WHITECHAPEL

LONDON AND WHITECHAPEL

- In 1888 London was the capital city not only of Britain, but also of the largest empire the world had ever known
- It was also divided into two very different parts the wealthy West End and the much poorer East End. Whitechapel is in the East End where the pollution was worst.
- The smoke and stinking gas fumes choked the streets of the capital so badly that at times it was impossible to see your hand in front of your face. Houses also used coal as a means of heating, which led to smoke and soot being pumped into the atmosphere. This was made worse in Whitechapel because of its closeness to the railways and steam locomotives.

THE CONDITIONS AND CRIME IN WHITECHAPEL

Environment, social make-up and living conditions

- In fact, the East End was the ideal environment for crime. The wind mostly came from the West blowing fumes from the rest of London to the East End and the Smoke and stinking gases from factories, locomotives and housing choked the narrow city streets so badly that, at times, it was impossible to see more than a metre in front of your face
- Sanitation was virtually non-existent there was little healthy drinking water and sewers ran into the street
- Dark passages and alleyways provided excellent cover...
- It was frequented primarily by beggars, prostitutes, criminals and alcoholics
- Out of a population of 30,000, perhaps as many as 1,000 were homeless
- In the late 19th century, Whitechapel, was one of the capital city's poorest districts, with gangs ruling its streets <u>Employment, poverty and crime</u>
- The 1873 depression brought widespread unemployment and poverty, in an age when being poor implied that you were bad and lazy
- However, finding work meant hanging around for hours outside a factory gate in the hope you might get work
- -Work was poorly paid and unemployment was high which lead to theft and disruptive behaviour.
- Whitechapel's most famous factory was the Bell Foundry, where Big Ben was cast
- However, many residents worked in 'sweated' trades like tailoring, shoe-making and making matches. The work
 premises, known as sweatshops, were small, cramped and dusty, with little natural light
- Hours were long some sweatshop workers put in 20 hour shifts a day and slept on site and wages were low
- Others worked in railway construction or as labourers in the London docks, where the amount of work on offer varied day to day, work could be good but also non-existent, leaving families with an uncertain income.
- The poor pay would barely put bread on the table for your family this lead to lots of orphans, pickpocketing, begging and petty crime.
- Charles Booth investigated the area from 1889 1903 and concluded that 35.7% of East Londoners were in extreme poverty. We would now say below the poverty line (your poverty may well kill you).
- This was due to high unemployment and poor pay.
- Poverty lead to alcoholism and disorder in pubs or gin house (on every corner and served very strong liquor) and drunkenness often turned to violence, and alcoholics could turn to crime to get the money to buy more drink
- This also led to more domestic abuse that stemmed from people living in cramped and overcrowded accommodation.
- IF this got to bad there was always the workhouses, set up earlier in the 19th century as part of the poor relief system, run by Poor Law administrators, that offered food and shelter.
- Many elderly, disabled, sick, orphaned people or unmarried mothers would go there but conditions were
 deliberately worse than what one could get from a labourers wage. There was hard labour, families were
 separated, punishments for talking and meagre amounts of poor food.
- Most would avoid at all costs which led to theft.
- Women faced the threat of the workhouse because there was little work available for women and no help for women without work So many women worked as prostitutes (By 1888, it was estimated that there were 62 brothels in Whitechapel and 1,200 prostitutes) This lead to gangs attacking women.
- Without contraception abortion was common or orphan babies being abandoned on the street.

- Some children escaped the workhouse through Dr Barnado, who took in orhpans from disease outbreaks. When he was taken to a roof top by Jim Jarvis (one of the Barnado boys amd shown the number of poor orphans, he set up an orphanage in 1870 for boys, and later added one for girls.
- One night a child came to the orphanage but as turned away because it was full, he was found dead two days later. Since then the motto has been 'no destitute child ever refused admission.' By 1905 there were 100 Barnardo homes with 85 children in each.

Accomodation

- Slums Most housing was in overcrowded slum areas, aka 'rookeries', characterised by dirt, disease and crime
- Houses were divided into several apartments, and there could be as many as 30 people in one apartment, sharing beds so densely packed together that it was difficult to move about
- 1881 census shows the total population of Whitechapel District in 1881 was 30,709... and there were only 4,069 occupied houses so roughly 8 people to each house which meant overcrowding. A rich family in Westminster might have a family of 4 and 8 servants in a huge house, whereas in Whitechapel on Buck Row, you might have a small house with 10 people all living there.
- Lodging houses These were for people who couldn't afford their own place rooms were packed with beds (little more than wooden boxes) in squalid conditions.
- There were roughly 200 lodging houses where more than 8,000 people lived (25% of the local population)
- Model Housing and the Peabody Estate— not all of it in whitechapel was bad as in 1875, Parliament passed the Artisans' Dwellings Act as part of London's earliest slum clearance programmes and a maze of narrow courtyards filled with cramped and unhealthy houses was replaced by 11 new blocks of flat (designed by Henry Darbishire, and paid for by George Peabody, a wealthy American)
- The Peabody estate opened in 1881 and provide 286 flats and three shillings a week for a 1 bed flat and 6 shillings for three rooms. The average weekly wage for a labourer at this time was 22 shillings and 6 pence (£1.12) and some families spent as much as a third of this (40p a week) on rent

WHY WERE THERE TENSIONS IN WHITECHAPEL?

People of Whitechapel versus the police

- There was often trouble due to the issues with accommodation enmployment and poverty listed above. However, the police were badly prepared for it
- According to the founder of the Salvation Army, the slums of the East End were 'a dark continent full of nameless loathing where lawlessness still reigns supreme'
- In 1888, serial killer Jack the Ripper focused national attention on Whitechapel Lurking in the dark alleyways, he became a symbol for all the fears and worries of the residents. This heightened tensions and demonstrated to the locals how seemingly ineffective the police were and how little they cared about the people. Therefore there was a deep distrust of and animosity towards H Division of the Metropolitan Police in Whitechapel. Also the Metropolitan Police and CID were viewed as oppressive arms of the government after the appointment of Sir Charles Warren as Commissioner of the Met. In 1886. He was seen as pro Middle and Upper Class and the enemy of the working class the population of whitechapel. This was confirmed when Charles Warren sent in the army to control protesters in Trafalgar Square an event that came to be known as Bloody Sunday 1887.
- This was played out in Penny dreadfuls like the 'Illustrated Police News' which panned the police and the police journals like the Police Review that tried to defend the police.

Racial issues

- There was tension due to ethnic rivalry as Long-established Londoners shared the district with more recent Irish and Jewish Eastern European immigrants. This also made police work very difficult.
- This lead to tension and violence between different desperate groups.
- The Irish population expanded rapidly in the East End from the 1840s, they settled near the river and made their living as 'navigators' or 'navvies,' working on canals, roads and railways, or the docks.
- Violence amongst them, especially when drunk, was commonplace and they were not well-liked. This was worsened when the Irish started fighting home rule and the Fenians (extreme Catholic spearatists) organised a bomb attack on Clerkenwell Prison in December 1867.
- Special Branch was formed in the Met. To deal with Irish Terrorism. These events made life for Irish immigrants harder, as, in the press and in popular imagination, they were all seen as probable Fenians and potential **traitors**
- This wasn't helped when the Fenians attacked London Bridge, the House of Commons and the Tower of London on dynamite Sunday in 1885.

- Eastern European joined the mix in the 1880s. The Jews were blamed for the assassination of Alexander I of Russia and the Russians tried to exterminate the Jews in a Pogrom. By 1888 95% of parts of whitechapel were Jewish.
- These areas were separate from others and they were seen as different and were resented in Whitechapel.
- Rather than a fear of terrorism this was more of a cultural misunderstanding and dislike (they didn't need to learn English) as well as a jealousy of their success and innovation in business and people resented their competition for jobs.
- The Jews ran sweatshops and preferred to employ desperate new arrivals than locals as they could pay them less, they would undercut the competition with prices and they could work on Sundays unlike the Christians.
- By 1888, the high unemployment and acute housing shortage in the East End focused national attention on immigration which led to two parliamentary committees that focused on the Jews.
- This, plus cultural tension lead to a rise in anti-Semitic attacks and conflict in run-down mixed race districts.
- During the Ripper case the Jews got the blame in the East London Observer and the Pall Mall Gazzette and Lloyds Weekly news which showed Jewish caricatures. This increased violence against them as people couldn't believe that Jack the Ripper could be English he had to be Jewish or Irish.
- This meant much of the Ripper investigation was hampered by attempts to control anti-Jewish riots.
- Some of the violence in Whitechapel was stirred up by gangs like the Bessarabian Tigers and the Odessians, both made up of immigrants from Eastern Europe who ran protection rackets demanding money for protection.
- Nobody would be witnesses against them, they paid off policemen or threatened them and were thus almost impossible to tackle.
- Therefore the police often stayed out of Rookeries around Ewer Street for example and they let fights take place in such areas without intervening.

Political tension

- Economic hardship among the poor who were now congregating in large numbers in towns lead to the growth of Anarchism across Europe (the answer to the world's problems was to overthrow all governments).
- They tried to take power in Paris in 1881 but when this failed the perpetrators fled to East London.
- In 1893 Special Branch started rooting out suspected terrorists in East London and lead to a lot of attacks on innocent Irish and Eastern European immigrants and their families which led to a seething anti-police sentiment.
- The Socialists also got their own party in 1881 called the Social Democratic Federation (SDF) who were called the Radicals and sought to give power to women and overthrow the capitalist system. They organised the march on Trafalgar Square in 1887 that turned into Bloody Sunday.
- The government feared the rise of socialism in politics, particularly when the SDF sought to get a councillor on the newly formed London Council in 1889. This was greatly resisted by the Home Office.
- The SDF used the Jack the ripper case to highlight the inefficiency of the whole system.

THE POLICE

- The Home Secretary had nominal control over regional, county, town and city police forces out of London after the police Act in 1856. However, he had strong control over the Metropolitan police in London and chose its head.
- The Home Secretary maintained power over the Met. when the London County Council threatened to take control in 1889. The Home Secretary held on to power as they were worried of working class influences on the council.
- However, the Met. Had problems and suffered from a lack of manpower. By 1895, it had 13,319 men among a population of just over 5 million; however, only 1,383 police officers were available for duty at any one time.

WHERE DO YOU LOOK FOR INFORMATION ABOUT THE POLICE AND CRIME IN WHITECHAPEL? ***VERY IMPORTANT!!***

• The online National Archive to find out about criminal trials and how many different crimes there were in whitechapel, how many of different types of crime were committed, and how severe the punishments were (how important this crime was viewed) - Since 2009, the records of more than 1.4 million criminal trials held in England and Wales in the 19th century have been posted on the online National Archive and / or the Home Office Archive. These are merely created as a public record and any doctoring would be illegal and would hamper their effective use by historians and lawyers of the future to make important decisions or observations so this would be unlikely. However, how records are collected and what records are recorded can sometimes be more representative of the system of recording than an accurate depiction of reality.

- The online Home Office Archive to find out about the number of arrests, police numbers and policies According to the Home Office archive, the detective force in London grew from 216 in 1878 to 294 in 1882, and the number of arrests they made rose from 13,000 to 18,000. These are merely created as a public record and any doctoring would be illegal and would hamper their effective use by historians, politicians and civil servants of the future to make important decisions or observations so this would be unlikely. However, how records are collected and what records are recorded can sometimes be more representative of the system of recording than an accurate depiction of reality. E.g. do crime statistics take into account human factors like why people are reporting crimes more at different times or in different areas or an increase in population size.
- Local police and court records for police experiences and individual cases in specific areas However, these are not of a consistent standard and are unreliable in the sense that they use different criteria for what to record. According to records from the 1860s, a Middlesbrough policeman could expect to be assaulted twice a year but only incidences that happened whilst making an arrest were recorded and only when they filled out a report. Individual police might record incidences in certain ways to achieve good inspections or positive statistics. You could try and tally local police records with local court records. These could be used with reports by government committees on criminal statistics published each year that analyse how well police records are kept.
- Freedom licences, or official release papers for prisoners, are valuable records of the number of convictions and punishments (like lengths of sentences and how long prisoners stayed in prison and under what circumstances they were allowed out) However they are not covered by police station records so can't be corroborated but they can be backed up by court records particularly the Old Bailey as most Whitechapel cases ended up there!
- Newspapers for records of major disturbances, to work out the number of disturbances or to gauge public opinion. However, it is useful to remember that accounts may be exaggerated or dramatized for effect in order to sell papers. Indeed some of them, like the 'Illustrated Police News' publication was extremely anti-police and sensationalist to the point that it was nicknamed a 'penny dreadful' (we say tabloid today). The Police Review on the other hand was a deliberately pro police police journal to challenge the penny dreadful accounts. It is likely that major events would be reported because people would be interested but not all incidents could be especially if considered boring / mundane. Also some statements to newspapers by witnesses or police might be false to gain favour or to paint the police in a good light During the Jack the Ripper murders, in October 1888, James Keating, superintendent of Bethnal Green the district immediately neighbouring Whitechapel was asked about his own division's experiences in the Evening Argos newspaper. Keating described just one serious incident, leaving out four stabbings, four robberies with violence and two serious attacks on women. Therefore it is necessary to check newspaper accounts with official local police records.
- Police memoirs(such as by James Bent and Richard Jervis but only useful for Lancashire not London or Whitechapel!!)) for experiences of individual policeman and everyday life as a policeman diaries could be useful as they show individual experiences in an honest way as there is no real reason to fabricate (lie) stories in a diary not meant for other people to read. Auto-biographies are different as they are intended to be read so they will sometimes be an attempt to secure a positive legacy and writers might be looking back and only remembering what they want to. In the case of both diaries and auto-biographies they are only useful as one person's opinion or viewpoint on an issue at one place at one time and this is not necessarily representative of the opinion of the whole police force or other officers in it. James Bent and Richard Jervis were two Lancashire policemen, who wrote accounts of their long careers and provide a vivid and detailed picture of police work in the 19th century. They show that violence between police and locals was common and poachers were often part of organised gangs.
- Reports by a government committee on criminal statistics which were published each year for seeing how
 many arrests / convictions there were for different crimes but also for comparing police records and analysing
 how good police records are in different areas.

THE POLICE IN WHITECHAPEL (IMPROVEMENTS BY 1900)

- The Metropolitan Police force was split into 20 divisions, each responsible for a district of London and named with a letter of the alphabet. Whitechapel was in H Division's territory.
- H Division had 500 beat constables, 37 Sergeants and 27 inspectors.
- The Constables / officers would march into Whitechapel and then break from the column and go on the beat.

- Officers would stop people to found out what, if anything, was going on or they were up to. Any dealings would be reported to the beat Sergeant during the shift and this would be noted in a diary. If anything was missed like a crime on somebody's beat then they might face a fine or dismissal. Pay was poor and the job dangerous
- Recruitment could be bad so Sergeants kept an eye on the beat officers.
- After the Met. Was founded many supported them as they wanted law and order. But, in more deprived areas, like Whitechapel, the police were seen in a more negative light and attacks by violent gangs were relatively common
- This reputation was made worse by economic Depression in the 1870s 1890s which lead to riots being put down by the police who were thus viewed as government stooges who enjoyed excessive violence.
- However they often acted as glorified social workers and by the 1870s they were charged with dealing with some 82 issues ranging from dealing with lunatics to disorder in pubs, street traffic, sewage and litter, coinage, children, runaway horses, fires and accidents.
- The Metropolitan Streets Act of 1867meant that the government had to deal with street trading and traffic too.
- However, they were attacked for attempting to enforce poor relief laws by taking children to school and tackling prostitution and were criticised for caring too much about manners and not enough about safety.
- However, they did provide soup kitchens, looked after stray kids and horses.
- People had a love-hate relationship with the authority of the officers, they both needed it and resented it.

HOW EFFECTIVE WAS THE CID UNDER SIR CHARLES WARREN?

- Aside from the Met. CID (from 1878) were important in the Jack the Ripper Case.
- The detective branch set up in 1842 had been were ineffective and there was confusion as to whether they were to prevent, detect or solve crimes.
- After a serious police corruption scandal in 1877, a barrister called Howard Vincent was appointed to set up the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) in 1878, with 216 officers. They were directed to solve crimes.
- However, they also proved to be ineffective and corrupt.
- There were strikes against police policy and the home secretary made former general, Sir Charles Warren, Metropolitan Police Commissioner in 1886. This was seen as attempting to silence the people.
- Therefore the Met and CID were viewed as arms of the government and anti working class especially in Whitechapel.
- It was Commissioner Warren who called in the army to control the protestors in Trafalgar Square on Bloody Sunday. He seemed to enjoy the confrontation and thus was seen as a bully. This made the police job in Whitechapel much harder. He was forced out when the Met failed to solve the Ripper case.

THE JACK THE RIPPER CASE

- Some historians claim that a prostitute called Martha Tabram

 murdered on 7th August was Jack the Ripper's first victim, stabbed 39 times, but this has been a subject of much debate.
 The first agreed victim was Polly. (first of the 'canonical five.')
- At 11.00 p.m. prostitute Mary Ann Nichols, sometimes known as Polly, was seen shivering outside 'The Frying Pan' pub in Whitechapel, a notoriously dangerous part of London, she returned home to a shared bedsit briefly just after midnight but was thrown out at about 1.30 a.m. because she was behind with the rent.

VICTIM TIMELINE (1888)

- August 7th Marth Tabram (possible Ripper murder)
- August 31st Mary Ann Nicholls (Polly)
- September 8th Annie Chapman (Dark Annie)
- September 30th 'Long Liz' Strideand Catherine 'Katie' Eddows.
- November 9th Mary Kelly
- At about 2.30 a.m. one of Mary Ann's friends saw her back outside the pub trying to make enough money to pay the rent but she told her mate Emily Holland that she'd spent it all on booze and was 'staggering against walls,' but she was going to look for one more customer, then return to the bed-sit to pay her landlord.
- On 31st August 1888 At 4.00 a.m. Mary Ann was found murdered. Her throat had indeed been slashed with a long bladed knife and her stomach had been cut open.

MAIN LETTER TIMELINE (1888)

- September 27th first letter sent to London newspaper. The term Jack the Ripper comes into being.
- October 1st Second Letter received by newspapers from same writer of first letter.
- October 16th The 'From Hell' letter received by George Lusk of the Whitechapel Vigilance Committee from a different writer but the letter contained a bit of kidney.

• Just over a week later, another prostitute called Annie Chapman (Dark Annie) was found dead in a backyard only a few hundred metres from the first murder. A doctor called to the scene wrote that 'the body was terribly mutilated and the throat deeply severed'. Some of Annie's internal organs had been placed over her shoulder.

• On 27th
September a London
newspaper received a
letter in which the
writer boasted about
the murders, taunting
the police because
they had not caught

the murderer. It was published with the name given by the sender 'Jack the Ripper.' Little consideration was given to whether it was real – it would sell!

- On 30th September two more prostitutes were killed 'Long Liz' Stride and Catherine 'Katie' Eddowes were killed within minutes of each other. Police found graffiti near the body of Catherine talking about the Jews, but they washed it off. Bits of her blood-soaked clothing were nearby and her kidney, bits of her ear and nose were gone.
- On of 1st October 1888 a second letter reached the newspapers. This letter referred to the double murder of the previous night. Expert analysis said it was the same writer but there was no way to say this was the killer.
- On 16th October the police received another letter with a piece of kidney but it was probably a different sender.
- On 9th November Mary Kelly was murdered. She was found by a rent collector inside the room she rented. She was the only victim to be found indoors and the only one to be photographed at the scene by the police. The police found Mary's clothes neatly folded on a chair. Her body had been cut open and her organs placed around the room and her face had been hacked to pieces.

KEY FACTS

- 5 victims (possibly 6). All victims were prostitutes.
- They all lived and worked in the slums of the East End of London in the so called 'evil square mile.' – Spitalfields, Whitechapel and Aldgate.
- They had also all been strangled, possibly unconscious, because they had been placed lightly on the ground as there was no back bruising.
- All had throats cut prior to abdominal mutilations and whilst on their back, as the blood pooled by their necks and there was little blood on the victims 'fronts. He used his left hand.
- The removal of internal organs from at least three of the victims led to proposals that their killer had some anatomical or surgical knowledge.
- Further evidence of the above came from his quick removal of Katie Eddowes' kidney from the front not the side and not damaging any other organs.
- He used a long bladed knife.
- 4/5 of the canonical five where found outside.

THE JACK THE RIPPER INVESTIGATION

- Inspector Frederick Abberline and his CID team were assigned to the Jack the Ripper case by the Metropolitan Police, to assist the uniformed men of H Division
- Almost immediately, their task was made much harder by more than 300 letters and postcards sent to them, or to the newspapers, by men claiming to be the murderer
- They published the Dear Boss letter to see if people could identify the handwriting.
- PC Alfred Long of CID found a key piece of evidence the apron of Katie Eddowes covered in blood and faeces. On the wall behind was scribbled 'The Juwes are the men that will not be blamed for nothing.' This was ordered to be washed off by Warren to ensure that it didn't cause an anti-Jewish riot.
- However, some believe he was removing evidence because Eddowes body was discovered in the City of London police area and he wanted to solve the crime before them.
- However the police were busy with lots of murders, the first being Elizabeth Gibb on New Year's day 1888 followed by 122 more.
- Also the population size of London made it difficult to police The population of Greater London in the 1880s was approximately 5½ million

<u>Techniques used in the investigation</u>.

- They started after Polly with following up **direct leads from the Public**, such as in Bethnal Green where people thought the killer was stealing from prostitutes.
- Evidence from post mortems Rees Llewellyn, a local doctor, examined the bodies and worked out the Ripper was left handed and must have anatomy skills so local slaughterhouses and hospitals were searched.

- Following up on indirect leads from articles by investigating journalists The Manchester Gazzette said it was a local man, John Pizer, nicknamed 'Leather Apron,' but he had solid alibis for the Dark Annie and Polly murders.
- Following up on clues in the victims' possessions They tried to track down Dark Annie's missing rings and the origins of an envelope with the Sussex regiment seal on it. However these could be purchased anywhere
- Visiting lunatic asylums
- Following up on coroners' reports Dr Wynne Baxter told the investigators to focus on motive and skills which led them to look more closely at butchers and veterinary surgeons. 76 Butchers were questioned but the of blade skill shown in the mutilation of Katie Eddowes body brought the theory into question.
- Interviewing key witnesses Elizabeth Long claimed to have talked to Dark Annie just before her death but this didn't fit the coroner's timeline.
- **Setting up soup kitchens** Tried to get tips by offering free food.
- **Dressing up as prostitutes and wearing rubber soles** Some policeman tried to trap the Ripper but kept their moustaches! Others put strips of rubber on their boots so they could not be heard on their beat.
- **Using blood hounds** the idea of sniffer dogs was tabled but destroyed by the press. Plus two blood hounds Barnaby and Burgho were working well but the police didn't pay the owner so he withdrew their help. *Issues with the media*
- Newspapers, aside from confusing matters by publishing details of events, also piled on pressure to the the authorities for their 'incompetence' which fuelled anger in Whitechapel.
- This made the investigation have to happen overtly with house to house searches, questioning 2,000 lodging residents, distributing 80,000 handbills, questioning the River Police and searching Opium dens.
- The newspapers also published stories using guesswork and unreliable witnesses which lead to the police wasting their time following them up, and the newspapers played heavily on racist stereotypes.

<u>Problems with techniques</u>

- There was no use of forensics, finger printing, photography, blood groups and DNA would come much later.
- Databases were also not available to efficiently compare data.

Problems with Vigilance Committees

- Annoyed with the failures of the investigation Whitechapel businessmen and traders set up the Whitechapel Vigilance Committee on 10th September 1888
- They organised their own reward system and took to the street with torches, hobnail boots, planks of wood and whistles, this kept the Ripper out of sight, scared witnesses and lead to false accusations. Some were members of the SDF and encouraged this to make the police look useless.

Problems with the queen

- Queen Victoria sent two telegrams with practical advice
- This made the police light dark passages, search for the murderer's clothes and cattle and passenger ships

IMPROVEMENTS BY 1900

- The Bertillon System combined physical measurements, photography and record-keeping to identify repeat criminals. Physical measurements were reduced to a formula which, theoretically, would apply only to one person and would not change during their adult life. This data was kept in a central file from 1894.
- Fingerprinting started to take over and was established by 1901 when a central phone was also installed.
- By 1907 there was a telephone exchange.
- H Division got bicycles in 1909
- Authorities began to link crime with poverty and so Whitechapel and its surrounding boroughs were
 developed to improve heath and housing and street lighting was improved. The Houses of the Working
 Classes Act, 1890 started widespread slum removal and replacement in East London.
- The Public Health Amendment Act, 1890, gave more powers to local councils to improve toilets, paving, rubbish collection and other sanitary services
- However, murders still happened, people pretended to be Jack the Ripper to scare women, burglary, hooliganism, drunkenness and violence continued in Whitechapel especially against prostitutes.