

Tumblety's Secret

By MICHAEL L. HAWLEY

In its February 16 1889 edition, the London daily newspaper *Evening Post* published an article titled 'A Whitechapel Suspect', which reported on American Jack the Ripper suspect Dr. Francis Tumblety just releasing the first rendition of his latest autobiographical pamphlet, or autobiography. Tumblety published it in New York City just three months after the murder of Mary Kelly. The title began "A Sketch on the Life of the Gifted, Eccentric, and World-famed Dr. Francis Tumblety, presenting an outline of his wonderful career, professional successes, and personal intimacies with renowned personages of two hemispheres, including letters from..."

It was a hastily-produced update of his 1872 version (and 1875 European version), telling a *New York World* reporter on January 28 1889 in an interview that he was writing it in defence of his reputation and honour against the English detectives who unjustly arrested him on suspicion of being Jack the Ripper. Tumblety had jumped bail and sneaked out of England in order to avoid his day in Central Criminal Court on a misdemeanor charge. He took it upon himself to regain control of his life and avoid prison. Yet in America he faced a new court; the court of public opinion. Both the interview with the *World* reporter and the autobiographical updates were part of a strategic public affairs campaign.

Tumblety was still not in complete control of events in his life, and he struck back by going public. The last time Tumblety likely felt he was not in control of events in his life to such a degree was when he was arrested and incarcerated for three weeks in 1865 on suspicion of conspiring in the Lincoln assassination. He retaliated in 1866 by writing his very first autobiography, publishing how he had been wronged. This seemed to be the template for how he responded to his 1888/1889 personal crisis.

His latest public strategy has offered a glimpse into Tumblety's life at the time of the murders, and in so doing it revealed a secret. This secret is yet another traumatic

event in Tumblety's life which he was powerless to control. This time, though, Tumblety could not retaliate with a public affairs campaign, since it was something he wanted to take to his grave. These latest uncontrollable situations, the chain of events in London and his secret may not necessarily be unrelated.

The chain of events in 1888 that were out of Tumblety's control began when he was received into custody on November 7th, so it is appropriate to revisit his earlier arrest on suspicion up to his escape back to New York City.¹ The very same February 16 1889 *Evening Post* article reported that Dr. Francis Tumblety was

arrested in London on suspicion in connection with the Whitechapel murders, but was released immediately it was found there was no evidence to incriminate him.

The *New York World's* London correspondent E. Tracy Greaves, a reporter who twice reported receiving his Whitechapel murders stories from a Scotland Yard informant, broke this scoop three months earlier, on November 17, 1888.^{2,3} Tumblety was actually released on bail one day before he broke the story, and it was clear that Greaves never met with Tumblety. In his November 21 1888 article in the *New York World*, Greaves stated that Tumblety was still in custody; thus, he had no idea Tumblety had been released on November 16 1888. Three days later Tumblety had sneaked out of Europe, but Greaves did not report this until December 1 1888.

One approach into assessing if Scotland Yard took Tumblety seriously as a Whitechapel murders suspect is to ignore all evidence except official records; it being argued that this is the only type of evidence credible

1. Central Criminal Court Calendars for November and December 1888.
2. *Chicago Tribune*, October 7, 1888.
3. *New York World*, October 9, 1888.

enough to be admissible in court. Notice the inevitable trap. Since all of the official records on Tumblety involve the gross indecency and indecent assault case and not the Whitechapel murders case, then the unavoidable conclusion is that Scotland Yard did not take Tumblety seriously as a Ripper suspect. This myopic approach creates an unintentional fallacy: "Absence of evidence is evidence for absence; therefore, Scotland Yard never considered Tumblety a serious suspect." Even if Scotland Yard took Tumblety seriously, why would Whitechapel investigation records be part of the gross indecency and indecent assault case? If they did, the defence could actually have used this against the prosecution's case, arguing that their intentions are not to serve justice on the charges before the judge but to merely hold him for a separate felony charge. There were official records on Scotland Yard's suspicions of Tumblety but they were in the detective division's case files, which were destroyed. We do, though, have evidence of what was in the Tumblety file, which comes from eyewitness testimony. In the search for truth, much of what we have at our disposal is from the efforts of contemporary investigative reporters who interviewed Scotland Yard eyewitnesses. Verification then comes from corroboration and/or the discovery of indisputable evidence.

An excellent example of indisputable evidence in newspapers accounts can be seen in the aforementioned newspaper articles commenting upon Tumblety being arrested on suspicion. The *Evening Post* article goes on to report:

The [*New York*] *World* is probably not aware that Dr. Tumblety was afterwards taken into custody on another charge, arising out of certain correspondence with young men which was found in his possession...

While Greaves did report on Tumblety afterwards being taken into custody on another charge, a "charge under a special law soon after the Babylon exposures," he never reported on the police confiscating damning letters found on Tumblety's person. The significance of this new and unique information is that the *Evening Post* independently corroborated the *New York World* scoop. This means an investigative reporter for the *Evening Post* uncovered facts from a source knowledgeable about unpublicized details of Tumblety's arrest on suspicion. Further, no one in the public knew Tumblety was re-arrested on a case involving "young men," specifically, the charge of gross indecency, until over a century later.

Greaves later clarified the re-arrest in the December 1 1888 edition of the *New York World*, stating it involved the Maiden Tribute Act of 1885, but this act dealt almost

exclusively on the sexual exploitation of maidens, or girls.⁴ Even the private organization that prosecuted the Tumblety case, the National Vigilance Association (NVA), was created specifically to protect against female minors.⁵ Still, the *Evening Post* correspondent reported it accurately; information which was known only by British officials involved in the case, both public and private.



Francis Tumblety

Note that the *New York World* and the *Evening Post* accurately corroborate the official documents in the gross indecency case, and corroborate each other with the Whitechapel case. Having Tumblety's Scotland Yard file would have allowed for verification or refutation. We actually do have a window into some of the contents of Scotland Yard's Tumblety file. Those who did see Tumblety's file were Scotland Yard officials, such as Chief Inspector Littlechild, as revealed in his 1913 private letter to George Sims when he stated that Tumblety had a bitter

4. 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon'. I: The Report of our Secret Commission. W. T. Stead (*The Pall Mall Gazette*, July 6, 1885), W.T. Stead Resource Site. Available at www.attackingthediabol.co.uk/pmg/tribute/mt1.php

5. Barrat, D., 'The Prosecution of Francis Tumblety', *Ripperologist* 163, January 2019.

hatred of women, “a fact on record.”⁶ The *New York World* London correspondent – and apparently an investigative reporter for the *Evening Post* – had a Scotland Yard informant; someone who was also privy to Scotland Yard’s records.



Assistant Commissioner Robert Anderson

It was at this time, specifically November 22 1888, that Assistant Commissioner Anderson cabled Brooklyn’s Police Superintendent for information on Tumblety regarding the Whitechapel murders. In the November 23 1888 issue of the *Brooklyn Standard-Union*, it states,

London Police are evidently doing their level best to fasten the Whitechapel murders upon Dr. F. T. Tumblety. Today Police Superintendent Campbell received a telegram from Assistant Police Commissioner Anderson... Anderson wants information as to his life in Brooklyn.

There is a claim that Anderson was not contacting Superintendent Campbell about the Whitechapel murders case, but was acting on behalf of the NVA – an organization with their own investigators – requesting handwriting samples for their gross indecency case. The claim argues that the prosecution wanted to compare Tumblety letters from the US with the correspondence with young

men found on his person. There are problems with this scenario. First, the correspondences Tumblety had may have been from the young men, therefore they were not in his own handwriting. Secondly, how does “information as to his life in Brooklyn” translate to requesting *only* handwriting samples? Third, matching other letters to the correspondences from young men was a wasted step. Tumblety was notorious for having others write for him, but that does not take away the fact that he was the author of the letters. If the letters were addressed from him and were found on his person, then they were his, regardless of who wrote them. Fourth, handwriting samples could not be telegraphed, so they would have had to be shipped. The samples would not have been received until early December, and as far as the prosecutors were concerned in November, the case would have been done. The trial was eventually postponed to December 10 1888, but on the application of Tumblety’s lawyer, not the prosecution. The NVA apparently did not consider these letters from the US important for the case, since the jurors at the grand jury would not have seen them on November 19 1888. Whatever facts the NVA presented to the grand jury was strong enough for them to return a true bill and send the case to the Central Criminal Court. Scotland Yard knew of the young men’s letters before November 7, so if they wanted handwriting samples from the US for the gross indecency case, we would likely have seen requests in early November.

How coincidental that the Whitechapel murders case was another case that handwriting samples were very appropriate. It was a case where handwriting analysis would have been very useful in comparing with the Ripper letters of unknown authorship. Additionally, there was no time limit on the Whitechapel murders investigation, and since the Associated Press reporter based out of Brooklyn connected Anderson’s request with the Whitechapel murders, this may very well be correct.

Greaves picked up yet another Whitechapel murders scoop on December 1 1888, which was published in the *New York World’s* Sunday, December 2 1888 issue. Tumblety sneaked out of England and was in Havre, France, by noon a full week earlier on November 24 1888. Note how the article began:

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(*New York World*)

London, Dec. 1. The last seen of Dr. Tumblety was at Havre, and it is taken for granted that he has sailed for New York...

6. Littlechild Letter, dated September 23, 1913. Sent privately to George R. Sims.

We know Scotland Yard was fully aware of Tumblety sneaking out of the country prior to Greaves' report, since New York City's Chief Inspector Thomas F. Byrnes acknowledged on December 3 1888 that he firstly knew Tumblety escaped "a week ago," and secondly knew it was on a non-extraditable charge. Just two years earlier, Byrnes told a *New York World* reporter in January 1886 that it was common practice for Scotland Yard to cable him about prisoners sailing for New York.

The New York Sun also had a London correspondent, the seasoned Arthur Brisbane, who had such an excellent relationship with Scotland Yard that he received a rare interview with Assistant Commissioner Anderson in his office on November 14 1888 on the Whitechapel murders investigation. This interview was recorded in the *New York Sun* of November 14 1888. The *Sun* added further information in its December 4 1888 edition:

He [Tumblety] disappeared from London shortly after his release on bail and nothing more was heard of him until news arrived from Havre that he had sailed from there for this country.

This contradicts the suggestion that Scotland Yard merely looked at a passenger manifest out of London and determined Tumblety went to Havre, France. Further, Tumblety used the alias Frank Townsend on the ship's manifest, an alias he had never reportedly used before, so guessing correctly would have been a futile task.

Tumblety arrived at New York Harbor in the afternoon on Sunday, December 2 1888, onboard the *La Bretagne* after a week-long transit. Notice that this was the very same day the *New York World* published Tumblety in Havre, France, and likely sailing back to New York, so it explains why uninformed newspaper reporters were not waiting for Tumblety at the docks. There *were* individuals waiting for Tumblety, but they were detectives.

Newspaper reports on December 4 1888 stated Byrnes placed two of his detectives at New York Harbor, Detectives Crowley and Hickey, waiting for Tumblety to disembark the *La Bretagne*. Once he left the harbor, the detectives followed.

Scotland Yard was not only concerned enough about Tumblety to know that he escaped to France two weeks before any warrant was issued, but they also quickly cabled Head of New York City's detective division, Chief Inspector Thomas F. Byrnes, that Tumblety was likely traveling back to New York Harbor.

Having a known Jack the Ripper suspect sneak out of England making his way back to New York would pique the interest of any New Yorker, especially the large New York newspaper organizations. It is not a surprise that bright

and early the very next morning on Monday, December 3 1888 newspaper reporters converged upon the office of the New York City Police Department Detective Division in order to get an update on Tumblety.

An article in the *New York Evening Telegram*, in its Monday, December 3 1888 issue stated, "A *Telegram* reporter called upon Inspector Byrnes this morning and asked..." An Associated Press news dispatch published in the *Alexandria Gazette*, also dated December 3 1888, stated, "Police Inspector Byrnes said this morning that..." Byrnes did not disappoint, informing the reporters that Dr. Francis Tumblety, a suspect in the Whitechapel murders investigation and now a fugitive from British justice, arrived in New York City yesterday. The news was quickly dispatched by the Associated Press reporter to many local and out-of-town newspapers, such as the *Alexandria Gazette*, *Evening Star*, *Sacramento Daily Record Union*, *Indianapolis Journal*, and *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*.

One of the first newspapers to publish the Associated Press newscable on Tumblety was the *New York World*, in one of their evening editions on Monday, December 3 1888; it's "EXTRA 2 O'CLOCK" edition. In their later December 3 1888 'Evening Edition' they added further details, such as,

The police refuse to make known his whereabouts further than to locate him in Tenth street. He will be kept under strict surveillance while here.

The *New York World* also operated its own Associated-Press-like news cable distribution business, transmitting its own stories across the wire to member out-of-town newspapers. *The Oswego Palladium*, *Frederick News*, *Rochester Democrat Chronicle*, *St. Paul Daily Globe*, *Rome Daily Sentinel*, *Syracuse Daily* and *Buffalo Courier*, along with other member newspapers, published this filtered *New York World* story in their December 4 1888 editions.

Of significance is that all of these articles never reported which boarding house Tumblety actually found a room at; even noting the police were not going to give this information out. A *New York Press* reporter even stated in their Tuesday, December 4 1888 issue:

All yesterday afternoon a small army of newspaper men were hunting for the doctor, but without success, although a *Press* reporter traced a person who answered his description to the Cornish Arms Hotel, 11 West Street.

In their December 5 1888 issue, the *New York Press* reporter admitted this was not Tumblety and a case of mistaken identity, stating,

The suspicious looking boarder on West street has turned out to be an Englishman bound to Scranton who desired to escape conversation or company with any here because of exaggerated notions he had conceived of the capabilities of this town in the bunco line.

It was finally revealed that Tumblety took up residence at 79 East Tenth Street by the *World, Herald, and Tribune*, in their respective Tuesday, December 4 1888, issues. The following is the *New York World's* account of Tumblety's arrival, it being the most detailed:

When the French line steamer *La Bretagne*, from Havre, came to her dock at 1.30 Sunday afternoon two keen-looking men pushed through the crowd and stood on either side of the gangplank. They glanced impatiently at the passengers until a big, fine-looking man hurried across the deck and began to descend. He had a heavy, fierce-looking mustache, waxed at the ends; his face was pale and he looked hurried and excited. He wore a dark blue ulster, with belt buttoned. He carried under his arm two canes and an umbrella fastened together with a strap. He hurriedly engaged a cab, gave the directions in a low voice and was driven away. The two keen-looking men jumped into another cab and followed him. The fine-looking man was the notorious Dr. Francis Twombly or Tumblety, and his pursuers were two of Inspector Byrnes's best men, Crowley and Hickey. Dr. Twombly's cab stopped at Fourth avenue and 10th street, where the doctor got out, paid the driver and stepped briskly up the steps of No. 75 East Tenth street, the Arnold House. He pulled the bell, and, as no one came, he grew impatient and walked a little further down the street to No. 81. Here there was another delay in responding to his summons, and he became impatient that he tried the next house No. 79. This time there was a prompt answer to his ring and he entered. It was just 2.20 when the door closed on Dr. Twombly and he has not been seen since.

It is likely not a coincidence that two of these three news organizations, the *New York World* and *New York Tribune*, revealed another significant piece of information not found in any other newspaper and information not given to them by Byrnes' office but by their own reporters interviewing eyewitnesses near Mrs. McNamara's boarding house. They independently reported on witnessing an "English detective" casing out Mrs. McNamara's boarding house on December 3 1888. It should not be a surprise that other newspapers did not report upon the English detective, since they were still searching on West street for Tumblety's residence. Note how the *New York World* correspondent reported the incident:

It was just as this story was being furnished to the press that a new character appeared on the scene, and it was not long before he completely absorbed the attention of every one. He was a little man with enormous red side whiskers and a smoothly shaven chin. He was dressed in an English tweed suit and wore an enormous pair of boots with soles an inch thick. He could not be mistaken in his mission. There was an elaborate attempt at concealment and mystery which could not be possibly misunderstood. Everything about him told of his business. From his little billycock hat, alternately set jauntily [sic] on the side of his head and pulled lowering over his eyes, down to the very bottom of his thick boots, he was a typical English detective. If he had been put on a stage just as he paraded up and down Fourth avenue and Tenth street yesterday he would have been called a caricature.

First he would assume his heavy villain appearance. Then his hat would be pulled down over his eyes and he would walk up and down in front of No. 79 staring intently into the windows as he passed, to the intense dismay of Mrs. McNamara, who was peering out behind the blinds at him with ever-increasing alarm. Then his mood changed. His hat was pushed back in a devil-may-care way and he marched by No. 79 with a swagger, whistling gayly, convinced that his disguise was complete and that no one could possibly recognize him.

His headquarters was a saloon on the corner, where he held long and mysterious conversations with the barkeeper always ending in both of them drinking together. The barkeeper epitomized the conversations by saying: "He wanted to know about a feller named Tumblety, and I sez I didn't know nothink at all about him; and he says he wuz an English detective and he told me all about them Whitechapel murders, and how he came over to get the chap that did it.

When night came the English detective became more and more enterprising. At one time he stood for fifteen minutes with his coat collar turned up and his hat pulled down, behind the lamp-post on the corner, staring fixedly at No. 79. Then he changed his base of operations to the stoop of No. 81 and looked sharply into the faces of every one who passed. He almost went into a spasm of excitement when a man went into the basement of No. 79 and when a lame servant girl limped out of No. 81 he followed her a block, regarding her most suspiciously. At a late hour he was standing in front of the house directly opposite No. 79 looking steadily and earnestly [sic].

The *New York Herald* reporter's eyewitness account was less detailed, yet clearly had clearly seen the same Englishman:

I found that the Doctor was pretty well known in the neighborhood. The bartenders in McKenna's saloon, at the corner of Tenth street and Fourth avenue, knew him well. And it was here that I discovered an English detective on the track of the suspect. This man wore a dark mustache and side whiskers, a tweed suit, a billycock hat and very thick walking boots. He was of medium height and had very sharp eyes and a rather florid complexion. He had been hanging around the place all day and had posted himself at a window which commanded No. 79. He made some inquiries about Dr. Tumblety of the bartenders, but gave no information about himself, although it appeared he did not know much about New York. It is uncertain whether he came over in the same ship with the suspect.

Note how similar these two competing reporter's eyewitness accounts are of the English detective. While the *World* reporter called the man little, they did not mean height, since the *Herald* reporter stated he was medium height. These two reporters were using the bartenders' accounts not to pick up a story, but to corroborate their own eyewitness account of a man who dressed like an English detective. The man would not speak with them but they noticed he had conversed with the bartenders. Just as any reporter would do, they asked the bartenders what the mysterious man said.

The *New York World* reporter actually discovered the mission of the English detective by what the bartender said,

...he told me all about them Whitechapel murders, and how he came over to get the chap that did it.

This is not a mission of a private English detective hired by loaners from England in an attempt to collect money, but one connected to police matters. While Scotland Yard may have hired a private detective from England to follow Tumblety, this would have been out of character. Scotland Yard's preferred private detective agency were the Pinkertons and they had one of their headquarters in New York City.

An article on Scotland Yard in the *Southland Times*, October 21 1889 states, "Most of the English detective work in America is done through the Pinkertons..." If the man was a Pinkerton detective, he would have been an American dressed as a New Yorker.

Two independent reports actually clarify where the English detective came from – Scotland Yard. In the December 14 1888 issue of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, an Associated Press article discussed an investigation on Tumblety going on in Cincinnati:

...Dr. Francis Tumblety, one of the suspects under surveillance by the English authorities, and who was recently followed across the ocean by Scotland Yard's men. From information which leaked out yesterday around police headquarters...

In the December 16 1888, issue of the *San Francisco Examiner*, the article referred to the English detective in New York City as, the "detective from Scotland Yard."

It was actually commonplace for Americans and American reporters in the late nineteenth century to refer to Scotland Yard detectives as English detectives, as evidenced by the following eight examples:

1) Most of the English detective work in America is done through the Pinkertons agency; but there are always three or four Scotland Yard men in the country watching the dynamite societies and looking after their Irish friends in different parts of the country. One of them, who was stationed in New York last year. (*Southland Times*, October 21 1889)

2) Chief Williamson of the English detective force is dead. (*New York Press*, December 10 1889)

3) ...was all along suspected of being, namely, an English detective from Scotland Yard. (*Troy Daily Times*, May 23 1887)

4) Department of Distinguished Persons. Mr. Chamberlain was accompanied by the English detective that has continued to be close to his side since his arrival from England. (*Yonkers Statesman*, November 24 1888)

5) A special to the *New York World*... From his actions during the trip the officers of the steamer were impressed with the opinion that he was an English detective sent to report the movement of the Irish nationalists. (*Evening Star*, October 10 1887)

6) The *Buffalo Courier* tells a long story of a Buffalo mechanic who led an English detective on a wild-goose chase after alleged evidence implicating Parnell and the Phoenix park murders. (*Evening Star*, January 14 1889)

7) Patrick J.P. Tynan... was arrested at Boulogne, France, at four o'clock this morning on a warrant issued... He had been watched since he arrived in France by an English detective, who this morning placed him under arrest. (*New York Herald*, September 11 1896)

8) "I was interested by the excitement and the crowds and the queer scenes and sights, and did not know that all the time I was being followed by English detectives." – Francis Tumblety, *New York World*, January 28, 1889

Not only did Tumblety refer to Scotland Yard detectives as English detectives, he was in New York City when the December 4 1888 *New York World* and *Herald* reports

came out on this detective who “came over to get the chap that did it [the Whitechapel murders].” Tumblety was known to read and collect every newspaper article he was in. It is not a surprise that Tumblety vanished just hours after it was stated in the papers that an English detective was watching his room. The Thursday, December 6 1888 issue of the *New York World* reported Tumblety leaving:

It is now certain that Dr. Thomas F. Tumblety, the notorious Whitechapel suspect, who has been stopping at 79 East Tenth street since last Sunday afternoon, is no longer an inmate of the house. ...but a workman named Jas. Rush, living directly opposite No. 79 says that he saw a man answering the doctor’s well-known description standing on the stoop of No. 79 early yesterday morning, and he noticed that he showed a great deal of nervousness, glancing over his shoulder constantly. He finally walked to Fourth avenue and took an uptown car. A *World* reporter last night managed to elude the vigilant Mrs. McNamara, the landlady, and visited the room formerly occupied by the doctor. No response being given to several knocks, the door was opened and the room was found to be empty.

Chief Inspector Byrnes made it known to all, including Tumblety and Scotland Yard, that although Tumblety had escaped British justice, extradition was out of the question. The following was reported in the *Evening World*, December 3 1888,

Inspector Byrnes says that, although Dr. Twombly is a fugitive from Justice, being under \$1,500 for a violation of the “Maiden Tribute” Act of Parliament, passed after the *Pall Mall Gazette* exposures, he cannot be arrested here.

Byrnes also stated to the press for all to see that if Scotland Yard did charge Tumblety with an extraditable offence and issue a warrant, he would then take action, as reported in the *New York Sun* of December 4 1888,

...but Inspector Byrnes said that no one has any right to bother him [Tumblety] for what occurred across the ocean, unless the Government becomes interested and issues a warrant for his detention.

Byrnes made it clear that he would not allow Tumblety’s right of freedom infringed upon, with the exception of a proper felony warrant. Scotland Yard could issue a warrant and once Tumblety was back in England, or even in Canada, they could drop the charge, then remand him with the original gross indecency and indecent assault charge. If Scotland Yard opted not to arrest Tumblety on the Whitechapel crimes, they actually had another felony

charge they could use, which would not have surprised Byrnes. There is evidence that Tumblety was under suspicion for being involved with the violent wing of the Irish Independence Movement out of New York City, which could have produced numerous extraditable charges. An article in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* of April 27 1890 stated,

He [Tumblety] was last heard of a couple of years ago in New York, where for a time he was under suspicion on account of his supposed connection with the advanced branch of the Irish national party.

Knowing Byrnes left open the possibility of a future extradition, it is not a surprise that Tumblety left town the very next morning on Wednesday, December 5 1888. Regardless of who the English detective was, Tumblety’s actions suggest his state of mind was in flight mode. He clearly believed Scotland Yard was still pursuing him.



Thomas Byrnes

At the time, the New York City Police Department and Scotland Yard had no idea where Tumblety fled, and more importantly they had no idea if he was ever returning to New York City. Only recently has it been discovered where Tumblety hid. In a small town New York newspaper, the *Waterloo Observer*, in its December 12 1888, issue, a Waterloo correspondent reported on Tumblety being in their town. Waterloo is about 40 miles east of Rochester, New York, where Tumblety immigrated to in 1847. The report states:

Wild rumors are afloat about villains in many villages and cities assaulting, insulting and molesting women and young girls on public streets after dark. All these places have a modified prototype of the White Chapel murderer. 'Dick the Slasher.' The announcement that Dr. Tumblety had come to New York and departed for a rural retreat, in the fancy of many timid females has been located in Waterloo. And this is the more certain; since the veritable doctor spent a summer here some ten years ago. Moreover, during the past week, a young lady was met about seven o'clock, in the evening on a public street in the first ward by a man who said, 'You are the girl I want.' And tried to seize her by the neck, when she beat him in the face with an umbrella and he fled. Also, in the lower ward, a woman was followed for a long distance in a menacing manner, and sought safety in a neighbor's house and company home. If there is anything going on in this line more serious than trying to frighten timid females, the villain ought to be run down and punished.

The reporter stated Tumblety was in Waterloo ten years earlier. Both visits can be explained because his sister Elizabeth Powderly and her family lived in Waterloo. Under sworn testimony in 1905, Elizabeth's son, Thomas Powderly, stated that Tumblety visited them in 1881 just after he was convicted on sodomy in Toronto.⁷

When he stayed with his sister in Waterloo, he was busy rewriting his autobiography. Tumblety returned to the New York City area in mid-January, but resided in Brooklyn likely to avoid any reporters hanging around his usual New York City haunts. He kept a low profile until a Brooklyn reporter spotted him:

TWOMBLEY WAS IN BROOKLYN.

Dr. Twombley... says to-day's *Evening Sun*, has turned up in Brooklyn under the alias of common, every day Smith. He first appeared in Brooklyn some ten days ago [about January 18 1889] at the boarding house of Mrs. Helen Lamb, at 204 Washington street... One of the boarders at the house is said to have found Twombly out in this way: A young man yesterday called at the house while that rain storm was in progress. The bell was answered by one of the boarder(s) who was just going out. The young man asked for a Dr. Twombley. The gentleman replied that there was no one of that name in the house. The young man was about to leave when the gentleman was had known as Smith arrived. The young man greeted Smith with a cordial "Howd'y do, Dr. Twombley?" Then the two men held a hasty, whispered conversation, at the end of which Tumblety, alias Twombley, alias Smith, hastily called on his landlady, paid his bill from a big roll of bills, packed his trunks, had them put on a truck, which the young man had summoned, and drove off into the

rain, disappearing as silently and as mysteriously as he had appeared.

(*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, January 28 1889)

Note that Tumblety used the alias Smith. He was extremely secretive, and hid across the river in Brooklyn, as opposed to New York City. Tumblety was clearly still in flight mode, so why did he return to the very same city he just fled from? Part of the answer can be gleaned from a *New York World* interview he gave in New York City that very evening, and his autobiography which he finished just two weeks later. The following is an excerpt from the January 28 interview with the *New York World* reporter:

After months of profound silence Dr. Francis Tumblety, whose name in connection with the Whitechapel crimes has become a house-hold word, has at last consented to be interviewed and give his version of how he came to figure so prominently in the most remarkable series of tragedies recorded in the long list of crimes. The doctor landed in New York on the 3rd of last December, and from the moment that he set foot in New York he was under surveillance. An English detective, whose stupidity was noticeable even among a class not celebrated for their shrewdness, came over especially to shadow him, and scores of reporters tried in vain to see him. As soon as he got off the ship Dr. Tumblety went direct to the house of Mrs. McNamara, No. 79 East Tenth Street, and he has been there ever since. ...if it were not for the fact that the doctor voluntarily came forward and made his own statement no one would have known whether he was in New York or New Zealand. The police long since ceased to take any interest in the case, as it became evident that the English authorities had no evidence to hold the doctor. Finding himself no longer pursued, the doctor concluded to satisfy the public by making a complete statement himself. With this object in view he has carefully prepared a pamphlet giving a history of his life. It will be a refutation of all the charges that have been made against him.

(*New York World*, January 29, 1889)

The reporter had no idea Tumblety had sneaked off to Waterloo, New York, on December 5 1888, then resided in Brooklyn for the last ten days in January 1889. In view of this, it was only an assumption on the reporter's part that he was no longer an interest for Scotland Yard. Note that one of the reasons, if not the *primary* reason, he took the interview was to promote his upcoming autobiography, or autobiographical pamphlet, announcing he will be refuting

7. Circuit Court Archives, City of St. Louis, State of Missouri, Case Number 31430, Series A., 1904 - 1908.

all charges. The *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* of January 28 1889 reported Tumblety turning up in Brooklyn “10 days ago,” which means he arrived from out of town around January 18 1889. He stayed at Helen Lamb’s boarding house at 204 Washington Street under the alias of Smith. Less than a block away was the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* Building on the corner of Washington and Johnson Street, which was the location of the Brooklyn Theatre at 313 Washington Street before it burned down in 1876. This explains why Tumblety stayed at this boarding house, since the Eagle Book and Job Printing Department was the company who published his 1889 autobiography and it operated out of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* Building.

One reason why Tumblety may have had the confidence to return to Brooklyn in mid-January 1889, albeit under an alias, was that the tide of public opinion was turning his way. By Mid-December 1888, most papers were absolving him of the murders. Note the following report in the *Rome (New York) Daily Sentinel*, December 6, 1888:

With bloodhounds, clairvoyants and the other suggestions the London police have been given they seem to be leading a wild goose chase in following one “Dr.” Francis Tumblety to this country as the Whitechapel murderer. They have trace him to Havre, whence he sailed for New York. The suspected “fiend” is not a stranger in this country... The *Rochester Union* calls this talk about his being the murderer the “veriest twaddle.” He has always been a coward, and would hardly dare perpetrate the crimes which have startle the whole world. Still the London police must show their efficiency by chasing somebody.

An Associated Press article titled “Ah There! Tumblety. The Notorious Whitechapel Suspect and His Ways and Manners,” began to be published in US newspapers in mid-December 1888, and continued until February 1889. In it, the report absolved Tumblety of the murders. The article began:

Tumblety has tumbled to himself, and the detectives are “onto him” in America. But he isn’t “Jack the Ripper,” the Whitechapel murderer, by a long tumble... His “herb doctoring” finally became unprofitable in America; so he went to London, located near the Whitechapel road and for a while did a big business. His oddity of manner, dress and speech soon made him notorious as the “American doctor”...

The *New York Daily Graphic* of December 22 1888 states: “Another dissolute woman has been murdered in London and stories of Jack the Ripper are again afloat. This lets out Dr. Tumblety.”

Another Associated Press article that made multiple

newspapers in December 1888 – the following example in *The River Press* dated December 26 1888 – also absolved Tumblety of the murders:

Dr. Tumblety, the supposed Whitechapel murderer, is still in New York, and is being shadowed by the police, yet the Whitechapel murders have not ceased. It looks as though the detectives are on the wrong scent.

Tumblety would have read these articles while hiding out at his sister’s home in Waterloo, New York, so he would have known the newspapers had corrected themselves. Tumblety was actually winning the public battle, yet as evidenced by executing his public affairs campaign, he still felt it necessary to continue to regain control of the Tumblety narrative. If Tumblety was completely innocent and it was a case of the newspapers inflating Scotland Yard’s interest in him, then his efforts in keeping the story alive is very odd and self-defeating behavior.

The *Evening Post* of February 16 1889 stated that the autobiography was “just published in America,” which was less than two weeks after Tumblety gave the interview. Tumblety knew the jig was up, and the press discovered he was in town. It is likely not a coincidence that the very next evening he gave the interview to announce his future publication. He was in New York from mid-January to mid-February in order to get his 1889 autobiography completed and published, but if he was still worried that Scotland Yard might still have him arrested, keeping in mind that it was only two months earlier that he read about an English detective in New York to bring him back to England, then it would be strange for him to merely sit and wait in New York City.

There is evidence that Tumblety quickly left New York City after the publication of the 1889 autobiography. Under sworn testimony in 1905, Richard Norris stated that he met up with Tumblety in New Orleans “every year” during the Mardi Gras season between 1881 to 1901, which means he met up with Tumblety in early 1889.⁸ In 1889, Mardi Gras was on March 5th, closing the carnival season which began in mid-February.⁹ This means Tumblety met up with Norris between mid-February to early March 1889. The Ripper murders were on Norris’ mind. He stated under oath,

When I spoke to him about the numerous women that had been killed around White Chapel, he said, “Yes, I was there when it all happened”.¹⁰

8. Ibid.

9. Hardy, A., ‘The World’s Foremost Authority on Mardi Gras’, available at www.mardigrasguide.com/index.php?number=5&start_from=5.

10. Circuit Court Archives: op. cit.

Tumblety's fears that Scotland Yard was still interested in him into 1889 specific to the Whitechapel murders may have been justified and has corroborating evidence. An Associated Press article out of New Orleans published in the June 27 1903 issue of the *Buffalo Courier* was titled "Tumblety's Life in New Orleans." Paragraph two begins:

During the time "Jack, the Ripper," was causing commotion **he was arrested here** [New Orleans] on suspicion of being that individual ...He was a night prowler and was often seen on the streets after midnight..." [Author emphasis added]

Norris' testimony confirms Tumblety was indeed in New Orleans just after the murders, and his testimony corroborates the *Buffalo Courier's* nighttime prowling comment, stating,

...he never frequented the street in the daytime; he used to walk the streets all hours of the night... It seems to me he had peculiar habits, every night going through all the dark streets, walking like a Street Walker. He would take the darkest streets, and the darkest spots at night, and at one and two o'clock in the morning he would walk up Camp street, and all the dark streets and dark corners. I used to watch him very close because I did not know what kind of fellow he was.¹¹

Police headquarters did know Tumblety was in town. Note what Norris stated,

I got a little scared of this man, and I went over to the Chief of Police, and told him of this fellow, and he told me that reminds him of the big tall man that he read of in the *Chicago Herald*, and *Pittsburg Dispatch*, as being Jack the Ripper, and I said, he answers the description.

As Norris stated, the New Orleans chief of police remembered reading about Tumblety in two major newspapers, meaning the chief of police kept up with the Whitechapel investigation. Recall that an Associated Press article was published in the *Cincinnati Enquirer* on December 14 1888, mentioning that a Scotland Yard detective out of New York City was running an investigation outside of New York City. The article was transmitted to numerous newspapers, such as the *Wheeling Sunday Register*. Closer to home, this article was published locally on December 17 1888 in the *New Orleans Daily Picayune*. If it is true that the New Orleans chief of police had Tumblety arrested and questioned, he could have quickly cabled Chief Inspector Byrnes to let him know of Tumblety's New Orleans connections.

The arrest would not have been an arrest to extradite

Tumblety back to England, but to interview him further and release him, since according to the papers the investigation was ongoing. Scotland Yard confirmed their interest in interviewing Tumblety in the US. Scotland Yard's Inspector Andrews was in Canada in December 1888, and was quoted in the *Toronto World* of December 12 1888 about Tumblety as Jack the Ripper. Andrews brushed off the question by saying Tumblety was not the killer; but, "All the same, we would like to interview him..." The Scotland Yard detective in New York City could not interview Tumblety because he sneaked off to Waterloo, New York the very next morning. There has been a claim that Scotland Yard only wanted to interview him for the misdemeanor case, but the prosecution already had such a solid, fact-based, case that the grand jury returned a true bill *and* Tumblety sneaked out of the country convinced he was going to prison. Besides, Tumblety could not be extradited, but he could eventually be extradited on a felony case.

While Tumblety was hiding out at his sister's residence in December 1888 he began his public affairs campaign by updating his autobiography, and these updates had everything to do with his connection to the Whitechapel murders. New in the 1889 version of his autobiography was his 'My Vindication' section, which consisted of two chapters. He began the section with his vindication statement:

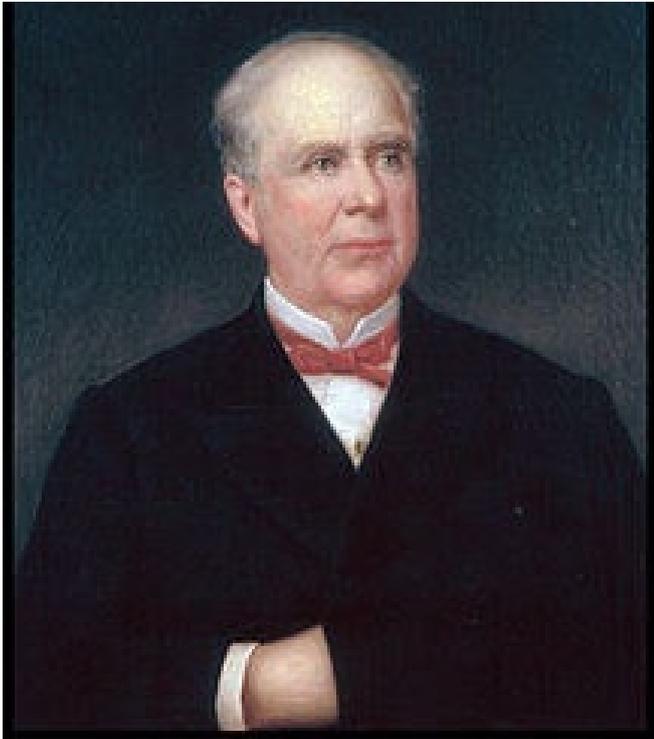
Now let me say a word about the attacks which certain American newspapers recently made upon me, attacks that were as unfounded as the onslaught made on the great Irish leader.¹²

Tumblety blamed the American newspapers for the slanderous attacks, but did not mention what the slander was about. These newspapers never discussed Tumblety's sodomy practices; only his connection to the Whitechapel murders. In view of this, the slandering was about being implicated in the Whitechapel murders. Nowhere in his updated autobiography does it mention anything about London or the Jack the Ripper murders, which leads to one conclusion: Tumblety purposely hid his connection to the murders. This contradicts a common claim that Tumblety concocted the whole story about him being arrested for the Whitechapel murders; purposely attaching his name to the infamous Jack the Ripper murders for publicity and notoriety. Tumblety could have easily refuted these claims, as he did in his autobiography specific to his 1965 Lincoln

11. Ibid.

12. Tumblety, F., *Dr. Francis Tumblety, A Sketch on the Life of the Gifted, Eccentric, and World-famed Physician*. Eagle Book and Job Printing Department, Brooklyn, 1889.

conspiracy affair. Case in point, Tumblety stated he was misidentified as Dr. Luke Blackburn, “of yellow-fever-plot notoriety,” and then refuted it. Note the difference in Tumblety’s autobiographical refutations between his 1865 Lincoln conspiracy affair and his 1888 connection to the Whitechapel murders. In one case, he trumpets details of the experience, and in the other he buries it much like he buried the truth that he was an Indian herb doctor.



Dr Luke Blackburn

Tumblety has contradicted himself. He stated in his autobiography that he blamed the American newspapers for connecting him to the murders, while he told the *New York World* reporter on January 28 1889 that the reason he was updating his autobiography was to refute the charges; specifically, the English detectives’ claims that he was involved in the murders:

My arrest came about this way. I had been going over to England for a long time-ever since 1869, indeed-and I used to go about the city a great deal until every part of it became familiar to me. I happened to be there when these Whitechapel murders attracted the attention of the whole world, and, in the company with thousands of other people, I went down to the Whitechapel district. I was not dressed in a way to attract attention, I thought, though it afterwards turned out that I did. I was interested by the excitement and the crowds and the queer scenes and sights, and did not know that all the time I was being followed by English detectives... My guilt was very plain to the English mind. Someone had said that Jack the Ripper was an American, and everybody believed

that statement. Then it is the universal belief among the lower classes that all Americans wear slouch hats; therefore, Jack the Ripper, must wear a slouch hat. Now, I happened to have on a slouch hat, and this, together with the fact that I was an American, was enough for the police. It established my guilt beyond any question.¹³

The answer to this blame-game change makes sense in light of his decision not to mention what the slanderous attack was about – the Whitechapel murders. If Tumblety blamed the London police, then this would lead the reader back to the Whitechapel murders, which is further corroboration that he was not looking for notoriety.

Chapter one of his ‘My Vindication’ section is subtitled ‘Letters from Friends’, while chapter two is subtitled ‘Farewell’.

A quick mention of chapter two: in the ‘Farewell’ section, Tumblety announced his retirement, reminded the reader of his standing in high social circles, discussed his famed medical career, then ended the chapter with a poem about slandering an honest man by certain newspapers being worse than the scourge of war.

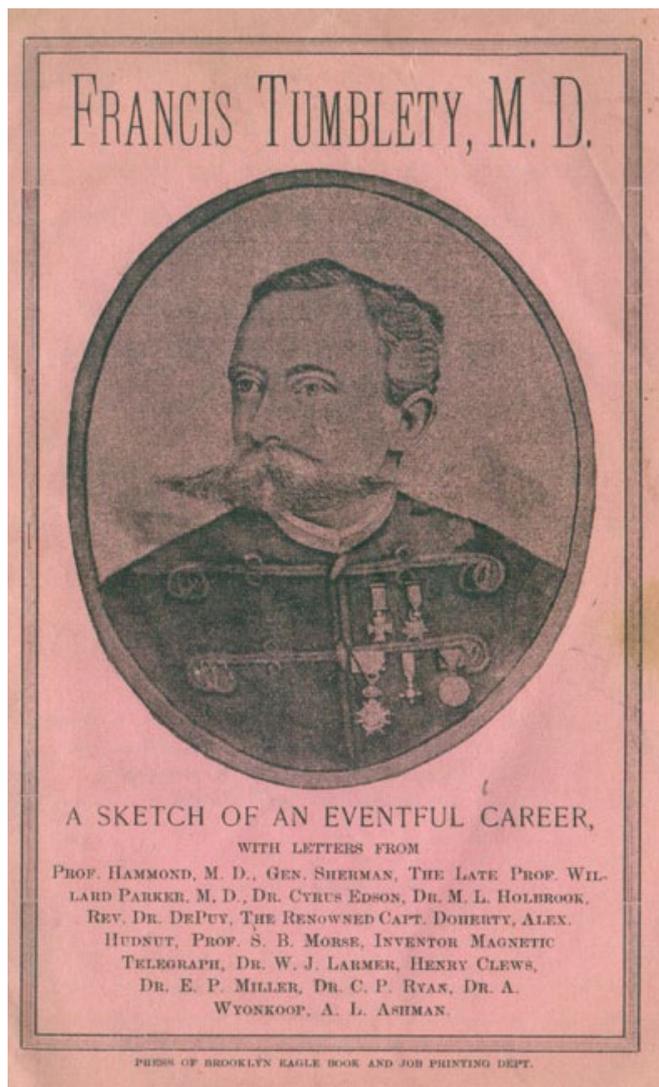
Chapter one of his autobiography, ‘Letters from friends’, is a collection of short comments by acquaintances of Tumblety’s sent to him soon after he returned from England. As he states, Tumblety published these letters to claim that his “social and professional standing” has been unimpaired. Most, if not all, may have been return letters with Tumblety making first contact, as evidenced by his banker Henry Clews stating, “I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th ult., and am much obliged for the comments contained.” This suggests he solicited a response from these prominent New Yorkers in order to create the illusion that those in high social standing continue to accept him. A contemporary *New York World* reporter came to the same conclusion. Note the comments in the edition of June 5 1889:

...He showed a book purporting to give an account of himself as a physician. On the outside was printed that he had references from Gen. Sherman, Alexander Hudnut... These references were printed in the book, but amounted to nothing. They were merely such letters as the gentlemen might write in response to an effusive and uncalled-for epistle from the doctor in the first place. He lives at 82 Clinton place.

Additionally, Tumblety spent time in numerous cities, so why did he not publish any of those letters? The likely answer is that there were no letters from others. If he

13. *New York World*, January 29, 1888.

had received them, it stands to reason that he would have published them.



In all, Tumblety claimed to have received letters from 24 New York City “friends” in his 1889 autobiography, posting their names, but he only published “flattering” responses from ten of these letters. He merely listed the names of the rest. This New York City-only pattern in his correspondence testimonials can be used to ferret out his intentions. The autobiography was published in mid-February 1889 and the earliest letter was dated in January. It is quite apparent that as Tumblety was writing his ‘My Vindication’ section he was contacting acquaintances in the hope they would respond cordially. In so doing, he got to publish these responses in order to demonstrate that prominent New Yorkers considered him equal in social status and innocent. The end of Tumblety’s ‘My Vindication’ section was his address for friends to send him letters, which was a general post to the New York City Post Office. This meant that Tumblety needed to be in New York City in order to collect these letters, hence, a reason why Tumblety returned.

Eight of the ten letters were not only signed, but also dated. These letters can be separated into three categories. First, one letter was dated before he arrived in Brooklyn, around January 18 1889, meaning he must have sent a letter to the friend while hiding out in Waterloo. Second, there were four letters dated nearly two weeks after he arrived in Brooklyn, but before his initial publication of the 1889 autobiography around February 15 1889. Third, there were three letters dated after the February initial publication, thus were later added. The letters in the second category were from Graeme M. Hammond, M.D., National Hotel proprietor T. Halliday, Dr. Cyrus Edson, and Dr. M.L. Holbrook, dated January 23, January 24, and February 1 1889 respectively. The letters in the third category were from Alex Hudnut, Edward P. Doherty, Daniel J. Rooney, and Henry Clews, dated March 13, March 9, March 25 and April 2 1889 respectively. Tumblety clearly added these to his February 1889 autobiography in order to create the perception of large numbers believing him to be a high-minded and noble gentleman.

The letter dated before Tumblety arrived in Brooklyn around January 15 1889, specifically January 2 1889, was from a Reverend W. H. De Puy, who states,

F. Tumblety, Esq., M.D.

Dear Sir:- I well remember the incident connected with our first acquaintance on board the City of Rome, on a trip a couple of years since, to the Old World. This acquaintance soon ripened into a sincere friendship, which has continued until the present time. I need not add that during your stay in this city I shall be glad to have you call at my office as often as may suit your convenience.

I remain, my dear sir, very truly yours,
 REV. W. H. DE PUY, D. D., LL. D.

This particular reply letter is an excellent example of these actually being real letters, as opposed to Tumblety merely making them up. De Puy was a prominent Methodist priest, but was also the editor of the *Christian Advocate* until 1888.¹⁴ Tumblety was a devout Catholic, so their religious affiliations would not have been where their lives connected. According to De Puy, they met a couple of years prior to December 1888 while both were sailing to the ‘Old World’ onboard the steamship *City of Rome*. A full-column article in the *New York Herald* of May 25 1887 reported on the Hawaiian Queen Kapiolani sailing that day from New York City to Liverpool onboard the steamship *City of Rome*.

14. Carlton, T., Porter, J., *The Christian Advocate*, Volume 83, 1908.

The article then stated,

There will be several "honorable" on board, in whom she may find fine types of the American citizen, for among her fellow passengers are... **W.H. De Puy....**
[Author emphasis added]

Although, not mentioned in this article, Francis Tumblety was also on board the *City of Rome*. This was likely the cruise on which the two first met.

These letters from apparent friends were acquaintances of Tumblety's in the mid-1880s, as evidenced by their content and the fact that they were all from New York City. In his later 1893 autobiography Tumblety added letters from friends in other cities. The fact that he had his 1889 autobiography published in just weeks meant that he likely used only New York City friends in order to rush publication.

The letters can be useful in understanding what Tumblety was doing in New York City in the early- to mid-1880s. Tumblety was never known to have friends he would pal around with, with the exception of young men he hired as travel companions. He was known to have cordial conversations with men he happened to encounter as he was by himself, such as during his travels or at a hotel lobby. Sworn testimony from eyewitnesses living in Hot Springs, Arkansas, show that just after 1881 Tumblety changed his annual travel behavior to locations with hot baths, such as Hot Springs, Arkansas, Saratoga Springs, New York.¹⁵ Corroborating this is an Associated Press article in the *New Ulm Weekly* dated December 5 1888 which stated,

Shortly afterwards he disappeared, and was not heard of again until 1883. In that year he went to Hot Springs, Ark., to be treated for rheumatism.

In Tumblety's autobiographies, he writes about the benefits of hydrothermal treatments for ailments. Since Tumblety spent weeks, if not months, in New York City, it would not be a surprise that he spent time in the New York City hot bath establishments. Likely not a coincidence, three of the prominent New York doctors Tumblety mentioned were associated with hot baths. The homeopathic doctor Dr. M.L. Holbrook was not only a professor of hygiene at the Women's Homeopathic Medical College, he also ran a Turkish bath establishment.¹⁶ Dr. E.P. Miller, an expert on Bright's Disease, ran a bath establishment at the Miller's Sanitarium.¹⁷ He also published articles on water cures and how to bathe. Dr. C.T. Ryan ran a Russian Bath at Lafayette Place.¹⁸ Dr. Cyrus Edson was also associated with a hot bath facility.¹⁹ Interestingly, Dr. Cyrus Edson was involved in the Carrie

Brown murder case.²⁰

One particular New York friend Tumblety added in the new 'My Vindication' chapter may give us a window into a secret Tumblety kept. That person is Graeme Hammond, M.D., a prominent New York City neurologist, or what was known at the time as an alienist.

Hammond was editor of the *Journal of Nervous Mental Diseases*, chair of neurology at NYU School of Medicine, and future president of the American Psychiatric Association.²¹ He was considered an expert on the diseases of the brain. He was also considered an expert in hypnosis, and in March 1889 he was questioned as an expert in a murder case where the young man named Willie Krulisch attacked a drug clerk named Gunther Wechsung with a hatchet. According to the *Evening World* of March 27 1889, a claim was offered that Krulisch was under hypnotic influence of an unknown person, thus not under his own control. Dr. Hammond and a colleague named Dr. Rockwell were consulted, and after testing the boy they concluded he was not under hypnosis.

In the June 5 1889 issue of the *Juniata Sentinel and Republican* out of Mifflintown, Pennsylvania an article titled 'Strange if True' reports on Dr. Graeme Hammond teaching a class in medical school on hypnosis. After hypnotizing a student, he stated,

He is now under my control. I can do what I please with him. In his present state I could use this man as an instrument in committing a crime, and after I had withdrawn my influence and given him back his will he would remember absolutely nothing about it.

Hammond controlled the student's actions with a number of verbal demands, such as having him ride an imaginary horse, then fall off and get injured. He then stated to the student, "You see that man leaning against the wall near the door? Look at him well. He is the murderer of your father." The hypnotized student became enraged and rushed forward. Hammond then caught the student and told him to "take him unaware." The student grabbed a pencil, crept along the wall, then thrust the pencil into the imaginary man's neck three times. Hammond then told the student that the police are coming so hide

15. Circuit Court Archives: op. cit.

16. *Water-cure Journal*, Volume 56, 'The Herald of Health', July 1873.

17. *Sullivan County Record*, December 7, 1888.

18. Welles, C.A., *The Doctor*, Volumes 2-3, 1888.

19. Ward, P., *Simon Baruch: Rebel in the Ranks of Medicine, 1840-1921*, Univ of Alabama Press, 1994.

20. Conway, J., *Big Policeman: The Rise and Fall of Thomas Byrnes*, Lyons Press, 2010.

21. Appignanesi, L., *Trials of Passion: Crimes Committed in the Name of Love and Madness*, Virago Press, 1969.

under the table. The student had fear in his eyes as he hid. Hammond then stated to the class,

Look at the man's face; guilt and terror are stamped upon it. You see a murderer, haunted by the fear of detection and the remembrance of his crime.

There is a curious connection between Graeme Hammond and the Whitechapel murders. Hammond's father was the US Surgeon General Dr. William Hammond, who publically gave his professional opinion on who Jack the Ripper might be.²²

On November 19 1888, a *Chicago Daily Inter Ocean* reporter spoke with William Pinkerton and asked, "And what do you think are the probabilities of his being the man who committed the Whitechapel murders – murders committed, apparently, without any object in view? Do you consider that the Doctor was insane?" Pinkerton stated,

Yes, I do. I think a man guilty of such practices as those I have referred to must be insane; and Dr. Hammond – Surgeon General Hammond – some time ago, when asked as to whether or not he thought that the Whitechapel murderer was an insane man, said that when the murderer of those women was discovered he would undoubtedly be found to be a woman-hater and a man guilty of the same practices which I have described, and Twombly, or Tumblety, as being guilty of, and that such men were crazy and as likely as not to murder women.

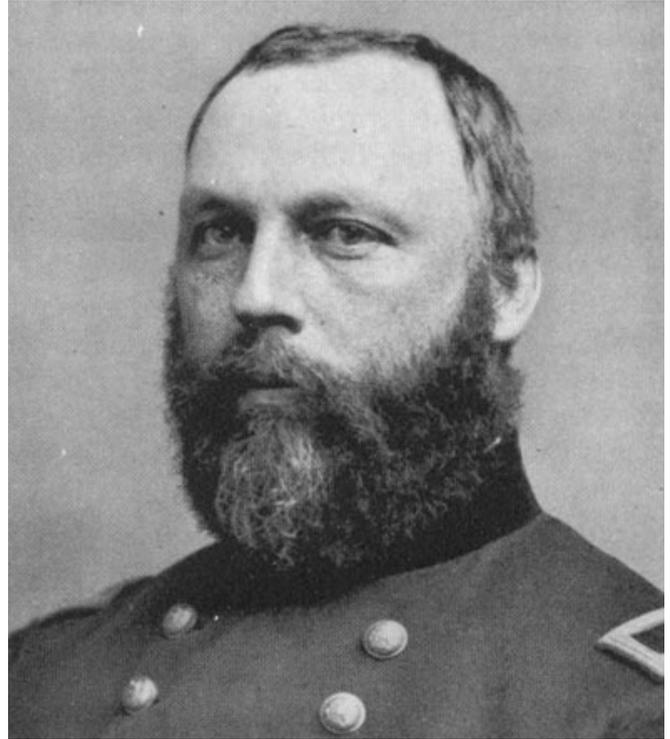
The interview of Hammond that Pinkerton referred to was published in the *Williamsport Sunday Grit* of October 7 1888. When asked what could cause "homicidal insanity," Dr. Hammond stated, "for some one of a dozen causes, disease, or drink, or what-not..."

William Hammond and his son Graeme worked closely together throughout the late nineteenth century, even publishing together on numerous occasions. In June 1889, William Hammond actually directed his son to take out the brain of a particular patient without permission, which made its way to court. In an article subtitled 'Dr. W.A. Hammond to be Sued by the Widow of a Man whose Brains he Removed', it was stated,

Ross died June 19 last. Word was sent to Dr. William Graeme Hammond, son of Dr. William A. Hammond, in obedience to what the wife considered her husband's agreement. Young Dr. Hammond came and removed the brain.

In his response in Tumblety's autobiography, Graeme Hammond claimed to have known him for several years, likely meaning 1886 to 1888:

Dear Sir:— I have had the pleasure of your acquaintance for several years, and have always found you to be an honorable and straight-forward gentleman.



US Surgeon General Dr. William Hammond

The other medical doctors Tumblety published as friends were involved with hot baths, so they likely knew him because of his visits to their respective hot bath facility. Hammond, on the other hand, was not associated with a hot bath facility. This begs the question as to how their paths crossed. There is evidence that Tumblety suffered from the very same disease Dr. Hammond claimed to be an expert in, so they may have had a doctor-patient relationship. A particular area of brain disease Hammond was considered by the legal community as an expert was general paresis. In numerous New York City court cases, Dr. Hammond was used as an expert witness in diagnosing general paresis.

On September 23 1893, Graeme Hammond examined a man named David Solomon, and according to comments in the *New York Sun* of September 23 1893 Hammond certified he "was suffering from paresis. On their certification an order was issued from the Superior Court for confinement... All the medical evidence taken in the case was to the effect that David Solomon was insane."

In the December 19 1900 edition of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Hammond testified in the Daniel Doody trial, stating Doody "was suffering from paresis."

22. Ibid.

In the January 22 1904 edition of the *New York Sun*, Hammond was recorded testifying in a court case about a man named Weber. It states, “Dr. Graeme Hammond testified that Weber was a sufferer from paresis...”

According to the U.S. National Library of Medicine, general paresis is a problem with mental function due to damage to the brain from untreated syphilis, and it is one form of neurosyphilis, an infection of the central nervous system.²³ Generally, neurosyphilis occurs about 10 to 30 years after initially being infected with syphilis, and the patient is no longer contagious. Syphilis can lie dormant for 10 or 20 years before progressing to neurosyphilis. While it can occur in the primary or secondary stages, it is generally associated with the tertiary stage. Cardiovascular syphilis, an infection of the heart and aorta, is often associated with neurosyphilis.²⁴

In an article in the February 4 1892 edition of *The Daily Leader* titled “Have You Paresis?”, famous New York neurologist Dr. Allan McLane Hamilton stated that general paresis is also called general paralysis of the insane, paralytic dementia, and softening of the brain. He then stated, “...while I have spoken of ‘softening of the brain’ as being the term once popularly applied to it, the actual fact is that a paretic’s brain becomes, if anything, hardening...”

In the very same article, Hammond’s father Dr. William Hammond stated, “The patient becomes regardless of his personal appearance. Neglects to change his linen and appears in public half-dressed. He memory fails rapidly and his acts are eccentric and absurd.”

In the last few years of Tumblety’s life, Tumblety dressed as a homeless person, never changed his clothes, and was very dirty.

In an article in the *Arizona Weekly Citizen* of November 13 1886 titled ‘Paretic Dementia’, Dr. William Hammond stated paresis is a new form of insanity, “termed paresis, general paresis, **general paralysis**, progressive paralysis, paretic dementia, **softening of the brain**, and brain wasting.” [Author emphasis added]

John B. Brooks, a Hot Springs physician, was interviewed under oath in 1905 about his interactions with Tumblety.²⁵ He was also a surgeon in the Civil War. Brooks testified that he knew Tumblety from about 1882 to 1902, Tumblety visiting at least once a year. He gave his medical opinion on Tumblety’s physical and mental condition and stated that he was, “a man suffering from **softening of the brain.**” [Author emphasis added] The attorney asked if it was progressive, and Dr. Brooks replied “Yes sir.” Upon cross-examination, Brooks stated, “I judge from his manner and seeing him that he was in a diseased condition.” Brooks was a physician and would have known that softening of the brain meant paresis.

Brooks was also a physician at Hot Springs, Arkansas, which in the late nineteenth was considered the mecca for patients suffering from syphilis.²⁶ Hot Springs became federal property in 1832, called Hot Springs Reservation (HSR), and physicians began coming to Hot Springs in the 1850s due to the growing belief that bathing in the hot springs had curative properties. Hot Springs became known nationally in 1877 when the US Congress financed direct supervision of the HSR with the first supervisor Civil War Union General C.W. Field.²⁷

In an extract from Register of Departments from Government Free Bathing Pools at Hot Springs, Arkansas dated September 1885, Superintendent Field produced numerous testimonials on the success of the Hot Springs treatment on diseases, especially syphilis, such as in the case of Albert Hudson. Hudson stated,

Condition on arrival at the Springs; Syphilis, eyeritis, full of sores, and crippled form use of mercury. Condition now: Have taken 60 baths; good condition; able to work, and no particular illness.

In the case of J.E. Todd, he stated, “Syphilis had full control of me... and after taking 50 baths I must say that life came in my leg and all indication of syphilis has disappeared from my system.”²⁸

The reason Dr. Graeme Hammond was used as an expert is because it was extremely difficult to diagnose syphilis before they could directly test for it, which occurred in 1906 with the Wasserman test. Syphilis was known as “the great imitator,” since it causes symptoms similar to many other diseases. Tumblety claimed he had had his hot baths for rheumatism and would never have admitted he suffered from syphilis. Tumblety, though, was likely using rheumatism not as a disease but symptomatically. According to IPUMS-USA, an interdisciplinary research center at the University of Minnesota, in the 1880s, the term ‘rheumatism’ was still used as a symptomatic description of conditions rather than as a clinical diagnosis:

The designation of “rheumatism” appears to have include any condition which prohibited free

23. MedlinePlus, U.S. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD, 2019, available at medlineplus.gov/ency/article/000748.htm.

24. DoveMed, Champaign, IL, 2018. Available at www.dovemed.com/diseases-conditions/cardiovascular-syphilis.

25. Circuit Court Archives: op. sit.

26. Thompson, L.O., Syphilis, Lea & Febiger, 1920.

27. Shepherd, H., History of Baltimore, Maryland, S. B. Nelson, 1898.

28. U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, Volume 2, 1885.

movement, such as rheumatoid arthritis, coxalgia (scrofula, or tuberculosis of the joints) and syphilis.²⁹

It should not be a surprise that Tumblety contracted syphilis, since hyper-sexual habits place in a high-risk category for contracting syphilis. Tumblety sought out sex from young male sex-workers in the slums of every city he visited, and he did this for decades. The earliest account of Tumblety visiting the slums at night was in 1860 in Boston. Norris admitted earning extra money as a male prostitute in 1881 and stated Tumblety wanted Norris to penetrate him.³⁰ Not only is Tumblety having sexual contact with multiple unknown young men, the percentage of male prostitutes infected with syphilis was – and is– much higher than normal.

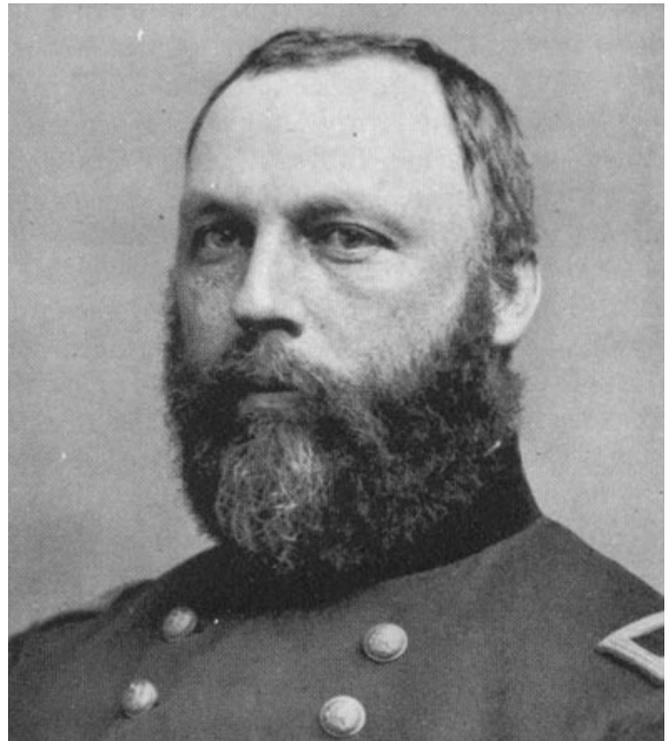
There is evidence that Tumblety may have known he had contracted syphilis in his 1893 autobiography. He added two chapters that he did not have in his earlier autobiographies, in which he singled out only three diseases.³¹

The first chapter is titled 'A Few Remarks on Two Leading Diseases, viz. Paralysis and Bright's Disease'. The modern name for Bright's Disease is nephritis, and this is what was on Tumblety's death certificate as the cause of death.³²

Chapter two is titled 'Causes of Heart Disease'. Recall, in January 1888 Tumblety stated to the Toronto reporter that he was constantly in dread of sudden death because of kidney and heart disease. Was Tumblety also inflicted with the third disease he created a chapter for; paralysis? We know of numerous occasions where Tumblety would pass out, and the Hot Springs surgeon, Dr. John Brooks, stated that Tumblety would occasionally drag one of his feet, stating, "...he walked lame. He seemed to drag one foot after the other."³³

There would be a reason why Tumblety would never have admitted having paralysis, since he would have had to admit he had syphilis. Tumblety claims in his autobiography that paralysis is a leading disease, thus, he can only be referring to the prevalent disease of the nineteenth century, general paralysis of the insane, i.e., neurosyphilis. Tumblety does indeed discuss this disease as progressive; its first condition being "gouty diathesis," followed by "cerebral congestion" causing "**general paralysis**" [bold added] with a "cutaneous affection" (Tumblety was reported having a cutaneous affection, namely, a red face). Recall, Dr. William Hammond referred to the disease as general paralysis. The third stage Tumblety states, "...all of which ends in a crippled nervous system and brain." This is exactly what neurosyphilis attacks. Additionally, neurosyphilis often associated with

cardiovascular syphilis, so Tumblety having heart issues makes sense.³⁴



Tumblety

Also in Tumblety's 1893 autobiography is an omission pattern; a pattern he used in the past when he purposely kept information away from readers. In his 1866 autobiography, there are over twenty references to Tumblety being an Indian herb doctor, including in the title, but in his 1872 autobiography, he omitted all references to Indian herb doctor.^{35, 36} Tumblety clearly took these references out because he was attempting to erase this part of his history and replace it with being a surgeon.

In the *New York World* of December 5 1888, Young Martin McGarry stated that when he worked for Tumblety in 1882. Tumblety told him he was a retired surgeon, and he told Richard Norris in 1881 that he was a retired surgeon. He even stated in his autobiographies that he

29. IPUMS-USA, University of Minnesota. Available at usa.ipums.org/usa/volii/80sick.shtml.

30. Circuit Court Archives: op. cit.

31. Tumblety, F., *A Sketch of the Life of Dr. Francis Tumblety, Presenting an Outline of His Wonderful Career as Physician*, New York, 1893.

32. Circuit Court Archives: op. cit.

33. Ibid.

34. DoveMed: op. cit.

35. Tumblety, F., *A Few Passages in the Life of Dr. Francis Tumblety, The Indian Herb Doctor*, Cincinnati, 1866.

36. Tumblety, F., *Narrative of Dr. Tumblety*, Russells' American Steam Printing House, New York City, 1872.

was a “disciple of Abernethy.” John Abernethy was a late eighteenth/early nineteenth century English surgeon.³⁷

A second example of omission occurred in 1889. Tumblety told the *New York World* reporter on January 28 1889 that the reason why he was creating his 1889 autobiography was to vindicate himself from the slanderous claims of the English detectives about his connection to the Whitechapel murders, but when the autobiography came out two weeks later there was absolutely no mention of what the slander was about. What Tumblety omitted in his 1893 autobiography, allowed him to distance himself from the leading nineteenth disease of syphilis. Instead of stating the cause of general paralysis was syphilis, Tumblety merely states, “whatever the determining cause.”

The suggestion that Jack the Ripper was a person who blamed prostitutes for infecting himself or a loved-one with syphilis has been an accepted plausible motive behind the murders for quite some time. There is the well-known rumor of Prince Albert Victor, or Prince Edward, the grandson of Queen Victoria, having syphilis and being Jack the Ripper. In *The Mystery of Jack the Ripper*, Leonard Matters suggested Dr. Stanley, a Harley Street surgeon whose son died from syphilis contracted by a Whitechapel prostitute, took out his revenge upon them.³⁸ While the story is likely fictitious, it shows the idea was around. Guy Logan, the late nineteenth/early twentieth century London journalist who reported that Inspector Andrews crossed the Atlantic in December 1888 “in search of the Whitechapel fiend on the strength of important information, the nature of which was never disclosed,” alluded to “a certain terrible disease, contracted in that neighbourhood, probably spurred him on to vengeance, remorseless and implacable.”³⁹ Logan clearly meant a venereal disease, like syphilis.

When William Pinkerton discussed Dr. William Hammond’s expert alienist opinion that Jack the Ripper was insane, he connected this to Tumblety because of his “habit of indulging in certain vices,” meaning, his practice of sex with unknown young men. A recent explanation claims that Pinkerton had a flawed nineteenth century belief that homosexuals were insane. In view of this, since Dr. Hammond said Jack the Ripper was insane, then Tumblety fit the insane profile. Actually, Hammond never connected homosexuality to homicidal insanity in the article Pinkerton referred to, but Hammond did with disease. Recall that Hammond stated syphilis is also referred to as, general paralysis of the insane, in other words, disease-induced insanity. In view of this, it is equally likely that Pinkerton did not mean Tumblety was insane because of his homosexuality, but because he had disease-induced insanity. Pinkerton stated that Tumblety



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was in the habit of, i.e., practicing at a high volume, having unprotected sex with unknown young men. Someone with this kind of habit was clearly in a high-risk category for contracting a venereal disease, such as syphilis.

37. Macilwain, G., *Memoirs of John Abernethy, F.R.S.*, Harper & Bros Publishers, New York, 1853.

38. Matters, L., *The Mystery of Jack the Ripper*, Hutchinson & Company, 1929.

39. Logan, G., *Masters of Crime*, S. Paul, 1928.



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