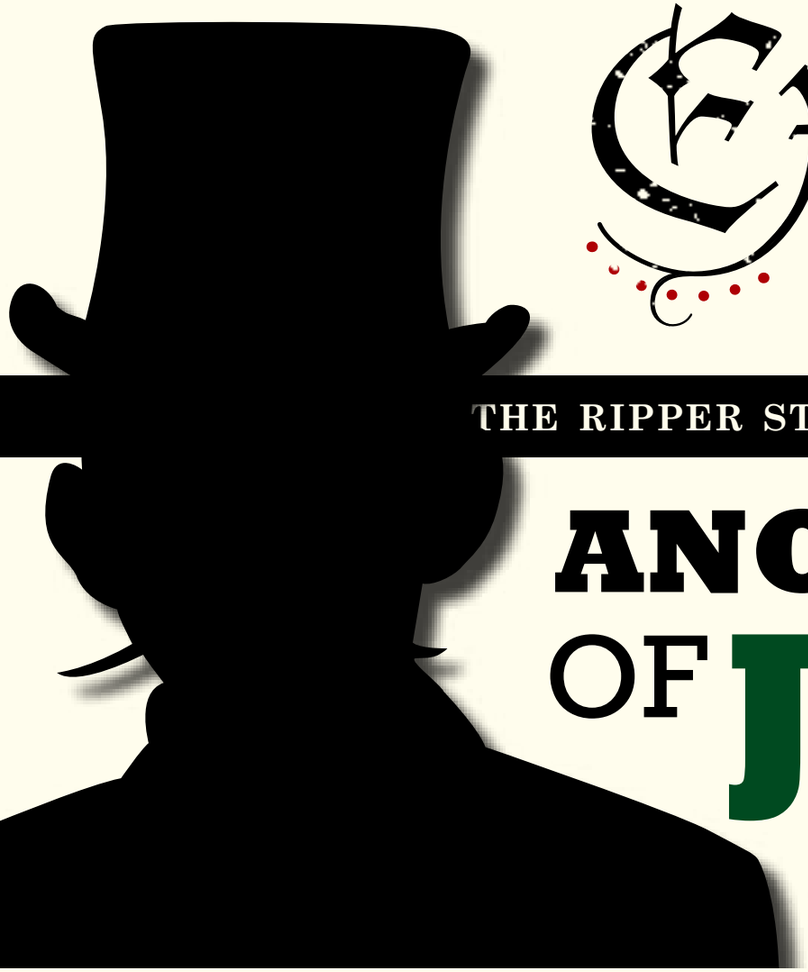
THE CASEBOOK
Examiner
issue two
June 2010

Inspector Andrews Part Two
R. J. Palmer

A Red Rose?
Stewart P. Evans

THE RIPPER STUDIES, TRUE CRIME & L.V.P. SOCIAL HISTORY



ANOTHER GLIMPSE OF JOSEPH LAWENDE

Presented by **Chris Phillips**

NOT JUST THE USUAL SUSPECTS!

Tom Wescott introduces us to Charles Le Grand

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FRIENDSHIP NEVER ENDS

JENNIFER SHELDEN

When we launched the *Casebook Examiner* in April, it was the result of team effort and an enterprise built on mutual respect, shared values and goals. The team at the *Examiner* is relatively small, though ever expanding. We continue to seek out, and delight in receiving, new articles and ideas from our fellow Ripperologists. All this under the certain knowledge that friendship, respect, shared values and understanding, such as between our team members, are in fact common place in Ripper World.

Don and I are a typical example of a strong Ripperological friendship. Indeed, my first email from Don was the first reply to my very first 'Inquest' survey for *Ripper Notes* (or so he assures me). This initial contact was way back in 2004 and since then we have communicated on a regular basis, often sharing the very type of information reserved for very close friends and yet we have still met only once. When I met Don, at the 2007 Wolverhampton Conference, we hit it off instantly, proving that on-line friendships are as real as any other and that what holds true in Ripper World also holds true in the real world. Of course, for me all other events at the Wolverhampton Conference were overshadowed by my meeting my husband, fellow Ripperologist Neal Shelden (yet another example of the real and Ripper worlds meeting). Don later told me he was not at all surprised when I told him about my new relationship because he had already worked out someone was in my sights. When Neal later claimed that one of the few things he remembered speaking to me at the conference was a survey of Ripperologists conducted by Don and me, it seemed to me that maybe I had more to thank Don for than I or he realised!

Despite the workload that comes along with getting an issue of the *Examiner* together and out, we still seem to find endless time to discuss nonsense — just as we always have and just as normal friends do. Don, is of course, an American, whereas I am a resident of England. This has led to several curious incidents, that made me conclude that English is not a universal language. One went something like this – "I am addicted to the Sugababes at the moment", "that can't be good for your teeth", to which I then had to explain at great length who the

Sugababes were, presumably (along with the *Youtube* links) this bored Don to death. Then Don explained that he assumed I had meant the Sugar Babies (apparently this is really a type of sweet in America) which I had never heard of, and assumed he had made up. It seems the Americans truly have missed out on the golden age of the Sugababes, but I digress. At least, we hope that this multinational face will help us understand the potential pitfalls of being divided by a common language. However, with England and America in the same group in the Football (Soccer) World Cup, the title of this editorial is indeed about to be truly tested anytime now.

One thing this has proved to me is that Ripperology, despite the often contentious debates, does succeed, time and time again, in bringing people together, in a way that would not have been possible at the turn of the last century. The advance in technology that is linked to our investigative journey, through forums such as *Casebook* and the *jtrforums.com* has helped me and many others establish not just research-based collectives but also true friendships and relationships. Indeed, many of the emails I send and receive each day come from Ripperologists who wish to talk to me not about Ripper research but about day-to-day chit-chat. On a wider scale, many of my friends on the *Facebook* social network are Ripperologists, with whom I now enjoy virtual farming, among other less serious pursuits. A commonality in Ripperology is, in my experience, to have friends whom we have met rarely, yet feel close to. In fact one of the few Ripperologists I actually see in person on a regular basis is my husband!

All this bodes well for the field as collaboration between Ripperologists can lead to avenues that would not otherwise be pursued. Indeed, some of the best and most interesting pieces of work produced recently have come in the form of collaborative efforts. I learnt myself that it can often be the case that two brains can get further than one in the act of talking through and discussing potential finds, much can be learnt. Some of the most respected books in the field, such as Evans and Skinner's *Sourcebook,* Begg, Fido and Skinner's *A to Z* and Evans and Rumbelow's *Scotland Yard Investigates* are the result of collaborations between established authorities. Meet-ups of Ripperologists, such as that mentioned in last issue's 'On the Case Extra', have become increasingly commonplace. Indeed, it seems to me, from viewing various communications from those who attended, that the latest 'job' (as they are affectionately called) created several more friendships among those who attended. It would have been almost impossible to have achieved this mix of established friends and those less well known to them in the pre-digital age. However, now a simple post like the 'job's' announcement on *Casebook* can lead to a mass meet-up of like-minded individuals. In fact, knowing who else is in the field and their specific case interests is easier now than ever before. This collaboration process is a lot easier in the digital age, in terms of both the effort to send communications and the ease at finding the relevant information to send that message. All you need is to PM the person on the *Casebook* and the process can begin, without the intrusion that one might feel in say, writing a letter, or even an email to that same person.

Now that we have launched we realise that the *Examiner's* friends are not just those who make up the

editorial, features and production team but also a whole network of others who have helped and contributed to the creation of our first two issues and who continue to help us shape future issues. As corny as it sounds, we truly feel that all these contributors and our subscribers who have so happily embraced us are our friends too. Which leads us to our articles for this issue, from RJ Palmer, Tom Wescott, Stewart Evans and a photographic treat for our readers thanks to the studious work of Chris Phillips. Once again they cover a varied selection of topics associated with the case. This issue also features news of an interesting project started by Trevor Bond who reports on it for *On the Case Extra* and yet another eye-opening photo essay from the ever helpful Rob Clack for his column, *Scenes of Crime.*

Finally, *Caseboook* regulars may indeed remember a phase I went through of using Spice Girls quotations for my signatures. This was something which subsequent discussion, I seem to remember, one poster commenting along the lines that five better substitutes to the Ripper victims they could not imagine! I happen to disagree with this mindset, but it did lead to a thought that, given the subject matter, something those icons of British nineties pop culture once said would be an apt title for this editorial. With this explanation I shall now sign off with a "zig – a – zig – ah!" And as this apparently can mean "whatever you want it to", I shall say that in this case it means, welcome to our second issue, we hope you enjoy it.

WELCOME TO OUR SECOND ISSUE, WE HOPE YOU ENJOY IT.

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Another Glimpse of Joseph Lawende

Chris Phillips

A CLOUD OF WITNESSES

Taken at face value, Sir Melville Macnaghten's comment in his famous memorandum, that "No one ever saw the Whitechapel murderer," must rank as one of the most surprising assertions made about the case by a senior officer.[1] Even if we restrict ourselves to the five "canonical" killings, there were at least five potential sightings of the killer and his victims together shortly before the murders. In the Aberconway version, Macnaghten qualifies his statement by adding "(unless possibly it was the City P.C. who was [on] a beat near Mitre Square)," but that only deepens the mystery, as there is no record of a suspect having been seen by either of the beat constables concerned.[2] For his part, Frederick Abberline had come to believe by 1903 that such witnesses as there were had seen the suspects only from behind.[3]

Certainly a number of witnesses were taken seriously by the police at the time of the murders. Donald Swanson prepared a table comparing the descriptions provided by four witnesses — Elizabeth Long, PC William Smith, Israel Schwartz and Joseph Lawende — in relation to the murders of Annie Chapman, Elizabeth Stride and Catharine Eddowes.[4] Of these, Elizabeth Long did not see the suspect's face, but the other three did, and the descriptions they gave were published in the *Police Gazette* on 19 October. And while modern-day Ripperologists have argued interminably about the credibility of a further witness, George Hutchinson, in relation to the murder of Mary Kelly, there is no doubt that Abberline believed at the time that he was telling the truth.[5]

But later a belief did grow up that there had been only one witness who was worth taking seriously. In February 1891 a report in the *Daily*

1. Stewart P. Evans and Keith Skinner; *The Ultimate Jack the Ripper Sourcebook*; Robinson (London 2001); p. 647.

2. Document in private hands, quoted by Paul Begg, Martin Fido and Keith Skinner; *The Jack the Ripper A-Z*; Headline (London 1996); p. 273.

3. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 24 March 1903; transcript at http://www.casebook.org/press_reports/pall_mall_gazette/19030324.html.

4. National Archives, MEPO 3/2890. 5. Stewart P. Evans and Keith Skinner; *The Ultimate Jack the Ripper Sourcebook*; Robinson (London 2001); p. 420.

Telegraph suggested that "[p]robably the only trustworthy description of the assassin" was the one given by a witness in Duke Street on the night of Eddowes's murder. The report added that this witness had confronted James Thomas Sadler, who was suspected of the murder of Frances Coles, but had failed to identify him.[6] In May 1895, according to a well-informed article in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, "there is one person whom the police believe to have actually seen the Whitechapel murderer with a woman a few minutes before that woman's dissected body was found in the street." Again, the witness had been asked to identify a suspect — William Grant Grainger, who had been convicted of wounding Alice Graham — and this time, according to the article, he had been successful.[7] Most notably, Sir Robert Anderson in 1910 claimed in his memoirs that "the only person who had ever had a good view of the murderer" had identified a Polish Jew — named in the Swanson Marginalia as Kosminski — but refused to give evidence against him.[8] The date of the alleged identification is unknown, but if it took place before Aaron Kozminski's committal to Colney Hatch, it must have predated the attempted identification of Sadler.

If these reports all refer to the same favoured witness — and of course opinions differ as to the identity of Anderson's witness — then it can only be Joseph Lawende. He was one of three men who, after leaving a club in Aldgate in the early hours of 30 September, saw a man and woman standing at the corner of Duke Street and Church Passage, about ten minutes before the body of Catharine Eddowes was discovered in Mitre Square nearby. Of the three, only Lawende was able to give a detailed description of the man, and although he had not seen the woman's face, he believed the clothes she had been wearing were those of Eddowes, which he was shown.

It is not entirely clear why Joseph Lawende should have become the police's favoured witness, particularly as he consistently expressed his doubts as to whether he would be able to identify the man he had seen. When asked at the inquest whether he would know him again, he replied "I doubt it." If anything this was more strongly expressed in later reports by James McWilliam ("Mr. Lewend ... says he does not think he should know the man again") and by Swanson ("Mr. Lamende states that he could not identify the man"),[9] and the same point was made in 1910 in the sometimes unreliable memoirs of Major Henry Smith, who wrote this of Lawende: "I think the German spoke the truth, because I could not "lead" him in any way. "You will easily recognize him, then," I said. "Oh no!" he replied; "I only had a short look at him." The German was a strange mixture, honest apparently, and intelligent also. He had heard of some murders, he said, but they didn't

6. *Daily Telegraph,* 18 February 1891, quoted by Stewart P. Evans and Donald Rumbelow; *Jack the Ripper: Scotland Yard Investigates*; Sutton (Stroud, Gloucestershire 2006); p. 251. 7. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 7 May 1895.

8. Sir Robert Anderson; *The Lighter Side of My Official Life*; Hodder and Stoughton (London 1910); p. 138, and annotations in Donald Swanson's copy of the book, now in the Crime Museum at Scotland Yard.

9. Stewart P. Evans and Keith Skinner; *The Ultimate Jack the Ripper Sourcebook*; Robinson (London 2001); pp. 201, 207, 259.

A "SERIOUS DRAWBACK" TO THE VALUE OF HIS DESCRIPTION.

seem to concern him."[10] Elsewhere, Swanson noted that the fact that Lawende identified only the clothes of Eddowes was a "serious drawback" to the value of his description.[11]

As for the other witnesses, PC Smith's importance may have been minimised because the estimated time of his sighting was earlier than Schwartz's, and might have been as much as half an hour before Stride's murder. And there have been suggestions that Schwartz's and Hutchinson's accounts might later have been discredited by the police, though hard evidence is lacking. One factor may have been Lawende's stable employment as a commercial traveller — at the time of the murders he had worked for more than five years for a firm of tobacco merchants in Fenchurch Street[12] — which probably made him easier to trace for future identification attempts than Schwartz and Hutchinson. We know of three such attempts only through chance references in newspaper reports and memoirs, not from official records, so there may well have been more. And naturally a witness who was used repeatedly in the years after the murders would stick in the minds of senior officers, while their memories of the others would tend to fade.

JOSEPH LAWENDE (OR LAVENDER)

Joseph Lawende was born in Warsaw in 1847, and came to England around 1871. He married in 1873 in the Congregation of the New Synagogue, at 15 Commercial Street, Annie Lowenthal, the London-born daughter of immigrants from Prussia. Over the next 24 years, Joseph and Annie would have 12 children. At the time of his marriage, Joseph was a cigarette maker by occupation, and was living in Tenter Street South in Goodman's Fields, where the family remained until about 1885. They adopted the anglicised surname of Lavender, though continuing to use the original spelling Lawende for some official purposes.

Around 1883, Joseph entered the employment of Messrs Gustav Kuschke and Co., of 99 Fenchurch Street, tobacco merchants, for whom he was a commercial traveller, which he remained for the rest of his life. About two years later he and his family moved north to 45 Norfolk Road, Dalston, where they were living at the time of the murders. They later lived at various addresses in Islington. Joseph died on 9 January 1925 at 16 Mildmay Park, and was

10. Henry Smith; *From Constable to Commissioner*; Chatto and Windus (London 1910); chapter 16; transcript at http://www.casebook.org/ripper_media/rps.constable.html.

11. Stewart P. Evans and Keith Skinner; *The Ultimate Jack the Ripper Sourcebook*; Robinson (London 2001); p. 138.

12. National Archives, HO 144/311/B6288.

buried at East Ham Cemetery. His widow Annie died in 1936.[13]

Joseph was survived by all 12 of his children, seven of whom had children of their own. When I began researching his family more than two years ago, it was natural to wonder what he might have told his children about his experience in 1888 and his part in the subsequent investigation, and what stories they might have passed down to their present-day descendants. Given the questions posed by a document handed down in one family — the Swanson Marginalia — was there any chance that some of the answers had been handed down in another?

My efforts received a fresh impetus when I learned that one of those descendants, Melanie Dolman, had herself contacted Adam Wood of *Ripperologist* magazine and sent him a photograph of Joseph and Annie in their old age, surrounded by their children, taken to mark their golden wedding anniversary in 1923.[13] Mrs Dolman wasn't sure whether her grandfather — Joseph's youngest child — had been aware of his part in the murder investigation or not.

Eventually I managed to make contact with descendants of four of Joseph's other children. As it turned out, the story *had* been handed down in some branches of the family, though unfortunately there was no information beyond what was already known. In other branches, there had been no knowledge at all of Joseph's involvement until it was rediscovered as a result of genealogical research. And finally it emerged that one of the family had already traced the genealogy thoroughly, was in contact with all Joseph's surviving grandchildren and great-grandchildren, and had actually organised a reunion of his descendants in London last year. He was able to assure me that no additional information about the case had been preserved in the family.

HAPPILY, THAT WASN'T QUITE THE END OF THE STORY...

13. For further details and source references, see the article on Joseph Lawende in the Casebook wiki section at http://wiki.casebook.org/index.php/Joseph_Lawende. 14. *Ripperologist,* no 87 (January 2008), pp. 2-5

Happily, that wasn't quite the end of the story, though. Recently I was delighted to receive from one of Joseph's descendants a scan of a photograph taken at the marriage of his daughter Rose (b. c. 1879) to Isidore Goodman Samuel in 1899. Joseph can be seen on the right at the back, standing next to his wife Annie. The bridesmaid sitting in the centre at the front is Joseph's youngest daughter, Ruby (b. 1894). I am most grateful to the owner of the photograph for permission to reproduce it here.

So although the investigation into Joseph Lawende's descendants hasn't brought to light any fresh information about the Whitechapel Murders, it has given us a much better idea of how he would have appeared on the night of his historic encounter in 1888.

JOSEPH LAWENDE 1899

Joseph Lawende (right)

Le Grand: The New Prime Suspect

Tom Wescott

> *If the murderer be possessed, as I imagine he is, with the usual cunning of lunacy, I should think it probable that he was one of the first to enroll himself amongst the amateur detectives.*
>
> *H.T., to the editor of the St. James Gazette, Nov. 16, 1888.*

Following the discovery of Annie Chapman's body in the yard of 29 Hanbury Street and an impassioned plea in the Sept. 8th, 1888 edition of the *Star*, calling for citizens to form themselves *'at once into Vigilance Committees'*, a handful of local businessmen wasted no time in rising to the challenge, and the Whitechapel Vigilance Committee (heretofore referred to as the WVC) was born.

The *Daily Telegraph* of Sept. 11th reported the formation of the committee and that *'meetings were held at the various working men's clubs and other organisations, political and social, in the district, at most of which the proposed scheme was approved and volunteers enrolled.'* Low on funds, all the patrolmen hired on by the committee were previously unemployed[1], and the headquarters for this newfound venture was located at the Crown Tavern at 74 Mile End Road, owned and operated by committee treasurer, Joseph Aarons.

The largest collection of able-bodied unemployed men to be found near the committee headquarters was the International Working Men's Educational Society (also 'Club', heretofore referred to as the IWEC) at 40 Berner Street, which was both a political and social club. The men of the IWEC would have been very familiar to Aarons and his colleagues as they regularly held outdoor rallies in Mile End Road, and it is unavoidable that the IWEC would have been among their first stops in gaining support and recruits. Although it has yet to be discussed in Ripper literature, outside of my published essays[2], there would have been a strong link between the WVC and the IWEC, with some men being involved in both organizations simultaneously.

Feeling themselves unqualified for the task of investigation, the WVC at some point in September hired two private detectives[3] who *'[held] themselves out as experts in the unraveling of mysteries.'*[4] The men gave their names as Charles Le Grand and J. H. Batchelor.

On Saturday, September 30th, at 1 o'clock in the morning, Louis Diemshitz discovered the body of 45-year-old prostitute, Elizabeth Stride, in the pathway leading into the backyard of 40 Berner Street. She had expired from a single cut to the throat. Eight hours later, at approximately 9 am, Police-Sergeant Stephen White, of H Division, knocked at the door of 44 Berner Street, where lived Matthew Packer, a fruitier by trade, along with his wife, and two lodgers, Sarah Harrison and Harry Douglas. White's interrogation was short and uneventful, and whatever answers he received were recorded in a notebook he carried for that purpose. The particulars as provided below are

1. 'Amateur Detectives at Work' feature in the *East London Observer*, Oct. 13th, 1888.

2. Previous to this, the WVC/IWEC connection was discussed in 'Jack and the Grapestalk—The Berner Street Mystery Pt. 1' in *Ripper Notes* No. 25, January 2006.

3.*Morning Advertiser*, Oct. 3rd, 1888. The article mentions three private investigators under hire of the WVC. The identity of the third man, if he ever existed, is unknown, but he was no longer with the committee by Oct. 13th, when the *East London Observer* published its feature on them, which described only two investigators.

4 'Amateur Detectives at Work' feature in the *East London Observer*, Oct. 13th, 1888.

DUTFIELDS YARD

from a report prepared by White on Oct. 4th.

I asked him what time he closed his shop on the previous night. He replied half past twelve [Note in margin reads:-? Half past 11] in consequence of the rain it was no good for me to keep open. I asked him if he saw anything of a man or woman going into Dutfields Yard, or saw anyone standing about the street about the time he was closing his shop. He replied "No I saw no one standing about neither did I see anyone go up the yard. I never saw anything suspicious or heard the slightest noise, and know [sic] nothing about the murder until I heard of it in the morning.

I also saw Mrs. Packer, Sarah Harris[on] and Harry Douglas residing in the same house but none of them could give the slightest information respecting the matter.[5]

What prompted PS White's superiors to request this report was a sensational article that appeared earlier that evening in the *Evening News*, to the effect that Matthew Packer had spoken to Elizabeth Stride and a man,

5. Unless otherwise noted, all quotations from the official Whitechapel murders police reports comes from *The Ultimate Jack the Ripper Companion*, Evans, Stewart P. & Paul Gainey, Carroll & Graf, 2000.

presumably her killer, and sold them grapes. If this was true, it meant that Packer had spoken to Jack the Ripper and the investigators had missed him, a fact that would deal a heavy blow to the already suffering reputation of the Metropolitan Police. This spectacular, though lengthy, report from the *Evening News* of October 4th was actually two reports — the first written on the information turned in by the private detectives; the second a follow-up interview with Packer by the newspaper's 'Special Commissioner'. It is highly unlikely the *Evening News* were in on the trick with Le Grand and Packer, or were even aware of the subterfuge, but the scoop was so good that they're sure to have turned a blind eye to any mutterings or details that otherwise should have set off alarm bells. It is also possible that Le Grand was himself the 'Special Commissioner', as it would be odd for the newspaper to commission yet another person outside of their offices when they could have sent a trusted staff reporter.

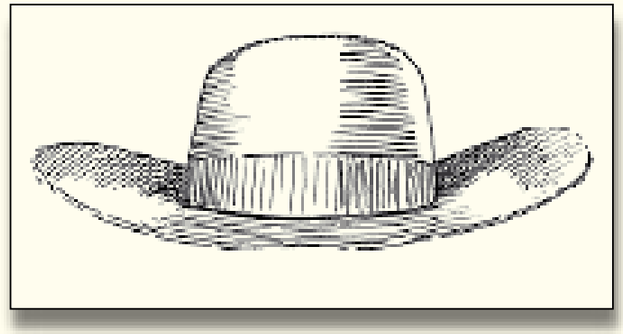
The substance of Packer's story as related in the first section of the report (that belonging to the private detectives), describes 'Messrs. Grand & J.H. Batchelor' arriving in Berner Street and going almost straight to number 44 where Packer, apparently with no inducement, started telling them everything he knew. He stated that at 11:45 pm on Friday, the 29th, a man and a woman came to his window and purchased some grapes. He described the man as *'...middle aged, perhaps 35 years; about five feet seven inches in height, stout, square built; wore a wideawake hat and dark clothes; had the appearance of a clerk; had a rough voice and a quick, sharp way of talking.'* Regarding the woman, he said she was middle-aged and wearing dark clothing. Because it was dark outside, and the only light available came from an oil lamp he had burning inside, a white flower she wore on her bosom stood in contrast to the darkness and drew his particular attention. He had the following conversation with the man:

The man asked his companion whether she would have black or white grapes; she replied "black."

"Well, what's the price of the black grapes, old man?" he inquired.

"The black are sixpence and the white four pence," replied Packer.

"Well then, old man, give us half a pound of the black," said the man. Packer served him with the grapes, which he handed to the woman. They then crossed the road and stood on the pavement almost directly opposite to the shop for a long time more than half an hour.



Wideawake Style Hat

Watching the couple across the street, Packer remarked to his wife, *"What fools those people are to be standing in the rain like that."* The couple shortly crossed the road and stood in front of the IWEC, apparently listening to the music. According to the report, it was now 10 or fifteen minutes after midnight, although if the couple came to his window at 11:45 and stood across the road for more than 30 minutes, it could have been no earlier than 12:20 am that they crossed the street to the club. Packer says he fixed the time by the closing of the public houses, by which he would have meant the Nelson

beerhouse a few doors down from him at the corner of Berner and Fairclough streets.

Following three interviews, the private detectives had Packer sign a sworn statement to the foregoing and then, to test his accuracy, told him they were taking him to identify Stride's body, when in fact they took him to view that of Catherine Eddowes. He denied she was the woman he saw, but immediately identified Stride when shown her corpse. It was here that PS Stephen White made first contact with Packer and the PI's. His report recalls the meeting.

On 4th Inst. I was directed by Inspr. Moore to make further inquiry & if necessary see Packer and take him to the mortuary. I then went to 44 Berner St. and saw Mrs. Packer who informed me that two Detectives had called and taken her husband to the mortuary. I then went towards the mortuary when I met Packer with a man. I asked where he had been. He said, "this detective asked me to go to see if I could identify the woman.["] *I said "have you so," he said "Yes, I believe she bought some grapes at my shop about 12. o clock on Saturday.*["] *Shortly afterwards they were joined by another man. I asked the men what they were doing with Packer and they both said that they were Detectives. I asked for their Authority one of the men produced a card from a pocket Book, but would not allow me to touch it. They then said that they were private detectives. They then induced Packer to go away with them.*

Upon returning to Berner Street, the two PI's set about finding corroborative evidence for Packer's tale, and this they found in abundance and in record time. Knocking at 14 Berner Street, the men spoke to Mrs. Rosenfield and her sister, Eva Harstein. Mrs. Rosenfield stated that she passed through Dutfield's Yard early on Sunday morning and saw a bloody grapestalk. Ms Harstein, who apparently was present in the yard before Stride's body was removed, corroborated her sister's story and added that after removal of the body she saw 'a few small petals of a white natural flower' near where the body had laid. Knowing that the yard had been washed down following the removal of Stride's body and following a hunch, the detectives searched the club's gutter and in the refuse discovered a grape stalk.

Their case was closed.

Regarding the 'Special Commissioner' of the *Evening News*, he conducted a rather leading interview with Packer and relayed it in the most dramatic terms possible. Packer's man's age regressed a bit to 30-35, and Stride now carried the flower in her hand as opposed to wearing it in her bosom. The couple's movements also changed a bit, with them first going in front of the club for a few minutes before passing to the other side of the street to stand in the rain for a half an hour or so. But the most sensational part of the interview is as follows:

"Well, Mr. Packer, I suppose the police came at once to ask you and your wife what you knew about the affair, as soon as ever the body was discovered."

"The police? No. They haven't asked me a word about it yet!!! A young man in plain clothes came in here on Monday and asked if he might look at the yard at the back of our house, so as to see if anybody had climbed over. My missus lent him some steps. But he didn't put any questions to us about the man and the woman."

"I am afraid you don't quite understand my question, Mr. Packer. Do you actually mean to say that no detective or policeman came to inquire whether you had sold grapes to any one that night?

Now, please be very careful in your answer, for this may prove a serious business for the London police."

"I've only got one answer," said the man "because it's the truth. Except a gentleman who is a private detective. No detective or policeman has ever asked me a single question nor come near my shop to find out if I knew anything about the grapes the murdered woman had been eating before her throat was cut!!!"

This would certainly have been news to PS White, who, intent on having his meeting with Packer, returned to Packer's residence later that same day. His report, filed later that evening, records yet another abortive attempt.

About 4p.m. I saw Packer at his shop and while talking to him the two men drove up in a Hansom Cab, and after going into the shop they induced Packer to enter the Cab stating that they would take him to Scotland Yard to see Sir Charles Warren.

From inquiry I have made there is no doubt that these are the two men referred to in attached Newspaper cutting, who examined the drain in Dutfield's Yard on 2nd Inst. One of the men had a letter in his hand addressed to Le Grand & Co., Strand.

While the idea that Packer could simply waltz in and demand an interview with the Commissioner of Police is laughable, it nevertheless has become largely accepted in Ripper lore through repetition. In reality, Packer met with an inspector, most probably Frederick George Abberline, who prepared a report, the substance of which is provided in a summary by Senior Assistant Commissioner, Alexander Carmichael Bruce. The two detectives, for good reason, would not have accompanied Packer inside the station, so he would now for the first time have to deliver his story to the inspector most familiar with the particulars of the crime. The results are quite telling.

Matthew Packer

Keeps a shop in Berner St. has a few grapes in window, black & white.

On Sat night about 11p.m. a young man from 25-30 – about 5.7. with long black coat buttoned up – soft felt hat, kind of Yankee hat rather broad shoulders – rather quick in speaking. rough voice. I sold him ½ pound black grapes 3d. A woman came up with him from Back Church end (the lower end of street) She was dressed in black frock & jacket, fur round bottom of jacket a black crape bonnet, she was playing with a flower like a geranium white outside & red inside. I identify the woman at the St. George's mortuary as the one I saw that night –

MATTHEW PACKER

They passed by as though they

were going up Com-Road, but – instead of going up they crossed to the other side of the road to the Board School, & were there for about ½ an hour till I shd. say 11.30. talking to one another. I then shut up my shutters.

Before they passed over opposite to my shop, they wait[ed] near to the club for a few minutes apparently listening to the music.

I saw no more of them after I shut up my shutters. I put the man down as a young clerk. He had a frock coat on – no gloves. He was about 1½ or 2 or 3 inches - a little higher than she was.

Packer's middle-aged man has now become a 'young man from 25-30'; unless Jack the Ripper was Benjamin Button, it's safe to say that Packer, when having to act on his own, was not a sufficient liar. As Abberline personally took the statements of any potentially important witnesses associated with the Berner Street murder, it is probable that he took Packer's as well; evidence of this is in how 'square built' from the news report becomes 'broad-shouldered' — a well-known Abberlineism — in the police statement. Only hours earlier, Packer had told PS White that the man bought grapes at 'about 12 am', but here it becomes 11 pm. This would have less to do with Packer's poor memory and more with Abberline's knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the murder; the moment that Packer stated the couple bought grapes at 'about midnight' and stood for 30 minutes in the rain, Abberline would have reminded him that the rain let up after 11pm and stopped altogether around 11:30 pm, forcing Packer to back-peddle and concede that his conversation with Stride and her man must have happened at 11 pm. Abberline would also have been aware that Stride's clothing was bone-dry when found at 1 am, meaning she could not have stood in the rain for any length of time within only two hours before her discovery. For these reasons, Packer could not be believed, not even by the man who would later accept George Hutchinson's statement at face value. When further questioning of Louis Diemshitz and others present in Dutfield's Yard following the discovery of the murder proved that no grapes were seen in the hand of the victim, and the medical reports proved she had not consumed grapes (the idea given by some writers that she unfailingly spit out all seeds and skins is, in my opinion, preposterous), it would become clear beyond a doubt that Packer's entire story was a fabrication.

In Chief Inspector Donald Swanson's well-known and crucial report of Oct. 19th, he summarizes Packer's statement and offers the following assessment:

Mr. Packer when asked by the police stated that he did not see any suspicious person about, and it was not until after the publication in the newspapers of the description of man seen by the P.C. that Mr. Packer gave the foregoing particulars to two private enquiry men acting conjointly with the Vigilance Comtee. and the press, who upon searching a drain in the yard found a grape stem which was amongst the other matter swept from the yard after its examination by the police & then calling upon Mr. Packer whom they took to the mortuary where he identified the body of Elizabeth Stride as that of the woman. Packer who is an elderly man[6], has unfortunately made

6. Packer was 59 years old, but likely appeared older.

different statements so that apart from the fact of the hour at which he saw the woman (and she was seen afterwards by the P.C. & Schwartz as stated) any statement he made would be rendered almost valueless as evidence.

If Swanson was being generous to Packer in his summary, his superior, Junior Assistant Commissioner, Dr. Robert Anderson, did not mind revealing his bitter annoyance in a report dated Oct. 23rd, which read in part, *'… the activity of the Police has been to a considerable extent wasted through the exigencies of sensational journalism, and the action of unprincipled persons, who, from various motives, have endeavoured to mislead us.'* It is not known if the police spoke with Mrs. Rosenfield and Eva Harstein regarding their roles in the mystery play, but as their names and addresses were made available in the *Evening News* report, it would be remarkable if they had not. Whether the sisters kept with their story or sang like birds can only be guessed at, but Anderson's comment referencing the press, various 'unprincipled persons', and different motives, is a strong indicator they traced the entire subterfuge back to the two private detectives. This should not have been hard to figure out, as it was they who sought out Packer, sought out the sisters, 'found' the grapestalk, and sold the story to a newspaper. The question the police should have asked at the time, but wouldn't until much later, is '*Why* did the two men go to such trouble to perpetrate this hoax'?

PICKING UP THE SCENT

For more than 100 years, writers on the case have either accepted Packer's story at face value, or, deciding it well and truly quashed by the police at the time, ignored it in favor of more reliable evidence. Nobody gave it much thought or took a closer look at the people involved. That is, until August of 1998 and the publication of issue 18 of *Ripperologist* magazine, which contained a short piece by researcher Gerry Nixon entitled 'Le Grand of the Strand'.

Nixon published the details of some newspaper reports he had uncovered regarding private detective Charles Le Grand. He revealed that Le Grand had been known to police using many aliases, had been convicted numerous times for theft, blackmail, and for writing threatening letters. Curiously, these letters (including one in 1887 to Commissioner Charles Warren) were usually written in red ink and sometimes with a postscript in a different color, reminiscent of the first 'Jack the Ripper' letters. Nixon suggested Le Grand as a possible suspect, drawing attention to the line in the 'Dear Boss' letter that mentions his name, *'Grand work the last job was…'*

However, aside from mentioning that Le Grand tried to throw an arresting officer under a train, Nixon failed to demonstrate that Le Grand was anything other than an unscrupulous thief, and presented little reason for anyone to take him seriously as a Ripper suspect. Probably for this reason, the article — an impressive achievement in research — passed by with absolutely no comment on the Internet and only one 'letter to the editor' at *Ripperologist*, this being from renowned Ripper author, Paul Begg, who provided additional details about Le Grand, culled from the illustrated circular of the Sept. 8th, 1884 edition of the *Police Gazette*, issued by then Assistant Commissioner James Monro. Only Begg knows why he chose not to include these crucial details under Le Grand's entry (as *Grand, Mr. or Le Grand*) in the various editions of *Jack*

the Ripper A to Z, the most recent edition published only two years prior.

With issue 28, Begg took the reins as editor of *Ripperologist*, and was suitably impressed with Nixon's work to publish it as a 'From the Archives' reprint in number 42, August of 2002.[7] Once again, the article failed to garner any comment at all from the Ripper community. I was a subscriber to the magazine at this time and read the article, but admit I thought little of it. This is no slight on Nixon's groundbreaking work, but perhaps a small condemnation of we Ripperphiles being too busy chasing tired suspects or minding the old canard that 'all roads lead to Dorset Street'. As for myself, I was busy at the time shadowing Robert Donston Stephenson, and had little time to consider the misgivings of a character whose only attachment to the Ripper mystery is through the long-ago disqualified tale of a bumbling old fruit salesman, who, as was generally believed, made up the whole thing simply for publicity.

Before long, I came to realize that Stephenson's 'road' led only to a comfy bed at the London Hospital, and setting aside all interest in suspects, decided to focus my attention on a thorough study of the entire investigation. At this time, most focus in the Ripper community seemed to be on Mary Kelly and the shady characters hanging around Dorset Street, but I came to feel strongly that if the Ripper had slipped up and left us a clue to his identity, it would be on the night of the 'double event', so I set about sifting through the evidence, certain there was much more information, hidden just below the surface, waiting to be pulled out into the light. I couldn't have been more correct.

As my research continued I developed a particular interest in the Stride case, not only because there was so much going on with the various witnesses and the socialist club, but also because no one else (at this time) seemed to be looking there, and many commentators were even dismissing Stride as a Ripper victim, often for all the wrong reasons. I decided to narrow my focus even further and learn all I could about the people and events surrounding the murder of Liz Stride. It is my experience that when you delve into research with a new, sharp focus, you will *always* discover things you didn't notice before, no matter how familiar the material.

It was 2005 and I vaguely remembered an article I had read a few years before about the private detective who interviewed Packer, so I kept my eye out for it as I rifled through my box of *Ripperologist* magazines (which, thanks to a lucky Internet purchase, was a complete set). When I got to issue 18, I hit pay dirt. What had previously been an entertaining but anticlimactic read suddenly hit me like a lightning bolt, and I found myself asking questions that no one, not even Gerry Nixon, had thought to ask before.

It occurred to me how absurd it was to think that Matthew Packer could have engineered the deceit that had attached itself so firmly to his name. He was, after all, merely a simple fruitier and family man, getting on in years. Is it really conceivable that he could have dreamt up such a tale, convinced the two sisters to go along

7. He would re-publish it a third and fourth time in the Dissertations section of *Casebook.org*, and in the book, *Ripperology: The Best of Ripperologist Magazine*, Barnes & Noble, 2006.

with it, and most importantly, have succeeded in deceiving a career criminal such as Le Grand? The answer is, of course, no.

It was simple enough to conclude that Le Grand had engineered the conspiracy, but why would he have done so? The obvious answer is money. After all, Nixon's expose made it quite clear that there was very little Le Grand wouldn't do in his pursuit of more cash. But this didn't make sense either, as he would only have been paid a single commission from the *Evening News* for his story, and it certainly would have taken more than charm alone to coax Packer and the two sisters into lying to the press and police. If anything, he would have been out of pocket with payola when all was said and done. And should his lie be exposed, he risked not only his position with the Vigilance Committee, but also attracting the attention of the police, who would not take kindly to someone slowing their investigation down and making them appear incompetent to the world, particularly if that someone happened to be a con who was already wanted for failing to appear while on probation.

I thought perhaps he could have perpetrated the ruse for publicity's sake, to get more business coming in the door at his office in the Strand. But later research would put a stop to that idea, as it soon became clear that he never operated legitimately as a private detective in the first place, but invented the guise for blackmailing purposes and other illegal ventures. Also, the *Evening News* report of Oct. 4th, 1888, is to date only one of two occasions where Le Grand allowed his name to be mentioned. This is remarkable, given the opportunity presented to him by being an integral part of the press-friendly WVC. It seems that he went out of his way to *avoid* publicity.

And the questions kept on coming.

If Le Grand wasn't a legitimate private detective, why did he seek out a position with the WVC, which didn't have the means to pay him all that much, and certainly less than he could have earned through more corrupt channels? Why spend his evenings training recruits and his nights walking the dark, wet streets of the East End when he could have been at his gambling den or his brothel, surrounded by beautiful (comparatively speaking) women? None of it made any sense, unless…

If money and publicity were not to be gained by the lie, and liberty and money stood to be lost, what *was* to be achieved? The answer to that question is quite obvious to any student of the Ripper murders. Following the publication of Packer's story in the *Evening News*, it was picked up by just about every paper, and was an overnight sensation. The *Daily News* had Packer pick from a number of woodcuts the one most resembling his fictitious man, and when Albert Bachert (who made his first appearance in the investigation simultaneously with Le Grand

AND THE QUESTIONS KEPT ON COMING.

and Packer) picked the same likeness as that of the man he allegedly spoke to at the Three Nun's prior to midnight on the same evening, the likeness was published and, as far as the public was concerned, they now knew what Jack the Ripper looked like. This misinformation may have gotten Mary Kelly killed if she were keeping her eye out only for a man of this description.

Grapes played a pivotal part in at least two of the most popular Ripper films, including 2001's *From Hell*, and countless Ripper books. Indeed, Sir William Withey Gull's love for grapes was one of the key points of evidence used to identify him as the Ripper! That the 'grapes of myth' are so ingrained in Ripper lore well over a century after the murders is testament to the impact it must have had while the investigation was afoot.

With much to lose and nothing apparent to gain, it appears that Le Grand's sole motive in orchestrating the Berner Street conspiracy was to present the world with a phantom suspect; one who never existed, and therefore could never be found, and one who, it must be said, looked nothing like himself.

In the January, 2006 edition of *Ripper Notes* (issue #25), I published a lengthy essay entitled 'Jack and the Grapestalk: The Berner Street Mystery Pt. 1', a sizeable portion of which was devoted to my suspicions about Le Grand that were only then taking form. I expanded on what Nixon had offered, corrected a few mistakes, and made a few new ones of my own along the way. In the following pages I hope to correct those errors, offer exciting new information on Le Grand, while at the same time limiting the amount of minutia which, while quite interesting to some, myself included, might bore others to tears. The purpose of this present dissertation is to present what we know about Le Grand up to this point so that we can move forward in unearthing more material about him and the investigators who thought he was Jack the Ripper.

LE GRAND & THE BATTY STREET LODGER

The Batty Street Lodger should be familiar to all readers of this journal, having been the 'title character' of Stewart Evans and Paul Gainey's seminal 1995 best-seller, *The Lodger* (U.S.A. title *Jack the Ripper: First American Serial Killer*). Evans and Gainey argued that a mysterious foreign man lodging in the house of Mrs. Kuer, a German laundress, at 22 Batty Street, had left behind a bloodstained shirt following the 'double event' murders of Catherine Eddowes and Liz Stride, and that this man must have been the American quack doctor and Ripper suspect, Francis Tumblety. A good portion of the book was devoted to developing this thesis, and it's fair to say that the Batty Street Lodger theory formed one of the three pillars of evidence upon which the argument for Tumblety as Ripper stands; the other two being the well-known 'Littlechild letter' and the vast amount of reportage in American papers concerning Scotland Yard inspectors following Tumblety to America and shadowing his every move.

In a series of articles for *Ripperologist* magazine[8], researcher Gavin Bromley expertly proved beyond

8. 'Mrs. Kuer's Lodger', *Ripperologist* No. 81, July 2007, and 'Is there an Echo around here? An Addendum to 'Mrs. Kuer's Lodger'', *Ripperologist* No. 83, September 2007.

doubt that the Batty Street Lodger had never existed and had largely been nothing more than the press making a mountain out of a molehill. A pillar falls, severely weakening the argument for Tumblety as a viable Ripper suspect.

Bromley wrote that the Lodger story broke in the papers on October 16th, although subsequently he was able to find one report from the day before, and it had previously been accepted that this was the first reportage of the Batty Street Lodger. However, a recent bombshell discovery by Debra Arif, presented here for the first time, comes a full five days earlier, on Oct. 10th, and is the first and *last* word on the Batty Street Lodger:

A BLOODSTAINED SHIRT.

Messrs Grand and Batchelor, private detectives, received information yesterday afternoon which induced them to make enquiries in Batty-street, Whitechapel. They ascertained that a man, name unknown, recently left with Mrs. Kail a shirt, the sleeves of which were stained with blood. Information was sent to the police, who at once instituted enquiries, with what result is not known. Mrs. Kail was able to give a good description of her mysterious customer; but the authorities do not consider it advisable to make it public. Little importance is attached to the incident, it being pretty obvious that if the murderer wished to dispose of his blood-stained garment, he would get rid of it in a more effective manner than by leaving it with a laundress to be washed.[9]

This means that not one but two long-standing ruses can be laid at the feet of Le Grand, who not only had the police running in every direction but to his own door, but also modern researchers likewise looking with misguided suspicion at the wrong men. Mrs. Kuer (or 'Kail' as suggested here) could only speak German, which posed a problem for reporters, so it's likely that the German-speaking Le Grand — the original source for the story — was also the person responsible for the otherwise mundane story becoming a press sensation, while being careful to keep his name out of the press once the story took hold. Le Grand even pulled in his stooge, Matthew Packer, to provide a link between his two tall tales. The *Echo* from Oct. 18th, 1888, reports:

An Echo *reporter called yesterday afternoon upon Mr. Packer, the Berner-street fruitier, where the murderer bought the grapes for Elizabeth Stride. It now appears that the man was known by Mr. Packer, who positively asserted, "I had seen him in this district several times before, and if you ask me where he lives I can tell you within a little. He lodges not a great way from the house where Lipski, who was hanged for poisoning a woman, lived." "How many times have you seen him?" was asked Mr. Packer. "About twenty; and I have not seen him since the murder."*

Since Israel Lipski lived at 16 Batty Street, only 3 doors down from Mrs. Kuer/Kail at number 22, there can be no doubt that Packer is here tying together Le Grand's two stories and offering them up as one, with the added information that he'd known this extraordinary suspect well by sight! Any writer now wishing to invest either the Lodger story or the Packer grape episode with any evidential value will certainly have an uphill battle!

9. *The North-Eastern Daily Gazette*, Wednesday, Oct. 10th, 1888.

A MAN WITHOUT A PAST

Le Grand's real name might have been Christian Nelson, or Neilson, but he made such a habit of using aliases that it is difficult at this juncture to be certain of his true identity. He almost certainly was a Dane, but passed for an Englishman, an American, and a Frenchman, and has also been identified by the police as a German and a Belgian. It was reported that he hailed from good stock and was the son of an important Danish diplomat. He certainly seems to have been very intelligent, well educated, and was multi-lingual. He was also a hardened, streetwise sociopath. When combined, these two seemingly opposing compositions of character comprised an individual who might be called the late-Victorian equivalent to Ted Bundy, a fact not lost on a former Member of Parliament who observed that, *'by nature, by personal gifts, as well as by habits and surroundings, he was as near an approach to what Jack the Ripper might be expected to be as any man ever known to the police.'*

We first meet Le Grand as Christian Nelson in his home away from home, a courthouse, being indicted for theft in the summer of 1877. It appears that on June 26th, Le Grand entered a fancy stationary shop at 1 St. James Place, Pall Mall, and informed the proprietor, Mr. Harrison, that he was a merchant leaving for the Mediterranean in a few days and needed to place a large order for delivery. He ordered various goods equaling to £70 in value and asked that they be delivered to 12 Clifton-Gardens, Maida-vale. He gave his name as Mr. Biscoy[10] and left the shop. When the goods were delivered it was found that no one by that name was known at that address. The remarkable fact about this episode is that while Mr. Harrison followed Le Grand around the store, making note of the items being ordered, Le Grand was able to secret on himself no less than 16 purses and a pocket-book without being detected. Even if one is to accept Le Grand as a sleight-of-hand master *par excellence* and Mr. Harrison as the least observant shop-keeper on record, the question remains of 'where did he put all those purses'? While this may never be answered, we do know that the purses ended up at Mrs. Blackmore's shop at Wilton Road, Pimlico, where Le Grand introduced himself as a traveler for a French house and succeeded in selling her nine and afterwards 23 purses. He called again two days later, on June 29th, with a collection of knives for sale, freshly stolen from Messrs. Millikin and Lawley in the Strand. Mrs. Blackmore expressed her disappointment that the purses were not of French manufacture, upon which Le Grand left, promising he'd return immediately, an oath he had no intention of making good on. Mrs. Blackmore noticed that Mr. Harrison's name and address, etched in gold in each of the purses, had been scratched away, but she was able to make out the details and returned the goods to him on Saturday, June 30th.

LE GRAND'S LUCK RAN OUT ON JULY 5TH

10. This is probably a misprint of 'Briscony', a known alias of Le Grand.

Le Grand's luck ran out on July 5th when he attempted to slip a gold locket up his sleeve at Mr. Norchi's Jewelers in Wigmore Street. He was handed over to the police and found *Guilty* of theft. Le Grand admitted two previous felony convictions, though details of these are not yet known; we do know from Detective Smith, who appeared as a witness, that one was for shoplifting. Detective-Sergeant King informed the court that there were *nearly a dozen* similar cases, and PC George Hewlett mentioned that besides the instances already given, Le Grand was also responsible for thefts from Mr. Lewis, bookseller, 136 Gower Street, Mr. Mudie, 15 Coventry Street, and Mr. Negas, 14 Charles Street.

The judge, finding Le Grand an 'adept at crime', sentenced him to a harsh eight years of penal servitude to be followed by seven years of police probation. At this time, Le Grand gave his name as Christian Nelson, age 29, a Dane, and his profession as an engineer.[11]

Four years later, in 1881, the census finds Le Grand still in prison, age 32, his estimated birth year 'about 1849', born in Denmark, and, most curiously, his profession given as Civil Engineer and Architect.

It is said that the difference between a psychopath and a psychotic is that when you remove a psychotic (Kosminski would be a good example) from their natural environment, they will continue with the same unlawful or immoral behavior, but a psychopath, when separated from those things which trigger their violent tendencies, will quickly adapt, and for this reason, it is well-known that serial killers are model prisoners.

Le Grand must have likewise been on his best behavior, for he was allowed freedom a year early, and on the day of his liberation, May 6th, 1884, he visited Sergeant Bartells of Scotland Yard for the first of what was supposed to be many such visits. Sergeant Bartells explained that he would be on parole for the next seven years and would have to regularly report to the police during that time. Le Grand agreed to the terms of his release and left, though he had no intention of making good on them.

When he failed to keep his next meeting with the sergeant, he became a wanted man. An 1884 edition of the *Police Gazette*, mentioned earlier, was circulated widely within the police force and offered the following description:

Christian Nelson, alias Briscony and Neilson, A[ge] 36, ht. 6ft., c[omplexion] dark, h[air] light brown, e[yes] grey; scars on nose, centre of forehead, right first finger, thumb, and wrist, left thumb, first and second finger, and left thigh; hair down centre of chest to bottom of stomach.

The report also gives his nationality as 'German' and notes that he professed to be a waiter and would obtain money and goods from young women under pretense of marriage. No doubt, that is not all he 'obtained' from these naïve young women.

It is not known at present where or how Le Grand spent the next two years of his life, but in 1886 he met the woman who was to become his constant companion — his common-law wife and willing accomplice. Her name was Amelia Marie Demay Pourquoi, although she was variously known as Madame Marie Pourquoi, Amelia Demay, and Amelia Pourquoi.

11. *The Times*, July 12th, 1877.

Although Pourquoi is likely her true surname, she is regularly referred to in the primary sources as 'Demay', so to keep confusion to a minimum that is the name by which I'll refer to her.

Little is presently known about her, except that she appears to have led almost as colorful a life as Le Grand, and may have been the only woman in his life he did not hate. Having several times been charged as a 'disorderly woman' by the time they met, and known to the police for years, she would spend the next few years as Yin to his Yang. The *Illustrated Police News* of Oct. 19th, 1889, records an appearance that Demay and Le Grand, already serving time for crimes which we will discuss shortly, made before the judge to regain control of furniture that had been repossessed by the bank following their conviction. For whatever reason, Demay was asked to give a history of herself, and said she was 31 years old and a native of Rouen, where she had been a milliner. She came to London in 1880 as housekeeper to a Belgium fishmonger, had never been married, and "picked up" (her words) Le Grand one day in 1886 in Portland Street. She of course leaves out the years she worked as a prostitute, the numerous arrests, and that she had lived as man and wife with a man named Demay, from whom she took the name. According to Sergeant William James, he first saw Le Grand with Demay in January 1886, when she was still living with Mr. Demay. The detail that she met Le Grand in 1886 is corroborated by the landlady whom she had lived with for a year prior to her 'picking up' Le Grand 'by accident'.

From September of 1885 to the following September, Demay lived as man and wife with a Mr. Demay at 85 Bolsover Street, a house and club run by Henry and Harriet Palmer. Mrs. Palmer would state that the first time she saw Charles Le Grand was the day that Mrs. Demay moved away. At this point, in September of 1886, the couple took up lodgings at 243 Elgin Avenue, Maida Vale, where they lived as husband and wife in the home of Elizabeth Walsh. This was to be only temporary as they sought a house of their own, and by year's end, they had found such a home at 35 Charlotte Street, Portland Place.

The large house on Charlotte Street was not merely a house, but a brothel, with Madame Demay's name emblazoned proudly on the outside of its door. Le Grand soon became known amongst 'loose women' as the French Colonel, a character he had devised for himself in which he was a colonel in the French Army. It is not clear when this guise was first adopted, but it was already notorious with both police and prostitutes by the first months of 1887. It appears that the ink on their lease had barely dried before Le Grand set about frightening, threatening, and physically attacking every prostitute in the area not under his employ. The practical end to this was that it left the streets open for Demay and her girls to ply their trade, but it seems that Le Grand also took a great joy in his 'work'.

A PRELUDE TO BERNER STREET?

On the evening of February 24th, Louise Laudry and Henrietta Pasquier, two young 'unfortunates', were walking their beat along Great Portland Street when Le Grand approached carrying a stick. For reasons unknown, he raised the stick and threatened to kill Ms. Laudry, who ran off in fear for her life. Le Grand soon discovered that she intended to press charges and set about covering himself by producing

his own witness in the form of his partner, Madame Demay, who offered an alibi for him on the night of the attack, stating she'd been with him. He found out that Laudry's friend, Henrietta Pasquier, intended to testify against him as a witness to the attack, an occurrence that could seriously damage his defense.

Two days following the first attack, Pasquier was once again walking along Great Portland Street when Le Grand approached. He made it clear he did not wish for her to testify against him, and to bring the point home, he beat her severely about the face with his fist, causing injuries sufficient to require she be taken to Middlesex Hospital. Not only did she go on to testify on the behalf of her friend, but a new summons was put against Le Grand for this second attack, and a witness — another young woman named Hodgkinson — was on hand to corroborate Pasquier's tale.

With two separate charges now against him, Le Grand decided it was time to take matters, and reality, into his own hands. He told the magistrate that his girlfriend, Demay, had been assaulted by Henrietta Pasquier and a friend of hers named Ms. Leroy. He solicited the testimony of one John Morgan, a former soldier in the army, to back up the lie. Le Grand took the stand as witness and testified to his being a colonel in the French army, but refused to state what regiment to which he belonged. It is unclear whether he was merely attempting to confuse matters or if he honestly thought his ruse would be believed and win him sympathy, but the truth is probably a little of both.

Just to keep track, Le Grand has attacked two prostitutes in the open street during broad daylight and now has two separate summons against him, one from Ms. Laudry and the other from Ms. Pasquier. In turn, he has charged Pasquier and a Ms. Leroy with attacking Madame Demay, unquestionably a false charge, and has engaged the services of former army soldier, John Morgan, to support his story. Magistrate Newton must have used a scorecard to keep track of who, at any given minute, was witness, defendant, or plaintiff! And this disturbing tale was only just beginning to unfold.

Despite complaints of assault against two women, each with corroborative witnesses, and an obviously trumped up charge against his accuser, Le Grand walked out of court a free man, if a little lighter in the pocket. He was ordered to pay a fine of £3, with two guineas costs, for the assault, with an order to enter into his recognizance in the sum of £50 for good behavior in the future. Along with this slap on the wrist, he received a warning from the magistrate to be very careful of his conduct, for if he appeared before him again, he'd likely be sent to jail without the option of a fine. Although the magistrate was apparently convinced the attacks against Laudry and Pasquier occurred, he made no attempt to hold Madame Demay liable for her obvious perjury. In an even ghastlier display of injustice, Magistrate Newton found Henrietta Pasquier guilty of the assault upon Demay and ordered her to pay a bond of £3 to keep the peace. The summons against Pasquier's friend for her alleged assault on Amelia Demay was dismissed.

That Le Grand was able to pay his bond speaks well of his finances, as £50 in 1887 translates to almost £4,000 today. But pay it he did, and soon he set upon a path of vengeance against Ms. Pasquier that would have him back in court by the end of the month — but

not before the poor young woman had been stalked, terrorized, and twice more beaten.

Le Grand, now acting strictly out of vengeance, wasted no time in making Pasquier regret her actions. With the aid of a few thugs in his employ, Le Grand and his men dogged Pasquier's steps for days, taunting and frightening her and generally making her life a living hell. When terror alone lost its charm, Le Grand was more than ready to have two of his men make good on his promise of brutality. *Reynold's News* of Sunday, March 20th, 1887, was one of the papers that carried the story.

Marlborough — Street

The "Ladies" Of Regent-Street. John Tysell, Fitzroy-chambers, Whitfield-street, of no occupation, was charged with assaulting Madame Pasquier, of Clipstone-street, in Regent-street, about six o'clock the previous night. Mr. Arthur Newton [a solicitor, not to be confused with Magistrate Newton-TW] *said the prosecutrix had reason to believe that the prisoner was the agent of a man who was known amongst loose women as the "French Colonel". A few days ago he (the Colonel) was charged with assaulting her, and recently she had been followed up and down the streets by the prisoner and other men, who object evidently was to assault her. In fact, it was unsafe for her to walk about. Madame Pasquier said that as she and another "lady" were walking down Regent-street the prisoner rushed upon her, and without saying a word, struck her violently in the face. The prisoner, who appeared to be muddled with drink, simply said, "Well, she shoved me and I shoved her, and that's all; can't a fellow walk about?" Mr. Mansfield* [the magistrate in this case-TW]*: You seem to have committed a wanton assault upon this wretched woman. If you have been paid to assault her, it is still worse. Your conduct has been blackguardly to the last degree, and you will be committed with hard labour for two months. Prisoner left the dock muttering, "For nothing at all – I'm innocent."*

It was John Tysell's[12] misfortune that he did not stand in front of Magistrate Newton, who probably would have let him go with a small fine, with Pasquier no doubt getting the same for her troubles.

Henrietta must have felt relief at the first hint of true justice to come her way during this terrifying ordeal, and carrying with her this newfound sense of security, or perhaps it was unabashed naivety, the brave young woman left court and immediately set about her old beat in Great Portland Street. She was walking with a friend, Ellen Perin, when she heard an all-too familiar voice yelling obscenities at her. She turned to find Charles Le Grand approaching, but instead of running, she stood her ground. It must have been a wet afternoon, because Le Grand was carrying a large umbrella in place of his walking stick.

"You got the man two months. *I'll kill you!*" yelled Le Grand as he violently struck her across the face with his umbrella.

Ellen Perin's first instinct was to run for a constable, so she started away from the scene, but as she heard her friend crying in fear and pain, and realizing she might be too late if she waited to find a constable, she returned to the action, and in a very brave move, reached out and seized Le Grand's umbrella in mid-swing.

12. His surname might be 'Tyrell', as reported in another paper.

LAUGHTER BROKE THE TENSION IN THE COURTROOM

Perin proved to be as delightful as she was courageous in her exchange with the magistrate:

Newton: "And what happened to you then?"

Perin: "Why, I and his umbrella went into the middle of the road."

Laughter broke the tension in the courtroom, but to Pasquier this was no laughing matter. She must have known that if not for the interference of her friend, she may very well have been murdered that day.

It would appear that Le Grand was thinking on his feet once Perin broke free with his umbrella, as he immediately began calling for a constable. He attracted the attention of one, but the officer did not believe him and did not investigate further. Abounding with gall, Le Grand then made his way to the police station in Tottenham Court Road, where he proceeded to file a complaint against Pasquier, stating that *she* had attacked *him*! Meanwhile, Pasquier returned to the Marlborough Street Police Court where she had spent her morning and once again appeared before Magistrate Mansfield, her face bloody and swollen. It makes sense that Pasquier returned to Mr. Mansfield instead of making her complaint to the police, as he had been the only one involved in this horrifying saga to have not let her down.

Mr. Mansfield immediately issued a warrant for Le Grand's arrest, a task falling to Constable Brewster. The young constable was certainly up to the task as it was barely after 4:30pm that same afternoon when he came upon Le Grand in Oxford Street. PC Brewster informed him of the charge, to which Le Grand replied, "I didn't assault her, she assaulted me. I called a constable, but he refused to take her into custody. I have been to the station in Tottenham Court Road to complain about it."

A Ms. Boxall, who had been on Great Portland Street that afternoon and witnessed the whole thing, was called as a witness for Ms. Pasquier. Mr. Pain, Le Grand's aptly-named attorney, called no witnesses on his client's behalf, his whole argument being that Le Grand's actions in seeking police protection proved all had not gone down as Ms. Pasquier and the two witnesses stated. Mr. Newton, by now wise in the ways of the 'French Colonel', replied: "If you knew as much of this man as I do you would not be surprised at his going there. If I had been sitting here he might have had the impertinence to come to me." Given the easy treatment Le Grand had received on his previous trips before Mr. Newton, he would have been wise to do so.

Mr. Newton ordered that Le Grand be remanded into custody for a week while a plain-clothes officer looked into his history. This man would prove to be Police-Sergeant William James of D Division.

Le Grand no doubt relished the thought of his crooked affairs being looked into about as much as he did having to sit for a week awaiting sentence in his cell with the almost certain knowledge that he was headed back off

to prison for another long stretch. After all, he had no witnesses to support his story whereas Pasquier produced two. And let us not forget it was she bearing the bloodied, swollen face. Given Le Grand's propensity to hire people to do his dirty work, his lack of a supporting 'witness' indicates the most recent attack on Pasquier must have been spur of the moment. His fury so hot that he reacted on impulse, threatening to murder the woman and beating her in broad daylight only days after he'd been assured a prison sentence should he appear before the magistrate again. Le Grand was not a stupid man, but he was a sociopath, and sociopaths do stupid things.

As fate would have it, Le Grand didn't remain in his cell for even the week prescribed for investigation, but was instead called back to court only four days later, on March 30th, to take his place one last time before Mr. Newton. Henrietta Pasquier and her attorney must have seen this as a good sign — the magistrate having satisfied himself as to Le Grand's guilt in this and perhaps other wrongdoings, saw no need for waiting before sentencing the man he'd already deemed morally reprehensible to a long overdue prison sentence. If this is what they were expecting, they were soon to be horribly disappointed, as Mr. Newton "ordered the accused to find two sureties in the sum of £50 to be of good behaviour for the next three months." With that, and pending the payment of his sureties, Le Grand was free to go.

Three months good behavior! The man couldn't go *three days* in the month of March without beating some poor woman, or paying to have one stalked and beaten, not to mention the phony police reports and inducing two people to perjure themselves on his behalf. On top of this, surely the plainclothes officer Mr. Newton ordered to look into Le Grand's affairs was competent enough to realize that it was more than good fortune that allowed Le Grand's home and 'lodging house' to have a buxom, young woman in each window. And it's a rare magistrate who would assure a guilty man that his next appearance would warrant a prison sentence, only to let him go on bond once again when he appeared only days later for an even greater offense.

Mr. Newton seems to have been more concerned with Le Grand's liberty than his own reputation, and although it can't be proved, one must wonder if Le Grand's 'luck' this time out wasn't of the bought and sold variety.

Four months later, in August, Le Grand wrote a letter to Commissioner Charles Warren complaining of the conduct of a constable. Commissioner Warren handed the letter, dated August 5th, 1887, to Chief Inspector Henry Wyborn of D Division, stationed at the Tottenham Court Road Police station. The letter was described by Wyborn as a 'long letter', regarding the misconduct of a constable under his command, William Hughes No. 409. Chief Inspector Wyborn was already familiar with Le Grand and had known Demay for years before she had met Le Grand. They spoke for 10 or 15 minutes about the letter and the conduct of Hughes, who appears to have been the constable Le Grand approached in the street, following his attack on Pasquier, but who would not assist him. This letter, in Le Grand's handwriting and signed by him, would later come back to haunt him.

It is unclear why Le Grand waited until August to complain about the constable when the action had occurred in March, but it's possible he had spent some or all of that time in jail, failing to come up with the combined sureties

of £100. More probably, his attention was diverted with further criminal activity.

Reading these stories of Le Grand yelling obscenities in the open street, and of attacking prostitutes, or standing by while one of his men do the dirty work, immediately brings to mind the evidence of Israel Schwartz in the Berner Street murder of Liz Stride.

Schwartz had witnessed a man about 30 years of age (Tysell would have been 34 or 35) manhandle Stride and throw her to the ground while a few yards up the street stood another man lighting his pipe, whom Schwartz believed had chased him. 'Pipeman', as he is known to modern researchers, was about 35 years of age, 5ft 11in. tall, with light brown hair; Le Grand was 35-40 years of age, 6ft tall, with light brown hair.

FILLING IN THE BLANKS

In the fall of 1887, a man named only as Hester in the press, but who research would prove to be William Henry Hester, was boarding at 35 Charlotte Street, suffering from an unnamed disease that would prove terminal. He had been a man of means but had fallen on hard times. Hester was friends with the famous writer and war correspondent, Archibald Forbes, the two men sharing the same club. Forbes was also friendly with Dr. Malcolm Alexander Morris, considered one of the world's top skin disease specialists, whom he asked to visit Hester as a personal favor. It was a generous gesture that Forbes would come to regret.

Dr. Morris arrived at the Charlotte Street house where Le Grand had set up office for his new undertaking as a private investigator. He had not yet taken up offices on the Strand. It took Morris no time at all to realize that the house was a brothel and he ordered Hester's immediate removal, which Hester readily agreed to. This was to the chagrin of Le Grand and Demay, who would now lose the funding of their unfortunate 'lodger'.

Morris had Hester admitted to 28 York Place, Baker Street, where a lady named Mrs. Ada Mahomed, the widow of Dr. Frederick A. Mahomed, ran a private hospital for sufferers of skin disease. In spite of receiving the best possible care, Mr. Hester died within a few months of his admission. At about that time, Le Grand and Demay set themselves up in rooms in the very same street at number 3 York Place, Baker Street. By coincidence, early Ripperologist, Lyttleton Stewart Forbes Winslow, lived in between the two parties at number 14. Subsequent events would prove Le Grand and Dermay's move to have been a less than coincidental, as the duo had set their sights on making Morris pay, one way or the other. It is not yet clear what stake the couple had in Mr. Hester, but it likely has something to do with a debt, probably gambling, as Hester had made a long career of running up enormous debts.

For whatever reason, they chose to wait for more than a year before making their move against the doctor. Perhaps it had to do with Le Grand's new undertaking as a private enquiry agent, which it must be made clear was strictly a guise that would allow him to perpetrate crimes such as blackmail, and which would allow him a reason to get close to people of import without drawing too much suspicion. If a constable thought his behavior suspicious, he could simply show his credentials and, at worst, be asked to leave.

It was also at this time that Charles Grandy became Charles *Le Grand*.

Le Grand's life between the fall

of 1887 and September of 1888, when he joined up with the Whitechapel Vigilance Committee, remains quite a mystery, with only a few details being known to us. We know that at some point during this time, he made the acquaintance of Mr. J.H. Batchelor who would become his short-lived partner in the private enquiry enterprise. Batchelor would not fare much better than any of Le Grand's other known victims during this time, finding himself physically attacked by his senior partner in the open street of the Strand at some point in 1889. A summons was filed against Le Grand, but denied by the judge. We also have the tantalizing suggestion that Le Grand was employed by the *Times* as part of the investigation for the Parnell Commission, and that he shadowed not only disgraced letter writer Richard Pigott, but also the radical MP and journalist, Henry Labouchere. We will further consider these claims shortly. For what it's worth, we also know that at some point in late 1887 or early 1888, Le Grand acquired a 'fancy performing dog', as Demay would later state in court it had been a gift from Dr. Morris. Although the claim against Morris was certainly untrue, the dog must have existed for them to make this claim.

THE TERROR OF CAVENDISH SQUARE

In February of 1889, Le Grand and Demay began in earnest their campaign of terror against Dr. Malcolm A. Morris. Recent discoveries, which we will look at later, suggest that it was during or shortly after Le Grand's stint with the WVC, from late 1888 to early 1889, that he first fell under suspicion of being the Whitechapel murderer. The police revelation that their liaison with the popular vigilance committee was actually a brutal user and abuser of prostitutes may have come about as a result of the Morris trial, so further research into the events and people described might prove fruitful.

The magistrate's court hearing began at the end of March and was adjourned several times. It actually ran longer than the trial, which began on June 24th, 1889.

The defendants were named as Amelia Marie Pourquoi Demay, age 30, and Charles Colnette Grandy, age 36. The charge was 'unlawfully conspiring together, and with other persons, falsely to accuse Malcolm Alexander Morris of having made a promise of marriage to Demay, with intent to extort money.' Messrs. Lockwood, Q.C. and Besley prosecuted, Mr. Keith Frith defended Le Grand, and Mr. Candy Q.C. defended Demay, but did not appear until late in the case. In typical Le Grand fashion, he decided early on in the proceedings to fire his lawyer so that he could defend himself. The following is in the words of Dr. Morris from the Old Bailey transcript, relaying the harassment he suffered.

I am a Fellow of the R.C.S. of Edinburgh and a Member of the R.C.S. of London. I have lived at 8, Harley Street, Cavendish Square, for two years; before that I lived for ten years in Montague Square. I have made skin diseases a specialty; I am surgeon in charge of the skin department of St. Mary's Hospital, and am lecturer in that medical school. I am also a member of seven or eight societies connected with medicine. My practice has been extensive; my name is well known in the profession. I am forty years of age; I was married in July, 1872, and have four children, my eldest boy is sixteen. I know Mr. Archibald Forbes, the war correspondent for the newspapers; in consequence of a letter I received

from him in November, 1887, a Mr. Hester called upon me and consulted me, and in consequence of that visit I went to see him at 35, Charlotte Street, so that I might see him undressed and in bed. A woman opened the door to me; she had on a dressing gown. I should not know her again. I asked where my patient was – she said upstairs – I went up to the attic at the top of the house, where I saw him. A nurse was attending on him, who I heard had been in the family for some time. Mr. Hester was an ex-taxing master in bankruptcy, and was a gentleman in reduced circumstances. His surroundings were of great discomfort; it was an exceedingly poor, miserable sort of place, not suitable for a gentleman who was suffering from a mortal disease. I had told him previously in my consulting room that his only chance was to go into a properly constituted hospital. There is a private hospital kept by a lady, Mrs. Marmade [Mahomed] *– I have no interest whatever in that hospital – I advised him to move, and he was removed shortly afterwards. I attended him daily, sometimes twice a day, up to the February, 1888, when he died. I attended him gratuitously the whole time On 16th February, 1889, I received a letter signed "Amelia Demay". I had no knowledge of any woman of that name – I had never been in a house in Bolsover Street in my life – the whole story in the letter is an absolute fabrication and lie from beginning to end. I afterwards received a writ, dated 25th February, issued by Mr. Fk. Hatton, of 150, Strand -subsequently I received a letter dated 21st February, 1889, and another dated 27th February, 1889. I had then consulted my family solicitors, and afterwards, with their consent, put the matter in the hands of Mr. George Lewis. I first saw the prisoner Grandy when he called at my house; he told me he had a friend coming from Denmark, who was suffering from severe skin disease, who wished to put himself under my care in my house. I asked him the name of his friend; he said Captain Ohlsen, and that he was a Dane. I said I could not take him into my house; he said perhaps I could take him into some private hospital. He said he had heard of a private hospital in York Place, and he asked me for a card. He said his friend was a wealthy man, perfectly capable of paying for advice. I gave him a card and wrote on it the name and address of Mrs. Marmade, 28, Baker Street. A lady named Bates was a nurse there; she had acted as nurse for me in some cases. I cannot recollect the date of Grandy's call, but I think it was a fortnight before I received the first letter of 16th February. I think I next saw Grandy a week or ten days before Easter. I saw him outside my house; it was in the morning, about the time I receive patients. He was there for several hours; he walked up and down on the opposite side, constantly looking at the house; one of my servants called my attention to him – after that he followed me and my wife and my servants, and generally produced a reign of terror in the house. He followed them wherever they went, so that they were actually frightened to leave the house. He followed me for hours together, and made my life an actual burden. He also followed my wife and my servants – I don't know the names of my servants – he followed me to my patients' houses, and he has waited till I have come out, and then followed me again. About this time I was attending upon Lord Lytton; one wet Sunday afternoon I took a cab from my door to Stratford Place – the prisoner [Le Grand] was standing at the corner of Harley Street and Cavendish Square – he took a hansom cab, and followed mine – I went to Stratford*

Place, and held a consultation, and then I went to Sir James Paget about a bulletin to be issued next morning as to Lord Lytton's condition. After staying some time, I went to Bryanston Square, Sir George Campbell's house, where Lord Lytton was staying. I dismissed my cab, and the prisoner dismissed his, and stood waiting at the corner of the square. I went in and saw Lord Lytton – it was a matter of considerable importance – he noticed something was amiss with me – I told him what had occurred – I came out again, and hailed a passing hansom. Grandy rushed after my hansom, flourishing a stick; but as there was no other cab he could not follow. This persecution has occurred constantly. To my knowledge I never in my life saw Demay till I saw her at the police station. I never had any conversation with her such as has been suggested. At last this persecution became unbearable, and I went to Mr. Lewis, and then we went to Marlborough Street. I may mention that the prisoner followed me once to the police station, where I asked the inspector for protection against him. I showed him standing outside to the inspector; but the inspector said he could not protect me, and the only thing was to go through a public trial, which I did not shrink from doing. I saw a card produced by Grandy at the police court; I gave that card to a man I believe to be Grandy, who left the name of Ohlsen. I afterwards received this letter of 21st April.

Demay, whose lawyer had not yet arrived, then proceeded to cross-examine the witness. The transcripts only record the replies, from which the questions must be inferred.

My friend occupied a room at the top of the lady's hospital; it had not a very low roof – I was not unfaithful with you in Bolsover Street, I swear absolutely – I did not come to see you twice a week at Bolsover Street for five months; that is absolutely untrue – I did not give you a fancy performing dog.

It was at this point that Grandy — like Ted Bundy would do 90 years later — stated he wished to defend himself and Mr. Keith Frith retired from the case. There is little doubt but that Le Grand's intention was to intimidate Dr. Morris and the other witnesses by being the one to look them in the eye and question them. Seeing the fear in Dr. Morris' face as he relayed to the court the terrorizing impact Le Grand's actions had on his entire household no doubt had an empowering effect on Le Grand, who wished to heighten that fear and wallow in it as long as he could.

The following is Dr. Morris' testimony as he's being cross-examined by Le Grand.

You menaced me with a stick at the corner of Bryanston Square – you were probably ten or fifteen yards away at the time you ran towards me with the stick in the air – my servants are both here – I believe they told about what happened to them – I saw Miss Pratt when she was in Charles Street [sic-Charlotte Street]; I don't know where she is – she was the nurse in charge of Mr. Hester at the time; I have not seen her since he died – I have never seen you in Demay's company outside the house – I did not see you at 35, Charlotte Street – it has not been insinuated to me that you would be a witness in the civil action against me – my consulting room is my back parlour – I have seen you when I have come out into the hall to say good-bye to patients – my solicitor has employed ex-Inspector Clarke to watch my house, 8, Harley Street; his instructions were to find out about your character – I have employed detectives myself – I was obliged to have protection to keep

these people away from my front door, the police would not do it for me.

It would be quite interesting to learn what ex-Inspector Clarke and the other private detectives hired by Dr. Morris turned up in their investigation of Le Grand, and if this information was handed over to the police, perhaps sparking suspicion of Le Grand as the Whitechapel murderer, or supporting suspicion that had already began to grow.

Two of Dr. Morris' servants, Henrietta Simpson and Mary Gilbert, were called as witnesses to recount how Le Grand had kept the household in terror by pacing outside for hours, following the doctor and his wife, chasing after the doctor, and making grimaces behind his back. According to Gilbert, Le Grand would stop passersby, including the postman, and talk to them, no doubt telling them how Morris had 'ruined' a woman. She also mentioned Le Grand had arrived at their door one day accompanied by another man, whom she recognized in the court as James Hall.

James Hall could best be described as Le Grand's 'guy Friday', working in his shadow from October, 1888 until June of 1889. In an earlier essay I mistakenly identified Hall as likely being one and the same as J. H. Batchelor, but further research has shown beyond doubt that they are two separate individuals.

One day in October of 1888, Hall found himself down and out in the Strand, with no money or prospects for employment. He had been a commission agent in the Cattle Market at Nottingham, and previously apprenticed as a grocer, but he ran afoul of the law and had trouble finding work. He went into Le Grand's office at 283, the Strand and inquired about a position. Always willing to take advantage of a man in want, Le Grand gave him food and clothes and a place to sleep for the next eight months, having him do all manner of work, but without any financial remuneration whatsoever. Keeping him broke and dependent would allow Le Grand to maintain control over him. We don't yet know much about Hall, other than that by 1891 he was working at the Polytechnic in Regent Street and that he must have been rather tall, as he fit into the clothes of Le Grand, who at 6 feet, would have been considered exceptionally tall by the standards of the day.

The press had a field day with Hall, who came off as a bit slow in his testimony at the magistrate's court. Although he would emerge as the 'comic relief', he also gave us much of the knowledge we have on Le Grand and Demay.

James Hall, *'who gave his evidence hesitatingly'*[13], had variously lived or worked with Le Grand and Demay at the house in Charlotte Street, the office in the Strand, the rooms at 3 York Place, Baker Street, and the office at 10 Agar Street, which Le Grand took out after his short stint at 283, the Strand. With all the knowledge Hall must have possessed concerning Le Grand's private affairs and his criminal enterprise, it is no wonder he gave his evidence hesitatingly and told far less than he knew. For instance, he stated that he had no idea whether or not Le Grand and Demay slept in the same room or not, nor was he aware if they ever passed as man and wife. The prosecutor, George Lewis, had fun with him.

13. *The Illustrated Police News*, June 8th, 1889.

Lewis: What was your position at the defendant's house?
Hall (after much pressing): I acted as manager, partly as servant, opening the street door and looked after the books and the servants.
(Laughter.)
Lewis: What salary did you get?
Hall: None.
Lewis: What did you live on?
Hall: Food. (Laughter.) I stopped there without a salary because I could not get a better situation. (Laughter.)
Continuing his evidence, the witness said the male defendant also had an office in a turning off the Strand.
Lewis: What was the nature of the business carried on?
Le Grand (with warmth): I object to my private business being dragged into this case!
The witness [Hall] said no business was done at the office.[14]
He didn't fare much better when recalled in front of the magistrate the following week.
James Hall, who last week created some amusement by saying that he was in the employ of Grandy, but got no remuneration for his services, was recalled.
Lewis (to the witness): Whose clothes are you wearing?
(Laughter.)
Hall: Mr. Grandy's.
Lewis: You wear them one day, and he another?
Hall: Yes. (Renewed laughter.)
Le Grand (glaring fiercely at the witness.): Didn't I give you them?
Hall: Yes.[15]

Amidst these embarrassing exchanges and Hall's obvious discomfort and reluctance at having to provide damning evidence against his employer, and no doubt a refusal to admit any activity that might implicate himself, a number of Le Grand's dark secrets were pulled into the light.

Hall stated that Le Grand and Demay lived at the Charlotte Street house until March, 1889 when they went to live full-time at 3 York Place, Baker Street. Hall lived with them at these addresses. At the trial, he stated he could prove they lived as man and wife; a bit of a back-peddle from his timid testimony at Marlborough Street. When given some letters to look at, he cautiously identified various ones as in the handwriting of Le Grand, Demay, or himself. He stated Le Grand would often dictate to him.

One day, Hall had been walking past Dr. Morris' house in Cavendish Square, when the son of ex-Inspector Clarke, presumably employed as one of the PI's watching Morris' house, called out "There goes the French Colonel's man." Hall relayed the story to Le Grand, who then dictated a letter to him to the effect that as he [Hall] had been walking through the Square he was attacked by a 'lot of ruffians' who had been planted there by an 'eminent physician'. Hall testified that, 'Grandy said it might draw something out of him; meaning it might draw money.' Le Grand then attempted to have the letter published in the *Evening News*, which had previously published his Packer tale, but they refused to publish the letter, as did the *Star*, which suggested they instead take legal action. Thankfully, this further attempt to publicly discredit Dr. Morris had failed.

14. *Ibid.*
15. *The Illustrated Police News,* June 15th, 1889.

While being cross-examined harshly by Le Grand, Hall dropped a minor bombshell that was not picked up by the prosecution, 'I went with you [Le Grand] to Cheney Gardens to watch Justin McCarthy, and stopped till two o'clock.' Justin McCarthy was a journalist and Member of Parliament and although the reason is unclear why Le Grand and Hall kept these nightly vigils, it might suggest there is some truth in Le Grand's claim that he was employed by the *Times* as part of the Parnell Commission. The private detectives employed as part of the Commission — and there were many of them — worked closely with the police. This police connection, like the one he had while employed with the Whitechapel Vigilance Committee, would have caused very serious problems for the government should it become public that Le Grand was Jack the Ripper. While he was under investigation for the Whitechapel Murders — an investigation that went on for years — a strict code of secrecy must have been firmly in place and strongly enforced, which might explain why Le Grand's name is absent from all known police memoirs, in spite of the fact that he was a prime suspect.

FOR THE RECORD, JAMES HALL WAS NO ANGEL

For the record, James Hall was no angel. He had gotten himself into some unspecified trouble in Nottingham which cost him a good position at the cattle market, and from this ended up London, unable to secure any paying position and forced to work for Le Grand for room and board. It goes without saying that Le Grand would not have hired anyone who was not a criminal, nor should we doubt that Hall willingly aided his boss in criminal activities, although there's no reason to suspect him in complicity of murder. At the Marlborough Street magistrate court, Hall was asked if he 'knew that a young lady had been watched at Beckenham,' which he denied. Most likely, he was aware and was involved, and this was Le Grand's way of letting him know that mudslinging goes both ways. At the trial, Le Grand, while cross-examining Hall, asked if he had been with another man to Kensington to obtain money from a servant girl under false pretenses. Hall denied the accusation, but was probably less than sincere.

The incident alluded to by Le Grand was probably the following 'Jack the Ripper' episode, reported in the *Berrow's Worcester Journal* of March 16th, 1889.

DEMANDING MONEY

At the Central Criminal Court, before Mr. Justice Mathew, William Hughes, aged 45, an old soldier, was indicted for feloniously sending a letter to Emily Hopkins demanding money with menaces, and without reasonable and probable cause. Mr. Bodkin prosecuted. This case was one of a rather extraordinary character. The prosecutrix was a domestic servant in a family in Kennington, and on the morning of the 16th of February, upon her going downstairs in the morning, she saw a letter which had been pushed under the door, and which was addressed "To the Cook, indoors." She read it, and found that it contained a demand for 15s., to be sent to a particular address, and it contained a threat that if the money was not sent the prosecutrix would be

treated in the same way as the women in Whitechapel had been by Jack the Ripper. The prisoner was an entire stranger to the prosecutrix, and she at once communicated the discovery of the letter to her mistress, and the police were called in to discover the writer of the letter. Something appeared to have been known of the prisoner at the address where the money was to have been sent. Some violet-coloured ink, of the same kind as that with which the letter had been written, was also found at the prisoner's lodging, and there was also some evidence that the letter was in the handwriting of the prisoner. The prisoner made a long statement to the jury in answer to the charge, the first part of which was mainly to deny that he had written the letter. The jury without any hesitation found the prisoner "Guilty." Mr. Bodkin informed the Court that there were several other charges of a similar kind, where the prisoner had made demands of the same kind upon servant girls. In one case he had seduced the girl, and had ever since made her life miserable by the demands he had made upon her, and he had obtained from her money and articles of jewellery by threatening her with exposure and otherwise. Mr. Justice Mathew sentenced the prisoner to five years' penal servitude.

This story has Le Grand written all over it. It will be remembered that the constable about whom Le Grand wrote a letter of complaint in 1887 was named William Hughes; whether or not the constable and the man sentenced for writing these threatening Ripper letters were one and the same remains to be determined. What is of interest here is that Le Grand seems to have knowledge of the affair that would implicate Hall. The fact that Le Grand might also be implicated would have been of no importance to him, since he knew that Hall (like Hughes) would deny the accusation, but would be suitably intimidated by the threat of exposure.

Returning to the trial, Hall testified that he had introduced Le Grand to another William, surnamed Lynch, and Le Grand hired him on. On Le Grand's instructions, Lynch found a man who agreed to give false evidence in court for money. This was a trick Le Grand had employed for years and often with success, such as in the case of the Berner Street conspiracy; but he was not to be so lucky this time out. The man Lynch found was Alfred Walker, who met Le Grand in a wine shop on the Strand called Short's. Le Grand offered him £5 up front and another £5 before he went 'into the box' if he agreed to say he saw a certain gentleman and lady walking arm-in-arm down a 'certain street'. At first it seems he agreed but later had a change of heart and told the police what he knew. Being incapable of accepting the slightest bit of responsibility for his own actions, Le Grand laid the blame at Hall's feet, stating, "You introduced me to Lynch, and Lynch introduced that man Walker, who of course will be the cause of my case before the jury being refused, and me found guilty … that would not have happened if Lynch had not introduced me to Walker."

Le Grand then tried to get Hall in trouble with the law, accusing him of stealing jewelry, money and clothes. Rightfully frightened of Le Grand, Hall went immediately to Sergeant James, and one can only wonder at what things Hall said, but it was around this time that Le Grand seems to have fallen under strong suspicion of being the Whitechapel murderer.

While Le Grand was attempting to procure the testimony of Alfred Walker, Demay was doing likewise with a woman named Ellen Max, alias

Allene Williams, whom she had known since coming to London in 1880. Like Demay, Max was French, although in spite having lived in London for nine years, her testimony had to be interpreted. Her testimony was quite short and is presented here in full from the Old Bailey transcript.

Allene Williams (Interpreted):
I have known Demay nine years – two or three months ago she called on me where I lived, at 23, Bolsover Street – I had not seen her for perhaps four or five months before – she sent me a letter asking me to call on her, and I went to her place, 35, Charlotte Street, and she asked me to come to the Court and say that I had seen a doctor at her place, and that I had heard the doctor promise her marriage – she promised me £5 if I came to the Court; I said no, because I did not want her to tell lies – she came twice to my place afterwards to ask me the same thing again – I gave her the same reply on each occasion.

Cross-examined by Demay:
Our conversation was in French – you asked me if I remembered having been many times to your place in Bolsover Street – you did not ask me if I recollected the conversation we have relative to a doctor, a medical man – you spoke of £5 down and £5 afterwards – on one occasion when I was ill I sent to you for some money, and you sent me 5s. – you did not come to see my husband when he was ill, before he was taken to the madhouse; you never came to see him – 5s. was all you gave me.

Cross-examined by Grandy:
You were in the parlour at 35, Charlotte Street, when I came to the house – you were not present at the conversation; Madame said she wanted to speak to me alone, and sent you away, and you heard nothing of it – my real name is Ellen Max – I was earning my living like Madame, not at the present time.

Re-examined:
Grandy was living with Madame.

Another interesting piece of testimony presented here in full comes from Minnie Groser, alias Mrs. Vallet Brown, a German prostitute who lived at 35 Charlotte Street from July to the end of October, 1888. As with Ellen Max, her testimony was kept very short, which is unfortunate given all she must have seen and heard. Also like Max, Groser's evidence had to be interpreted even though she'd lived in London for seven years.

Vallet Brown (Interpreted):
I lived at 35, Charlotte Street, last July and August, when the prisoners lived there as man and wife, he as Mr. Grandy and she as Madame Demay – I left there at the end of October – when they were living together men visited Demay; Grandy knew it, and sometimes he went into the kitchen, sometimes he went away, and sometimes he waited.

Cross-examined by Grandy:
I am not married – I call myself Mrs. Brown, it looks better – I am German – Brown is a nickname, my real name is Minnie Groser – I have been in England seven years – I have been doing what your wife did for a living – I am an unfortunate; I did the same before I came to England – I am twenty-five years old – I have not been living with a man who was taken up for cheques – I did not bring with me a Japanese man to 35, Charlotte Street; he kept me there – I went with him to Liverpool, then spent six weeks in the country, and came back to where you were living – I did not go on the streets during the time

the Japanese man kept me – after he left I went on the streets again – I was not turned out of the house – I stayed two months afterwards – the Japanese man gave me £50.

Cross-examined by Demay:
When I was going to leave your house every man I brought home you called a blackguard – I don't remember anybody coming and breaking a window.

A crucial point about Ms. Groser's testimony is that she seems to be stating that Le Grand and Demay lived together at 35 Charlotte Street in July and August, 1888, but not after that point. Groser left the household in October, and by the time James Hall came long, Grandy was back living in the Charlotte Street house. It's curious that Le Grand's taking rooms elsewhere coincided with the start of the Ripper murders. As a matter of side interest, it's also worth noting that a French as well as a German interpreter was on hand for this two-day trial, suggesting that Israel Schwartz's non-appearance at the inquest into Elizabeth Stride's murder would not have been due to his need for an interpreter.

The final witness at the trial was Police-Sergeant William James of D Division, the man who from 1887 on would be the thorn in Le Grand's side, and who would almost lose his life to Le Grand in 1891. His testimony is important and is also presented in full.

William James (Police Sergeant D):
I have known Demay seven or eight years, and Grandy three years, or a little more, as Charles Grandy or Charles Grand, and he is better known as the French Colonel – in March, 1887, he was in custody at the Marlborough Street Police-court, and Mr. Newton, the magistrate, directed me to make special inquiries about him – he was remanded twice, and on the last occasion Mrs. Demay came to the Court, and stated in her evidence, in my hearing, that she was living with Grandy – Demay has been getting her living as a prostitute – since January, 1886, I have seen Grandy in her company hundreds of times, I may say – with the exception of five or six weeks, when he was employed in Great Tower Street in 1886 at 30s. a week, and discharged for incompetency [sic], I have not known him in any employment – I have seen him in company with other prostitutes hundreds of times – he lives on them.

Cross-examined by Demay:
I was present at Marlborough Street Police court when Grandy charged a woman with stealing his watch and chain – she was discharged.

Cross-examined by Grandy:
I have been directed by my superior officer to attend the Court when cases you have been in have been heard – I did not know you had an office; I have heard you had – I attended as a witness at Bow Street when you appeared on a summons, at the instance of Batchelor, for assaulting him in the Strand – Mr. Bridge dismissed the summons – I knew nothing about the case, I only knew your character – I gave evidence – I know Planette, the woman you charged with stealing your watch and chain; she was discharged – she is not a friend of mine – I did not bring her to Bow Street – I spoke to her there – I know Mr. Ward – I believe you are living on prostitutes – I have seen you continually with Demay; you have walked Regent Street, and molested other women, and charged them at the Police-court, and all to clear them from that street in order to have the whole street clear for that woman with you.

It is unfortunate that the Old Bailey transcripts were truncated and not all the evidence was recorded. A further statement by James as to Le Grand's character was reported in the *Illustrated Police News* of July 6th, 1889.

Sergeant Jameson [sic] *stated that Grandy had for some time been engaged in trumping up charges against various persons. In one case he found a letter from a Manchester gentleman in the possession of one of the prostitutes living in the house. He stole the letter, and demanded £500 from the writer. The female acted under his terrorism. The Recorder said a more dangerous class of offence could not well be imagined, and the prisoners had done all in their power to effect the ruin of the prosecutor in this case, but happily without success.*

As a last ditch effort, a back-peddling Demay offered the weak explanation that there was a Dr. Morris look-alike walking around London impersonating him, and that she had fallen victim to this man, and therefore her summons against Dr. Morris was nothing more than the result of mistaken identity!

IT BEGS THE QUESTION WHETHER SOMEONE IN AUTHORITY IS LOOKING OUT FOR HIM

The ploy did not work and she was sentenced to eighteen month's hard labor, with Le Grand getting a stiff five years penal servitude.

Once again, luck of some sort was on Le Grand's side, and his sentence would soon be drastically reduced. A report in the *Northern Echo* of June 28th, entitled 'A Judge's Mistake', gives the details.

At the Old Bailey yesterday afternoon, an application was made in the case of the man Grandet [sic] *and the woman Demay who on Wednesday were sentenced to five years' penal servitude and eighteen month's imprisonment respectively for attempted blackmail. The Recorder said he had since found he had no power to sentence the man to penal servitude, and altered the punishment to two years' imprisonment.*

Up to this point, Le Grand has received such easy sentences that it begs the question whether someone in authority is looking out for him, or if money isn't being passed. While Le Grand was by no means destitute, he would not have been able to afford such a service, so again the question of a benefactor is raised. Another very distinct possibility is that, in his capacity as a pimp who made a practice of

gathering information against well-to-do men for the purposes of blackmail, he may have been able to maneuver his way into lighter sentences or mere fines by threat of exposure. Le Grand's intimate knowledge of and connection to important men must be kept in mind when considering the secrecy surrounding his identification with the Ripper murders.

LE GRAND & THE PARNELL COMMISSION

The first mention we see of Le Grand's alleged connection with the Parnell Commission comes from the June 9th edition of *Lloyd's Weekly Journal*:

Grand was proceeding to make a statement when Mr. Hannay stopped him and told him that he would have an opportunity of saying what he liked after the evidence had been taken. He (Grand), then pointing at Mr. Lewis, exclaimed in a very excited manner, "I have worked for that man in connection with the Parnell commission, and I have papers to prove it now in my pocket. I challenge him to deny it."

Mr. Lewis (to the magistrate): I can only tell your worship that the statement the man makes is an absolute invention.

Following his brief statement to the magistrate, Lewis ignored the accusation and called James Hall back to the stand. However, months later at the trial, Mr. Lewis would be forced to admit that he had twice met Le Grand previously. Although he was the prosecuting attorney, he was called as a witness and examined by Le Grand's soon-to-be-fired attorney, Mr. Keith Frith.

I have seen Grandy at my office, not in connection with this case, but as a private detective in connection with the Parnell case – I did not recognize him until he put the question to me at Marlborough Street – I then remembered him coming to my office dressed in a fur coat, in company with a man named Scanlan, who, I believe, had been in the police, and who brought me a letter of introduction from somebody connected with the Irish Times*, asking me to employ him as a detective, which I refused – I remember also on a later occasion Grandy coming alone and pressing me to employ him as a detective, alleging that he could give me very wonderful information, and stating that he had great facilities; I refused – he never was employed by me in any way – it did not come to my knowledge that he had been employed by Mr. Soames* [editor of the *Times*]*, nor do I believe it – I do not know that he had been shadowing Pigott and Mr. Labouchere; I do not believe it; Mr. Soames is a highly honourable solicitor; but if the prisoner was employed by the Times it only shows what an escape I had in his coming and wanting employment from me; however, I should have refused to have anything to do with him…when I first saw him I did not understand that he was a private detective; I only understood that as a perfect stranger he brought his card; I had never heard of such a man – he came with Scanlan, who brought a letter of introduction – I did not know Scanlan as a private detective; I had heard the name, and I believe there was a man of that name in the Police force – I employed Mr. Clark*[e]*; he is a superannuated inspector of police in possession of a pension…I cannot fix the date when Grandy came and asked for employment – it was before the inquiry commenced into the letter part of the Parnell case; some little time before Pigott's examination, which was in February last.*

Mr. Lewis' statement is very interesting and must be considered

carefully. It seems that Le Grand made two visits to his office, the most recent in January or early February, 1889, and at some point prior to this in the company of a private detective named Scanlan. On the first visit, with Scanlan, Le Grand did little or no talking and the subject of the Parnell Commission never came up, but on his second visit, alone, Le Grand identified himself as a "private detective in connection with the Parnell Commission" with "wonderful information" to share, although he did not mention that he was employed by Mr. Soames at that time. It is curious that Le Grand did not mention his position with the Vigilance Committee and flash a copy of the Oct. 4th *Evening News* in Mr. Lewis' face, as he certainly would have been familiar with the popular Packer story, and might very well have been impressed by Le Grand's involvement.

None of this tells us if Le Grand did work in some capacity on the Parnell matter, either in employment with a newspaper, or directly for Mr. Soames as he stated, but it clearly was not something he invented in the court room, so there may be some level of truth to it. It should be noted that Mr. Lewis' dismissal of Le Grand's claim to have been employed in the Parnell Commission was purely emotional and not based on personal knowledge. Although Lewis would certainly be considered a more credible character than Le Grand, he would have more to lose by admitting a previous professional relationship with the man he was prosecuting than Le Grand would have to gain by it being proved he'd worked on the Parnell Commission.

As mentioned earlier, James Hall testified that he accompanied Le Grand on a nightly vigil to watch Irish MP Justin McCarthy, an event that may or may not have been connected with the Parnell Commission; it just as well may have been in preparation for another blackmail scheme. Hall could have been recalled, at Le Grand's insistence, to confirm his work on the Commission, and that he was not might suggest it was a lie; but likewise, Sergeant James neither confirmed nor denied the claim, or even offered an opinion on it, which one might have expected someone so familiar with Le Grand's movements to have done. However, James was obviously not as well informed as he thought, as he was not aware that Le Grand had earned an income from the Whitechapel Vigilance Committee, stating in his evidence that *"with the exception of five or six weeks, when he was employed in Great Tower Street in 1886 at 30s. a week, and discharged for incompetency* [sic]*, I have not known him in any employment."* Another possibility is that James was aware of Le Grand's work with the WVC, and possibly with the Parnell Commission, but was encouraged by superiors to keep the matters silent in light of Le Grand's criminal activity. Indeed, a letter to the press possibly written by James indicates knowledge of Le Grand's vigilance work, so the fact that this never came out at trial might indicate the police were protecting themselves from controversy.

It might also be worth pointing out that according to the testimony of Mr. George Lewis and of Sergeant James, Le Grand could be seen around late 1888 wearing a 'fur coat' and a 'watch and chain', reminiscent of the man George Hutchinson claimed to see with Ripper Victim, Mary Kelly, on the morning of her death on November 9th.

THE MAN SCANLAN

It will come as no surprise at this juncture of our study to learn that Le Grand's associate, Mr. Scanlan, was

a crook. Mr. Lewis thought the name familiar and that he may have been in the police force at some point, which might prove true, but by 1888 he was a private inquiry agent involved in criminal activity. As the following report from the *Ipswich Journal* of May 11, 1888, proves, he was virtually a carbon copy of Le Grand.

ALLEGED ATTEMPTED EXTORTION

A tall man with a long beard giving the name of Michael John Scanlan, described as a private inquiry officer, has been charged at the Marylebone Police Court, London, with attempting to obtain from Mrs. Flora Goldsmidt, of 1, B Flat, Hyde Park Mansions, £5 by means of fraudulent pretences. Mr. Freke Palmer appeared to prosecute, and Mr. E. Baker defended. In opening the case Mr. Palmer said that although the charge was at present only one of attempted fraud, there would be a further charge of attempted extortion from Mrs. Goldsmidt. Mrs. Goldsmidt was then examined by Mr. Palmer, and said she was divorced from her husband last year, and a decree nisi had been obtained. On Saturday last she received a communication from her servant, and went out in the landing of her flat. There she saw the prisoner, who asked her if she was Mrs. Goldsmidt. She said she was that person; when he said there had been a mistake, as the person he wanted was an elderly lady. He went away. On Sunday as she was going to the Zoological Gardens she saw the prisoner opposite the mansion. She walked up and down waiting for an omnibus, and the prisoner walked up and down also. When she got into an omnibus he hailed a cab and drove after her, and the cab stopped whenever the omnibus stopped. On arriving at the Gardens she saw that the prisoner was still following her. She left the Gardens about half-past six o'clock and returned home and found the prisoner again opposite the mansions, he having in the interim changed his clothes. She saw no more of him that day, but she received a letter subsequently by post from the prisoner. It suggested her giving him a reward for the information he had, and offered to meet her at the Royal Oak railway station. She kept the appointment, and went to the Royal Oak, accompanied by Detective-sergeant Record. The prisoner asked her for £5. She objected to giving him the money until she had received the information he said he had, so that she might know if it was of any use to her. He said if she did not do it it would be to her detriment. She still refused, and they parted. He said he was acting for a third party, and would call on her next morning, when he should know more of the subject. He again said he had been directed to watch her, but if she would give him £5 he would cease the watching, although he would have to stay there, as he should be checked. Next time she received him at her rooms, Detective-sergeant Record having previously secreted himself behind a curtain in the drawing-room, she told the prisoner she was advised not to part with her money on his terms, and that as he was prepared to be false to his employers he might be false to her. He entered into an explanation and asked some questions. In the course of his remarks he said he thought it was a lady who had been living with her husband who was employing his firm to have her (the prosecutrix) watched. The prisoner became abusive, and she was afraid, and then Detective Record came in. Mr. Marsham granted a remand, refusing bail.

Although we have a good fix on some of Le Grand's accomplices, such as Scanlan and Hall, it is regrettable

that more is not yet known about J. H. Batchelor, who accompanied him in his Berner Street 'investigations'. There were a surprising number of Batchelors living in London at the time, and although he has not been identified with certainty, a likely candidate is James Batchelor, as an ex-policeman, but research is ongoing. It is amusing to learn from Sgt. James that even Batchelor could not escape Le Grand's wrath, he too being attacked in the open street and feeling compelled to summon Le Grand to court, although the summons was dismissed, with no traces of it yet discovered in the contemporary papers.

A MADMAN'S WORK

Le Grand disappeared into prison and would serve his full two years. The census, taken on April 5th, 1891, records him as Chas. C. Grandy, age 27, born in Denmark, estimated birth year 1864, occupation, general labourer. The birth year and age are 10 years out, but there's no question this is our man.

Le Grand became a free man in June of 1891, but was shadowed by authorities literally from the moment he stepped out of prison until the day only five months later when the police succeeded in putting him back behind bars for the longest stretch of his life. In that short space of time Le Grand committed several felonies, forcing the question of how this was possible if he was under surveillance. And why was he under surveillance in the first place? There were many criminals who had served longer sentences for far worse crimes being released daily to disappear once again into the masses. What separated Le Grand from these common criminals is that the police had come to believe that he might be the most sought after villain to come along in their lifetimes — Jack the Ripper.

Because the police were trying to keep their investigation a secret, there has been very little press coverage discovered thus far pertaining to their suspicions against Le Grand, but the first suggestion came about while Le Grand was still serving his time for the Morris affair. The *Western Mail* of February 14th, 1891 reported that, *'The fact that no Whitechapel murder has taken place since July, 1889, had given rise to hopes that the so-called "Jack the Ripper" had been mercifully removed from the district. We have of late published several theories concocted by ingenious persons to account for the disappearance of the miscreant. The London police, we believed, were satisfied in their own minds that the Whitechapel murderer had been captured and sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude for another offence. They were unable to connect the convict with the murders, though it appears that they were persuaded that they had the man.'*[16]

That this article refers to Le Grand is made evident by more detailed articles of similar verbiage that would come out a year later; the 'fifteen years penal servitude' mentioned here is evidently a misprint for 'five years penal servitude', Le Grand's original sentence. We will consider these and other statements later, but first we must marvel at the amount of mischief Le Grand was able to get up to in the five short months he was at liberty.

In October of 1891 Le Grand would find himself back in police court to be

16. Discovered by Mark Ripper and posted to *casebook.org* in 2010.

followed in November by two trials at the Old Bailey. One charge was for forgery in which he worked with a number of accomplices to forge checks upon the London & Westminster Bank. This failed endeavor was a collaboration between Le Grand and career forger, Edwin (alias Everard) Smith, who went to prison in 1889 for a similar offense. It's possible the two men came to know each other in prison, although Smith was released almost a year before Le Grand.

Immediately after his release from prison in late June, Le Grand took a room at the house of Mrs. Desmond at 83 Kennington Road. He was unknown to Mrs. Desmond and her daughter, Annie, so it's not clear why he settled at that address, although it's known that the previous tenant of his top back room was a Mr. Lushington. The rent was 6s. a week and he gave the name of Grant, stating he was receiving money from a lawsuit. He spent most of the day out and would always leave his door unlocked and various writings lying about, along with great sums of cash and gold. While he was in his room the door was always locked.

WE MUST MARVEL AT THE AMOUNT OF MISCHIEF LE GRAND WAS ABLE TO GET UP TO IN THE FIVE SHORT MONTHS HE WAS AT LIBERTY

Apparently, a good part of Le Grand's time in his room was spent writing letters. One such letter was written to a Mrs. Elizabeth Taplin, the wife of Charles Taplin, a solicitor's clerk whom Le Grand had done some business with. The letter requested that Mrs. Taplin forward to him his portmanteau, his dog, and other belongings. It is not clear why the letter was addressed to Mrs. Taplin and not Charles, but it was written in red ink and unsettled the lady so much that she did not reply and refused to see Le Grand when he called at her house. Shortly thereafter, Mrs. Taplin met Le Grand in the street.

"Have you received my letter, madam?" he asked, to which she replied, "Yes." "Why did you not come up and see me?" he wanted to know. She told him she did not think it proper and that he should wait to see Mr. Taplin. It's possible that Le Grand had designs on Mrs. Taplin and she sensed this, or perhaps she was aware of his reputation through her husband. Whatever the case, she showed her husband the letter before handing it to their solicitor.

Presumably, Le Grand left his dog (whom one is tempted to imagine was a Great Dane) and belongings to Mr. Taplin when he went into prison in 1889. It is interesting that a solicitor's clerk would bear such a responsibility.

While Le Grand's forgery accomplice, Edwin Smith, was overseeing the London and Westminster Bank scam, Le Grand was busy with a personal scheme of his own.

Le Grand had selected three elderly, well-to-do women upon whom he would unleash a campaign of terror in hopes that they would pay out the nose to save their own lives. His method consisted of writing each a letter in red ink, followed by a postcard, demanding they pay him or die. The letter read as follows:

"Madam,- Take notice. If you do not pay me within seven days the sum of £500, I dash your brains out as sure as you read this note, by a dynamite explosion. I stand in imminent want of the said sum, and I must have it, or perish in the attempt. Remember, Madam, that desperate men, or, rather, a man brought to despair by the villainy of a woman, will do desperate things, and, indeed, a woman shall pay for it. Be careful how you proceed in this case. You may be advised to apply to the police for protection. But if you do you will find that their protection is not much better than that of your lapdog. If the English detectives cannot even apprehend the man who killed upon the open streets of Whitechapel seven or eight women, then, indeed, their detective faculties must be limited; in fact, hell should not protect you from my hand if I do not get the sum I have demanded. Understand – I am firmly determined to have it, or to have your life as the value for it. If you estimate your life so low that you would not pay £500 for, then I must leave you to your own reflection. Do not believe that it is my intention to dash your brains out with a revolver – that would, indeed, be madman's work. No, Madam, a thin cake of dynamite placed between some moist fulminate of silver, the whole placed between the doormat and the floor upon which you have to pass, or under your seat in the church, or even under your cushion of your carriage, will immediately explode the moment the weight of your body comes upon it, and dash you to pieces. I intend to do what I say. I have been ruined by a woman, and a woman shall pay for it. I have sent a letter like this to nine other ladies, for the purpose that you do not pay, I will dash your brains out, and you will then serve the others as an example of what they have to expect if they do not pay up. If you feel disposed to comply with my request, please then to insert in the Daily Telegraph *the following advertisement:- '(5) A. M. M. will comply;' and an address will be forwarded to you for which to address the money, or it may be that it may be called for, only mark well that treachery on your part will be punished with instant death, as I am well prepared for such an emergency. I am sorry to trouble you in this way, but I must have the money. Hoping you will be sensible enough to give the required reply, I remain, Madam, yours truly, A. M. M. Your last day for payment the 24th of July."*

All of the letters were in red ink, with the exception of a paragraph written at the top of the letter, in black ink, that read: "Madam. – If you have not the sum I demand at hand, then inform me when you can pay it. I know that you are not poor and you cannot feel such a paltry sum. No. 5. Please insert the above number in your advertisement." According to the *Times*, this marginalia was *"important to connect*

the prisoner with sending the letter as he was in the habit of using black and red ink."

Contrary to the assurances of the writer, only three women, and not nine, received such a terrifying letter. All three of these elderly, well-to-do women were neighbors living on Grosvenor Place. This made sense as it would allow Le Grand to keep watch on all three at one time. The three women of Grosvenor Place targeted by Le Grand were:

Elizabeth Mary Baldock, an elderly lady of means living at #8, described as a 'great invalid.' Upon reading the letter she became ill with fright.

Lady Jessel at #7, the widow of the former Master of the Rolls.

Baroness Balsover at #13, the mother of Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, Member of Parliament.

The answer to why these women were specifically chosen seems to lie in the letter Le Grand sent to the Baroness Balsover. Identical in all regards except for one, the letter contained the following curious sentiment – *'I hope you will consider my request. It may be that one day I may be able to pay it back to you, only I must have it now. If you knew who I am, I feel sure you would pity me – to see that I am come to an act like this, which is highly criminal, and void of all human feeling. I knew you once. But enough.'*

It would seem that Le Grand and Balsover had enjoyed some acquaintance in the past, but not one so close that his remarks would bring him to her mind. There's no reason to doubt that there was some sincerity in his words, particularly in the description of himself as 'void of all human feeling.' While it is hard to imagine anyone with a conscience causing such grief to innocent elderly women, it's all the more disturbing to consider that a man could bring himself to hatch such a wicked scheme upon someone he apparently holds in some measure of respect. And considering that explosives were found in his room upon his arrest, there's little doubt that Le Grand intended to make good on his promises of death.

Tantalizing the police by suggesting an acquaintance with the Baroness was not the end of Le Grand's 'little games'; it would not have escaped his attention that Dr. Malcolm Alexander Morris, the man whom he blamed (along with PS James) for sending him away to prison, lived on *Cavendish* Square and was accused by Le Grand of liaising with Demay on *Bolsover Street*. He would have appreciated the black irony that his primary target held the title of Balsover and the name of Cavendish. I suspect it was for this reason he chose to sign his threat letters with a combination of Dr. Morris' initials (M.A.M.). It was a game of 'connect the dots' he was playing with the authorities, whom he clearly held in very low regard.

The obvious reference to Jack the Ripper in the letter should not go without comment. Witness testimony at the trial proved that Le Grand had spent much time crafting his letter through many drafts, some witnessed by his landlady's daughter. What jumps out is his attribution to the Ripper of '7 or 8' murders. What reads like a casual statement from someone with no real knowledge of the crimes was written and rewritten in every one of the letters, and therefore quite intentional. It's as though he couldn't resist bragging how the Ripper outwitted the police but at the same time distanced himself from the murders by making the extra effort of offering '7 or 8' instead of one or the other, or no number at all. This actually detracts from the threat value of the letters by relieving the reader of

any suspicion that the author might be the Ripper himself.

The true mystery about the blackmail scheme is why Le Grand attempted it at all. Contrary to his statements of desperation and destitution, he had money pouring in from fraud and laundering. In fact, had it not been for the investigation of the blackmail letters, the money capers might not have been discovered for a long time, if at all. It's doubtful he had any real hope that any of the women would pay up, and the explosives in his possession suggest the possibility he was hoping they wouldn't so he could enjoy watching a human being explode in front of their family and friends.

The letters achieved their aim in terrifying the women but failed in eliciting any money, and they wasted no time in contacting the police. Le Grand then followed up with a postcard intimating his suspicion that they'd gone against his wishes and contacted the authorities and reminded them of their fate if they didn't make good with the money. Remarkably, the police immediately satisfied themselves that it was Le Grand sending the letters by comparing the handwriting to his 1887 letter to Commissioner Warren. The fact that a four-year old letter would come so quick to mind proves that Le Grand had been under constant investigation and suspicion and suggests he may also have been suspected of sending the Jack the Ripper letters, or at least investigated as the penman.

The police were keen to get Le Grand back behind bars as quickly as possible, and those who suspected him of the Ripper crimes must have been quite anxious to prevent him from committing another murder, or at least capture him in the act, which would have been the only means of securing a conviction. Unfortunately, their zeal led to sloppiness and Le Grand was soon onto the fact that he was being watched and followed.

In early August, Detective-Sergeant William Williamson called at 83 Kennington Road in disguise as a tipsy man and inquired about Le Grand, asking if he was still offering music lessons. Annie Desmond, the landlady's daughter, mentioned the visitor to Le Grand who wasted no time in packing his luggage and leaving, telling the girl that he was going to Brighton. She kept his room for him until nine days later when she received a postcard from Le Grand postmarked Paris saying that he'd being staying there for a number of months and there was no need to keep the room for him. Whether or not Le Grand went to Paris or not isn't known for sure, but he didn't stay long if he did. In early September the police did not know where Le Grand had gone, though they must have felt certain it was anywhere but Brighton. To flush him out, Sergeant James shadowed a messenger boy used by Le Grand in hopes that he could be led to the criminal. It was a move anticipated by the cunning Le Grand, who by now had lost all sense of discretion and self-preservation, and instead gave into his notorious rage and murderous instincts.

On September 3rd a letter arrived at Tottenham Court Road Police Station addressed to Police Sergeant James. It was in printed characters and read:

Hyde Park Scoundrel, do not let me see you in my way again. I could see you yesterday, although your detective Smart could commit perjury when well bribed; you dog, you could not see me. Be careful, and do not come in my way; for, sure as this is written by me, the man whom you have injured by your crime of perjury, I dash your brains out

the moment you come near me. I will see your heart blood before they get me again by your perjury. My hand is used to firearms, and by heaven I shall not miss you when I get you in my sight.

As if this wasn't brazen enough, Le Grand also sent a letter to Sir Edward Bradford, Warren's successor as Chief Commissioner of Police, threatening to burn down buildings if he didn't call his men off the hunt. The signs were clear that Le Grand was not in his right mind and if not captured soon would likely make good on his threats of murder and destruction. Fortunately, Detective James Holder in company with Sergeant William James picked up his scent and on September 26th tracked Le Grand to the Maiden train station. The encounter almost cost James his life.

Le Grand was with Edwin Smith, his co-conspirator in various money frauds, and recognized Sergeant James upon his approach. Smith, whom the policeman did not recognize, ran and made good his escape, but Le Grand was not so fortunate. James later made notes of his conversation with Le Grand at the station and on the train and testified to the following exchange:

"Grand, consider yourself in custody."

"What for?"

"YOU SCOUNDREL! IT WAS MY INTENTION TO PUSH YOU UNDER THE TRAIN"

"For sending letters to ladies demanding money and threatening to murder them."

"You dirty scoundrel! This is your work, you who have received £50 from Morris to put me away before. If I had seen you I would have blown your brains out. You dirty dog! You are good at perjury when you are well bribed. I shall soon be out of this, and then look out. I will not shoot you, I will put about six inches of steel into your back."

As the men were waiting on the platform for the train to roll in, Le Grand got his hands loose and attempted to throw Sergeant James under the wheels of the train. Fortunately, James got his footing and saved himself. On the train, the following conversation occurred.

"You scoundrel! It was my intention to push you under the train; I would not mind dying too (or 'I would not mind doing it', according to some sources). *You, as a clever detective, could not catch me; I have seen you many a time – when I sent a boy from the messenger company to the bank in Victoria Street, I saw you, I was in the churchyard; and you, the gentleman detective, you b---- fool, you could have seen me; I saw you in Hyde Park following the poor little boy, you b---- fool, and you could not see me."*

"Yes, that is what you said in the letter you sent me," replied James.

"Me send you a letter?"

"Yes"

"Ah, yes; that will be my line of defence; if any letters have been sent, it was you, you dirty dog, who have sent it; I will settle with you when I get through this; and it is a good job you have got me now, as I was off to New York on Monday."

Le Grand then shook his handcuffs and said, *"If I could only take these cuffs off I would take my hands round your neck and strangle you, you dog, I would."*

This exchange is remarkable considering that Le Grand was spewing these threats at a policeman and in front of other officers and a detective. Sergeant James had no qualms admitting in court that, knowing Le Grand's character as he did, he was afraid of him.

While Le Grand was detained at the station, his nearby bolt-hole at No. 1, The Oaklands, Acacia Road, Maiden, was discovered and searched. Among the items found was an 'infernal machine', which was a homemade explosive device rigged in a cigar box fitted with springs, a patch of gunpowder, and two bottles of acid. Also present were items related to the crimes of fraud, which led to the arrest of Edwin Smith.

When arrested at the train station, Le Grand was holding a bag. Detective James Holder of J Division opened the bag and found an unloaded revolver, a set of brass knuckles, a cosh, some memoranda, and a metal whistle he described as 'not a police whistle, but very similar.' This whistle was most likely a remnant from Le Grand's days with the Whitechapel Vigilance Committee, the patrolmen of which were all issued whistles. When Detective Holder showed Le Grand the items in the bag, Le Grand replied, *"I got them for you b---- scoundrels, and meant to give it to you."*

Inspector Henry Moore made a midnight trek to the police station and found himself face to face with Charles Le Grand. Moore was only months away from inheriting command over the Ripper investigation from Inspector Frederick Abberline, who was retiring. He began reading Le Grand the arrest warrant, and as soon as he mentioned Mrs. Baldock's name, Le Grand fainted to the floor. This was a ploy he shared with Liz Stride, who earned the nickname 'Epileptic Annie' for her propensity to fake fainting spells in court. Le Grand later complained he had fainted because he had not eaten, although only five hours had passed since his arrest. When Le Grand regained his composure, he asked the inspector to read the warrant again. Le Grand repeated after Moore the line, "With intent to steal £500", then, after a pause, he asked the ludicrous question, "Where was the money sent?" He then repeated the word 'menace' several times. Moore asked if he understood the charge, to which Le Grand replied, "Yes, threats, " and then added, "It is lucky you have got me just now, as I was off to America on Monday." This may have been a true statement, as his pockets were filled with British, French, and American currency.

"RIPPER JACK'S" TRIAL

Le Grand's trial began on November 16th, 1891, and for a while was every bit the sensation as other notorious trials of the day, such as that of Florence Maybrick in 1889. It was fully covered in newspapers all over the world, with American papers hailing Le Grand as the 'King of Blackmailers" and his trial as 'The Most Remarkable Case in the History of English Jurisprudence.'

What made the trial remarkable in the eyes of the press was not only the charges placed against Le Grand but also his antics during the

proceedings. The *News and Observer* of November 25th reported on Le Grand's final desperate act of rebellion against authority.

Shortly after the judge's charge had been delivered, the prisoner, who evidently had been under a strong nervous strain during the whole time the evidence had been taken, suddenly sprang to his feet and then fell backward in a fainting condition. "He has poisoned himself," somebody cried in the court-room. Then there was a scene of great confusion. Everybody seemed to spring to his feet and to be desirous of seeing the prisoner. The court-room, crowded to the doors with friends and acquaintances, the many aristocratic ladies interested more or less in the trial of the "French Colonel," and jammed with the usual audience of sensation lovers, seemed to be a sea of surging humanity. The court officers, in the meanwhile, did their utmost to restore order, and Judge Hawkins loudly and repeatedly appealed to everybody to sit down.

But this scene of uproar was as nothing to what followed. While about a dozen policemen and a number of prison wardens were bending over the prostrate prisoner, in their efforts to restore him to consciousness, the "French Colonel" suddenly struggled to his feet, hit a policeman between the eyes, knocking him sprawling, and then began as terrible a scene as was ever witnessed in an English court. The prisoner fought like a maniac, hitting and biting the dozen policemen and wardens, who, for some time, were utterly unable to overpower him. Screams, yells, and the hoarse cries of the struggling men filled the air. A number of ladies fainted, others rushed wildly for the combatants or for the doors, where, for a few moments at least, to use an antiquated expression, "Bedlam seemed to be let loose."

Judge Hawkins sentenced Le Grand to 20 years hard labor for blackmail and another seven years hard labor for his fraud attempt, a very severe and perhaps unprecedented sentence for the crimes committed. By British law at the time, Le Grand, with credit for good behavior, would have served less time with a life sentence.

Had the police finally succeeded in putting Jack the Ripper behind bars once and for all?

Since at least 1889, and possibly earlier, police suspected Le Grand of the Ripper murders, but were helpless to do anything about it except keep a watch on him and try to keep him behind bars for other crimes. In 1906 a 'well-known Scotland Yard detective' remarked to the press that *'It is easy to suspect a man. Frequently it is not difficult to suspect the right man. But unless there is an unbroken chain of circumstances connecting the suspected person with the actual crime it is both useless and harmful to make an arrest.'*[17] For this reason, secrecy was of the utmost importance to the investigators as they pieced their case together. Much of the information they gathered must have come from Le Grand's numerous underworld associates, and with so many witnesses and investigators in the know, total secrecy would be little more than a pipe dream; so the police would have had to depend upon the better sense of the press who would not be willing to risk the inevitable libel suit if they named Le Grand as the Ripper or even a suspect. The press as a whole did not let them down, although at least one paper, the

17. *Nelson Evening Mail*, January 4th, 1906

Quebec Saturday Budget, in their Nov. 28th, 1891 edition, chose to play with fire by reporting Le Grand's trial under the less-than-subtle headline of:

"RIPPER JACK'S" PARD.
The "French Colonel" A Mystery
To London's Police.

The press weren't the only ones during the trial barely able to hold in what they knew. James Hall, much less frightened than he had been in 1889, proved a far more compliant witness. When asked under cross-examination how he came to know Le Grand, Hall told the jury, *'I first met the prisoner in the Strand; I was in want – I did not meet him in the street, I went to his office – I was very much down in the world and hungry – I did not ask him for food and money; he gave me money to get food, for which I was very thankful – he gave me employment; that was principally at his private house,* ***where I cleaned knives and so forth.'***[18]

This is a very telling statement, and was not an intentional slip on the part of Hall, who at the previous trial went into detail about his duties as clerk, head of staff, messenger, and general go-to guy, but here at the final trial he reveals that at Le Grand's "private house" his primary duty was to "clean his knives"…not the kitchen, nor the dishes, but his knives. Some brows must have been sweating at what Hall would say next, but what he had said had been for Le Grand's benefit – to let him know he had told the police all he knew – and the rest of Hall's testimony echoed for the most part what he had told the 1889 jury.

An anonymous letter sent to the *Pall Mall Gazette* following the trial and published in their November 26th edition delves even further beneath the surface of the police investigation and tells us that amongst the evidence collected on Le Grand was nothing less than a murder confession.

Society may congratulate itself that Charles Grande is in safe keeping for some fourteen years at least. A correspondent who has come across Grande in private life, so to speak, sends us the following note: - "The 'King of Blackmailers,' as I see the reporters have christened Grande, is really a very mean and squalid creature. The ambitious coups *which were revealed at the trial, and which*

AMONGST THE EVIDENCE COLLECTED ON LE GRAND WAS NOTHING LESS THAN A MURDER CONFESSION.

18. My emphasis.

have excited interest in him, were not his staple industry. He belongs to that degraded class against which the German Emperor launched his thunderbolt the other day. Some time before the date of his last sentence but one for blackmailing, he had appeared in a police-court and provoked a magistrate to an almost unjudicial warmth of execration by a cowardly and brutal assault on one of the miserable women on whom he preyed."

"It was on this side of his career (continues our correspondent) that I came in contact with Grande a few years ago in the course of some rather amateurish 'vigilance work.' I had to call on and caution him at his own den – then in a cul de sac *close to Portland-place. The man blustered a good deal and threatened me with a revolver; but he acted on the caution. I caught him shadowing me some time after. He used to practice as a 'private inquiry agent' off and on, and the terror which he inspired among the more helpless class of his victims was due as much to the show he made of being 'in with the police'* (en mouchard) *as to his probably absurd boast of having a murder in his past. He tried keeping a gambling-hall, too-in fact, in the lower walks of life,* nihil fere non tetigi. *Latterly he seems to have gone 'cracky' with sheer wickedness; for with all his show of knuckle-dusters and pistols and personal violence these clumsy pranks of letter-writing to old ladies in red ink are a sad falling off from his pristine reputation for almost devilish astuteness."*

This carefully crafted letter must be read between the lines to be appreciated. It was clearly written by someone in the police force who had known Le Grand well and for some time, the most likely suggestion being PS William James, although we can't say this with certainty. Whoever it was, it seems to have been important to him to let people know that Le Grand was far worse than a blackmailer; that he 'preyed' on 'miserable women', and in spite of his numerous arrests, enjoyed a 'pristine reputation for almost devilish astuteness.' Our unnamed insider tells us that he paid Le Grand a visit at his home in a *cul de sac* off Portland Place, a good enough description for us to identify the address as 35 Charlotte Street, Portland Place, which is today Hallam Street and is indeed a *cul de sac*.

The visit paid to Le Grand, says our insider, was to caution him against something that pertained to his 'vigilance work' a 'few years' before, which would have been late 1888 when Le Grand was employed by the Whitechapel Vigilance Committee. What the caution was over must remain a matter for speculation, but it could only have been important, and Le Grand must have been untouchable to feel secure enough in pulling a revolver on a policeman without fear of arrest. Perhaps the most explosive statement was that Le Grand was 'in with the police a statement our insider does not attempt to deny — and that he boasted of murder. Attributing the confession of murder to Le Grand as a 'boast' and disqualifying it as 'probably absurd' would relieve the newspaper and the writer (should his identity be discovered) from any claim of libel while achieving the aim of getting it out to the world that a shadow of murder hangs over Le Grand's head. This is the only possible interpretation, as the police certainly suspected Le Grand of murder and were aware of his attempt on the life of PS James earlier that year, so would treat any intimation of murder coming from him with the utmost seriousness.

At its very essence, this revealing letter brims over with the author's

frustration at seeing Le Grand become notorious for what he perceives as the lesser of his crimes. It ties Le Grand to murder, the prostitutes upon whom he 'preyed', a relationship with and possibly protection from authorities, and most importantly to the Ripper murders, should anyone look to see what his 'vigilance work' was in reference to. Like the anonymous reporter who saw Le Grand's stiff 27 year sentence for blackmail and fraud as 'Ripper Jack's Pard', so our unknown investigator must also have seen it as a pardon compared to the noose that would have met the man who brutally murdered at least five East End prostitutes.

SIFTING THE EVIDENCE

A few years ago when I cast the light of suspicion on Le Grand in my 'Jack & The Grapestalk' essay for *Ripper Notes* magazine, I only had common sense, a few press clippings from Gerry Nixon, and my own gut instinct to go on. However, very recent and exciting discoveries have taken my investigation to a whole other level and have cemented Le Grand's place as a legitimate contemporary suspect, and I firmly believe that as more years go by he'll be recognized as *the* prime suspect and the man most likely to have been Jack the Ripper. I'm currently starting work on a book tentatively titled *The Infernal Machine*, which will be a full-length book further exploring Le Grand as a Ripper suspect as well as re-evaluating the murders and the investigation with a fresh look and some new information. I have been wisely advised by many to shut up and write the book, but I decided instead to publish this article including all the important findings to date, in hopes that other researchers will become as excited as myself and decide to join me in the quest by sharing their ideas and findings with me. And by 'with me' I don't mean by posting them piecemeal on message boards. I was fortunate enough to have had this happen once with Debra Arif and can only hope that lightning will strike twice.

The first piece of evidence we'll consider in this section is a report discovered by Mike Covell and identified by Howard Brown as pertaining to Le Grand. It is from the *Western Mail* of Friday, Feb. 26th, 1892.

TRACKING "JACK THE RIPPER."
REMARKABLE STATEMENT BY A SCOTLAND YARD DETECTIVE
THE CHAIN OF EVIDENCE ALL BUT COMPLETE

Telegraphing on Thursday night, our London correspondent states: - I am in a position to give, on the authority of a Scotland Yard detective, a somewhat remarkable piece of information respecting the hunt of the English police after the perpetrator of the terrible series of East End murders which convulsed the whole country with horror a while ago. We have heard nothing about "Jack the Ripper" for some time past – over a year – and his murderous operations have not been renewed. The reason for this is that the police have, for many months past, been perfectly certain that they have discovered the man. The chain of evidence has been completed with the exception of a single link. That link they have been making unavailing endeavours to supply. The suspected criminal, till within a month, at any rate, has been watched and shadowed night and day, awake and asleep, by Scotland Yard detectives. Everything points to the conclusion that he has himself been perfectly aware of this vigilance on the part of the police, and it is, no doubt, from this cause, and this alone, that the Whitechapel murders have ceased. Mr. Farquharson, M.P. for West Dorset, was credited, I believe,

some time since with having evolved a remarkable theory of his own in the matter. He believed that the author of the outrages destroyed himself. But if the police have been on the right track this theory is naturally exploded. There is, as a matter of fact, nothing improbable in the belief arrived at by the Scotland Yard detectives in this matter. It is quite common, indeed, for a criminal to get off in this manner. Some time since – about two years – the London police were on the track of a begging letter writer, who had for years made a fraudulent living out of members of Parliament and public men. They knew who the man was perfectly well, shadowed him persistently in the East End, knew his address, and several of his friends and accomplices. Yet they could not complete their chain of evidence. The man was never nailed, and he finally left London because his business was too much hampered by the police. But he has never to this day been arrested.

The reporter seems to have confused many of the details, such as that Le Grand got away and was never seen again and that he was under watch as recent as a month, when in fact he'd been in prison for 3 months. It seems that the reporter thought he was writing two different stories when in fact they were one and the same, as made clear by the following report from the April 2nd, 1892 edition of the *Hull and North Lincolnshire Times*.

ANOTHER "RIPPER" STORY

A Belfast newspaper's London correspondent says: - "The Scotland-yard authorities did not believe the alleged confession of the Whitechapel murders by Deeming. The fact is they consider, rightly or wrongly, that they have the author of the Whitechapel tragedies now under lock and key at Portland Prison undergoing a sentence of 20 years' penal servitude. He is a Belgian, and was tried and sentenced some six months ago for attempting to obtain money from ladies by threats of violence. There is just one link in the chain of evidence missing, and they expect sooner or later, to be able to supply it.

With the exception of misidentifying Le Grand as a Belgian, this report has its facts spot on, as he was indeed sentenced to 20 years six months prior for writing threatening letters (along with seven years for fraud) and he served time both in Portland and Parkhurst prisons. The reoccurring theme that runs from the 1891 excerpt identifying Le Grand as a suspect, looked at earlier in this work, and these two from 1892, is the elusive 'missing link' in the chain of evidence. This missing link would be the one crucial piece of evidence that points solely to Le Grand as the murderer, and in 1888 that could only come in the form of someone seeing him actually committing a murder, or a piece of physical evidence (such as something taken from a victim) solidly linking him to one or more of the murders, or a signed confession. Even third party hearsay connecting Le Grand to the Ripper murders, which they quite possibly had in the form of James Hall, Amelia Demay, or some of the many other accomplices and associates Le Grand collected over the years, would not have been enough to secure a conviction.

Although it's a slim hope, the optimism at finding this 'missing link', evinced by the investigators in these press reports, keeps alive the hope that it's still out there and that they might even have discovered it during Le Grand's lifetime, but were compelled to keep silent because of Le Grand's connections to the police and other powerful people and institutions. If they found it, we can find it again.

JABEZ SPENCER BALFOUR

JABEZ SPENCER BALFOUR MEETS THE RIPPER

Jabez Spencer Balfour was a Member of Parliament at the time of the Ripper murders and subsequently brought disgrace on himself by heading a fraudulent land society called the Liberator Building Society which, upon its collapse, brought about the ruin of literally thousands of individuals. It was the Enron of its day and was called 'the most destructive fraud of the nineteenth century.' After the collapse, and with the writing on the wall, Balfour took off to Argentina where he spent a few years on the lam before being arrested and escorted back to London by Inspector Frank Froest, of Pinchin Street Torso fame.[19]

I was initially interested in Balfour because he was a Member of Parliament (Le Grand's favorite prey for blackmailing) and was involved with land societies, as was Le Grand at the same time. It seemed there might be some link between the two men. It turned out I was correct, but not at all for the reasons I thought — the men had served time together in both Portland and Parkhurst prisons!

19. For further reading on Jabez Balfour I strongly recommend the 2004 biography, *Jabez: The Rise and Fall of a Victorian Rogue*, by David McKie.

Jabez served his time from 1895 to 1906 and upon his release found himself desperately in need of cash. He was picked up from prison in a car owned by Alfred Harmsworth, later Lord Northcliffe, the owner and proprietor of the *Daily Mail* newspaper. Harmsworth commissioned Jabez to write a serialized memoir of his life in prison for his weekly publication, the *Weekly* (later, *Sunday*) *Dispatch*. He wasted no time in getting to work, and the first of his 26 installments appeared only eight days after his release from prison. The series was so enormously popular that Harmsworth commissioned the prolific Jabez to simultaneously write a second series entitled 'Crimson Crimes' which would look at well-known crimes and criminals in London's recent history. This was a subject close to Jabez's heart and he opened the series with a four-part run covering the Jack the Ripper murders.

Although written in 1906, and not without its errors, Jabez's account of the Ripper murders is more detailed and accurate than many accounts published within the first 50 or even 75 years of the murders. It was clearly a subject he had much interest in, as he noted:

'I have never neglected an opportunity of gleaning information on this subject. I have discussed this great mystery with all sorts and conditions of men – with detectives who were engaged in the investigations at the time, with barristers who have carefully scrutinized and weighed the evidence which was tendered at the inquests, with journalists, whose vocations requires an intimate knowledge of every topic of public interest; and last, but by no means least, with ex-convicts, for whom this great undiscovered series of tremendous crimes – the work of an outsider – is a matter of absorbing interest and speculation to this very day.'

Jabez's first encounter with and introduction of Le Grand makes for exciting if all too short reading, and is presented here for the first time in print in over 100 years.

There was pointed out to me at Portland, and afterwards at Parkhurst, a prisoner whom I was told that man of the most experienced detectives believed to be Jack the Ripper.
"Do you see that tall and villainous-looking ruffian there?" a warder once said to me.
"Of course, I do. What's the matter with him?" I answered.
"Oh, nothing," was the laconic reply; "only he's Jack the Ripper."
Naturally the assertion startled me. The man who made it was a staid and sober-minded officer, not given to romancing, and much better educated than many of his fellows.
I set myself to sift it as thoroughly as I could. To my astonishment I found that a prisoner, a man once high up in the detective service, was firmly of the same opinion. He had himself been actively engaged in the Whitechapel cases, and he knew the man in question well. On one occasion he had arrested him for another offence; but much as I was impressed by these views, I was not convinced.

CRUEL, EVIL MAN

So far as I could make out the opinions were based on this sufficiently startling fact. The man was believed by all who knew him, and who knew the criminal classes, to be the most likely man in all England to commit such atrocities. The most likely morally, for he was known to be an adept in depravity. A lustful, cruel, evil man, delighting in every kind of abominable wickedness; passing his life among abandoned women, and thriving on the wages of their sin;

the most likely naturally, for he was wonderfully skilful in the use of the knife; swift as a panther, cunning as a fox. Known to have been the perpetrator of many serious offences, he had only been convicted of two. There was not a worse, a more likely man in all London. By nature, by personal gifts, as well as by habits and surroundings, he was as near an approach to what Jack the Ripper might be expected to be as any man ever known to the police. I never could find out, however, that there was any satisfactory evidence to connect him personally with any of the crimes, and however likely he might have been, without some such connection, the suspicion was little else than a mere conjecture. Moreover, there was a scientific accuracy displayed, if I may use the expression, in all these crimes after the first [Martha Tabram, by Jabez's account]*, such as there was no known ground to attribute to this particular man.* [20]

For obvious reasons of libel, Jabez could not give the identity of the suspect. However, he provides us with ample details to conclude beyond any doubt that he's talking about Charles Le Grand. For instance, we know Jabez's man is tall, villainous-looking, was cruel, immoral, worked as a pimp, served time in both Portland and Parkhurst prisons at the same time as did Le Grand, was in for two felonies (Le Grand was in for both blackmail and fraud), and was strongly suspected of being Jack the Ripper. If there were another man who fit this description and has completely evaded the written record, it would truly be a remarkable coincidence, even by the standards of Ripperology.

Jabez makes it clear later on in the narrative that he discounted Le Grand and other suspects based on the knowledge that they were not left-handed and were not trained surgeons, such medical experience being required to account for the 'scientific accuracy' he saw in the murders. These were popular misconceptions at the time, but modern researchers enjoying full access to the extant police and medical reports know that the Ripper was neither left-handed nor need have been a trained surgeon, or, in fact, have had any medical experience at all. He need only have been comfortable and skilled in the use of a knife, which Le Grand apparently was, according to Jabez's sources; and we'll remember from the 1891 testimony of James Hall, Le Grand's 'guy Friday' near the time of the Ripper murders, that Le Grand was in possession of a collection of knives that Hall was in charge of keeping clean.

It is fortunate that Jabez's mistaken presumptions about the Ripper led to his dismissal of Le Grand as the criminal, as it allows us to place confidence in the information he departs, knowing that he had no motive to exaggerate the facts to bolster a pet theory. Most of what he tells us is already known from other sources, but adds to our knowledge the quite significant points that Le Grand was suspected by a number of policemen and detectives, as well as his own associates, of being the Ripper. He also confirms that Le Grand, on top of being a pimp, was a sexual deviant, and skilled in the use of a knife. What Jabez may not have been aware of, for it may have swayed his opinion, is that Le Grand, the man "morally and naturally" most likely to have been the Ripper, had

20. *Weekly Dispatch*, Nov. 11th, 1906.

risked personal liberty to impose himself upon the investigation at a critical stage, fabricating suspects to throw it off course.

At present, it is not known who the prisoner "once high up in the detective service" was, but there could only have been so many detectives or inspectors serving time in Parkhurst prison between 1895 and 1906, so his identification seems imminent, and naming a detective who came to believe Le Grand was the Ripper might lead to more clues and another break in the case.

In 1907, a year after his release from prison and the publication of his Ripper articles, Jabez again published his prison memoirs in a book entitled *My Prison Life*. As the book only pertained to his years in prison, there was no discussion of the Ripper or any material from his 'Crimson Crimes' series. However, Le Grand does make an appearance:

I was for some time brought into daily contact with a middle-aged and apparently respectable man, who was filling a responsible position, and who, I was informed, was an exemplary prisoner. This man was actually undergoing a term of twenty-seven years' penal servitude, made up of a series of sentences which the judge had ordered should run consecutively. I have heard the charge (I think it was blackmailing) upon which this man was convicted, but I know nothing of the facts of the case, and without unduly reflecting upon him I am quite prepared to assume that those facts were of the worst possible kind – but twenty-seven years' penal servitude! Why, it is more than a sentence of imprisonment for life. This man, if he served all his time, and did not lose a single remission mark, would remain in prison some months longer than the worst of murderers whose sentences of death had been commuted to penal servitude for life. Since I have been released I have been told that this man's case has been considered by the Home Secretary, and that he has decided that the twenty-seven years should be held as equivalent to a life sentence. But the fact that the Home Secretary had to be called in to mitigate the glaring anomaly of this judicial absurdity serves only to strengthen and give point to these remarks.

There can be no doubt he is again referring to Le Grand, who was the only person convicted of blackmail serving a 27-year sentence. *Prima facie*, it seems Jabez is here talking about a completely different prisoner, but his words must be taken in the context for which they were intended, and the book *My Prison Life* was intended to bring about prison reform, so disclosing Le Grand's true character and his candidacy for the Ripper murders, and then arguing that his sentence was too severe, would not likely evoke the sympathy he'd intended. However, not wanting to be totally disingenuous, Jabez manages to slip in the following barb, "*but I know nothing of the facts of the case, and without unduly*

...HIS IDENTIFICATION SEEMS IMMINENT...

reflecting upon him I am quite prepared to assume that those facts were of the worst possible kind."

Worst possible kind, indeed!

Jabez would have been aware that Le Grand was writing the Home Secretary from prison, as Jabez himself did the same for his less literate prison-mates, and it is interesting that he took the time to follow up on the status of Le Grand's pleas. I get the feeling he was frightened at the thought of Le Grand's early dismissal, particularly should Le Grand become aware of what he had to say about him in the *Weekly Dispatch*. He knew that Le Grand would no doubt hear of and seek out his book, so he hoped that proper astonishment at his heavy sentence and his taking the time to speak to the Home Secretary on his behalf would appease the "lustful, cruel, evil man" whom he was now forced to count among his acquaintances.

Unfortunately, we do not yet know when Le Grand was released from prison, what he did after, or when he died, though hopefully further research will answer these questions.

FURTHER POLICE SUSPICION

When Chief Constable Frederick Porter Wensley retired in 1929, *Time* magazine had the following to say:

When crime looms in London there is but one thing to do – report to Scotland Yard. As any reader of the best detective fiction knows, the "C.I.D." (Criminal Investigation Department) will unravel the knottiest mystery in the shortest possible time. In fiction there is usually an amateur on hand to simplify the C.I.D.'s work. In actuality, for many a long year, the master mind of Scotland Yard, the prototype of Sherlock Holmes, a sleuth in no need of amateur assistance, has been Chief Constable Frederick Wensley, a real super-detective credited with solving more murders than any living man.

Wensley is as respected by modern researchers as he was by his contemporaries for his honesty, humble nature, and wealth of experience and knowledge. He published an autobiography as well as histories of Scotland Yard, but refused to offer any opinion on who Jack the Ripper might have been. To my knowledge, the following sentence from the July 8th, 1929 issue of *Time* magazine is the first suggestion of who Wensley thought was the Ripper:

No one ever saw "Jack." The C.I.D. and Policeman Wensley gradually

Frederick Porter Wensley

caught his accomplices but "Jack the Ripper" never was found.

The significance of this statement cannot be under-appreciated, and as Le Grand is the only major suspect who had criminal accomplices, there's little doubt Wensley is referring to him.

A controversial idea that occurred to me during my research into Le Grand and that deserves serious consideration is that Le Grand presents us with the most probable solution to the "Ostrog Question" — how did Michael Ostrog end up on Macnaghten's shortlist of suspects? Due to space constraints, this will be discussed in a future issue, along with Jabez Balfour's other three suspects, which should make for interesting reading.

WAS CHARLES LE GRAND JACK THE RIPPER?

The only honest answer to this question can be "I don't know." My objective with this essay was not to make this argument, but instead to prove that Le Grand was a prime suspect in the Ripper murders and is far and away the most likely man among all the known suspects to have been Jack the Ripper. I believe I have succeeded in that goal. The evidence speaks for itself.

1. Le Grand was cruel, vicious, violent, accurately described himself as "void of all human feeling"; he lived for years off prostitutes and took joy in beating them in the open street. Unlike Tumblety, Druitt, or Kosminski, Le Grand was a verifiable sociopath.
2. Le Grand was accustomed to wearing silent shoes as a 'private investigator' and required the patrolman of the Whitechapel Vigilance Committee to wear them as well. He was accustomed to keeping changes of clothes hidden about when following people and kept more than one address at a time.
3. Le Grand, alone among the suspects, could have depended on an accomplice if necessary.
4. Le Grand, alone among the suspects, inserted himself into the investigation by joining the WVC.
5. Le Grand alone would have known the whereabouts on any night of the WVC patrolmen, as he was in charge of placing them. Through his police contacts he would also know the beats of policemen in any area of London.
6. Le Grand, because of his status as a PI and his position with the WVC, could have and did walk the streets of the East End with impunity. If stopped by a constable, he would not be detained.
7. The WVC met at the Crown Tavern at 74 Mile End Road, a short distance from Berner Street. They let out for patrol after midnight. This means that we can accurately place Le Grand in the very neighborhood in which Stride was murdered at the very hour of her murder.
8. Israel Schwartz described 'Pipeman' as 5ft 11in, 35 years old, and fair-haired. There were exceptionally few men in the East End fitting this description, and certainly very few likely to have been in the neighborhood and on the street at the time Schwartz walked through Berner Street. And at 6ft, age 35, and fair-haired, Le Grand was probably the only man in the area who fit Schwartz's description and was also a violent sociopath with a history of abusing prostitutes.
9. Following the *Star*'s publication of Schwartz's story, Le Grand went on a disinformation frenzy, conjuring up the Packer suspect and the Batty Street Lodger, two fabrications that successfully put the police and

public on false scents and continue to serve as red herrings right up to the present. As has been shown, his motive could not have been driven by financial gain or a desire for publicity, and if his own history is anything to go by, Le Grand is quick to purchase lies and alibis only for the sake of self-preservation. It is not an understatement to suggest that Le Grand emerges as the probable murderer of Liz Stride.

10. Le Grand was exceptionally intelligent as well as cunning. He possessed an intense hatred for the police and arrogantly gave clues to them in his 1891 'threat letters'. Le Grand would have taken delight in intentionally murdering two women in the same night but in the jurisdictions of two different police forces.
11. Le Grand, alone among the suspects, possessed a collection of knives and was alleged to have been skilled in the use of them.
12. Le Grand, so alleges Jabez Balfour, was suspected both by detectives and personal acquaintances of having been Jack the Ripper.
13. Le Grand referenced the Whitechapel murders in his 1891 letters in such a way that he was deceitfully pretending to be more ignorant of the crimes than he really was.
14. Le Grand went to prison only months after the murder of Mary Kelly and was hounded by police immediately upon his release in 1891. Within months he was back in the docks, rushed through a speedy trial, and was given a sentence described by a former member of parliament as a *"glaring anomaly of…judicial absurdity"* and determined by no less than the Home Secretary to be extreme. This occurred at the peak of the police investigation of Le Grand as the Ripper and indicates he was put away until old age as a consolation for not being able to take him to trial for the Ripper murders. Even if the police did come to possess evidence which could have secured a conviction, Le Grand's ties to the police department, possibly the *Times* and the Parnell Commission, and other important individuals, would have made such a gamble impossible.
15. Mary Kelly was a prostitute who put on French airs and claimed to have traveled to Paris with the captain of a merchantman. Le Grand was a pimp who put on French airs, made occasional trips to Paris, and on occasion used the alias 'Captain Anderson'.

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Biography

Tom Wescott

Tom lives in America's heartland and, while still a young man, he has been a Casebook.org member since 1998. He has written extensively on the Ripper murders and his articles have appeared in Ripper Notes, Ripperologist and the Whitechapel Society Journal. This the second article for Casebook Examiner. Tom has two pet ferrets.

Inspector Andrews Revisited part two:

DR. ANDERSON, DR. TUMBLETY & A VOYAGE TO CANADA

R.J.PALMER

SS La Bretagne departing from Le Havre

On the morning of November 29th, 1888, two men stood shivering on the docks at Liverpool waiting to board the *S.S. Sarnia.*The shorter man was Roland Gideon Israel Barnett, a forty-two year old swindler and former accountant whose father had been a 'painting and curiosity dealer' in Picadilly. A once dashing figure, Barnett had married the beautiful and well-known London actress Nelly Power in 1874, but, having fallen on more disreputable times, was currently wanted in Canada for wrecking the Central Bank of Toronto. The taller man next to him, sporting a salt-and-pepper beard and a suit of 'Inverness cut,' was Scotland Yard Detective Inspector Walter Andrews.

"Provided the trip is a pleasant one," the *Toronto Mail* reported, "the steamer will arrive in Halifax a week from Saturday."

The scene immediately struck the Toronto correspondent as odd, for under the auspices of the Fugitive Offender's Act, it was entirely up to the Canadians to come and fetch Barnett. Instead, for some strange reason, Inspector Andrews was *bringing the prisoner over*.

"It appears that one of the members of the staff of Scotland Yard was anxious to take a trip to America," the *Mail's* correspondent mused, "and ascertain how they did things in Toronto. On this account the staff kindly and ably seconded the petition for Barnett's extradition, a piece of courtesy that the Toronto staff may on some future occasion repay."[1]

Little did the reporter know that this innocent explanation for Andrews' voyage would soon be met with howls of skepticism, and grave suspicions arise that something altogether different was afoot.

Barnett's escort, as we have seen, was one of Victorian London's most prominent detectives. Inspector Andrews' varied and exciting career included, among other cases, eliciting the confessions of a murderer, a shadowy and perhaps covert role in Scotland Yard's greatest scandal of the 1870s, testimony before a Parliamentary Commission on police ethics and discipline, the breaking-up of a black-market trade in boy 'acrobats,' a prominent abortion case alongside Dr. Thomas Bond, the hunting down and extradition of several fugitives, and, perhaps most interesting of all, the solving of a burglary case committed in the home of Dr. Robert Anderson, later head of the C.I.D.

Yet, as far as students of the Whitechapel Murders case are concerned, it was this mysterious trip to North America at the end of November, 1888 — barely two weeks after the murder of Mary Kelly — that was to be the most intriguing and controversial event of Andrews' career. Years later it would become all the more suggestive when Chief Inspector Walter Dew (who had been a Detective Sergeant in H Division in 1888) would name Andrews as one of the three Detective Inspectors who had been called in from Scotland Yard to work the Whitechapel Murder investigation. This oddity would take yet another strange turn in 1996 — and become a major point of contention — when Stewart P. Evans and Paul Gainey, working from contemporary and near-contemporary sources, theorized that Andrews' trip to America was an attempt to trace Ripper suspect Francis Tumblety.

1. *The Toronto Mail*, November 29, 1888

Evans and Gainey's suggestion seemed, on examination, highly plausible. Chief Inspector John Littlechild (who, we shall see, was working with Andrews in October and November 1888) later confirmed that Tumblety was "among the suspects" in the Whitechapel murder case, and even, to his mind, "a very likely one." Tumblety had sporadically practiced "medicine" in London since the mid-1870s, and at least one report places him in the East End.This, too, was plausible, but strange; the Whitechapel Road was a popular resort for quacks (even George Sims mentions it) but an exceedingly unusual location for an American physician.[2] And though we don't know precisely when the Metropolitan Police first began to investigate Tumblety in 1888, it was, in all probability, shortly after the murders of Liz Stride and Kate Eddowes, for it is known that during the first week of October, 1888, a "man from New York who keeps an Herb Shop in Whitechapel," was questioned by the police.[3] Five weeks later, the Met still retained their interest, and Tumblety was arrested on November 7th. He quickly made bail, but failed to appear as required by law; on the 14th a warrant was issued, and Tumblety was now charged with four counts of gross indecency and four counts of indecent assault.

A gross indecency case would hardly have been an earth-shattering event had it occurred at any other moment, but the timing and complexity of the charges were peculiar. Tumblety's last known sexual encounter with a London youth, John Doughty, had occurred on November 2nd — begging the obvious question why the police didn't simply charge him then and there and be done with it. Instead, the investigation pushed further, drumming — up three additional victims of Tumblety's sexual romps — James Crowley on October 14th, Arthur Brice on August 31st, and Albert Fisher clear back on July 27th. If the infamous Cleveland Street scandal of 1889 affords any insight into how the Victorian police handled these investigations, John Doughty had been squeezed for information — probably in an effort to clarify Tumblety's movements over the course of that summer and fall.

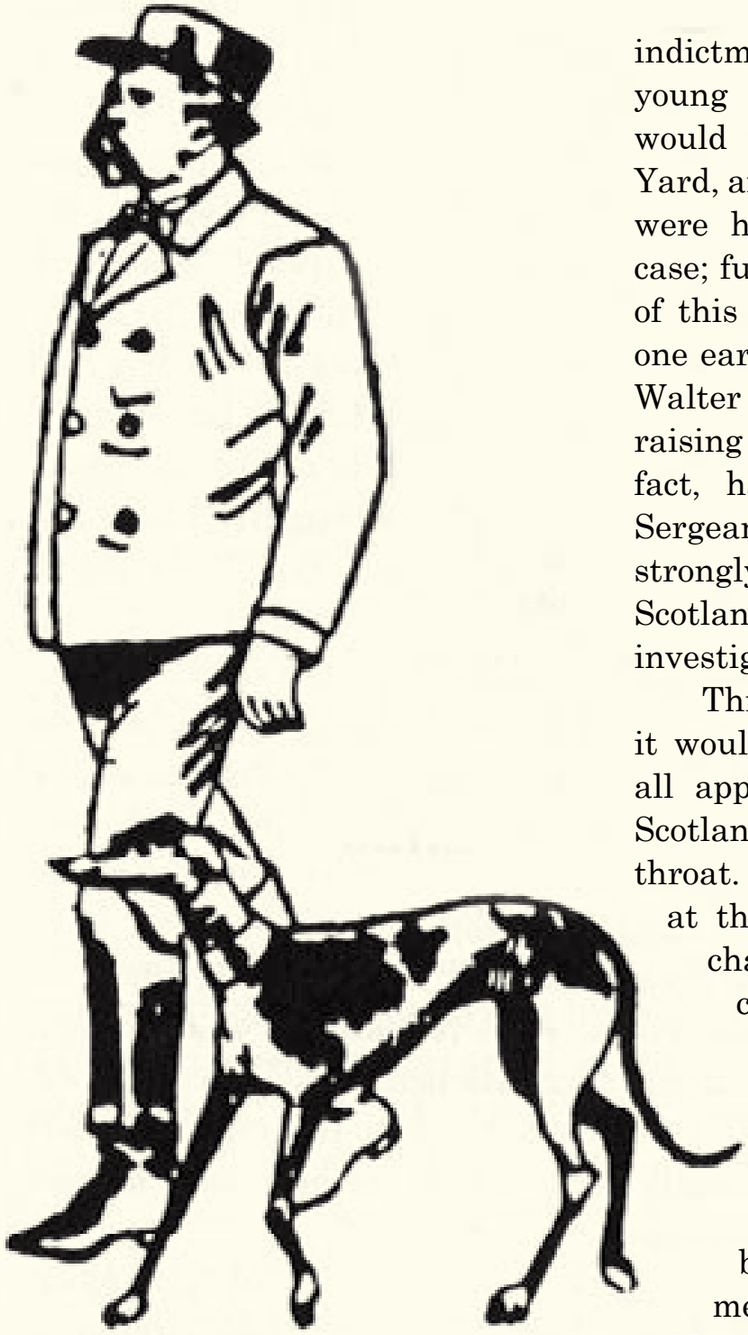
The timing of this "squeeze" was suggestive, for this was, after all, November 1888. The Met was in the middle of its most challenging and expensive manhunt of the 19th Century, and Scotland Yard was also feeling the squeeze. James Monro, filing in a later report to the Home Office, would reveal that no less than 143 policemen from other parts of the metropolis had been assigned to plainclothes detail in the East End that November.[4] In other words, extremely hard-pressed for resources and manpower, Scotland Yard nonetheless saw fit to expend considerable boot leather in working up a gross indecency case against this singular and curious Irish quack.

Of interest in this regard is a name that would appear on the file cover of Tumblety's eventual gross indecency

2. An extensive search reveals that only one American doctor was living in London's East End in the 1881 UK census; for Sims, see "Dagonet's" column in *The Referee*, October 21, 1888.

3. Reported in the Chicago *Tribune*, October 8, 1888

4. James Monro, report to Evelyn Ruggles-Brice, July18, 1889. See Evans and Rumbelow's *Jack the Ripper: Scotland Yard Investigates* (2006) p. 204.



FRANCIS TUMBLETY

indictment: Frank Castle Froest, a young detective at the C.I.D. This would indicate that it was Scotland Yard, and not the divisional police, who were handling Tumblety's indecency case; further, as noted in the first part of this series, Froest worked at least one earlier case on behalf of Inspector Walter Andrews (a pornography case), raising the spectre that he may, in fact, have been Andrews' Detective Sergeant. If true, this, in turn, would strongly suggest that Andrews was the Scotland Yard Inspector assigned to investigate Tumblety in 1888.

This was all rather curious, and it would soon grow quite bizarre. By all appearances, on November 14th, Scotland Yard had Tumblety by the throat. With four material witnesses at their disposal and eight serious charges filed, they had enough clout to hold Tumblety in London indefinitely. There was a cock-up, however; inexplicably, Tumblety made bail on November 16th (as listed in the surviving court schedule) by raising £300 in sureties — no mean feat for a visitor to London. Not surprisingly, he took the opportunity to flee the country.

What happened next is not entirely clear, but Tumblety somehow skirted police surveillance, made his way to France (Chief Inspector Littlechild implies that he was last spotted at Bologne), and by November 24th, was safely chugging down the Seine's estuary at Le Havre, a first-class passenger aboard the steamer *La Bretagne*. The surviving ship passenger list has Tumblety using the alias "Frank Townsend'; arrogantly, he had retained his initials "F.T." — a fairly common ruse among criminals. Five days later, Inspector Walter Andrews, using the extradition of Roland Barnett as an expedient prop, sailed out of Liverpool aboard the *S.S. Sarnia*, bound for North America.

COMPLICATIONS

Yet, as compelling as Evans and Gainey's theory seemed to many, it was soon dismissed by a number of critics, including, eventually, such well-known theorists as Ivor Edwards, A.P. Wolf, Bob Hinton, Wolf Vanderlinden, and, most recently, Timothy Riordan. Ascertaining the truth is not easy — indeed, it's far more complex than *any* historian has acknowledged — for, from the outset, we are faced with

SCOTLAND YARD ITSELF WAS SEVERELY DAMAGED BY A DYNAMITE EXPLOSION

two seemingly insurmountable obstacles. Any official report that Andrews may have filed in regard to his 1888 investigation has been lost, probably irretrievably; equally frustrating, the contemporary press, in covering the story, reported it in two entirely different ways — some newspapers reporting that Andrew was, in fact, investigating the Whitechapel murders in America, while others, exuding equal confidence, announced that he was actually gathering witnesses for the Special "Times" Commission, then underway in London.

The background for this latter suggestion is all-important if we are to understand Andrews' 1888 mission to North America. Unfortunately, it also pitches us into the chaotic a world of nationalistic politics and even espionage.

Beyond the immediate scope of this article, it must be merely noted that throughout the 1880s, various Irish dissident groups, stationed mainly in Brooklyn and New York, conducted what is sometimes referred to as the "Dynamite War." Throughout 1881-1887, Irish-American terrorists exploded bombs in railway stations and public buildings in Liverpool, Glasgow, and London, and threats of assassination and kidnapping disturbed the sleep of those in the upper echelons of Dublin Castle and Scotland Yard. In 1882, Irish Secretary Lord Cavendish and his undersecretary, Thomas Burke, were slashed to death in Phoenix Park, Dublin, by a splinter group calling themselves the "Irish Invincibles." The following year a Brooklyn physician named Thomas Gallagher shocked the British public by successfully smuggling 300 pounds of nitroglycerine into a bed sit in Central London. Nor was 1884 any better; Scotland Yard itself was severely damaged by a dynamite explosion, and a Detroit bookseller and Irish nationalist named William Lomasney made an unsuccessful attempt to blow up London Bridge. Perhaps the most ambitious scheme of all was the *Clan-na-Gael*'s Jubilee Plot of 1887, said to have been originally conceived to wreck Westminster Abbey on the 50th Anniversary of Queen Victoria's Rule. One of the chief figures in the plot — which was ultimately foiled by Monro and Littlechild — was F. F. Millen of New York, Fenian adventurer extraordinaire, night editor at the *New York Herald*, and a sometimes informer in the pay of Dr. Robert Anderson.[5]

Running a parallel course to this violence, Charles Stewart Parnell, MP for Meath, was attempting a more legislative approach to achieve Home Rule for Ireland — and was making

5. For Millen's relationship to Anderson, see Christy Campbell's *Fenian Fire* (2002) p. 53.

CHARLES PARNELL

considerable headway. After a brief dalliance with the Conservatives, Parnell had swapped sides at the beginning of 1886, forming an alliance with members of Gladstone's Liberal Party, among them, Henry Labouchere, MP for Northampton and editor of the London weekly, *Truth*. It was a coalition that gave the 'Parnellites' considerable power within the government, and led to the introduction of a Home Rule Bill, which, in effect, promised to give Ireland a great swath of autonomy, including its own parliament. All eyes were on Gladstone's bill, but it failed in August, 1886, dashing not only Parnell's hopes for a peaceful transition to Irish 'Home Rule,' but also signaling the fall of Gladstone's administration. Elections were held, and Liberals opposed to Home Rule joined with the Conservative party's Unionists, and, as a result, Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister. In effect, the bombing campaign of the *Clan-na-Gael* had been a failure; appalled by the London bombings, working-class Englishmen, once sympathetic to the Irish, had defected to the Conservatives in droves. Parnell's worst fears had been realized; his constitutional efforts had been undermined by terrorism.

Convinced of the necessity of kicking Parnell while he was down, in 1887 the voice of conservative London, *The Times*, published a series of articles under the inflammatory title "Parnellism and Crime," arguing that the great Irish leader, far from using mere political persuasion, was actually up to his elbows in violence — both with the Land League in Ireland and with the radical 'dynamite party' in America. The most sensational pieces of evidence against Parnell were letters brought forward by Richard Pigott, allegedly in Parnell's own hand, stating his satisfaction at the Phoenix Park murders of 1882.

What followed the publication of *The Times'* exposé was a political fire storm. While Parnell reacted with silent contempt, an Irish MP named O'Connell filed suit, accusing *The Times* of libel. (It was later suggested that O'Connell was a shill for the Conservatives, who wanted the suit pressed.) In theory a civil case, politicians on both sides of the Home Rule aisle busied themselves with the impending suit. The suit was quickly won by *The Times*, but it almost immediately resurfaced in a new incarnation: a so-called "Special Commission" to further investigate *The Times'* allegations. The Commission opened in late August 1888 (incidentally, just prior to the murder of Polly Nichols) and would continue for over a year — all in all, running an independent but remarkably parallel course to the Whitechapel Murder investigation.

With these facts in mind, one can appreciate the apparent difficulty that faces any historian confronted with the oddity of a Scotland Yard Inspector taking a mysterious trip to North America in late November 1888. And it must be acknowledged at the outset that Walter Andrews' trip to North America *was* mysterious; the contemporary press on both sides of the Atlantic reported it as such, openly speculating that an undisclosed intrigue lay at the bottom of it. These suspicions were well founded, for not only did Scotland Yard *volunteer* to bring the swindler Barnett across the Atlantic, but once delivered into Canadian hands, Scotland Yard's man — our own Walter Andrews — did not immediately return to England. Having relinquishing custody of Barnett to Inspector Stark of the Toronto police in Halifax on December 9th, Andrews lingered in North America for another two weeks, pursuing an undisclosed inquiry.The question is: what was this inquiry? Did it concern the Special Commission, then underway in London, or did it concern the Whitechapel Murder case — also at its apex? Superficially, at least, it would seem a difficult question to answer, particularly since the press reported it both ways. Which accounts are we to believe? What is the truth and how do we determine it?

THE CRITICS MOUNT A CHALLENGE

To determine what Scotland Yard was up to at the end of 1888, we must first examine the arguments *against* Walter Andrews investigating a Whitechapel Murder suspect in North America. For not only are these arguments seemingly compelling, they lead us directly into the thick of the scrimmage. All relevant points will require considerable scrutiny, so it will be useful to begin with a summary of the opposing arguments.

1. Documentary evidence showing that Andrews' trip to North America was organized *before* Tumblety was known to have fled to Le Havre, France, thus 'disproving' any connection between the two events.

2. Further evidence that Scotland Yard was not "soliciting" information about Tumblety in the United States, and, indeed, that all correspondence exchanged between Scotland Yard and the police departments in America in regard to the Irishman can be traced to Chief Patrick Crowley of San Francisco, who, it is argued, unilaterally decided to investigate Tumblety after reading about him in the newspapers.

3. Contemporary press reports implying that Andrews' trip to North America had nothing whatsoever to do with the Ripper investigation, but, rather, actually concerned *The Times*' "Parnell Commission" then underway in London. Further, there are accounts where Andrews seemingly acknowledges this.

4. The outward appearance that Andrews' nine-day sojourn in Toronto, Ontario, gives scant indication that he could have been investigating the Whitechapel Murders, let alone Tumblety, since the quack had not practiced in Toronto in over "thirty years."

5. Finally, the fact that Andrews' travels took him nowhere near New York City — the most obvious place to "track" Tumblety.

While two or three different theorists have rallied around these points, for the sake of clarity it will be useful to use Wolf Vanderlinden's two-part essay *'On the Trail of Tumblety?'* as the culmination of these arguments. This is not to single-out Vanderlinden as a whipping-post for specific scorn, but, rather, to acknowledge that he has presented the most detailed and sustained set of arguments in support of this line of thinking. Further, not only has Vanderlinden's essay proved influential, his arguments have recently received a much wider hearing when they were acknowledged by Timothy Riordan, in his generally sympathetic biography of Francis Tumblety. To eliminate any contention at the outset, it is here noted that Vanderlinden's full arguments can be found in two issues of *Ripper Notes*; serious historians of the case will be advised to study those arguments in detail and then weigh their relative merits by comparing them to the facts laid out in the present series.[6]

CHIEF PATRICK CROWLEY

6. "On the Trail of Tumblety?" Parts 1 and 2, Wolf Vanderlinden, *Ripper Notes* No. 23 (July 2005) and *Ripper Notes* No. 24 (October 2005).

The motivation of what follows is to set the historical record straight.

TRACKING TUMBLETY?

The first major plank in Vanderlinden's argument is that Andrews' trip to North America couldn't have been an attempt to 'track' Francis Tumblety, because it was negotiated before the Irishman was known to have jumped bail to France. In short, the chronology doesn't work.

The first problem to arise is the timing between Tumblety's disappearance from London and Scotland Yard's asking the Canadian authorities if they could deliver Barnett to Toronto. On 20 November, Tumblety had a hearing at Old Bailey which scheduled his trial on charges of gross indecency and indecent assault for the 10th of December. Presumably Tumblety was present in the court and thus still in London on this date. Why, then, would the London Police ask whether the Canadian authorities would be willing to pay for an Inspector to deliver Barnett to Toronto in a letter dated before (the 19th) if their purpose was to track Tumblety (assuming, of course, they didn't utilize any psychic aid)?[7]

To understand the full importance of Vanderlinden's argument, a little explanation is necessary. In both the City of Toronto Archives, as well as in the National Archives in London, there are surviving letters concerning the negotiations between Scotland Yard, the Home Office, the Colonial Office, and the authorities in Toronto to deliver Roland Barnett to North America (in a nitpicking, but rather important detail, none of these negotiations actually states that the officer accompanying Barnett had to be *an Inspector*). Unfortunately, one of the key documents, if not *the* key document, has gone missing: the original request filed to the Home Office. Luckily, it is known who made this request and when. It was made by no less a figure than Dr. Robert Anderson, the Assistant Commissioner in charge of the C.I.D., and the man who was ultimately responsible for finding "Jack the Ripper." Anderson sent his request on November 19, 1888. We know this because the response to Anderson's request has survived. It was written by Sir Godfrey Lushington, the Permanent Undersecretary at the Home office.

IN SHORT, THE CHRONOLOGY DOESN'T WORK.

Sir,

I am directed by the Sec. of State to acquaint you that a copy of your letter of the 19th instant relative to R.I.G Barnett was on the 20th instant forwarded to the Colonial Office, and that their attention has today been called to the 7th Section of the Fugitive Offenders Act which provides that if not conveyed out of the United Kingdom within one month after his committal, a fugitive

7. *Ripper Notes* No. 24, p. 27

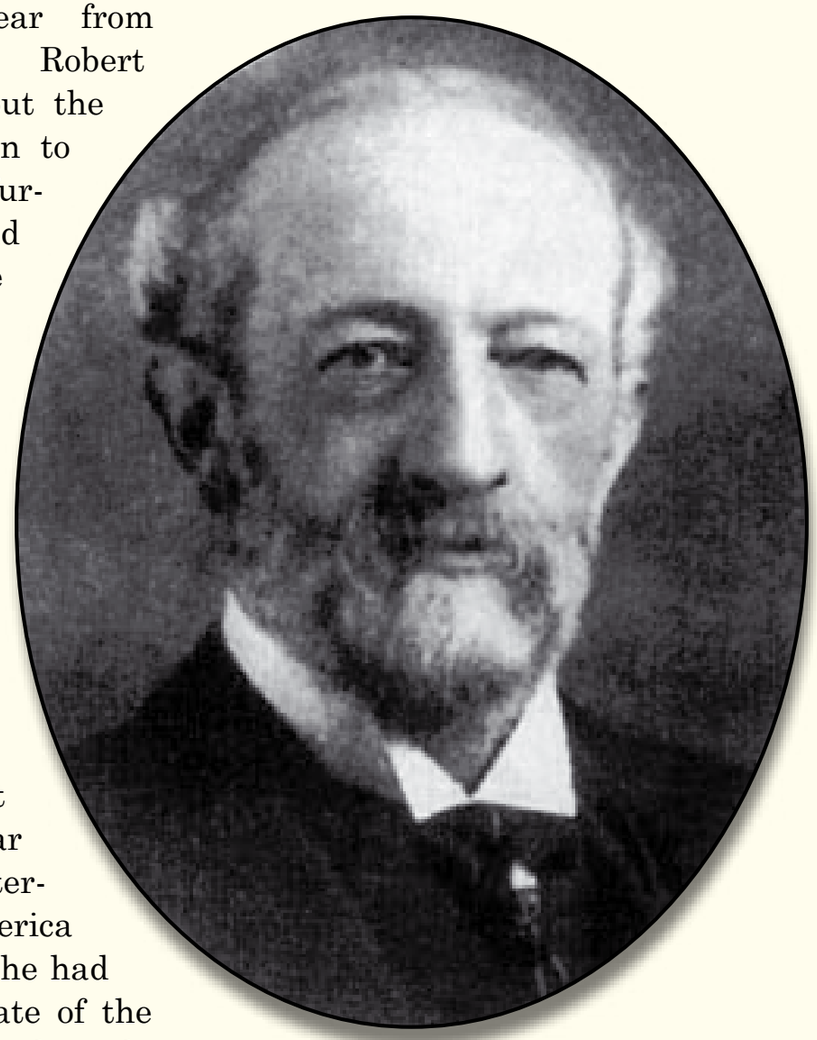
may apply to a Superior Court for his discharge, and to the consequent necessity of a speedy decision being arrived at as to the disposal of Barnett.

The Sec. of State has received an intimation from the Colonial Office that the Canadian Government will at once be asked to telegraph whether they are prepared to guarantee the expenses which would be involved in the conveyance of the fugitive to Canada and which you estimate would amount to £120, and what arrangements they propose to make....

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant
Godfrey Lushington.
R. Anderson Esq
CID[8]

As a sidebar to the above, it might be noted (and the relevance of this will become clearer in time) that Lushington was not particularly an admirer of Robert Anderson. Indeed, a year earlier, Lushington had attempted to block Anderson's original appointment to the Metropolitan Police, when Anderson was chosen to be the personal assistant of James Monro, then Assistant Commissioner in charge of the C.I.D.[9]

That said, it is clear from Lushington's letter that Robert Anderson had inquired about the feasibility of sending a man to North America, and was further asking whether he could use the extradition of the prisoner Roland Barnett to do it. Anderson was in luck, because the Colonial Office, in looking into the matter, acknowledged that Barnett had been in custody nearly a month and would soon be eligible for release if the Canadians didn't make arrangements to come and get him. The Colonial Office, therefore, agreed to contact Canada. What is equally clear is Anderson's intense interest in sending a man to America — revealed by the fact that he had already drawn-up an estimate of the cost of the mission, namely, the substantial price tag of £120. (By comparison, Anderson's entire annual salary



ROBERT ANDERSON

8. Lushington to Anderson, November 23, 1888, HO 134/10.

9. Bernard Porter, *The Origins of the Vigilante State* (1987) p. 85.

over the previous year had been £400).

Vanderlinden's objection, however, is that this negotiation is taking place on November 19th, whereas Tumblety was slated to appear in court at a pretrial hearing on November 20th — the following day. Under the alias "Frank Townsend," he wouldn't slip out of France aboard *La Bretagne* until five days later, November 24th. The implication is that Scotland Yard could hardly have planned to "chase" Tumblety anywhere, if, in fact, the suspect was still in London.

The weakness of this argument is readily apparent. In regard to the legal hearing at the Old Bailey on November 20th, Vanderlinden merely 'presumes' that Tumblety was present — but offers no actual evidence. *"Presumably Tumblety was present in the court and thus still in London on this date,"* he writes.

This assumption, however, may well be on weak footing. The existing court schedule states that Tumblety was out on bail on November 16th — three days *before* Anderson made his request to the Colonial Office — and we have nothing to show that the Irish quack willingly appeared at a pretrial hearing four days later. After all, only five days earlier, Tumblety had failed to appear as required by his initial police bail, and an arrest warrant was issued. The Irish quack had, in fact, an extremely poor record of "facing the music." Over the next three years, Tumblety would find himself in further legal troubles, and it is known that of his next three scheduled court appearances, 1888-1890, he wasn't initially present *at any of them*. In the first case he absconded, in the next he was a no-show, and in the third he hired a lawyer to stand in for him. As far back as 1860, when asked to appear before a coroner's jury in St. John, New Brunswick (that subsequently returned a verdict of manslaughter), Tumblety instead fled to Calais, Maine, in the middle of the night. In 1875, when yet another manslaughter charge hung over his head in Liverpool, England, Tumblety again avoided the coroner's inquest, decamping to London while his lawyer cleaned up the mess.[10]

In other words, while the December 10th, 1888 trial date at Old Bailey does indeed suggest that Tumblety's pretrial hearing took place on November 20th, we have nothing to show that Tumblety, rather than his solicitor, made it into the courtroom that day. And although Chief Inspector Littlechild doesn't state when it happened, he does tell us that Tumblety "jumped bail" — which obviously could have been any time after his initial release on the 16th.

What may also be relevant is something first noticed by Stewart Evans. On the very day of the pretrial hearing at the Old Bailey, November 20th, Tumblety wired J.S Morgan & Co., his New York bankers, seeking in excess of £260 [at least £25,000 today]; this was a very large amount for 1888 and only slightly less than the £300 bail set back on November 16th, which, naturally, would be forfeited by his sureties if he chose to abscond.[11] The obvious implication is that Tumblety was attempting to raise money to reimburse his

10. The Coroner in the case, Mr. J. Aspinall, complained of Tumblety's absence, saying that he "ought to be present." See *Liverpool Mercury*, January 28, 1875.

11. In a bizarre twist, Tumblety reprinted the bank's response in his 1889 pamphlet, *Dr. Francis Tumblety, A Sketch of the Life of the Gifted and World-Famed Physician*, p. 90.

bondsmen, having already decided to 'fly the coop.' Unfortunately, the relevant bank records have not survived, and we do not know from which city Tumblety wired this request. It may have been in London; on the other hand, it may have been in Hull, Dover, or anywhere else in England or even France.

More to the point, however, there is no reason for Vanderlinden, Riordan, or anyone else to assume that Scotland Yard's original intent was to "chase" Tumblety anywhere. The objection is argumentative rather than an analytical; an attempt to answer the original theory suggested by Evans and Gainey, rather than to address the most likely historical probability. As we shall soon see, Scotland Yard's original aim was almost certainly along entirely different lines: to send a man to America to investigate the antecedents of a suspect in the Whitechapel murder case. A background check, as it were. Indeed, when it came to serious murder suspects, 19th Century Scotland Yard *did* routinely conduct such inquiries.

Two examples will suffice. In 1891, when Scotland Yard began to suspect the sailor Thomas Sadler in the murder of East End prostitute Francis Coles, they delved deeply into Sadler's past life. Chief Inspector Donald Swanson conducted extensive interviews of Sadler's wife, and there was an effort to recreate a chronology of Sadler's movements during the 1870s and 80s — including a shadowy incident in the mid-1880s involving a knife.[12] Further, when a rumor circulated that Sadler had once worked in a wool factory in Buck's Row (the location of the 1888 murder of Polly Nichols) Inspector Henry Moore was sent round to examine the factory's books, but found no evidence to support the claim.[13]

While such inquiries might strike the layman as peculiar — they obviously involved incidents taking place well before the 1891 murder of Coles — they were, in fact, standard police procedure. The chief aim of any competent detective is to gather as much biographical information about his suspect as possible — studying his prior arrests, his family life, and the like. This was particularly true during the Victorian era. Without the luxury of fingerprints, DNA, or other sophisticated forensic evidence, the Victorian police relied heavily on witness depositions and even explorations into a suspect's past conduct and *character*.

An even more illuminating investigation occurred in 1892. When someone calling himself "Dr. Thomas Neill" was first suspected of poisoning prostitutes in the industrial slum of Lambeth, South London, Scotland Yard sent a man to America to investigate Neill's antecedents. Neill, as far as Scotland Yard was concerned, was a Canadian (he was, in fact, originally from Glasgow) but they didn't have a clear notion of who he was, or why he was in London. On June 18, 1892, Assistant Met Commissioner Robert Anderson — much as he did in 1888 — sent a man to North America: Detective Inspector Fred Jarvis. Over the next several weeks, Jarvis would conduct an extensive background check into Dr. Neill's antecedents in Canada and the United States, to determine "just what sort of life he lived there"; he would not return aboard the *S.S. Mongolian*

12. For Swanson's February 21, 1891 report on Sadler's antecedents, see MEPO 3/140, ff. 65-74.

13. Report of Inspector Henry Moore, March 2, 1892. MEPO 3/140, ff.75-78.

until eight weeks later.[14] Significantly, Jarvis's trip to Canada was instigated *before* Dr. Neil was actually charged in the Lambeth poisoning case. Robert Anderson had thought it expedient to hold Neil (who was, of course, the serial poisoner Dr. Thomas Neill Cream) on a misdemeanor charge of blackmail while Jarvis went to America to find out exactly who the odd doctor was, and whether he could drum-up information showing that Cream was a credible murder suspect. It wasn't until July 18th — a month *after* Jarvis had first departed for North America — that Anderson actually felt he had enough evidence to file murder charges against Cream.

Thus, as eager as various theorists have been to portray the idea of sending a detective to American in regard to the Ripper investigation as bordering on the ludicrous, this is, in fact, precisely what Scotland *did do* in the very next serial murder case in England: the Lambeth poisonings.

All of this is highly relevant, for in assessing Vanderlinden's argument, it mearly needs to be pointed out that at the time of Anderson's initial overture to the Home Office on November 19th, Francis Tumblety had already been in Scotland Yard's 'net' for at least two weeks. As Littlechild informs us, he was a suspect in the Whitechapel murder case, but was being held in London on a gross indecency charge. The situation is entirely analogous to Neill Cream's in June 1892, when Anderson sent Jarvis to America. Thus, if one merely substitutes the word "investigate" for the word "chase" Vanderlinden's entire objection implodes. What is actually in evidence is that Tumblety was being investigated by Scotland Yard in early November, 1888, and was in all probably being investigated as early as the beginning of October. We don't know if Tumblety was still in London on November 19th, but, either way, it is painfully obvious that Anderson's overtures took place *after* Tumblety's initial detainment, and three days *after* he managed to make bail. Thus, the claim that the chronology doesn't work is simply inaccurate.

Indeed, it is entirely plausible that Anderson had a sudden inspiration: Roland Barnett's pending extradition to Toronto would be an expedient tool for sending one of the three Inspectors who was working the Whitechapel murder case to make relevant inquiries in North America.

A final point. Technically, almost anyone could have escorted Barnett back to Toronto — a detective-sergeant, or even a pair of constables. Interestingly, Robert Anderson chose Andrews, the only Scotland Yard Inspector that he was likely to have known personally, being the man who had so successfully solved the 1882 burglary case in his own home. Yet all of this pales in comparison to something that the critics have failed to note. During the very week that Anderson was negotiating with the Home Office to send his man to America (Nov. 19th-Nov. 27th) he was also in contact with American authorities *specifically in regard to Francis Tumblety's American antecedents.*

WAS ANDERSON SOLICITING INFORMATION?

Evidence for this will be presented in

14. For Jarvis' investigation of Cream in the United States and Canada, see MEPO 3/144. Also recounted in Angust McLaren, *A Prescription for Murder: The Victorian Serial Killings of Dr. Thomas Neill Cream* (1993).

IT IS FIRST NECESSARY TO ADDRESS WHAT HAS BECOME A POINT OF CONTENTION.

a moment, but it is first necessary to address what has become a point of contention.

As a matter of simple common sense, not to mention convenience, it would seem obvious that if Scotland Yard was truly interested in an investigation of Francis Tumblety's antecedents, their first point of contact would be the various police agencies in North America. Yet, as Vanderlinden and Riordan (among others) have argued, there is precious little evidence, if any, that Scotland Yard actually did this.

That said, in their 1996 book on Tumblety Evans and Gainey did have one weapon in their arsenal — an article from the *New York Times* of November 23, 1888, stating that San Francisco Police Chief Patrick Crowley had sent a telegram to Scotland Yard on October 29th, informing the C.I.D. that he could furnish a copy of Tumblety's handwriting.[15] This was certainly startling, for, at the very least, it would imply that Scotland Yard *was* in contact with American authorities, and, if the accuracy of the report could be accepted, even *before* the Irish quack was arrested in London for gross indecency.

An examination of local San Francisco papers, however, tells a different story. While Chief Crowley did, in fact, telegram Scotland Yard, it was on November 19th — the date given by the *New York Times* was evidently a typographical error.

This seemed, in some respects, a minor point; clearly, the most interesting fact was that Crowley *was* communicating with Scotland Yard about Francis Tumblety in November 1888. Evans and Gainey's critics, however, were less than impressed. Since it is known that news of Tumblety's London troubles had already leaked back to America on November 18th, they were quick to suggest that Scotland Yard's interest was only passing, and that the information they were gleaning from America could be traced back to a rather meddlesome Police Chief in far off San Francisco who had forwarded an *unsolicited* telegram.

As Timothy Riordan states in his recent biography, "the problem is that... the San Francisco papers...indicate that Chief Crowley, of the San Francisco police, got in touch with Scotland Yard after reports of Tumblety's arrest were widely circulated."[16]

Vanderlinden is even more blunt:

"Chief Crowley himself stated in the San Francisco papers that he decided to investigate Tumblety when

15. Stewart Evans and Paul Gainey, *Jack the Ripper: First American Serial Killer* (1995) p. 128.

16. Timothy B. Riordan, *Prince of Quacks* (2009) p.176.

he first heard from U.S. press reports that he was a Ripper suspect on the 18th of November. Scotland Yard was thus not soliciting information from police in North America."[17]

A close reading of the San Francisco papers, however, shows a far more complicated — and uncertain — chain of events.

To begin with, despite the claim that '*Chief Crowley himself*' had stated that he was inspired by U.S. press reports, nowhere is Crowley quoted as saying this, nor is he even paraphrased to that effect. Nor do we have copies of the official correspondence that passed between the San Francisco Police and Scotland Yard. Vanderlinden and Riordan's suggestion can actually be traced to an unknown reporter for *The San Francisco Chronicle*, writing on November 23rd.

When the news of Tumblety's arrest reached this city, Chief of Police Crowley recollected that the suspected man formerly lived here, and he took the necessary steps to learn all about his career in this city. He found that Tumblety arrived here in the early part of 1870 and took rooms at the Occidental Hotel.

OCCIDENTAL HOTEL

17. Wolf Vanderlinden, "On the Trail of Tumblety, Part Two", *Ripper Notes* No. 24, p. 44

He opened an office at 20 Montgomery Street, but remained in the city only a few months, leaving in September of the same year. While here he opened an account with the Hibernia Bank and left a considerable amount to his credit in that institution when he went away...

While the *Chronicle's* report does indeed insinuate what Riordan and Vanderlinden later suggest, it is highly problematic for a number of reasons. To begin with, San Francisco's other three leading dailies — the *Alta California*, *The Evening Bulletin*, and *The Examiner* — covered the same story on the same date, but nowhere state, nor even imply, that Crowley had been inspired by news reports. The *Evening Bulletin*, for instance, merely states that Crowley "has lately been in correspondence with the officials at Scotland Yard," while the *Daily Alta California* reports that Crowley had "exchanged considerable correspondence with Scotland Yard." *The Examiner*, meanwhile, which spilled far more ink on Tumblety than any other local paper, reported it as follows:

Dr. Tumblety

The London Detectives Ask Chief Crowley About Him

Dr. Francis Tumblety, the suspect arrested at London in connection with the Whitechapel murders, is still held by the police of that city, and a good deal of importance seems to be attached to his apprehension. All facts in relation to the suspected "doctor" are being fully collected, and, as Tumblety was once in this city, there has been considerable correspondence telegraphed between the Police Departments of San Francisco and London. Chief of Police Crowley has succeeded in gaining some further information about Tumblety, who came to this city in 1870 and opened an account at the Hibernia Bank...

He never withdrew his account from the institution, and today there is a good sum of money to his credit there. When the Chief of Police learned these facts, and that the bank still had several letters written by Tumblety, he telegraphed to the Superintendent of Police in London that he could, if desired, furnish specimens of Tumblety's handwriting. The dispatch was sent on the 19th instant, and yesterday this answer was received:

P. Crowley, Chief of Police, San Francisco, Cal.: Thanks. Send handwriting and all details you can of Tumblety. Anderson. Scotland Yard."[18]

We don't know if this request of November 22nd was Robert Anderson's first telegram to San Francisco (more on this in a moment), but it doesn't particularly sound like an initial contact. Whatever the case, Anderson was clearly interested; as the *Examiner* notes, the London detectives were "asking" about Tumblety, and, indeed, as late as December 4th, *The Examiner* would insist that Anderson, and not Crowley, had initiated the exchange.[19]

Yet, there are far more serious problems with *The Chronicle's* version of events. Despite the suggestion that "*Chief of Police Crowley recollected that the suspected man formerly lived here,"* thus launching his investigation, it's clear from several other reports that Crowley didn't, in fact,

18. *The San Francisco Examiner*, November 23, 1888.

19. *The San Francisco Examiner*, December 4, 1888. According to the article, Scotland Yard wanted to compare Tumblety's handwriting to certain "Jack the Ripper" letters.

have a clear recollection of Tumblety. As far as Crowley was concerned, the 'Indian Herb Doctor' hadn't been in San Francisco since 1870; the Chief even seems to have confused him with someone called "Dr. Stanley."

"It is the belief of Chief Crowley that people in this city have confounded Dr. Tumblety with Dr. Stanley," *The Evening Bulletin* reported on November 23rd. *"Stanley was a large, distinguished-looking man [who] was in the habit of dressing in a peculiar manner and always wore top boots and was followed by two gray hounds* [note: an obvious description of Tumblety]. *Owing to the short time that Tumblety resided in this city, Chief Crowley thinks it improbable that people could have become well-acquainted with his actions."*

These uncertain and muddled memories pose a rather serious problem. Remember those press reports that supposedly inspired Crowley's investigation back on November 18th? In reality, only one San Francisco paper covered Tumblety's London arrest on that date — *The Chronicle*. This, however, was actually a long article devoting six paragraphs to the arrest of an entirely different London suspect: Sir George Arthur, a member of the British peerage, who had been caught 'slumming' in Whitechapel. News of 'another' suspect was tacked on to the end of the Arthur piece, almost as an afterthought — and, significantly, it didn't even given an accurate rendition of the suspect's name:

Another arrest was a man who gave the name of Dr. Kumblety [sic] *of New York. The police could not hold him on suspicion of the Whitechapel crimes, but he will be committed for trial at the Central Criminal Court under the special law passed soon after the Modern Babylon exposures.The police say this is the man's right name, as proved by letters in his possession; that he is from New York, and that he has been in the habit of crossing the ocean twice a year for several years.*[20]

While this *could* be the catalyst for Crowley's investigation, it would mean that Crowley, seeing this blurb about 'Kumblety,' somehow summoned his hazy remembrance of *Tumblety* (or Stanley?) and then started a unilateral investigation. This could be true, but on the whole it doesn't sound plausible. More likely, the *Chronicle* reporter later implied that Crowley had been inspired by a local news report in order to leave the impression that his own paper, *The Chronicle*, first broke the story.

Yet, beyond all this, there is a more glaring problem. When the historical record is uncertain, it is always wise to trace the earliest known source for any given story. In this case, news that Chief Patrick Crowley was investigating Tumblety locally was first reported by the *San Francisco Evening Post* on November 22 — a day before similar reports aired in the city's other leading dailies:

When Dr. Francis Tumblety, the eccentric physician, was arrested in London, some days ago, on suspicion of being the Whitechapel murderer, it was telegraphed out here that he had lived in this city for years. [Note:The Chronicle's piece of November 18th, stated nothing of the kind] *Chief Crowley made an investigation into the matter and ascertained from C. F. Smythe, who is employed in the Hibernia Bank, that Tumblety came*

20. *The San Francisco Chronicle*, November 18, 1888.

here in March or April 1870, and took a room at the Occidental Hotel. He shortly afterwards opened an office at 20 Montgomery street, but he did not remain here long, for he mysteriously disappeared the following September.

If accurate, this suggests that Crowley's investigation was inspired by telegrams linking Tumblety to San Francisco. We don't know *who* telegraphed this information — only that it had been "some days" after Tumblety's arrest in London. Significantly, Tumblety's connection to the San Francisco would not be reported in the local press until November 19th, when *The Examiner* reprinted a long and rather important article from the *New York Herald*, stating, in part, that Tumblety was "a Canadian," and that "the doctor had offices at various times in Jersey City, Pittsburgh and San Francisco."

This is damning, for we know that the 19th was the same day that Crowley telegraphed Robert Anderson at Scotland Yard. In other words, we have to accept that Chief Crowley, who hadn't laid eyes on Tumblety in over eighteen years, if ever, decided to launch an extensive local investigation (one report has his second in command, Captain Isaiah W. Lees, looking up Tumblety's name in every San Francisco directory for the past twenty-five years), and somehow quickly churned-up an abandoned account in the Hibernia Bank that Crowley couldn't have known existed. And then — *that same afternoon* — telegraphed Scotland Yard.

A little common sense is in order. The population of San Francisco in the 1880 census was 165, 000. Anyone who has studied the city's local history knows that its opium dens, whore houses, "Barabary Coast," and street gangs made it an extremely rough city in the 1880s. Crowley would have been a very busy man — one not likely to have launched an extensive investigation on the strength of a foreign newspaper dispatch. At the very least, it surely must have been a slow day for the Chief of Police.

Further, in the general scheme of things, it's the investigating police force (in this case, Scotland Yard) who seeks information about a suspect — not a distant police department offering unsolicited advice. Again, an important factor is that we don't actually have the official correspondence that passed between Crowley and the officials at Scotland Yard; we are forced to refer to press coverage — which never inspires confidence.

Indeed, the *only* surviving and reliable example of the actual communications exchanged between the San Francisco Police and the C.I.D. is Robert Anderson's telegram of Nov. 22nd.

London (England) Thursday November 22 - P. Crowley, Chief of Police San Francisco Ca.: Thanks. Send handwriting and all details you can of Tumblety. ANDERSON, Scotland Yard.

The key point is that Anderson's reply is dated November 22nd--in other words, three days after Crowley sent his now lost telegram on the 19th.

This significance of this has been ignored by all subsequent historians. In 1888, it was technologically impossible to send instantaneous messages between London and San Francisco. Telegraph communication between the two cities was no easy matter, requiring multi-station dispatches across the entire breadth of North America, and then a separate and expensive cablegram sent across the Atlantic at Halifax, payable to the private company that owned the cable. Once the

message reached the west coast of England, it then had to be forwarded to London.

Yet, by November 23rd, three separate San Francisco newspapers were all reporting that Crowley and Scotland Yard had exchanged "considerable correspondence." If Crowley had truly launched his investigation back on November 19th this would be inexplicable; none of the critics have yet explained how this "considerable correspondence" could have taken place, when the only known telegram and its response took fully three days to complete. Clearly, this suggests that Crowley and Anderson were in contact before November 19th — when the story first 'broke' in the local press, who then ran with it.

There is often an irresistible urge among historians to assume that one contemporary event has a *direct* relationship with another, when, in reality, the connection may actually be *indirect*. Rather than an American police chief being 'inspired' by contemporary news reports of Tumblety's London arrest, there is a far more simple explanation. Tumblety was 'among the suspects' in the Whitechapel murder case, so obviously there would have been a police investigation by the authorities in London. While the C.I.D. made inquiries, news of Tumblety's gross indecency case filtered back to America via London, when it was leaked by someone at the Marlborough Police Court. The two events roughly coincided, but there is no reason to believe this leak somehow "inspired," a unilateral police investigation in America.

So what could have inspired Robert Anderson to contact far away San Francisco? According to the San Francisco press, Tumblety had not practiced in the city since 1870, and this chapter of his life seems very far removed indeed from the Whitechapel of 1888. In reality, Tumblety's connection to San Francisco was more extensive than even the local press realized. 1870 was not the last time he practiced 'medicine' in the city. On Tuesday, December 21, 1875, the list for "Overland Travel" to San Francisco lists "Dr. Tingblety, New York," and three days later a "Dr. Tumbletz, New York" booked a room at the Palace Hotel. Oddly, Tumblety was soon back at No. 20 Montgomery Street — the same office he used in 1870 — and his advertisements can be found in *The San Francisco Chronicle* at the beginning of 1876.[21] Then, just as suddenly, he left for St. Louis. Yet, he would be back again. Tumblety's sister Jane Hayes ran a boarding house in Vallejo,

NEWS OF TUMBLETY'S GROSS INDECENCY CASE FILTERED BACK TO AMERICA VIA LONDON

21. Tumblety's advertisements lasted from Christmas Day, 1875 to January 19, 1876.

at the upper end of San Francisco Bay, and according to reports in the *Vallejo Chronicle,* Tumblety made an extensive visit there sometime before 1882.

More to the point, all the reports coming out of San Francisco agree on one detail: for some unknown reason, Police Chief Crowley's local investigation quickly homed in on the records of the Hibernia Bank.

It's unlikely that this was incidental. In these years before Interpol, photo identification, or electronic passports, *bank transactions* were one of the few reliable methods of tracing a fugitive. An inquisitive police department could search ship passenger lists or hotel registers, but these efforts would be thwarted if a suspect was using an alias. By contrast, anyone wishing to draw on a bank account *has* to reveal his identity. And we know, in fact, that Victorian Scotland Yard did keep close tabs on bank transactions. During the 1840s and 50s, Scotland Yard's most prominent officer, Detective Inspector Jonathan Whicher, made a special study of tracing bank notes; in 1849, this expertise helped Whicher "shore up evidence" against the absconding Bermondsey murderess, Maria Manning.[22] Similarly, Met Assistant Commissioner James Monro kept close tabs on London bank transactions in 1887, allowing him to trace the Irish-American dynamiter, Thomas Callan, who had been hiding in London as one of the agents of the *Clan na Gael's* "Jubilee Plot."[23]

Concerning the events of 1888, we know that Tumblety made bail on November 16th. Eight days later, he left Le Havre under an alias. We also know that he accessed at least one bank account during that flight — when he wired Henry Clews and Co., of New York, on November 20th. While it remains pure conjecture, if, sometime earlier, Tumblety had also wired the Hibernia Bank, it would readily explain how Chief Crowley so quickly learned of his abandoned bank account — and why Scotland Yard was so obviously interested.

But let's not lose sight of the general point. Did Robert Anderson, the Assistant Commissioner in charge of the C.I.D., 'solicit' information about Tumblety from the American police? If one accepts the *Chronicle's* report, he didn't — at least initially. Other local papers were far more circumspect, however. Regardless, on November 22nd,

JONATHAN WHICHER

22. Kate Summerscale, *The Suspicions of Mr. Whicher* (2008) p. 69

23. *The Times*, November 29, 1887, p.8

Anderson asked Crowley to send *"all details you can of Tumblety"* — which certainly sounds like a solicitation.

Fortunately, this point can be laid to rest. San Francisco was not the only police department in America that Anderson contacted that week.The same day that Anderson wired Chief Crowley in San Francisco, he also wired Chief Patrick Campbell of the Brooklyn Police Department. And the details leave no doubt whatsoever that it was Anderson who was initiating the inquiry. Further, it becomes clear that Anderson's investigation was based on information gleaned while Tumblety was in police custody.

The *Brooklyn Citizen* broke the story on November 23rd.

"Is He The Ripper?"
A Brooklynite Charged With the Whitechapel Murders
Superintendent Campbell Asked by the London Police to Hunt Up the Record of Francis Tumblety — Captain Eason Supplies the Information and It Is Interesting

Police Superintendent Campbell received a cable dispatch yesterday from Mr. Anderson, the deputy chief of the London Police, asking him to make some inquiries about Francis Tumblety, who is under arrest in England on the charge of indecent assault. Tumblety is referred to in the dispatch in the following manner: "He says he is known to you, Chief, as Brooklyn's Beauty."

Tumblety was arrested in London some weeks ago as the supposed Whitechapel murderer. Since his incarceration in prison he has boasted of how he had succeeded in baffling the police. He also claimed that he was a resident of Brooklyn, and this was what caused the Deputy Chief of Police to communicate with Superintendent Campbell. The superintendent gave the dispatch immediate attention, and through Captain Eason, of the Second Precinct, has learned all about Tumblety. He came to this city in 1863 from Sherbrook, Canada, where he said he had been a practicing physician. He opened a store on the southeast corner of Fulton and Nassau streets, and sold herb preparations. He did a tremendous business and deposited in the Brooklyn Savings Bank at least $100 a day. He was a very eccentric character, six feet high, dark complexion, large and long flowing mustache, and well built.

The *Brooklyn Standard-Union* also covered the story, adding the comment, "the London Police are evidently doing their level best to fasten the Whitechapel murders upon Dr. F. T. Tumblety."

CHEIF PATRICK CAMPBELL

Today Police Superintendent Campbell received a telegram from Assistant Police Commissioner Anderson, acting Chief since the resignation of Police Commissioner

Warren,[24] in reference to Tumblety. Mr. Anderson wants some information as to his life in Brooklyn, and says he is accused of indecent assault in London, where some say he was known as "Brooklyn's Beauty."

Chief Campbell has investigated, and will send a complete report by mail. He says he was born in Sherbrooke, Canada, of Irish parents, but professes to be a Southerner. He was last seen here about eighteen months ago. The Chief is also looking for a pamphlet that Tumblety prepared, and which purported to be a history of himself."

Clearly, Dr. Robert Anderson, head of the C.I.D., *was* soliciting information about Tumblety in the United States by November 22nd. Further, the investigation in America would have required considerable effort and expense; Campbell in Brooklyn was composing a written report, and was hunting down a copy of Tumblety's pamphlet (one version, we now know, included a photograph), while Crowley in San Francisco was photographing Tumblety's correspondence with the Hibernia Bank.

Chief Campbell, incidentally, doesn't seems to have ever taken Tumblety particularly seriously, dismissing him, as many contemporary observers still do, as a "crank" — the same term that would be used by Police Captain Lees in San Francisco. How much stock one can put in this is unclear; there's little indication that these officers knew Tumblety particularly well, beyond his eccentric marches in the streets many years earlier. What it does imply, however, is that the suspicions against Tumblety in 1888 were entirely based on Scotland Yard's own investigation, and not on the opinions of those in America. Indeed, in the one instant where Chief Patrick Crowley is quoted, he leaves the decided impression that the initial interest in Tumblety was not his own. Crowley also appears to have taken a dimmer view of 'cranks,' than his fellow officers in blue.

Talking of the affair yesterday [Chief Crowley] said: "There may be more in the arrest that was at first supposed. This man Tumblety is evidently a crank. His course with the bank here does not indicate that he was a man of good business instincts, and in New York his behavior was that of a man who had no liking for women."[25]

Crowley's final comment is remarkable, for it dates to November 22nd — long before the well-known, controversial, and damaging 'Colonel Dunham' interview was published by the *New York World* on December 2nd. Timothy Riordan has stated "none of the early reports in November 1888 mention anything about Tumblety's hatred of woman," suggesting that "after the Dunham story was published, Tumblety's "well-known hatred of woman," becomes a standard part of his description."[26] Unfortunately, what Riordan is suggesting is untrue. Here, ten days before Dunham, the Chief of Police in San Francisco is already referring to Tumblety's misogyny. It's all the more startling because no San Francisco paper or New York dispatch had referred to Tumblety's hatred — leaving us to wonder where Crowley was gleaning this information. It was evidently from a local informant, perhaps Charles F. Smythe; it's clearly not a press source.

24. This is an error; Warren's resignation didn't become final until November 30th.

25. *The San Francisco Examiner*, November 23, 1888. 26. Riordan, *op. cit.* p. 170. 26. Riordan, *op. cit.* p. 170.

Meanwhile, key documents have been lost, but let's reiterate what we *do* know.

Back on November 7th, Francis Tumblety had been picked up in London, but, by all appearances was quickly given police bail. Two days later, Mary Kelly was murdered in the East End. On November 14th a warrant was issued for Tumblety's arrest, and now back in custody, he was charged with four counts of gross indecency and four counts of indecent assault. Nonetheless, on November 16th, he again made bail.

News of Tumblety's arrest leaked back to America from a London source dated November 17th, and by November 18th, reports coming out of New York were claiming, erroneously, that Tumblety was a Canadian.[26] *The following day,* November 19th, Robert Anderson began negotiations to send a man to Canada, using the extradition of Roland Barnett as a vehicle; *that same afternoon*, Police Chief Patrick Crowley in San Francisco wired Anderson with news that he had found samples of Tumblety's handwriting.

A critical point is that at this stage the negotiations that would eventually bring Inspector Andrews to Canada were still ongoing. The authorities in Toronto, blissfully unaware that Barnett's extradition papers had been filed in London on November 6th were still scrambling to get Barnett's extradition in order.[27] Meanwhile, on November 22nd, Robert Anderson at the C.I.D. wired both the Brooklyn and San Francisco police departments, requesting an investigation of Tumblety. It wasn't until the next day, November 23rd, that Godfrey Lushington responded to Anderson's request to send an officer to Canada, telling him he had forwarded the request to the Colonial Office. Concurrently, Chief Campbell in Brooklyn was reporting (again, erroneously) that Tumblety was from Sherbrooke, Quebec.

By now, Tumblety had already slipped over to France, for he would sail out of Le Havre under an alias the following morning. Again, whether or not the Canadians would pay for Inspector Andrews' trip to Canada was still up in the air; there is no indication that they had officially agreed to the terms before November 27th.The following day, November 28th, in one of his last acts as Met Police Commissioner, Sir Charles Warren perfunctorily wired Police Chief Grassett in Toronto, alerting him to the fact that an officer was bringing Barnett over.

London, 28 Nov.
Chief Constable — By Fugitive Offender's Act prisoner must be surrendered within thirty days after committal. Time expires 6th December.Officer must be sent from here.Will leave tomorrow.
Commissioner Metropolitan Police.[28]

True to Warren's promise, the next day, November 29th, Inspector Andrews boarded the *S.S. Sarnia*, bound for Canada.

Despite claims to the contrary, one can readily see that Robert Anderson's bureaucratic gyrations to send a man to North America and the C.I.D.'s investigation of Francis Tumblety's American antecedents dovetail perfectly. The same week that Anderson found a way to pay for Andrew's voyage, he was personally conducting an inquiry into Tumblety. Further, considering the reports coming out of

27. T*he New York Tribune*, November 19, 1888. 28. See Vanderlinden, *Ripper Notes* No. 24, p. 24-25. 29. Reprinted in the *Toronto Mail*, November 29, 1888.

New York — and these were circulated well before Andrews boarded the *S.S. Sarnia* — Anderson may well have been under the impression that Tumblety was a Canadian. What is particularly astonishing is that these maneuvers were being conducted by the very head of the C.I.D. — which certainly seems extraordinary and excessive if Anderson's interest merely concerned a defendant in a gross indecency indictment. After all, Tumblety's antecedents in America would have hardly have been relevant to a gross indecency case; Anderson already had four material witnesses, and enough evidence to have filed formal charges with the Treasury. Obviously, Anderson's interest in Tumblety ran much deeper.

To sum up. Nothing we have learned so far rules out the possibility that Andrews was sent to North America to investigate Francis Tumblety. Indeed, the chronology is compelling. It's fair to point out, however, that the two strongest opposing arguments still remain: persistent rumors that Andrews was actually in North America on behalf of *The Times*' "Parnell" Commission, and the oddity that he would spend nearly all of his time in Toronto, Ontario — a world away from London's East End. Both these points will be examined in the last installment of this series. Taken together, they finally shed a blinding light on the bizarre events unfolding at the end of 1888.

TO BE CONTINUED...

Biography

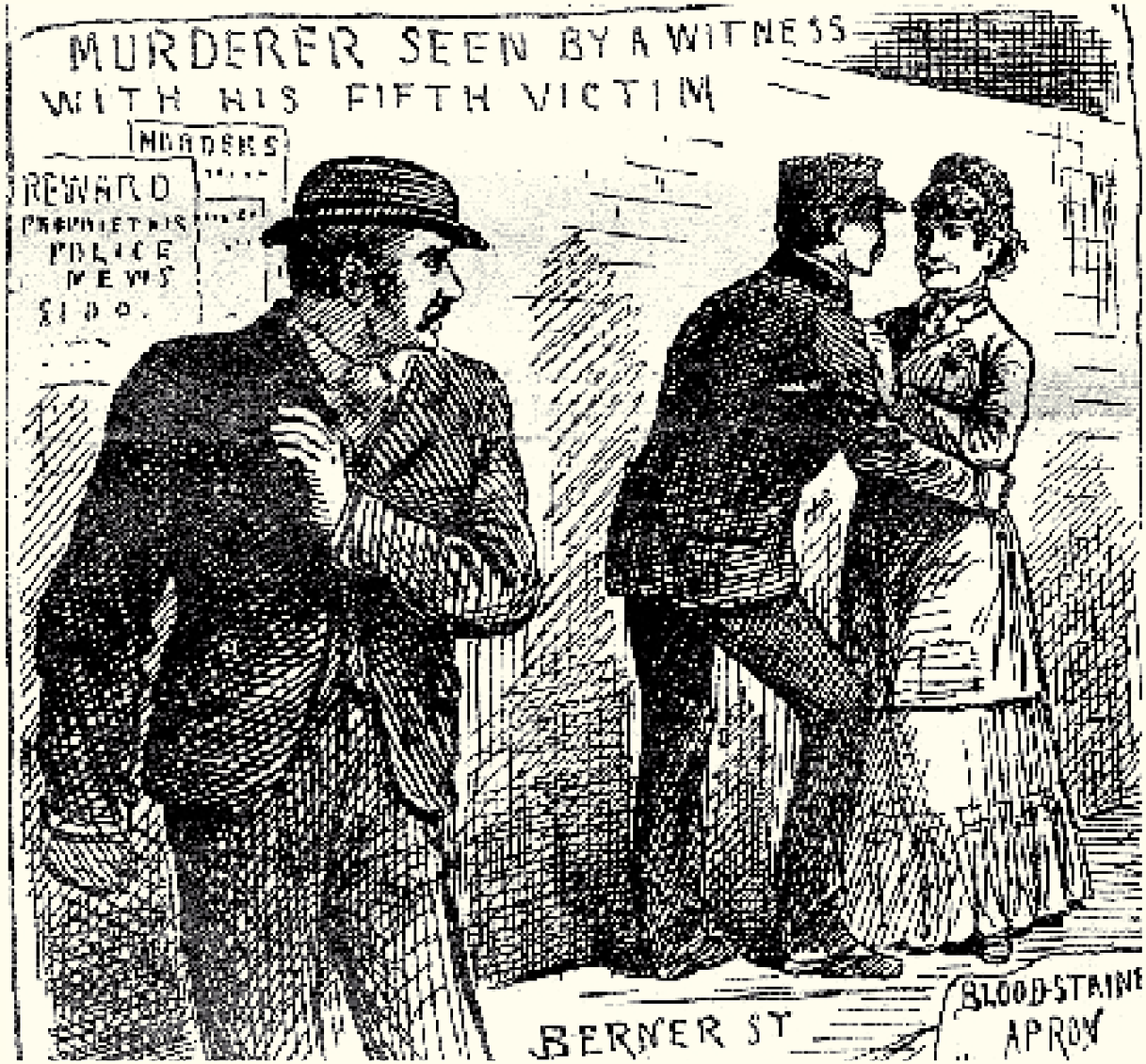
R.J.Palmer

R.J. Palmer lives and works in Eugene, Oregon. He began studying the Whitechapel Murder case in 1989, after taking Donald Rumbelow's classic tour of London's East End. Currently, he is researching a book on the Irish Nationalist journalist Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa.

Have a comment about something you read in this issue? Write a letter now to the Examiner at examiner@casebook.org

A Red Rose?

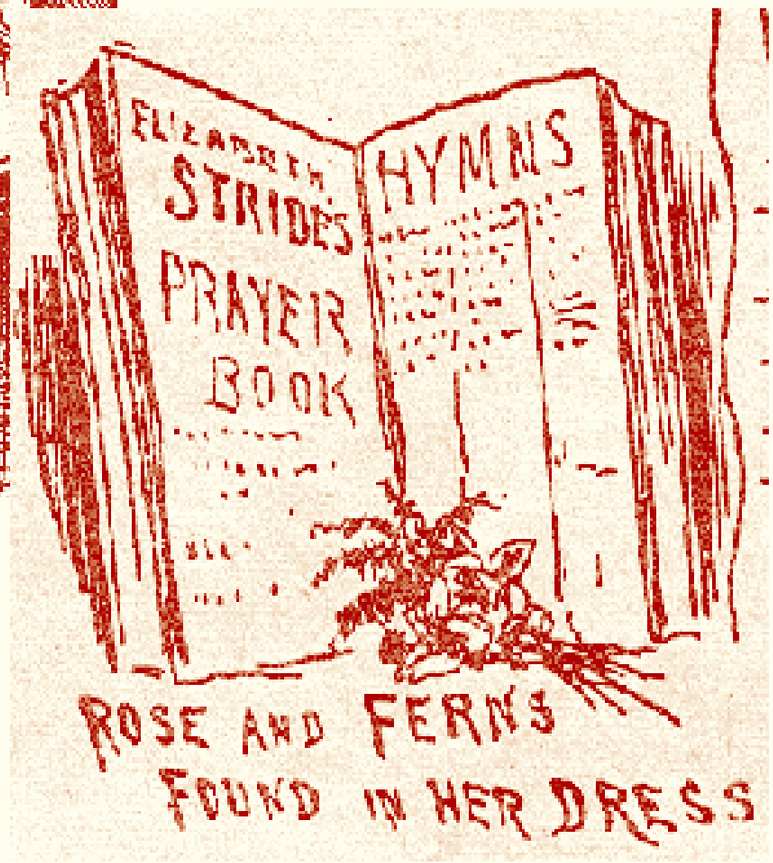
Stewart P. Evans



For some time it has been debated in Ripper circles that surely the colour red could not be identified by a witness at night in the murky, gas lit streets of Victorian London. After all, it is a known fact that artificial light affects colours as perceived by the human eye. Yet when we examine the evidence given by various night-time witnesses we see the colour red mentioned more than once.

For instance, PC 452H William Smith stated that on the night of the Stride murder, in Berner Street, he saw a man and a woman talking in the street. The woman had a red rose. Witness Edward Spooner stated that he saw the body of Stride in the entrance to Dutfield's Yard and she had 'a red and white flower pinned on to her jacket.' Within the hour, Joseph Lawende, a witness at the inquest on the second victim of that night, Catherine Eddowes, described a man he saw with a woman (believed to be Eddowes) as wearing 'a reddish

Kate Eddowes and the Ripper seen by Joseph Lawende and friends



Artefacts supposedly found with Liz Stride

handkerchief tied in a knot, round neck'. Are these witnesses lying or mistaken about the colour red they have seen?

Famously, not to say more controversially, we have the description given of a suspect seen, by police witness George Hutchinson, with Mary Kelly in the early hours of Friday 9 November 1888, the morning of her murder. Without going into the complex arguments surrounding this sighting we have Hutchinson stating that Kelly 'said she had lost her handkerchief he then pulled his handkerchief a red one out and gave it to her.' Those who would have it that Hutchinson was lying and making up his statement say that he surely would not have been able to see that the handkerchief was red.

It would be most difficult for us to reproduce the exact lighting conditions in which the aforementioned sightings were made. But there are sufficient of them to suggest that the colour red was certainly discernable in the available lighting of the time. Yet, arguments still are often made to support personal theories and ideas and so they continue to be proffered and the argument that red could not be recognised at night in Victorian lighting conditions still crops up. Personally I have always assumed that the witnesses knew what they were talking about in this respect, otherwise they would not have mentioned a colour.

The point does, however, seem to warrant further investigation and it would be interesting to discover whether these witnesses could actually have recognised a red flower or a red handkerchief in the ambient lighting conditions. We know that today the common, intense, sodium, orange, street lighting does render colours unrecognisable, red usually being perceived as a shade of brown. The perceived colour of an object may vary according to the eye of the viewer and the light by which it is viewed. Colour is not fixed and invariable; it is capable of an incredibly wide range of variation. Surprising as it may seem, in the days of street lighting by gas there was actually little difficulty in making fairly accurate assessments of the colour of garments and other objects.

To better explain the facts concerned with colour vision it is easier to regard the colour detection mechanism of the eye as consisting of three different systems, each responding to a limited range of frequencies within the visible range. One is sensitive to the lower frequencies of light radiation and gives rise to the colour sensation we recognise as red. The second, mainly sensitive to the middle-range frequencies, gives rise to the colour sensation we call green. The third, sensitive to the higher frequencies, gives rise to the

IT WOULD BE MOST DIFFICULT FOR US TO REPRODUCE THE EXACT LIGHTING CONDITIONS

colour blue. These three colour appreciation 'systems' are not of equal sensitivity and the normal human eye is most sensitive to light which is yellow-green. Quite an appreciable proportion of the population have colour sensitivity which differ from the majority and it is amongst them that colour blindness is to be found.

When the light source is very dim no distinction can be made between the light of different frequencies so that all vision is in tones of grey, such as in a black and white photograph. Whatever the colour of an object may be in full daylight, once the intensity of illumination has been sufficiently reduced, any colour disappears as the colour sensing mechanism of the eye ceases to function. From this it will be noted that as the witnesses we are looking at here have identified colour then the ambient Victorian lighting was sufficiently bright enough, at that location, to allow the colour sensitivity of the eyes to function. Most objects reflect light over a wide range of frequencies so that both colour and brightness can be altered by changes in the make-up the light shining on the object.

To give good colour rendering, artificial light must include all the frequencies of the visible spectrum in fair intensity so that its composition resembles daylight. Daylight, of course, renders the colours of an object in what we would generally call natural colour. Although daylight varies from the bright light of high noon to the reddish light of a dull afternoon, the human eye is so adjustable that the effect of such changes normally passes unnoticed. But here we are concerned not with daylight but with the night-time Victorian illumination experienced by our witnesses. The old street lighting was produced by burning gas. In a candle or an oil lamp flame the incandescence raised by combustion consists of tiny particles of carbon, and in an incandescent gas mantle a layer of rare earth oxides. The higher the temperature the higher the frequency of the bulk of the radiation it emits. Light emitted from a very hot source contains the whole of the visible spectrum although the intensities at the higher end of the spectrum will be lower than that of daylight. Such a spectrum is known as a continuous spectrum and any coloured object viewed by the light of a continuous spectrum will not appear unduly different in colour from its appearance in daylight. Artificial light produced from heating solids, such as carbon particles, will be deficient in blue as compared with sunlight. This will result in the tilting of the colours towards the red.

For a person with normal vision very dim lighting, where any or all the light frequencies are present, will distort the colour rendering resulting in an absence of colour, everything being rendered in shades of grey. The incandescent gas-mantle or flame, which is lacking in blue but rich in red, results in reds that are well rendered; whilst greens would be darkened, and blues or violets may become almost black. So we may safely say that the old gas-burning lighting of Victorian days would have rendered the colour red as easily discernable to a witness, whereas with a modern street lighting system the opposite would be the case. The foregoing should therefore be taken into consideration when assessing the accuracy of the witnesses in the Ripper case.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks are due to Wilson R. Harrison, M.Sc., Ph.D., late director of the Home Office Forensic Science Laboratory, Cardiff, for invaluable information utilised in the composition of this article.

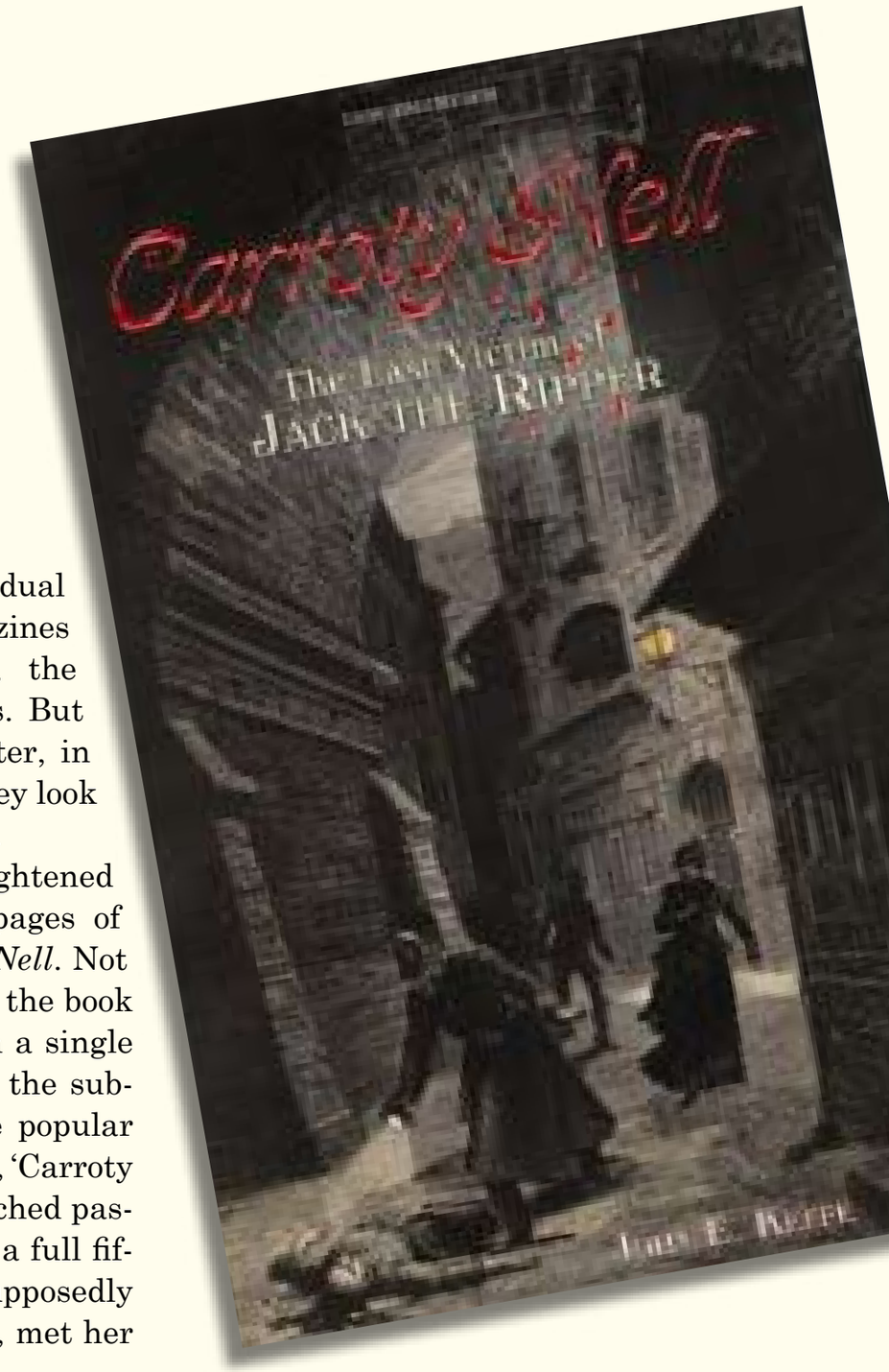
Undercover Investigations

Our regular read between the lines.

Carroty Nell: The Last Victim of Jack the Ripper

John E Keefe

2010 Menotomy Publishing
184pp, Illus.



When we turn and look towards our shelves, or open our trunks, or climb down stairs to our dark basements and glance at our collection of Ripper books, one type of book we are not likely to possess in any large number are books that are devoted entirely to a single victim of Jack the Ripper (meaning a victim pulled from the Ripperological abyss and given a book treatment in isolation). We do have a book telling the stories of all of the Canonical Five and their descendants, we have a book about what little we know of Mary Kelly, and we might have a book or two on Elizabeth Stride, even if one of those is in Swedish. We do not complain too loudly since we have compilations of magazine articles and essays in book form that deal with individual women, we have the magazines themselves, and, of course, the Internet and message boards. But books are in many ways better, in my opinion, if only because they look neat when they are displayed.

So it was with some heightened interest that I opened the pages of John E Keefe's book *Carroty Nell*. Not only was this a rarity, in that the book claimed to be one focusing on a single victim, but doubly rare since the subject-victim fell outside of the popular Canonical Five. Frances Coles, 'Carroty Nell,' was murdered in the arched passageway of Swallow Gardens a full fifteen months after Jack's supposedly final victim, Mary Jane Kelly, met her fate in Miller's Court.

The book was not a huge disappointment, but it was a mild one and that might actually be an endorsement of the book in this particular field where many books are awful. Mr, Keefe is a good writer and supplies us with much detail, most of it accurate, and uses contemporary sources to illustrate his narrative well. He is to be thanked for his efforts to bring us the sad story of Frances Coles between the covers of a book. We learn (maybe for the first time) the extremely hard luck-to-the-workhouse story of her parents and siblings and Frances' early fall onto the streets. He relates her final days and hours on earth in such minute detail and examines the aftermath of her murder in such a well-written way that he succeeds in making what may be a familiar tale to most of us, compelling once again.

The problem with this is that the above part — the interesting part and supposedly the subject — actually comprises very little of the book. We are treated to a lengthy overview of the Whitechapel murder case that comprises nearly the entire first half, the section on Coles, her murder, the investigation and Sadler's tribulations follow this, and then the author wraps his book by quickly skimming over the main suspects before settling on of Severin Klowsowski as the best of a bad bunch. The readers will not be surprised at this choice since Klosowski/Chapman's name is sprinkled throughout the text prior to this chapter like so many drops of tartar-emetic.

I also feel that Mr Keefe, consciously or subconsciously, attempts to elevate the status of his choice of subject above those other unfortunate victims of the Whitechapel murderer. He makes much of the statement of Coles' sister, Mary Ann, that Frances did not wish to talk to, look like, or associate at all with other women in her poor circumstance and one gets the feeling that Keefe himself might believe Coles was somehow *better* than the other victims. He also makes declarations that some readers might find argument with, such as that Coles and Kelly were the only "full-time" prostitutes killed during the Ripper scare, all the others being only "casual" streetwalkers.

...MAKING WHAT MAY BE A FAMILIAR TALE TO MOST OF US, COMPELLING...

So readers of this magazine may wish to purchase this book, skip the first half, *conditionally* admire the section on the Coles murder, and then enjoy the last part—but only if you go for Chapman as the killer.

We need more books devoted to the victims individually so as to see them as individuals. Frances Coles needs one too; unfortunately, she needs one a bit better than *Carroty Nell*.

Our rating

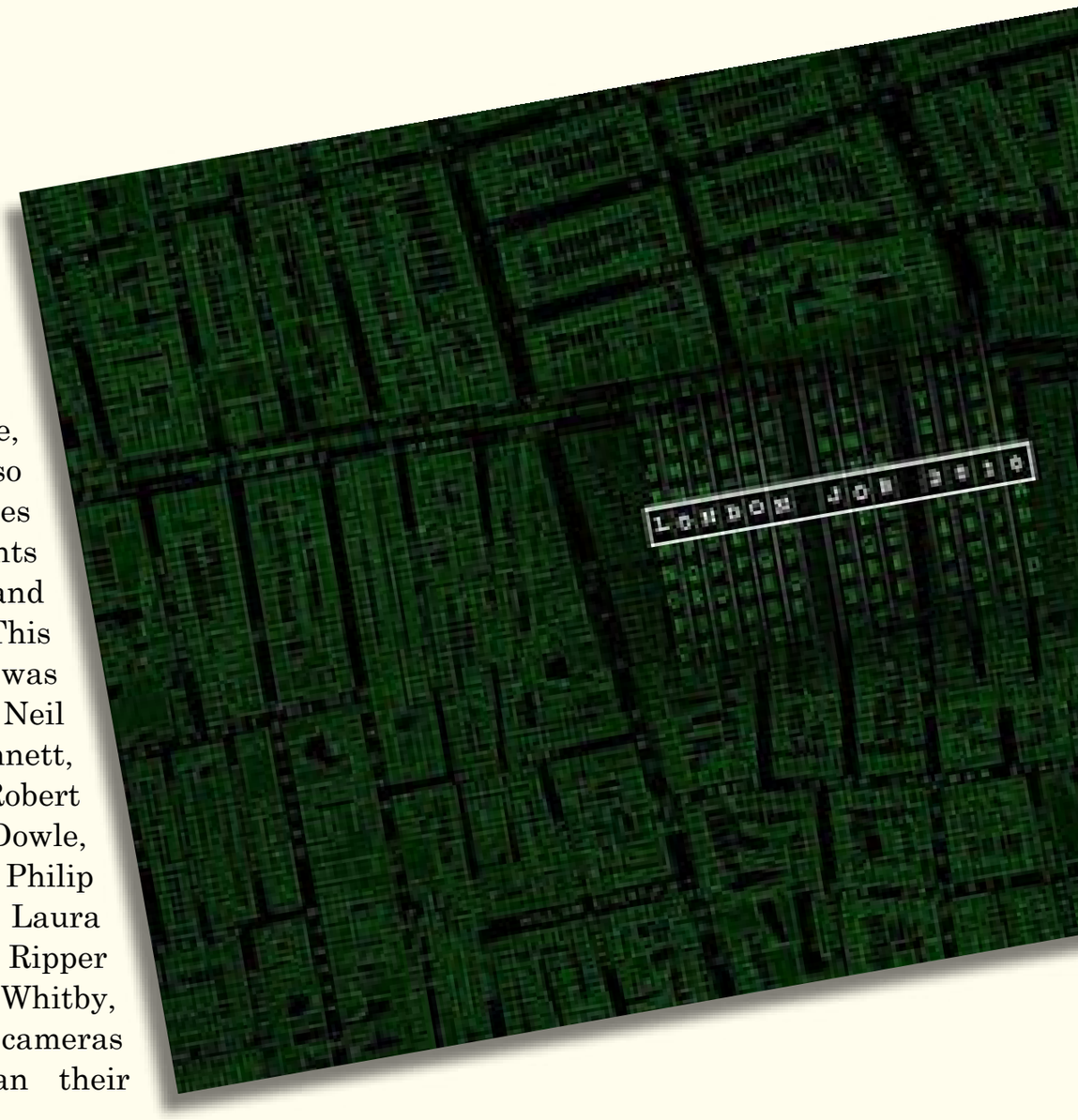
Jonathan Menges

London Job 2010

Murder and Crime Series

Andrew Firth, et al.

2010 Blurb, Paperback, 120 pages, mostly illustrations £16.95 ($29.95)



Many of us can probably think of few more pleasant ways to spend a weekend than traipsing around the East End in the company of a congenial coterie of Ripperologists. That is the concept behind the London Jobs which began in 2006 and involve bands of aficionados visiting Ripper-related sites and taking loads of photographs. The results of these excursions have often been featured on various Casebook threads, but this is first time that they have appeared in print. Is reading this book as good as being able to go on such an outing? Well, frankly, no. But it comes pretty close.

Most of the usual locations were visited during earlier Jobs, so this one concentrates on Poplar, Shadwell and Limehouse, although it also provides glimpses of familiar sights in Spitalfields and Whitechapel. This time the group was composed of Neil Bell, John Bennett, Trevor Bond, Robert Clack, Gail Dowle, Andrew Firth, Philip Hutchinson, Laura Prieto, Mark Ripper and Peter Whitby, all armed with cameras and more than their share of talent.

All the photographers are very accomplished but

Andrew Firth, in particular, has an exceptionally good eye. He makes effective use of odd angles and close-ups and is able to reinterpret even very familiar subjects, such as The Ten Bells, Christ Church, and the Wentworth Dwellings in Goulston Street in striking new ways. Rob Clack continues his sterling work and is now experimenting with ultra wide-angle composite shots. His photo of the corner of Henriques and Fairclough streets is stunning. The book concludes with a witty, informative essay by Neil Bell and short contributions by three of the other participants.

For those of us who do not live in London, or close enough to get there regularly, books such as this are a boon. This one is professionally produced and highly recommended.

Our rating

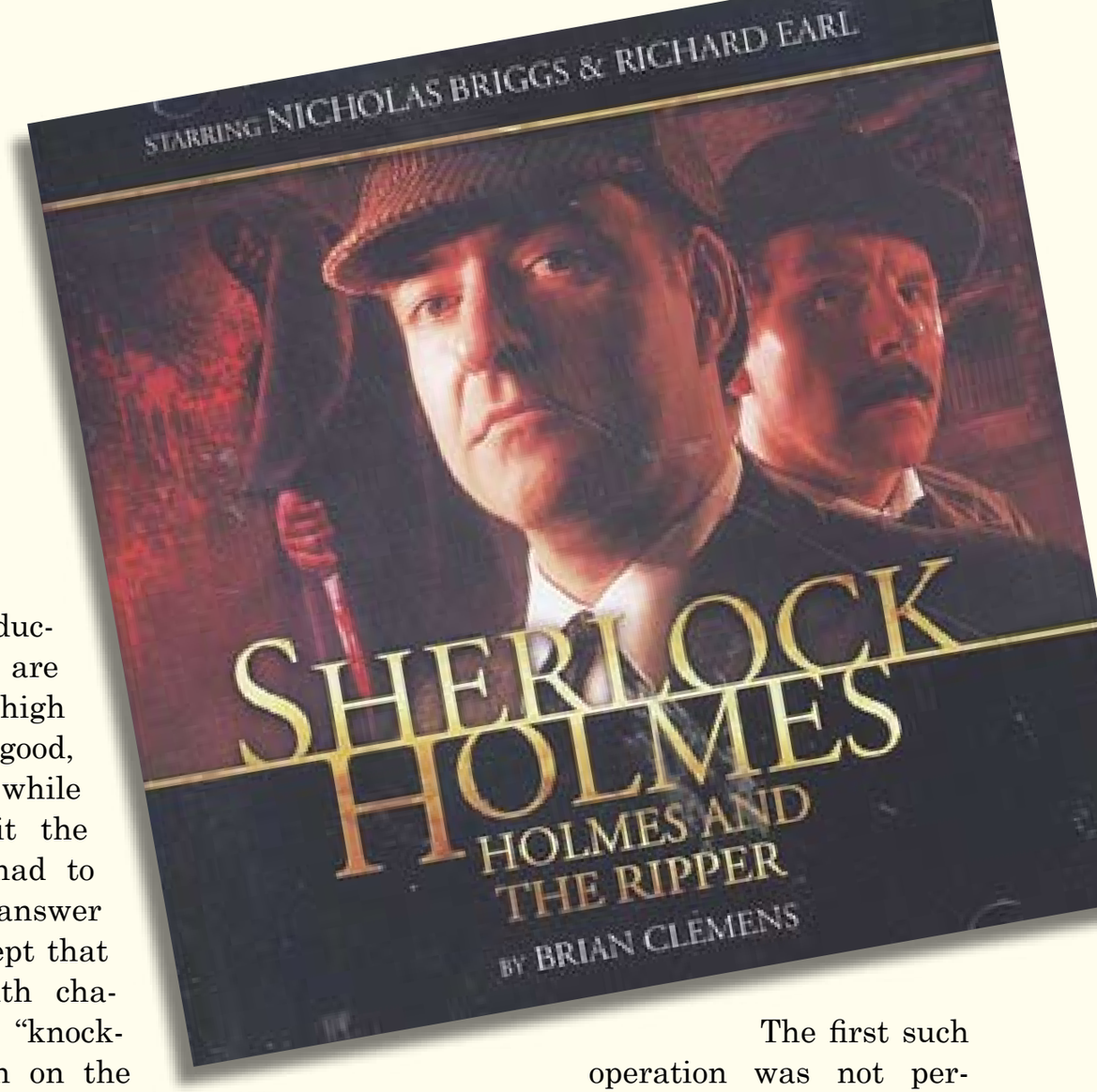
Ken Whiteway (The Grave Maurice)

THE BOOK CONCLUDES WITH A WITTY, INFORMATIVE ESSAY BY NEIL BELL

Sherlock Holmes and the Ripper

Brian Clemens

2010 Audio CD Big Finish Ltd. WWW.BIGFINISH.COM
£14.99 for CD or £12.99 for download



This is an audio CD of a work of fiction by Brian Clemens that has much to recommend it. To begin with, the cast is outstanding, headed by Nicholas Briggs as Holmes and Richard Earl as Dr. Watson. Briggs is perhaps best known as the "voice of the Daleks" in *Dr. Who* while Earl has appeared on the London stage in several plays, particularly *The Portrait of Dorian Gray*. The rest of the cast has equally glittering credits that include such familiar perennials as *EastEnders*, *Coronation Street* and *Dr. Who*. Overall, they do a first-rate job and Briggs and Earl pull off their roles without any of the irksome quirks and mannerisms that detract from all too many presentations of Holmes and Watson.

The production values are also of a very high standard. So good, in fact, that while listening to it the first time I had to get up and answer the door. Except that I realized with chagrin that the "knocking" had been on the CD and not my door. A good deal of research went into the story as well, such that one actor actually felt compelled to visit the grave of Sir Robert Anderson, and there is a good analysis by Holmes of the "Dear Boss" letter. There was one glaring anachronism, however, when lobotomies are mentioned. The first such operation was not performed until *December* 1888 and until the early 1930s were referred to as "leukotomies."

It is, however, a work of fiction — not a documentary — and that may cause problems for some. Without at all giving away the surprises, among the roles in this story

are John Netley, William Gull, Annie Crook and Walter Sickert and that should give one an idea where the plot is headed. For this reason, the CD may not appeal to all Ripperologists, but since many in the field are also devout Holmesians it should have a good market niche as it is superbly performed and presented. Moreover, Big Finish has several other Sherlock Holmes stories planned or already on CD so those who can't get enough of Holmes — and their number is legion — should definitely visit the company's website.

Our rating

D.O. Souden

THERE IS A GOOD ANALYSIS BY HOLMES OF THE "DEAR BOSS" LETTER.

Five Daughters

Written by Stephen Butchard
Director Philippa Lowthorpe
Staring: Sarah Lancashire,
Ian Hart, Jamie Winstone

BBC1 Broadcast 25th, 26th and 27th April 2010

THE VICTIMS TOOK TO THE STREET, KNOWING THE KILLER WAS LIKELY TO BE AROUND THE CORNER

This drama, focusing on the victims of the 2006 Suffolk Strangler murderer, was an excellent production. The cast brought the women and their families to the screen with dignity and sympathy. The drama was put together with the cooperation of the police and the victims' families but was nonetheless a no holds barred account, showing the sinister underworld of drugs and prostitution the women had become involved in as well as their battles against it and how it had affected them and their families. It was a powerful, disturbing and saddening account of lives cut short by the tragic effect of an addiction to drugs.

Undercover Investigations

The programme showed harrowing scenes as some of the victims took to the street, knowing the killer was likely to be around the corner, and even though one knew the outcome it had one wishing for an alternate scenario as it truly brought the reality of these five women's lives and deaths home by showing them as real people. It also portrayed the police investigation, including the shock of the investigators when Steve Wright was found to be the killer through DNA evidence.

By focusing on the women and not the killer the programme makers were able to make an absorbing and realistic account of the murders from the perspective of the women and their friends and families. It was also able to do justice to all five women's stories by spreading the account over three episodes. It was a very harrowing account and one that brought tears to this viewer's eyes on a number of occasions. Indeed it proved to be a drama that made one think. It has yet to be confirmed if the programme is to be released on DVD in the near future, but we can only hope that it will be as it was a gripping programme and one that is recommended highly.

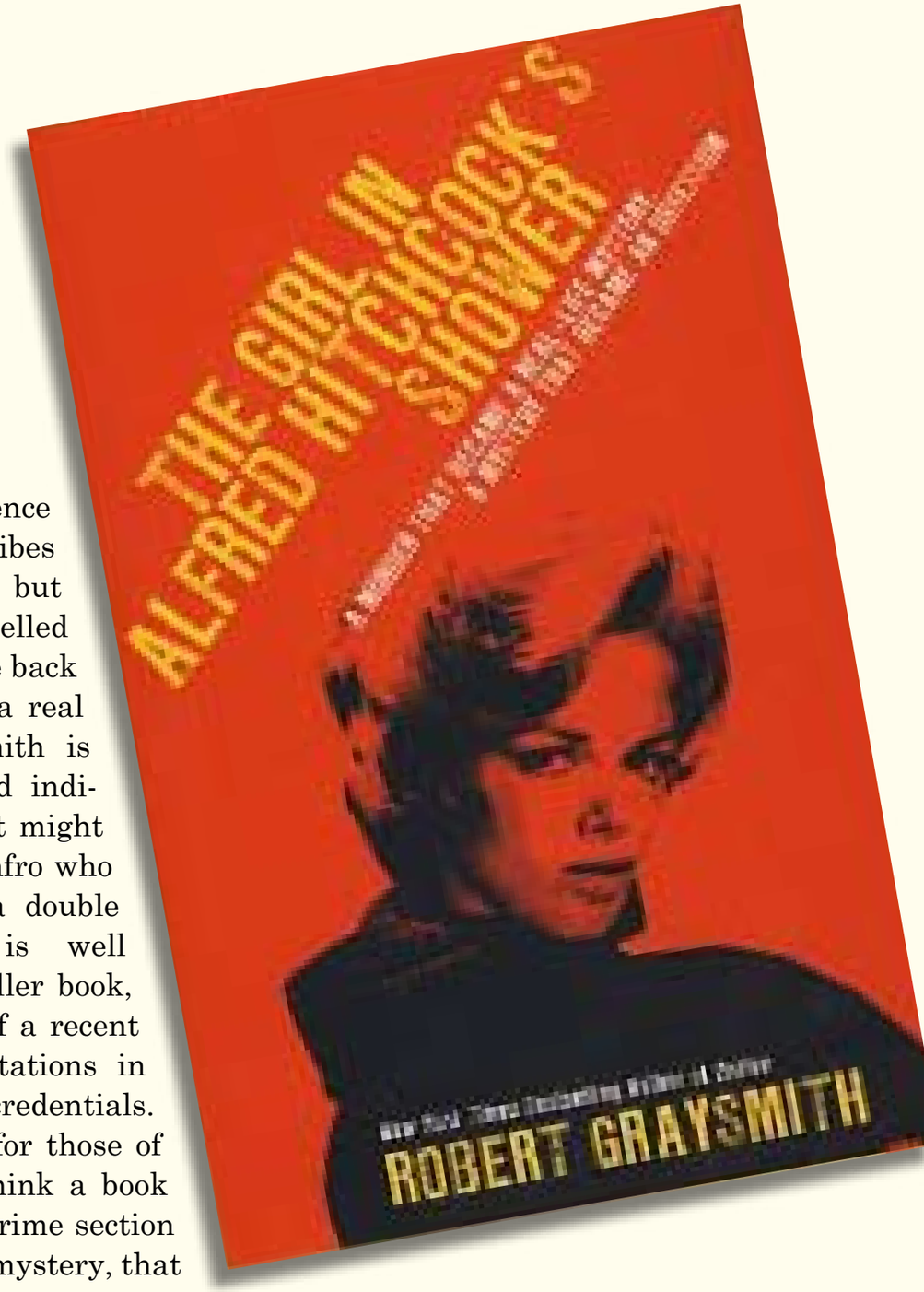
Our rating

Jennifer Shelden

The Girl in Alfred Hitchcock's Shower

Robert Graysmith

2010 Titan Books, London
Paperback, pp307, biblio, index, illus £8.99



If you are a fan of Alfred Hitchcock's film *Psycho* and want to know some interesting facts about the shower sequence in that movie and the real woman behind it, then you will find this book a pleasant and compelling read. The woman mentioned in the title of this book is not Janet Leigh but her body double by the name of Marli Renfro as she was used as a nude double for much of that sequence. After a few further ventures into dubious movie roles she faded into obscurity. This is indeed a book that contains many interesting facts that will entertain movie buffs. However, as good as this book is in these regards it does profess to be, not a biography of an obscure character (which it pulls off with interest) or indeed a book about the shower sequence in *Psycho* (which it describes in fascinating detail), but instead is one that is labelled as true crime. Indeed the back cover blurb states it is a real life crime that Graysmith is determined to solve and indicates further still that it might not have been Marli Renfro who was murdered at all, a double mystery. Graysmith, is well known for his Zodiac killer book, which was the subject of a recent film, heightening expectations in regards to true crime credentials. How unfortunate then, for those of us who might rightly think a book we picked up in a true crime section might contain a murder mystery, that

ITS TENUOUS TRUE CRIME LINK DID IT NO GOOD WHATSOEVER

it does not actually get to the point of explaining the murder of the woman in the title (or indeed how anyone may have come to be murdered in her place) in any detail in the narrative until page 274 (of a book of 307 pages, this is quite a way in!) The narrative is instead largely about the filming of *Psycho,* the films subsequent success and what Marli Renfro did next and this is interspersed with details about an appalling set of crimes carried out at the time, in which a series of women were raped and murdered. While the story of these crimes is not altogether uninteresting, particularly as to how the film *Psycho* may have been an influence on the murderer, one might rightly think, from the way it is interspersed with the biographical details about Marli Renfro and her role in *Psycho* that these killings were related to the murder mentioned on the jacket of the book. However, if you thought this you would be wrong. If the author had set out to write about the people involved in the making of *Psycho's* shower scene, from body doubles to stand-ins, or even that same movie's alleged impact on the mind of murderers, this book would have been a good read. However, its tenuous true crime link did it no good whatsoever. It is probably therefore best left to those who are fascinated, not by true crimes, but by Hitchcock and his shower.

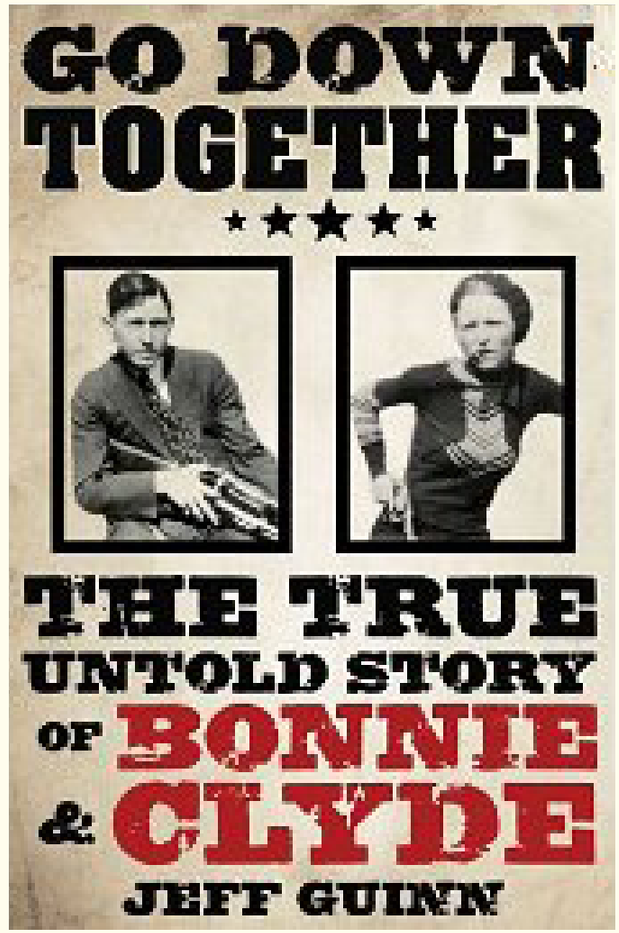
Our rating

Jennifer Shelden

Go Down Together: The True Untold Story of Bonnie & Clyde

Jeff Guinn

2010 Pocket Books, London
paperback, 480pp, biblio, illus, index



Bonnie and Clyde (or in fact more correctly, Clyde and Bonnie, as the author of this book, rightly points out) are often romanticised figures. However, in this latest extensive biography Jeff Guinn attempts to clear the rose-tinted myths and produce a book that offers a factual account of what life was like in the Barrow Gang. He paints a picture of an unglamorous life on the run and pulling off very few robberies that reap amazing rewards, and fewer still without the help of others. The pair apparently often slept rough, were constantly on the run or being actively pursued and towards the end Bonnie was badly injured, barely able to walk; this was not a life of glamour but one of abject poverty and misery. Guinn is keen in the beginning to point out that both Clyde and Bonnie came from poor families and started out life from a position of distinct disadvantage, but it was still their choice to go into the life they decided upon; many in similar situations instead attempted to live an honest life. Guinn pants a picture of bumbling misfits rather than of criminal masterminds. There does seem to be an honest love story at the centre of Bonnie and Clyde's tale, and as Guinn is keen to point out from the title onwards, this is perhaps why they inevitably died together. For those interested in this era of American history or in the story of Bonnie and Clyde this book offers a fresh insight.

Our rating
Jennifer Shelden

The Crimes of Paris

A True Story of Murder, Theft, and Detection

Dorothy & Thomas Hoobler

2009 Little Brown and Co
Hardback 320pp, illus.

Framed around the 1911 theft of the Mona Lisa from the Louvre, this book weaves an array of dastardly Parisian villains throughout its pages, as well as providing a social history of the City of Lights underworld at the dawn of the 20th century. Amongst the Victorian and Edwardian criminals discussed is Joseph Vacher, the French Ripper, whose murders were the basis for Lacassagne's Vacher l'Eventreur et les Crimes Sadiques that gave us the first published photographs of Catherine Eddowes and the second ever published photo of Mary Kelly. This book is recommended as it provides a view on the violence and crimes that ran parallel to the Whitechapel murders across the Channel, as well as a good education on the various detection and policing methods that were being developed and put to use in France at the time that the London police were blindfolded and baffled.

Our rating

Jonathan Menges

...AN ARRAY OF DASTARDLY PARISIAN VILLAINS...

Defend the Realm: The Authorized History of MI5

Christopher Andrew & Alfred A Knopf

2009 Hardback 1032pp, illustrated.
(N.B Paperback published 3/6/2010 by Penguin Books)

You'll look at this massive book as either the perfect doorstop or a thorough and fascinating source of information about the British Secret Service. But what might interest our readers is the section on the formation and early years of the MI5 (called the MO2 and MO3) headed by "retired" Special Branch Superintendent William Melville. Melville shares these pages with the shadowy and compelling character of William Le Queux, one of the first and certainly the most famous of spy novel authors of the time and who may have been an intelligence officer himself. But it is the tidbits of information the book provides on Melville's personality, background and role as Russian Okhrana spy-catcher (culled from primary sources) that is most valuable to students of the late-Victorian era. You might find yourself questioning your image of Melville as the first James Bond after reading this introductory section.

Our rating
Jonathan Menges

EITHER THE PERFECT DOORSTOP OR A THOROUGH AND FASCINATING SOURCE OF INFORMATION

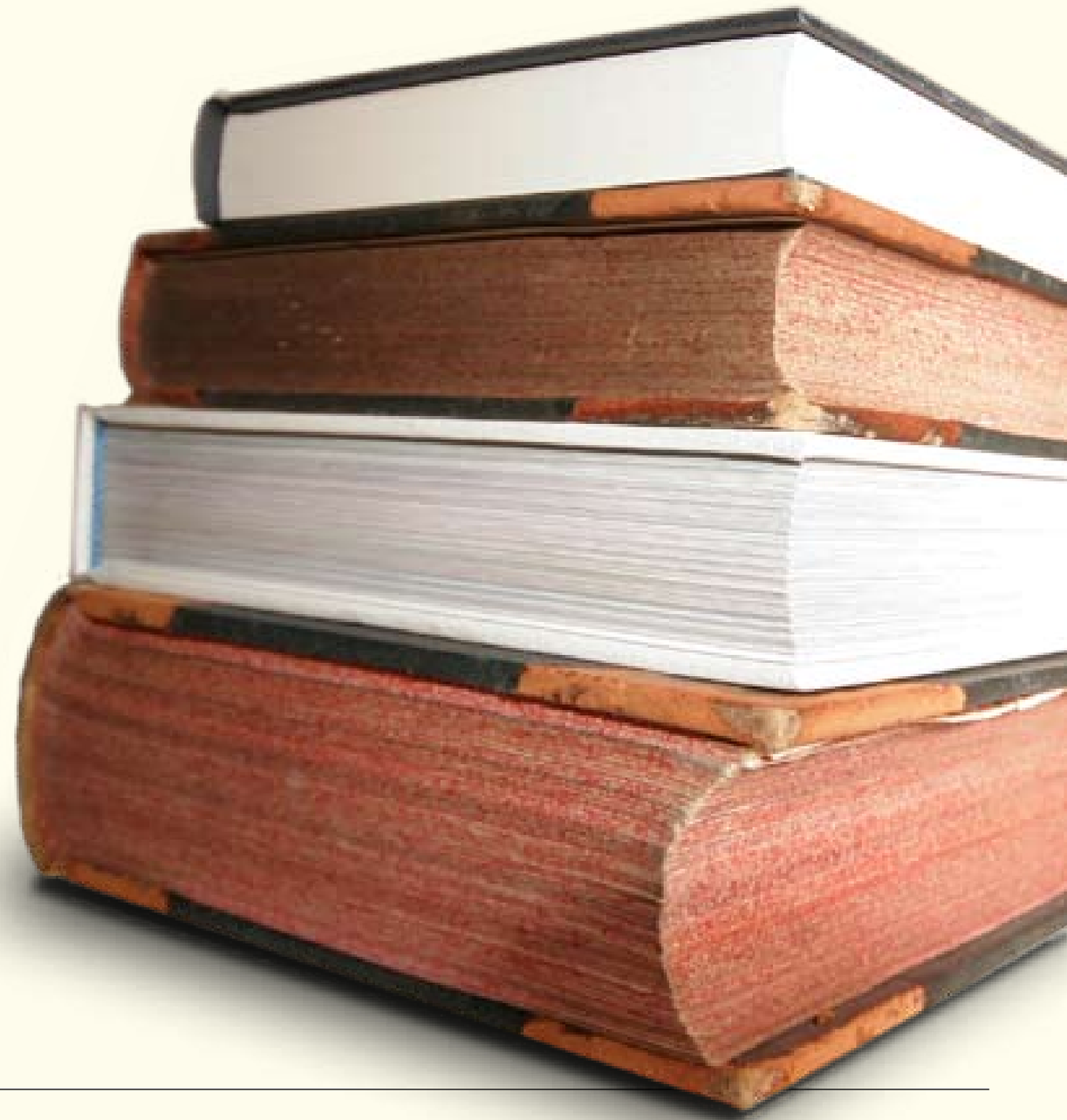
Undercover Investigations:

From The Library Shelves

THE PEASENHALL MURDER

Welcome to our fictitious library, containing all the best books on all the subjects that are of interest to True Crime researchers. This edition we are going to pull out all the books that we can find in our library that deal with the 1902 unsolved Peasenhall murder case.

This case shocked a tiny Suffolk village when Rose Harsent was savagely murdered by having her throat cut. There were two trials of the same man, William Gardiner, and he was twice acquitted. To some this case was a miscarriage of justice, to others it remains an unsolved crime.



Undercover Investigations: From the Library Shelves

The Trial Of William Gardiner:
Notable British Trial Series
Edited by William Henderson

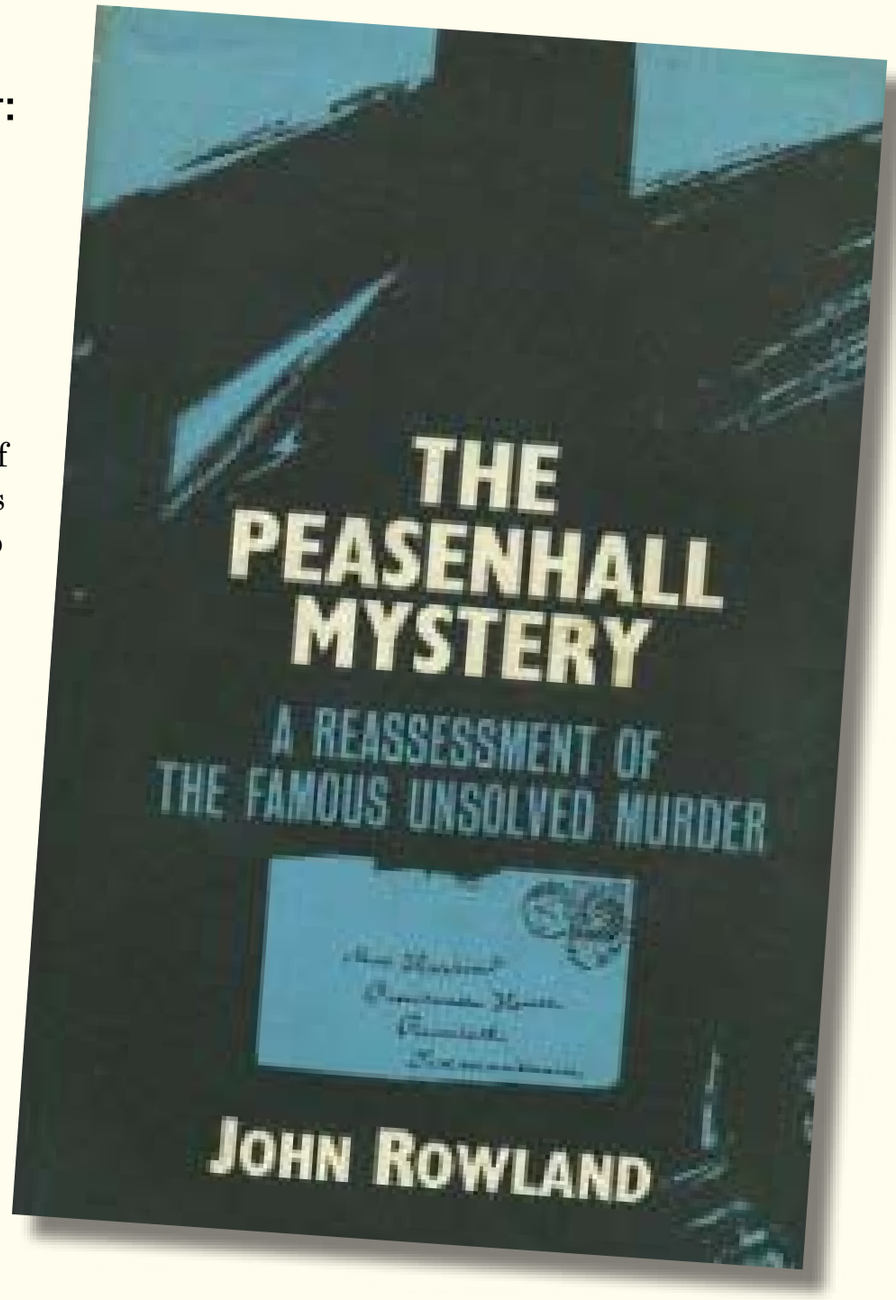
1934 Hodge Hardback

This 1930s book is one for collectors. It comes from the respected *Notable British Trials* series. However, trying to get hold of a copy today might be more difficult and expensive than most are prepared to spend; for example, we spotted a copy on Amazon.com retailing for over $260.

The Peasenhall Mystery:
A re-assessment of the famous unsolved murder
John Rowland

1962 John Long London
Hardback, pp175, index, biblio

An excellent account of the case, that concludes Gardiner had a case to answer. If you are after an in-depth account then this book is well worth a read as it provides a good overview. It was released in the 1960s, so it is a book that would be best sourced at a library or bought second-hand. We found it selling for approximately £20 at various on-line booksellers.



Undercover Investigations: From the Library Shelves

The Peasenhall Murder
Martin Fido & Keith Skinner
Forward by Richard Whittington-Egan

1990 Sutton
Paperback, pp202, index, biblio, illus

Of all the books we pulled from our library for this issue, it is natural that Ripperologists will gravitate towards this volume. That is, as it contains the efforts of not one, but four separate Ripper authorities. It is Fido and Skinner's first collaborative book and it also has a forward written by Richard Whittington-Egan and input from Stewart P. Evans. It is also the most up to date book available that is devoted entirely to this case. Interestingly, Keith Skinner's grandfather, Alfonso Skinner, was a witness at the original trial and this personal interest sparked his research. We found the book second hand on sale at Amazon for £5 and a signed first edition on sale at Lay Books for £25.

The Peasenhall Murder
Edwin Packer

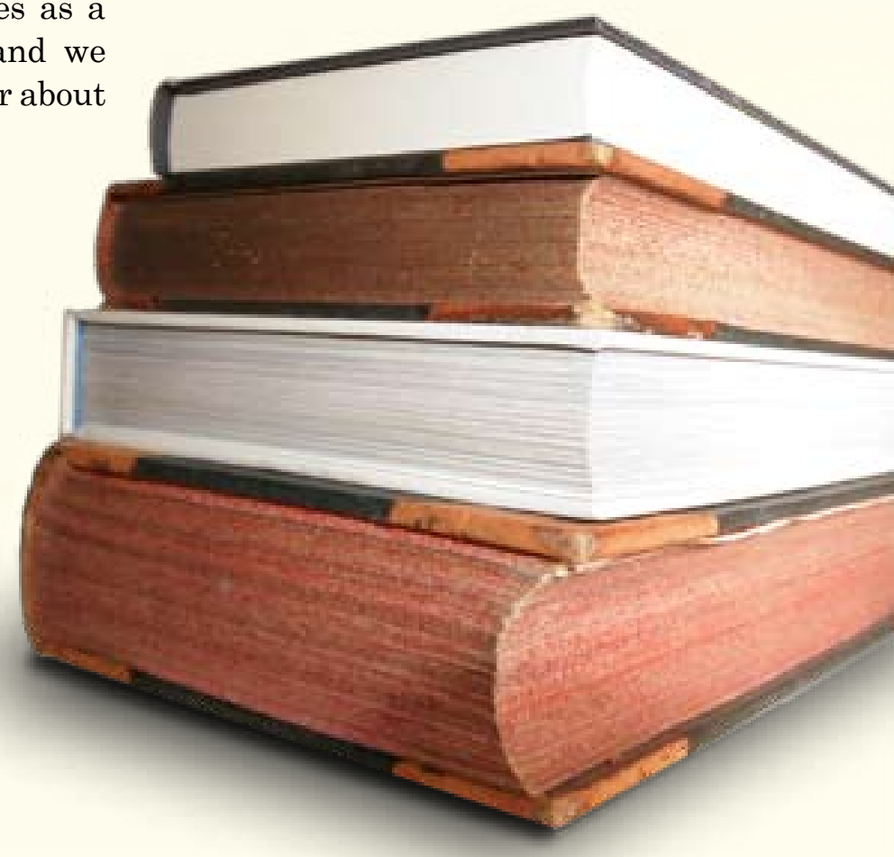
1980, revised 1981 Yoxford Publications, Saxmundham, Suffolk
Paperback, pp55, biblio, illus

Though this is a small printed booklet, it is nonetheless packed with information. It serves as a good introduction to the case and we found it available second-hand for about £10 at various on-line stores.

The Women of Peasenhall
Reginald James White

Macmillan
Hardback, pp160

This is a novel that portrays the events surrounding Rose Harsent's death.

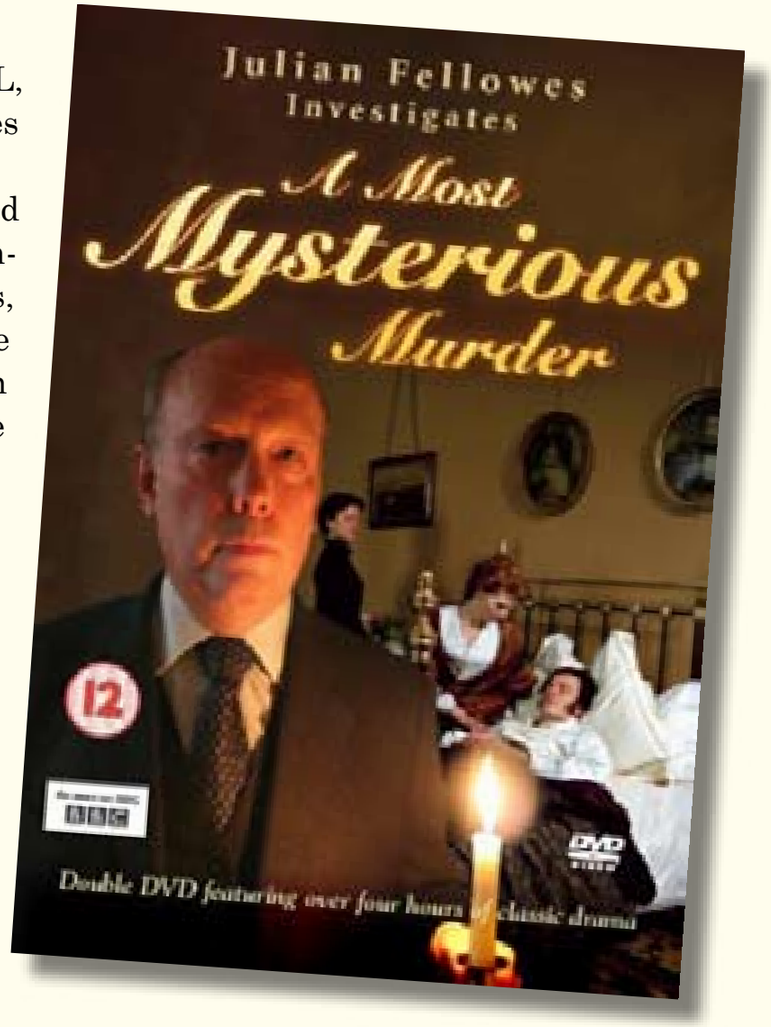


Undercover Investigations: From the Library Shelves

This case also features in:
Julian Fellowes Investigates
A Most Mysterious Murder

2006 Acorn Media
DVD – certificate 12, PAL, running time 300 minutes

This DVD, released in 2006 to accompany a TV series, has an episode about the Peasenhall case and can be picked up new on-line for £20.



They Also Wrote...

Robin Odell is well known in the Ripper community for his Jack the Ripper books, but did you know that he is also the author of Exhumation of Murder: The Life and Trial of Major Armstrong, a comprehensive study of the Hay Poisoner, published in paperback by Mandrake in 2006?

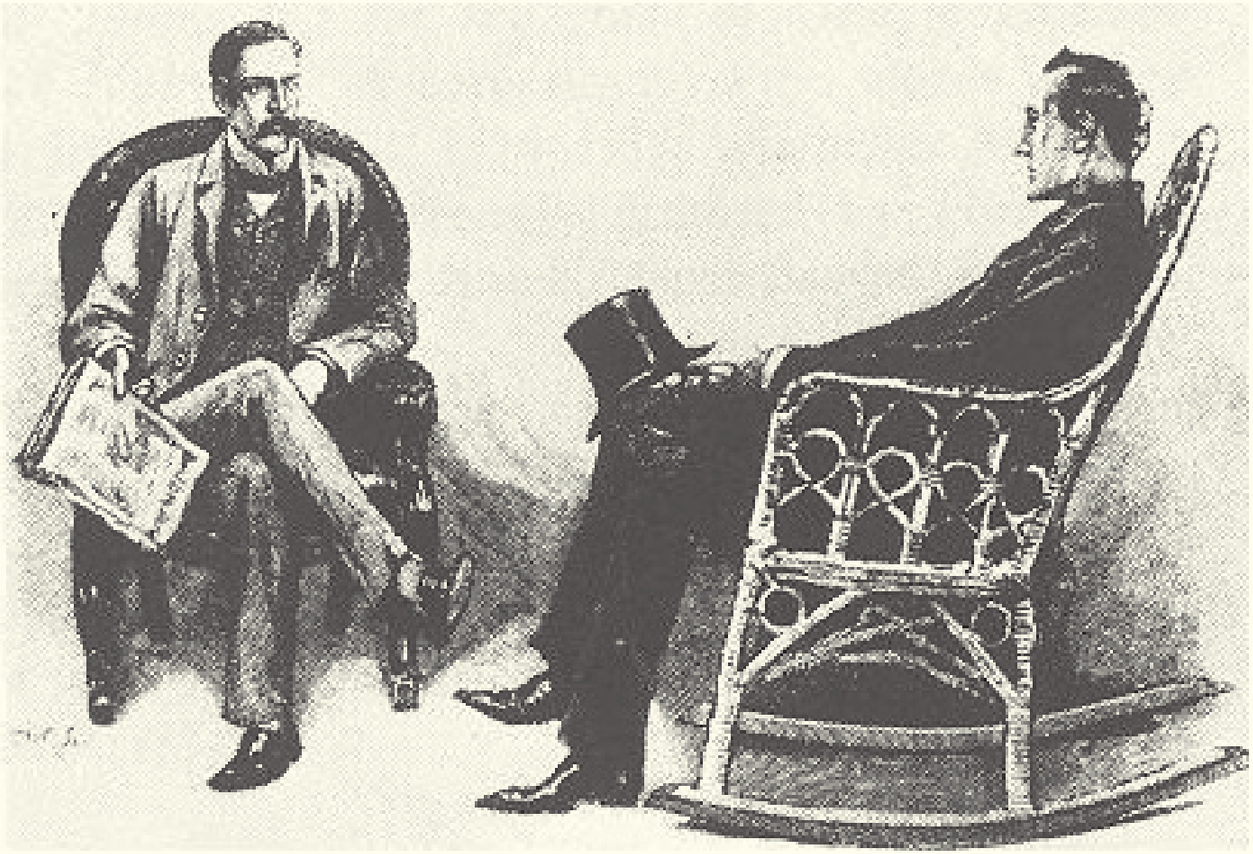
Undercover Investigations: Open Book Exam

Holmes and the Ripper?

Don Souden

Open-book Exam is the first of a planned regular feature, an examination of detective fiction, from Poe to the present, from a variety of perspectives.

There is an abiding affinity for the Sherlock Holmes stories among Ripperologists young and old that exists not only within our hearts and minds but which often spills out as buckets of ink in publications and countless pixels on message boards. At first brush, this marriage of Ripperological and Holmesian passions might seem not only natural but made in Heaven. After all, the two are firmly embedded in that ever- romantic Late Victorian Period: an era that is flickering gas lamps, hansom cabs clattering on cobbles and a last refuge before the unsettling reality of the 20th Century.



ANOTHER QUIET TALK BETWEEN HOLMES AND WATSON.

Moreover, there being a bit of an armchair detective in every Ripperologist, the common thread of crime-solving must play a major role.

That said, however, it must be acknowledged that Whitechapel was a long way from 221-B Baker Street. It may have been a fairly short ride on the Underground, but the two places were quite literally worlds apart, even if Baker Street was crossed by both a George Street and a Dorset Street. At the start of their partnership Watson did note, in *A Study in Scarlet*, that Holmes occasionally took long walks "which appeared to take him into the lowest portions of the city." Whether those wanderings took Holmes to the other George or Dorset streets, however, remains uncertain. As it is, one rather doubts they did. Holmes may have shown a great rapport with housemaids and hostlers, but that was always with those who toiled in the finer homes and who were a far cry from the derelict denizens of the East End's Dorset Street.

Not that Holmes and Watson were at all snobs, because they often displayed genuine interest, even compassion, for the least of those who came seeking their help and comfort. Holmes, who was fond of Biblical allusions, was surely familiar with Matthew 25:40 and all it meant. That said, however, one must understand a few things about Holmes and Watson when assessing them in terms of the Ripper murders. They were assuredly public school boys and university men, with all that implied about their backgrounds and attitudes, however liberal (in the finest 19th Century sense) their instincts. Moreover, for all the years spent in London, they were most comfortable in the country. One might—*just*—imagine Holmes in disguise as a patron at Ringers, and being the Master he might—again—just have pulled it off in the way he played the opium fiend in "The Man With the Twisted Lip." Yet, how many times did both Holmes and Watson fit seamlessly into the milieu of a country pub? That was their "home grounds," so to speak.

Indeed, Holmes is even on record in "the Copper Beeches" as opining that the countryside was far more dangerous than the most evil rookeries of a city. "*It is my belief . . . that the lowest and vilest alleys in London do not present a more dreadful record of sin than does the smiling and beautiful country-side.*" That one as intelligent and learned in the history of crime would actually believe that is rather doubtful. Instead, I would suggest it was only Holmes letting his innate love of the countryside get the better of his reason, even if that love was expressed in a particularly perverse manner. Truth is, I think, that the Baker Street digs were a comfortable haven for both Holmes and Watson regardless of where duty might lead them in the great metropolis and one that was truly a world apart from Whitechapel. As an example, rough and tumble as were Wiggins and the rest of the "Baker Street Irregulars," there is little doubt in my mind they'd have been eaten alive by the street urchins of Flower and Dean.

Fact is, neither Holmes or Watson was likely to have taken any great interest in the Whitechapel murders. For Holmes, those crimes that truly drew his interest, especially after he had become "established," were those that were strange and preferably

Undercover Investigations: Open Book Exam

Holmes quite "at home" in a country pub.

Holmes disguised as an idler.
Would this pass muster at the Ten Bells?

even bizarre; puzzles that required his astute and unusual powers of reasoning and induction. Nor, though the Salisbury government was under increasing criticism and gravely concerned by the murders, is it likely that concern would reach into the corridors of power prowled by brother Mycroft. And while the Ripper's reign of terror poses a multiplicity of questions for us today, it is quite probable that from the comfort of Baker Street in 1888 the bloody killings in the East End seemed rather simple: the sordid slaughter of unfortunates by someone quite deranged and hardly requiring the especial talents or attention of the Master.

Indeed, one would quite expect that when Holmes and Watson discussed the killings (and surely they must have) that it was Dr. John H. Watson who was the more exercised by the problems posed. After all, if one accepted (as most did) that the murders were the product of an unbalanced mind, then Watson would be by far the more interested of the pair. Watson not only had the requisite medical background, but had shown (as in the "Resident Patient" and elsewhere) that he had a real curiosity about mental aberrations and the pioneer work of alienists (as the proto-psychiatrists of the day were termed). Whereas for Holmes, the events in the East End of 1888 may have elicited no more interest than a few more clippings for his commonplace books.

For those devotees who despair that there was no crossing of paths by the greatest fiend of the era and the greatest detective of all time there remains one slim thread upon which to base hope yet—and that is by playing the Irish card. The "Green theme"—that there was some Fenian connection the crimes—continues as an evergreen idea within the minds of many a Ripperologist and that Holmes, at the importunities of Mycroft on behalf of the government, might have done some undercover work among the Irish nationalist groups is not beyond the realm of conjecture. Of course, we shall never know, the books of the Special Branch being sealed unto eternity.

Still, the idea does gain a certain amount of possible support from the events of "His Last Bow" in which Holmes thwarts the efforts of a German spymaster on the eve of WWI by posing as an Irish-American and infiltrating Irish nationalist organizations. How much easier and convincing that would have been for Holmes had he done the same thing a quarter-century earlier is quite manifest. If nothing else it must open the door to further research for both Ripperologists and Holmesians alike.

As it is, despite contemporary criticism of the story by those who find it embarrassingly chauvinistic, "His Last Bow" is still one of my favorite stories in the Canon. Not, perhaps, for the story itself but for the ending and its evocation of friendship. What could be a more fitting finish to that wonderfully fulfilling partnership and friendship than Holmes's words to Watson after they had subdued Van Bork: "*Stand with me upon the terrace, for it may the last quiet talk that we shall ever have.*" As exit lines go, it is one of the best in literature.

COLLECTORS CORNER

with Stewart P. Evans

Stewart is widely recognised as a leading authority on the Jack the Ripper case. He is the author of several true crime books including *The Man Who Hunted Jack the Ripper, Executioner and The Ultimate Jack the Ripper Sourcebook*. He is also an avid collector of Jack the Ripper related books and memorabilia and in our view this makes him the ideal candidate to answer your questions about Jack the Ripper collectables. So, without any more hesitation, let's turn to the questions posed this issue...

"I saw a copy of William Stewart's book Jack the Ripper: A New Theory for sale at £800, how can I tell if this is a fair/good price?"

Any rare book is worth what a collector is prepared to pay for it. Therefore, if a book dealer prices a copy of William Stewart's book at £800 I doubt that he will sell it. I have seen overpriced books on the market for literally years without selling. Even £500 is a bit steep for this book, although I know some have paid that.

"I damaged my book's dust cover whilst moving house, will this affect its re-sale price?"

If the dust-wrapper/jacket of a book is damaged to any degree it will affect the re-sale price. A book with no jacket is worth a lot less than one with. Real collectors prefer no or little damage to their dust jackets.

"I heard that Philip Hutchinson and Rob Clack's book The London of Jack the Ripper Then and Now was recently reissued, does this mean the first edition copy I own will eventually become a rare collectors item?"

COLLECTORS CORNER

It is hard to say whether the first edition will become a collectors' item. That rather depends on the print run (usually 2000 to 5000 are initially printed) but I doubt that it will ever be a valuable collector's item. Also, I believe that the initial 50 copies lacked the spine lettering and were numbered and signed by the authors. Naturally these copies will be worth more.

"My husband and I both own your book Jack the Ripper Scotland Yard Investigates; mine is signed by yourself and Don Rumbelow, but only on tipped in labels, whereas my husband's copy is signed to him by one of the authors and also signed by both of you. Is his copy worth more than mine? (Please say it isn't!)"

Author signatures are always best written in the actual book as it means the author has handled the book. Signed labels are less desirable, although they are better than no signature at all.

If you have a question about Ripper books and collectables that you would like answered then why not send it to Stewart via our email address examiner@casebook.org. Stewart will be answering again next issue, so get those questions in and get collecting!

DON'T BE SHY RIPPER-OLOGISTS EMAIL STEWART TODAY!

On The Case...

The News From Ripper World

ON SERIAL MURDER...

The sad news that a serial murderer has been on the loose in Bradford, England has emerged in the last few weeks. Police have charged Stephen Griffiths, aged 40, a mature student undertaking a PhD in criminology at Bradford University, with the murders of three women. Susan Rushworth aged 43, Shelley Armitage aged 31 and Suzanne Blamires aged 36, who were working as prostitutes in the area, had gone missing in the last eleven months. The police have recovered dismembered body parts from the River Aire, near Bradford. The alarm was raised after a caretaker, reviewing CCTV footage from the block of flats where Griffiths lived, saw harrowing scenes caught on the camera of the murder of Suzanne Blamires. The footage is said to have shown Griffiths murdering her with a crossbow outside his flat. Griffiths is described in much of the news media as a loner who was obsessed with the Jack the Ripper murders, and is said to have informed one neighbour he was studying for a PhD in 'murder and Jack the Ripper.'

BBC News

Telegraph

ON THE TUBE...

An interesting upload of bell ringing inside Christ Church, Spitalfields, was posted recently on *YouTube* and is worth a look HERE

ON THE CATWALK...

In what can only be described as a bizarre situation, Nicole Ritchie, the socialite daughter of Lionel Ritchie, friend of Paris Hilton and co-star of The Simple Life, launched a new clothing line which she stated was inspired by Jack the Ripper. Ritchie had seen the film From Hell and the corsets, capes and clothes of the period, as well as the notion of Freemasons, helped with the ideas she needed for her latest range. This collection, apparently comes complete with top hats, well why not! It is called the Winter Kate Collection and is coming soon to a boutique near you!

RTVCHANNEL.TV

ZIMBIO.COM

NOCHELATINA.COM

On The Case...

The News From Ripper World

ON A WARNING...

iPhone have launched an application that tells you how likely it is that your neighbour will have an ASBO (an Anti Social Behaviour Order, a British crime prevention measure). Proving that some things never change, the survey showed that Tower Hamlets, the region including Whitechapel, Spitalfields and Bethnal Green, was rated as having the second highest number in the country (incidentally, Newham in London was rated the first highest). The asborometer (yes you heard right) uses information released from the Home Office (the department that issues the orders) and as a result you can keep a quarterly check on your locations ranking. FInd out more HERE

ON THE CASEBOOK...

Researcher Rob House, has recently posted some new photographs of Donald Swanson on the *Casebook* forums. These fantastic pictures were released to Rob by Swanson's descendants. It's a great find so well done to Rob (and to Chris Phillips who aided him with some of the leg work in England as Rob lives American). To see them go HERE

ON A DATE...

Saturday 7th August - Whitechapel Society 1888 meeting, "Down Among the Dead Men", speaker M.J Trow.

A new paperback edition of John Eddleston's *Jack the Ripper Encyclopaedia*, is due to be published by John Blake on the **1st July 2010**.

Similarly, a paperback edition of Stewart P. Evans and Donald Rumbelow's *Jack the Ripper: Scotland Yard Investigates*, is also due to be published on the **1st July of this year**.

Or, on a different note, why not get down to Spitalfields Market from the **11th to 26th June**, for Spitalfields Classical Music Festival.

The New Edition of Begg, Fido and Skinner's *Jack the Ripper A to Z*, to be published by John Blake, is still slated for publication on the **6th September 2010.**

On The Case...

The News From Ripper World

ON THE ROAD...

A section of Whitechapel Road is set to be given a face lift to the tune of 1.4 million pounds, thanks to a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund. This will be done using money being spent on regenerating the area prior to the 2012 Olympic Games (to be held in London), as the section will form part of the marathon route. Work will begin in December of this year on the terrace of 60 buildings (eight of which are Grade II listed and therefore are therefore considered to be of special architectural or historical importance and are accorded special protections) in order to restore the shop fronts and get under-occupied buildings back into use. This will be carried out on a strict timetable so that the improvements are made prior to the Olympic Games themselves (they hope!) The regeneration is part of the High Street 2012 initiative, which covers an area of around three miles in Tower Hamlets, mainly on the marathon routes. As well as Whitechapel Road, areas under the scheme include Whitechapel High Street, Bow Road and Mile End Road.

We will be keeping an eye out for how developments affect the look of Jack the Ripper's London.

Find out more HERE

If you have a story you would like to submit please email us. examiner@casebook.org

ON A LIGHTER NOTE...

Recent information released by the BBC has shown that there are over a thousand murders in the UK officially recorded as unsolved. However, Jack Ripper's crimes do not rate amongst these since they have never officially been recorded as such. Sounds like a fiddle to us!

JUST A THOUGHT by TN Bond

It's the thought that counts. Well, at least that's what my mother always told me. But when it comes to the myriad of ways in which we remember and honour our dead, things get a little more complicated than that. The Victorians, famously, made mourning into a demonstration of social standing, with families sometimes even paying strangers to act as mourners in order to increase the size of the funeral party. Where at all possible, they have always done a good funeral in the East End — in 1908 E.V. Lucas, visiting Whitechapel, told, in *A Wanderer in London*, of watching the funeral of a fruit salesman, his coffin followed by market carts and victualler's wagons filled with mourners: 'he was going home well, as those that die in the East End always do. No expense is spared then'. Even today, to step into the East London Cemetery in Plaistow is to be regularly astounded by sights of gigantic customised monuments and gaily coloured flowers, in all shapes and sizes from footballs to dartboards. Further afield, Irish wakes are, to this day, legendary. The funeral cortege of one familial Irishman, John 'Jack' McCarthy, was requested by the late lodging house keeper to pass along Dorset Street one last time. On a more sinister note, Spanish Republicans publicly displayed the bodies of religious opponents, reminiscent of the heads that adorned the medieval London Bridge. More recently, continuing hostilities in the Middle East have forced the British and American peoples to think again about the ways in which we honour those who die in the service of our countries.

For the victims of the 'Whitechapel Murders', however, things were all too often quite different. James Mason memorably told us, in *The London Nobody Knows*, that 'the poor of the parish clubbed together to buy...meat' for Annie Chapman's funeral, a classic and evocative line that nevertheless ignored the fact that Dark Annie's family were able to pay the majority of her funeral costs — in that way, if in very few others, she was relatively lucky. Many of the protagonists of the 'Ripper' story, in particular — victims, witnesses and suspects alike — ended their days in pauper's graves, buried on the public charity that had in so many cases also sustained them through periods of their lives.

In February, a long-held ambition

was realised with the launch of my website, at WWW.ALL-THAT-YOUVE-DONE.COM. It was a triumph of ambition and interest over technological incompetence. It also gave me a hitherto unknown opportunity to gauge opinion with regards to a couple of projects occupying my time; one of those, my documentary *Murder and Suspicion: the Whitechapel Murders*, is now nearing completion, and the feedback received through the website, and also *Casebook* and *JTRforums* has been invaluable. The other, however, a memorial to Frances Coles, has become — like trying to reach a consensus on the way in which we should expect to honour our dead, a little more complex.

Coles, as we all know, was murdered in the early hours of the morning before Valentine's Day 1891. As many will also know, she was subsequently buried on the 25th February – although the location of her burial is perhaps less well-known. When writer and researcher Andrew Spallek visited the East London Cemetery, he was told that they had no record of her burial there. Subsequent visits by me and others have confirmed that she was, after all — however, her grave is unmarked, and even the cemetery office are unable to offer any help in locating its exact site. She is hardly alone in Plaistow, from the pages of the 'Whitechapel Murders' file, she is joined there by Elizabeth Stride, Alice McKenzie and the 'Pinchin Street Torso', and from elsewhere in history by a monument to the victims of both the 1917 Silvertown explosion, and also the sinking of the Princess Alice. We will never know whether Stride would have appreciated the irony of the latter. Frances is, however, completely unremembered. Now, visiting the gravesites of murder victims is of course itself something of a contentious and emotional issue, but for my money, if you are going to read about the lives of victims, to bandy their names around in conversation and even look on their mortuary photographs, then, if you have the opportunity, the least you can do is visit their grave and pay your respects. This, then, was the thinking behind the decision to launch my website with a proposal for a fund to raise money for a memorial to Frances Coles.

Interest in Coles has, perhaps inevitably, focused on arguments for or against her inclusion as a 'Ripper' victim. It is a trend that shows no sign of abating, as John E. Keefe's *Carroty Nell: the Last Victim of Jack the Ripper* makes clear from its title onwards. Keefe's research into Coles the person deserves the highest praise, but the way in which it is packaged makes it clear that the person still comes second in the world of commercial publishing to Coles the historical enigma. As for the person herself, Coles, according to current research, has not left behind any immediate family, and so the moral obligation — if not in the strictest sense the responsibility — of ensuring she is remembered may be said to fall on those in the modern day who can claim know her best. It is a sad truth, but that probably means 'us'. This, therefore, would be the second issue with which my appeal has to contend with — along with difficulties of location — one of intention. It is an esoteric and much more difficult one.

I have no desire to criticise or isolate anyone — and we have already seen that there are probably as many ways of confronting death as there are people wishing to do so — but I think it is fair to say that many of us can think of examples of 'memorial' practices centred around one victim or another's

gravesite that the majority would find at best questionable and at times distasteful. One victim, of course, seems to attract more of this sort of attention than others. For this reason I have decided that a plain plaque — name and dates, together if necessary with 'nearby this spot lie the mortal remains of...' — would offer the most respectful and least troublesome form of tribute. I am not sure how I would feel were I to visit the plaque and find that it had become the centrepiece for mawkish sentimentality, but it is a risk I have decided that I must be prepared to take.

We have just over nine months until the 120th anniversary of Coles' death – and with the average price of a simple memorial plaque looking somewhere between £150-£200 (US$215-US$290), I am sure that if a good—sized group of generous and similarly minded individuals banded together that we could manage to raise the appropriate funds without any one individual having to break the proverbial bank.

If anyone has any thoughts on this project then please contact me at trevor-bond@all-that-youve-done.com; alternatively I am sure that *Casebook Examiner* would be happy to pass on any messages. For a discussion of the various issues regarding locating Coles' plot, see the 'burial' thread on the Frances Coles board at *Casebook*, or visit my website. Similarly, if anyone has any administrative experience in small scale charity appeals, please contact me — as I have no egocentric desire to embark into yet another wholly new world entirely alone and unprepared!

APPROX. SITE OF FRANCES COLES' GRAVE, EAST LONDON CEMETERY, PLAISTOW

BIOGRAPHY

TN Bond is a writer and researcher, the man behind WWW.ALL-THAT-YOUVE-DONE.COM and also the forthcoming documentary *Murder and Suspicion: the Whitechapel Murders* and accompanying book *Murder and Suspicion: the Whitechapel Murders* (and more).

Ultimate Ripperolgists' Tour:

From London Liverpool Street Station to Romford, Essex

A compendium of travels through locations pertinent to the Ripper case.

Liverpool Street Station

Welcome to the second instalment of our Ultimate Tour, which is heading to the Greater London area for a look round some of the areas connected to the case. This issue's tour differs slightly from the last as it follows a specific overground train route between London Liverpool Street Station and the town of Romford in Essex, twelve miles down the line. There might even be time for you to sit back in the train and enjoy what there is of the Essex countryside and scenery!

AROUND LONDON LIVERPOOL STREET

We start our journey at the historic London Liverpool Street Station, located in the East End of London, a mere stone's throw away from the murder sites. With an entrance that leads onto Bishopsgate on the edge of Ripperland, what better excuse could there be for a quick scout around that street prior to getting aboard the train? Why not head to the bottom of Brushfield Street for a quick look and a photo opportunity as there is an excellent view of Christchurch, Spitalfields from this vantage point?

Bishopsgate itself has several links to the case. It was to Bishopsgate Police Station that Catherine Eddowes was taken by PCs Robinson and Simmons on the night of her murder after being found drunk and disorderly (possibly impersonating a fire engine, but then again, probably not) outside 29 Aldgate High Street. At 8.45pm Sergeant Byfield put Eddowes in the cells; by 1 am she was considered to be sober enough to go and was released by PC Hutt (to whom she delivered the line 'good night, old cock'). Sadly, within the hour she was dead. The Bishopsgate Police Station that Catherine would have seen was built in 1865; however, this was damaged considerably during the Second World War and the one that can be seen today was constructed on the same site in 1939.

A second connection is that Joseph Barnett said he took lodgings in Buller's Lodging House, 24 -25 New Street, off Bishopsgate, after he split from Mary Jane Kelly in the days before her murder. The residence is located next door to the present day police station. Meanwhile, in 1871 and 1881, Harry Harris, witness at the Catherine Eddowes inquest, lived on Catherine Wheel Alley, also located off Bishopsgate. However, we have a long journey ahead of us, so after a quick scout around the immediate area we better head back inside the station.

Liverpool Street Station was built on the site of the original Bethlem Royal Hospital (aka Bedlam, sometimes referred to as Bethlehem) and opened in February 1874, becoming fully operational in November of the following year. The Station was the first place to be hit by German bomber aircraft during World War One. Whilst during the Second World War a bomb, landing in Bishopsgate, completely shattered its glass roof. The station building was modernised during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Today Liverpool Street Station serves mainly Essex and East Anglia and is the third busiest train station in London (after Waterloo and Victoria).

The complex included a tube station, making it possible to link to the start off point from nearly anywhere in London (and by association, indeed the world). Why not grab a snack from one of the variety of eateries there; from fast food, to baguettes, to Cornish pasties, there is a good selection of outlets on the forecourt (though expect to pay train station prices). Before heading for the platform and catching the

train remember to buy a travel card from the ticket office. The station operates ticket barriers and you cannot board the train without your ticket. Also remember to keep it safe as you will similarly require it to exit at most stations along this route. We recommend that you buy a travel card rather than individual train tickets as this should get you on the buses and tube trains that you will also need to take to follow the whole of this route. There are good signs and train information in this station and the train that you will need to take is headed towards Shenfield and the first point that you will exit the train is at...

STRATFORD

Stratford, not to be confused with the more glamorous Stratford-Upon-Avon, is located in the London Borough of Newham. The town's name literally translates as 'street near a river crossing'. Until the arrival of the railways in 1839, the area was open countryside. However, times have changed for this area and it is now considered to be an area of high deprivation, and perhaps not a place to venture into on one's own at night. The good news for its residents is that it is set to be spruced

Stratford Old Town Hall

up as it will be part of the London 2012 Olympics. Indeed, the Olympic Stadium, Aqua Centre and Velodrome, will all be based in the Olympic Park, located here (and being built as we speak).

Annie Chapman is said to have travelled to Stratford to sell flowers, crochet work and baskets. On the 7th September 1888, her friend Amelia Palmer (sometimes referred to as Farmer) stated that she had asked Annie if she would be going to Stratford but she had replied she would not be because she was feeling unwell. Elizabeth Stride is also said to have gone to Stratford, as it was one of the areas she plied her trade at times.

After a look around Stratford, head back to the station, but this time get on the London Underground and follow the Central Line to Leyton. You can also get to Leyton from buses that depart from outside Stratford Train Station.

St Patrick's Cemetery

Grave of John McCarthy

AROUND LEYTON AND LEYTONSTONE

On departing the tube train you will find yourself in the new surroundings of Leyton in the London Borough of Waltham Forest. Leyton has been used as a place name since the eleventh century and literally translates as 'town on the River Lea'. We are headed for St Patrick's Roman Catholic Cemetery, although its postal address is Leytonstone, the nearest tube station is indeed this one here at Leyton. On arrival you might want to take a moment to ponder the fact that Harry Beck, the inventor of the London Underground map, hailed from here. Or you might have come by bus! On departing the station you will find yourself on The High Road, on

the side of this road opposite the station you will find Goodall Road; follow that along until you reach Langthorne Road, which is the road on which the cemetery is located, continuing along the said road you will soon see the entrance.

It was in St Patrick's, on the 19th of November 1888, that Mary Jane Kelly was buried in a public grave. Her grave was number 66, row 66, plot ten. There is a reception at the cemetery and during office hours it is often the case that there are staff around who may be able to assist you. There was originally no marker on the site, but this changed in the mid 1980s when a Ripperologist, the late John Morrison, erected a headstone (admittedly marking the wrong location) but he subsequently had it removed. In the 1990s the superintendent instead put up a simple memorial on the burial site. Mary's grave is often covered with flowers and trinkets left by people who have been to pay their respects. John McCarthy, Mary Kelly's former landlord at Dorset Street, also was laid to rest in this cemetery. His monument, in the form of an angel, is hard to miss and is located near to the Chapel.

Also buried here is Timothy Evans, who was re-interned from Pentonville Prison after being given a posthumous pardon. Evans, of 10 Rillington Place was originally hanged in 1950 for the murder of his daughter, Geraldine. At the trial a key prosecution witness was one John Christie, he was later found to be a serial murderer and himself hanged in 1953. An enquiry ensued and the result of this was the pardon issued in 1965. These events were said to have been in some way responsible for ending the death penalty's use in the UK.

On exiting the cemetery after having paid your respects, make your way back to the London Underground Station and get on the tube to nearby Leytonstone. This town, is believed to date back to at least 1545, whilst there is a historic Roman road which runs between here and Stratford harking back to even earlier times. Leytonstone's best known son is Alfred Hitchcock, the film director, who was born and raised in the area. On exiting the Tube Station at Leytonstone you will find yourself on Church Lane, which leads us to our next Jack the Ripper connection. It was at 7 Church Lane in 1895-96 that Severin Klosowski aka George Chapman worked as a hairdressers' assistant for William Wenzel. At this time he lived on Forest Road, lodging at premises run by John Ward. During his time here he met his first wife Mary Isabella Spink, who would become a future murder victim of his.

Once you have finished taking in the surroundings, get back on the London Underground and head back towards Stratford. At Stratford Train Station, get back onto the train to Shenfield and get going towards Manor Park (but be aware as not all the trains stop at every station, so make sure the one you get on will set down passengers at the next port of call).

A SAD TOUR OF MANOR PARK

On exiting the train station at Manor Park you are not far from the two cemeteries located here. The first, the aptly named Manor Park Cemetery, is located on Sebert Road. Leaving the station, you will find yourself (unsurprisingly perhaps) on Station Road. Heading left, turn into Whitta Road and follow that road along until you soon arrive at the cemetery's entrance. Manor Park has been managed by the same family since it opened in 1875. It is here that Annie Chapman was buried, in grave number 78, on 14th

Grave markers

Manor Park Cemetery

September 1888. Her grave, however, no longer exists as it has been buried over.

The second cemetery located in this area is the confusingly named City of London Cemetery. It is a short walk from the Manor Park Cemetery and can be got to by walking along Forest Drive (at the end of Whitta Road). When you reach the junction with Aldersbrook Road you will see the entrance. This cemetery has been open since 1856 and is one of the largest cemeteries in Europe. In 1849 William Haywood, Chief Engineer of the City of London Commissioners of Sewers, made a report on the condition of London's churchyards. The Commissioners were responsible for public hygiene and sanitation and directed that a cemetery be built for the city as a result of their enquiries. This led to the purchase of farmland owned by Lord Wellesley, in 1853, which was sold to the Corporation for £30,721. The cemetery was founded in 1854 and laid out in 1855 by William Haywood; the first interment was in 1856 and the cemetery was not consecrated until November 1857, for legal reasons. It is designated as Grade II as listed by English Heritage. Two of Jack the Ripper's victims, Mary Ann Nichols and Catherine Eddowes, are

buried close to each other in the cemetery. Mary Ann was buried here in a common grave on the 6th September 1888 and Catherine was buried on the 8th October 1888. Walking to the crematorium and then following the path called Garden Way will lead you to the two women's graves, which lie either side of the pathway in the memorial garden. The graves are marked by plaques on the ground, put in by the cemetery, rather than by more traditional headstones.

After a period of quiet contemplation and having paid your respects to these three women it is time to head back to the Manor Park Train Station and go down the line a further stop.

ILFORD TO WOODFORD BRIDGE AND BACK WITH BILBO BAGGINS

The next port of call for our journey is Ilford, this is often given as the area where the two cemeteries you just visited at Manor Park are located, but, evidentially, it is for other reasons that we are heading here today. The suburb itself, was historically a small countryside area, but its position on the River Roding meant it developed as a coaching town and the arrival of the railway, in 1839, caused increased population growth. It was on the High Road here in 1860 that the only complete skull of a mammoth was unearthed in the UK (the spot where it was found is now under the current Boots store). You might be interested to note that Stephen Knight, the author of *Jack the Ripper: The Final Solution*, worked as a reporter on various Ilford papers and was at one point the chief reporter on the *Ilford Recorder*.

In the early 1990s Mark King proposed the theory that a Joseph Fleming, who was also known as James Evans (who died in Claybury Mental Hospital in 1920) was the same Joseph Fleming who knew Mary Kelly. He further stated that he was also Jack the Ripper. Subsequent research by Chris Scott that he put on the *Casebook* message boards in 2009 revealed that the Joseph Fleming at the Claybury Mental Hospital was admitted in 1895 under the name James Evans. He was at that time 40 years old and a pauper under the jurisdiction of Bethnal Green and his occupation was given as dock labourer. His illness was said to be mania precipitated by the use of alcohol. He died in 1920 and his death certificate records that he was Joseph Fleming otherwise James Evans. We add a cautionary note here to state that the identification of King's lunatic Fleming with Mary Kelly's former lover has never been fully established, but there does seem to be some consensus that it is probably the same man. Mary's Fleming was said to be a plasterer or mason, rather than dock labourer but he was indeed from Bethnal Green.

In 1997 the hospital was closed down, due to decline in patient numbers thanks to care-in- the-community initiatives. However, the building, after pressure from English Heritage and the Local Planning Authority, was preserved and converted into luxury flats and is now known as Repton Park. Though often described as being in the Ilford area, Claybury Mental Hospital is in fact two miles away from Ilford in Woodford Bridge. However, it is possible to get there from Ilford via buses and tube trains, though it is a bit of a devious route, and may require you to look into this on Travel Line, or other travel websites prior to your travelling in case of alterations to services and variations in buses. If you decide to head to Woodford Bridge, the hospital site is off Manor Road. Be sure to head

back to Ilford Train Station in order to pick up the route.

Once back safely at the station we will make our way to the next stop along the route that is of interest to us the town of Romford. Note that there are a few stops between the two stations. When passing through the Goodmayes area you may like to consider the fact that Ian Holm CBE, who played William Gull in the movie *From Hell*, was born in Goodmayes in 1931. Strangely, he is alleged to have been born at the mental health asylum where his father worked and lived. This institution, on Barley Lane, is just a short walk away from the train station there.

Romford Market Place

ROMFORD

At the far end of our journey we arrive into Romford, in the London Borough of Havering. The town's first recorded appearance in history was in 1177 but it was developed in the middle ages, due to its location on a main road to London. The market, established in 1247, was one of historical importance and originated as a sheep market. Under the Royal Charter of the Liberty of Havering, granted by King Henry III, no other market is permitted to set up within a day's sheep drive (six and two-thirds miles) of Romford. Also of note is a memorial to Anthony Cooke, tutor to King Edward VI in Romford's parish church. In more recent times the opening of the railway station, in 1839, helped the town develop further and shift from agriculture towards industry. Speaking of the railway, the station at which you have arrived was originally two separate stations. The oldest part is the current platforms two to five, which were opened by the Eastern Counties Railway in 1839. The modern platform one was once the London, Tilbury and Southend Railway and was opened in 1893. The two stations are now as one and joined by a footbridge.

There are several Ripper

connections to the town, most notably and memorably that it is the place where George Hutchinson said he arrived from on the day of the Mary Kelly's murder. He said he walked all the way arriving into Whitechapel at around 2 o'clock (be thankful you came by train, don't forget its twelve miles!). A second link is that Edward Watkins, the City Police PC who discovered Catherine Eddowes body, retired to the Romford area and died here in 1913, aged 69. In 1901 he lived at Becontree Heath Road, Rush Green, Romford, whilst in 1911 he was residing at 1 Low Shoe Lane, Collier Row, Romford. Furthermore, William Crossingham, who owned the lodging house at Dorset Street, opposite Miller's Court, lived at Junction Road, Romford at the time of his death. He died in 1907 of kidney disease, his second wife Margaret died shortly afterwards and they are buried together in Romford Cemetery, Crow Lane, in plot 5090, a Roman Catholic grave.

Now that your journey is at its end you have earned the right to a relaxing drink in one of Romford's public houses or cafes, or a bite to eat in one of its restaurants. You might also want to have a rest and a good sleep, so you will be happy to note that there are several cheap high street hotel chains in the area. Have a break, you've earned it!

LOCAL TERMS – to help you understand what the blithering heck they are going on about there!

For this issue we couldn't resist some Cockney rhyming slang!
Public House = Jack Tar
Beer = Pig's ear
Can you Adam and Eve it?
= can you believe it?
Let's catch the Uncle Gus
= lets catch a bus
Kipper = Jack the Ripper
Train = John Wayne
for even more Cockney rhyming slang go to :- http://www.cockneyrhymings-lang.co.uk/

MORE INFORMATION TO HELP PLAN YOUR TRIP

To check train and travel info go to:
WWW.TRAVELINE.ORG.UK
WWW.NATIONALRAIL.CO.UK

General Information
HTTP://WWW.CASEBOOK.ORG/DISSERTATIONS/RN_GRAVES.HTML
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TRAVEL WRITERS NEEDED!

Is there a Jack the Ripper connection to your local town or district? Why not tell us about it? We would be delighted to include a guide to your area in a future issue as we are on the look-out for would-be travel writers to tell us about the places they know with a Ripper connection. Simply email the features editor at examiner@casebook.org with a few brief details about the place you have in mind and we'll take it from there! We look forward to featuring your area soon.

CSI: WHITECHAPEL

SEPTEMBER 1888
ANNIE CHAPMAN

Location: Hanbury Street, Spitalfields.

Date: 8th September, 1888

Time: 5:45 AM

The Victim:
Identified as Annie Chapman by Fountain Smith, her brother. She was also identified by Timothy Donovan, Deputy of Crossingham's Lodging House, 35 Dorset Street. She was the widow of John Chapman, a coachman, of Windsor.

VICTIM DISCOVERED BY:
John Davis, resident of 29 Hanbury Street was on his way out to work when he discovered the body of Annie Chapman. Davis went to the front steps of the house and called out, "men come here". By doing this he summoned James Kent and James Green, who worked for Mr Bailey of 23A Hanbury St. The men were waiting outside those premises to begin work.

FIRST POLICE ON SCENE:
Inspector Joseph Chandler, H Division, was the first police officer to enter the yard. At two minutes past six that morning he saw several men running up Hanbury Street. He beckoned them over and they told him of the murder and hearing of it went to the crime scene.

MEDICAL ASSISTANCE:
Doctor George Bagster Phillips, divisional surgeon to the station, was called and he saw the body of Annie Chapman at 6:20 am. He called for an ambulance to convey the body to the Whitechapel Mortuary.

THE CRIME SCENE:
The victim was discovered in the backyard of a terraced house. The front door and one leading into the yard were never locked and were at times left open all night. Even when the doors were shut anyone was able to open them and enter the backyard. When Davis went into the back yard that day, the back door was shut but he was unable to say if it was latched. The back door opened outwards into the yard on the left-hand side. The front door was wide open. Between the yard of 29 and the next house was a fence said at various points to be of about 5 to 6 feet in height, no palings of the said fence were broken. The yard floor was compose of round and flat stones.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE BODY:
Annie was found lying on her back with her head two feet from the back wall of the house and no more than six to nine inches from the steps. She had her feet towards the wood shed at the bottom of yard. The whole of her body was on the ground and parallel with the fence. Annie's clothes were disarranged and the apron she was wearing appeared to have been thrown over her clothes. Her left arm was resting on left breast. Her legs were drawn up with her feet on the ground. Removed from but attached

to her body and placed above the right shoulder were a flap of the wall of her belly and the whole of her small intestines and attachments. The rest of the intestines were inside her body. Two flaps of skin from the lower part of her body were found lying in a large quantity of blood above her left shoulder.

THE EVIDENCE:

Annie's throat was severed deeply and that incision was jagged. The cut was from left to right and back right round the throat. It was determined that she had been partially strangled due to the thickening of the tongue. Her tongue protruded between the front teeth (but not beyond her lips) and her face was swollen, this was a sign of suffocation. The hands were livid, as in cases of asphyxia, and not blanched as in cases of blood loss. Annie was smeared with blood over her face and hands as though she had been struggling. Her hands were raised and palms bent towards the upper portion of her body as though she that fought for her throat. There were marks of blood on her legs. Nurse Simonds, who undressed Annie's body at mortuary, stated that there was blood on her chest which had run down from her throat wound. She had a handkerchief of some kind round her throat. Robert Mann, the mortuary attendant, subsequently found it amongst the clothing lying in the corner of the mortuary room and it was covered in blood. Her jacket had bloodstains round the neck inside and out and there were two or three blood spots on its left arm. Annie's black skirt had a little blood on the back. There was no damage to the lower portion of her clothing, her boots were on her feet and her stockings were bloodstained. However, none of her clothing was torn.

Doctor Phillips stated that the abdominal mutilations were inflicted after death. The post mortem examination revealed that her abdomen had been entirely laid open with the intestines severed from the mesenteric attachments then lifted out of the body and placed on the right shoulder of Annie's body. He stated that missing from the victim's body were part of the belly wall, including the navel and womb, the upper part of the vagina and the greater part of the bladder. It was Doctor Phillips' conclusion that the incisions were cleanly cut, avoiding the rectum, and dividing the vagina low enough to avoid injury to the cervix uteri and that therefore the murder was the work of an expert or of someone who had such knowledge of anatomical or pathological examinations as to be enabled to secure the pelvic organs with one sweep of the knife. This anatomical knowledge was shown, according to Doctor Phillips, by the mode in which the knife had been used as this seemed to indicate great anatomical knowledge. He noted that he could not have performed all the injuries that were inflicted on Annie Chapman, even without a struggle, in under a quarter of an hour. If he had done it in a deliberate way such as would fall to the duties of a surgeon it probably would have taken him the best part of an hour.

There was an abrasion on the first phalanx of her ring finger and the distinct markings of ring or rings, probably the latter, on the proximal phalanx of the same finger. The bruises on the face were evidently recent, especially about the chin and side of the jaw, which indicated she may have been pulled down by the chin. However, the bruises on the front of the chest and temple were of longer standing and probably of days in age. They may have been sustained in Annie's fight with Eliza Cooper.

24-26 Hanbury Street

The palings near the body were stained with blood. There were no drops of blood in the passageway or outside and the bloodstains that were found were only found in the neighbourhood of the body. There were a few spots of blood on the back wall at the head of her body and about 18 inches from the ground there were about six patches of blood of varying size from a six penny piece to a point. Also, on the wooden paling to the left of the body near the head were discovered patches and smears of blood.

Doctor Phillips concluded that the cause of the victim's death was by the injuries described. He pronounced life extinct and stated that she had been dead for two hours. Doctor Philips stated the murder occurred in the yard and gave his opinion that the murderer was possessed of anatomical knowledge from the manner of removal of the viscera.

ON HER PERSON:

After the body was removed to the mortuary a piece of coarse muslin and a small pocket comb were found. There was also a pocket found that was worn under the skirt; it was torn down the front and did not contain anything.

THE MURDER WEAPON:

The knife used was not an ordinary knife but was one such as an amputating knife or a well ground slaughterman's knife. It had a narrow or thin sharp blade of six to eight inches in length. The injuries could not have been inflicted by a bayonet or by a sword. The wounds to the throat and those to the abdomen were inflicted using the same knife.

THE SEARCH FOR CLUES:

When Inspector Chandler arrived he secured the yard. A description of the victim was circulated, by wire, to all stations. An immediate search was made at common lodging houses to ascertain if anyone had entered that morning with blood on his hands, face or clothes or under any suspicious circumstances. The inhabitants of number 29 Hanbury Street were seen by the police and their rooms searched. Statements were also

taken from those in the neighbouring houses. An investigation to find the rings removed from Annie Chapman's fingers at pawnbrokers, jewellers and dealers was instigated.

The police found a leather apron against the fence in the yard; it was found under the tap supplying water to the house. Amelia Richardson, resident of 29 Hanbury Street, stated that it was found in the same place as she had left it and it had been lying on the stones from Thursday to Saturday. The police also took away an empty nail box. There was also a pan full of water by the tap, but this was found in the same place as it had been previously on the morning of the murder.

A partial envelope was found near the victim, containing two pills. This was the subject of extensive enquires. At the Depot of the First Battalion Sussex Regiment North Cambridge, Farnborough, Captain Young stated it had on it the official stamp of the Regiment and that the majority of men used the paper, which they purchased in the canteen. No one could be found at the barracks who corresponded with anyone in Spitalfields, or who lived at an address commencing with a 2 (as on the envelope). The pay books of the Depot were examined and no one with a signature that matched the initials on the envelope could be found. Enquires were then made at the local Post Office and the proprietor believed the letter was probably posted there. They stated that they had a large quantity of envelopes and paper in stock which they retailed to any person. Then, William Stevens of 35 Dorset Street common lodging house, stated that on the 7th September Annie Chapman went to the lodging house and said she had been to hospital and that she intended to go to the Infirmary the next day. He saw that she had a box with two pills in it, a bottle of medicine and a bottle of lotion. On handling the box of pills it fell apart so she took the pills and placed them in a piece of paper she had picked up from the kitchen floor; he believed this paper had the Sussex Regiment on it.

WITNESSES:

John Richardson, son of Amelia Richardson of 29 Hanbury Street, stated that at 4:45 AM he went out and stood on the steps leading to the backyard and cut a piece of leather off his boot. When he went to the house the front door was closed, he lifted the latch and went into the yard. He recalled that the back door was closed and the back door shut itself behind him. He was there no longer than three minutes in total. It was not light but was getting so and was sufficiently light to see all over the yard, so that, if there had been a body by the steps, he could not have failed to notice it.

Amelia Richardson, of 29 Hanbury Street, stated she was not afraid of the doors being left open. She had never heard of any robberies; people frequently went into the back yard, and perhaps some who had no business to do so. She nonetheless never had any suspicion that the yard was used for immoral purposes.

Albert Cadosch, of 27 Hanbury Street stated that on two separate occasions on the morning of the 8th September he went into the rear of 27 Hanbury Street. The property was separated only by a wooden fence of about five feet from that of number 29. He heard some words pass between some persons, apparently at 29, but the only word he heard clearly was "no". On a second occasion at about 5:28 am he heard something falling against the fence.

Elizabeth Long stated that at 5:30

am she saw a man and woman talking near to 29 Hanbury Street. She heard the man say "will you" and the woman "yes". The man she saw was over forty years of age, but she did not see his face. She stated that he was taller than the woman, of foreign appearance and wearing a dark coat. She would not recognise him again. However, she was able to identify the woman as Annie Chapman.

HANBURY STREET C1918

SUSPECTS:

Joseph, otherwise Jacob, Isenschmid aged 38 years, a butcher of 59 Elthorne Road, Holloway, came under suspicion. He was described as a lunatic. Detective Inspector John Styles of Y Division, Holloway, reported these suspicions on the 11th September 1888. Doctor Cowan of Lansdeer Road and Doctor Crabbe of Holloway Road had reported to him on the 11th September that they thought Isenschmid might be the Ripper as he had left his lodgings on several occasions and at various times. He was said to be in the habit of carrying large butchers knives around with him. Police, deeming his movements to be suspicious, observed the house where he was staying. The suspect was detained at Holloway Street on suspicion and was subsequently removed to the Infirmary, Fairfield Road, Bow, and certified as a dangerous lunatic. Sergeant Thick examined the man's clothing and did not find any traces of blood on them. The case against him was subsequently dropped on account of him being in the Infirmary when subsequent murders occurred.

CRITICISMS:

The facilities for the post mortem were criticised. Wagner (2006) noted that the facilities for post mortems at that time were primitive. The Coroner of the day, Wynne Baxter, stated it was not a mortuary but a shed and bodies should not be taken there. It has also been pointed out by historians that Annie Chapman's body was undressed before the post mortem and washed by the nurses. There was some confusion about who ordered this to happen at the time of the inquest. However, it can clearly be criticised for potentially removing vital clues before Doctor Phillips made his examination. Indeed, we have already noted that the nurse testified at the inquest that she had washed away blood and that Robert Mann, mortuary assistant at the Whitechapel mortuary, noted that the clothes had been placed in a pile in the corner of the mortuary whilst holding information of potential use to the doctor. However, Sugden (2002) noted that however deficient police and forensic procedures might appear by modern standards, they do not seem to have departed from conventions of the day.

THE LIMITATIONS OF THE DAY:

The rigorous processes of forensic analysis we have become accustomed to today were not established in 1888. The methods for establishing time of death have been unreliable. The three standard measures, which have been used are hypostasis (post mortem lividity), body temperature and rigor mortis and these are subject to variants of atmospheric temperature, location, physique and condition of health of the subject. As Lane (1993, pp 616) noted the scientific methods of establishing time of death "can often only be treated as rough indicators of time of death."

The Victorians realised that the body was dependent on the circulation of blood, meaning that when this stopped the body cooled. The Victorians knew that the rate of cooling varies dependant on certain factors such as cause of death, treatment of the body and the atmosphere, they worked on the basis that the period of cooling could vary. They realised that a thermometer was the correct way to measure the body temperature and that you should not rely on touch and observation alone. They also knew about rigor mortis and the period it takes for this to set in was determined to be approximately two to three hours. At the time of the murders the Victorians also had an understanding of hypostasis.

Professor Alexandre Lacassagne (1843-1924), conducted a detailed examination of the dead which led to a new understanding of the physical changes that occur after death. He noted the onset of rigour mortis, the way in which the muscles stiffen, with this first becoming evident in the jaw then spreading downwards and then retreating in the order in which it appears. He also described livor mortis, the discolouration caused by death which occurs due to the loss of circulation causing the blood to settle in the lower portion of the body. He observed algor mortis, which is the cooling of the body and the rate that the body reaches the temperature of its surroundings. Lacassagne saw all these as useful tools for working out the time of death but he also noted that there were many possible exceptions to this including the temperature of the surroundings, the circumstance of death and the age of the victim, which could all have an effect on the appearance of the three signs.

Doctor Phillips stated that the time

of death was two to three hours prior to his examining the body of Annie Chapman and as he was on scene at approximately 6:20 am, this puts the time of death at about 4:20 at the latest. Doctor Phillips noted but it was right to mention that it was a fairly cool morning, and that the body would be more apt to cool rapidly from its having lost a great quantity of blood (which as we have seen was known to affect the estimate for the time of death, as the coolness of the body was one of the factors observed). He also noted that the stiffness of the limbs was well marked and more noticeable on the left side, especially in the fingers, which were partly closed (this related to the rigor mortis process). As has been noted on several occasions, this put the time of death before the time that John Richardson had entered the yard, and into conflict with his testimony that had there been a body in the yard he could not failed to have noticed it. It also conflicts with Elizabeth Long's testimony as she stated that she had seen Annie Chapman at 5:30, after Phillips had said she was dead and also conflicts with the idea that Cadosch heard the killer or Chapman fall against the fence at around the same time. This means either the eye witnesses or Phillips were mistaken, as we have seen even today the science of working out the time of death is still a tricky and difficult affair. So it is hard to determine which of these scenarios is likely to be correct based solely on the forensic evidence that is available.

CONCLUSION:

The murder is likely to be one in a series, connected to that of Mary Ann Nichols (see our last file). Despite numerous suspects being investigated the case has not yet been conclusively solved. File still open.

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WWW.CASEBOOK.ORG/VICTIMS/CHAPMAN

from the casebook archives: Ripperologists

This issue's look at the *Casebook's* extensive archives focuses on Ripperologists themselves and the topic of Ripperology in general.

What better place to start than John Smithkey III's excellent dissertation 'So You Want to Be a Ripperologist'? Though it is part of the 'Introduction' section to the *Casebook* don't let this put you off, it contains some interesting points about the field and how to go about undertaking research. As stated in the conclusion, "This article has attempted to give the beginning Ripperologist not only a sample of the availability of some important books, but also some guidance on where to start studying." It can be found HERE.

If you're still wondering which Jack the Ripper suspect is guilty why not go to HERE and read Andrew L. Morrison's dissertation 'Whodunnit?: Choosing A Ripper Suspect'? It opens "Since 1888 those that have been named as possibly being Jack the Ripper must number in their hundreds and that's just the ones we know about! How do you decide on a suspect? The answer to that depends on the criteria that you choose. Does there have to be incontrovertible proof that the suspect really existed? If the answer is yes then Dr Stanley is not an option as it has never been conclusively proved that he did exist. 'I plead not guilty of the crimes of which I am accused your honour on the grounds that I am a fictional creation' does appear a rather good defence!" As you can tell it is a rather light-hearted piece, while looking at a serious issue.

A recent thread on the *Casebook's* message boards started by poster The Good Michael and called 'If...you just might be a Ripperologist' provided some amusement and interesting musings on how to know if you're taking things too far! One poster stated "If your cat's name is Diddles, you just might be a Ripperologist" whilst another worryingly stated "When you remove a kidney from someone just to see if it

can be done in under 5 minutes, you just might be a... Wait! Am I the only one?", luckily, they were joking. The thread can be found HERE

The *Ripper Podcasts* provide several episodes discussing Ripper researchers, how they came to the case, and what they are doing now. Take these three as examples, an episode from April 2008 that features none other than special guest Stephen P. Ryder of *Casebook* fame, in discussion with amongst others How Brown, Andy Spalleck and Paul Begg. It can be found HERE or on a similar theme, Philip Hutchinson provides an interesting overview of Ripper Tours HERE or perhaps Paul Begg's interview from May 2008 which is HERE will tickle your fancy.

The *Casebook* main site also contains several written interviews with Ripperologists, including Martin Fido, Deborah McDonald, Peter Underwood, Donald Rumbelow, Stewart Evans and Paul Begg, amongst others. Most such interviews can be found through the *Casebook* authors section HERE.

IF YOUR CAT'S NAME IS DIDDLES, YOU JUST MIGHT BE A RIPPEROLOGIST

SCENES OF CRIME

ROBERT CLACK

Ellen Street 1938

The murder of Elizabeth Stride seems to be the hot topic of conversation at the moment. Therefore, this issue's 'Scenes of Crime' will show not one, but two photographs that have connections with the murder of Elizabeth Stride, both taken in 1938, fifty years after the events of 1888.

The first one is of Ellen Street, which was at the southern end of Berner Street, starting at Back Church Lane and finishing at Christian Street. The photograph here shows the southern side of Ellen Street and was taken from Berner Street. The alley on the left by the side of the buildings is Ellen Place, a 'T' shaped alley, that contained 11 dwellings. The corner shop in 1888 was William Nash's Chandler's Shop and three doors to the right of this place is number 22 Ellen Street. It was to here that Israel Schwartz moved on the evening Elizabeth Stride was murdered. The head you can see poking out the bottom of the doorway is a resident washing the front steps. Next door to number 22 was Lot Crowe, Carpenter. This row of buildings have long disappeared; they appear on a 1941 aerial survey photograph but not on a 1944 aerial photograph, so the likelihood is they were probably destroyed during World War 2. Hadfield House now covers the site.

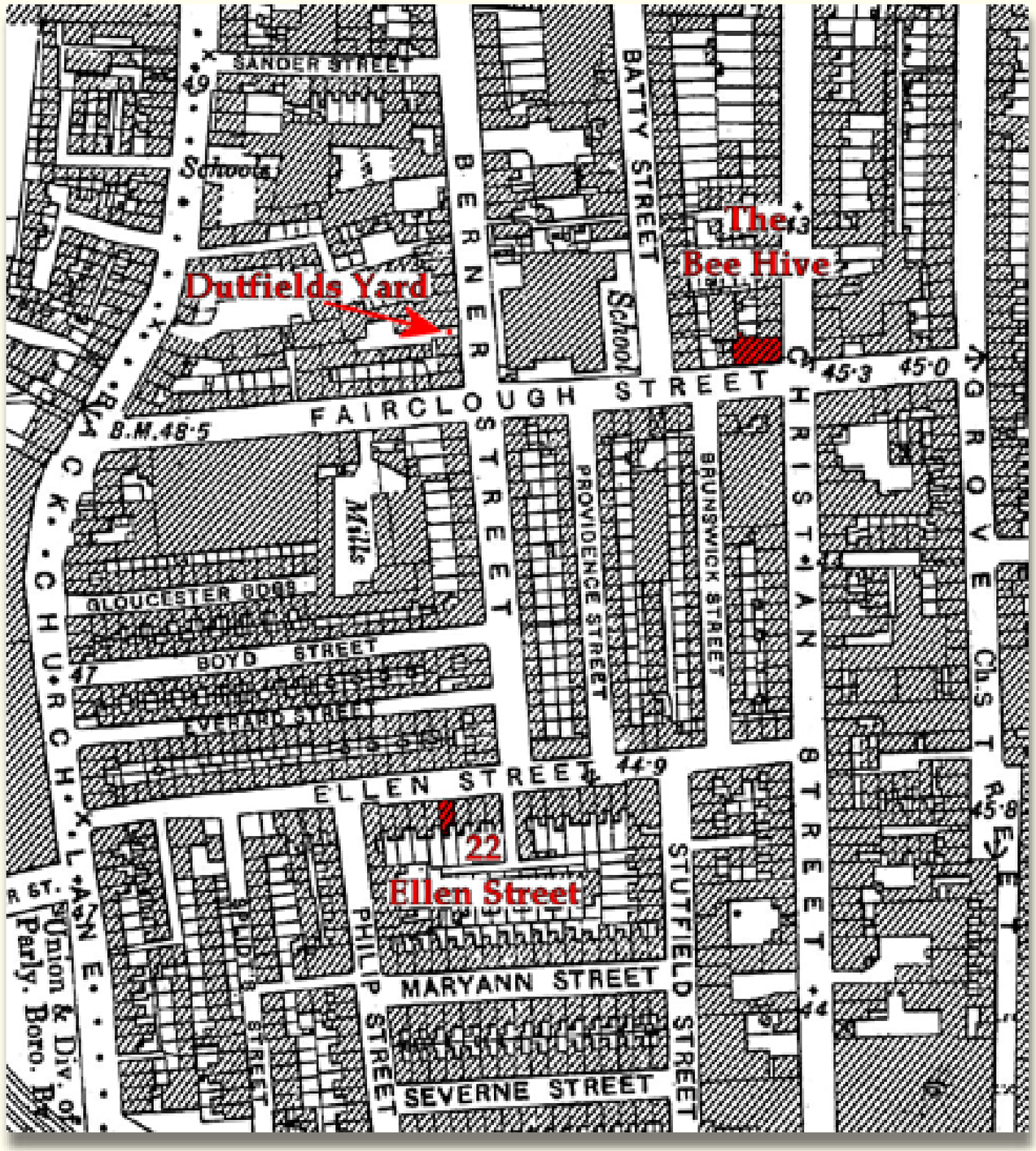
The second photo from 1938 is the corner of Fairclough Street to the left and Christian Street on the right. The corner building, which included 'The Fairclough Billiards and Social Club', was earlier known as 'The Bee Hive' public house. Edward Spooner, who lived at No. 26, was standing outside these premises around one o'clock on the morning of the 30 September 1888 when he saw Louis Diemshitz and another man run past him from the direction of Berner Street shouting "Murder" and "Police." They carried on to Grove Street and ran back towards Spooner who stopped them and asked what the matter was. They told him a

Ellen Street 2010

The Bee Hive site 2010

woman had been murdered and he followed then back to Dutfield's Yard..

The landlord of 'The Bee Hive' in 1888 was Henry Muller. Just three doors to the north of the public house, at number 77 Christian Street, was 'The German Working Men's Club' whose manager was Frederick Schirmer. 'The Bee Hive' and the surrounding buildings did not survive much longer after this photograph was taken. They do not appear in the 1941 aerial photograph mentioned earlier and may have suffered the same fate as those in Ellen Street. Today Hogarth Court, a residential building belonging to the Southern Housing Group, covers the site of 'The Bee Hive'.



MAP OF THE AREA SHOWING BOTH LOCATIONS

NOTES

The directory used for this article was the 1889 Kelly's Post Office Directory of London. The directory for 1889 would have been compiled towards the end of 1888 so would most likely be more accurate than the 1888 Directory, which would have been compiled by the end of 1887. An example of which is that Montague John Druitt is listed in the 1889 Directory.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Debra J. Arif for help with this article.

Biography

Robert Clack

Robert Clack is from Surrey, England. He has been studying the Whitechapel Murders for more than 25 years. At the 2009 Jack the Ripper Conference he was presented with the Jeremy Beadle Award for his outstanding contributions to Ripperology. He is the co-author of the book *The London of Jack the Ripper: Then and Now*, with Philip Hutchinson. He also is the author of 'Death in the Lodging House' a look at the murder of Mary Ann Austin in 1901, published in *Ripper Notes* 24. He has co-authored with Debra J. Arif, 'A Rose By Any Other Name?' a look at the life of Catherine Mylett aka 'Rose' Mylett' and he recently co-authored a series of articles with Neil Bell on the City of London Police Officers involved in the Whitechapel Murders. For both these articles he was short-listed for *Ripperologist's* Beadle Prize for 2009, eventually winning for his article with Debra.

THE END

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