

The Journal of Jack the Ripper, East End and Victorian Studies

Ripperologist

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Mitre Square

NEIL BELL and
JAKE LUUKANEN
examine the Square
from every angle

KARYO MAGELLAN
dissects the
Victorian autopsy

ANDY ALIFFE
follows a 'soiled dove'
from London's East End
to America's Old West

GAVIN BROMLEY
returns to Smith's Beat

2007 UK CONFERENCE news

CHRISTOPHER-MICHAEL DIGRAZIA
CHRIS SCOTT WILF GREGG DON SOUDEN

RIPPEROLOGIST MAGAZINE

Issue 71, September 2006

QUOTE FOR SEPTEMBER:

'...Mr Brown has had the odd jaunt lately to the Third World in an attempt to appear caring, and... he bangs on about "Britishness" with the same absence of hypocrisy as Jack the Ripper would when speaking of the sanctity of human life.' The Daily Telegraph's Simon Heffer on 30 August on the likelihood that Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown will succeed British Prime Minister Tony Blair as PM. In an opinion piece titled *There's nothing inevitable about Brown's succession* in the Telegraph.

Features

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In his debut Editorial for the Rip, Don Souden questions the merits of certain key phrases in our Ripper vocabulary.

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Neil Bell and Jake Luukanen look at the Square through the eyes of those who were there.

The Victorian Autopsy

In Part I, Karyo Magellan examines dissection in the pursuit of the cause of death.

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The Last Word

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Dear Rip

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Wilf Gregg dips into the weird world of true crime to find the best in murder and mayhem.

Ripping Yarns

Stewart Evans and Don Rumbelow tell us about their forthcoming opus *Jack the Ripper: Scotland Yard Investigates*, plus notice of future goodies coming your way.

We would like to acknowledge the valuable assistance given by the following people in the production of this issue of *Ripperologist*: David Andersen, Michael Echols, DDS, Stewart Evans, Donald Rumbelow, Stephen Ryder, and Eduardo Zinna. Thank you!

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What's In A Word Or Two?

EDITORIAL by DON SOUDEN

Stewart Evans and Jennifer Pegg: They might represent, respectively, the Old Guard and the Young Lions in the field of Ripper studies, but they are also at the center of ongoing controversies concerning vocabulary. Indeed, each has recently taken exception to a word or phrase that are in such common currency when discussing Jack the Ripper as to be acknowledged and glossed over without much thought to the meaning or applicability.



Jennifer Pegg

In her recent essay, *Jack the Ripper: A Twenty-First Century Investigation?* (which is available for perusal by [clicking here](#) and is well worth reading by any who have missed it), Jennifer makes a cogent and compelling argument that our field of study is anthropocentric in almost every way. The focus of most studies is on the Ripper, who, she says "is almost universally presumed to be a male" and the result is too often a relegation of the female victims to history's dustbin where they are considered not as once-living human beings, but only as so many dead bodies whose mutilations may give us clues to Jack's identity.

I don't think many researchers would take great exception to that contention. With some notable exceptions, which Jennifer acknowledges, most books, monographs and message-board posts give Jack's victims much shorter shrift than they deserve and in some few cases there is even a stench of misogyny, especially on message boards.

In her essay, however, Jennifer suggests that one major reason for this situation is the very word *Ripperology* itself. As she wrote in her essay: *As the word Ripperology gives importance to the killer himself over any other factor, then it must imply that he is the most compelling and important aspect for study. Yet, it can be argued that the term removes from the field of study any reference to the female victims or their suffering.* Naturally, there is much more to Jennifer's essay than dissatisfaction with a word, but it does suggest that finding a word for the field other than Ripperology would be beneficial.

Meanwhile, Stewart Evans (of whom there may be no greater eminence in the field of Ripperology — or "Ripper Studies" if you are already persuaded by Jennifer) has [recently inveighed](#) against the term *Canonical Five* to identify alleged Ripper victims Polly Nichols, Ann Chapman, Liz Stride, Catharine Eddowes and Mary Jane Kelly. The phrase is of fairly recent coinage (Stewart attributes it to Martin Fido), but has quickly achieved status as a handy way of referring to the five most popularly accepted victims of Jack the Ripper, a lumping together that goes back as far as Dr Thomas Bond.

Others have taken exception to the term for its religious roots and the fact that it is rather a mouthful to pronounce (I prefer *Canonic Five*, which rolls off the tongue a bit more easily), but Stewart seems most unhappy with the term because of its exclusivity. As he recently wrote: *"My problem with [the Canonical Five] is the fact that with the accepted canon for the murders, it is rather inflexible and resists any contradiction. This is hardly an open-minded approach.... We simply do not know for sure which victims fell to a common hand in Whitechapel in 1888."* Thus is the suggestion made that the term Canonical Five is misleading and inappropriate.

detained in the infirmary. Cultured was
referred of the late Sept. execution.

Now the Whitechapel murderer had 5
victims - 5 victims only, - his murders were

(i) 31st Aug '88. Mary Ann Nichols. - Broad St.
who was found with her throat cut - with
(slight) stomach mutilation

(ii) 8th Sept. '88. Annie Chapman. - Highbury St.
Throat cut. Stomach & private parts badly mutilated
& some of the entrails placed round the neck.

(iii) 30th Sept. '88. Elizabeth Stride. - Brewer's street

The Canonical Five listed in the Macnaghten Memoranda

One ignores Stewart Evans (and, I might add from experience, Jennifer Pegg) at one's own peril, but in both these instances I think that their challenges to our common vocabulary are not only futile but rather wasted effort. Oh, I will concede that Evans and Pegg have a certain amount of logic and fact behind their stated positions, but there is more to life (and research) than logic and fact.

To begin with, any substitute words or phrases would be not only clumsy circumlocutions, but would almost assuredly be themselves misleading. As in the term "Whitechapel murders" – not all the murders popularly ascribed to Jack the Ripper happened in that parish, while there were other murders there for which no one blames Jack. You will also note how clumsy sounding was the phrase in the

previous sentence "the murders popularly ascribed to Jack the Ripper."

Moreover, for good or ill, both terms are fairly well fixed in our common lexicon. In the same way, a small percentage of practicing astronomers have now removed poor Pluto from the planetary pantheon, yet I rather suspect that the Planetary Geology course I took as an undergrad ages ago will continue to incorporate Pluto in the syllabus for many years to come. For that matter, we all use "Jack the Ripper" and that most assuredly was not the murderer's name. And, depending on one's belief in the Canonic Five and the possibility he died right after the "double event," the murderer may never even have known he was called Jack the Ripper.

More important, though, neither Ripperology nor Canonic Five serves to inhibit or misdirect the research of anyone interested in the field. Rather, they serve as the jumping-off point for any serious studies of what happened in London's East End in the fall of 1888. It is only by acknowledging Jack's primacy, at least initially, with the term Ripperology that we can hope to understand better, as Jennifer wrote, the "*causes of violence against women or understanding what social, cultural and economic factors could have led to [the victim's] deaths.*" The same holds true for ever having a definitive list of the victims – that research cannot but start with the Canonic Five since those victims have been the subject of the most investigation.

As it is, the field does move forward quite nicely despite (or quite possibly because) of these terms. I know of at least one author who has changed the focus of a forthcoming book after reading Jennifer's essay and there is no question that more than ever researchers are debating hotly the merits of adding victims to or subtracting some from the Canonic Five.

Finally, there is this one more point to consider about the word Ripperology – if it were proscribed what would the field's premier publication then be called? *The Researcher in the Field of Jack the Ripper Studies*-ist? No, that would never sell.

Write for Ripperologist

Got something to say?

We welcome well researched articles on any subject connected with
the Whitechapel Murder, the East End and Victoriana.

Please send your contributions to contact@ripperologist.info

As Far As Mitre Square

by NEIL BELL and JAKE LUUKANEN





Detail of Sheet Number 69 of the Goad Fire Insurance Map Series, 1887

Mitre Square

Mitre Square, London EC3, is a quiet spot away from the hustle and bustle of Aldgate High Street. In September of 1888, a mixture of huge imposing warehouses, offices, and small dwellings surrounded this cobbled and partially paved square, roughly 73 feet by 70 feet. The square also contained, in its south-eastern corner, a storage yard. It was here, outside this yard, that the terrible murder of Catherine Eddowes occurred—the second horrific murder that morning. A silent, swift assault that resulted in death and mutilation for the poor unfortunate victim, a laborious policing and investigative effort by the authorities, and an already terrified public, fuelled by sensationalistic journalism, was left on the brink of hysteria.

The death of Catherine Eddowes attracts many questions and those queries have been addressed many times over the years. Could the killer have committed such mutilations in the gloom of Mitre Square? If so, does this mean he was medically trained or knowledgeable? Was Eddowes killed elsewhere and placed in position later? Was PC Edward Watkins really on duty or actually having a “cuppa” with Kearley & Tonge’s night watchman George Morris? Did PC James Harvey venture down Church Passage when, it has been conjectured, Eddowes was being horribly mutilated? And if he did, how he could have failed to notice something in that corner? Was it too dark to see or is it possible Harvey couldn’t be bothered to patrol Church passage and this is why he missed the killer at work? Did the murderer hide in one of the empty cottages? And what about the silence of this vicious assault—why was no noise heard?

We are afraid we cannot answer those questions with certainty and we would not insult your intelligence by proposing theoretical solutions as ascertained facts. There will be no case solved here. However, we feel that we can put forward logical explanations to some of those questions so that with today’s visualisation technology and some perseverance, we can attempt to recreate the way Mitre Square looked that night through the eyes of those who were there.

It begins

Before we delve into the events in Mitre Square during the early hours of 30 September, 1888, we must first put this crime in context with previous murders that occurred in the area during the late summer, early autumn of 1888. For some reason women were being murdered within the East End areas of Whitechapel, Bethnal Green and Spitalfields. Two of the victims, Mary Nichols and Annie Chapman, shared similar *modus operandi* (MO) traits as well as the same horrific signature wounds. These crimes, coupled with the other murders of women in this area of London, led both the police and the public to the very same and disturbing conclusion: A motiveless killer was on the loose.

Though other, earlier murders that year were initially thought of as either gang attacks or muggings, the murder of Nichols on the 31st August 1888, seems to have led to another course of thinking. Mary Nichols was killed in an occupied, yet quiet row just off the main, bustling Whitechapel Road at around 3am. This murder was unusual. The victim's abdominal wounds were unique and the assailant was not only swift and bold in his attack, but he also worked in deadly silence. The police were becoming concerned. Then, just over a week after Nichols' death, on 8 September, Annie Chapman's body was found in the rear yard of 29 Hanbury Street. Again, the crime was brutal, more brutal even than Nichols. The abdominal mutilations were horrific, certainly destined to disturb whoever came across the body. This was illustrated by the fact that James Kent, one of the men called for assistance by John Davis, the discoverer of the body, had to calm himself with a brandy before collecting a piece of canvass with which to cover the body.

This murder was disturbing not just for the terrible mutilations, which were horrid, nor because the killer was swift and even bolder than before. Rather, it was the fact that he killed in the closed-off yard of a building occupied by 17 people, and killed without being heard or detected. This crime was not only a show of obvious aggression but also a show of a certain degree of competence. Despite their efforts, the police were baffled and clueless. The public were concerned. And this was only the beginning.

September 29 was a cloudy and wet day. By the early hours of the 30th rain was still in the air. In a yard next to Berner Street's International Workingmen's Educational Club in St George in the East, the body of Elizabeth Stride was found at around 1am. Unlike Nichols and Chapman, there were no abdominal mutilations, though like Nichols and Chapman, her throat had been cut. It seemed that she had been very recently killed and the killer possibly disturbed in the act. Debate still rages over whether Stride should be included in these series of crimes. It's a debate that we do not wish to partake in here. What is important, however, is that the police were on full alert from that moment on. A killer was on the loose.

Watkins's beat

Earlier in the night of the 29th, PC 881 Edward Watkins of the City Police had just been informed by his beat Sergeant to work "left-handed" that night. With 17 years experience, Watkins fully understood this request. In order to confuse criminals and prostitutes who may have been timing and watching their beat, constables were sometimes ordered to work left-handed. This meant that instead of his usual right turns, Watkins had to make predominately left turns. The beat constable had no prior warning of this until he was just about to go on patrol. So, once instructed (and noted on the list by the beat sergeant), Watkins stepped out into that chilly night of September 29th 1888 fully equipped with his bulls-eye lantern on and fixed to his belt. This highly regarded officer started his beat at 9.45pm and was in full flow by 10pm. Starting near the St James Place entrance of Duke Street, he would have patrolled briefly north, towards Bevis Marks, before turning left into Heneage Lane. Strolling down the Lane at the regulation two and a half miles per hour, Watkins would have been on the lookout for anything suspicious.



PC Watkins's beat

Checking that the many shops and dwellings were secure before turning left onto Bury Street, he had barely joined this street before he took a right into Creechurch Lane. Just prior to coming to the Church of St Katherine Cree, he would have paid particular attention to the recently constructed warehouses on his left. Upon passing the church, Watkins would make another left turn into the far wider and more brightly lit Leadenhall Street. Again, as he walked, he would be checking the offices and shops in the street and eyeing any loiterers as he passed the Aldgate pump. After taking a quick glance up Aldgate, Watkins would then turn sharp left into Mitre Street. Passing No 40 Mitre Street, the sailcloth making premises of Andrew Lowson, as he went on his way, he would pass by Copeland & Co, Oil and Provision Merchants of No 4 on his right. George Clapp, the caretaker at No 5 Mitre Street, was on the premises along with his ill wife and her nurse as Watkins would stroll slowly by, continuing past the empty cottage and coffee rooms at numbers 6-7 and reaching the picture frame shop at 8-9 Mitre Street. The PC would now approach Mitre Square upon his right.

Just before he edged around the aforementioned picture frame shop belonging to Mr Charles Taylor, Watkins would look briefly up and down Mitre Street. Then he would enter Mitre Square, checking that Mr Taylor's side door was still locked as he passed. Turning to the right and skirting his way around this dim place, he would have checked that the



"Mr Klapp is a caretaker of the business premises, which are approached from the court where the body was found by a wooden gateway. The lower portion of the premises are used for business purposes, but the second floor back rooms contain three windows looking down over the low wall and palisade upon the scene of the murder." (The Star, MONDAY, 1 OCTOBER, 1888.) ©Jake Luukanen

back of the shop was secure as well as perhaps checking that the shutters were fastened. Now in the darkest corner of Mitre Square, he would no doubt have had his bulls-eye lantern on and open as he checked the wooden gate of Heydemann & Co's storage yard. Maybe Watkins would cast a glance up at the back window of 5 Mitre Street, where George Clapp would soon be retiring to bed in almost an hour's time. Next to the Heydemann & Co yard stood one of the four large warehouses that dominated the square, the warehouse of Horner & Co, Chemical Goods Sundriesmen. Watkins would patrol slowly along this building, again checking the entrance and the loading bay doors before arriving at Church Passage. This passage started wide in Mitre Square but narrowed dramatically, going from 18 feet to only five feet. If Watkins were to walk along the passage he would have ended up in Duke Street. However, Watkins would have been fully aware that the security of

this passage belonged to fellow beat officer, City PC 964 James Harvey. After a brief look up the passage, as he stood almost under the gas lamp, he then would turn left.

Watkins beat now brought him to the second warehouse in the square, Kearley & Tonge's warehouse and counting house, which was a mixture of storage and office space. Another large structure, it was in fact one of two buildings Kearley & Tonge, wholesale grocers, had in the square. As Watkins came to the entrance of this warehouse he would on any other night, between the hours of 1 and 2am, have stopped to speak to the warehouse's night watchman (and ex-Metropolitan Police constable) George James Morris. This would not have been unusual, but just another part of Watkins' duty to know any night watchman on his beat just in case he was needed. In return, the night watchman became the constables' eyes and ears when the beat PC was not in the area. There would have been periods in the beat when the policeman and night watchman would meet and discuss if anything untoward had happened while the constable completed his beat. They might do this over a pipe or cuppa. Watkins had certainly done so on previous occasions.

However, tonight was the only night in the week this didn't happen because Morris had other duties to perform deep within the bowels of the warehouse and the counting house. Having noting Morris wasn't at his usual spot at the door, Watkins would have carried on checking the small doorway next to Kearley & Tonge's that led to the covered rear yard of Philips & Bisiker Builders. Watkins would now be at the Mitre Square end of St James Passage. At the other end of it was St James Place (then known colloquially as 'Orange Market', due to the fruit stalls that retailers set up there). Two bollards at the Mitre Square end of the passage stopped the stallholders from using this passage as a shortcut as they pushed their carts into St James place. A lamp stood at St James Place end of the passage and lit the southern side of the Orange Market during the dark hours.

Sometimes Watkins would continue his beat via this passage; this time, however, he carried on and passed some railings situated in front of the second, and larger of the Kearley & Tonge warehouses. Outside this warehouse stood the only freestanding gas lamp in Mitre Square. This lamp's output was deficient. Either the gas supplied to the lamp was of poor quality or the lamp, its fittings or piping was damaged. Whatever the problem was, this lamp was not working to its full capacity, therefore making the square darker than usual. It was Watkins duty to report such findings, one assumes upon return from his beat or directly to the beat sergeant who regularly made spot checks on constables during their beats. So, in all likelihood, once he got to this spot PC Watkins would have stopped here briefly and written in his notebook that this lamp was not working fully.

Next, the conscientious PC Watkins would have checked the gate of the Kearley & Tonge warehouse, maybe even noting that such action wasn't entirely necessary—for night watchman George Morris was known to guard his manor with zeal. Only a few weeks before, Morris had had a man arrested for taking an empty champagne case that had been left outside the Kearley & Tonge premises. The sight of such packing cases and wooden pallets, gathered behind the railings of the adjoining building and conveniently close to the hoisting area of the Kearley & Tonge warehouse,



"PC Pearce, who lives at No. 3, opposite where the body was found, slept the while calmly, and his wife shared both his bed and his composure. She had left a light burning in the first floor front, and the blind was halfway up, a fact that could hardly have escaped the notice of anyone entering the square." (The Star, 1 OCTOBER, 1888.) ©Jake Luukanen

may have made Watkins recall the incident but we will never know. The building itself, No. 4 Mitre Square, was one of four similar houses built in the early part of the century, when the square could still boast a church. Now, only two houses were left: the empty and dilapidated No 4 that adjoined Kearley & Tonge, and, in the far corner, No 3, tenanted by police Constable Richard Pearce and family. It was, at that moment, the only inhabited building in Mitre Square. Pearce was off duty and no doubt was relaxing with some well-earned family time as Watkins made his last left turn in the square. This brought him to the final warehouse of Williams & Co. Another big building, but not as large as those belonging to Messers Horner, Kearley & Tonge, this formed the south-western side of Mitre Square. Watkins would now leave the Square and head back into Mitre Street, returning some 12 to 14 minutes later.



Exit to Mitre Street ©Jake Luukanen

Once back in Mitre Street, Watkins would proceed toward King Street. A right turn into the street and within no time he would have stood parallel with Sugar Bakers Yard. Continuing on, he would have passed and listened carefully to the revellers at the Old Jewellery Mart Public House, just in case there was a commotion that he might have had to deal with. Watkins would then come to St James Place, described by Henry Mayhew, the 19th century social chronicler, as "a large square yard, with the iron gates of a synagogue in one corner... and a gas lamp on a circular pavement at the centre. The place ... is quiet and dirty." Also, in the middle of the open place, stood a public convenience and a manned fire station made of wood. However, at the time, a new station was being built. This may have some connection with the road repairs being conducted that night, repairs

for which James Blenkinsopp was the night watchman. After manoeuvring around the place, PC Edward Watkins would have exited and returned to Duke Street. He would then go on to conduct another 13 patrols that night, all without any concern.

Harvey's beat

City PC 964 James Harvey came on duty at the same time as his colleague Watkins. Patrolling the more easterly of the two beats in the Houndsditch and Aldgate areas, Harvey would have been closer to what was deemed as the "killer's territory". The beat was on the boundary of the City and the East End. One can only imagine how unnerving this may have been. However, his 12 years of policing would stand him in good stead should he discover such an unfortunate scene. Harvey would start his beat further north than Watkins, at the Bevis Marks, Goring Street junction. Like Watkins, his patrol had more left handed turns than right so it would be logical to think that he was told to reverse his beat also (though Harvey does not state this specifically). Moving southerly, he would enter Little Duke Street on his left. Walking on the left side of the street, he would go as far as Houndsditch before crossing over and doubling back on himself. Returning to Duke Street, Harvey would swing left and move towards Aldgate. He would then come to the United Synagogue and after this would be a narrow passage on his right. This was the other end of Church Passage mentioned earlier. Harvey would walk down this passage as far as Mitre Square and then return to Duke Street. A right turn at Duke Street would bring Harvey to the Aldgate junction. Another right turn into the north side of Aldgate would take him past the post office and its clock on his right. He would reach Mitre Street before doubling back along Aldgate and towards St Botolph's Church, a known gathering place for prostitutes who would walk up and down outside the building and along Aldgate High Street, this to avoid being picked up for loitering if they stood still to solicit.



PC Harvey's beat

Harvey would then turn left into Houndsditch. As he walked northerly he would have passed Gravel Lane on his right. He would continue on this long stretch of beat before turning left into Goring Street and arriving back at his Bevis Marks starting point. It is worth noting that quite a few jewellers' shops had concentrated in this area around Houndsditch. The Old Jewellery Mart Pub on Watkins' beat, known formerly as Jewellers' Arms, had even served as a kind of unofficial exchange for the Jewish jewellers in the area. Therefore, Harvey's beat time would have varied simply because of the heavier responsibility bestowed upon him to check the security of the jewellers' premises. This should be accounted for in his beat time, but one should not be surprised if Harvey wanted to be extra vigilant or if his time was slightly off. This is an important factor and one that should be remembered. At any rate, it is probable that in Harvey's own mind, he was much more likely to encounter a burglar than the Whitechapel murderer.



St James Place

Eddowes' movements on the evening of 29 September 1888

The last confirmed sighting of Catherine Eddowes, by anyone who knew her, was made during the day by her partner John Kelly. It occurred in Houndsditch at 2pm when Eddowes stated to Kelly that she was going to see her daughter in Bermondsey in order to obtain some money. Nothing was reported of her until early evening. At around 8.30pm, September 29, Eddowes was picked up by City PC 31 Louis Robinson outside 29 Aldgate High Street. He had approached her initially to disperse a crowd that had gathered. In the midst of this crowd, lying on the path, was the crumpled form of Catherine Eddowes. Robinson asked the crowd if anyone knew her or where she lived and there was no response. Robinson picked her up and stood her against the shutters. She fell sideways. It was obvious to the officer that she was drunk. He then obtained the assistance of City PC 959 George Simmons and the pair delivered Eddowes to Bishopsgate Police Station. Station Sergeant James Byfield noted her arrival at 8.45pm. Supported by the two beat officers, Eddowes, when asked her name, replied 'Nothing'. With the brief formalities attended to, Eddowes, as routine with most drunks, was placed in a cell at the rear of the station to sober up. The time was 8.50pm

The gaoler, City PC 968 George Hutt, visited Eddowes on the half hour several times during the night. This action was upon the directive of Station Sergeant Byfield in the hope that the drunk had sobered up enough to be released. By 12.15am she was heard to be singing and fifteen minutes later was asking to be released. Her request was granted at 1am when Byfield, having taken her address and name (which were false), and having her belongings returned, released her. Hutt requested that she pull the door closed and as he watched her do so, he saw her exit the station and turn left towards Houndsditch.

That was the last confirmed sighting of Catherine Eddowes alive. Simply by her turning left would back up the idea that she went towards the Aldgate area. She could have taken a left onto Houndsditch or the next left on to Camomile Street, which came on to Bevis Marks and subsequently to Duke Street patrolled by PC Harvey. Eddowes' exact movements and intentions will remain a mystery. It is unlikely that her condition would have been any different from those of any other person recently wakened from a drunken stupor. Probably not feeling too well, getting anything to make oneself feel better, such as something to drink (alcoholic or not) or maybe something to eat, would have been foremost in her mind. All the aforementioned routes led to Aldgate and to Aldgate High Street—a main thoroughfare where there were still people about and late-night coffee-stalls were open. Perhaps she could scrounge a few pennies and thus get something to gain back a little strength? Or, if need be, earn it by any means available to her.

The *Morning Advertiser* (Oct.1, 1888), reported that '*...one of the Policemen who saw the body expressed his confident opinion that he had seen the woman several times walking in the neighbourhood of Aldgate High Street*'.

This indicates, if it was not a later sighting of her (the time of these sightings was not given), that she was at least heading for a familiar haunt of hers.

Although we do not have any records to date of Eddowes being convicted or appearing in court for soliciting or loitering, nor did her friends and acquaintances admit to her resorting to prostitution, as in the case of both Nicholls and Chapman, the destitute Eddowes, tottering about Aldgate on that rainy night, was at the mercy of strangers. The fact that she was eventually found in the darkest corner of Mitre Square, yards away from St. Botolph's (a known prostitute pick-up point), and the seemingly secretive manner in which the couple entered the square during the absence of Watkins and Harvey, indicates that despite her "clean" record, Eddowes had struck a deal with her killer.

The Duke Street Witnesses

Though PC George Hutt is recorded as having made the last confirmed sighting of Eddowes alive that morning, commercial traveller Joseph Lawende believed he saw Eddowes standing with a man under a lamp outside the Duke Street entrance of Church Passage. The time was around 1:35am. He had been socialising at the Imperial Club in Duke Street. The club was situated not far from the passage, on the opposite side of the road and a few premises toward little Duke Street. He had stepped out of the club with Joseph Levy and Harry Harris. Walking a little ahead of the others, Lawende noted the couple across the road. The man was facing him and wore a loose fitting pepper and salt jacket, a grey cloth cap and a reddish neckerchief tied in a knot¹. He was around 30 years of age, 5 foot 7 inches in height, fair complexion and moustache and of medium build. To Lawende, this man looked like a sailor. The woman had her back to him and this is the reason why we cannot state for certain that it was Eddowes he saw. However, Lawende later mentioned that Eddowes wore similar clothing to that worn by the woman he saw², a black jacket and bonnet. She was a smaller than the man, in fact Lawende thought she was short in general. The conversation between them was not heard by him, though it seemed cordial and Lawende spotted the woman placing her hand upon the man's chest as he passed them.



The Synagogue on Duke Street; entrance to Church Passage shown on left

Joseph Levy and Harry Harris followed Lawende. Levy also noted the couple, but not enough to furnish a description. However, though he states he couldn't describe the couple, Levy did take enough notice of them to say aloud that "I don't like going home by myself when I see those characters about". Harris later reported that he did not hear Levy's comment and Lawende does not mention it. This leads one to wonder if the remark was made for the inquest's sake. That said, it must be remembered that Levy was under oath and there was no reason for him to lie. The three men passed the couple and none looked back.

Mrs Lindsey occupied the front two rooms of 11 Duke Street, situated virtually opposite Church Passage. Mrs Lindsey, by her own admission, was a light sleeper. Early Sunday morning, by now the 30th September, she heard voices in the street below. Just as she looked out of the window she heard a man's angry voice say

"I am not the murderer". As she called her husband to the window she saw a man of average height, wearing dark clothes carrying an umbrella and a parcel pass beneath a lamp as he made his way towards Aldgate³. Though this sighting may not have been the killer, it is an indication that other people did see other incidents during that time. Lawende's sighting may not have been the only one that night.

The Killer Strikes

It is not certain fact that Lawende saw Eddowes with a man at the Duke Street end of Church Passage. What is certain fact is that Eddowes was found dead in Mitre Square some nine minutes later. Whoever killed her managed to get her into the square quietly and without any struggle. It would be logical to think that her killer had picked Eddowes up within the Aldgate area. Though Lawende does not identify Eddowes, he does identify her clothing so it is plausible that the pickup was viewed at the end of Church Passage by Lawende and his friends as they left the club. Then, either the man or Eddowes herself led the other to the darkest corner of the square via Church Passage. The time now was somewhere between or around 1.35am and 1.38am.

As we know, George Clapp was the caretaker of 5 Mitre Square. He had retired at 11pm, with his wife, to a backroom that was situated on the second floor above the ground floor. The back of the building looked onto the square. He stated that he was not disturbed all night. The only other person on the premises was a Mrs Tew, the nurse attending to Mrs Clapp, who slept on the third floor. City PC 922 Richard Pearce was asleep in his home at 3 Mitre Square. He had gone to bed an hour and a half later than the Clapps, at 12.30am. The Pearces' bedroom overlooked the square. His wife, who had retired with him, had lit a lamp and placed it on the windowsill before going to sleep, letting it burn throughout the night. With the blind only half-shut, this light would have been clearly visible to all in the square⁴. Pearce would later state he had heard nothing during the night until a constable woke him at 2:20am. What was particular about Pearce's bedroom window was the view. It looked directly down upon the corner of Heydemann's yard and the backs of 6-9 Mitre Street. And it was at this exact spot that Catherine Eddowes was attacked and murdered.



The candle visible in the Pearces' bedroom ©Jake Luukanen





The killer's view of PC Harvey in Church Passage ©Jake Luukanen

Eddowes was found with her tongue slightly protruding, an indicator that she was strangled first. This would explain the silence and reason why the households of Clapp and Pearce, along with Morris, heard nothing. As her killer strangled her, he pushed Eddowes down and to his left, leaving her head in a position very close to the yard wall and railings, with her left side parallel to the basement window grating closest to the yard. He then cut her throat viciously. In this position, off her right shoulder and with his back to Church passage, he then cast his knife over the face before moving onto the abdomen. Taking a fresh position lower down on her right side, he then tore or cut her clothing apart before opening up the abdomen with one jagged cut and removed her intestines. Placing these intestines to his left (and directly upon her right shoulder), he then removed the left kidney. Due to the confined space within the abdominal cavity, this action was an awkward one. One assumes he had enough light to see by as the organ removal was completed, even if an expert would have deemed the extraction 'sloppy'. The next act was the removal of the uterus. It would seem that he cut the colon during this attempt, resulting in a tight contraction of the rectal muscles. This 'mistake' could have left his hands covered in faecal matter. It is possible that he was vexed and decided to remove this large intestinal piece all together, placing it parallel between her left arm and side. He then continued to remove part of the womb.

It may have been at this stage that he was aware of Harvey approaching from Church Passage and, keeping low and still in the darkness, he watched the PC on his beat. He also could suddenly have been aware of Morris opening the warehouse door ever so slightly, or heard the measured tread of Watkins' boots as the PC approached via Mitre Street. Whatever the trigger to escape was, he decided at that point to flee. Leaving with the kidney and womb piece, he also cut her apron in two, taking one part with him. It is generally suspected that this act was designed to provide the killer with a cloth to clean himself. The apron was dirty to begin with but when it was found later, blood spots and faecal matter were seen smeared upon it. Whatever the reason he took the apron piece, it was certainly not something he wanted to keep.

An interesting side-note, sometime around 1:40am, a team of street sweepers were clearing refuse in the Aldgate area. Their foreman estimated the distance from the murder spot at about 20 yards. Though obviously he could not have seen the area, he clearly stated that he heard no cry or any struggle⁵.

PC Harvey in Church Passage

PC Harvey estimated the time to have been around 1.41am when he entered Church Passage. Only five minutes previously, Lawende and his associates had seen a couple thought to be Eddowes and a man at the Duke Street end of this passage. It has been suggested that Harvey did not venture along this narrow stretch of his beat at this time, that he simply skipped it and progressed on to Aldgate. The reason for this suggestion is the belief that if he had ventured into this passage and onto Mitre Square then he could not have failed to see the killer at work in the corner. There are many possible factors for Harvey not seeing what was happening in the corner, but to suggest he did not conduct this part of his beat is unfounded and unfair. Harvey himself stated that he "went down Duke Street and down church passage as far as Mitre Square".

As he turned into the passage from Duke Street, the United Synagogue and its sexton's office entrance would have been to his right. Opposite, on his left, would be a shop. Above that shop, fixed to the wall, was the lamp that Lawende saw the couple standing under only five or so minutes before. Harvey would then proceed further into this narrow, five-foot-wide passage. The synagogue wall, extending almost to the rear of the Kearley & Tonge warehouse and counting house in Mitre Square, would still be upon his right as he passed the home of 59-year-old Robert Kenefeck and his family of five on the opposite side. Again, making sure the premises were in his opinion secure, Harvey would continue toward the square, arriving at the door of the synagogue back passage, checking that the passage door was secure. A few steps ahead, there was Horner & Co side door on his left and the Kearley & Tonge counting house on his right. Stepping underneath the lamp fixed to the Kearley & Tonge wall, he would have stood almost in the square itself, looking in. It was at this spot Harvey testified that he "saw no one and heard no cry or noise".

Church Passage was not just a thoroughfare. It was a route to Mitre Square, true, but it was also a route to the Kenefeck family home and also contained the private passage that separated the synagogue and the Kearley & Tonge counting house. Harvey would have had to check the security of the dwelling and the synagogue back passage. So, as part of his duty, he had to have patrolled down Church Passage. No evidence has been found to contradict this.

As stated, Harvey reached the Mitre Square end of Church Passage and looked in. However, he did not venture into the square. He would have been fully aware that the square was patrolled by PC Watkins and was not his responsibility. Standing in a spot roughly underneath the lamp, his view across the 75-80 feet would not have been as clear as most imagine. To begin with, it was dark and the southeast corner of Mitre Square was the darkest spot. It was in the shadow of Mr Taylor's shop, backlit at an angle by the lamp at the Mitre Street entry on the opposite side. Even moonlight, if there were any because of the cloud cover, would have been of little help as the moon would have been in the western sky at that hour of the night. The amount of light from the defective lamp in the square, as well as the one Harvey was standing under, would have been minimal at best. So Harvey's position of one standing in the light looking into darkness—at a backlit spot—was definitely a disadvantageous one. This may also be indicated by the fact that even

Morris, standing at the door of the Kearley & Tonge premises after being alerted by Watkins, first had to ask where the body was.

Secondly, his view of the "Ripper's corner" might not have been as plain as the photos (taken decades later) and city surveyor Frederick Foster's rough crime scene plan might suggest. After all, Mitre Square was basically an industrial backyard and therefore most likely to have some containers, rubbish bins, refuse and other similar items lying about. The champagne case incident with Morris certainly suggests that Mitre Square was no different in this respect.

Of course, this is not to state that all these factors occurred that night and this was, for certain, the situation Harvey endured. However, Harvey's knowledge that the square was Watkins's domain, the lighting circumstances and the possibility of obstructions such as refuse and other items such as the steps of Horner and Co may explain what Harvey did or did not see.



PC Harvey in Church Passage ©Jake Luukanen



PC Harvey's view of the murder spot ©Jake Luukanen



"On entering the square by Mitre-street, he observed, by the flickering light of the street lamp, something lying in the south-west corner, close to a hoarding, seven or eight feet high, running at the back of Messrs. Taylor and Co.'s, picture-frame makers, 8 and 9, Mitre-street"

©Jake Luukanen

The Discovery of the Body

PC Watkins returned to Mitre Street for the fourteenth time since he began working his beat at, as he would later state, around 1:44am. As he came to the entrance of Mitre Square, he probably stopped, looked up and down the street, and then stepped into the square. Taking the familiar right turn past the rear of Taylor's Shop, just at the spot where he would have reached the basement window gratings belonging to the empty cottages, PC Edward Watkins saw that night the horribly mutilated body of Catherine Eddowes in the beam of his bulls-eye lantern. She was lying on her back, her throat severely cut, her face brutally slashed and her intestines flung from her abdomen. Knowing Morris was working in Kearley & Tonge's counting house, Watkins ran for his assistance. Pushing open the slightly ajar door, he called for Morris who happened to be just the other side of the door sweeping the stairs. Morris would later say that he had put the door ajar only moments before Watkins had knocked and looked through; in fact he mentioned that he had only 'done two steps'⁸.



Morris's door ajar ©Jake Luukanen

After a brief explanation of the situation by Watkins, Morris went to gather his own lamp as Watkins himself noted the time from his own watch as 1:45am. Once the pair had returned to the body Morris was no sooner off and blowing his whistle, trying to attract the attention of other constables in the area. The City police had not been issued with whistles at that point, whereas their Metropolitan counterparts had. One wouldn't be surprised if Morris used his old Met-issued whistle. Disappearing via the Mitre Street exit of the Square, Morris turned left and moved toward Aldgate. Alone with the body, Watkins looked for signs of a struggle but could find none. He did note the finger markings upon her chemise, which he believed were left by her killer, and the filthy state of her clothing.

Harvey was just completing his sweep of Aldgate and was about to retrace his steps when he first heard Morris' whistle and then saw the

man himself, lamp in hand, coming toward him. As Morris began telling him what Watkins had found, Harvey noted PC Holland patrolling the south side of Aldgate. Harvey called him over and the three men returned to aid Watkins. As soon as he arrived, Holland was sent for nearest known physician, Dr George W Sequeira. Holland arrived at Sequeira's home, 34 Jewry Street, Aldgate, at 1:55am.

At the same time, Inspector Collard of Bishopsgate police station was receiving information that a woman had been murdered in Mitre Square. This news was telegraphed to headquarters at Old Jewry. The City police surgeon Dr Gordon F Brown was also summoned. Collard quickly made his way to Mitre Square, arriving a few minutes past 2am. Arriving in the square just prior to Collard were Detective Constables Daniel Halse, Edward Marriott and Robert Outram. These plainclothes policemen were told to patrol the area (looking in passages and behind open doors) by headquarters earlier in the evening and were at the corner of Houndsditch and Aldgate, right next to St Botolph's Church when they heard the news of Eddowes demise.⁹ With no time to waste, the three DCs fanned out from the murder site to try to find the culprit. Halse moved in a north-westerly direction, via Middlesex Street towards Whitechapel. Once in Wentworth Street he came across two men, whom he stopped and searched. Satisfied with their explanations, he sent them on their way, returning to Mitre Square via Goulston Street. Little did Halse know at the moment that he had just crossed the killer's path.

Police actions immediately after the Discovery of the Body

Inspector Collard arrived the murder scene 2:03 am. And made sure the body remained in situ until the arrival of Dr Brown, which occurred at 2:18am. Brown examined the body, which was warm, and noted that death stiffening had not taken place. It was at this point, Collard stated, that Sergeant Jones handed him three buttons, a thimble and a mustard tin. Inside the last were two pawn tickets. These items were collected from around Eddowes body where it lay. In the meantime, Brown, having conducted his examination, waited until the ambulance arrived to take the body away to Golden Lane Mortuary. Inspector James McWilliam, head of the City police detective department, arrived sometime after 3:45am and gave immediate instructions to have the neighbourhood searched. The back of the empty cottages that faced the Square were searched and no sign of entry or trace of the killer (footsteps, blood markings etc) could be found.



Position of the body ©Jake Luukanen

Metropolitan PC 254A Alfred Long was on a new beat in the Whitechapel area. Drafted in from Westminster 'A' division, it was his first night on his own. One of the streets he patrolled was Goulston Street, the street Halse stated he had walked down as he returned to Mitre Square around 2:20am. The time now was 2:55am and the former baker made a check into the entrance of 108-119 Wentworth Model Dwellings situated at the northeast side of Goulston Street, second entrance down from Wentworth Street. Just inside the entrance, Long noted a dirty, damp rag dotted and smeared with what he assumed were bloodstains. Above this find was chalked the words 'The Juwes are the men that will not be blamed for nothing'. Fearing a murder had occurred inside the building, he searched the stairwell and landings of the building but found nothing. Calling Metropolitan PC 190H (possibly William Bettles) to stand watch over the building, Long quickly proceeded to Commercial Street police station to report his find. It was soon established that this apron piece matched the remaining piece belonging to Eddowes apron. There has been many a debate over this finding. We could argue over the various issues regarding the apron piece and the chalked writing, but this would only result in speculation and would ascertain nothing. However, that noted, one simple and crucial fact remains: Whoever killed Catherine Eddowes had certainly passed through Goulston Street.

House to house enquiries and searches

On 30 September, City Police officers conducted house to house enquiries within the Aldgate area, as organised by Inspector Collard. These proved to be fruitful as they brought forth the previously mentioned witness Joseph Lawende, who said he saw Eddowes in the early hours. Yet another witness, who was seated in an open window in a Duke Street residence between midnight and 2am, said he heard no cries and saw nothing suspicious as he sat and waited for his friend¹⁰. The Police were also conducting searches of lodging houses, residences and outbuildings, alleys and passageways. These searches became more thorough as the days passed. On the First of October, ten men descended into the sewer system of Mitre Street. They were looking for the murder weapon, clothes or any clue that may have helped them find the murderer¹¹. Any person who suggests the killer hid in one of the empty houses should bear in mind the searches conducted both once the body was found and in the days after. The actions taken were not too dissimilar from today's investigating and were thorough.

Foster's plans and possible escape routes

Frederick W Foster, architect and surveyor, arrived in the cordoned off Mitre Square once the morning light of Sunday, 30 September, had reclaimed the neighbourhood. He was there to complete a full survey plan ready to be used at the inquest of Catherine Eddowes' death. Foster later drew the area around Mitre Square, including Goulston Street, as well as indicating any open passages in the area between and around Mitre Square. He measured two routes from Mitre Square to Goulston Street, a quicker, direct and complex route via Gravel Lane and Middlesex Street, and an easier, if slightly longer, route along Aldgate High Street onto Goulston Street. The reason for this was to show the possible escape routes the killer took from Mitre Square. The truth is the killer could have made any route, but logic dictates a more direct route away from his heinous crime. However, his route out of Mitre Square may have been limited when looked at closely. There are three options: Mitre Street, St James Passage and Church Passage.

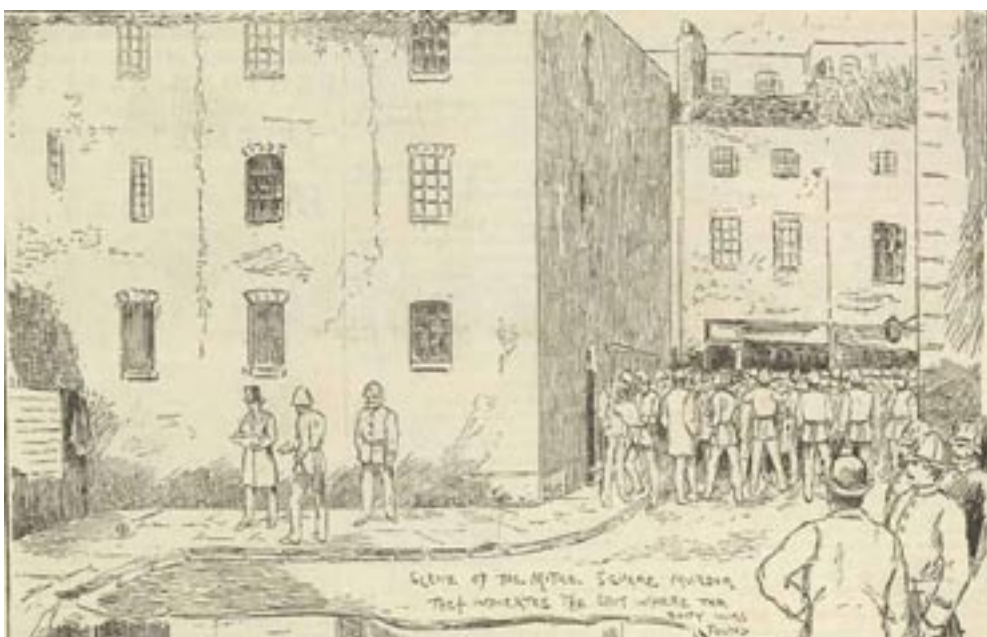
A Mitre Street escape with a left turn towards Aldgate ran the risk of coming across Watkins or the team of sweepers who were working the Aldgate area that night. Watkins clearly states that he looked up and down the street before he entered the Square and that he saw no one in Mitre Street. A right turn toward King Street is possible, but leads away from Goulston Street and, again, Watkins did look up Mitre Street as he approached the square, stating he saw no one.



View from PC Pearse's window ©Jake Luukanen

Even if we suppose that the murderer turned northward along Mitre Street before Watkins turned the corner at the other end, the statement of the street sweepers' foreman may explain why the police did not consider this as a likely escape route: "the foreman of the sewer hands engaged at Aldgate in sweeping the streets and clearing away the refuse, &c., in the early hours of the morning, has stated most positively that at the time when the murder is supposed to have been perpetrated he was standing not more than 20 yards away from the spot where the body was subsequently found" (*Daily News*, 5 October 1888).

This could place a witness around 3-4 Mitre Street. Consequently, this leaves us with one of the other two passages: Both are feasible, but one has a stronger argument in its favour than the other.



Frederick Foster in Mitre Square



St James Passage is the less likely alternative of the two easterly exits. At the Orange Market (St James Place), according to the *Star*, 1 Oct, 1888, "just through the north-east passage is the fire brigade station, and none of those on duty saw or heard anything unusual". Also, there was the watchman, James Blenkinsopp, watching over the road work site. He stated that he was approached by a respectfully dressed man who asked the question "Have you seen a man and a woman go through here?" at 1:30am, though the time is disputed. Mainly because this respectfully dressed man would have most likely have been one of the plainclothes detectives, Outram, Halse or Marriott, who were fanning out after the discovery of Eddowes body. Blenkinsopp replied that he had seen some people pass but had not taken any notice of them. Also, the killer would have taken the risk of having to pass Morris's open door. Hardly a reason to hold back, but something that must have been considered before acted on. If the killer took this escape path, then the shorter, complex route to Goulston Street seems the most likely route he took.

Church Passage was far narrower than St James Passage. Depending on whether Harvey's timing was correct, the only possible drawback would have been the PC himself. However, if the killer knew Harvey had patrolled the passage only moments before then fleeing down this passage would not have been a problem. He could have taken both routes to Goulston Street from this position and therefore this escape path is the strongest of the three. The fact remains that we do not know for certain which route was taken, though Mitre Street with Watkins patrolling it does seem out of the question. One thing we do know is that he left the square and proceeded to Goulston Street, thus strengthening the police view that Jack the Ripper returned to the Whitechapel area once he had committed his crimes.

End

Our intention with this article was to take you to the Mitre Square of 1888, in an attempt to view the square through the eyes of those who were there and hopefully understand some of the events of that night. However, one person must always be remembered and respected. That is the unfortunate victim. Known to us as Catherine Eddowes, the fourth canonical victim of The Whitechapel Murderer. Known to her family simply as 'Chick'.

The Birke Incident

Another factor for Harvey's vision being impeded can be found in Paul Begg's book *Jack The Ripper; The Facts*. In this book, Mr Begg illuminates watchman George Morris's character by referring to an incident involving Morris, as reported in *The Star*, 12 September, 1888:

In the report a Shoemaker named Alexander Birke was charged with stealing an empty champagne case from outside Kearley & Tonge at 4 Mitre Street. The complaint came from Morris, who was not happy at the Magistrate for stating that there was no proof Birke took the case. He was even more peeved when the Magistrate, after pointing out Birke had no previous convictions, said the case was worthless. Morris protested, exclaiming, "The value of the thing has nothing to do with it. I have known a person convicted for stealing a turnip". The magistrate, perhaps annoyed at such insolence aimed at him within his own courtroom, retorted "Probably, but I never did convict for stealing a turnip, and I never will". At this point, the Magistrate discharged Birke.

The problem with this report is the location of Kearley & Tonge. The *Star* has the place situated as 4 Mitre Street. This address belonged to Copeland and Co and was near the Aldgate end of Mitre Street, somewhat distant from - and not visible to - Mitre Square itself. To oversee 4 Mitre Street would not have been a part of Mr. Morris's duties, or even visible to the Kearley & Tonge premises. However, 4 Mitre Square was the empty house located directly adjacent to the Kearley & Tonge's warehouse, sandwiched between it and PC Pearce's home. By the time of OS 1894 this building, along with No 3 had been 'swallowed' up by Kearley & Tonge, as the warehouse extension was built. The reporter, listening in the press gallery, obviously misheard the address because 4 Mitre Street had no connection to Kearley & Tonge. The railing belonging to Kearley & Tonge ended halfway down this empty building of No 4. It is our belief that this incident occurred at 4 Mitre Square and not 4 Mitre Street. Evidence that refuse and debris was in the square.



©Jake Luukanen

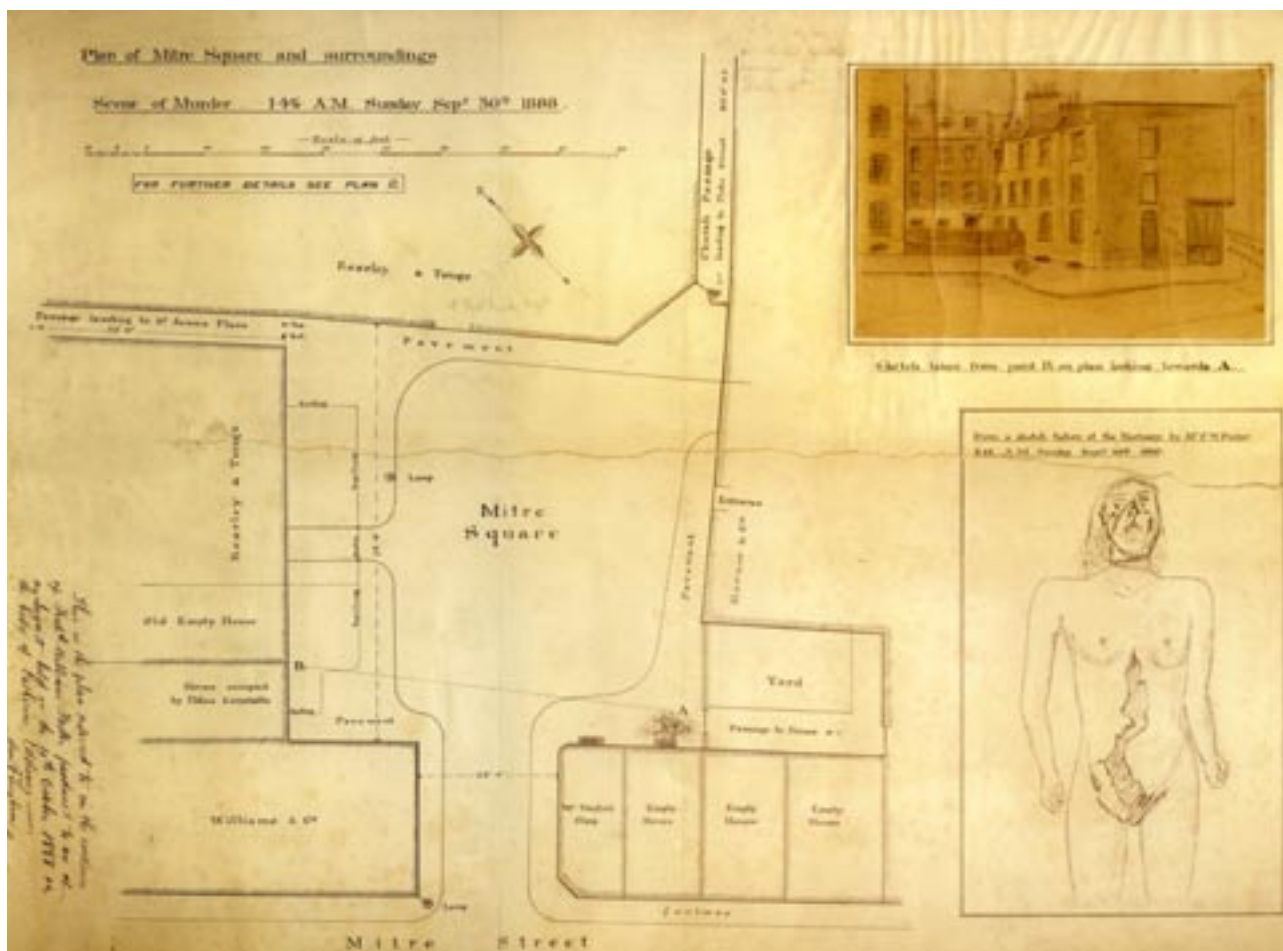
Foster's Plan

Frederick Foster's plan of Mitre Square was used during the Eddowes inquest. While we accept that it is an invaluable source, there are some inconsistencies when compared to the Goad Fire Insurance Plan of 1887 as well as to existing image sources. There are some minor omissions. For example, certain entrances were included while others were ignored completely. There is nothing wrong with this as long as relevant entrances are included, such as the door to Kearley & Tonge where Morris was situated. Foster did do this. He also included the location of Pearce's house and the cellar-window grates of the empty cottages (marked 'areas' on his plan of Mitre Square), all relevant. What were not relevant would have been the entrances to Mr Taylor's shop or to Philips & Bisiker and, indeed, Foster leaves them out of the plan. Also, the side doors of both Kearley & Tonge and Horner & Co close to Church Passage are omitted. However, he does include the entrance to Horner & Co warehouse near the middle of the square.

Why? At first glance it would seem as if this information is extraneous. Pearce's house is included because Pearce gave evidence at the inquest. Kearley & Tonge's office entrance is included because Morris also gave evidence at the inquest along with PC Watkins. There was no evidence given at the inquest by any representative of Horner & Co nor was there any evidence given by any witness relating to the Horner & Co entrance. Why then was this entry included? Looking at pictures of Horner & Co shows that, apart from the ground-level side door at the Church Passage end, the entrances and loading bays on the square proper are some three feet above the ground level. The late photos show these entrances to have been bricked up and replaced by windows. However, you can still see the horizontal concrete structures that were a part of the original entrances and loading bays. Steps were certainly needed to use the entrance marked by Foster. Whether this was a temporary ladder, such as seen in the 1925 photograph of Mitre Square with the pony and cart, or semi-permanent cast iron steps, we'll probably never know. However, this may explain why Foster included the Horner & Co entrance. The possibility that Harvey's view was obstructed, to a point, by such steps is a



valid one and maybe Foster was wary of such a possibility. Did he include this entrance because he felt Harvey was going to mention the steps impeding his view at the inquest?



The Echo report 10 Oct 1888

There is an interesting report made in the Echo (10/10/88) regarding both PC Watkins and night watchman George Morris of Kearley & Tonge. It shows the constable's belief that the killer escaped via one of the two passages and the possibility that Morris was not alone when he was executing his duties. The latter is confusing and though it would be easy to disregard such a statement, there could be a possibility Morris was covering because such assistance was not permissible.

Whatever the truth is, it is an insight into Morris's and Watkins's own personal views and makes us wonder what really did happen in Mitre Square.

Echo, 10 October 1888

IN MITRE-SQUARE THIS MORNING.

At Mitre-square, this morning, there were even more persons assembled than in Berner-street. There was a large body of police on duty. They very vigorously kept the crowd moving, and no one was allowed to approach the spot where the body was found. There are now no marks of blood on the pavement. They have been washed away, and lime has been sprinkled around the pavement. One of the watchmen in the large warehouses around the square told a reporter that he was at the door of the warehouse, smoking his pipe, sometime after midnight. He heard nothing at all.

"Yes, this is a quiet spot at night," he continued in response to interrogatories. "I've lived here over ten years now, and I never see anybody round here but the policeman who is on duty all through the night. I didn't hear any cry at all, but I saw the body soon after Watkins found it. Poor woman; she'd been terribly mutilated. I never saw anything like it before. It looked as though she had been cut up just like a pig or any other animal you see in the market."

WAS THE MURDER COMMITTED THERE.

The watchman is of the firm belief that the murder was not committed in the square. He says he cannot believe any such sound as would naturally arise under these terrible circumstances could have escaped him, and he is inclined to the belief that the murder must have been committed not far from the square. A diligent search of the neighbouring streets, however, does not bear out this supposition, for no traces of blood are observable anywhere.

* * *

THE CONSTABLE'S SUGGESTION.

The constable points out that it is decidedly probable that the murderer, hearing his approach, left his ghastly work unfinished, and escaped by either of the narrow courtways above referred to. The murder must have been committed expeditiously and quietly, for the persons living in the house at the back of which the body was found, the policeman and his family, and the watchman (Morris), who was cleaning the warehouse, with the assistance of his son, all agree that no sounds were heard.

Footnote by Jake Luukanen

The reconstructions are based on the following sources: The surviving/available image material, including contemporary illustrations and 20th century photographs (from 1920s onwards); Maps, namely the Foster crime scene plan, the OS maps of 1873, 1894 and 1913 and the Goad Fire Insurance plan of January 1887; The Trade and Post Office directories of 1882, 1891 and 1895, (provided by University of Leicester at www.historicaldirectories.org) were helpful in determining the uses and occupiers of certain locations, such as the Brinkley & Son fruit business at 32-33 Mitre Street. Since no known image sources exist for the houses in the South-West corner, an 1822 plan of the square helped to gauge out the window/stair configuration of these buildings. Also, early 19th c. watercolours and engravings of the South-East side of the Square gave some clues as to what the buildings at 3-4 Mitre Square could have looked like.

...and the hedge clause....

Please keep in mind that the images are not lighting simulations. This is for the simple reason that - even if we had hard numeric data for the luminous power and intensity of gas lights, let alone such gas lights that are "not properly working", the exercise would be fairly useless when it comes to pictorial reconstruction material. The 8-bit digital image simply does not have the range to cover such subtle variations of low light. What we would see is black and slightly less black at best.

Jaakko Luukanen is a Finnish 3D labourer, animation peddler and image hawker. In his student days he visited the Brick Lane area regularly, blissfully unaware of the fact that he was in Ripper country. Contact him at jaakko.luukanen@welho.com

Acknowledgements

Debra Arif, Paul Begg, Rob Clack, *Jack the Ripper Casebook* contributors, *Jack the Ripper Forums* contributors, Special thanks to Stewart Evans for providing rarely seen photos and to Sam Flynn for granting access to his work *Mitre Square, 30th September 1888*.

- 1 In Swanson's report to the Home Office dated 19th October 1888, it is stated Lawende gave the neckerchief description as 'reddish' and not red as accepted by most. Whilst accepting the difference is minimal, and that the colouring indeed may have been red, it must be reminded that street lighting then, as now, does alter colouring. It would seem Lawende (or the police) were aware of the phenomena, hence the reluctance to state red with certainty.
- 2 *The Star*, Monday, 1 October, 1888.
- 3 *The Star*, Monday, 1 October, 1888.
- 4 Lawende later saw Eddowes' clothing and identified them as the items he saw on the woman near Church Passage.
- 5 *Daily News*, 5 October, 1888.
- 6 City surveyor Fredrick Foster drew plans of Mitre Square, the area and the body in situ which were presented at Eddowes' inquest on 4 October 1888.
- 7 Though today, plans would have been full and exact.
- 8 *The Star*, 1 October, 1888. In reference to Morris sweeping of the counting house steps.
- 9 Actually, Halse referred to the church as Aldgate Church at the inquest. There was another St Botolph's situated in Bishopsgate, not far from the police station and Halse was merely clarifying which of the two churches he was near.
- 10 *Daily News*, 1 October, 1888
- 11 *Morning Advertiser* (London), 2 October, 1888

See Chris Scott's Press Trawl for a Mitre Square special.



PC Watkins in Mitre Street, about to enter Mitre Square ©Jake Luukanen





The Victorian Medico-Legal Autopsy

Part I: Dissection in Pursuit of the Cause of Death

By KARYO MAGELLAN

Introduction: The Autopsy and Forensic Examination in 1888

It would be wrong to assume that the standards of forensic investigation practiced by medical men during the period of the Whitechapel murders were crude or to suggest that the surgeons were not competent in their conduct of autopsies. An examination of contemporaneous medical texts convincingly reveals an appreciation of the need for thorough and objective investigation of crime scene and bodies, and for the accurate documentation of the findings. These texts give valuable insight into the approach and techniques employed by the surgeons engaged in examining the bodies of the Whitechapel murder victims, and also allows for interpretation of the terminology commonly employed.

During the course of this evaluation I have looked at many pertinent medical books that were published in the United Kingdom toward the end of the nineteenth century. Such texts would undoubtedly reflect the state of knowledge of forensic science during the period of the Whitechapel murders. Indeed, we can hypothesise that some of these texts would almost certainly have been owned by or consulted by Doctors Phillips and Bond and their colleagues.

In 1899, J A P Price defined 'autopsia' (autopsy) as 'a term curiously applied to post-mortem examination or inspection of the body after death'; his definition of 'Post-mortem' was, 'an uncouth expression for the opening and examination of the dead body'. Price also confirmed that '*Sectio* is not satisfactory', and that autopsia was 'unintelligible.' The term *Sectio cadaveris* meant merely the dissection of a dead body and was clearly inadequate. Price obviously was not too sure what to call the procedure although he passed no judgement either way on 'necropsia' (necropsy). Just to confuse the issue further, 'necroscopy' was also to be found in the same 1899 edition of the dictionary as another name for a post-mortem examination, but fortunately it never found a way into regular usage.¹

The literal meaning of autopsy is 'self-seen' or 'seeing with one's own eyes' and the word appears with that definition in the first edition of Samuel Johnson's 1755 *Dictionary of the English Language*.² In another sense, autopsy could even be taken to mean self-examination after death! But the word has since progressed beyond the literal interpretation to establish its own definition and we all know that it means the dissection and examination of a corpse to establish the cause of death, although at best it should only really apply to human corpses and not to those of animals. A Post-mortem literally means 'after death' and is taken to mean the same as autopsy, but today it is rather too broad a term. There are many aspects to an 'after death' examination that do not just refer to the examination and investigation of the corpse. In any case, its use is not restricted to medical application - there can be post-mortem (or retrospective) analysis on anything. Necropsy, however, is a far better term, referring as it does to examination of the dead and rather more specifically to dissection and investigation of the corpse. All three terms will be encountered here and in the contexts we adopt there is no difference between them. Note also that the term 'Post-mortem' is often hyphenated and occasionally one word but that it is never italicised. Here we will use the two-word format and hyphenate the term when we use it adjectivally, ie, as in 'post-mortem examination' or 'post-mortem discolouration'.

1 J A P Price, *Hoblyn's Dictionary of Medical Terms*. 13th Ed. London: Whittaker, 1899.

2 Samuel Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language*. London: Printed by W Strahan, 1755.
Quincy, John *Lexicon Physico-Medicum; or, A New Medicinal Dictionary*.



US Army post-mortem kit of circa 1860. (Courtesy of Michael Echols, DDS)

Anatomy, Pathology, and the Need for Corpses

What were the standards of investigation that would have governed the work of the surgeons called upon to examine the Whitechapel murder victims? At what point did pathology emerge as a science and how far had it evolved by the time George Bagster Phillips attempted to reassemble Mary Jane Kelly? Before answering these questions, it is necessary to briefly look at the ways in which anatomy and pathology developed over the previous centuries, since progress was shaped as much by society's attitudes toward death, the body, and the soul as by the quest for scientific advancement.

Public attitudes toward anatomists and surgeons were influential, and the perception of them as ghoulish practitioners prevailed well into the nineteenth century. Aloof arrogance on the part of some in the medical community did little to assist their cause. Inevitably, negative political and religious doctrines slowed progress - although, in England, such conservative influences were rather more entrenched than in Continental Europe.

Contributions of Galen.

Without a good understanding of normal anatomy, changes in structure could not be appreciated and the morphology of disease could not be recorded. The observation and documentation of normal anatomy was the starting point for understanding disease processes and a great many scientists have contributed to knowledge over many centuries, some more worthy of note than others. The first significant figure in this regard was the Greek physician Galen (129-200 AD). Although Galen adopted Hippocrates' philosophy on disease processes from five centuries earlier, he advanced knowledge by experimentation. He established that blood was carried in veins and arteries, although he thought the two systems were not connected, and that the brain was responsible for movement and perception. Significantly, he suggested that the mind was in the brain and not in the heart, thus refuting Aristotle's claim that the mind was in the heart.

Galen influenced European medicine for over a thousand years until the Renaissance, at which time a shift in attitude toward human dissections allowed for significant progress to be made and in particular for more accurate representations of the human body.



Galen

Advances in Renaissance Italy.

During the fourteenth century, Italy became the centre of learning with dissections becoming relatively commonplace, and occasionally with public performances - although such events were more a matter of theatre than education. In 1537, the Pope accepted the teaching of anatomy by dissection, a liberal attitude that attracted anatomists from Britain to study in Italy. William Harvey, for example, moved to Padua for five years after graduating from Cambridge in 1597. In the sixteenth century, the Belgian pharmacist Andreas Vesalius progressed the study of anatomy when in 1543 he produced his extensively and accurately illustrated anatomical work *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* ('On the Structure of the Human Body'). The Renaissance researchers generally had a better grasp of structure rather than function.

The Companies of Barbers and Surgeons.

In England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, attitudes toward dissection were altogether more conservative. In 1540, Henry VIII granted a Royal Charter to the companies of Barbers and Surgeons that allowed them a total of four bodies per year that they could dissect, the corpses being those of executed felons, and the dissection being a deliberately public affair.³ This practice had the effect of providing the judiciary with an additional punishment given that dissection was literally considered to be a fate worse than death - although given the limited number of corpses given to the companies of Barbers and Surgeons it was obviously little used. Extensions to the Act in 1565 and 1663 added another two corpses to the annual allowance available to the companies of Barbers and Surgeons. In carrying out this additional aspect of the sentence, the Surgeons had become agents of the Crown and their payment was a supply of corpses. While the use of judicial sentencing undoubtedly improved the supply of bodies for dissection, it did not satisfy demand nor did it do anything to make dissection generally acceptable to the public. In fact, the practice further blighted the reputation of the medical profession among a sceptical public.

Needless to say, far more than a paltry six bodies a year were required and indications are that far more than that number were actually used for dissections. Surgeons and anatomists needed to supplement their meagre legal allowance and the law assisted them by not regarding a dead body as property that could be traded or stolen. This effectively circumvented the 'legal allowance' and there was money to be made by various arrangements. Not infrequently, condemned prisoners who had not been sentenced to be dissected after death offered their bodies for anatomical research in exchange for some financial reward, usually the settlement of their prison expenses. Unfortunately for the surgeons there was no guarantee that they would actually get their hands on the corpse that they had 'paid' for and they had no legal redress to counter any disappointment. Such was the undignified scramble between the victim's relatives, surgeon's agents, and anyone else with cupidity in mind to place claim upon the still dangling and barely expired corpse, the result frequently did not go in favour of the surgeons.

Harvey and Malpighi.

In spite of difficulties with the supply of corpses, advancements in anatomy continued in Britain into the seventeenth century, most notably with the work of William Harvey (1578-1657), who in 1616 discovered the mechanics of the circulatory system. In 1628, Harvey published *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus* ('An Anatomical Disquisition Concerning the Motion of the Heart and the Blood in Animals'). Harvey theorised that capillaries must have been present to link the arterial and venous blood. Harvey incidentally found a supply of corpses among his relatives. He dissected both his father and his sister after they died, thus demonstrating an impressive degree of clinical detachment.

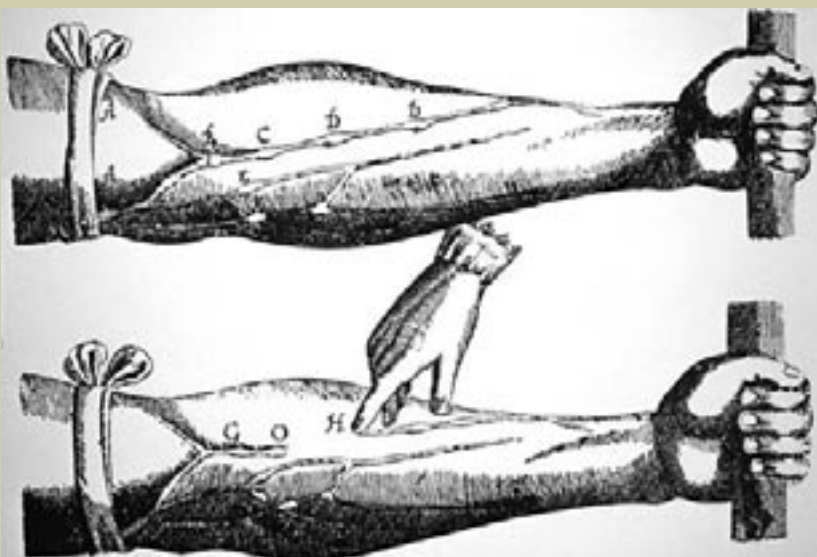
The Italian Marcello Malpighi advanced Harvey's work by carrying out microscopic studies of tissues. In 1661, Malpighi made his most important discovery: he described the network of pulmonary capillaries that connect the small veins to the small arteries, completing the chain of circulation postulated by Harvey.

In 1745, the Surgeons severed their connections with the Barbers, later establishing the Royal College of Surgeons. In 1752, matters improved for the advancement of anatomical



William Harvey demonstrating the circulatory system on a deer.

3 32 Henry VIII c 42. 'An Act Concernyng Barbours and Chirurgeons to be on one Companie' (1540).



Harvey explains blood circulation.

study in England with the passing of an Act that allowed judges to substitute dissection instead of a sentence of hanging in a metal cage at the gibbet after execution.⁴ During this period, the death sentence was also handed out for a variety of paltry offences against property and some restriction upon the addition of dissection to the sentence was warranted. Thus, it was only applied to those criminals executed for the crime of murder.

The Humoralist Theory.

The humoralist theory, dating back to Hippocrates and adopted by Galen, prevailed for centuries as an explanation for the means by which the body was affected by disease and did not altogether disappear until the end of the nineteenth century. The theory suggested that disease was dependent upon the four basic humours of black bile, yellow bile, phlegm, and blood (corresponding, respectively, to the four

elements of earth, fire, water, and air). When these humours were in balance, the body was healthy and when they were out of balance the body was not healthy. The practices of bleeding a sick person or applying hot cups were regarded as cures for the humour imbalance.

Contributions of Magnani, Bichet, and the Hunter Brothers.

Disease theory benefited greatly from advances in pathological anatomy and once again Italy was at the forefront with Giovanni Morgagni, professor of anatomy at Padua, prominent in such research. In 1761, Morgagni published his *De Sedibus et Causis Morborum* ('On the Sites and Causes of Disease'), which was based upon his observations from some 700 autopsies. The book was translated into English in 1769 and became an established and authoritative work. Morgagni's objective was to show that diseases were located in specific organs and that disease symptoms were a consequence of anatomical lesions, thus significantly undermining the humoralist theory. Morgagni gave a useful account of many diseases including syphilis and tuberculosis, and determined the relationship between cerebral haemorrhage and paralysis.

Others built upon and refined Morgagni's work resulting in a rapid expansion of knowledge, assisted significantly by the work of the French physician Xavier Bichet who postulated that the organs of the body were made up from different tissues. Bichet identified twenty-one tissues that he described as 'membranes'.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, the brothers William and John Hunter achieved prominence as anatomist surgeons and their work is notable not only for the discoveries they made but also the teaching methods they developed, which placed emphasis on structure and function. Several private anatomy schools appeared around the end of the eighteenth century. Indeed, William Hunter owned his own private school of anatomy. Nonetheless, since the Hunters and other anatomist surgeons had no legal or ready source of bodies, they still had to employ dubious or illegal means to obtain suitable material.

The 'Resurrectionists'.

Because fresh corpses were much sought after but rare, they correspondingly attracted a premium price. Seven to ten pounds per corpse was the going rate in the 1830s. However, decomposing corpses, if they were not too far advanced in putrefaction, could also be used and provided a useful income for the grave robbers or so-called 'Resurrectionists'. Grave robbing was a relatively easy way to make money, and the perpetrators, if discovered, were far more likely to suffer retribution at the hands of an outraged public than they were to feel the wrath of the judiciary. Exhumation was not technically a crime of theft and although grave robbers were occasionally punished through the courts the legal basis for such is uncertain. Until the law changed in 1820 legal consequences could only arise from grave robbing if any of the victim's possessions were stolen from the grave along with the corpse. The robbers were thus careful to strip the corpse naked and throw the clothing back into the grave before making off with the body in a sack. Inevitably, the best sources of material for the Resurrectionists were the mass graves or pits in which paupers were buried.

In Britain, hostility toward cutting up the dead prevailed even down through the Anatomy Act of 1832.⁵ This attitude undoubtedly was not helped by the murderous activities of the notorious Scottish Resurrectionists William Burke and

⁴ 25 Geo II c 37. 'An Act for Better Preventing the Horrid Crime of Murder' (1752).

⁵ 2 & 3 Wm IV c 75. 'An Act for Regulating Schools of Anatomy' (1832).

William Hare, who turned from snatching dead bodies to creating them. Their careers culminated in 1829 with Burke's execution and Hare's imprisonment. Paradoxically, the activities of the West Port murderers probably contributed to the beginning of a shift in public attitude and the need to supersede outdated Acts. The 1832 Act regulated the use of bodies and licensed those who practiced anatomy, and the supply was no longer dependent upon executed felons but now included any bodies unclaimed after death, in particular those who died in prison or in the workhouse. Also, bodies could be donated by relatives in exchange for burial at the expense of the recipient, or donated by the individual for the advancement of science, but only with the agreement of relatives. The 1832 Anatomy Act thus effectively ended the activities of Resurrectionists.

Rise of Pathology.

At some point on the long journey of anatomical discovery, investigators turned their attention from the normal to the abnormal, and the science of pathology was born if it was not recognised as a science for some decades to come. Pathology is the study of disease, although included in the discipline is unnatural injury or death by whatever means. Without an understanding of the relationship between form and function there could be no understanding of disease processes. However, that did not mean that progress was not made. Even in the absence of such knowledge it was still possible to make observations and associations although in many cases such theorising led to erroneous conclusions. Prominent among the misconceptions was the miasma theory of disease which broadly suggested that diseases emanated from noxious air from putrefying ground or water. It is easy to see how such a theory came about since the worst centres for disease also happened to be associated with the most densely populated and unsanitary conditions. Such conditions were rife within prisons and workhouses or within the poor areas of major cities - the East End of London being an obvious example. Many relevant observations on disease were made prior to the middle of the nineteenth century, but systematic epidemiological and pathological research, which led significantly to a shift from the miasmatic concept of disease to that of spread by contact or vectors, did not become established until the second half of the century. When John Snow dismantled the Broad Street pump in 1854 and interrupted the local spread of cholera his action was based upon observation and not on theory. All the same, it would be nearly another thirty years before the organism responsible for cholera was isolated by the German Robert Koch in 1883.

Development of the Microscope.

Progress in improving the microscope opened up new avenues of discovery and allowed for the accurate determination of the cellular structure of tissues. At last, form and function could be investigated at the cellular level rather than simply in theory. This led to unprecedented progress in pathology research through the work of Karl Rokitansky and Rudolf Virchow, who in 1858 published his *Cellularpathologie*. The science of bacteriology also progressed rapidly for the same reason, with Koch and Louis Pasteur making important discoveries.

The Need for Medical Evidence and Autopsies

One might think medical testimony in a court of law is a relatively recent contribution. However, such testimony at inquest proceedings has been documented for centuries, although not always with the intention of establishing the cause of death or culpability. As the British coronial system developed over the centuries, the system contributed greatly to the need for medical testimony and ultimately to the manner in which it was presented. Inquests are essentially non-adversarial and thus the opinions of the medical men were usually not tested to any great extent. Even by the late nineteenth century, the medical evidence was largely unquestioned. In some cases, it was difficult to determine whether it was the coroner or the surgeon who was in charge of proceedings. Matters were, however, very different in the criminal courts and medical evidence could be and frequently was challenged by opposing counsel. Surgeons did not only give evidence in murder cases but also in other criminal charges requiring medical evidence such as sexual offences.

It is interesting to see how the demand for expert medical testimony and the quality of such evidence developed prior to the nineteenth century. There are numerous examples of medical evidence given at criminal proceedings. We will look at a few examples to illustrate the early realisation of the value of such testimony and the progressive attention to detail. On 26 August 1685, Thomas Davis and John Buckmaster appeared at the Old Bailey accused of killing Antony Loe.⁶ The reported summary of the case is as follows:

Thomas Davis and John Buckmaster, in the Parish of St Dunstons in the West, Indicted January 17th for assaulting Anthony Loe with a Sword, and wounding him therewith, on which Wound, August the 10th the said Loe died. It appeared on the Tryal, that a Quarrel arising between Mr. Loe and Mr. Davis about a Guinea, Davis strook Loe with a Whip, challenging him out; upon which going together, and fighting, the said Loe was found on the ground wounded, Davis and Buckmaster being by, and having their Swords drawn; and that Davis being apprehended, he confessed he had fought Loe, and wounded him, and that he was a great Coward. The Physician, in defence of the Prisoner, says,

⁶ The Proceedings of the Old Bailey Case Ref: t16850826-6 (1685).

That Loe seem'd to be well of his Wound, but was taken with two Fevers afterwards, in which Fever the said Loe died: the Surgeon likewise says, that the Wound was healed, and perfectly cured, and that his Body was corrupted by other Distempers. The Jury brought them in Not Guilty

By the mid-eighteenth century, knowledge and contributions had progressed and legal counsel knew what was required. In 1745, pipe-maker Thomas Morgan 'not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil, on the 20th day of August, in the 19th year of his Majesty's reign, with force and arms', murdered his wife Elizabeth.⁷ He was tried at the old Bailey on 11 September and the medical evidence detailed the wounds:

WILLIAM ELLIS, Surgeon: On Wednesday the 21st of August about 4 o'clock in the afternoon I saw the body of the deceased lie prostrate on her back upon the bed.

COUNSEL: As you are a surgeon, I desire you would give an account of the wounds?

ELLIS: I will give you the best account I can, and I don't doubt but I shall give your Lordship and the Jury satisfaction. I viewed the body and found there had been an attempt to cut her throat, the common teguments and the skin appearing about one inch over the windpipe. There was one wound upon each hand, by which I imagined she had attempted to save herself. Those wounds were on the back of her hands to the bone, as deep as they could be, but about two inches long each. There was a wound under the left ear, and I observed by her defending her throat so well, that the wound by the ear must be given underhanded by a sort of a jab, and by my probe I found it to be four inches and an half in depth; and I judged that wound to be given obliquely, and to have divided the jugular artery, and must have been the cause of her death; for it is a very large vessel; her shift was as bloody, as if it had been dipped in blood.

COUNSEL: What were those wounds given by?

ELLIS: I suppose by some sharp instrument; upon examining the body I found three punctured wounds, one on the left breast, which must have reached the heart, and a portion of the lungs about two inches deep and half an inch broad; I believe it penetrated into the heart, and touched a portion of the lungs; as near as I could judge by my probe it was about two inches deep: there was another wound much in the same angle below that, of the same breadth; which, upon examining with my probe, I judged to be of the same depth, and I believe touched the lower part of the heart, and penetrated into the heart itself: on the side of the belly I saw another wound much of the same breadth, into which I introduced my probe, which is about five inches and an half long, up to the head of it, but that lower wound I do not take to be mortal, though it was so deep, for it went superficially and sideways, but I do not think the intestines were wounded, but the other three wounds I apprehend to be mortal; I am sure they are.

COUNSEL: Did you observe any other wounds?

ELLIS: There were several slighter wounds, but I did not examine them: upon observing the wound at the bottom of the breast, I proposed opening the body several times to the Jury, but they thought it needless, they were so well satisfied. There was a stream of blood that [had] run from the body, which was coagulated: a stream, as if a person had been killing an ox, and must have come from the heart, and was the occasion of her death.

Elizabeth Morgan's body was not opened because the jury did not require such an examination, so the surgeon determined the depth of the wounds using a probe inserted into each wound to estimate the extent of underlying damage. The defence counsel did not make anything of the fact that an autopsy was not performed. Morgan was found guilty of murder and hanged at Tyburn the following year - not by sharp drop, but by slow strangulation which was the procedure until around the time that executions moved to Newgate Prison in 1783. Morgan's corpse may well have been used for dissection - unless any of his relatives got to it first!

On 20 February 1782, Jane Sweatman and Mary Humphries were on trial for the murder of John Thatcher by 'choaking [sic], suffocating and strangling him with a silk handkerchief' which caused his instant death.⁸ On this occasion, the surgeon, who did not open the body, was pursued by the defence council:

GEORGE PINCHES: Sworn. I am a surgeon, I was called in to examine the body of the deceased John Thatcher, on Monday night, about eight o'clock; I went, and met the corpse in a shell, in the Eagle and Child alley, I desired them to put it down, they spoke very abruptly to me, and told me I might come into the house, it would be soon enough when he was carried in; I said no time was to be lost, I put my hand down, and felt him, and found he was quite dead; he was taken to the burying ground, I told them it was not a proper place to inspect the body; he was then carried into a room, I then examined him.

COUNSEL: Tell us the cause of his death to the best of your judgment?

PINCHES: I cannot form any idea what was the cause of his death, there was no marks of violence.

⁷ The Proceedings of the Old Bailey Case Ref: t17450911-32 (1745).

⁸ The Proceedings of the Old Bailey Case Ref: t17820220-5 (1782).

COUNSEL: Did you examine the whole of the body?

PINCHES: I examined the whole, I examined the head to see if there was any contusion, there was not; there was another gentleman dropped in belonging to St Thomas's Hospital; there were no marks of violence at all on the body, that person will confirm the same I believe, if called.

COUNSEL: You cannot say what was the cause of his death?

PINCHES: I cannot form any idea of what was the cause of his death.

COUNSEL: Did you open the head?

PINCHES: No.

COUNSEL: Did you examine his neck?

PINCHES: I examined his neck, and round his chest and side; I examined about his neck very particularly.

COUNSEL: Were there any marks there?

PINCHES: There were no marks at all, as I saw.

COUNSEL: Did you open him?

PINCHES: No, Sir.

COUNSEL: Did you open his head?

PINCHES: No, Sir.

COUNSEL: Did not you hear at that time some ideas how this man came by his death?

PINCHES: No, Sir; I heard nothing of those particulars.

COUNSEL: Did nothing pass, from which you might think it material to open his head?

PINCHES: No, Sir; I had nothing occur to me then to make it necessary to open his head: it was all confusion, one saying one thing, another another thing, and another another thing; some said it was murder, and some said not.

JURY: Was it possible for a man to be strangled, without marks of violence, by a silk handkerchief?

PINCHES: Upon my word I cannot tell that; I cannot take upon me to say that.

COUNSEL: Would it be possible to strangle a man with a silk handkerchief, with or without a mark of violence appearing?

PINCHES: In all cases where I was called in, I always saw marks before.

COUNSEL: Did you ever see a person strangled with a silk handkerchief in your life before?

PINCHES: No.

COURT: If a man dies by being strangled, whether with a silk handkerchief or cord, or any thing else, would it not affect his countenance?

PINCHES: I should think so.

COUNSEL: Was this man's face at all affected?

PINCHES: Not at all in the least; he had a very pleasing countenance.

COUNSEL: Was it black?

PINCHES: Not in the least.

COUNSEL: In your judgment could a man be strangled with any thing, without having some effect upon his face?

PINCHES: I should think not.

COURT: Would that blackness of the countenance appear immediately after the death of the person, or does it require any space of time before it appears?

PINCHES: I should conceive it would appear instantaneously.

COUNSEL: Where do you live?

PINCHES: In Holborn, sir.

COUNSEL: Do you practice as a surgeon?

PINCHES: Yes.

The accused were both found not guilty of murder. A formal and standardised medico-legal necropsy examination was clearly not a requirement in 1782 and there was appreciable variation in the depth of medical evidence between cases reported in the same year; far more detailed evidence was given in some instances. The consequences for a defendant of such a superficial examination as that conducted by surgeon Pinches are obvious.

On 3 July of that same year, Sarah Russell was tried at the Old Bailey on a charge of infanticide.⁹ Large sections of later medico-legal texts were devoted to infanticide which was a common charge, even before the Victorian era, and a consequence of the high infant mortality rate. Most of these deaths would have been through natural or accidental causes, but it was often necessary to prove the case in a court of law:

MARY RANGER sworn.

COUNSEL: You are a midwife?

RANGER: Yes. I was fetched on the 26th of May, about a quarter before eleven o'clock, by Mr Wicks, the constable, who said I was wanted to a labour. When I came to White's-alley, I met the prisoner's mother coming out at the door. She turned back, and said the child was up three pair of stairs. I went up. There lay the child, dead, wrapped up in a dirty coarse apron. There was a mark under the throat, like two fingers and a thumb, and the thumb-nail had rather scratched it. I took it to the work-house. I did not see the mother till the afternoon. I washed it in the afternoon. I was fetched about five o'clock. There I saw the mother of it.

COUNSEL: How did you know she was the mother of it?

RANGER: I knew she was the mother of a child, that she had been lately delivered.

COURT: How do you know it was that child?

RANGER: She acknowledged it. I asked her whether it was born alive. She said she would not say. I asked her if she had pinched it, in helping herself. She said she did not help herself at all.

COUNSEL: Might this have happened in the delivering herself?

RANGER: It might have happened in that way; that made me ask her that question.

COUNSEL: I suppose she was just brought to the work-house?

RANGER: Yes.

Mr JOHN CLARKE sworn.

COUNSEL: You are a surgeon, and live in Chancery-lane?

CLARKE: I am.

COUNSEL: You saw this child afterwards?

CLARKE: I did.

COUNSEL: You examined it, I suppose?

CLARKE: Yes.

COUNSEL: Were there any marks of violence upon it?

CLARKE: There was the appearance of a bruise on the forehead, and on each side of the windpipe.

COUNSEL: What do you think was the occasion of that child's death?

CLARKE: The naval string was torn off, at a few inches distance from the belly of the child; it seemed to be torn, and not cut.

COUNSEL: Upon the oath you have taken, do you believe this child got her death by violence?

CLARKE: I am not clear in it. It might happen, if the mother was delivered on the vault, by the child's falling, the naval string might break. I examined the lungs of the child; it was plain, by the appearance of them, that the child had lived.

COUNSEL: I don't understand that that is a certain sign of the child's having been born alive?

CLARKE: If there are no signs of putrefaction.

COUNSEL: You will not take upon you to say that this child received its death by violence from any person?

CLARKE: No.

⁹ The Proceedings of the Old Bailey Case Ref: t17820703-47 (1782)

COURT: I have understood that that experiment upon the lungs has of late been held not to be conclusive: in one way, it has been held to be conclusive, if the lungs sink; but not to be conclusive, if they float: it is a common experiment, and, in that case, gives a degree of probability; if the lungs sink, it is conclusive?

CLARKE: Yes.

COURT: But I understand the floating of the lungs may be occasioned by other circumstances, than that of being inflated. The bruises upon the forehead, you say, might be occasioned by the fall?

CLARKE: Yes.

COUNSEL: And the bruises upon the neck, you think, might be caused by the woman, in the agony of child-birth, endeavouring to free herself from the child?

CLARKE: Yes.

PRISONER'S DEFENCE: I did not know that I was so near my time, or I should not have gone to such a place; but I never intended to do the child any injury.

Sarah Russell was found not guilty of infanticide - but was justice served? Testimony at infanticide trials often involved evidence as to whether or not the foetus was born alive.¹⁰

Thomas Wakley and Post-Mortem Evidence



Thomas Wakley
From a Drawing by J. R. M. D. S. 1862

Thomas Wakley

The need for accurate medical testimony at inquests and during criminal proceedings became increasingly obvious. However, it took the campaign by Thomas Wakley (1795-1862), the surgeon, MP, coroner, and founder of *The Lancet*, to bring about significant changes to a coronial system that did not require post-mortem examinations. Up until Wakley's intervention, the system neither required a Post-mortem to be conducted and nor could attending surgeons be ordered to give evidence. Wakley's campaign was as much against the medical establishment as against the inadequate coronial system. In the course of making vociferous attacks on privileged, corrupt, and incompetent surgeons, the reformer made few friends. Making friends was not, however, Wakley's objective.

In 1828, Wakley engaged in a public spat with Bransby Cooper, a bungling surgeon who attained his position only through, Wakley accused, 'the influence of a corrupt system'. Cooper sued Wakley for libel and lost. A Post-mortem was conducted on the body of one of Cooper's patients and the results of his incompetence were published in *The Lancet*. Wakley used this success, in one of the first medical malpractice litigations, to promote his ideas on the reform of inquests.

The Medical Witness Act of 1836, enacted largely as a consequence of Wakley's efforts, gave coroners of the power to compel qualified medical witnesses to testify at inquests and to conduct autopsies when necessary.¹¹ The Births, Deaths, and Marriages Act of 1837 required the registration of all deaths. Any deaths that were suspicious or unexplained were investigated in order that the coroner could authorise a death certificate.

Although Wakley wanted an autopsy to be routine in all such cases of questionable death, but in practice this was not the case. Public acceptance of such an invasion of the body was still influenced by historical prejudices, which remained a major barrier to progress. However, as the value of post-mortem medical evidence became

¹⁰ Reference to the lungs floating relates to the belief that if they sink when placed into water then the probability is that they had never inflated thus the child had not drawn breath. However, if they float then they contain air but that this can not exclude the child dying immediately afterwards from natural causes. This assessment of life after birth or a separate existence has been used since mediaeval times, but it has been pointed out that, 'There are too many recorded instances when control tests have shown that stillborn lungs may float and the lungs of undoubtedly live-born infants have sunk, to allow it to be used in testimony in a criminal trial'. P Saukko and B Knight, *Knight's Forensic Pathology*. 3rd Ed. London: Arnold, 2004, 445.

¹¹ 6 & 7 Wm IV c 89. 'An Act to Provide for the Attendance and Remuneration of Medical Witnesses at Coroners Inquests' (1836).

apparent in the pursuit of justice, common sense prevailed.

By 1839, Wakley was himself coroner to the East Middlesex District and from this position he continued to promote the use of autopsies and medical testimony, so that the number of autopsies conducted in England annually steadily increased.¹²

Rokitansky, Virchow, and Development of the Necropsy Protocol

Pathology and medico-legal investigation did not truly develop into a speciality until the Victorian era, with the advances wrought by Karl Freiherr von Rokitansky (1804-1878) and Rudolf Ludwig Karl Virchow (1821-1902). Rokitansky, founder of the Vienna school of pathological anatomy, reputedly conducted over 30,000 necropsies during a career that extended from his first autopsy in 1827 until his retirement in 1875.

Rokitansky embraced microscopy to advance histopathology. He revealed more clearly than any of his predecessors the natural history of disease and its structural manifestations. His work was not without its shortcomings, which were the subject of criticism from Virchow, then professor of anatomy in Berlin. Virchow vehemently attacked Rokitansky and the Vienna Medical School for their support of outdated theories. Yet, in spite of his criticisms of Rokitansky, Virchow held in high regard much of the older man's work on pathological anatomy.

Virchow is considered the most prominent German physician of the nineteenth century. He initially worked on anatomy and later founded the discipline of cellular pathology and the modern concept of pathological processes. He envisioned that medical progress could occur from three main sources:

Clinical observations, including the examination of the patient with the aid of physico-chemical methods

Animal experimentation to test specific aetiologies and study certain drug effects

Pathological anatomy, especially at the microscopic level.

Virchow used the cell theory to explain the effects of disease in the organs and tissues of the body. He emphasized that diseases arose, not in organs or tissues in general, but primarily in their individual cells. Virchow insisted that life was merely the sum of physical and chemical actions and that it was essentially the expression of cell activity. He realised that one form of the cell theory, which postulated that every cell originated from a pre-existing cell rather than from amorphous material, could give new insight into pathological processes.

Virchow was sceptical of the new science of bacteriology based on his belief that there was no single cause of disease. He resisted the idea that any germ was the sole aetiological agent causing disease. Thus, he correctly argued that the presence of a certain micro-organism in a patient with a particular disease did not always indicate that the organism was the cause of the disease. Long before toxins were actually discovered, he suggested that some bacteria might produce such substances.

Importantly, in 1874, Virchow introduced a standardised technique for performing autopsies. The whole body was examined in detail, often revealing unsuspected lesions. Even though both Rokitansky and Virchow developed a necropsy protocol it is the one recorded by Virchow that became internationally established. The English translation by T P Smith of Virchow's *Post-Mortem Examination with especial reference to medical-legal practice* allowed an understanding of Virchow's techniques to spread beyond German-speaking countries.¹³ By the 1880s, necropsies were undertaken in a thorough and professional manner. Microscopic evaluation of tissue samples was routinely employed to assist in diagnoses. The need for accountability and the custody of evidence was appreciated. By this time, toxicology was well established, along with understanding of bacteriology and the mode of infection.



Rudolf Virchow.

¹² For a review of the British coronial system and the role of Thomas Wakley, see Robert Linford, John Savage, and David O'Flaherty, 'The Green of the Peak - The Coronial System in Britain.' *Ripperologist* 63(2006), 19-43.

¹³ R Virchow, *Post-Mortem Examination with especial reference to medical-legal practice*. Translated by T P Smith. Philadelphia: Blakiston & Son, 1887. (This is the second American edition, translated from the fourth German edition of 1875.)

Standard Autopsy Procedures

The need for hospital clinical autopsies developed in the nineteenth century in order to determine the cause of death in cases where it was otherwise not obvious or where death did not follow from a recognised and progressive illness. Victorian surgeons quickly adopted and adapted Virchow's autopsy techniques and this is evident from works published around the time of the Whitechapel murders. In his book, Virchow gave details of his own methodology together with case histories to illustrate its application. In his preface to the translation of Virchow's work, T P Smith wrote:

An examination of these cases will show that nothing has been omitted which could throw any possible light on the cause of death. They may be taken as examples of the way in which all post-mortem examinations for medico-legal purposes should be conducted. Lest the length of the notes should seem excessive, Prof Virchow expressly states that three hours are sufficient, even for complicated cases. It will be obvious, on referring to the details, that only by following out a systematic plan could a thoroughly complete examination be performed in that time. Such an examination, however, would be infinitely more satisfactory than one in which important points were overlooked, and only discovered on subsequent investigation. It is much to be wished that a method similar to the one which has received the high sanction of Prof Virchow were adopted in this country.

The autopsy procedure was also described by Sims Woodhead in 1892.¹⁴ This is the third edition of Woodhead's book and because the first edition appeared in 1883, the method is the one that would have been used during the time of the Whitechapel murders. It is likely that this basic method was employed during the post-mortem investigations of the Ripper victims. The section on removal of the kidneys is of particular interest in relation to the commonly supposed anatomical or medical expertise (or lack thereof) of Jack the Ripper. J D Mann's 1893 suggestions for a medico-legal approach would also have prevailed for surgeon-pathologists during the Whitechapel murders:¹⁵

Post-mortem Examinations for Medico-legal Purposes.

There are several important points to be observed when making a medico-legal necropsy over and above the requirements of ordinary pathological investigations.

External Inspection.

The examination should be made in daylight; colour changes are often invisible by artificial light. If the body is seen on the spot where it was first discovered, attention should be paid to the following points:- The exact posture in which it lies, the expression and colour of the face, the position of the hands whether clenched or not; if clenched, they should be examined for any substance possibly grasped by them. The fingers should be examined for cuts or wounds. The condition of the dress: if disordered, indicating a struggle, or if it is soiled or stained with blood. Attention should be directed to the ground on which the body lies and to that immediately around it for signs of struggling and for objects that may have dropped, as fragments of clothing, &c. Any discovery should at once be recorded in writing. The presence or absence of body heat, of cadaveric rigidity, or of putrefactive changes are to be observed. When an exhaustive investigation of the body in situ has been made, it may be removed to some place convenient for further examination.

The clothes are now to be removed and any cuts or injuries sustained by the clothing carefully compared with the underlying surface of the body. Marks resembling bruises should be sponged so as to make sure that they are not due to dirt or other external stain. Indications for identification are to be sought for in surface marks:- naevi, moles, tattoo-marks, cicatrices; external abnormalities or loss of fingers or limbs; absence of natural, or presence of artificial, teeth; colour of the hair; height, weight, sex, age, state of nutrition, and indications of social position, or of occupation. In women and female children, the presence or absence of the hymen, any signs of recent violence to the genital organs, together with the presence of foreign substances in any of the natural apertures of the body should be ascertained.

If there are wounds, examine them carefully as to their length and depth and the structures divided or injured - whether they could have been self inflicted, and the kind of weapon that could have produced them. Examine the neck for marks of strangulation. If there is a gunshot wound, look for blackening or tattooing of the surrounding skin, and also for blackening of the hand.

The internal inspection must be complete; all the cavities of the body should be opened, even though sufficient cause for death is found in the cavity first opened. If this is not done, the counsel for the defence may assume the presence of disease in an important organ which has not been investigated, or it may be necessary to have a second examination made to clear up a doubtful point which ought to have been settled by the first examination. The cavity supposed to be implicated in the cause of death should be opened first. In cases where there is no reason for

14 G S Woodhead, *Practical Pathology*. Third US edition of UK Text. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1892, 1-29.

15 J D Mann, *Forensic Medicine and Toxicology*. London: Charles Griffin, 1893, 17-21.



Victorian post-mortem saw. (Courtesy of Michael Echols, DDS)

selecting one cavity before another, the order from above downwards may be followed. If there are any penetrating wounds produced by cutting instruments or by firearms, ascertain their direction, and, in case they are not self-inflicted, try to form an opinion as to the relative position of the deceased and his assailant. When bones, cartilages, or intervertebral substances are injured, it is well to remove the injured parts and preserve them as evidence. Look carefully for any acute or chronic morbid changes in the organs, especially in cases of suspected poisoning, or when there is no gross traumatic lesion which

would account for death. When the head has been injured the use of the chisel and hammer to open the cranium is to be avoided for fear of producing a fracture of the skull, or of causing one already existing to spread: the saw only should be used. The vagina and the uterus are to be examined for signs of recent delivery and for mechanical injuries, or for injuries produced by the introduction per vaginam of caustic or irritant substances. The vertebral canal should be opened and the condition of the cord ascertained.

Cases of suspected poisoning.

Several large glass jars, preferably new, but in any case thoroughly cleansed, should be provided. If they are furnished with glass stoppers so much the better, if not, some bladder or gutta-percha tissue should be obtained which may be secured by string over the mouths of the jars. It is convenient to have a large dish - a photographer's square porcelain dish is the best - for placing the stomach in when opening it.

Before opening the body, examine the mouth and lips for injuries caused by a corrosive, and ascertain if there is any peculiar odour given off from the mouth. After making the primary incision through the abdominal parietes, again try [to ascertain] if any special odour can be distinguished, and if so obtain corroboratory evidence from those who are present; the same proceeding should be adopted when the stomach and intestines are opened. When the abdominal cavity is opened, look for signs of inflammation of the peritoneum or of any of the viscera, especially of the peritoneal aspect of the stomach. Then place a ligature round the lower end of the oesophagus, and a double one at the commencement of the duodenum. Divide the oesophagus above its ligature, and the duodenum between the two, and remove the stomach. On a dish, as already described, open the stomach along the lesser curvature, taking care that none of the contents are lost. The contents may be poured into one of the jars, and the inner coat of the stomach examined forthwith, its colour when first opened being noted. Search should be made with the aid of a lens for crystals, fragments of leaves, berries, and other parts of plants, and for particles of pigments (such as indigo) which are mixed with certain poisons - as arsenic when sold in small quantities, and strychnine in the form of vermin-killer. Any suspicious substances found should be carefully collected and examined under the microscope. The intestines, large and small, separately ligatured, are to be removed and treated in the same way. In the case of corrosive and irritant poisons, the oesophagus should also be removed, opened, and its internal appearance noted, the effects of the poison being traced from the mouth down the digestive tract as far as any can be observed. The presence or absence of solid motions in the lower bowel is to be recorded.

The colour of the blood, its condition as regards fluidity, and the colour of the solid organs generally, should be observed. Indications of fatty degeneration in liver, kidneys, and heart, of injection, especially of the kidneys, and of ecchymoses must be looked for. In addition to the stomach and intestines with their contents, the liver, kidneys, spleen, as much of the blood as can be collected, with the contents of the urinary and gall bladders, should be severally removed and placed separately in appropriate vessels for analysis. It is well to remove the brain with any fluid that is present within the cranium, especially in the case of volatile poisons, and to preserve it as above described. All vessels should be closed so as to be as nearly air-tight as possible, and the mouths finally covered with paper securely tied, the knot of the string being well covered with sealing-wax impressed with the private seal of the medical man who makes the examination. Labels should be attached to the jars and bottles, on each of which a description of the respective contents, with the name of the individual from whom they were derived, and the date of the necropsy, should be clearly written. Two lists of the jars and contents should be made; one being forwarded along with the jars to the analyst, or to the authorities who take charge of them meanwhile, the other being retained by the sender. The jars should pass through as few hands as possible; when feasible, the person who makes the post-mortem should himself deliver them to the analyst. They should be kept in a cool place, but no preservative should be added to their contents.

It is convenient and advisable that two practitioners should conjointly make the post-mortem examination. In case of doubtful or of obscure indications, the advice and countenance of a colleague is advantageous, and the division of labour - one practitioner making the section, and the other recording the results - adds to the completeness of the investigation and to the facility with which it is made. Every step should be accurately recorded at the time, or in event of the examination being made by one medical man only, immediately after its completion. If the notes are made by a colleague they should be read over on the spot by the operator, and then signed by both medical men. No other persons than those concerned in making the necropsy should be present. If a medical man is implicated, he must not be permitted to be present; he may depute another medical practitioner to represent him at the necropsy, but his representative must not take any active part in the proceedings. In all cases in which a legal inquiry is likely to take place, the medical practitioner in charge should refrain from making an examination until he receives an order from the coroner to do so. When an inquest is going to be held, the dead body is technically in the possession of coroner until he has issued his order for the burial, and, consequently, it may not be interfered with without his permission. In other cases the Anatomy Act of 1832 (2 & 3 Wm IV, c 75, sec 7) provides that the executors, or other party having lawful possession of the body, may permit an anatomical examination to be made.

Exhumation.

When suspicion of foul play arises after the body of the supposed victim has been interred, the coroner and the authorities at the Home Office may order the body to be exhumed and a medical inspection made. The medical man deputed to examine the body should be present at the exhumation, and should previously see that adequate provision is made for making a full investigation. A relative or friend of the deceased should be present at the exhumation in order to identify the body. When the interment has been recent an ordinary post-mortem examination can be made, but if the body has lain long underground decomposition will be more or less advanced and the usual post-mortem appearances destroyed. In such cases injuries to the bones, especially those of the skull, and in women the uterus (which resists putrefaction longer than the other soft organs) may afford valuable evidence. Most frequently, exhumations are undertaken in cases of suspected poisoning; in such cases, the stomach and intestines are to be removed - if recent, they should be ligatured as described in the directions for the ordinary examination, and placed in clean glass vessels well secured. The liver, spleen, and kidneys should also be removed. When the presence of a metallic poison is suspected, as mercury or arsenic, some of the bones should also be taken, the shaft of the femur, for example. If the interment was remote, so that the coffin is decayed, it is advisable in cases of mineral poisoning to remove a little of the surrounding earth for chemical examination. However far putrefaction is advanced, neither preservative fluid nor disinfectant must be used when making the post-mortem, nor added to the parts removed. The stage of the putrefactive changes in relation to the length of time the body has been interred should be noted.

There is good reason to be impressed by the careful and detailed approach described by Mann, especially the need to avoid destroying evidence and the requirement for secure custody of toxicology samples. However, it is likely that while all surgeons should have followed such thorough procedures by the end of the nineteenth century, inevitably some would not have done so, at least not as comprehensively as ought to have been the case. And it is also highly likely that evidence was accidentally destroyed or overlooked on a regular basis, especially by some police officers who were not familiar with such a demanding approach in the early days of forensic examination.

Some Practical Considerations

The Whitechapel Murders would have fallen under regulation of The Coroners Act of 1887¹⁶, which directs that:

...where a coroner is informed that the dead body of a person is lying within his jurisdiction, and there is reasonable cause to suspect that such person has died either a violent or an unnatural death, or has died a sudden death of which the cause is unknown, or that such person has died in prison, or in such place or under such circumstances as to require an inquest in pursuance of any Act, the coroner, whether the cause of death arose within his jurisdiction or not, shall, as soon as practicable, issue a warrant [for an inquest].

As related by Stevenson¹⁷, even as late as the 1890s, it seems that medical men did not take medical contributions to inquests seriously:

The proceedings at coroners' inquests are treated too lightly by medical men. The ignorant and uneducated class of persons who often constitute the jury, as well as the circumstances under which the inquiry usually takes place, are not calculated to inspire great respect for these initiatory proceedings; but still by law and custom coroners' inquisitions are, and have been for ages in this country, the primary tribunals for inquiring into and determining the cause of death in cases of suspected violence; and they are therefore deserving of more attention than is usually shown to them by medical witnesses.

¹⁶ 50 & 51 Vict c 71. 'The Coroners Act' (1887).

¹⁷ T Stevenson, *Taylor's Principles and Practice of Medical Jurisprudence*. Vol I. 4th Ed. London: Churchill, 1894, 10.

And there was also a tendency for surgeons to underestimate the knowledge of the court:¹⁸

Some medical men who have treated legal medicine with indifference have occasionally ventured to act as witnesses, thinking that the subjects on which they were likely to be examined were so little known to the judge and counsel that even hazardous or rash statements would escape observation: such witnesses, however, have often found to their cost that they were labouring under a great delusion.

Not all autopsies were conducted in hospital mortuaries; many were performed in makeshift accommodation such as sheds, the workhouse deadhouse, and elsewhere, and the use of such temporary morgues is well demonstrated in the case of the Whitechapel murders. But it was also not unusual for a dead body to be autopsied in a private house - usually the place where the person had died and often still inhabited by the victim's relatives! Woodhead describes the requirements:¹⁹

Where the examination has to be conducted in a private house, the following matters should be attended to beforehand:-

A good firm kitchen table is to be placed in the room where the cadaver is lying. (If this cannot be obtained, the coffin lid, or a door removed from its hinges and supported by a couple of chairs, is a good substitute.) The room should be well lighted, and as large and airy as possible; where it is small the windows should be thrown wide-open. A piece of stout Mackintosh should be spread over the table. A couple of wash-hand basins must be procured, two empty pails, a plentiful supply of water, hot and cold, a bottle of 1-20 carbolic acid (watery solution), some turpentine, and some carbolic linseed oil, 1-5. Dr Lindsay Steven recommends a mixture thymol - half a drachm, and Vaseline - one ounce; and Dr Harris of Manchester always uses a mixture of beeswax and vaseline, worked up in a mortar in such proportions that they form a kind of paste.

Clean rags, a number of newspapers, three or four sponges, a piece of soap and several towels, are essential.

Hygiene was not an important consideration in relation to the Victorian autopsy. Although the medical men were undoubtedly aware of the risks, it is unlikely that any of the surgeons performing autopsies at that time wore rubber gloves when dissecting a corpse. Rubber gloves were not much used until around the 1920s. Miller, writing in 1925, stresses the importance of using rubber gloves, and contrasts the improvement using them provided compared to not using them:²⁰

One of the most important parts of the pathologist's equipment is a good pair of sound rubber gloves. Fifteen or twenty years ago gloves were seldom worn. In consequence, those carrying out post-mortem work suffered periodically from septic wounds, if not from the more serious infections such as tuberculosis. Nowadays [1925] there is no excuse for such accidents, as gloves are cheap, and with care they last a considerable time.

Rubber gloves were available earlier but Mallory gives some insight into why they were not worn:²¹

Rubber gloves are sometimes worn to protect the hands while making a post-mortem examination; but they greatly dull the sense of touch, and cannot be recommended for routine work except while opening the stomach and intestines. A cut received during an autopsy should immediately be washed thoroughly, and then sucked so that the blood will flow freely.

Woodhead took a similar view recommending that if the skin were 'scratched, or pricked the hands should be at once cleaned, the wound sucked, and pure nitric acid or strong acetic acid applied to it' and it seems that the only time rubber gloves were advisedly worn was for protection after the prosecutor had already been cut! Not that rubber gloves are much protection from a sharp knife but they do form a first defence and lessen the chances of infection.²² Admittedly the rubber gloves available at the time were rather bulky and there was clearly an acceptable trade-off between the surgeon's ease of working in the body and the potential of contracting a possibly fatal infection.

With or without rubber gloves, the hands of the surgeon undertaking the dissection would quickly become covered in blood and tissue, to such an extent that he would be quite unable to make notes without wiping if not washing his hands before recording every observation, explaining why surgeons conducting a Post-mortem rarely worked alone. It was better to have an assistant to either dissect or to take notes. On occasions when surgeons conducted a post-mortem examination alone, as may often have been the case with private Post-mortems, they would have no alternative but to make notes at the time or less satisfactorily, as soon after completion of the procedure as possible. Notes contaminated with body fluids would of course have to be re-written in the form of a report anyway. Little reliance should be placed upon associating the handwriting of the report with the surgeon who conducted the necropsy. When an assistant took notes the surgeon responsible for the autopsy and giving evidence might have needed to rewrite them

18 Ibid, 4.

19 Woodhead, 5.

20 J Miller, *Practical Pathology Including Morbid Anatomy and Post-Mortem Technique*. London: A&C Black Ltd, 1925, 5.

21 F B Mallory, J H Wright, *Pathological Technique. A Practical Manual for the Pathological Laboratory*. London: Rebman, 1899, 23.

22 Woodhead, 6.

or have them rewritten. Even the signature on a report is no guarantee that the individual conducted the post-mortem examination.

In 1893, Mann stated the importance of accurate record taking at necropsies.²³ In 1925, Miller described what had been accepted practice for many years:²⁴

Notes dictated by the operator during the sectio should be taken by a competent person. This is absolutely necessary, as the more minute points in the case cannot be put down unless the organs are actually before the operator. Organs change considerably in colour even during the course of the sectio, so that it is not safe to trust to the description of a case written up afterwards, even when the more important organs are preserved. It is well that a copy of these notes should be gone over and corrected as soon after the sectio as possible.

Divisional police surgeons employed assistants who were almost always present to either take notes or dissect the corpse as appropriate. This would have been in keeping with Mann's suggested procedure, the presence of more than one surgeon being preferred.

Death and Post-Mortem Changes

It is interesting to see the extent to which the natural processes that occur after death were understood at the time of the Whitechapel murder. Each of these topics comes into consideration for at least one of the Ripper murders so it is useful to understand the nomenclature and appreciate the extent if not the accuracy of knowledge revealed by contemporaneous texts.

Signs of death.

When considering whether or not someone was dead, the Victorian medical men did not have the aid of sophisticated equipment to generate measurements of vital parameters. Thus, they had to use more basic criteria. Reliance was placed initially upon auscultation, ie, listening carefully and repeatedly for sounds of the heartbeat and breathing in conditions of absolute silence. The consequences of making a mistake were dire:²⁵

Error on the part of the practitioner should he wrongly pronounce that death has taken place, is so obviously capable of refutation that his reputation is damaged, and, what is of infinitely greater importance, such an error might lead to that most ghastly of all blunders - the treatment of a living being as though he were dead.

All the more ghastly if the patient were subjected to a necropsy while still alive which was not unheard of or at least cause for doubt.²⁶ There was occasional case of a person who was presumed dead being buried alive, for instance during cholera epidemics. In order to lessen the risk of premature burial, it was recommended that burial should not take place within twenty-four hours after death and that inquests should also not commence within that time.²⁷ It was also considered prudent that 'No medical man is justified in making an inspection of a body until the signs of death (coldness and rigidity) have been clearly manifested'.²⁸

Cessation of the circulation and respiration, body cooling, rigor mortise, and putrefaction were all regarded as indicators of death, the latter two being especially reliable, but a rather more complex indicator was that of post-mortem discolouration that commenced earlier than, and was not attributable to, putrefaction.

Modes of death.

Three modes of death had been established by 1893. There is a distinction between the mode of death and the cause of death. For example, in the case of Ripper victims, the cause of death would have been the cuts to the throat and consequential haemorrhage from the carotid arteries whereas the mode of death as described by the Victorian medical men was syncope. Such terminology was also used on death certificates but it is non-specific and a requirement to more accurately categorise the information from death records later led to more precise recording of causes of death. Mann listed the three modes of death as asphyxia, syncope, and coma.²⁹ These were generally accepted at the time and are also to be found in other books published during the late nineteenth century. The post-mortem appearance of the internal organs of someone who died from asphyxia was described as:

The right side of the heart, the pulmonary artery, the venae cavae, and the veins in the neck are gorged with dark venous blood. The left side is comparatively empty from post-mortem contraction. The blood nearly black, contains a large amount of CO₂, and, therefore, coagulates slowly. The haemoglobin is almost entirely reduced.

²³ Miller, 10.

²⁴ Mann, 20.

²⁵ Ibid, 36.

²⁶ Stevenson, 50.

²⁷ Ibid, 78.

²⁸ Ibid, 50.

²⁹ Mann, 33.

Syncope was the mode of death for each of the Whitechapel murder victims with their fatal throat cuts and is reported as being the consequence of a failed circulation. Here Mann draws a distinction between syncope from haemorrhage and that from heart failure:

When death has resulted from insufficient supply of blood to the heart, that organ has been found contracted and empty. When the cause of death has been heart-paralysis both sides have been found to contain blood.

The third mode of death reported by the Victorian surgeon was that of coma 'from any cause affecting brain insensibility which terminates in death'. The causes are many, from tumours to infection to intracranial haemorrhage but Mann found the post-mortem appearance of the brain rather more difficult to detail:

In some of the conditions which produce coma, examination of the brain reveals the cause. From what has already been said it will be apparent that the condition of the heart and lungs is not constant. As a rule, they resemble more or less the condition found in death from asphyxia.

Post-mortem discolouration.

Post-mortem discolouration occurs as a result of the gravitational movement of fluid blood through capillaries to the lowest parts of the corpse - the lowest parts being relative to the position of the body after death. The internal organs are similarly affected. Mann points out that coagulation of the blood within the body commences later and much more slowly than is the case with blood withdrawn from the living organism.⁽³⁰⁾ He suggested that four hours is the 'period allotted' between death and the commencement of coagulation of blood within the vessels such that it can remain fluid for many hours. Post-mortem staining appears first as dull-red or blue-red patches on the lower aspects extending to large areas with well-defined borders but absent from any areas of the body that are in contact with a surface, the pressure thus produced preventing the seepage of blood through capillaries. Such staining is useful in determining whether or not a body has been moved after death, although permanency of the stains is only achieved when the blood eventually coagulates. The importance of distinguishing post-mortem staining from bruises made during life was well known at the time:^{31 32}

Mistakes in this relation may be, and have been, the cause of doing serious injustice to innocent persons. The difference is very marked and easy of recognition. In post-mortem stains the blood which produces them is still within the blood vessels and capillaries. The surface is uninjured: if examined in an oblique direction, or with oblique light, no trace of disturbance of the epidermis is found. The parts stained are not elevated, they are practically on the same level with the surrounding skin. The margins of the stains are well defined, they do not fade away into the surrounding skin. The depth of colour of the patches of stain is uniform, or nearly so.

In bruises made during life, the discolouration of the skin is caused by extravasation of blood in and under the papillae of the true skin from vessels which have been ruptured by violence. The surface of the skin will generally be found disturbed, the result of impact with the object that produced the bruise. Except in the case of very slight injuries, the bruised part will be more or less elevated. The margin will be ill-defined fading away into the surrounding skin. The colour of a bruise is not uniform; if the bruise has existed for a day or two a zone of yellow or green may be seen around the outer parts.

The colour of bruises also alters with time as blood pigments change colour and are absorbed, and medical witnesses can give an estimate of the probable time at which the injury was inflicted. But more importantly, 'violence inflicted on a living body may not show itself under the form of ecchymosis [bruising] until after death'.³³ The cause producing the ecchymosis may operate during life, but there may be no appearance of it until after death'. This phenomenon was reported earlier than 1861.³⁴ Phillips was well aware of this which explains why he viewed Elizabeth Stride's body on more than one occasion after his initial post-mortem examination. But bruising can also occur to a body after death according to Stevenson who cautioned that 'by trusting to external appearance only, contusions made soon after death may be easily confounded with those which have been produced by violence shortly before death'.³⁵ It is doubtful that dead bodies were handled with any great care at that time and injuries to the corpse after death from rough handling may have been common although such damage would be unlikely to cause confusion if inflicted more than a couple of hours after death. Mann suggested that cutting into a stained area will readily reveal the differences between bruising and hypostasis, the effused blood being apparent in areas of bruising.³⁶

30 Ibid, 39.

31 Ibid, 41.

32 Ibid, 42.

33 Stevenson, 515.

34 A S Taylor, *Medical Jurisprudence*. 7th Ed. London: Churchill, 1861, 232.

35 Stevenson, 516.

36 Mann, 42.

Temperature and cooling of the body. It is surprising that the Victorian surgeons in the 1880s and 1890s routinely assessed the temperature of a corpse by whether parts of it felt warm or cool to the touch. This is surprising because thermometers were available by that time and the potential significance of cooling was well appreciated.³⁷ Stevenson suggested that:

In all observations on the temperature of the dead body, a thermometer should, if possible, be employed. This may be applied for the exterior, either to the skin of the abdomen or to the armpits; and for determining the temperature of the interior, the bulb may be introduced into the mouth, throat, or rectum.

Although assessment of time of death from body cooling, even today, is more of an art than a science the relationship between the rate of cooling and the external temperature had been investigated by the end of the nineteenth century and some rather rudimentary observations made. Stevenson concluded that 'a dead body cools slowly and progressively and that the trunk generally retains a well-marked warmth for ten or twelve hours after death'. And, 'It may be accepted as a general rule that the body is not cooled to approximately the temperature of the surrounding medium, air, in less than twenty-four hours'. Stevenson also noted that initially a body may lose temperature at the rate of 4 or 5 degrees Fahrenheit per hour but after a lapse of 25 hours this rate had fallen to just one degree per hour thus quashing the generally held assumption at the time that a body cooled at the uniform rate of one degree per hour. The rate of temperature loss according to Stevenson 'is nearly proportional to the temperature of the surrounding medium' and the rate of cooling becomes slower as the temperature approximates that of the medium. Stevenson confirmed the prevailing approach of surgeons:³⁸

It is customary to judge of the degree of coldness by the sense of touch; but the dead human skin is a good conductor of heat, and thus the surface may appear cold to a moderately warm hand. The condition of the hand itself may lead to an erroneous impression. If two hands are of different temperatures, a recently dead body may appear cold to one and warm to the other. Another fact should also be borne in mind, that in the chest and abdomen, the viscera may retain a well-marked warmth when the surface of the skin is actually cool or cold.

The contribution made by haemorrhage to the rate of body cooling was also discussed by Stevenson, who concluded that the only difference that excessive haemorrhage 'would be likely to create, would be by simply reducing the amount of fluids in the body to undergo the cooling process'.³⁹ Mann stated that 'a body lying naked on the flags will cool quicker than one protected by clothing lying on a bed'.⁴⁰ Stevenson wrote:⁴¹

The dead human body cools first by radiation; secondly by conduction; thirdly, if naked and exposed, by convection; consequently, its own mass, as well as the nature of the materials with which it is in contact, must modify the results. Again, when the dead body is placed on good conducting substances, or is exposed to the open air in a naked state, the cooling process will be hastened. If, on the contrary, it is much covered with badly conducting materials, as cloth, flannel, or cotton, and is allowed to remain on a bed, it will require more than the usual period of time to become cold.

These observations are interesting in relation to the Whitechapel murders since estimates of time of death were reliant upon the touch temperature of the body and measured body temperatures were apparently never taken. A more accurate measurement of the core temperature of the corpse may have been of some value otherwise the approximations merely compounded the vagaries of an already imprecise science. Whether or not a thermometer would have been of any help in estimating the time of death of Mary Kelly is doubtful but had some indication of the temperature of the body been gained as soon as it was discovered and not several hours later there may have been something to have been gained. Phillips stumbled over estimating the time of death of Annie Chapman from the touch temperature of her corpse and in the remaining cases, with the exceptions of Martha Tabram and the Pinchin Street torso, the bodies were discovered shortly after death such that there probably was no significant reduction in body temperature - and certainly none that would be discernable with the touch of a hand. The use of body temperature reduction is of little more value today and can only be used as an estimate and only then in conjunction with other factors.

37 Stevenson, 47.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid, 48.

40 Mann, 38.

41 Stevenson, 49.

Rigor mortise.

Another imprecise measure of time after death is the onset of rigor mortise. The process was well known in Victorian times and there were attempts to quantify it. Knowledge on the subject has progressed little since, at least with regard to estimating time of death. The problem with rigor is much the same as that with temperature in that they are both subject to many variables and there is no standard against which to reliably back-calculate the time of death. Stages in the process were well-documented:^{42 43}

The first effect of death from any cause is in most cases a general relaxation of the whole of the musculature system. The lower jaw drops, the eyelids lose their tension, the limbs are soft and flabby and the joints are quite flexible. In from five to six hours after death, and generally while the body is still in the act of cooling the muscles of the limbs are observed to become hard and contracted, the joints stiff, and the body firm and unyielding. This peculiar condition is known under the name of cadaveric rigidity or rigor mortise. The muscular tissue may be considered as passing through three stages in a dead body. 1. It is, as above mentioned, flaccid but contractile, although, as will be seen hereafter, muscles contracted by living force in the act of dying do not necessarily become relaxed in death; 2. It becomes rigid and incapable of contraction; and 3. It is once more relaxed, and does not regain its power of contraction. The body now passes into the incipient stage of putrefaction.

At a variable period after death the muscles of the lower jaw begin to stiffen; this is the first indication of the onset of cadaveric rigidity or, as it is also called, rigor mortise. Under ordinary circumstances, the skeletal muscles begin to stiffen from four to ten hours after death. The stiffening spreads from the muscles of the jaw to those of the face, neck, and trunk, and lastly to the limbs. It is fully developed in from two to three hours, when the entire body is firm and stiff. The limbs cannot be flexed at their joints without considerable force, and the body when moved behaves as though it was devoid of articulations. This condition lasts for a period varying from a few hours to six or eight days. Twenty-four to forty-eight hours may be regarded as the average duration of cadaveric rigidity.

Stevenson stated that rigor generally commenced within five or six hours and lasted from 16 to 24 hours and Mann thought the onset to be after four to ten hours, lasting for 24 hours. Stewart more accurately suggested that 'In the human body rigor generally appears not earlier than an hour, and not later than four or five hours, after death'.⁴⁴ Today, it is generally accepted that rigor commences within one to four hours with secondary flaccidity being apparent from 24 to 50 hours after death.

Mann observed that rigor mortise passes off in the same order, thus the muscles that first become rigid are the first to lose their rigidity and rigidity disappears at just about the same time as putrefaction commences.⁴⁵ The process of putrefaction, or autolysis, commences as soon as the tissues of the body die and after they are no longer in receipt of oxygen and nutrients from the blood. Therefore, Mann's assertion in this respect probably related more particularly to the outwardly visible signs of putrefaction than to early processes.

Stevenson gave a theory as to the mechanism by which rigor might occur in the muscles, this being essentially a chemical process.⁴⁶ He highlighted the many circumstances that may influence the timing of the onset and passage of rigor mortise, including violent exercise or exertion which accelerates rigidity as does poisoning with strychnine. Those who die from debilitating disease pass rapidly into rigor which is commonly of short duration. The biological processes involved in rigor mortise depend upon an appreciation of the physiology of skeletal muscle and that was far from well understood in 1895 although the fundamentals were in place. Stewart noted: 'Rigor mortise is essentially a clotting or coagulation of a substance which yields myosin. What this substance is we cannot tell'.⁴⁷ In fact, the processes involved in rigor are complex but essentially involve the irreversible combination of two proteins, actin and myosin. Actin was probably the then unknown substance to which Stewart referred. Involuntary muscles are also reportedly affected by rigor and such effects can be observed in the heart:⁴⁸

Very soon after death, and before the skeletal muscles become rigid, the heart-muscles become rigid. It has long been observed that when the heart is in a condition of cadaveric rigidity, the ventricular walls, especially the left, are firm and contracted, and present an appearance totally different to that which obtains after rigidity has passed off. The heart, like the skeletal muscles, not only stiffens, but undergoes contraction sufficient to entirely alter the relative capacity of its cavities after death. This fact is of great importance to the medical jurist, since a decision as to the mode of death is not infrequently based upon the condition of the heart as found at the necropsy.

42 Ibid, 52.

43 Mann, 43.

44 G N Stewart, *A Manual of Physiology*. London: Balliere, Tindall & Cox, 1895, 516.

45 Mann, 49.

46 Stevenson, 53-60.

47 Stewart, 513.

48 Mann, 45.

However, Mann concluded that the condition of the heart at necropsy affords no reliable proof as to its condition at death. Only when the left and right sides of the heart are both found to be filled with blood is it possible to say that the original condition at death was maintained. And only in cases where haemorrhage has taken place is the heart found to be empty - a commonly reported state among the Whitechapel murder victims.

Putrefaction.

Putrefaction was defined by 1893 as the breakdown of complex organic bodies into simpler forms until ultimately they are split up into inorganic substances, and micro-organisms, moisture, air, and warmth were regarded as being the causative agents.⁴⁹) In fact, decomposition is brought about largely by enzymatic chemical processes, bacterial and fungal attack, with a contribution from predating organisms from mammals to maggots. Oxygen is required for some micro-organisms, bodies buried soon after death decompose more slowly than those left in air, and moisture and temperature are influential on progress but not causative. Mann was confident of the role played by micro-organisms in decomposition but he appreciated that there were 'a number of different forms not yet differentiated'. He made no mention of enzymatic processes but stated the importance of ambient temperature, suggesting that 60 to 70 degrees Fahrenheit was optimal to the speed of putrefaction. The drying effect of a current of warm air progressively desiccates the tissues thus slowing down or preventing decomposition, with mummification being the consequence. Even in the 1890s it was appreciated that overweight bodies decompose more quickly than lean bodies and that certain diseases such as enteric infections and those giving rise to septicaemia would accelerate the breakdown of tissues after death. Some poisons retarded autolysis significantly, notably arsenic and antimony. Use of antimony by Ripper suspect George Chapman contributed to his conviction and subsequent execution for murdering his common-law wives.



Contents of post-mortem kit circa 1860. (Courtesy of Michael Echols, DDS)

The first outward signs of putrefaction of a body in air were reported to occur on the second or third day after death - although this would be in temperate conditions because elevated temperatures bring about visible changes more speedily. Such changes are characterised by a greenish discolouration on the middle of the abdomen, which spreads to the genitals. Other centres of discolouration appear on the legs, neck, and back, with general decomposition reported as follows:⁵⁰

The eyeball yields to pressure, the cornea is more or less corrugated, and has a milky appearance. At or about this period - four to five days after death - blood-stained fluid oozes from the mouth, together with froth and air bubbles. The gases resulting from decomposition collect in the abdomen, under the skin, and distend the whole body, the features being unrecognisable. The tongue may be forced between the lips, and the eyeballs protruded. About eight or ten days after death the cornea falls in and appears concave. Still later, bullae filled with blood-stained serum form on various parts of the surface; the whole body is reddish brown or

greenish, and is still further distended with gas. Large areas are devoid of skin, and maggots without number cover the body. The further processes are simply those attending the final dissolution of the soft parts, and are not recognised stages.

At the time of the Whitechapel murders - because refrigeration of corpses was not an option until some twenty or thirty years later - there was understandably some urgency to perform post-mortem examinations. Moreover, as noted, there were often no proper holding facilities for bodies apart from a few poorly equipped mortuaries. Bodies were stored wherever possible and autopsied as soon as convenient in order that the inquest could proceed and the body could be released by the coroner for interment.

49 Ibid, 49.

50 Ibid, 51.

51 Ibid, 54

The effect of putrefaction on the individual organs of the body was also well known:⁵¹

About the fifth or sixth day after death the stomach exhibits indications of incipient putrefaction in the form of isolated patches of dirty-red. The spleen may putrify before the stomach. The liver is usually found firm for several weeks. The gall bladder resists putrefaction much longer. The adult brain shrinks, and the hemispheres soften soon after death, but it takes months, under ordinary conditions, for the brain to melt into reddish pulp. The remaining organs putrefy relatively late. The heart is found relatively fresh when the stomach and liver are in an advanced stage of putrefaction; several months are required to produce in the heart an equal degree of decomposition. The lungs usually show putrefactive changes about the same time as the heart. They may be found in good condition when the external signs of putrefaction are well advanced. The first indication consists of pale red spots of varying size on the surface of the lung, the pleura being raised at these points by the gases of decomposition. These small bullae are not unfrequently met with even in relatively fresh corpses, but further changes scarcely ever occur until general putrefaction is well advanced, when the colour of the lungs changes to dark bottle green, and eventually to black, and they subsequently soften and dwindle away. The kidneys resist long; at a considerable interval after death they soften, and become of a blackish-green. The bladder is still more resistant. The oesophagus is much more resistant than the rest of the digestive tract. The pancreas does not decay until the body as a whole is much decomposed. The diaphragm may be seen, and its muscular aponeurotic structures distinguished, four to six months after death. The large arteries last very long; Devergie found the aorta quite recognisable in a body that had been buried fourteen months. The uterus resists the longest of all the soft organs of the body, this enables not only the sex of a cadaver to be ascertained when the external parts are destroyed by putrefaction, but also the occurrence or not of pregnancy or of recent delivery.

Mann also warned that 'The interval that has elapsed between death and the time that a body undergoing putrefaction is examined cannot be estimated, even approximately, by the stage that the putrefaction has reached.'

Microscopy.

The microscope was not generally employed to any great extent as a routine aid to diagnosing pathological conditions during this period and medico-legal textbooks scarcely mention study of lesions at the microscopic level, although both Woodhead and Mallory at the end of the nineteenth century illustrated the potential benefits in general pathology. Microscopy had certainly been applied to forensic science by that time, especially in confirming the presence of blood as opposed to other substances as well as the identification of hair and fibres deposited on weapons and elsewhere.⁵²

Investigators were able to distinguish between blood from some animal species but not human blood from the blood of other mammals. In 1894, Stevenson admitted that 'we have at present no certain method of distinguishing human from other mammalian blood, when it has been once dried on an article of clothing or on a weapon', and at the time any evidence along such lines was inadmissible.⁵³ As early as 1861, it was possible to distinguish microscopically between blood from mammals from the blood of fish, birds, and reptiles but it seems there was little progress over the following thirty years or so.⁵⁴ On the other hand, at least by 1853, it was possible to detect, by means of microscopy, spermatozoa in fluid samples, and this was of value in supporting circumstantial evidence in cases of rape.⁵⁵

Conclusion

The objective of this article was not to examine the extent of forensic and medical knowledge of the Victorian medical jurist in comparison with what is known today because such an approach is not of any particular value. It is far more important to appreciate the standard of knowledge and technical skills that were prevalent at the time of the Whitechapel murders in order to accurately interpret the forensic evidence of the surgeon pathologists involved in post-mortem examinations.

A study of contemporaneous texts reveals that the medical scientists during the period of the Whitechapel murders were well-informed on issues relating to post-mortem changes that affect a dead body and while they may not have discovered all of the mechanisms involved they were certainly aware of the problems and the limitations inherent in assessing the time of death from such vague parameters as body cooling and rigor mortis. They knew from observation the processes that occurred after death and the observations used then are still largely valid today.

⁵² Stevenson, 562.

⁵³ Ibid, 600.

⁵⁴ Taylor, 305.

⁵⁵ Ibid, cited on p.709.

More significantly, however, the surgeons appreciated the need for thorough examination of a crime scene and corpse and the value of accurate and objective observations in crime detection and criminal prosecution. The last two decades of the nineteenth century would provide a turning point in the development of forensic investigation. Although the battery of forensic techniques available today was naturally not available to investigators in 1888, I believe nonetheless that the publicity given to the Whitechapel murders brought about an elevation of forensic pathology that assisted the evolution of medico-legal investigation into a speciality.

In Part 2, I shall examine how well the autopsies on the Whitechapel murder victims were conducted and what nineteenth century knowledge of forensic pathology can tell us about the injuries. I will attempt to unravel confusion about who actually performed the necropsies, who was present and why, and who wrote what. I'll look at the mode of death from 'syncope' and speculate upon how long it took victims to become unconscious and to die.



Pages from a circa 1878 Tiemann Company catalog showing post-mortem instruments. (Courtesy of Michael Echols, DDS)

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Sadie Orchard

A 'Soiled Dove' and
'Belle of the Black Range'

by ANDY ALIFFE

Recently, while rummaging around The Strand, New York's famous second-hand bookstore, I found in a \$1 dump-bin an interesting little book. Published in 1966 and entitled *Bowler Hats and Stetsons*, it is a collection of illustrated biographies of some of the English who were both 'good' and 'bad' in America and its Wild West of the 1880s and 90s. Several characters intrigued me because of possible East End connections, but two in particular caught my attention. One of those was Sadie Orchard.



Sadie Orchard

As with all legends, the reality of Sadie Orchard's life was far more complex – and far more difficult to unravel because of the colourful tales she told and that were told about her. Most stories, for example, claim that she grew up as an 'unfortunate' around the dangerous and disreputable rookeries of the Ratcliffe Highway and Limehouse, leaving London late in 1886. Then, via New York City, she headed for the unknown rugged plains of New Mexico and the frontier mining towns of Hillsboro and Kingston.

It was said that she was lured by the stories of American merchantmen and sailors she heard around the East End docks and that dreams of the excitement, adventure and wealth of gold and silver rushes led her to emigrate. Certainly, New Mexico in the late 1880s would have been a far cry from her native Stepney home.

Initial research, from several sources, did seem to confirm this. So, here was an opportunity for me to write about someone who would have been a contemporary of Mary Jane Kelly and who spent her early life in and around the quayside reaches of the port of London. The two girls shared the same 'profession', worked in the same area, attracted the same type of clients and considering the confines of the district, perhaps knew each other by socialising in the same establishments.

However, nothing in research presents itself easily and, when rechecking primary source material, a different story began to emerge. Like that of Mary Jane Kelly, it is a story of concealed identity and background in which some lifestyle comparisons are impossible to

ignore. Sadie did indeed have distant family members in London's East End, but the truth was she was just another young girl with a vivid imagination, anxious to escape her home and explore the opportunities offered by the Wild West.

Born in Iowa, USA, in 1860, Sadie was in reality Sarah Jane Creech, a girl in her mid-twenties from a respectable background whose family owned a horse-trading business in Mills County. She seems an improbable candidate to become a western legend, yet when this young woman migrated to the Black Mountain Range of New Mexico, her life became the stuff of which myths are made.

When Sadie reached Kingston she would have seen before her an incredible panorama that embraced life's highs and lows, riches and poverty, and goodness and depravity. Even her vivid imagination would have been unable to concoct such scenes just from newspaper reports and personal accounts.

The young Sadie was said to be very beautiful, with cornflower blue eyes, and jet-black hair. An old-timer who remembered Sadie once said: 'She was proud of her tiny feet and small waist. Her gold-coin necklace and diamonds became familiar adornments, as did her plumed hats and fine leather gloves. She was lively, pert and pretty, had a good sense of humour and was always merry.'



Hillsborough c1900

It was clear that the slender and diminutive girl was not going to make her fortune swinging a pick in the gold and silver mines that dotted the canyons of the Black Mountains. She had other plans for sharing in the good fortune. Like many young, unmarried and tolerably good-looking women in western boomtowns, she chose prostitution, which was more of an economic than moral decision in the West of the late 19th Century.

Arriving with an assumed identity and a falsified background from London's East End, Sadie would easily have been able to conceal her true American middleclass upbringing from the frontier settlers and distance herself from a disapproving family who would never know her true role in those early days.

As a 'soiled dove', an Old West expression for a prostitute, she took employment with an

established madam in a Kingston bordello and amassed enough money from the free-spending prospectors to set up her own house and employ other girls. She, too, became a madam, eventually owning and running brothels in the red-light districts of both Hillsboro, on Shady Lane, and in Kingston on Virtue Avenue.

There, she dispensed what were termed 'male social services,' and business was brisk. Sadie and her house were immensely popular, and miners, ranchers and cowboys from across a wide area soon made Sadie the 'Belle of the Black Range.' They also made her wealthy. Sadie carefully selected women to staff the bordello for their good looks and charming ways. She also made certain that they wore the latest fashions during working hours.

Using many euphemisms, there were two types of 'bad girls' in the old West of the 1880s. The worst type, according to the respectable womenfolk, were the many 'painted ladies' who made their living by offering paid sex in the brothels, parlour houses, and cribs of the western towns. The second type were the saloon and dance hall women who, contrary to some popular thinking, were generally not prostitutes. That tended to occur only in the very shabbiest class of saloons. Though the respectable ladies considered the saloon girls fallen, most of the girls wouldn't be caught dead associating with a prostitute.

A 'hurdy' or saloon dancehall girl's job was to brighten the evenings of the many lonely men in western towns. In the old West, men usually outnumbered women by at least three to one and sometimes by a lot more, as was the case in California in 1850, where 90 percent of the population was male. The men were starved for female companionship, and the saloon girl would sing for them, dance with them, and talk to them, while inducing them to remain in the bar, buying drinks and patronizing the games.

Most saloon girls were refugees from farms or mills, lured by posters and handbills advertising high wages, easy work, and fine clothing. Many were widows or needy women of good morals, forced to earn a living in an era that offered few means for women to do so. Earning as much as \$10 per week, most saloon girls also made a commission from the drinks that they sold. Commonly, drinks bought for the girls would only be cold tea or coloured sugar water served in a shot glass. However, the customers were charged the full price for whiskey, which could range from ten to seventy-five cents a shot.

Saloon girls wore brightly coloured ruffled skirts that were scandalously short for the time, mid-calf or even knee-length. Under the bell-shaped skirts could be seen colourful petticoats that barely reached the women's kid boots and they were often adorned with tassels. More often than not, their arms and shoulders were bare, their bodices cut low over their breasts and their dresses decorated with sequins and fringe. Silk, lace or net stockings were held up

by garters, which were often gifts from admirers. This was a far cry from the excessively modest fashions of Victorian England, with its high button collars and ankle-length outfits – clothes worn by both the respectable women of London's West End and the prostitutes in the East End at the time.

Most saloon girls were considered 'good' women by the men they danced and talked with, often receiving lavish gifts from admirers. In most places, the propriety of treating the saloon girls as ladies was strictly observed, as much because Western men tended to revere all women, as because the women or the saloonkeeper demanded it. Any man who mistreated these women would quickly become a social outcast, and if he insulted one he might have ended up shot.

Dancing usually began about 8pm, ranging from waltzes to schottisches, with each 'turn' lasting about five minutes. A popular girl could average 50 dances an evening, sometimes making more in a night than a working man could in a month. Dance hall girls made so much money that it was very rare for them to double as a prostitute. In fact, many former soiled doves found they could make more money as a dance hall girl.

In contrast to the dance-hall women, every Old West town also had at least a couple of 'shady ladies,' who were the source of much gossip. Sometimes they would hide their occupation by claiming to be taking in laundry, working as a seamstress or running a boarding house. Similar euphemisms for prostitution, like laundress or seamstress, were also common in the East End at the same time.

Prostitutes were so numerous in frontier towns that some historians have estimated that they made up a quarter of the population, often outnumbering the decent women by 25 to 1. As towns grew in the West, they would often have several bordellos staffed by four or five women. Some high class prostitutes often demanded as much as \$50 from their clients; however, rates on the frontier generally ranged from \$5 at nicer establishments to \$1 or less for most prostitutes. Sometimes they would split their earnings with the madam of the parlour house, while others paid a flat fee per night or week. But, even by splitting the money, the law of supply and demand meant they earned much more than Mary Kelly and her contemporaries.

Times were changing in the late 1880s, however, and the law was becoming more mindful of prostitution. The towns in the Black Mountain Range were beginning to adopt codes of conduct to regulate the profession and the establishments. Growing numbers of citizens viewed bordellos as, in the words of one code, 'offences against good morals and decency, making illegal the operation of any bawdy house or houses of ill fame, houses of assignation or place for the practice of fornication, or a common ill-governed disorderly house'.

Persons running bordellos could be brought before a justice of the peace and fined 'a sum not exceeding one hundred dollars and not less than ten'. Usually, however, anti-prostitution laws were laxly enforced, if at all. It was widespread practice for madams and prostitutes to pay fines on a weekly or monthly basis. This procedure allowed brothels to operate without the risk of law enforcement raids and provided a regular source of revenue for the town's government.



The majority of prostitutes did work out of parlour houses, the best of which looked like respectable homes. To advertise the building's true intent, red lanterns were often hung under the eaves or beside the door and bold red curtains adorned the lower windows, hence the later term 'red light district' for an area frequented by prostitutes. Inside, there was usually a lavishly decorated parlour, hence the name 'parlour house.' The walls were flanked with sofas and chairs and often a piano stood in attendance for girls who might play or sing requests for customers.

The larger places were likely to include a gaming room and a dance hall. Between assignations, the women and their clients were entertained by musicians, dancers, singers, and jugglers. The most successful madams maintained, at least on the ground floor, a strict air of respectability and a charming home life. They also insisted that their girls wear corsets downstairs and forbade any 'rough stuff.'

The girls' rooms were always on the floor above the ground floor, if there was one. These houses would usually average six to twelve girls, plus the madam, who entertained only those customers she personally selected. First-class places set a good table and prided themselves on their cellars, offering choice cigars, bonded bourbon, and the finest liquors and wines. Customers could enjoy champagne

suppers and sing with the girls around the piano. In very high-class parlour houses, the women could only be seen by appointment.

The women usually sent to eastern cities for their finery or bought it from passing peddlers. In mining towns, the 'girls' would often be seen walking, riding, or in carriages, dressed in their eye-catching finery. The stylish clothing, engaging attitude and respect shown by their clients was also a markedly different from the working conditions of London's East End prostitute. The prostitutes of the mining towns certainly didn't have to put up with the seedy rooms and fetid back streets for a 'four penny-knee trembler', which the Whitechapel unfortunates had to endure. But danger is ever present in this profession, no matter where in the world, and stories of the slayers of frontier prostitutes were plentiful. It seems that the unknown identity of Jack the Ripper, in London's 'Wild East', had more identifiable counterparts on the streets of the Wild West.

The lower grade of bordello came to be called a 'honky-tonk,' from a common southern black slang term. In these houses, there was very little subtlety. The direct approach was standard, with maybe a five-minute dalliance at the bar, and then it was off to a room. Lower than the saloon prostitutes in the frontier hierarchy were those who worked independently, living in small houses or cabins called cribs. Crib-houses were usually in segregated districts with a front bedroom and a kitchen in the rear

If she was lucky, a prostitute could marry well and retire with enough money for a comfortable and respectable lifestyle. Those who married would normally become instantly respectable as it was considered impolite in the Old West to ask about someone's background and most people were too busy to care. Other prostitutes used their profits to open their own sporting houses, became saloon operators, or practiced as abortionists.

Sadie lived within this perilous environment and practiced one of the most dangerous professions in the West. Women in the profession were in danger of contracting tuberculosis or sexually transmitted diseases, chiefly syphilis. Others died as a result of botched abortions, sometimes self-inflicted. Violence also claimed its share, in brawls with customers, husbands or sometimes other prostitutes.

For example, in 1888 prostitute Bessie Harper was out of jail on bond awaiting the action of the grand jury because she had attacked another prostitute, Millie Forest. With a stone tied up in a towel, Bessie had allegedly beaten Millie senseless and left her with multiple lacerations of the face and scalp. In 1889, a Miss Cordelia was jailed after she 'shot up' and wounded the occupants of a house run by a Miss Williams. The following year, a French woman who managed the house called 'Nettie's Place' was found dead with a bullet through the forehead. The account in the Sierra County Advocate left little to the imagination. 'She had bled terribly, the bedclothes were saturated and there was a large pool of blood on the floor.'



James Orchard, hired help 'Boots' and Sadie

Amidst all of this mayhem, Sadie's business boomed and in due course she achieved a mantle of respectability. To crown this, in 1895, she married businessman and stagecoach owner, James W Orchard. Some years before their marriage, James had purchased the Lake Valley, Hillsboro and Kingston Express stage line, which made shuttle runs with passengers, mail, freight and bank deposits to the railway depot in Lake Valley. The company promised to change horses every ten miles, making the whole journey a 'comfortable five hour trip, through grand scenery and prosperous towns'.

Sadie took an active interest in the business and participated in its affairs. The rolling stock consisted of buckboards, flatbed wagons and at least one Concord coach, named Mountain Pride. The Mountain Pride was designed to

carry nine passengers, six inside and three more on top in a seat mounted high behind the driver. It could carry considerably more if they were willing to ride inside sitting on the floor, or with the driver on the top or dangling from the sides. The stage had one baggage boot at its rear and another under the drivers seat.

Although she and Jim employed a number of drivers, Sadie sometimes liked to take the coaches on their runs. In fact, on January 18, 1899, a local newspaper, the *Santa Fe New Mexican*, complimented the Orchards, and seemingly Sadie, by saying that their company 'is one of the finest stage lines in the territory, sports the best vehicles and horses and has the best looking driver in the Southwest'.

With her family background Sadie would have neither fear of horses nor awkwardness in handling the reins. She seemed to relish the tough and demanding frontier lifestyle, and it didn't take Sadie long to rise to prominence in a male-dominated society. She became the only woman stagecoach driver in the annals of New Mexico.

In a 1936 interview given to author Clay W. Vaden as part of a Works Progress Administration writers' project, Sadie recalled:

I drove the stage line every day, for 14 years from Kingston to Lake Valley and sometimes as far as the Nutt station.

In those days we did not have the roads we can justly boast of in New Mexico today, and my trips were surely trying, especially through Box Canyon between Kingston and Hillsboro.

I could handle the four-horse teams and the heavy stage from the high driver's seat and I could kick the foot brake with the best of them. I never felt terribly in danger, although driving the stage through wild country was always exciting.

Many times I had for passengers some very famous people. Lillian Russell, stage star, as far as I know was never in Kingston, but members of her troupe were, and I had occasion to meet the actress. She was a guest at The Horseshoe Ranch west of Hillsboro at one time I believe.

Although Sadie Orchard was a no-nonsense businesswoman, there was another side to her. At its height, Kingston, the terminus of the stage line, had a population of five thousand and twenty-two saloons. In a place where fortunes were made and sometimes lost overnight, Kingston had three dance halls, several general stores, and no church. When Sadie decided it needed a church, she and her girls canvassed the saloons and stores to raise the money. Sadie set the example by contributing some of her own jewellery. Miners, gamblers and merchants followed her lead and \$1,500 was collected. It was enough to build a small stone church.

In the early 1890s, after an Apache Indian foray left a family named Yates dead and several others wounded, Sadie moved from Kingston, to the neighbouring – and more established – Hillsboro that offered better opportunities and protection. Years later, in 1914, a Percha Creek flood sent a wall of water through the middle of town, destroying many homes and businesses. A severe influenza epidemic followed the next year and Sadie once more pitched in to help. She put away her silk and velvet gowns, her diamonds and her parasol to care for the sick and injured.

She was the only person the doctor would allow inside the quarantined houses. In addition to caring for the ill, she also took her stand beside the able-bodied men of the village, shovel in hand, helping to dig the graves for those unfortunate enough not to have passed the crisis. Deeply touched by the deaths of a number of children, Sadie cut up her fashionable dresses to line their bare wooden coffins, and she personally took the bodies to the town cemetery in her buggy. She also worked to find homes for children whose parents had died.

At one time Sadie took in a small orphaned boy whom she employed as her groom and odd-jobs handyman. She also supported the family of a man serving time in prison because during his prosperous bachelor days he had been a good customer at her house. Many families who were in need were helped over difficult periods through her generosity.

Sadie, however, could swiftly revert to her unladylike ways, and the Black Range stories about her are legion. One time, some gamblers dared her to ride down the main street of Hillsboro in the manner of Lady Godiva. According to witness and past resident, Pete Kenney, Sadie accepted the challenge and rode side-saddle through town 'naked as a jaybird.' Another older member of the community once recalled that when a man broke a date with her, she urinated on his doorstep!

In 1896, James bought Sadie some land in Hillsboro's main street where she established a successful hotel, with the fanciful name of the Ocean Grove. It was a modest one-storey adobe building with a shingled roof and half a dozen rooms. The hotel became popular with the territory's top political and business leaders, and Sadie was on a first-name basis with many of them.

Even more than her stage line, the hotel gave Sadie the respectability she craved. She affected stylish dresses and drank imported wines. She made the Ocean Grove famous for its good food and clean beds, and the hotel was known throughout the New Mexico Territory. Service at the Ocean Grove was lavish, with rich food and the finest whiskey.



The Mountain Pride

Travellers scheduled their journeys so they could stay overnight and be fed by Sadie's popular cook, Tom Ying, known throughout the region as simply 'The Chinaman.'

Sadie played her new role well. She appeared happy, immersing herself in the work of a hotelier. This was especially so during the high profile trial of the murders of Col Albert Fountain in 1899. Sadie housed and fed famed Las Cruces defence attorney Albert Bacon Fall, and the three prosecuting attorneys, including Thomas Catron, prominent Santa Fe lawyer, banker and political leader. The trial judge, Frank W Parker, and members of the jury also were guests at the Ocean Grove. The trial drew national attention and a special Western Union telegraph line was run into Hillsboro.

Sadie prepared and delivered meals to defendants Oliver Lee and James Gililand in their cells in the Hillsboro jail, and when they were acquitted, she hosted a celebration in their honour at the hotel. As a result, Hillsboro and Sadie gained widespread attention. Unfortunately for Sadie and husband James, her new notoriety and prosperity seemed to upset whatever balance they had achieved in their marriage. Although rumour says James liked to drink and was adept at hiding whiskey around the home, it is more likely that energetic and successful Sadie overshadowed James.

As she had done earlier in Kingston, Sadie was instrumental in building Hillsboro's first church. She also was at the centre of the town's social scene, giving garden parties featuring moulded ices and special foods imported from El Paso. It was in Hillsboro that Sadie realized her childhood dream. She often organized English-style hunts into the Black Range. When she had time she went for long rides.

As recorded in *Ghosts of Kingston and Hillsboro* by Bill Rakocy, one older resident recalled about Sadie 'She could ride as well as any man in New Mexico Territory. When she mounted her steed, she wore a high silk hat, a silk scarf about her throat, a sparkling white shirtwaist, hand-made leather boots and kid gloves'. Sitting side-saddle, 'she looked like a titled English lady and dressed like a fashion plate in her expensive finery'

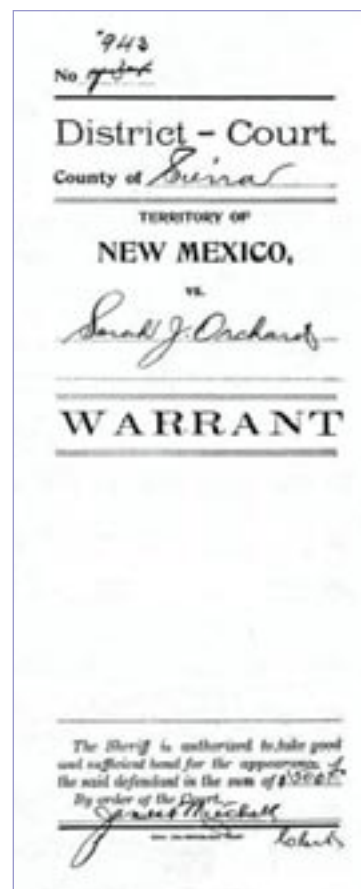
Though she tried hard to fit in and tried her best to imitate the privileged classes, she fell far short whenever she spoke, as she was known to have a very extensive vocabulary of obscenities and profanities, some say tinged with the pretence of a cockney accent. In the Vaden interview, Sadie laughingly said of herself 'I'm a product of the 'Old West' and you know in those days we didn't have much chance to practice the refinements and niceties of high society.'

During 1900 Sadie spent time in and out of the Hillsboro Courthouse the Sierra County Advocate noting several offences committed by Sadie. In May of that year, a warrant was issued for her arrest and she was charge with unlawfully 'drawing, flourishing and discharging a deadly weapon' against a lady called Enchilda. Next, during the summer months, the local paper reported that after a disagreement over a carriage, Sadie had taken a pot-shot at husband James with her revolver, and although Sadie maintained that the weapon had gone off by accident in James's hands, the court set a \$200 bond. Near the end of September she was back in court again for 'illegally appropriating from Mr. J W Orchard a buggy and set of harnesses'. By November, Sadie was again accused of 'drawing, a deadly weapon' against James. The net result was that the end of their marriage came sometime in 1901 with divorce.

During this period, James had more troubles of his own, not least Sadie shooting at him! He failed to secure a mail contract for the stage line and with little income, he sold the business and moved overnight from the area. Almost immediately, rumours circulated that Sadie had run James off with a shotgun. On of the most fantastic was that Sadie and James had set sail for her home and family in England and London's East End docks, but that only Sadie had returned.

Perhaps, to escape the onus of divorce, she spread her own rumours. She certainly seemed embarrassed by her status and always referred to herself as a widow, giving rise to the unconfirmed stories that she had done away with her husband. However she chose to explain her situation, Sadie was again on her own and without family.

After James's departure, Sadie remained in Hillsboro. Tom Ying purchased the Ocean Grove hotel, but as Chinese were not allowed to own property at that time, Sadie continued to run the business. She also had a business interest in the newly acquired Orchard Hotel. A newspaper advertisement of the time also mentioned the 'Hillsboro Hotel - Mrs. J W Orchard, Proprietress'. This may have been a third hotel or another name for the Orchard. Or it may have been a brothel.





Sadie sitting outside the Orchard Hotel

As it was, during the 1900s Sadie did convert the Orchard Hotel into a brothel. Madam Sadie, as she became, appears to have run a discreet house that attracted local men as well as those visiting Hillsboro. Because some of Sadie's clients were men of importance, she had little trouble with the law. In addition, she maintained an image with which few people could take offence. She dressed modestly, rather than in silks and satins.

By this time, the boom days of Kingston and Hillsboro had run their course. The gold and silver mines had played out, businesses failed, both towns faded and Sadie's stage business collapsed. Kingston started as a silver mining camp called Percha City, being located along Percha Creek where the first piece of rich silver ore was found in 1882.

One of the wildest towns in the Wild West, Kingston once had its own brewery, a bank, three newspapers

– *The Clipper*, *The Shaft* and *The Advocate* – restaurants, hotels and a theatre. Albert Fall, later to become infamous in the 'Teapot Dome Scandal' during his tenure as U.S. Secretary of the Interior, was once a Kingston miner. Other famous visitors included Mark Twain, President Grover Cleveland, and Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid.

Nearby Hillsboro had an equally rich history dating back well over a 125 years. The town was founded in April 1877, when two prospectors discovered gold on the east side of the Mimbres Mountains along Percha Creek. The first house, a log cabin, was built in August 1877. Despite fierce Indian attacks, the town grew. The post office opened in 1879 and it wasn't long before the town also had a succession of newspapers, the *Prospector*, the *Black Range* and later the *Sierra County Advocate*. Hillsboro became the county seat in 1884, and its population grew to about 1,200 people by 1907. A slowdown occurred, however, and Hillsboro lost the county seat in 1938.

When America entered World War I in 1917, Sadie was 57 years of age, a wealthy little woman who ran a bordello in a New Mexico mining community, but soon business dropped off as men left for the military. Sadie then turned wholeheartedly to civic projects and was always ready to help people in need. It earned her the gratitude and devotion of residents throughout the Black Range.

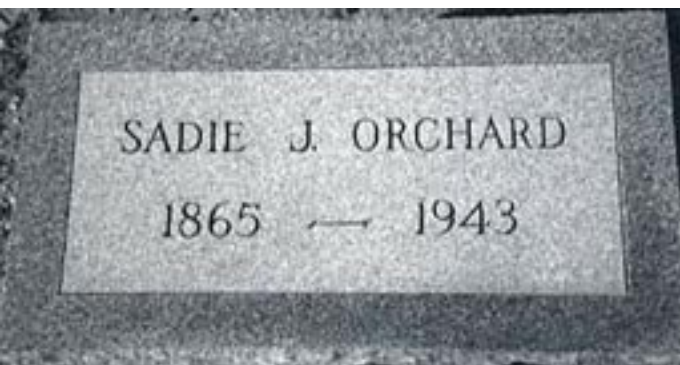
Around 1930, Sadie received a visit from her sister, Mae Creech-Salway and her niece, Martha Creech-Noland, who either had no knowledge of Sadie's real occupation or did not care. Although no letters exist, Sadie seemingly kept in touch with her folks at home during her years in Hillsboro. It is doubtful, however, that Sadie ever informed family members that she ran a sporting house. Neither did her relatives report the fact when they returned home. Thus, Martha's daughter, Oleta Mae Nelson, was surprised when she later stopped in Hillsboro and was told that Sadie had been a notorious and colourful madam!

Back in 1888, on the drab grey streets of London's East End, Mary Jane Kelly would have been unaware of this parallel life and the successes of a fellow prostitute, but Sadie would certainly have known of the Whitechapel Murders and the demise of Kelly. Although perhaps a couple of days or so behind, news agency stories of the London Jack the Ripper murders were printed regularly by many of Sierra County's local newspapers.



Percha Bank, Kingston, 1890s

Sadie spent the rest of her life as a much loved character in the local community, dying in 1943 at the age of 83. At the end, she became a recluse in her own home. Friends hired an old man to take care of her and to make certain medical help was always near to hand. Keeping Sadie locked up, he would only check on her whenever he found that visitors were coming. It is related by an old friend that one time when she visited, she found Sadie sprawled on the floor, too sick to even drink the small bottle of milk that had been left for her.



Her death certificate gives the cause of death as 'paresis or partial paralysis', which is often caused by syphilis of the central nervous system. Although this cause would have been consistent with Sadie's life story, she was over eighty years old and lived through a raucous frontier-mining era. It seems that Sadie had what was called in her day, a strong constitution. She is buried in the town of Truth or Consequences, 42 miles to the east.

By the time of her death, it was rumoured that Sadie was in financial difficulties, and a record of her few remaining possessions tells a sad story of the once wealthy and generous woman. At auction, two brass beds brought only \$25, three wicker chairs and

a cabinet, \$17.50. The jewellery she left behind was little more than costume pieces. If her fabled necklace made of five-dollar gold pieces ever existed, it disappeared somewhere along the way: perhaps donated as part of her many charitable efforts.

Even though Sadie Orchard's legend says she died in poverty, there is evidence to the contrary. An unidentified record book in the Hillsboro Black Range Museum shows that Sadie owned a considerable amount of property and that a 1937 will directed all medical bills, other debts and expenses, to be paid from her estate.

Stories about Sadie have been retold and embellished many times over, with myths and errors intertwined. Whoever placed the grey granite stone at Sadie's grave gave her birth year as 1865 rather than 1860. More recently, the person or persons who decorated her graveside with flowers taken from other plots invoked the ire of the cemetery keepers, who placed a small notice asking visitors to bring their own flowers! Thus, even in death her life is shrouded by inaccuracy and controversy.

Clearly, few of the facts of Sadie's life match the details of Sadie's epic legend. Like many of the West's prostitutes and madams, Sadie's existence was not as glamorous as outsiders thought. Although she took advantage of the openness of the frontier to shape her life as she pleased, she endured risk, danger, and instability. Today, Sadie remains one of New Mexico's most colourful and revealing figures. The New Mexico writer Erna Fergusson summed her up in one concise sentence, 'For a bad women, Sadie was one of the best'. To a new generation she may be gone but not forgotten!

In Sierra County, New Mexico, in celebration of her memory the third Saturday in August is known as 'Sadie Orchard Day' and honours her life and the spirit of the early pioneers that settled in the area. The afternoon begins at Geronimo Springs Museum with a melodramatic memorial service to Sadie, a procession to her gravesite in Hot Springs Cemetery, and continues in the park with live music and games, including the bed race, chamber pot relay, and watermelon seed-spitting contest.

Hursch - Pttt- Ting!

Only in America!

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Smith's Beat Addendum: Taking A Stride Down Berner Street

by GAVIN BROMLEY

In *Smith's Beat* (*Ripperologist* 70, August 2006) it was shown that PC William Smith probably passed Elizabeth Stride in Berner Street at a time later than he stated. From his own testimony it appears that he deduced the time he passed Stride to be between 12:30 and 12:35 from the facts that he returned to the top of Berner Street at 1:00 and that his beat took 25 to 30 minutes to complete. However it was shown that his return to Berner Street was later than 1:00, probably sometime between 1:07 and 1:11. It was demonstrated that he therefore passed Stride at about 12:41 to 12:45. This included the extra time it would have taken Smith to walk from the top of Berner Street to the point where he passed Stride as he walked back up the street toward Commercial Road.

The one part of the article that failed to fully reflect the analysis in my notes was the section where I calculated how long Smith would have taken to walk this distance. The figures I used just covered the time it would take if he did not walk along any courts or Sander Street on his way down Berner Street from Commercial Road. These figures are shown in Table 1 below. For this and all subsequent tables I have not used times derived for Route A (see *Smith's Beat* for details of each route), as I do not believe Smith walked just Route A. However I have left the figures in to show the timings derived for this route. This often involves just another 30 or so seconds on top of the figures I do use and this only affects the 25 minute beat figures anyway.

To recap from the article, Point 2 on Smith's beat (see map on following page) was where he reached the junction of Berner Street from Commercial Road (as opposed to the same location reached by walking back up Berner Street). The point where he passed Stride and the man as he returned toward Commercial Road was not numbered in the maps in the article, so let us adopt number 4 to denote this point, as this number was unused. Similarly Point 4 is this location as he walked toward Commercial Road as opposed to the same location as he walked down Berner Street toward Fairclough Street.

TABLE 1

No courts or side streets included while walking south down Berner Street.

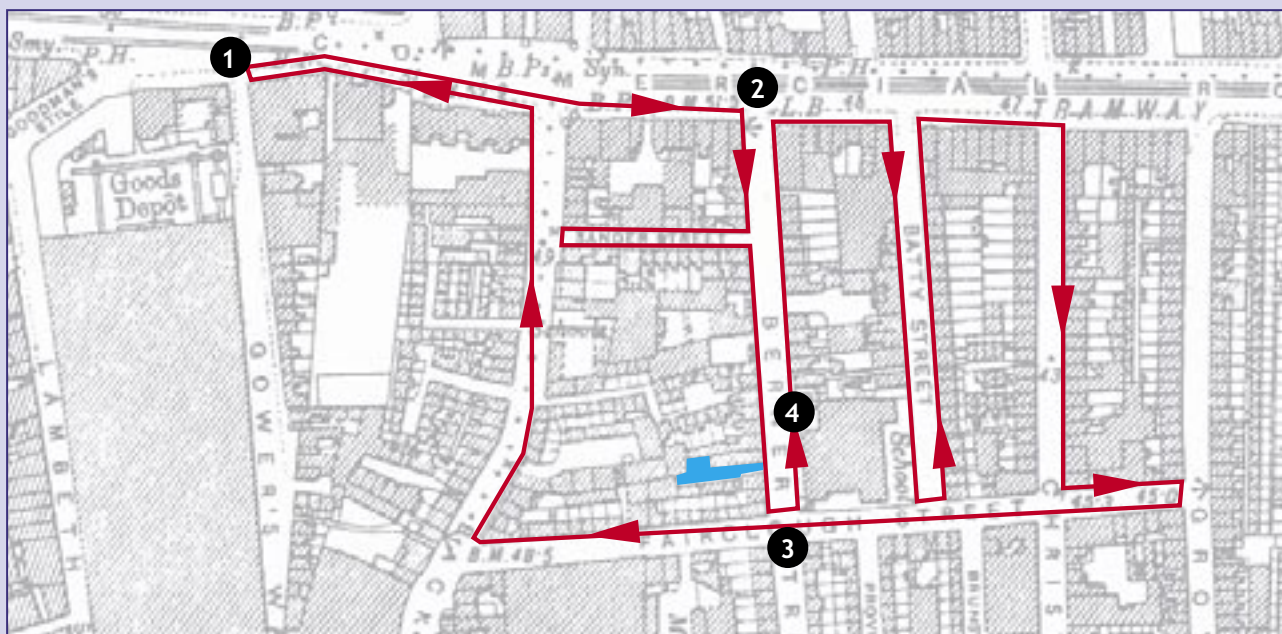
Distance covered from Point 2 to Point 4 is 150m in each case.

Route	Time to complete route (mins)	Time to walk 1m (seconds)	Time taken from Point 2 to Point 4 (seconds)
A	25	1.007	151
B	25	0.867	130 (2 mins 10)
C	25	0.83	125
D	25	0.718	108
A	30	1.208	181
B	30	1.04	156
C	30	1	150
D	30	0.861	129 (2 mins 9)

25 mins - Max. 130 [151] (2 mins 10 [2 mins 31])

30 mins - Min. 129 (2 mins 9)

Smith said he arrived back at Point 2 at 1:00, which the article demonstrated was not correct. The time range for his previous arrival at Point 2 was 25 to 30 minutes earlier. However this was the time he was previously at Point 2. To determine how long it was before his return to Berner Street that he passed Stride, the time it would take to walk from Point 2 to Point 4 needs to be taken into account and deducted from both ends of the range. To get the full time range for this we need to deduct the minimum amount of time it would take for him to walk down Berner Street between Points 2 and 4 assuming a 30 minute beat from the upper limit of the time taken to complete his beat (i.e. 30 minutes); and we need to deduct the maximum amount of time for him to walk this distance assuming a 25 minute beat from the lower limit.



Map 1

From Table 1, the lower limit is therefore 25 minus 2 mins 10 giving approximately 23 minutes (this was the figure I used in the article). The upper limit is 30 minus 2 mins 9 giving approximately 28 minutes. I had a figure of 27 1/2 minutes in the article because I used the maximum amount of time derived for a 30 minute beat rather than the minimum.

However, as I stated in the article, it is perhaps more likely that he walked along Sander Street on the southward part of his walk down Berner Street. The figures for this are shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Sander Street included while walking south down Berner Street.

Distance covered from Point 2 to Point 4 is 270m in each case

Route	Time to complete route (mins)	Time to walk 1m (seconds)	Time taken from Point 2 to Point 4 (seconds)
A	25	1.007	272 (4 mins 32)
B	25	0.867	234 (3 mins 54)
C	25	0.83	224
D	25	0.718	194
A	30	1.208	326
B	30	1.04	281
C	30	1	270
D	30	0.861	232 (3 mins 52)

25 mins - Max. 234 [272] (3 mins 54 [4 mins 32])

30 mins - Min. 232 (3 mins 52)

If this was the case then the lower end of the range is 25 minus 3 mins 54 giving approximately 21 minutes. The upper end is 30 minus 3 mins 52 giving approximately 26 minutes.

Assuming this more likely route taken down Berner Street, Smith would have passed Stride and the man 21 to 26 minutes before his arrival at Berner Street after the discovery of Stride's body.

There is also the possibility that he walked along Court D and/or court E (wholly or partly) while he walked south down Berner Street (see Smith's Beat for details of courts). This is shown in Table 3 (Route A did not involve walking along any of these courts so is not included in this table).

TABLE 3

*Sander Street plus part or all of Courts D and/or E included while walking south down Berner Street.
Distance covered from Point 2 to Point 4 is variable in each case*

Route	Time to complete route (mins)	Time to walk 1m (seconds)	Courts included while walking south	Distance walked from Point 2 to Point 4 (m)	Time taken to walk up and down Berner Street
B	25	0.867	Sander + part D	352	305
C	25	0.83	Sander + part D	352	292
C	25	0.83	Sander + part D&E	388	322
D	25	0.718	Sander + D	434	312
D	25	0.718	Sander + D&E	506	363 (6 mins 3)
B	30	1.04	Sander + part D	352	366
C	30	1	Sander + part D	352	352 (5 mins 52)
C	30	1	Sander + part D&E	388	388
D	30	0.861	Sander + D	434	374
D	30	0.861	Sander + D&E	506	436

25 mins - Max. 363 (6 mins 3)

30 mins - Min. 352 (5 mins 52)

If this was the case then the lower end of the range is 25 minus 6 mins 3 giving approximately 19 minutes. The upper end is 30 minus 5 mins 52 giving approximately 24 minutes.

Assuming the courts were partly or wholly walked while walking south down Berner Street, Smith would have passed Stride and the man 19 to 24 minutes before his arrival at Berner Street after the discovery of Stride's body.

As court D was on the western side of Berner Street it could be that he walked along it as part of the southward walk down Berner Street, and went along court E (on the eastern side) as he walked northward back toward Commercial Road. Court D is seemingly mentioned in his testimony and in the context of his passing Stride on his return to Commercial Road. If he walked along court D while going south down Berner Street this also raises the question of when Stride first appeared at the place Smith saw her. Did Smith see her with the man as he walked south down Berner Street? Or was she not there as he came down Berner Street, but by the time Smith had walked along court D and returned to Berner Street, she had appeared with the man?

To simplify what some of the columns in the following tables are trying to show, the following will be used to denote certain events / lengths of time:

X = The time Stride's body was discovered by Diemschutz

Y = Length of time prior to X that Smith passed Stride in Berner Street

Z = Length of time following X that Smith returned to Berner Street

TABLE 4

Table	Max time Point 2 to 4 (25 min beat)	Min time Point 2 to 4 (30 min beat)	Min time Point 4 to Point 2 (25 min beat)	Max time Point 4 to Point 2 (30 min beat).	Min time for Y if Z = 11	Max time for Y if Z = 7	Time Smith passed Stride assuming X = 1:00
1	2 mins 10	2 mins 9	23	28	12	21	12:39 - 12:48
2	3 mins 54	3 mins 52	21	26	10	19	12:41 - 12:50
3	6 mins 3	5 mins 52	19	24	8	17	12:43 - 12:52
Overall	6 mins 3	2mins 9	19	28	8	21	12:39 - 12:52

Table 4 introduces the relative time range of how long it was before the discovery of Stride's body that Smith passed Stride. So if Smith arrived back at Berner Street 7 to 11 minutes after the discovery of her body and, for example, 23 to 28 minutes after he passed Stride, it was therefore 12 to 21 minutes prior to the discovery of her body that he passed Stride. If her body was discovered at exactly 1:00 it was therefore sometime between 12:39 and 12:48 that he passed Stride. The extreme time of 12:52 obtained from Table 3 is very unlikely because of the time he had to have reached the junction of Berner Street with Fairclough Street (Point 3) as we will see later.

Overall we have a range of 19 to 28 minutes for the time it took to get from the point he passed Stride to the point at the top of Berner Street where he could see a crowd outside Dutfield's Yard in the aftermath of the discovery of Stride's body.

More likely I believe is the range of 21 to 26 minutes which assumes that he walked along Sander Street but not courts D and E while he walked south down Berner Street.

In *Smith's Beat* it was deduced that he arrived back at the top of Berner Street seven to eleven minutes after Diemschutz discovered Stride's body. This means that he passed Stride and the man 10 to 19 minutes before Diemschutz's discovery. I believe that it was more likely eight or nine minutes after the discovery that Smith returned to Berner Street which gives a more likely time range of 12 to 18 minutes prior to the discovery.

If we assume that Stride's body was discovered at 1:00, taking our upper limit of a return to the top of Berner Street at 1:11 would give us a time of 12:46 to 12:49 for Smith passing Stride and the man. A return at 1:07 gives us a range of 12:42 to 12:45. So overall taking these new figures gives a time for Smith passing Stride and the man as being between 12:42 and 12:49. The upper part of the range is unlikely when taking into account the statement of Mrs. Mortimer.

Table 5 takes the results from Table 2, which I believe is the more likely route he walked while going south down Berner Street, and applies the more likely time of his arrival at the top of Berner Street of 1:08/1:09. The range of 1:07 to 1:11 for Smith's return to Berner Street has 1:09 as the median, which given all reference points (including Blackwell and Johnston's own timings) is a good time to assume as his time of arrival from which we can give or take a minute or so.

This gives a range for Smith passing Stride at 12:42 to 12:48, 12:45 being the median time.

TABLE 5

Table	Max time Point 2 to 4 (25 min beat)	Min time Point 2 to 4 (30 min beat)	Min time Point 4 to Point 2 (25 min beat)	Max time Point 4 to Point 2 (30 min beat)	Min time for Y if Z = 9	Max time for Y if Z = 8	Time Smith passed Stride assuming X = 1:00
2	3 mins 54	3 mins 52	21	26	12	18	12:42 - 12:48
Median	3 mins 53		23.5		15		12:45

Table 6 also looks at the figures from Table 1 and takes the extremes from both tables and looks at the median of the range. The extremes give a range of 12:40 to 12:48, with a median time of 12:44, which very nicely dovetails with Mrs. Mortimer's account of the policeman passing her house at shortly before 12:45; Mrs. Mortimer's house being roughly opposite where Stride was standing give or take a few metres.

TABLE 6

Table	Max time Point 2 to 4 (25 min beat)	Min time Point 2 to 4 (30 min beat)	Min time Point 4 to Point 2 (25 min beat)	Max time Point 4 to Point 2 (30 min beat)	Min time for Y if Z = 9	Max time for Y if Z = 8	Time Smith passed Stride assuming X = 1:00
1	2 mins 10	2 mins 9	23	28	14	20	12:40 - 12:46
2	3 mins 54	3 mins 52	21	26	12	18	12:42 - 12:48
Overall	3 mins 54	2 mins 9	21	28	12	20	12:40 - 12:48
Median	3 mins 2		24.5		16		12:44

Overall from these figures I would say Smith passed Stride at sometime between 12:40 and 12:48. The upper end of the range would be less likely as, apart from Mrs. Mortimer's statement, from the conclusions in Smith's Beat the PC had to be in a position to pass the junction of Berner Street while walking along Fairclough Street (Point 3 in Smith's Beat) at between about 12:54 to 12:58. From the figures obtained in Smith's Beat he could have reached Point 3 as late as 1:02. However, a time of arrival at Point 3 that late would be unlikely as he would have been in a position to hear or possibly see Diemschutz and Kozebrodsky as they ran from the yard searching for the police following Diemschutz's discovery. So, passing Stride at nearer 12:48 would give him only 6 to 10 minutes to reach Point 3 from Point 4. This upper limit assumes a 25 minute beat. Table 7 looks at the minimum timings for walking from Point 4 to Point 3.

TABLE 7

Route	Time taken for 1m (secs)	Courts included	Distance (m)	Time taken (secs)
A	1.007	No	715	720 (12 mins)
B	0.867	No	715	620 (10 mins 20)
C	0.83	E, F, G (part)	802	666 (11 mins 6)*
D	0.718	E, F, G	889	638 (10 mins 38)
B	0.867	D (part)	797	691 (11 mins 31)
B	0.867	D (part) + Sander	917	795 (13 mins 15)
C	0.83	D, E, F, G (part)	884	734 (12 mins 14)
C	0.83	Ditto + Sander	1004	833 (13 mins 53)

* *The timing of the beast?*

As we can see it would have taken Smith at least 10¼ minutes (and more probably at least 11 minutes) to get to Point 3 from when he passed Stride. Remember this is assuming a 25 minute beat, so extra time can be added if he was walking more slowly. Therefore I believe a time earlier than the upper limit of 12:48 is more likely. All things considered we are probably looking at a time of 12:40 to 12:45 for Smith passing Stride. 12:40 I would say is the very minimum time, with the time more likely being between 12:42 and 12:45, with the median time of the overall range being 12:44/12:45 and this is significantly later than the previously assumed time of 12:30 to 12:35.

Bearing in mind that the time may not have been 1:00 when Diemschutz found Stride if the clock Diemschutz used to fix the time was inaccurate, it is worth remembering that all these timings are relative to the time of the discovery of Stride's body. So even if it was not actually 1:00 at the time, then it can still be said that Smith saw Stride just 15 to 20 minutes before her body was discovered.

This does not significantly alter the conclusions arrived at in Smith's Beat but it gives a more detailed analysis of that part of his beat to arrive at the approximate time PC Smith most likely passed Stride.

Acknowledgement

Thanks again to Adam Wood; and to Tom Wescott and How Brown for their comments regarding *Smith's Beat*, and to Tom for our subsequent discussions.

The Mitre Square Murder...

CHRIS SCOTT's

Press Trawl

Evening News
4 October 1888

THE MITRE SQUARE MURDER. INQUEST THIS DAY.

At the City Mortuary, Golden lane, this morning, before Dr. Langham, the City Coroner, the inquest was opened on the body of the woman who was found murdered and horribly mutilated on Mitre square, Aldgate, at an early hour on Sunday morning. The deceased has been identified as an unmarried woman named Kate Eddowes, but she also passed by the names of Mrs. Conway and Mrs. Kelly.

The proceedings were watched on behalf of the authorities by Major Smith, Acting Commissioner of Police, Superintendent Forster, Detective Inspector McWilliams, and Mr. Crawford, the City solicitor.

The body of the Court was crowded.

Mr. Crawford: *In this inquest I appear as the representative of the City for the purpose of rendering to you possible assistance, and if I consider it desirable to put any questions probably I shall have your permission.*

The Coroner: *By all means.*

Eliza Gold, of No. 6 Thrall street, Spitalfields, widow. said: *I recognise the deceased as my poor sister. Her name was Catherine Eddowes, and she had never been married. Her age would be about 43. She had been living with a man named Kelly for some years. I last saw her alive about four or five months ago. She got her living by hawking, and was a woman of sober habits. Before living with Kelly she had lived with a man named Conway for some years, and had four children by him. I cannot say whether Conway is still living. He was an army pensioner, and used to go out hawking. I cannot say whether they parted on good or bad terms, and I can't say whether she has been in the habit of seeing him since. I have no doubt whatever that the deceased is my sister.*

Mr. Crawford: *When did you last see Conway? - About seven or eight years ago.*

Was she then on friendly terms with him? - I believe so. Did she live on friendly terms with Kelly? - I believe so.

When did you last see them together? - About a month or five weeks ago.

Did they then appear to be going on happily? - Quite.

Where did you see them? - At a common lodging house in Flower and Dean street.

And that was the last time you saw your sister? - Yes.

The Coroner: *You said before that you had not seen your sister for four or five months, and now you say you saw her three or four weeks ago. Which is right? - I saw her about a month ago.*

John Kelly said: *I live at 55 Flower and Dean street, and am a labourer, jobbing about the markets. I have seen the body of the deceased, and recognise it as that of Catherine Conway. I have lived with her for the last seven years. She used to go about hawking in the streets. 55 Flower and Dean street is a common lodging house. I last saw her on Saturday afternoon, in Houndsditch. We parted there on very good terms. She said she was going to try and find a daughter in Bermondsey. I believe this was a daughter she had had by Conway. She promised me to be back not later than four o'clock, but she did not return. I heard afterwards that she had been locked up on the Saturday night. A woman who works in "the Lane" told me this, and said she had seen her being taken to the station. I made no inquiries, as I supposed she had been locked up for taking a drop of drink.*

The Coroner: *Have you ever known her to go out for an immoral purpose?* - No, sir. I never knew her to do so.

Was she in the habit of drinking to excess? - No, only slightly.

Then she was occasionally? - Yes.

When you left her had she any money about her? - No, sir.

Why did she go to see her daughter? Did she want to get money from her? - Yes. I did not want to see her walking the streets all night.

What do you mean by "walking the street"? - Several times we have had to walk the streets all night together because we had not money to pay for our lodgings.

Were you without money at that time? - Yes.

Do you know of anyone with whom she was at variance or was likely to injure her? - No.

Do you know if she has seen Conway lately? - No. I have never seen him.

Do you know if he is living? - I cannot say.

Mr. Crawford: *You say she had no money. Do you know with whom she had been drinking?* - No.

Has she on any recent occasion absented herself? - No.

Saturday night was the first time for a long time? - Yes.

When did she last leave you? - Some months ago.

Why did she leave you? - We had a few words.

How long did she remain away? - Only a few hours.

Had you any angry conversation with her on Saturday? - No.

Do you know where her daughter lived? - She used to tell me that it was King street, Bermondsey.

When did she last ask her daughter for money? - A year ago.

How long have you been living in this lodging house? - Seven years.

On Friday night did you and deceased sleep together in this lodging house? - No.

Was she walking the streets? - No, she went into the casual ward in Mile End.

Did you sleep with deceased at the lodging house on any one night last week? - No.

Where did you sleep on Monday night? - I was hop picking in Kent, and deceased was with me on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. On Thursday night we both slept at Shoe lane Casual Ward.

The Coroner: *Had you not earned any money?* - No, sir.

Mr. Crawford: *What time did you part on Friday?* - About three or four in the afternoon.

Why did you part? - She said she would go to Mile End Casual Ward, as we had not money for both our lodgings.

Have you heard that some tea and sugar were found upon her? - Yes.

Where did she get that from? - With some money which we got from pawning my boots.

When did you pawn them? - On Saturday morning, for 2s 6d.

When she left you was she sober? - Quite sober. We had a little drink, but I am positive she was sober.

During the last seven years do you know of anyone she has lived with beside yourself? - No.

You never knew her indulge in immoral practices? - Never.

She never brought money to you in the morning after being out all night? - Never, sir.

Mr. Crawford called attention to the fact that, according to the pawn ticket, the boots were pawned on the Friday.

Witness said he was so muddled that he could not say whether the pawning took place on Friday or Saturday. It was one of those days. His "missus" pawned the boots and he stood outside in his bare feet.

A juryman said if the pawning took place on the Friday it rather upset the theory that the deceased had to go to the casual ward on the Friday night because they had not money for a lodging.

Frederick William Wilkinson, deputy at 55 Flower and Dean street, said he had known the deceased as Mrs. Kelly for



John Kelly

the last seven or eight years. She and the last witness passed as man and wife, and they always appeared on very good terms. They have had words occasionally when she had had a little drink, but they were never violent. He believed deceased got her living by hawking and cleaning amongst the Jews. Kelly paid for his lodgings pretty regularly. Deceased was not in the habit of drinking to excess, but she was a very jolly woman. He did not think he had ever seen Kelly drunk in his life. Last week he saw her for the first time on the Friday when they came back from hopping. She went away and he saw her again between ten and eleven on Saturday morning, along with Kelly. He had never heard of deceased walking the streets for an immoral purpose. She generally came to the lodging house between 9 and 10 at night. He had never heard of her being intimate with any individual besides Kelly. She used to say that she had been married and that her proper name was Conway. He never knew her to be at variance with any one. When Kelly paid for his own bed on Saturday night witness asked him, "Where's Kate?" and Kelly said, "I hear she is locked up." He then took a single bed. A single bed is fourpence and a double bed eightpence.

By Mr. Crawford: *I should think Kelly and deceased had not slept together at 55 Flower and Dean street for the last four or five weeks. I believe deceased was wearing an apron when I saw her on Saturday morning.*

Did any one come into your lodging house between one and two? - I only remember two detectives coming about three o'clock.

Did not a stranger take a bed about two o'clock? - I cannot recollect. I can tell from my books.

Mr. Crawford said he thought further examination of the witness ought to be postponed until the book was produced.

A Jurymen (to witness) - *Would you have trusted Kelly and deceased for their lodging on Friday night?* - Certainly.

Police constable Edward Watkins (881) said: *I was on duty at Mitre square on Saturday night. I have been in the City police for seventeen years. On Saturday night I went on duty at 9.45. My beat included Mitre square, and it took me about 12 or 14 minutes to cover the beat. I had continuously patrolled the beat from 10 on Saturday night until 1.44 o'clock on Sunday morning, and nothing had excited my attention. I passed through Mitre square at 1.30 on Sunday morning. I had my lamp fixed on my belt, and looked in the different corners, passages, and warehouses. At 1.30 nothing excited my attention, and I saw no one about. No one could have been in the square at that hour without my seeing them. I next went into Mitre square about 1.44, and entered it from the right from Mitre street. My attention was first attracted by the body of a woman, which was lying on its back. It was lying in the south west corner. The feet faced the square. The clothes were up above the waist. Her throat was cut, and her bowels were protruding. The stomach was ripped up. She was lying in a pool of blood. I did not touch the body, but ran across the road to Messrs. Kearley and Tonge's warehouse and pushed the yard door open, and called for the watchman, a man named Morris. He came out and I sent him for assistance. I remained beside the body until the arrival of Police constable Holland. He was followed by Dr. Sequeira. Inspector Collard arrived about two with Dr. Browne, the police surgeon. When I entered Mitre square, at 1.44, I did not hear any sound of footsteps, and to the best of my belief when I entered the square I was the only person in it except for the unfortunate woman.*

Mr. Frederick William Foster, of 26 Old Jewry, said he had made the plans produced. The direct route from Mitre square to the lodging house, 55 Flower and Dean street, would be by Gouldstone street, and the distance could be walked within a quarter of an hour. It would also take about a quarter of an hour from Berner street to Mitre square.

Mr. Crawford, in answer to one of the jurymen, said evidence would be given later on that a portion of the deceased's apron was found in Gouldstone street.

The deputy (Wilkinson) recalled, said: *I have now got my lodging house book. It shows that on last Friday and Saturday nights Kelly slept in No. 52 bed. It does not show whether or not any one came in about two o'clock last Sunday morning. It would only show whether a bed was let at that time. There were six strange men sleeping in the house on Saturday night, but I cannot say whether any of them came in about two on Sunday morning. I cannot remember whether any stranger left the house about twelve on Saturday night. Nothing occurred to excite my suspicion.*

By a Jurymen: *We never register the names of the lodgers, and we ask no questions. the house is closed about three in the morning.*

(Inquest proceeding.)

ON THE MURDERER'S TRACK.

The police have as yet practically no clue, but they are confident that the murderer is still in the East end, and certain suspected neighbourhoods are under observation. It is pointed out that the murderer, after the commission of his last crime, undoubtedly proceeded from Mitre square by way of Church passage, Duke street, Houndsditch, Gravel lane, Stoney lane, to Goulston street, at which spot a clue appears to have been lost of him. In this neighbourhood he evidently entered one of the notorious houses, which cannot be entered without elaborate arrangements by and a certain amount of danger to the police. It would take about ten minutes for a person to get from Mitre square to the neighbourhood, so that the murderer was well away from the scene, and perhaps safely under cover before Constable Watkins obtained even medical assistance after the discovery of the body. This is a point put forward by the police in favour of bloodhounds being employed, as it is suggested had one of the hounds been brought on the scene immediately there would have been little, if any, chance of the murderer evading justice so long as he has. The prevailing opinion among the police now although the daring which has characterised his previous acts, shake their theories, is that he will keep in hiding for some time until the excitement abates, or the precautions are relaxed; or that he will find a new field for his operations in another part of the town.

ONE OF THE FALSE CONFESSIONS.

Yesterday, at the Guildhall Police court, before Sir Alderman Stone, William Bull, 27, living at Stannard road, Dalston, was charged on remand with having committed the murder in Mitre square, Aldgate, on Sunday morning. The facts were given in The Times of Thursday. Mr. Savill (chief clerk) asked Inspector Izzard if he had made inquiries during the remand. Inspector Izzard: I have, and the result is perfectly satisfactory. The prisoner for several years was engaged at Messrs. Ryland's, and bore an irreproachable character. Recently he has given way to drink, and this is the result. His family are highly respectable. The Alderman: Have you ascertained where he was on Saturday night? Inspector Izzard: yes; I have a gentleman in Court, a Mr. Day, with whom the prisoner was on Saturday night till 12 o'clock. The Alderman: It is with great regret that I find the law does not permit me to punish you for your conduct. The statement you made to the Inspector on Tuesday night was without the least foundation in fact. At a time like this your acts are perfectly inexcusable. I must discharge you and I hope you will be thoroughly ashamed of your bad behaviour. Prisoner: Since I have been in prison I have signed the pledge. The Alderman: And I hope you will keep it. Accused was discharged.

THE DAUGHTER OF THE MITRE SQUARE VICTIM.

The daughter of the woman who was murdered in Mitre square has been found. Her age is 19, and she is married. She states that her father, Thomas Conway, with whom the deceased cohabited for some time before she met with Kelly, is still living, but he has not yet been traced. It will be remembered that Kelly stated in the course of his evidence on Thursday, before the Coroner, that when the deceased left him early last Saturday afternoon she told him she was going to try and find her daughter Annie. The latter, however, now states that she did not see her mother that day.

THE DATE OF THE FUNERAL FIXED.

The funeral of the Mitre square victim will take place next Monday.

The remains will leave the City mortuary between two and three o'clock, and will be interred in the cemetery at Ilford. The relatives have accepted the offer of Mr. Hawkes, of Banner street, St. Luke's, to bear the expenses of the funeral.

THE MITRE SQUARE MURDER.

The body of the deceased woman, Kate Eddowes, has been placed in a handsome polished coffin, with oak mouldings. It has a black plate with gold letters with the following inscription:

"Katherine Eddowes,

Died September 30, 1888,

Aged 43 years."

All the expenses in connection with the funeral will be borne by Mr. Hawks, Banner street, St. Luke's.

The City authorities, to whom the cemetery at Ilford belongs, have arranged to remit the usual fee.

All the news that's fit to print...

I Beg to Report



*Edwin Brough outside Wyndyate from The Windsor Magazine, April 1895,
and Scalby Manor today*

A LINK TO BARNABY AND BURGHO. The kennels which once housed Barnaby and Burgho, the intrepid bloodhounds used by Edwin Brough for the October 1888 trial in Hyde Park for Sir Charles Warren, are part of a Scarborough, Yorkshire pub-restaurant, The Scalby Manor Hotel, according to the *Yorkshire News Post* of 13 September. The kennels though are hidden behind a 'fake wall' and may soon be swept away in a planned renovation of the hotel as projected by owners Whitbread Brewery. Writer Mark Branagan writes: 'Customers at a smart pub restaurant are wining and dining, never dreaming that behind the wall are the ruins of the Victorian mansion which produced one of the strangest chapters in the story of Jack the Ripper - Yorkshire bloodhounds in Whitechapel. Soon the kennels will be consigned to history along with the surrounding stables - casualties of a scheme to build a new hotel on to the existing pub restaurant. However, the brewers want to incorporate the best surviving features of the building into the design and explain to customers the astonishing story of Scarborough's connection to the murders in Whitechapel.' Branagan explains that prior to the location becoming a hotel 'it was a stately home called Wyndyate, built in 1885 for Edwin Brough, who bred bloodhounds... Knowing Mr Brough was a breeder, Sir Charles [Warren] requested a couple of his trained bloodhounds, Barnaby and Burgho, be brought to London to see if they could follow the scent of a man in the busy capital.

'Trials were carried out in Regent's Park in October when despite the frost the hounds stayed on the trail of a young man, who had been given a 15-minute start, for nearly a mile. That night in Hyde Park the bloodhounds hunted on the leash in the dark, to prepare

them for the streets of Whitechapel and were again successful. The next day Sir Charles himself twice acted as the hunted man and was so impressed that Mr Brough felt able to return to Scarborough, leaving the hounds in the care of a London breeder.

'But by the time the body of the Ripper's next victim, Mary Jane Kelly, was found, it was daylight. The streets were crowded with people, and the trail cold. Eventually Barnaby was returned to Scarborough and Mr Brough became concerned for the well-being of his animal in London, Burgho. He decided to take it back - largely due to the refusal of the Metropolitan Police to buy it. The newspapers ridiculed Sir Charles and his bloodhound theory. But he is now credited as having helped lay the foundations of the police dog section, although bloodhounds, despite having the best noses, were regarded as too gentle for the job, which went to the German shepherd.'

Yorkshire Today

CORNWELL DONATING SICKERT ART TO BOSTON MUSEUM. American crime writer Patricia Cornwell is donating to the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA, 82 works by British expressionist painter Walter Sickert, the *Art Newspaper* reported on 20 August. Ms Cornwell amassed the collection while researching her 2002 book, *Portrait of a Killer: Jack the Ripper, Case Closed*, in which she argued that Sickert was Jack the Ripper

Cornwell bought the collection - one of the world's largest assemblage of Sickert's works - for the equivalent of \$5.43 million US (£3.04) in order to study what she alleges are similarities between his art and elements of the Whitechapel murders. The 24 paintings, 22 drawings, and 36 prints have been on loan to the museum from the author but Cornwell has now said she will make a permanent donation of the collection to the institution, saying she wants the public to have access to them.

Included are several works that figure in Cornwell's thesis that Sickert was the famed Whitechapel killer. For example, she claims that the painting 'Putana a Casa' ('Prostitute at Home') resembles the mortuary photographs of fourth canonical Ripper victim Catherine Eddowes, while the painting 'In Grover's Island from Richmond Hill' features a rising sun which the author says mimics the front door of the Rising Sun pub frequented in the first decade of the twentieth century by prostitute Emily Dimmock, whom the crime writer counts as a later victim of the artist's. On the morning of 12 September 1907, Dimmock was found in her rented rooms in Camden Town, North London. Her throat had been cut and her head almost severed from her body. The murderer has never been identified. Sickert lived in Camden Town. He painted a series of pictures called 'The Camden Town Murders' - so he certainly seems to have had a fascination with the Camden case as well as with the Ripper murders.



The Fogg Art Museum

Ms Cornwell developed contacts with the Fogg museum - a part of Boston's Harvard University - in order to research a revised edition of her book naming Sickert as the Ripper. In 2003, through Marjorie Cohn, then acting director of the Fogg museum, Ms Cornwell was introduced to the staff at the museum's Straus Center for Conservation. They assisted the author in some of her research. Cornwell gave the centre a forensic device, called a video spectral comparator, that allows investigators to compare handwriting and paper watermarks.

Cornwell has also donated 23 prints and two drawings by American-born artist James McNeill Whistler. Sickert studied under the London-based Whistler, who was born in nearby Lowell, Massachusetts, not far from the Fogg Museum. J M Whistler is probably known best for 'Arrangement in Grey and Black, No. 1: Portrait of the Artist's Mother', better known as 'Whistler's Mother.' In the famous 1871 painting, Whistler depicted his mother in a side view. The portrait shows a woman in a severe black dress, sitting on a rocker and wearing a bonnet - an iconic picture of American puritanism.

The Harvard Crimson, 29 August 2006

REMAKE OF THE LODGER. Writer-director David Ondaatje is remaking *The Lodger*, the 1927 silent film directed by Alfred Hitchcock, based on the novel of the same name by Marie Adelaide Lowndes - a fictionalised version of the Jack the Ripper killings. According to *Production Weekly*, Ondaatje's contemporary adaptation of the story will have two converging plot lines, the first centred around the relationship between a paranoid landlord and her tenant coinciding with a spate grisly neighbourhood murders, and the second involving the personal and professional struggles of a troubled detective, Chandler Manners, as he tries to catch the mysterious killer. Here's an early blurb on the plot: 'Already highly stressed by tensions in his personal life, Detective Chandler Manners must now track a maniacal killer who is emulating the Jack the Ripper murders. Worse, Chandler is beginning to suspect that he might have sent the



Ivor Novello in *The Lodger*

wrong man to the death house some seven years ago. Now, with the help of his new rookie partner, Street Wilkenson, Chandler is trying to track the culprit before he strikes again, but the case takes an even more bizarre turn when he himself ends up the prime suspect in the case.' Production is scheduled to begin early 2007 in Los Angeles. Those nifty copper's names make the flick sound enticing already...

MovieWeb

OTHER REMAKES OF HITCHCOCK. Other remakes of Alfred Hitchcock's thrillers are in the wings, either in various stages of production or in limbo. Taking Lives director D J Caruso is turning *Rear Window* into a contemporary teen thriller due out 17 August 2007. The remake, from Stephen Spielberg's DreamWorks, is entitled *Disturbia* and stars Shia LaBeouf and Carrie-Anne Moss, and apparently is in the can. The plot is about a teen living under house arrest who becomes

convinced his neighbor is a serial killer. A remake of *Strangers on a Train* is also said to be in the works. Warner Brothers has announced that Noam Murro will direct an adaptation by David Seltzer (*The Omen*).

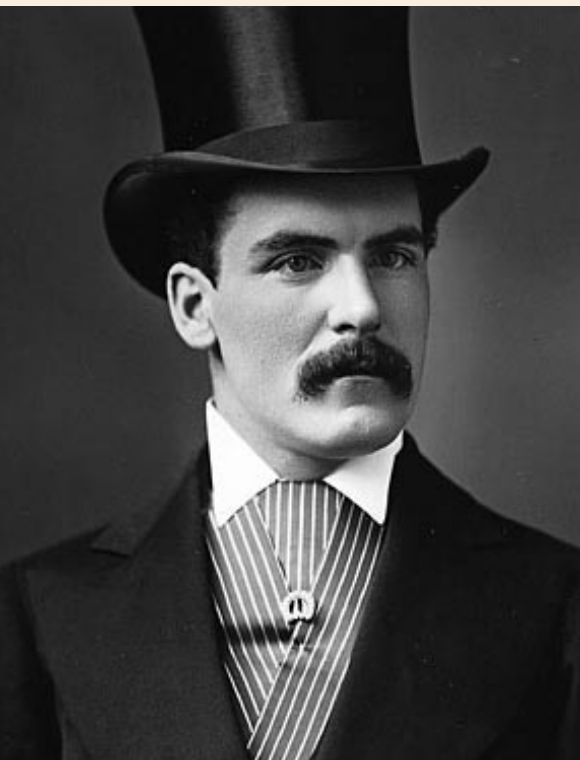
A projected new take on *The 39 Steps* by Academy Award winner Robert Towne (*Chinatown*) may have hit a snag. Towne has announced that the projected 2006 remake is now 'soft of on the back-burner.' The American president and CEO of Carlton International Media, Stephen Davis, whose company owns the rights to the three film versions of *The 39 Steps* made so far, including Hitchcock's original, based on John Buchan's novel of the same name, said: 'There is only a handful of individuals in our business with the talent, experience, and insight to whom we would entrust [such a project], and Robert Towne is one of them.'

Michael Bay's Platinum Dunes Productions had been reported to be in negotiations to produce a remake of *The Birds* based on a Daphne Du Maurier short story. No further news there. In 2004, Paramount announced that Todd Komarnicki was working on a screenplay for a remake of *To Catch a Thief*. The project was set to star Gwyneth Paltrow and George Clooney but nothing has been heard since.

RIPPER WALKS WARS? The Original London Walks, which features Ripper walks led by well-known Ripperologist and tour guide Donald Rumbelow, has issued a [warning on its website](#) to avoid another tour guide who apparently turns up at the Tower Hill Underground station to syphon off customers who gather for the 7:30pm Ripper Walk led by Rumbelow. They say: '...a word of warning: if you turn up for our 7.30pm Jack the Ripper Walk from Tower Hill Tube Stop please make absolutely certain that it is the *bona fide* London Walks guide you get linked up with. Or to put it another way, whatever you do, do not part with your money until you're absolutely certain it's going into the right hands! Not to put too fine a point on it, there have been some "problems" there of late. Which is by way of saying: anybody can "set out their stall" at Tower Hill tube stop. A security guard, for example. Or an individual who's been on the fringes of the Jack the Ripper "scene" going back some time now... For the record, the individual in question... also claims to be a descendant of Jack the Ripper, Count Dracula, and Robin Hood. Well, you can draw your own conclusions. But the point is that if you do turn up for our - "The Original London Walks" - Jack the Ripper Walk - please be very careful about whom you're handing your money to... The *bona fide* London Walks guide will be holding up copies of our distinctive white London Walks leaflet, titled *The Original London Walks*. He or she will be wearing their white London Walks badge - or else their Blue Badge, the token of the professional guides' association. And - crucially, crucially, crucially - the *bona fide* London Walks guides will never - NEVER - start their Ripper Walk before 7:30pm.'

NEILL CREAM IN THE SPOTLIGHT. Jill Foran in the [August/September issue](#) of *The Beaver, Canada's History Magazine*, discusses the Ripper candidature of Neill Cream in 'The Evil Deeds of Dr Cream.' Ms Foran chronicles the murder by poison of four prostitutes and the attempted murder of a fifth, evidence of which helped send Cream to the gallows on 15 November 1892 at Newgate Prison.

Ms Foran takes up the trail helpfully left thirty years ago by a fellow Canadian: 'In the summer 1974 issue of *The Criminologist*, late Montreal writer Donald Bell published an article titled "Jack the Ripper: The Final Solution" in which he championed the possibility that Cream was the Ripper. Bell maintained in this article, and in another published in the



Thomas Neill Cream

Toronto Star in February 1979, that Cream could have been let out of prison [in Joliet, Illinois, USA] long before 1891 (the year of his official release)...

'According to Bell, if one is able to accept the idea that Cream could have managed a clandestine escape prior to his official prison release, then a strong case can be made that he was also Jack the Ripper. Cream did, after all, share a major personality trait with the mysterious East End murderer: both were serial killers of London prostitutes. And while Cream's known *modus operandi* was to poison his victims, Bell argued that he "was more naturally a doctor-butcher style killer than he was a poisoner."' "

Ms Foran also notes that 'When London authorities arrested Cream in 1892, it was impossible for them not to see the parallels between the poisoner and Jack the Ripper. Both killers appeared to possess a sense of moral superiority, killing prostitutes to rid society of what they considered a terrible menace. And both, it seemed, liked to write letters.' And then of course there is that legendary cry that Cream is said to have emitted as he was hung, 'I am Ja...!!!'

VENEZUELAN SUPREMO REFERENCES JACK THE RIPPER AGAIN. Well just who is Jack? On 18 August, during a speech to hundreds of cheering supporters in his home province of Barinas, reported by *Yahoo News*, Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez poked fun at the freshly appointed chief of US spy operations on Venezuela and Cuba, Jack Patrick Maher, calling him 'Jack the Ripper.' However, three years ago, he used the name in referring to himself. In a

press briefing in January 2003 at the Venezuelan Mission on 46th Street in New York, covered by Georgie Anne Geyer on *Uexpress.com*, she quoted Chavez as declaring 'they call me an "assassin... Hitler... Mussolini..." I believe that I am the victim of a psychological war. I am in the laboratory, and you on the radio and in the newspapers, you repeat it over and over, as if I were Jack the Ripper. If you repeat the "big lie" 10 times, or a thousand times, people will begin to believe it.'

THE TROUBLE WITH DNA. 'We're praying to God that we don't have Jack the Ripper on the shelf...' Bill Marbaker, president-elect of the American Society of Crime Laboratory Directors, on backlogs in state crime lab DNA testing, which has become a political football in the race for Wisconsin, USA, state attorney general.

'DNA test becomes campaign fodder,' Milwaukee (Wisconsin) Journal Sentinel, 17 August

RAMSEY SUSPECT CLEARED. DNA evidence has cleared John Mark Karr, age 41, of charges that he might have murdered JonBenet Ramsey, the child beauty queen strangled and beaten in her Boulder, Colorado, USA home on 26 December 1996. We reported in *Rip 70* that the self-confessed suspect was arrested last month in Thailand. On 28 August, Colorado prosecutors announced that DNA found in the underwear of the slain child did not match DNA obtained from the former second-grade teacher. The DNA tests failed to put Karr at the crime scene despite his insistence that he sexually assaulted and accidentally strangled the 6-year-old Ramsey. Twelve days after Karr's arrest and extradition to the United States, prosecutors suggested in court papers that he was a man with a 'twisted fascination' with the Ramsey case and that he had confessed to a crime he didn't commit.

Hours before Karr was due to appear in court charged with Ramsey's murder, Boulder County District Attorney Mary Lacy announced: 'Because his DNA does not match that found in the victim's underwear, the people would not be able to establish that Mr Karr committed this crime despite his repeated insistence that he did.'

Karr emerged as a suspect in April after he had spent years exchanging emails with a Colorado professor in which he admitted his supposed culpability for the child's death. The court papers revealed that Karr told the academic that he accidentally killed Ms Ramsey while having sex with her and that he tasted her blood after he injured her vaginally. However, the Denver crime lab compared DNA from a cheek swab taken from Karr and failed to match it with the DNA from the crime scene.



Karr's mugshot taken by Boulder County police

Lacy said, 'This information is critical because... if Mr Karr's account of his sexual involvement with the victim were accurate, it would have been highly likely that his saliva would have been mixed with the blood in the underwear.' Lacy added that her office had failed to develop any evidence that Karr was in Boulder at the time of the crime. Karr's family in Georgia has insisted that he was with them at the time of the Christmas holidays in 1996 and Lacy said this was 'strong circumstantial support' that Karr's story was false and he was not at the scene of the Ramsey child's slaying. Lacy defended the decision to bring Karr back to Colorado from Thailand because a Thai child was in danger and because she felt that Karr was a paedophile whose predatory behavior was escalating. The district attorney has been criticized by Colorado Governor Bill Owens, who accused her of wasting thousands of dollars on the 'most expensive DNA test in Colorado history.'

Following the dismissal of charges in the Ramsey case, Karr was kept in Boulder before being sent to Sonoma County, California, to face unrelated charges dating to 2001 of having child pornography on his computer. Lt Dave Edmonds, a Sonoma County sheriff's spokesman, said the department launched an investigation that ultimately resulted in child pornography charges but that Karr had been known to have a fascination both with the Ramsey case and the murder of a 12-year-old Sonoma County girl, Polly Klaas. The Klaas child was kidnapped from a slumber party at her Petaluma home and killed in 1993. Richard Allen Davis confessed to her murder and is on California's death row. Lt Edmonds added that there was no indication that Karr knew details about JonBenet Ramsey's death that had not been publicly released. Karr never stood trial on the five Sonoma County child pornography counts because he skipped bail.

CNN, 25 August and 29 August 2006

THE TROUBLE WITH CONFESSIONS. Even before Colorado, USA, prosecutors dropped charges against John Mark Karr, the suspect in the JonBenet Ramsey case, humorists, bloggers, and legal eagles were expressing doubts about his claim to have murdered Ramsey. The Australian humor site TheChaser.com.au wrote on 24 August: 'John Mark Karr... has also confessed to his involvement in the string of infamous murders that terrified London in 1888. "The mystery can finally be solved - I am Jack the Ripper," said Karr. "And also the Boston Strangler."'

After the announcement that charges against Karr in the Ramsey murder had been dropped, a blogger asked on SnarlingMarmot.com on 28 August, 'How troubled must Karr be to admit to something so heinous that he didn't do? Does he have knowledge of what happened or is he simply a mentally ill person desperate for attention? I get the feeling many of us will be long gone before JonBenet's killer is actually found out.'

As the case against Karr already seemed 'iffy', Maryland attorney Irwin R Kramer, in an article entitled 'The Truth Regarding Confessions' in the [Washington DC Examiner](http://WashingtonDCExaminer.com) of 23 August, addressed the rhetorical question, 'Why would anyone confess to a crime they didn't commit?' Kramer wrote, 'the real answer to this loaded question doesn't always follow the laws of logic... or the law itself. [Karr's] true connection to the crime remains to be seen, but if Karr's confession isn't credible, it won't be the first time that people have admitted to crimes they didn't commit. In what was deemed the case of the century, 200 people confessed to kidnapping Charles Lindbergh's baby in 1932. Fifty years later, [convicted serial killer] Henry Lee Lucas beat this record single-handedly by confessing to hundreds of unsolved murders and became the most prolific "serial confessor" in history.'

Kramer quoted Saul Kassin, a psychology professor at Williams College in Massachusetts as saying, 'Sometimes people make false self-incriminating statements on their own, without prodding or pressure,' and that 'people volunteer false confessions for any number of bad reasons.' Motives include 'a pathological craving for attention; a conscious or unconscious need to punish themselves for prior transgressions, real or imagined; or a confusion of reality and fantasy.'

CONFESSING SAMs. Dr Stephen Juan, an anthropologist at the University of Sydney, in an article titled 'What is a Confessing Sam?' on theregister.co.uk for 1 September says, "'Confessing Sam" is the term in criminal psychology for a person who makes a false confession after a particularly widely publicised crime has taken place. Some Confessing Sams will admit to just one infamous crime reported in the media. Others will confess to every infamous crime. Confessing Sams will often continue to maintain their guilt long after police rule them out as suspects... The extremes to which some Confessing Sams will go is illustrated by John Hart. In the 1920s, Hart confessed to the Jack the Ripper murders in late nineteenth century London. Although it was pointed out that Hart was only three years old at the time of the first murder, this did not shake his story. He maintained he was Jack the Ripper for the rest of his life.'

CHURCHILL-AS-JACK COMEDY REVIEWED. We reported in *Rip* 69 that the late British Prime Minister Winston Churchill (1874-1965) was tapped as Jack the Ripper in a new comedy playing in the Edinburgh Fringe Festival. Jay Richardson in The Scotsman of 8 August reported, 'First, a disclaimer. Everyone around me fell about with laughter at this show. But I was a little bored. Andrew O'Neill knows the rhythms of solid joke-writing and there are good ones here. But the

contrived links between Churchill and the Ripper are so arbitrary the gags become predictable and juvenile. More on [Churchill's] real-life experiences, such as working in the Cabinet War Rooms' gift shop, would have been preferable. He's obviously got better shows in him.'

OVER-WRITTEN BLOG ON JACK'S EAST END. Our award this month goes to blogger Kanchan, who wrote in '[Scare-Dare Destination # 2: Whitechapel](#)' on 6 September: 'Hearts beat faster with dread and horror whenever we hear the name of "Jack the Ripper." ...If you walk down these streets, you feel as though some one is going to get hold of you. On the other hand, you might come across one of his mutilated victims. Other ghosts also march in this area: of Roman soldiers, a murderous sea captain's ghost that haunts a local pub; and a mysterious black carriage drawn by ghastly white horses that approaches without a sound and disappears right before your eyes.'

OUIJA BOARDS AND JACK. 'Throughout history man has always had a deep attraction for the supernatural and the unseen... Ouija boards are so misleading, that people have even managed to get in touch with the spirit of Jack the Ripper!!'

'The realm of the unseen,' Gulf Times, 18 August

GOOGLE MAKES OLD NEWS AVAILABLE. A new web-based news service offered by Google, the Internet search firm, will be a boon to researchers and historians alike. Google announced on 6 September that it is expanding its Internet news service to include stories up to 250 years old. Searches can be expanded to show coverage from a specific period, or narrowed down to articles from a single publication. Users will now be able to find contemporary articles on such disparate historic events as the Apollo Moon landing of 1969, the sinking of the Titanic in 1912, the Boston Tea Party of 1773 - or indeed those infamous murders of the bloody Autumn of 1888.

Google inaugurated its news service four years ago but it was initially limited to stories just 30 days old. The new archive will search stories back to the mid-1700. To access the full stories, Google visitors will be sent to the websites that own the content. The *Google News Archive* includes articles from such publications as *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Time* magazine, and *The Washington Post*.

Google will not collect any commissions for the sales referrals, hoping instead to make money from increased use of its own site. 'The goal of the service is to allow users to explore history as it unfolded,' explained Anurag Acharya, an engineer who helped develop the news archive search. 'Users can see how viewpoints changed over time for events, for ideas and for people,' Acharya added.

Metro, 7 September 2006



The Titanic sinks: news soon available for searching on Google



Josh Hartnett and Scarlett Johansson in The Black Dahlia

BLACK DAHLIA FLICK REVIEWED. The sensational mutilation murder of Elizabeth Short, whose bisected body was found in a vacant lot in Los Angeles in January 1947, is the subject of a new film, *The Black Dahlia*, by acclaimed director Brian De Palma. David Denby, writing in *The New Yorker* of 18 September, finds the movie to be a confusing concoction. The movie is based on James Ellroy's 1987 novel of the same name. Denby writes: 'Ellroy's "Black Dahlia" and the De Palma movie... are both the spawn of the Los Angeles recycling industry - an amalgam of actual events, Raymond Chandler novels, and earlier movies... Imitation and pastiche come easily to a photographic medium, and films set in Los Angeles are often garlanded with stylistic flourishes from earlier LA movies. Brian De Palma's period recreation... suffers from this rampant allusiveness. The picture is a kind of fattened goose that's been stuffed with goose-liver pâté. It's overrich and fundamentally unsatisfying...

'[The] movie is so complicated, the narrative so awkward, that when the pieces of the puzzle fall into place we get no tingle of satisfaction. The effect is less dramatic than diagrammatic - character A slept with character B twenty years earlier, and oh, yes, all of that connects to crimes X, Y, and Z... In 2003, Steve Hodel, a retired LAPD homicide detective, published a book [*Black Dahlia Avenger*] in which he claimed that his father was Betty Short's murderer. In August, New Line Cinema bought Hodel's book, and now it, too, may become a movie.'

I Beg to Report:

My Talks on Montague John DrUITT and Wimborne

by DAVID ANDERSEN

On 22-23 August, I gave a series of talks centred on Ripper suspect Montague John DrUITT in the suspect's home town of Wimborne, Dorset. My talks formed part of the *Sting in the Tale* storytelling festival organized by the Wimborne Tourist Office. I gave three talks on the subject of 'Jack the Ripper - The Wimborne connection'.

The themes I explored in the talks were: 1. The murders. 2. The main suspects. 3. Montague DrUITT.

All of the talks, which were open to the public together with a small exhibition of photographs and other documents, were very well attended and received. I spoke to about 200 local residents, mostly women. One local resident, a retired senior police officer with the surname of Homer, is almost certainly a descendent of Montague's uncle, J T Homer, named in the press as one of the few mourners at Montague's funeral. ('The funeral took place in Wimborne Cemetery on Thursday afternoon, and the body was followed to the grave by deceased's relatives and a few friends, including Mr W H DrUITT, Mr Arthur DrUITT, Rev C H DrUITT, Mr J DrUITT, sen, Mr J DrUITT, jun, Mr J T Homer, and Mr Wyke-Smith.' *Hampshire Advertiser* (UK), Saturday, 12 January 1889)



Wimborne Minster

1888 and only recommences again in 1894, the year the MacNaghten memorandum was written. I was interested in the break in the document which recommences in 1894 with the words, '...and thus avoiding mention of the defects which one hopes to conceal from one's neighbours.'

The original copy of James DrUITT's memoirs are kept at the Red House Museum in Christchurch, Dorset (see *Dorset Life*). The museum was founded by the Christchurch branch of the DrUITT family. As far as the break in the narrative of the memoir is concerned, it is clear that nothing was written during the period of the break. In the 1894 pages, the author comments, after the quote with which he resumes the narrative just mentioned, that it is '...difficult to know what to write after a break of nearly six years.' He then goes into a fairly detailed account of



David Andersen at the grave of Montague John DrUITT

During my three-day visit to Wimborne, I was invited to tea at Westfield House, Montague DrUITT's birthplace, so I had the opportunity to see inside the house. The original main staircase is still there although the house itself has been divided into several flats. I soon realized that the usual photographs of Westfield actually show the back of the building. The front is quite impressive.

I was also able to locate and read the memoirs of Montague's uncle, James DrUITT. A typescript copy of this memoir is kept at the Priest's House opposite the Minster. The memoir was dictated by James to his daughter, Barbara. Interestingly, it makes no mention of James's other relatives. The memoir is largely about James's life both as a child and as an adult. Curiously, however, the memoir breaks off in November



The approach to Westfield House
©David Andersen



Westfield House, birthplace of Montague John Druitt
©David Andersen



Druitt gravestones in Wimborne Cemetery
©David Andersen

his non-Wimborne relatives - the London Druitts. Montague's younger brother had, by this time, gone to Australia, and, when Montague's brother William Jr died, it was the effective end of the Druitts in Wimborne.

I was also able to establish that the Minster churchyard does still contain the graves of other Druitts. The churchyard was leveled some years ago to form the green and it has always been assumed that the other Druitt graves were removed. This is not the case. Much to the surprise of the Minster authorities, I was able to discover the stones and the graves under the great yew outside the south transept window (the Druitt window). I am told that these will now be exposed and cleaned.

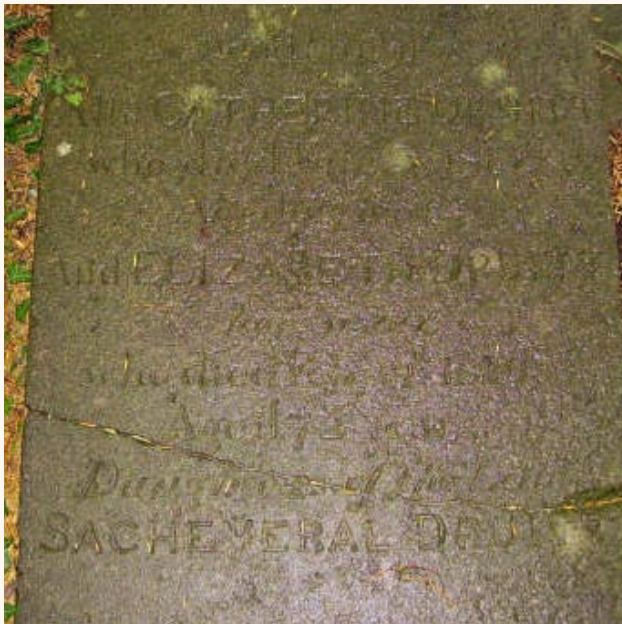
There are four Druitt graves in the nearby Wimborne cemetery. Montague and his brother William are side by side. Behind William are the graves of their parents, William Sr and Ann Druitt. Next to William and Ann is the grave of Jane Mayo, William Sr's mother and Montague's grandmother. It is unclear from the inscription on the stone as to whether her husband Robert Druitt is buried in the same grave. The cross on Montague's grave is somewhat wobbly although the base is stable. I understand that the grave will now be repaired and the cross stabilised.

According to the Wimborne Tourist Office, an increasing number of visitors to the town are enquiring about the Druitts. The attitude of the town appears to have changed from times past when the view was to shy away from the subject of Wimborne's ill-fated offspring - which remains a true characterization of him *whether Montague was the Whitechapel murderer or not*. Druitt now seems to be held in high esteem by the powers that be in this beautiful Dorset town.

I came away from Wimborne with the feeling that my visit had been successful in terms of dispelling many of the myths surrounding the Jack the Ripper killings as well as a sense of personal achievement in making a few, though perhaps insignificant discoveries. And I felt honoured to be probably one of only a few Ripperologists to have actually been inside Westfield.

Finally. The only bookshop in Wimborne had only one book on the subject - Pamela Ball's 1998 book, *Jack the Ripper: A Psychic Investigation*. I venture to suggest that this will soon change.

Druitt family gravestones overleaf



The graves of (clockwise) Catherine and Elizabeth Sacheveral: Elizabeth Druiett; Mary Ann Druiett; Sacheveral Druiett; Sarah and Robert Druiett; Thomas and Robert Druiett

I Beg to Report

by CLAUDIA ALIFFE, Conference Administrator

JACK THE RIPPER 2007 CONFERENCE

BRITANNIA HOTEL, WOLVERHAMPTON



ENTER SITE

CATHERINE EDDOWES:

WOLVERHAMPTON TO WHITECHAPEL

Jack the Ripper Comes to Eddowes Country!

Hello to everyone - past delegates, speakers, special guests, potential delegates, and interested passers-by... It's hard to believe that this time last year, we were just gearing up for the 2005 conference in Brighton, and here we are announcing the next one in 2007! Where oh where has the time gone?

Well, we have deliberated and researched, conferenced and negotiated and emailed and faxed and done our utmost over the past six months to find a venue for our next conference which reflects our Ripper heritage and offers us all the convenience of our past venues. And whilst we took on board all your suggestions (top of the list of which were Cardiff and Dublin) it has been an incredibly hard struggle to find somewhere which could accommodate our demands at the price we could all afford and for the number of people we wanted to accommodate. Not to be defeated, we went back to our old friends the Britannia chain of hotels and have found a venue which we think you will agree has just the right mix of Ripper connections with all the convenience of a city centre hotel.

So, the Jack the Ripper Conference is coming to Wolverhampton. The conference will be held over the weekend of 12-14 October 2007, so get this date in your diaries pronto. Deposits are being accepted from now onwards if you wish to pass some cash our way to secure your place.



Visit the [conference website](#) for the latest news, to register for email updates, and to pay your deposits.

We look forward to hearing from you and welcoming you to yet another star studded Ripper weekend in 2007! The organisers: Claudia Aliffe, Andy Aliffe and Adam Wood.

The venue

The Britannia Hotel in Wolverhampton offers us convenience in every way. The hotel is on the edge of the city centre. It is also perfectly placed for motorway connections with parking just 200 yards away (NCP) plus many other car parks nearby, and national rail connections, bus and coach terminals just a stone's throw away. The nearest airport is Birmingham International just 18 miles

away with connections across Europe, Canada and the USA. Visit the airport website to check your route and point of origin. We are investigating subsidised coach and train fares.

The hotel itself is a fascinating building. Built in the 1880s, it was part of the upgrade of the slum areas of Lichfield Street in the 1870s and 1880s. Formerly the Royal Victoria Hotel, this grand old lady is currently enjoying a complete make over and will be almost brand new in its interior fit out by the time we arrive in October 2007.

The conference suite is conveniently located at the heart of the hotel on a circular block on one floor which is then surrounded by the bedrooms so no-one should get lost!



Conference Price Guide

Whilst we have done our utmost to keep our prices the same, after four years we have finally had to bow to inflation and accept a £20 increase in fees. Therefore, the full weekend will now cost £220. But this is still great value for money - your weekend will include all your accommodation from Friday afternoon arrival to Sunday afternoon departure, all catering including full English breakfasts, buffet lunches, buffet dinner on Friday night, formal banquet on Saturday night, two tea and coffee breaks per day and the drinks reception on Saturday night. The only cash you'll need to bring are spendies for the book room for all those Ripper goodies and of course your beer money!

Speakers

A full list of speakers and events will be announced shortly, but we can reveal that the keynote talk will focus on the life of Catherine Eddowes, with other talks on related topics to be confirmed. We are also in discussion with the local authorities to have a blue plaque erected in Catherine's memory in Bilston Street, where she lived during her early years.

[Visit the conference website for full details!](#)



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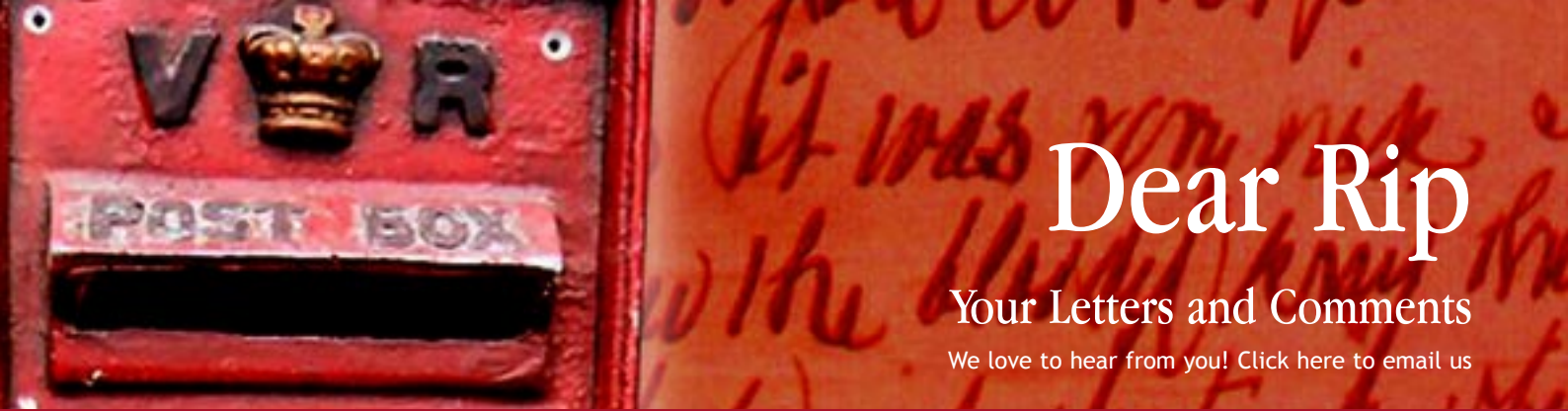
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Dear Rip

Your Letters and Comments

We love to hear from you! [Click here to email us](#)

Smith's Beat, Ripperologist 70

*Post on Casebook message boards
Used by permission*

Dear Rip

Gavin [Bromley] and I have chatted about Stride and the whole Berner Street affair here on the [Casebook] boards for some time, and I've always been impressed with his insight, namely that he shares my suspicion that Schwartz may not have seen a thing. But I had no idea of the breadth of his research until I read this article. At present, I can't really comment on the first half of his article regarding Smith's routes, because I haven't analyzed it that closely myself. And just to fully comprehend what Gavin put down would require some serious time spent going over the various scenarios and maps. And as I'm struggling to put together the second part of my own Berner Street series, I regrettably don't have the time at present. But I will happily comment on the second part of his article and encourage all those who received this issue to go back and read carefully. Like Gavin, I believe from Smith's own timing given in his evidence, taken along with Fanny Mortimer's press statements, that Smith made his fateful trip along Berner Street at a time later than 12:30/35. Likely around 12:40/45. The repercussions of this seemingly minor error in timing should not be underestimated, for the very reasons Gavin gives in his article. Don't get me wrong, I'd very much like to break his fingers for beating me to print with this, but only after I shake his hand. In my opinion, this is the most significant piece of interpretive research that *Rip* has published in a very, very long time. Even though it was the only Ripper article this issue, it alone made the issue worth the cover price. I've no doubt we'll see much more from this writer in the future, and I for one can't wait.

TOM WESCOTT
30 August 2006

Thanks Tom. You'll no doubt have been interested to read Gavin's addendum to *Smith's Beat* in this issue, and we're very pleased to announce that Gavin is working on similar articles on the beats of PCs Watkins and Harvey, to be published in *Ripperologist* in the near future! *Rip*.

TIM MOSLEY'S *THRILLER* - AN APOLOGY

In *Rip* 70 we published Tim Mosley's review of the classic 1960s TV series, *Thriller*. Unfortunately an error crept into our formatting of the article, in that the footnotes went awry during the layout process and all references to a major source, the book *This Is A Thriller* by Alan Warren, were deleted. We apologise to both Tim and Mr Warren for this mistake. *Rip*

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or email Adam Wood at contact@ripperologist.info

On the Crimebeat

WILF GREGG reviews this month's additions to the True Crime bookshelf

CRIMINAL WIRRAL

Daniel K. Longman

S/B, 128 pp., Illus. Sutton Publishing, £12.99. [BUY NOW](#)

An excellent collection of Victorian cases from the Wirral peninsula. Further factors which lift it out of the ordinary are that not only is it the author's first book, but that he is only 18 years of age, and displays a maturity far beyond his years.

Ranging from murder *cause celebres* to minor offences, the book provides a first class picture of the dark and sometimes bizarre side of the area. Great research allied to a pithy writing style makes this a must for the true crime book collector.

The minor offences chronicled are quite fascinating. I particularly liked the chapter headed *The Perfidious Pie Men*, in which two men were caught with a very sick cow. When the unfortunate animal was examined, it was found to be suffering from a lung disease and as such unfit for any legal purpose. The police suspected that the cow was bound for a pie shop owned by one of the men. Shades of an animalistic Sweeney Todd!

Judging by this book, Longman is a star in the making. Strongly recommended.

BORN KILLERS

Christopher Berry-Dee and Steven Morris

H/B, 253 pp., Illus., John Blake Publishing, £17.99. [BUY NOW](#)

Seeing that this book covers (amongst others) the Wests, Dahmer, Brady and Hindley, Shipman, Dean Corll and John Wayne Gacy, readers may at first be forgiven for saying "not another book on serial killers." However, it does take an individual line by concentrating on their early lives and upbringings and attempting to establish whether this was a material cause of their later depredations.

All cases are well covered and certainly new information is provided on their early lives which in many instances were quite horrendous. An interesting feature is the inclusion of ratings under the FBI High Risk Register at the end of each chapter. From these Fred West gets an amazingly high rating of 92.5%, Gacy 84.5%, Dahmer 61.5%, Corll 38.5% and Shipman nil. Paradoxically, the ratings for Brady and Hindley are 15% and 30.7% respectively; totally at odds with all expressed views on the pair.

An unusual and different treatment.

THE SHERIFF - A DETECTIVE'S STORY

Gerry O'Carroll

S/B, 352 pp., Illus., Mainstream Publishing, £11.99. [BUY NOW](#)

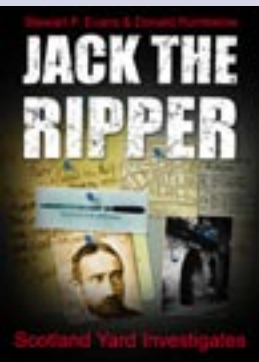
A well-above-average police memoir. The author recounts his experiences in Ireland's Garda, during which time he was closely involved in investigating a number of the Republic's major crimes.

These included the controversial Kerry Babies Case; the English serial killers, Geoffrey Evans and John Shaw, who killed two Irish girls; the notorious "General", Martin Cahill; and the Irish soldier, Michael McAleavy, who shot and killed three of his comrades while on a UN peacekeeping force in the Lebanon. In the case of Evans and Shaw, the author showed complete unorthodoxy by persuading Shaw to pray with him, which so emotionally upset the killer that he confessed his and Evans's guilt. In his confession Shaw said that he was glad they had been caught as they planned to rape and kill one girl a week. Evans and Shaw are still incarcerated, being the longest serving prisoners in the Republic.

A well told and honest account of the author's career - which to his credit even includes telling of disciplinary action against him on two occasions in his early years, one of which could have led to his dismissal. Strongly recommended.

Ripping Yarns

BOOK NEWS AND VIEWS



JACK THE RIPPER: SCOTLAND YARD INVESTIGATES

Unless you've just been released from a five-stretch, you'll be aware that two doyens of Ripperology, Don Rumbelow and Stewart Evans, have combined forces and written what promises to be this year's most eagerly awaited new Ripper title. In an exclusive interview, the Rip asks about the background to the book, and what we can expect.

RIP: Why this book now?

SE: It seemed like a good idea at the time. Don and I spend quite a bit of time together and have quite a bit in common, both ex-police officers, an interest in the murders going back to the 1960s, it just seemed a nice idea.

DR: Nobody seems to have looked at JTR so completely from the police viewpoint.

RIP: Never say never, but will this be the last on the topic for one or both?

SE: Don will probably tell you that that's it for him. And I was saying the same, however I was approached recently...

RIP: How did the collaboration come about? Had it been discussed for a long time or was the decision fairly recent?

SE: It was Don's idea and seemed to come about quite suddenly, about eighteen months ago.

RIP: How did the collaboration work: email, regular mail, telephone, face to face or a combination?

SE: We worked by email, snail mail, telephone and together, so a combination really. Don came up here and stayed on several occasions and I went and stayed with Don when we went to the archives together, although Don being in London meant he did more archival work than I did. I live in an archive anyway!

RIP: Did you have a serious disagreement on some things and if so how did you resolve them: take turns; rock, scissors paper; pistols at dawn or what?

SE: No disagreements, I simply did what I was told.

DR: It was a happy arrangement and there were no big disagreements.

RIP: Did each of you do the major work on separate sections or is it blend throughout?

SE: Don worked mainly on the Police history and biographical side whilst I concentrated on the crimes and tackling one or two controversial aspects.

DR: We would then swap mss and put in stuff which we thought that the other might have missed.

SE: We combined on the final text and worked together on all chapters.

RIP: Will there be major revelations or just a tidying up of a number of nagging issues?

SE: We'd like to think that there are several nice new revelations, including some new named contemporary suspects and police information. There will be some nice new images amongst the 176 illustrations. Whether or not it tidies up a number of nagging issues or creates further controversy we shall have to wait to see. The book will be very like Letters From Hell in size and presentation and will make a good companion volume to that book. Pictures throughout the text and over 300 pages.

DR: Warren was a revelation to us both. Only suspects known to contemporaries are included. Which means, great sighs of relief from the general reader, no diary, black magicians et al.

RIP: If major stuff, any hints?

SE: Don told me to say 'Wait and see.'

RIP: What about the rumour that Timothy Donovan is advanced as a suspect?

SE: Don might like to answer that.

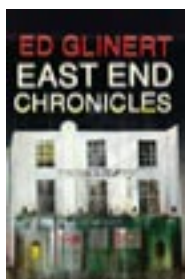
DR: Donovan only gets mentioned in a personal postscript. No big revelations there. I think this just about dots the 'I's and crosses the 'T's.

RIP: Finally, where do you think Ripperology is heading in the next decade?

SE: A good question. There are some good people working in the field now, and we all live in hope of some major new discovery. Will any of those old missing police files ever turn up for instance?

JACK THE RIPPER: SCOTLAND YARD INVESTIGATES is published by Sutton in October, ISBN: 0750942282.

ALSO OUT NOW



EAST END CHRONICLES (Hardcover, 320 pages, Allen Lane/Penguin, ISBN: 0713997745, £20) by Ed Glinert, covers the Silk Weavers of Spitalfields, Docks, Dockers and River Pirates, Murder and Mayhem on the Ratcliffe Highway, Mystics and Myth-Makers, The Blitz and Bombs, The Jewish Ghetto and others. 'While only a small portion of the book, some 15 pages or so, are directly devoted to the Ripper case, scattered references to the crimes occur throughout, and the book overall provides enthralling and sometimes lurid reading ...highly recommended for those who would like a grounding in East End lore.' *Ripperologist*.

ERASTE FANDORINE, TOME 5: MISSIONS SPÉCIALES (Softback, 475 pages, 10/18, Collection : Grands détectives, ISBN : 2264036796, €7.80) by Boris Akounine (Boris Akunin) is a French translation of the fifth volume in the best-selling adventures of late nineteenth-century Russian detective Erast Fandorin. It consists of two adventures: in the first one, Fandorin confronts a daring confidence man; in the second one, Jack the Ripper - not a copycat, not a red herring, not a Tsarist conspiracy, but the real Ripper, who is pursuing his life avocation in Moscow. 'As of now, only four of [Akunin's] novels have been translated into English, though quite a few more are available in French or German. If you can read either language, rush to get the Fandorin-meets-the-Ripper book. Otherwise, publication of its English translation has been announced for February 2007 under the title *Jack of Spades and The Decorator*. It's worth the wait.' *Ripperologist*.



LE RETOUR DE JACK L'ÉVENTREUR (Paperback, 253 pages, Malko - Gérard de Villiers, Collection: Les Dossiers de Scotland Yard, ISBN : 2738601952, €5,20), by J B Livingstone, is a French-language thriller where Jack the Ripper returns 50 years after the Whitechapel murders.

MY GRANDFATHER JACK THE RIPPER (Hardcover, 208 pages, Herodias, ISBN: 1928746160) by Claudio Apone, was widely acclaimed in its original Italian as an atmospheric thriller aimed at a young adult readership. Young EastEnders Andy Dobson uses his psychic powers to travel to the past - where he witnesses Jack the Ripper's grisly murders - and to detect a modern-day killer. Be warned that a stilted, uncredited translation is often unintentionally hilarious and militates against the author's attempts to build up suspense.

STAR LIGHT, STAR BRIGHT (Paperback, Ballantine Books, ISBN: 0345285417) by Stanley Ellin, was translated into German as Jack the Ripper und Van Gogh. The Ripper connection is apparently limited to six pages where Ellin's protagonist, private investigator John Milano, establishes a link between Van Gogh and the Whitechapel Murders.

THE WHITECHAPEL CONSPIRACY, (Paperback, 352 pages, Ballantine Books, \$6.99, ISBN: 0449006565), by Anne Perry, is an intricate, fast-paced, atmospheric Victorian mystery cum political thriller featuring Inspector Thomas Pitt undercover in the East End slums chasing anarchists, finding out about the Whitechapel conspiracy and uncovering Jack the Ripper's true identity.

EAST END MEMORIES (Hardcover, 352 pages, Sutton Publishing, ISBN: 0750939966, £14.99) by Jennie Hawthorne, is an account of the author's early life in the heart of the East End told with passion and humour - even though her drunken father struggles from crisis to crisis and illness and crime are part of everyday life. Her captivating anecdotes, poignant and entertaining, are suffused by the sights, sounds and smells of the East End in the 1920s and 30s.

PRINCE EDDY: THE KING BRITAIN NEVER HAD (Hardcover, 272 pages, Tempus Publishing Ltd, ISBN: 0752434101, £20) by Andrew Cook, is a revisionist account of Eddy's life. 'Overall Cook makes a valiant attempt to rehabilitate Prince Albert Edward Victor and deservedly so, and his book is highly readable, even when not discussing the Ripper and Cleveland Street.' *Ripperologist*.



PUBLIC REACTIONS TO JACK THE RIPPER: LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: AUGUST - DECEMBER 1888, Softcover, ca. 250pp, Inklings Press. Illustrated with extensive annotations. Index, \$ 23.99, edited by *Casebook: Jack the Ripper* Founder and Administrator Stephen P Ryder, is a collection of more than 200 Letters to the Editor published in the Victorian press, presented chronologically, extensively annotated and indexed both by author and subject. Anyone interested can [email Stephen](#) to be placed on the list for a signed copy. All proceeds from the sale of the book will directly benefit the *Casebook Press Project*. 'Letters to the editor in the London press during the

murder series of 1888 probably will not help us catch the elusive murderer who has fascinated us for so many decades - but they do provide a fascinating sidelight on the society of the day. As with a number of other specialty books on the Whitechapel murders that have been appearing in recent years... *Public Reactions* gives us a better rounded view of the effect of the crimes on people in London and beyond and provides interesting glimpses into human psychology.' *Ripperologist*.

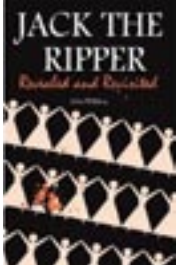
REVELATIONS OF THE TRUE RIPPER (Paperback, 293 pages, Lulu.com, ISBN: 1411697413), by Vanessa A Hayes, presents a suspect who, according to Ivory Moon literary agents is 'a fully plausible suspect, non-related to the Author or Royalty'. The author adds: 'Although Jack the Ripper has been remembered for over a century I think we should spare a thought for his victims. These women were living day to day trying to escape starvation and death. They did not have a choice how they lived. "Jack" gave them no choice in death. *Revelations of the True Ripper* introduces you to my "Jack the Ripper". I did not choose him, I found him in the detail, hidden behind the history of the times.' 'Overall, Vanessa Hayes's book carries you along, her enthusiasm is infectious and her writing style, a little gushing at times, is personal and has a charm that overcomes the book's deficiencies.' *Ripperologist*.

RIPPED FROM THE HEADLINES: BEING THE STORY OF JACK THE RIPPER AS REPORTED IN THE LONDON AND NEW YORK TIMES (Paperback, 139 pages, cover illustration by Gavin L O'Keefe, Ramble House, \$12) is a collection of news items published in The Times and the New York Times in chronological order (1885-1895). 'Although marred by a rather garish and unpleasant cover and the absence of an index, and whilst it would have benefited from an introduction and notes by someone who knows the subject, overall this is a nicely produced little volume.' *Ripperologist*.

RIPPEROLOGY: A STUDY OF THE WORLD'S FIRST SERIAL KILLER AND A LITERARY PHENOMENON (Hardcover, 288 pages, Kent State University Press, US\$24.95/£20.50, ISBN: 0-87338-861-5/978-0-87338-861-0), by veteran Ripper author Robin Odell, with an introduction by Donald Rumbelow. 'Odell covers most of the recent theories at some length, lingers a little over the Macnaghten suspects, and provides what will be seen as sober assessment from an old hand who has been kicking around this field long enough to easily see the gems. And the joy of the book is that it is easy reading, as ideal for the newcomer to Ripper studies who wants the history of the subject in broad brush strokes, as it is for the old hand who'll find Odell's style and approach a joy.' *Ripperologist*.

JACK THE RIPPER: A CONFESSION (Paperback, 257 pages, ripperArt, ISBN: 0954660331, £9.99) by Geoff Cooper and Gordon Punter, is (according to the publishers) 'the chilling account on why the murders occurred and why they ceased so abruptly. It also reveals the identity of the man, known as Jack the Ripper, who, towards the end of the nineteenth century, held the entire district of Whitechapel, London, England, in a grip of unparalleled terror.'

EPIPHANY OF THE WHITECHAPEL MURDERS (Hardcover, ISBN:1425934153, Paperback, ISBN: 1425934161) by Karen Trenouth, is a self-published book which purportedly 'details the reasons behind the Whitechapel Murders of 1888, how the murders occurred, who was responsible, and how this series of murders was linked to another infamous scandal that rocked all of England a year later. The identity of "Jack the Ripper" will be revealed as this previously untold story unfolds.' The blurb adds: 'What is the true story of the Whitechapel Murders? You have seen the films; you have read the various books on the subject. Now, 118 years later, is the time for the truth.' According to the book's preface, the truth seems to be somehow related to Alfred Pearson, a 27 year old moulder from Brierley Hill, Kingswinford, who on the evening of 8 October 1888 jumped at a young couple brandishing a trowel and yelling 'Jack the Ripper!!! Jack the Ripper!!!' at the top of his lungs.



JACK THE RIPPER: REVEALED AND REVISITED (Hardcover, 224 pages, Express Newspapers Plc, ISBN: 0850793238, £14.99) by John Wilding, is an extensively revised and updated version of the author's 1993 *Jack the Ripper: Revealed*.

ASSASSINS IN THE PARK: MURDER, BETRAYAL AND RETRIBUTION (Paperback, 192 pages, Mercier Press, ISBN: 185635511X), by Senan Molony, deals with the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Thomas Burke in Phoenix Park in May 1882 by men wielding surgical knives, the police investigation and the attempts to infiltrate the Fenians.

COMING SOON



THE CRIMES OF JACK THE RIPPER: AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE WORLD'S MOST INTRIGUING UNSOLVED CASE (Hardcover, 208 pages, Arcturus foulsham, ISBN: 0572032854, £9.99) by Paul Roland. According to the publishers, 'This impartial investigation focuses on the forensic evidence. For the first time, Paul has had access to official police reports. Myth, misconception and speculation are stripped away here. Uniquely, he judges the investigation by our contemporary standards. How would the profilers describe the Ripper today? Which of the usual suspects would they have prosecuted? For the first time in the history of books written about Jack the Ripper, the author is able to make a proper assessment of the forensic evidence that was available at that time. Paul Roland builds up a profile of the most infamous serial killer. By looking at the injuries and mutilations to the various victims, he is able

to build up a profile of the killer and make deductions about the weapon and his state of mind at the time. All the evidence is carefully weighed and the case is brought before the reader to act as judge and jury - is the Ripper really an evil psychopath or is he the first modern monster of our times?' Indeed. We'll see what we see when we see it.

In Future Issues...

Future issues of *Ripperologist* will feature... Antonio Sironi and Jane Coram's *Mary Jane Kelly*, William Michael's Ripper victims' photographs, John Ruffels on *The East End Murderer - I Knew Him*, Colin Roberts's geo-political divisions of Jack the Ripper's territory: Civil and Ecclesiastical Parishes, Parliamentary Boroughs and Metropolitan Police Force Divisions, Karyo Magellan on the Victorian Medico-legal Autopsy, Claudia Aliffe on the Wicked Women of Britain, Jeffrey Bloomfield on the Charles Bravo murder case, Zoraida Dunne on William Palmer, Christopher T George on Neil Cream, Eduardo Zinna on Buck Ruxton, Howard Brown on Privies and Outhouses in Victorian Times, Nicholas Smith on St Patrick and the Crown Jewels, Leslie A Klinger on Jack the Ripper and Sherlock Holmes, John Crawford on Algernon Haskett-Smith, Robert McLaughlin on *Vacher l'Eventreur*, Stepan Poberowski on Russian perceptions of Jack the Ripper, *The Last Word* by Christopher-Michael DiGrazia, *Crimebeat* by Wilf Gregg, *Cyberjack* by Monty, *Press Trawl* by Chris Scott, *East End Life* by Adam Wood, Ripper Fiction, In Brief, I Beg to Report, Dear Rip, Ripping Yarns and more, much more... can you afford to miss out on any of it?

CHRISTOPHER-MICHAEL DiGRAZIA has...

The Last Word

To paraphrase the Bard - or, at least, I think it's the Bard - some write columns, and some have columns thrust upon them. That's what happened to me this time round; I was debating whether or not to freshen up and shave now that Anna Nicole Smith is back on the market when I got an e-mail from Adam Wood, *Ripperologist* designer, *bon vivant* and all round nice guy, pointing me towards a couple of websites he thought might spark a reaction, given my love of the odd.

The first, bonetrade.gregorywhitehead.com, is run by a fellow who states he deals in 'corporeal memorabilia,' which he also calls 'necrobilia... a store of value and ...the source of countless hours of pleasure: the pleasure of being just a fingernail away from immortality.' My immediate reaction is that this has to be some sort of elaborate joke site - not the least because among Mr Whitehead's offerings are 'another gallon [sic] of Evita blood from a private collector,' 'nail clippings, shavings and various other items too delicate, shall we say' from Diana, Princess of Wales and 'Bozo's nose,' which the oh-so-clever Whitehead assures us contains 'assorted detritus' from the nasal passages of President Bush. I'm too lazy to actually waste any time investigating this site, but I don't mind if you do. Just drop me a line if you determine whether it's on the level or not. But what we're going to do this month is use 'The Bonetrade' website as a starting point to meander down the byway of necrology.

'Necro' is, of course, Greek, meaning 'dead body,' and is a descriptive prefix for such words as *necropolis* (city of the dead; generally used in reference to a sizeable graveyard), *necromancy* (speaking to the dead; séances), *nectar* (a drink that grants immortality; defeating death) and, of course, *necrophilia*, a word which first entered the language in 1892, in an English translation of Krafft-Ebbing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*.



The body of Marilyn Monroe

Necrophilia is usually considered the worst of sexual perversions, a final violation more horrible than any rape. In that context, I could tell you a few lurid stories of the sexual indignities allegedly visited on Marilyn Monroe's corpse before it reached the coroner's office, but since I'm not writing another chapter of *Hollywood Babylon* here, I shan't repeat any of them. You'll just have to catch me one night at the bar when I'm extensively lubricated.

Outside of Ed Gein, the inspiration for *Psycho*, whose pathologies are too wide-ranging to detail here, the classic necrophile case in true-crime annals is that of a French army sergeant named Bertrand, arrested in 1849 and charged with having violated the newly-buried bodies of young girls over two years' time. The accusation was a shock to Bertrand's mates; he was a popular NCO and a bit of a wild rover with local girls, but, he admitted, '*all my enjoyment with living women is as nothing*' compared to the thrill he felt when coupling with a corpse.

Colin Wilson writes that the attraction of necrophilia is 'the release of pure desire,' and adds that it is the extreme, though logical, end-point of rape:

'he [the rapist] is not raping a real woman, but a convenient fantasy object. The case of Leonard Lake is typical: *'The perfect woman is totally controlled. A woman who does exactly what she is told and nothing else. There is no sexual problem with a submissive woman. There are no frustrations - only pleasure and contentment.'*

And what could be more submissive - more controlled - than a dead woman?

Now, we don't know whether Jack the Ripper was a necrophile. He certainly could have been, as the example of Bertrand (who usually ended his ecstasies by disemboweling the corpses of his bloodless paramours) shows, but save for the obscenity

of Mary Kelly, he would hardly have had the time to indulge in *that* particular debauchery. Dr Frederick Gordon Brown didn't presume the Ripper was a necrophile, though, contrary to our stereotype of the sexually-ignorant Victorian, he was certainly aware of the sexual release felt by serial killers; just see his laconic report that no '*secretion of any kind*' was found on the thighs of the luckless Catherine Eddowes.

Hmmm... I've just had a look back at what I've written. Rather ghastly, isn't it? Then let's go on to the second website Adam tipped me to, which also falls under the 'is it or isn't it?' umbrella: [The SMA Archive](#). Let's let them speak for themselves:

'Our aim is the "resurrection" of actresses from the Golden era of silent cinema. To do this we are securing a large body of quality genetic material from a variety of sources which is subjected to rigorous testing to ensure its validity... we intend to work closely with science organisations to perfect safe and reliable human duplication techniques. We are already in discussion with several studios interested in becoming parents to these new stars of old.'

Uh huh. Okay, then.

And so, on to cloning. We're all familiar with 'Dolly,' the cloned sheep, but who amongst you Loyal Readers remembers the name of David Rorvik? Anyone? Well, then, grab a whisky and water, smoke 'em if you got 'em, and listen to my tale...

In 1978, Rorvik, a former science editor for *Time* magazine, published *In His Image: The Cloning of a Man*. He wrote that he had been approached in 1973 by a secretive businessman who had read Rorvik's articles on genetic engineering. The man - pseudonymously named "Max" - wanted to clone himself and directed Rorvik to find a scientist to do the job. Rorvik claimed that he found a willing boffin, and the party decamped to "Max's" laboratory, secreted somewhere in an unnamed tropical country, where they proceeded to create a clone.

In His Image was a huge best-seller, earning publisher J.B. Lippincott over \$700,000. But the scientific community insisted the process described by Rorvik - using the chemical cytochalasin B to remove the nucleus from the female egg cell - simply couldn't work. In addition, when British scientist Derek Bromhall discovered Rorvik had lifted portions of his doctoral dissertation without consent, he swiftly filed suit against Rorvik and Lippincott. Rorvik refused to reveal the identities of "Max" or his hired scientist, and in 1982 Lippincott settled the case out of court for an undisclosed sum, declaring that *In His Image* was, rather than a scientific exposé, merely a work of fiction. To this day, however, David Rorvik stands by his book.

In fiction, of course, the classic cloning narrative is that of the 1978 movie *The Boys From Brazil*, where a diehard group of Nazis attempts to clone Adolf Hitler and usher in a Fourth Reich. Entertaining fantasy - and Gregory Peck gives a chilling performance as Dr Josef Mengele - but the great failing of *Boys* is that a clone is not - in fact, cannot - be a duplicate of the original human.

Suppose you wanted a baby Hitler. It's not just a question of lifting his DNA from an old armband, throwing it into the pot and stirring the mix around until you hear a little "Sieg Heil!" You have to provide the entire life experience of Hitler - not just his brutal father, watery mother, scoffing schoolchums and nationalist teachers, but his World War I service, his run-in with Berlin's 'Red Terror,' his virulent anti-Semitism - the entire worldview of a poorly educated, headstrong, nationalistic Austrian-German of the late 19th century. It can't be done. The clone will always be a faded photocopy, never an exact duplicate.

Cloning doesn't have a place in Ripperology, though DNA does - we all recall Patricia Cornwell's crowing over Walter Sickert's DNA lingering on the stamps and flaps of his purported Ripper correspondence. And I seem to recall some muttering about using DNA to establish the provenance of a shawl supposedly belonging to Catherine Eddowes. The problem with DNA and the Ripper case, of course, is that first you must locate something that indisputably belonged to or was touched by Jack; absent the "From hell" letter, we have no such thing. Then, should that hurdle be overcome, you next have to isolate the Ripper's DNA from years of contamination, then match the DNA to a suspect, then exhume the suspect... no, the Whitechapel Murders remain, so far as science is concerned, the coldest of cold cases.

And that's it. I don't have any big ending or philosophical flourish to finish off with this month. I merely took you by the hand for a little walk through the perverse and bizarre. Hmmm - "the perverse and bizarre." Sounds like the name of a pub, doesn't it? Perhaps the sign would have Algernon Swinburne on one side and John Merrick on the other. Say, does anybody want to go in on the business? I understand there's a pub in Kent whose landlord might do with a little friendly competition...



The Boys From Brazil, and Dolly, the cloned sheep



Bloodhounds. Property of Edwin Brough, Esq.

"CHAMPION TAKRATY," 17,078.

"BIRGDO," 19,553.