	3	n/a
When people talked about Billy the Kid dying, did BB feel (or felt) like he was dying too?	3	n/a
Did BB feel that the failures of Billy the Kid were his failures also?	4	3:22
When discussing something good that happened to Billy the Kid, did BB simultaneously feel like it happened to him?	4	12:50
Did BB seem obsessed by details of Billy the Kid’s life?	5	14:52

least, an Intense–Personal level of celebrity worship for Billy the Kid (cf. McCutcheon et al., 2002, pp. 74–76). This level is characterized by high psychological absorption versus addiction according to the Absorption-Addiction Model of celebrity worship. To clarify, absorption is “a disposition for having episodes of ‘total’ attention that fully engage one’s representational (i.e., perceptual, enactive, imaginative, and ideational) resources” (Tellegen & Atkinson, 1974, p. 268). Simply put, this entails the cognitive capacity for involvement in sensory and imaginative experiences in ways that alter a person’s perception, memory, and mood with behavioral and biological consequences. Moreover, people often seek states of absorption as a form of escape or distraction (e.g., Dixit et al., 2020; Jameson et al., 2011; Lange et al., 2022).

### **Hypothesis 2: Brushy Bill’s Chronology Compared to the Celebrity Worship Scale**

McCutcheon et al.’s (2002) Rasch model of celebrity worship indicates that fans progress along a structured continuum, whereby benign attitudes and behaviors precede increasingly stronger or extreme attitudes and behaviors. This general pattern specifically involves the chain of ‘solitary behaviors → group behaviors → solitary behaviors.’ Unfortunately, to our knowledge there is no indisputable and comprehensive chronology of Roberts’ attitudes, claims, and behaviors concerning Billy the Kid. Thus, we could not rigorously test Hypothesis 2 as planned. But the available literature distinctly implies that Roberts talked about his identity as Billy the Kid to select people prior to

him speaking to William Morrison and subsequent others more widely. It also appears that Roberts began to back-track or deflect somewhat the more that his claims were publicized and scrutinized. Our observation, if correct, could have several explanations, so we draw no firm conclusions. However, this apparent behavior of “beginning privately, becoming more public, and then retreating to oneself” could be construed as generally consistent with the Rasch pattern above. But in the end we cannot confidently affirm this hypothesis due to vague or incomplete information.

### Hypothesis 3: Brushy Bill’s Psychosocial Pressures for Celebrity Worship

Assessing the potential presence of risk factors for celebrity worship in Roberts serves as a valuable cross-check of Hypothesis 1. That is, a given fan should theoretically exhibit certain tangential attitudes and behaviors that coincide with his/her apparent intensity level of celebrity worship. Important deviations from these known patterns, in contrast, could be construed as evidence against a particular intensity level of celebrity worship. For example, identifying a majority of known correlates to the ‘Intense–Personal’ level of celebrity worship would arguably corroborate the conclusion from Hypothesis 1, whereas finding a majority of known correlates only to the ‘Entertainment–Social’ or ‘Borderline Pathological’ levels would presumably undermine that conclusion.

Using the scoring system described earlier, the mapping results summarized in Table 3 produced a final score of 16.4, which noticeably exceeds the median score (i.e., 13.5) on our checklist of psychosocial correlates of celebrity worship. Note that while the panel identified reasonable indications of risk factors spanning the three intensity levels of celebrity worship, most of these specifically coincided with the ‘Entertainment–Social’ phase (71% of the risk factors present), whereas the expert panel identified 44% of the ‘Intense–Personal’ risk factors and 47% of the ‘Borderline Pathological’ risk factors, which are the more extreme phases of celebrity worship, respectively, in McCutcheon et al.’s (2002) Absorption-Addiction Model. These trends generally agree with Hypothesis 3, albeit we would have expected a more distinctive pattern of ‘Intense–Personal’ risk factors outnumbering those for the ‘Borderline Pathological’ phase. Still these results imply that Roberts’ focus on Billy the Kid was predominantly rooted in leisure, escapism, although to a good extent it also involved compulsory thoughts and addictive behaviors. This might mean that Roberts’ putative celebrity worship was in a transitory period from the ‘Intense–Personal’ to ‘Borderline Pathological’ level and could have thus intensified if not for his sudden death.

## DISCUSSION

Researchers have long acknowledged the value of case studies (e.g., McWhinney, 2001; Solomon, 2006; Thomas, 2011), which can be explanatory, descriptive, or exploratory. These are defined as the scientific documentation of a single clinical observation and have a time-honored and rich tradition in scientific publication. These reports represent a relevant, timely, and important study design in advancing scientific knowledge especially of rare conditions or phenomena. Advantages of this method include data collection and analysis within the context of a given phenomenon, integration of qualitative and quantitative information in analysis, and the ability to capture complexities of real-life situations so that the phenomenon can be studied in greater detail. Case studies do have certain disadvantages that may include lack of rigor, challenges associated with data analysis, and little basis for generalizations of findings and conclusions (for a discussion, see Hyett et al., 2014).

Likewise, our study of Brushy Bill Roberts was a retrospective and deductive analysis from the lone and narrow perspective of celebrity worship. The present analysis arguably offers new insights and information, but it cannot definitively resolve the identity or motivations of Brushy Bill Roberts. Indeed, our findings might have differed if the assessments and analyses had been conducted when Roberts was alive and had his full cognitive faculties to participate. More accurate information also would have derived from data collected via a time series format that included the periods prior to and during the wide publicization of the case circa 1950. In fact, we had originally intended to include information from structured interviews of individuals (e.g., family members or historians) with in-depth knowledge of Roberts’ claims and activities. The idea was to seek clues about his personality, mental state, social influences, and private actions immediately prior to and during his 1950 legal pursuits and then compare this information to the outcomes from our content analysis.

We were unable to find contact information for two suitable individuals, and regrettably several people we contacted either did not respond to our interview requests or declined to participate. This apparent lack of interest perplexes us. In one instance, Roy Haws stated that, “I appreciate your request, but there is *absolutely nothing I can add that is not in my book*. I wrote it six years ago, primarily for family reasons since Brushy (Oliver Pleasant Roberts) was my half great grand-uncle (my maternal great grandmother’s half-brother)” (personal communication to S. M. Houran, July 27, 2020, emphasis added). The assertion here is that an interview would have only garnered information that was superfluous or duplicative to his published mate-

**TABLE 3. Psychosocial Risk Factors of the Three Intensity Levels of Celebrity Worship (Expanded from Lange et al., 2011, p. 126) Assessed in the Literature Set for the 'Brushy Bill' Case**

Variable	Indicators May Include but Are Not Limited to . . .	Average Rating by Expert Panel (0 = not evident, 1 = ostensibly evident)	Sample Evidence (Table 1 source: page no.)
<b>Entertainment-Social (low intensity)</b>			
Eysenckian Extraversion (sociable, lively, active, venturesome)	Seeks out and enjoys the company of others, enthusiastic, talkative, assertive, gregarious, friendly, cheerful, seeks excitement, high activity levels.	1	1:176
Quest for Religiosity (among men)	Spiritual journeying, seeks religion as a quest for the truth, asks questions about spirituality, has doubts about spirituality.	0	9:160
Depression	Sad, low, moody, miserable, despondent.	.9	12:21
Tendency to savor experiences	Reminiscing about pleasant events, seeking to extend happy events, maximizes pleasant experiences.	.5	12:50
Reward responsiveness	Seeks rewarding outcomes, will take risks to achieve rewarding outcomes, will accept small rewards over no reward, obtains pleasure thinking about future rewards.	.1	12:23
Thin Childhood / Adolescence / Adult Boundaries	Very close to childhood memories and flexible in plans for one's future.	.8	9:69
Thin Boundaries re: Child-like Ideations	Very close to childhood feelings and appreciation for the sense of joy and wonder that children often have.	.9	12:7
<b>Intense-Personal (medium intensity)</b>			
Eysenckian Neuroticism (tense, emotional, moody)	Frequent mood swings, easily disturbed, worries about things, easily irritated, often feels down.	.9	14:52
Low Extrinsic-Personal Religiosity	Religious beliefs do not offer comfort, religious beliefs don't influence daily life, other things are more important than religion.	0	n/a
Low Extrinsic-Social Religiosity (among men)	Does not go to church to engage with friends, does not base whole life on religion, does not enjoy worshipping with others.	0	n/a
Anxiety	Fearful, nervous, apprehensive, uncertain, irritable, restless, can't sleep well, feels on edge.	.9	8:48
Depression	Sad, low, moody, miserable, despondent.	.9	12:21
Thin Childhood / Adolescence / Adult Boundaries	Very close to childhood memories and flexible in plans for one's future.	.8	9:69
Thin Organizations / Relationships Boundaries	Likes or prefers jobs with diverse duties that are not too strictly defined and believes that being flexible and adaptable is key to getting along with others at work.	.9	5:73
Thick Boundaries re: Personal and Physical Environments	Neither very sensitive to other people's feelings nor to environmental changes, such as loud noises or bright lights.	0	n/a
Reward responsiveness	Seeks rewarding outcomes, will take risks to achieve rewarding outcomes, will accept small rewards over no reward, obtains pleasure thinking about future rewards.	.1	12:23
Low agreeableness	Selfish, argumentative, competitive, individualistic, not helpful, not modest, won't compromise, manipulative.	1	8:49
Low enjoyment of solitude	Needs others, unhappy when alone, gets lonely easily.	1	14:44
Need for uniqueness	Seeks to be distinctive, likes to buy goods to help develop self-image, makes unusual judgements.	1	1:176



**TABLE 3 (continued). Psychosocial Risk Factors of the Three Intensity Levels of Celebrity Worship (Expanded from Lange et al., 2011, p. 126) Assessed in the Literature Set for the 'Brushy Bill' Case**

Variable	Indicators May Include but Are Not Limited to . . .	Average Rating by Expert Panel (0 = not evident, 1 = ostensibly evident)	Sample Evidence (Table 1 source: page no.)
Poorer cognitive flexibility	Can't easily switch to thinking about different concepts, finds it difficult to focus on more than one thing.	.9	8:49
Materialistic values	Focuses on money, possessions, social standing, image, status.	.9	3:151
Stable and global attributions	Things don't change, there is nothing I can do about it, things are always like this, there's no point in trying as things always end up the same.	.3	12:28
Exploitativeness	Uses people for profit or advantage.	1	3:22
<b>Borderline Pathological (high intensity)</b>			
Eysenckian Psychoticism (impulsive, anti-social, ego-centric)	Prone to taking risks, engages in anti-social behaviours and activities, impulsive, non-conformist.	1	3:89
Poorer cognitive flexibility	Can't easily switch to thinking about different concepts, finds it difficult to focus on more than one thing.	.9	8:49
Poorer creativity	Doesn't generate or recognise new ideas or alternatives, stuck in the mud, can't easily solve problems, can't generate new possibilities well, can't entertain self easily.	.3	8:49
Thin Childhood / Adolescence / Adult Boundaries	Very close to childhood memories and flexible in plans for one's future.	.8	9:69
Thin Boundaries re: Child-like Ideations	Very close to childhood feelings and appreciation for the sense of joy and wonder that children often have.	.9	12:7
Thin Organizations / Relationships Boundaries	Likes or prefers jobs with diverse duties that are not too strictly defined and believes that being flexible and adaptable is key to getting along with others at work.	.9	5:73
Thick Boundaries re: Personal and Physical Environments	Neither very sensitive to other people's feelings nor to environmental changes, such as loud noises or bright lights.	0	n/a
Thick Interpersonal Boundaries	Tendency to be private and cautious with people; does not easily open up.	0	n/a
Need for uniqueness	Seeks to be distinctive, likes to buy goods to help develop self-image, makes unusual judgements.	1	1:176
Greater boredom proneness	Easily bored, easily lonely and sad, can become angry when alone, often finds life monotonous.	.6	3:121
Materialistic values	Focuses on money, possessions, social standing, image, status.	.9	3:151
External, stable, and global attributions	Things are never my fault, things don't change, there is nothing I can do about it, things are always like this, there's no point in trying as things always end up the same.	.3	12:29
Self sufficiency	Secure and content with self, a deep-rooted sense of inner completeness and stability.	.1	3:23
Vanity	Excessive pride in and overestimation of own merits and abilities, assumes others hold them in high regard, arrogant, conceited.	.2	12:11
Compulsive buying	Preoccupation with buying things, poor impulse control at shops.	0	n/a

rial. Haws' standpoint is undoubtedly sincere, but we challenge its premise. None of the sources from our scoping review overtly acknowledged or discussed the idea that Brushy Bill was exhibiting extreme celebrity worship of Billy the Kid. Plus, a good body of empirical literature to support model-building and theory-formation on fan psychology has been largely lacking until fairly recently. Thus, no one seems to have previously explored information and evidence directly pertinent to this hypothesis, much less had written about it. But we must also concede that our failed interview approach was a missed opportunity that might have helped to support or discredit our hypotheses. Overall, we are left to work with imperfect research protocols to assess 'noisy' data.

Nevertheless, our analysis produced some meaningful learnings that help to contextualize this case. Sonnichsen and Morrison (1955/2015) stressed the fundamental issue when they pondered, ". . . if *Brushy Bill Roberts* wasn't *Billy the Kid*, then who was he?" (p. 117). Impartial contemplation suggests three probable answers to this question, namely that the *Brushy Bill* narrative represents: (a) deliberate hoaxing, (b) pathological delusion, or (c) a non-pathological fantasy construction. Note that these ideas are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but each would need to explain how Roberts somehow had access to detailed (and presumably intimate or obscure) historical information about Henry McCarty. On one hand, having such knowledge aligns perfectly with the notion that Roberts was *Billy the Kid*. The higher CWS score found here can also be explained by this hypothesis; indeed, over-identification and empathy with a target celebrity essentially equates to the fan 'cloning' the celebrity. Then again, some authors note that Roberts' arcane knowledge about the *Kid* had been previously published by historians and therefore publicly available to interested parties (see, e.g., Haws, 2015b, pp. 82–83; Jameson & Bean, 1998, pp. 144–149).

In total, the simplest explanation is that *Brushy Bill* willfully perpetrated, or participated in, a deliberate hoax or fraud. The most common definition of fraud is "to get an advantage over another by false representations" which include "surprise, trickery, cunning and unfair ways by which another is cheated" (Albrecht et al., 2014, p. 7). But an accusation of fraud does not automatically illuminate Roberts' rationale or impulses in this scenario. For instance, Kakati and Goswami (2019) reviewed the motivations for fraud in financial contexts and found consistent support for a PICOIR model defined by the six variables of "pressure, incentive, capabilities, opportunity, integrity, and rationalization" (p. 92). Some persuasive evidence and argument suggest that several of these influences were present in this case (Cooper, 2020; Haws, 2015a, 2015b) and that various individuals might have conspired with Roberts in

a deceit (Cooper, 2020). Nevertheless, other notable motivations(s) could have been at play, including attention- or sensation-seeking behaviors or empathy and advocacy for the *Kid*. Any comprehensive solution proffered for Robert's identity must account for all aspects of his narrative, so a *generic allegation* of intentional fraud seems unsatisfactory to us at this time.

The rival notion that *Brushy Bill* was 'delusional' also entails critical nuances or complexities about his general mental health. There are different types and severity of delusions, although a grandiose delusion would be the obvious variety here. These are unfounded beliefs that one has special powers, wealth, status, mission, or identity (Knowles et al., 2011; Picardi et al., 2018; Sheffield et al., 2021) and thus would include cases of individuals who believe they are famous celebrities or historical figures. Grandiose delusions might be part of fantastic hallucinosis, which is a pathological mental state characterized by hallucinations. After persecutory delusions, grandiose delusions are reported to be one of the most common types of delusion in psychosis (Appelbaum et al., 1999) and the most common symptom in bipolar mania (Dunayevich & Keck, 2000; Goodwin & Jamison, 2007; Knowles et al., 2011; Turkington & Kingdon, 1996).

Theoretical discussions about grandiose delusions date back more than 100 years (Bleuler, 1911/1950; Freud, 1911), but they have been surprisingly neglected as a specific focus of research and clinical practice (Knowles et al., 2011). Manschreck (1995) broadly posited that an individual's culture, personal history, and experiences need to be considered when understanding the pathogenesis of delusions, but the dearth of research on grandiose delusions markedly contrasts with the extensive literature on other psychotic experiences such as persecutory delusions and auditory hallucinations. Regardless, we found no clear documentation of hallucinations, psychosis, or bipolar mania mentioned in terms of Roberts' medical history. This does not negate the possibility of a grandiose delusion in this case, but to our knowledge there is no compelling evidence that corroborates this hypothesis.

Finally, Roberts might have acted out a fantasy construction that gradually overshadowed his self and identity, or what might be called his 'personal myth' (Krupelnyska, 2020). This need not involve psychopathology per se and also could happen in ways apart from extreme celebrity worship. For instance, Caputo et al.'s (2021) systematic review of mirror- and eye-gazing phenomena indicated that experiences of derealization, depersonalization, or dissociated identity can be induced even in healthy (non-clinical) individuals under certain environmental conditions, albeit not directly pertinent here. Other researchers have discussed autonomous identities during alienated agency or

creative dissociation. This could include instances of ‘psychic mediumship’ (Cunningham, 2012; Maraldi & Krippner, 2013; Pasi, 2016) or fiction writers who experience their characters as having ‘minds of their own’ (Foxwell et al., 2020; Taylor et al., 2003; Watkins, 1990). Researchers have likewise noted ‘independent agency’ in some accounts of childhood imaginary companions (Laythe et al., 2021; Little et al., 2021; Taylor, 1999). But similar to the issue of psychotic-type delusions above, we found no indications of marked dissociation, much less dissociative identity disorder, aside from Roberts’ esoteric claim of being Billy the Kid. Indeed, research suggests that dissociation-related behavior is associated only with the ‘Borderline Pathological’ phase of celebrity worship (Maltby et al., 2006).

Rather than manifesting a dissociated identity, however, we ponder whether Roberts exhibited a form of escapism, identity diffusion, or self-distancing by knowingly adopting the persona of Billy the Kid as an *alter ego*. Self-distancing involves visualizing events from the perspective of an observer and creating psychological distance from an experience or situation. This can take a simple form, such as thinking about or discussing experiences using ‘third-person’ language (Nook et al., 2017). Embracing a self-distancing perspective generally promotes a big picture view, allowing one to recognize that life events do not always meet personal expectations (Grossmann, 2017; White et al., 2019). There is also some evidence that this perspective can empower individuals. For instance, White and Carlson (2015) found that psychological distancing can have an important influence on the conscious control over both thoughts and actions. Equally, Herman (2019) documented several cases of people who successfully assumed alter egos to enhance their motivation, confidence, or performance, including salespeople, entertainers, athletes, business executives, and historical figures.

The psychology of alter egos seemingly resembles the over-empathy or over-identification intrinsic to higher levels of celebrity worship. That said, famous personalities are not the only targets for character formation in this context. For example, police impersonators (or ‘cop wannabes’) are a well-known, though poorly understood, phenomenon (Rennison & Dodge, 2012). The same can be said for instances of ‘stolen valor’ in which a person falsely represents their military service and specifically having been awarded a military honor (Weisz, 2016). Both behaviors are a form of identity theft that seem to be motivated, in part, by the lure of authority and ego enhancement (Rennison & Dodge, 2012). Yet irrespective of the specific characters that people select as alter egos, we expect that McCutcheon et al.’s (2002) Absorption-Addiction Model can help to explain the process(es) underlying their creation or maintenance. This idea deserves further exploration, as research

along these lines could potentially yield important insights for theory and practice in addressing aberrations or disruptions in people’s sense of self and identity that sometimes apparently coincide with a search for distraction, escapism, or meaning relative to psychosocial stressors (see e.g., Houran et al., 2005; Maltby et al., 2004).

Based on our evaluation of the available information, we propose that Brushy Bill Roberts fundamentally had no less than an ‘Intense–Personal’ level of celebrity worship in which he became psychologically absorbed with Billy the Kid and then consciously adopted him as an alter ego. This idea is more parsimonious to us than dogmatic positions that his story was a pure hoax or delusion. We further presume that this hypothesized shift in Roberts’ self and identity was sincerely experienced and expressed to others without fraudulent intentions. Perhaps the most telling aspect that lends some credence to this interpretation is the fact that Roberts was friends with one or more other individuals who likewise claimed to be important historical figures ‘in hiding.’ To be sure, the small Texas town of Granbury seems to be a hotbed of such claims that include people who purported to be John Wilkes Booth and Jesse James (Herr, 2011; Hightower, 1978; Kirby et al., 2002)—a virtual fan club of devotees that, in our view, strongly suggests that we are dealing with a socially-driven, alter-ego phenomenon in which Roberts was immersed. Of course, it is also possible, and maybe even likely, that certain people actively coached, instructed, or otherwise helped to reinforce or sensationalize his Billy the Kid persona for fame or fortune (see e.g., Cooper, 2020). Overall, we do not think that Roberts’ case is convincingly explained by a single factor or motivation, whether it be hoaxing or celebrity worship.

More broadly, one positive outcome is that this study underscores the paucity of robust research and behavioral models for self and identity anomalies related to grandiose delusions, creative dissociation, and alter-ego personalities. Accordingly, future research should explore the potential interrelationships among these phenomena. This line of research could examine how their corresponding mediators or moderators relate to the ‘Intense–Personal’ and ‘Borderline Pathological’ levels of celebrity worship, which routinely involve strong empathy and over-identification with target personalities. It seems likely that this framework of interactions holds the most prudent answer to the mystery of Brushy Bill above and beyond any charges of deliberate fraud. Furthermore, this view might predict that modern-day fans with higher levels of celebrity worship will likewise exhibit subtle or severe forms of alter-ego behavior or other anomalies in their self and identity that occur apart from the socially accepted forums of fandom conventions or cosplay activities. But even assuming the

validity of our ‘celebrity worship—alter ego’ hypothesis, Roberts’ case remains unsolved to the extent that his reasons for specifically targeting Billy the Kid are unclear.

Our conclusions are tempered by several important limitations. First, modifying the CWS to guide a content analysis of attitudes and behaviors recounted, in part, by third parties could be criticized as an exceedingly speculative or tenuous approach. The counterpoint, of course, is that this was the only option since Roberts’ death prevented direct assessments of salient variables, which is standard practice in celebrity worship studies (Lange et al., 2011). Second, the CCD mapping exercise was perhaps not optimal. Although we used impartial researchers to control for experimenter bias with the ratings (Sheldrake, 1998), it could be argued that Brushy Bill biographers or scholars would have been more appropriate or accurate coders of the literature set. It should be noted, however, that most of these scholars tend to be sharply polarized as either advocates or detractors of Roberts’ claims. Thus, this latter tactic may not have produced results that were any more balanced or accurate than our findings. Still this type of strict or conceptual replication might be useful to pursue in the interest of corroborating, fine-tuning, or refuting our results. A good illustration of this is the important question of why there were slightly more apparent risk factors for the ‘Borderline Pathological’ phase of celebrity worship than the ‘Intense–Personal’ phase, as this observation does not perfectly fit the Absorption-Addiction Model. Still, our checklist of risk factors could have been incomplete, or the CCD exercise failed to detect all relevant variables due to insufficient detail.

Lastly, confounds often arise with naturally ‘noisy’ information, including latency effects with retrospective accounts and omissions, embellishments, or fabrications of some or all the key details. To be sure, our literature set had not been peer-reviewed for historical accuracy but instead consisted of commercial books and amateur websites that typically reflected the passionate stance of authors on this topic. Despite the obvious shortcomings of generally unvetted and retrospective data from primary and secondary sources, we contend that our findings cannot be summarily dismissed as artifacts of cursory or exploratory analyses or overreaching interpretations. Indeed, hypothesis-testing with quantitative methods yielded patterns that were largely consistent with theory-driven predictions. We should emphasize that, on balance, the outcomes seemed to reasonably support only two of our three hypotheses.

In closing, we do not maintain that the ‘Billy the Kid Museum’ or any of Robert’s advocates are deliberately exploiting or deceiving people who seek to experience or understand this part of the lore surrounding the Kid. Instead, we regard the Museum as a niche example of ‘heritage

tourism’ that parallels dark and paranormal tourism and its inherent association with historical sites entrenched in enduring emotion, tragedy, or mystery (for a discussion, see Puhle & Parker, 2021). From this perspective, activities such as books, documentaries, and museums devoted to the Brushy Bill enigma might be considered a form of what folklorists call ‘ostension,’ or the acting out of a legend narrative in real life (Tosenberger, 2010). Whether his identity claims ultimately are true or not, Brushy Bill has become a tangible and relatable part of Billy the Kid’s narrative reality for modern history buffs and other enthusiasts. As a result, Sheriff Pat Garrett indeed—one way or another—never really killed Henry McCarty.

## IMPLICATIONS AND APPLICATIONS

This study lends further credence to the use of Rasch hierarchies and related analyses for diagnostic purposes, especially in the context of mapping anomalous, aberrant, or esoteric experiences (e.g., Houran et al., 2019; Lange et al., 2020; Lange et al., 2004). Qualitative and quantitative insights from such modeling tactics may further be paired with deep-learning approaches for added power and speed in categorizing behaviors (Kim et al., 2020). Moreover, future studies might affirm the Absorption-Addiction model of celebrity worship as a useful framework for the development or maintenance of alter ego behaviors or identity diffusion (and its measurement; see e.g., Goth et al., 2012). This certainly includes the social media phenomenon of *catfishing*, or when a person creates a fictional persona or fake identity to target and deceive specific victims (Simmons & Lee, 2020). We also suspect that this line of research can inform the tangential topics of *self-validation theory*, i.e., the cognitive and affective validation of one’s thoughts (see Briñol & Petty, 2021) and *avatars*, or the virtual representations of selves in artificial and mediated environments (Fong & Mar, 2015; Sah et al., 2021; Wu, 2013). People indeed tend to behave over time in ways consistent with their avatars’ characteristics, a phenomenon known as the Proteus effect (Ratan et al., 2020).

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information and data in this study are freely available to qualified researchers.

## NOTE

<sup>1</sup> Many authorities and online tutorials argue that Wikipedia is not a reliable source for academic writing or investigation, although it has been recognized as a useful first step in the research process (e.g., Tardy, 2010), and Wikipedia entries have been published in peer-reviewed articles (e.g., Odenwald, 2019). Given the pop culture nature of the Brushy Bill mystery, we deemed Wikipedia as one viable source for identifying independent literature to use in our content analysis.

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