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THE DEATH OF WILLIAM K. DEAN:
MURDER BY PERSON OR PERSONS UNKNOWN

Introduction

This is the true story of the death of William K. Dean, an unsolved murder that occurred on the night of August 13, 1918 in the rural village of Jaffrey, New Hampshire. The story is true. I feel it is necessary to repeat the fact that it's true because at times it seems so hard to believe. This is a drama with all the makings of a well-crafted fictional murder mystery: a gruesome, coldblooded murder, war-time international espionage, a mysterious stranger, a mentally unstable and jealous wife, a prominent citizen with a suspiciously obtained injury, a criminal psychologist, a secret society of Protestants, and an overly zealous and politically powerful Catholic priest. In parts, the story seems almost surreal, as if it had to have been made up; still, despite the mystery and intrigue, two hard cold facts remain: the death of William Dean was a homicide, and whoever did it, got away with murder.

As Jaffrey historian, Alice Lehtinen, wrote in her passage about the case for the town history published in 1971:

On the morning of August 14, 1918, Jaffrey was rocked to the core by news of the disappearance of Dr. William Kendrick Dean and the subsequent finding of his body in a rainwater cistern near the "big house" on the Dean farm, brutally strangled and murdered with a blunt instrument. (176)

As soon as the crime became known in the town theories immediately developed and were intensely debated. The citizens of Jaffrey were definitely affected personally by the news of the crime, but the shock waves caused by his death were not a result of any personal connection to the man. By all accounts, Dr. Dean was a well-liked and respected member of the community;

however, the fracture lines that developed following his murder became drawn largely along patriotic, religious and socio-economic affiliations. Neighbors stopped talking to each other. Catholics wouldn't walk on the same side of the street as Protestants. Workers in the mills and factories suspected their bosses were involved in a cover-up conspiracy. Federal agents and Pinkerton detectives were called in to investigate. Everyone was frustrated and angry that answers were not forthcoming. People were demanding action from state and local officials. Even the governor was accused of being involved in a conspiracy. Finally, a Grand Jury inquest was convened eight months after the crime but the findings were inconclusive and no one was indicted. Newspaper reporters from Boston and New York were avidly covering the story. The Boston American's coverage in particular, became so biased that the paper was sued for libel. Emotions were running at fever pitch in Jaffrey. The situation became nearly hysterical. Who could possibly be responsible for committing this heinous crime and why couldn't the case be solved?

It took a generation for the hostilities in Jaffrey to subside and another for the intensity of the emotions to fade. The debate surrounding the death of William Dean remains unresolved nearly a century later. Even though all of the people directly involved have long since died, the question of who killed Dr. Dean still stirs strong feelings among Jaffrey citizens with a connection to the people and the time, including me. Over the course of this paper, I will discuss how my grandfather, a leading businessman in Jaffrey, was very much a part of the story, and how my mother became involved in several important ways more than sixty years after the fact. Given my personal interest in the case, I am hopeful that new evidence might someday be uncovered and the mystery at long last solved; however, I do not presume to do so in this paper. Rather, it is my intention to give an overview of the crime based on the most reliable sources

available, and then to survey the various theories that have been proposed as to who committed it. I will explore the strengths and weaknesses of the arguments and the evidence supporting each of the theories, and attempt to explain why they stirred such strong emotions amongst the various groups that subscribed to them.

I also hope to address the question of why, after so many years, it should even matter that the crime remains unsolved. After all, as previously mentioned, everyone involved, including the family of the victim and also the perpetrator or perpetrators, have all passed away. Many would argue that since there is no one left to be brought to justice and no one left to see that justice done, why should anyone care? If the case hasn't been solved in ninety-five years, it probably never will be. What is the point of rehashing it yet one more time? I would answer that there is real value in the re-telling of this story, not just for those with personal involvement, but for a much wider audience as well. Making a historically accurate re-examination of the Dean murder, and of its impact on the lives of the individuals and the community caught up in the ensuing drama, provides a unique opportunity to understand the history of our region and even our nation at the time. From this historical perspective perhaps we can gain important insights into certain cultural phenomena that still exist today. Some of the themes that will be discussed as the various theories are explored include the negative consequences of unbridled and misdirected patriotism, religious bigotry, scandal and cover-up in the Catholic Church, as well as governmental secrecy and incompetence. There is also an important lesson on the power of unfounded accusation that still resonates today. Dr. Dean was not the only victim of this crime. There was another man whose life was all but destroyed because he was targeted as a suspect and was never able to definitively establish his innocence. To borrow a quote that has been used once before in regard to this case: "Now as I expect you know, there is nothing more cruel than

talk, and there is nothing more difficult to combat." Agatha Christie: *Thirteen Problems*. In that same story, *The Thumb Mark of St. Peter*, Miss Marple made another comment fitting to the circumstances: "Well, my dear, human nature is much the same everywhere, and, of course, one has opportunities of observing it at closer quarters in a village."

In the final analysis, however, the most important reason why it matters is because it really happened. Once again, this is *not* a fictional story. A man was killed and no one was ever held to account for his death. The death of William K. Dean was murder, and there is no statute of limitations for murder.

Most of the details used in the writing of this paper are taken from the transcription of the Dean Murder Grand Jury Hearing which convened on April 11, 1919 and lasted eight days. The hearing was conducted by New Hampshire's Attorney General, Oscar L. Young and by Cheshire County Solicitor, Roy M. Pickard. The fact that the transcript is even available to be used for this purpose is a separate story in itself. In order to save the expense, grand jury hearings that do not result in an indictment are generally not transcribed from the court reporter's shorthand notes. But in this case, more than sixty years after the hearing took place, during a renovation of the Court House in Keene, a brown paper package containing twenty notebooks of testimony in Pitman shorthand happened to turn up. By the early 1980s, this type of shorthand had been out of favor for nearly fifty years and had long since ceased to be used in court reporting. By that time, very few people were even able to read it. However, an interested citizen of Jaffrey, who happened to have been trained in Pitman shorthand while working as a secretary on Wall Street in the 1930s, became aware of the court reporter's notes in the brown paper package and was given permission to transcribe them. Her old training came back to her and the results of her efforts were published as *Hearing by the Grand Jury on the Death of William K. Dean: April 11-*

22, 1919, Court House, Keene, New Hampshire. The transcriber, editor and publisher is Margaret C. Bean – my mother. She was also the one who chose the Agatha Christie quote mentioned above to use as the introduction to her publication of the transcript, and her work on the case was to continue. More about Margaret Bean’s involvement in the case and the story of the transcript are included as Appendix A at the end of the paper.

Anyone who is interested in this story owes a debt of gratitude to Margaret for the years of work that she put into transcribing the notes and publishing the results. The transcript is an invaluable resource for researching the actual events and it is a fascinating read. It takes the reader back in time to 1919 to hear the witnesses tell the story in their own words. While this story rivals anything that the most talented author of the mystery genre could possibly conceive of in their imagination, no author, no matter how skilled, could ever capture the impact of reading the actual testimony of the people involved. You just can’t write it the way they said it, and for that reason, I have relied heavily on quotations from the transcript throughout my telling of the story. The verdict the Grand Jury returned was “Murder by Person or Persons Unknown”; quite an unsatisfying verdict to be sure, but to my mind, an appropriate descriptor for the title of this paper.

Part I: The People

1. William K. Dean: the victim, who had gone out to his barn at 11:00 p.m. to milk his cow - as he routinely did - but on the night of August 13, 1918, he never returned. His murdered body was discovered the following day at the bottom of a rain cistern behind his barn. Dean is well described by Alice Lehtinen in the same passage from the town history quoted previously.

Dean was a gentleman farmer on one of Jaffrey's sightliest hilltop farms, having abandoned his chosen medical profession on account of the threat of pulmonary disease, which brought him to Jaffrey where in 1889 he bought the former Elijah Smith farm. His wife was his cousin, Mary

Dean; and he himself was born in Wilmington, Delaware, February 12, 1855, the son of Rev. William and Maria (Main) Dean. He was educated at Hamilton College in western New York State. In Jaffrey he was highly respected as a man of culture and refinement and a good neighbor, virtues which his wife shared with him. . . .

For a long distance the writer's parents' farm was only a road apart from the Dean farm, and the writer, then a schoolgirl, remembers the Deans well. As neighbors they were of the best. By that time, as a matter of finances, they had moved from the "big house" to the bungalow nearby, renting their former home to a couple from New York, Mr. and Mrs. Laurence Colfelt, Jr. . . .

Dean's father, the Rev. William Dean, was one of the first American missionaries to China. In 1860 he moved to Siam with his family and there became closely associated with the king of Siam. His son, William, then a lad of five years, became a playmate of the prince of Siam. Returning to the United States, he was educated by his uncle, Dr. Henry Dean of Rochester, N.Y., and while still a medical student he was placed in charge of the Rochester Hospital. This is the boyhood and youth story in brief of the man who later met such a tragic fate in Jaffrey. (177-179)

2. Mary Dean: Dr. Dean's frail and senile wife, who told the authorities on the day after the murder that "Billy" was dead; that "his head hurt" and that he "undoubtedly fell over in the deep water". All this before she had been told that her husband's dead body had been discovered at the bottom of the well and he had suffered a blow to the head. She also told everyone that her husband "loves ladies. He likes ladies very much" (347).

3. Lawrence Colfelt: a mysterious and wealthy stranger in town who rented the "big house" on the Dean farm until just a few weeks before the murder. The country was at war in 1918 and anti-German sentiment was rampant. Many people believed there were German spies sending secret light signals from Mount Monadnock. Colfelt was suspected of being a German sympathizer and even rumored to be the illegitimate son of the German Ambassador to the United States, Count Johann von Bernstorff. Von Bernstorff was infamous for having been involved in espionage before he was expelled from the country when the United States

officially entered the war. He was also known to have made visits to the nearby village of Dublin before the war broke out.

4. Mr. Charles Rich: head of the Monadnock Bank, Municipal Judge, Jaffrey's Town Moderator and Dr. Dean's best friend who "sustained a very severe injury to his eye." . . . "a beautiful black eye" . . . on the night of the murder. As will be later explained, ". . .there have been various stories as to how Mr. Rich acquired that black eye. There have been various conflicting stories as to where Mr. Rich was and what he was doing that night". Rich was choirmaster at the Universalist Church in town but perhaps most relevantly, he was a Mason. In Jaffrey at the time, the Masons were a fraternal civic organization with certain secret symbols and rituals, and whose members were largely the business owners and professionals. They were also exclusively Protestant in 1918, as Catholics were expressly prohibited from becoming Masons by Canon Law. In the early 1900s, Jaffrey's population consisted of large numbers of French Canadian immigrants who worked in the mills and factories owned by the Masons. Many of these workers still spoke French, and nearly all were Catholic.
5. Father Herbert Hennon: pastor of the newly constructed St. Patrick Church on Main St., a handsome, charismatic leader of the Catholic population who, quite strangely for a priest, became a driving factor in the investigation, and who was very focused on Mr. Rich as the prime suspect. Whether his preoccupation with Rich's guilt had to do with the general prejudice that existed between Catholics and Protestants at that time, or whether it was because Rich was a Mason, or whether it was because of some other animosity that Father Hennon held toward Rich, possibly involving the young man who was the son of the priest's housekeeper, are all important questions to be answered in the case.

6. Willie Wendt DeKerlor, (alias Mr. Kent): a self-proclaimed criminal psychologist, a character right out of a movie script, who arrived on the scene several days after the murder and immediately became an extremely divisive figure. DeKerlor was an acquaintance of Dr. Dean's brother, Frederick, who lived in New York State. Frederick Dean had asked DeKerlor to consult on the case as a psychological expert. Dean soon distanced himself from DeKerlor and his unorthodox methods, but amazingly, he was retained by the Jaffrey Selectmen to continue his bizarre investigation. At one point DeKerlor claimed he could detect the faces of the murderers in a photograph of a spot of Dr. Dean's blood taken at the scene of the crime. He based the claim on a new field of forensic science in which he was expert.

7. Miss Georgiana Hodgkins: a high school teacher in New York City who frequently visited the home of her sister and brother-in-law, Lana and Charles Rich, in Jaffrey. She was in town for such a visit on the night of the murder and, as it happened, she became one of the last people to see Dr. Dean alive. Accordingly, Miss Hodgkins became a central character in the case and went on to write a book chronicling the story from her perspective. There is more about the story behind her book included as Appendix B.

Part II: The Crime

Note: The following account of the crime is taken from the opening statement by Attorney General Young to the Grand Jurors. I have edited out some of Mr. Young's opening remarks and rearranged the order of his presentation for reasons of continuity and clarity. I will use some of the edited parts later in the paper as I discuss the theories. I have not changed any of the actual text from the transcript, but I have done extensive editing. Therefore, I have included Attorney General Young's complete and unedited opening statement as Appendix C. The

commentary that I have added is developed from the composite testimony of several key witnesses, mostly the statements of the men who were at the Dean farm on Wednesday, August 14th, and either participated in the search for him, were present when his body was discovered, or witnessed its removal from the well. Also included in this composite is the testimony of an expert witness, Dr. George McGrath, Medical Examiner of Suffolk County, Massachusetts, a world renowned pathologist with a Harvard medical degree who had literally thousands of death examinations on his résumé. Dr. McGrath had been retained by the Jaffrey Selectmen to conduct an autopsy on the body of Dr. Dean in January of 1919. This procedure was performed in the receiving tomb of the East Jaffrey cemetery on Dean's exhumed and badly decomposing body.

From the transcript: Friday, April, 11, 1919, Keene Court House. 9:00 AM:

PICKARD: Mr. Foreman and gentlemen, I take great pleasure in introducing to you Oscar L. Young, Attorney General of the State of New Hampshire.

YOUNG: Mr. Foreman and gentlemen of the Grand Jury, I will briefly state to you some of the circumstances concerning the death of the late William K. Dean. The purpose of this investigation is if we can deduce such facts as will satisfy you gentlemen that the matter ought to be inquired of further by a Petit Jury with respect to any particular person. Now, William K. Dean, a physician by profession but who never practiced, as I understand it, was a rather peculiar person. He was born in New York State in 1855, and in 1880 he was married to the woman with who he lived until the time of his death.

Shortly after his marriage he removed to the town of Jaffrey and about a mile and a half or two miles from East Jaffrey he bought a tract of land, an old farm, remodeled the farm buildings, and at a short distance above the farm buildings constructed quite a large summer house and lived there, probably alone with his wife, until the time of his death. At that time he was sixty-three and a half years of age, a man rather small of stature, and a man of scholarly attainments, who liked books, but had some peculiar habits and characteristics. For instance, he had a habit of milking at midnight and at noon. He sat up very late at night, of course, and as a consequence remained in bed quite late in the forenoon. . . .

The house where Mr. Dean lived is perhaps a couple of hundred yards in from the main road, the road that leads from East Jaffrey to Peterborough, and at the south of that road, some two hundred yards further, I think it would be, is this large summer house, and in about one hundred fifty feet of the summer house was the stable where he kept his horse..... there was a little portico built out

where this door was that went into the stable, a little portico built out about four to six feet with a pitched roof to shed the water that came off the eaves of the roof so it wouldn't run down a man's neck when he wanted to go in the stable door.

Whoever killed him was almost certainly waiting in the barn when Dr. Dean arrived. There was an indentation in the hay loft indicating someone had been lying there. Whether there was a confrontation or it was a surprise attack is not known, but the assault on Dr. Dean began right at the entrance to the barn, the portico.

He was struck hard twice in the head with a blunt instrument; most likely *not* the five-pronged, handheld cultivating tool that was later found with blood stains on it but rather, according to the experts, a heavier, club-like object such as a policeman's billy club. Those blows probably weren't enough to kill him but they had enough force to crack his skull and knock him unconscious.

YOUNG: An examination showed that on the side of Mr. Dean's head - he was baldheaded, a little more so perhaps than I am - and on the side of his head there were two cuts. They were not parallel, that is, if they had been continued far enough they would have come together. One was about an inch and three quarters in length, and the other was about an inch and a quarter. The investigations of the Medical Examiners disclosed that under one of these cuts there was a fracture of the bone.

With the victim thus demobilized, the murder was continued in an extraordinarily deliberate, determined and yet leisurely fashion. Dean would have been bleeding heavily at this point so the horse blanket was quickly wrapped around his head to soak up the blood from the wound. As a result, only a few small droplets and smudges of blood were left as evidence.

YOUNG: ... a horse blanket was folded and wrapped around his head. Inside of that blanket was a considerable amount of blood, and in all probability the reason why there were not more blood stains, because he must have bled a considerable amount, was because of this blanket, and quite likely it was put around for the purpose of preventing the flow of blood.

While Dean was lying unconscious on the doorstep of the barn, a harness rope was wrapped twice around his neck and pulled until he was strangled. The rope was pulled so tightly that it stopped his breathing and cut the flow of blood to his brain. In fact, the rope was pulled with such force that it actually broke his neck.

YOUNG: Wound around his neck twice was a hard hitch rope or halter, one of those kind such as you gentlemen are all familiar with. ... It was a hard, three-quarter-inch hitch rope with a snap on one end and I would say you could put this around a horse's neck, put the other end over the body and hitch it to a post. That was wound around his neck twice, and the ends laid by, like that, but it

wasn't tied. Undoubtedly your conclusion will be that at some time that rope was pulled with considerable pressure because there was an indentation around the neck where the rope was, and above it, it was discolored. There will be some evidence that this bone in the neck was fractured.

His hands were then tied together behind his back, and his legs were also tied at the knees, probably just to make it easier to carry the dead weight of his corpse. The ropes were securely tied and knotted. A large burlap gunny sack, such as would be likely to have been available there in the barn, was pulled over his head and as far down his body as it would go. The ropes his legs were tied with were used to loop around the bottom of the sack and back through to the belt loops in his trousers so that it was secured around him. Finally, a heavy stone, probably taken from the stone wall near the barn, was placed inside the sack.

YOUNG: There was a rope tied around the knees, a cord, probably the same kind of cord as you will find on a window, one of those stiff, heavy woven cotton cords. And on the end of that there was a snap, the same as was on the end of the halter that you could snap into the ring. His hands were tied behind his back, and around the right wrist was another piece of this white window cord, looped like a slipknot. That is, the rope doubled, put around, and the end put through the rope and pulled tight, and that undoubtedly at some time had been pulled tightly because it showed the mark upon the wrist. The hands were tied behind the back; the knees were tied together with this window cord rope which I have described.

Now then, over all that was pulled a gunny sack, a hard potato sack such as you gentlemen who live on farms and some of you who do not, have seen hundreds of. Inside of that sack was a stone which weighed, as I remember it, twenty-seven pounds. That was inside of this gunny sack and the sack was pulled down to the waistline, or as far as it would go, and these ropes that he was trussed up with, were tied into the edges of that sack so that it wouldn't come off, and some of them, I believe, were tied into the belt loops on his trousers.

He was then carried, not dragged, the one hundred and fifty feet uphill behind the barn to the rain cistern. The cover was removed, he was dropped into the water, and the cover was replaced. The cistern was nearly flush with the ground and would have been very difficult to discern at night for anyone who was not already familiar with the property.

YOUNG: Now at the corner of that bungalow and about a hundred fifty feet distant from the stable, there is built into the ground a rainwater cistern and the inside of that was built after the plan of the inside of a jug, that is, it was circular, eight or nine feet in depth, seven or eight feet in diameter at the bottom, and then the sides, as they came up, were narrowed in until at the top it was about four feet and a half, and the top of the cistern was just even with the ground, with the exception that around the edge thereof had been laid bricks that projected just the thickness of the brick above the ground. And at one time the crevices between those bricks had been filled with Portland cement mortar; but owing to the erosion by the elements and the frosts, perhaps, those bricks had become loosened. All the ground around that cistern was grassed over, with the

exception of where the wagon tracks led down to the barn and another track led up to this house. Now I think between the stable and this cistern was a grade, perhaps in going a distance of a hundred fifty feet, perhaps a rise of twenty feet, so that it was uphill from the barn to the cistern.

. . . Mr. Dean was assaulted here at the door of the barn and they carried him up and put him in the cistern. Along this path - we inquired of those who were there first - and they all said there was nothing to indicate that anything had been dragged over, that there was nothing around the barn which we can discover was used as a conveyance, nothing like a wheelbarrow or anything like that, and no indications of any wheels having gone over the grass.

If by some miracle Dr. Dean was not already dead and had merely been rendered unconscious, he would have regained consciousness under several feet of water at the bottom of that well; unable to untie his hands to even attempt to free himself from the heavy stone in the sack that would certainly have held him under until he drowned. According to the medical expert, however, that was not the case.

YOUNG: The report was that Mr. Dean died from strangulation. That is, he was not drowned. In other words, he didn't breathe after he went into the water.

At this point in the hearing, the Grand Jurors would have already been convinced that whoever committed this crime was someone who wanted above all else, to be absolutely certain that Dr. Dean would have no chance of surviving the attack. They would also believe it had to be someone who was very familiar with the property and also with Dr. Dean's quirky routine for the late night milking of his cow. And, perhaps most importantly, they knew it had to be someone who was completely confident that there was no danger of being discovered, and accordingly, took all the time they needed to accomplish the deed.

YOUNG: Now to go back just a moment to Mrs. Dean. Mrs. Dean at that time was sixty-eight years of age. She was an exceedingly well educated lady, a lady of refinement, and a lady who, in her younger days, was a very attractive woman indeed, but of late years her mind has faded somewhat and she was suffering from that malady from which we will all suffer if we live long enough, senile dementia.

Her story is that she waited for him in the darkness there at the home, wondering why he didn't come back, and at five o'clock she went out to look for him. She found the lantern in the stable overturned and out. Not finding him and having no knowledge as to where he had gone or why he didn't return, she called up people down to the village. The story became current downtown that Mr. Dean had disappeared, and as a result some of his friends, Mr. Rich among others, called up to find out about it, and she immediately announced to them that Billy, that is her husband, was dead.

The first person to arrive on the scene the day after the murder was Arthur Smith, a twenty-one year-old laborer hired to mow hay on the Dean's farm. He arrived about 7:30 a.m. accompanied by the six-year-old son of his employer, Mr. Ingraham, to begin haying. Smith was greeted by a frantic Mrs. Dean whose first words to him were "I'm sure Mr. Dean is dead in the barn" (159). Next to arrive was Martin Garfield, a farmer who was a close neighbor and friend to the Deans. He rushed from his home at 8:00 a.m., right in the middle of his breakfast, after being told by his wife that Mrs. Dean had just telephoned, saying "Mr. Dean hadn't returned from milking the cow the night before and she thought he might have died out there"(311).

Later that morning, after searching everywhere for Dean, Garfield sat on the step leading into the barn to rest a moment and looking down, noticed a "blob of blood" (312) on the ground. The young Ingraham boy was next to him and they both noticed it at the same time. The young boy asked Garfield what he supposed that was. Not wanting to scare the child, he explained that Mr. Dean must have recently killed a chicken. At that moment, however, Garfield sensed the real truth about whose blood was spilled on the ground and he knew that Mrs. Dean must have been right. This search would now be for Dr. Dean's body.

YOUNG: On that little platform were several blood stains and on the edge of the step leading down to the ground there were blood stains. On the doorknob, and on the door leading into the barn, there were blood stains. We took that doorknob off and sent it to the best fingerprint place at the Boston Police Department, and they informed us it was not a print but a smudge, so that brought us no results. Undoubtedly it was human blood, and undoubtedly blood from Mr. Dean and the theory of the State is that he was assaulted there, near that door, either in the stable or outside on this little platform, and that undoubtedly he received his death when he was.

William Coolidge and Peter Hogan, two of Jaffrey's three Selectmen, and Perley Enos, Jaffrey's Acting Chief of Police arrived together in a car around 10:00 a.m. after Mr. Garfield called from the Dean home asking for assistance with the search. The local undertaker, William Leighton, arrived a short time later in a car with Mr. and Mrs. Rich, and Mrs. Rich's sister, Georgiana Hodgkins. The women were there to look after Mrs. Dean while the men helped with the search.

YOUNG: Now when the people began to collect in response to Mrs. Dean's request, they searched in every possible place around the barn and around the field, and finally someone conceived the idea of investigating the cistern ...

Garfield had already looked in the cistern earlier in the morning, but he couldn't see the bottom. Having looked everywhere else, the search party decided they better check it out more thoroughly. Garfield went to the barn and got a long pole to stick down inside and poke around. That's when they realized they had found him. Arthur Smith had located an ice pick, and one of them climbed down into the well a bit to try and hook the body to pull it up.

YOUNG: ...and they went to get a hard ice pick. You have probably seen those things they use in the ice house to shove cakes of ice around, long handles, seven or eight feet long, with a straight face on one end to push with, and a hook to pull with. They fished around in the cistern and discovered there was something there, and finally got hold of it and found it was undoubtedly the body of Mr. Dean. There was nothing further done at that time until the coroner and the sheriff arrived...

Everyone knew right then this was no accident. They lowered the body back into the water so the County Sheriff, Solicitor and Medical Examiner could be called. When the officials arrived, Dr. Dean's body was finally hauled up out of the water and the full extent of the assault was revealed.

YOUNG: ... and the body was taken out of the cistern, and it very plainly impressed itself upon the minds of everybody there at that time that it was undoubtedly a case of deliberate, premeditated, well-planned and carefully executed murder.

I speak of these things, gentlemen, because we are going to put before you all we can bring in, everything we can, to see if you, a Grand Jury of intelligent men, can suggest anything to help us in this most deplorable situation, in a case where a man, a respectable citizen, a man well liked, a friend of everybody, was violently murdered in his own dooryard, right here in the countryside town of Jaffrey.

Part III: The Investigation

Adding yet another surreal twist to the case, in less than twenty-four hours after the murder became known, whatever useful physical evidence may have existed was wiped out before it could even be discovered. First, a severe thunderstorm struck within about an hour after Dr. Dean's body had been removed from the well. According to the testimony of Deputy Sheriff Walter Emerson, he and the other county officials had just started to look around the grounds for clues when the storm came up. He claimed it was one of the most severe storms he had ever seen; obliterating any trace of evidence that might have been found outside on the property. Meanwhile, any trace of evidence that might have been found inside the property was likewise obliterated. It was early the next morning when a certain helpful friend of the family, Russell

Henchman, decided to sweep up the barn - where the murder had occurred - and to flush out the water lines at the “big house” - where the murderer might have gone to wash their hands or clean blood off a weapon. Mr. Henchman explained to the Grand Jury that Mrs. Dean had called to his house on the afternoon the body was found and requested him to come to the farm and take away the cow. She had left the message with his sister. Henchman was superintendent of the water works at the time but was appointed as Jaffrey’s postmaster the very next month. His sister worked at the bank. He said he went up that night but it was too late to move the cow so he came back the next morning. While there, he took it upon himself to clean up the barn and drain the water from the pipes in the house to protect them. When asked who told him to do these things he said nobody had told him to, he just decided on his own. Certainly this had to be viewed as a strange way of being helpful when a murder had just been committed on the premises. Why would he have felt it was important to sweep up the crime scene, and why, on the 14th of August, would he have been worried about protecting the pipes from freezing? Although some were undoubtedly tempted to do so, no one could attribute the destruction of evidence caused by the severe storm to any of the suspects; however, the destruction of evidence caused by Russell Henchman was immediately attributed to Mr. Rich who, as Jaffrey’s Town Moderator, was possibly in a position to influence Henchman’s appointment as postmaster, and as head of the Monadnock Bank, was his sister’s employer.

Part IV: The Theories

It is hard to imagine the impact this murder would have had on the citizens of Jaffrey beginning on that day in Mid-August of 1918. The country was at war. There were more than one hundred twenty of Jaffrey’s young men enlisted, and twenty-five of them were serving overseas. There was a flu epidemic that struck the town the following month claiming twenty-six

lives in twenty-seven days. These were extreme times to be sure, and then this murder happened. It was an unprecedented event in a “countryside town” like Jaffrey. A well liked, respectable member of a small community in which everyone knew everyone, all of a sudden brutally murdered “in his own dooryard”. This had to have been an unimaginable shock for these people; something entirely outside the context of their normal country lives. People were in shock, and they were afraid. There were rumors about an escaped mental patient from the state asylum. Was there a psychopathic killer on the loose who just happened to make a stop in Jaffrey? There were also rumors about the strange lights seen on the mountain. Was there an agent of the German government who killed Dean to protect the secret of those lights related to the war? And, there were rumors that it was one of them. Was it someone among them, who they all knew, who had some sinister motive to not only kill this man who had no enemies - a neighbor, a friend, a fellow human being - but to do so in such a deliberate, violent and coldblooded manner? The only thing that could possibly help people move on would be to know who was responsible. Without that truth, how could life ever be normal again? People needed their lives to return to normal. People needed to stop being afraid. People needed someone to be guilty.

Theories about who was guilty were quickly developed. The problem with theories, of course, is that they can lead people away from the truth as easily as they can lead them to it. With emotions running at such a fever pitch, it was all the more likely that people would believe what they wanted to believe. On someone who is capable of committing premeditated, coldblooded murder of the sort perpetrated on Dr. Dean, or perhaps, on someone who has a vested interest in protecting such a person, this element of human nature is not lost. Deliberately stirring up suspicions about others, particularly about people who would evoke strong sentiments either for or against them, could be a very effective strategy for getting away with murder.

Theory #1: The lowest hanging fruit: Mrs. Dean

In the beginning just about everybody, including the state, latched on to the theory that Mrs. Dean must have killed her husband. There were too many strange statements she had made regarding Billy being dead and how he was in deep water. Everyone knew she was mentally ill but it seemed logical to assume that this murder had been committed by someone insane. In the end, however, they eventually gave up on the idea based on testimony and sworn statements from several doctors that examined her and determined she was physically incapable of committing the crime in the manner it had been done. Nonetheless, even now, knowing she was ultimately eliminated as a suspect, there seems to be much about her behavior that has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Mrs. Dean's deteriorating health did not allow her to appear as a witness at the hearing; however, in his concluding remarks, Mr. Pickard read a statement Mrs. Dean had given just four days after the murder to Harry Scott of the Pinkerton Detective Agency. The county had hired the agency to assist in the investigation. Rather than copy it into the text of this paper, I have attached Mr. Pickard's conclusion, which includes his reading of Mrs. Dean's statement, as Appendix D. For now, back to Mr. Young's opening statement:

YOUNG: Mrs. Dean's story, as we gather it from her, was that [Mr. Dean] arrived at the house somewhere around half past nine, that he brought in some things he had bought down to the village, some things the Riches had given him on his call there, left them at the house, drove his horse to the barn, put up his horse and came back to the house, got a little something to eat and at eleven o'clock left the house and went up to the barn to milk the cow, telling her he would return in an hour or, as she puts it, saying he would return at twelve o'clock.

That, gentlemen, was the last time Mrs. Dean ever saw her husband alive, or ever saw her husband so far as the authorities know.

She supposedly had been so frail and unstable that she had not been out to the barn in over a year, and she hadn't been upstairs in nearly two years, but apparently she did not appear so frail and unstable that day. In her statement, Mrs. Dean describes going out that morning at 5:00 a.m., after having been awake all night watching and waiting for him to return, and searching the barn,

the house the Colfelts had rented, and “in all the wells and holes about the yard” (347), then she returns to the house to search upstairs. Georgina Hodgkins, who was at the house with her that afternoon, reported that Mrs. Dean suddenly became irrationally anxious about the turkeys in the barn right at the time that the severe thunderstorm came up. She tried to stop her from going out but Mrs. Dean pushed her aside and went out in the heavy rain.

HODGKINS: I couldn't hold her back. She pushed me right aside, . . . almost as if I were nothing, . . . and went to the barn. . . she hadn't been to the barn for quite a while, Mr. Dean told us, in her condition, she had been so delicate, and she went right out in the storm. . . In her prime she was a very strong, tall, finely built woman, very handsome and a very strong woman, but she had been weakening physically apparently, but I didn't notice it that day. She seemed very strong to me. (43-47)

And why was Mrs. Dean telling everyone that Billy was dead before anyone else knew that he was dead? Why was she convinced he was in deep water and that his head hurt? No one had told her Billy had been killed, no one had told her his body had been found under water in the well, and no one had told her that he had been struck in the head.

YOUNG: When I interviewed her she insisted to me that Billy was dead and when I asked her why she thought he was dead, she, in a rather incoherent way, went on to state that his head hurt and that he undoubtedly fell over in the deep water, and when we inquired where the deep water was, she would point down across the valley where there was no water other than a swamp, and when I asked her if she could take us to the deep water she said she couldn't unless we were able to walk on top of the trees. I speak of that merely to show you gentlemen in a way the condition of this woman's mind.

It was clear that she was insane, but as previously mentioned, wouldn't it take someone who was insane to commit such a ghastly murder? Miss Hodgkins had known Mary Dean for over twenty-five years and considered her one of her closest friends, but in her testimony she certainly did nothing to discredit the idea to the Grand Jury that she might have done the crime in a rage:

HODGKINS: Now, I am going to tell you this. I have known of a case of a woman who had suddenly seized a knife and killed her little girl. A woman who was not considered at all dangerous. And she never knew it, but did it in a sudden frenzy, and her husband came back and found the little girl with his wife and took the knife away and she never knew it, and I thought as I watched Mrs. Dean whether she could be like that. (47)

Attorney General Young asked Miss Hodgkins outright whether she thought “it would be possible for Mrs. Dean to have done this job?”

HODGKINS: Not in her regular physical condition, but it seems to me a frenzy might have seized her and she might have done it. And then there is one other thing, as I have thought about it, and I have thought of nothing else for some time. It seemed to me that with her condition and with the fact that she had got her plans laid, it seemed something that a sane woman wouldn't have done. It seemed to me, particularly in the way the body was done. (47)

Despite the persuasive testimony from Miss Hodgkins, it just seemed impossible to believe that whatever spurt of energy Mrs. Dean seemed to be exhibiting that day would have been sufficient for her to carry her one hundred forty-five pound husband with a twenty-seven pound stone in a sack around his head from the barn to the cistern and dump him in without leaving a trace. Maybe it was conceivable that she could have overpowered him in a surprise attack, but the doctors had to be right - she was physically incapable of committing the crime in the manner it had been done. However, what if she had had an accomplice? Or, perhaps more likely, could it be that she had actually gone out to the barn that night to look for Billy and came upon the crime as it was occurring? Miss Hodgkins leaves the question open:

HODGKINS: She said he had been lame and walks like this, falls right over on the barn floor. She said his head was bad. 'Did he tell you his head was bad?' she said. I said, 'No, he didn't say anything about it.' She said, 'His head was bad and his body was, too. And then his feet.' And then she said, 'He walks like this and then falls right over on the barn floor sometimes.' The next day, as I thought about it, I seemed to think she was visualizing something. She seemed to be saying something dramatic . . . (43-44)

One has to take pause and consider these unanswered questions concerning Mrs. Dean; however, perhaps the most important unanswered question regarding Mrs. Dean was why her dear friend, Georgiana Hodgkins, seemed to be trying so hard to implicate her in the crime.

On the Sunday following her husband's death, Mary Dean was sent to stay in a sanitarium in Worcester to be further examined and cared for. She spent eight weeks there and then was released on the recommendation of the doctors. She returned to Jaffrey where she lived with Reverend Enslin and his wife until she died peacefully slightly less than a year later. As war reporter and author, Bert Ford, put it in one of his columns in the Boston American newspaper, which was subsequently reprinted in his book *The Dean Murder Mystery*:

"The passing of the Deans was a direct result of the war. The wrath of Mars made itself felt in a remote New England community when Dr. Dean was murdered at his mountain home on the

outskirts of East Jaffrey, NH and the death of his widow was hastened by the tragedy. Mrs. Dean died September 15, 1919, thirteen months and two days after the murder of her husband. (94)

Theory #2: “The fifty words in five sentences”: German Spies

‘Mrs. Morison, you are a woman. What I know would be too dangerous for a woman to know. Go to the United States authorities in Boston and tell them to send up one of their best men as soon as possible. I wanted to be sure. I am ready now.’ The fifty words in the five sentences quoted furnish the key to the Dean murder mystery which has baffled the New Hampshire officials for the past fourteen months. Within twelve hours of these utterances made to a neighbor, Dr. William Kendrick Dean, physician, scholar and gentleman farmer, son of one of the first American missionaries to China and schoolboy chum of the Crown Prince of Siam, was dead. (Ford 1-2)

With this dramatic opening to his book, Bert Ford reveals the “key” that he claims will unlock the mystery to the murder. The book is a compilation of articles first written for the Boston American newspaper beginning in October 1919, after the Grand Jury inquest, and then privately printed in book form for the relatives of Dr. Dean in 1920. Throughout the book, Ford declares irrefutably that, whoever was the subject of the information that Dr. Dean wanted to report to the federal authorities in Boston, was responsible for his murder. Mr. Ford expressed his outrage that no one had been charged, and warned that justice would never be served on account of a small clique of wrong-thinking, unpatriotic citizens of Jaffrey who have a suspect agenda “to bury the case with Dean and his widow” (2). He documented the claims of many in the area regarding German spy activity taking place on Mt. Monadnock. The mountain is the closest visible peak from Boston Harbor and it was believed that light signals were being sent to German submarines surfacing at night to pick up information on troop movements. The Dean farm possessed one of the best views in town of the mountain and was well situated to send and receive any such light signals. There was, in fact, much to wonder about all the reports of

mysterious flashing lights seemingly being sent from Monadnock, and back again from Pack

Monadnock and Temple Mountains. I return to the opening remarks of Attorney General Young:

YOUNG: Now, to go back a little bit, it seems that on the Monday night, that is the night preceding the murder, Mr. Dean had an interview with a Mrs. Morison. There had been numerous rumors current there in that neighborhood with respect to activities of spies, pro-Germans, or German agents. There had been numerous reports about lights which were thought to be signal lights. They had been shot from the mountain tops to the mountains in that vicinity, so many people claimed, and there was a theory prevalent in that community that there was a band or an organization of pro-German agents or German sympathizers or German agents, whatever you want to call them.

Mr. Young misspoke in that statement. It was actually Tuesday about noontime that Dean had the conversation with Mrs. Morison. She was over to the Dean house to solicit donated items for a rummage sale for the benefit of the new hospital in Peterborough. As they were walking up to the now vacant big house to look for any items up there that might be donated, is when the conversation took place.

YOUNG: As I started to say . . . Mr. Dean had some talk with Mrs. Morison who he knew occasionally went to Boston and who was going to Boston the following day, and he told her to go to the Department of Justice at 47 Milk Street and tell them he wanted someone to come up there and investigate German activities, or words to that effect, and she asked him about it, some of the details about it, and he replied it was a man's job, it wasn't a woman's job, and he wanted her to go in there and have them send out a man.

The following morning she went to Boston - hadn't heard of the murder, the train left early - and went to the headquarters of the International Division of the Department of Justice at 47 Milk Street and related the story as Mr. Dean had told her and delivered the message he had given to her to tell to the Department of Justice.

Thereupon someone said that possibly there was some German agent, or pro-German, in that vicinity whose activities had become known to Mr. Dean, and fearing exposure, that this murder was committed to close the mouth of the man who knew.

The man widely believed to be the ring-leader of whatever German spy activity was taking place was Lawrence Colfelt, the mysterious, independently wealthy stranger from New York who, along with his wife and college-age daughter, had been renting the big house from the Deans. Along with the mystery of the lights, there was also much to wonder about the Colfelt family's presence in Jaffrey.

YOUNG: Now, as I said, sometime previous to June of last year this house, which we'll call the big house, was occupied by Mr. Colfelt, and he kept his automobile down here in the barn with

Mr. Dean's carriage. There have been some rumors about Mr. Colfelt's activity as a German sympathizer. At least he was not a man who worked. He had an income sufficient to support him without working.

Colfelt was forty years old, received a substantial income through his mother as a result of a trust set up by his grandfather. Colfelt told the Grand Jury it was about \$15,000 per year. (Note: \$15,000 in 1918 would be the equivalent of well over \$200,000 today.¹) He did not work. The family spent the previous summer renting a different home in Jaffrey, which was not at all uncommon in those days, but when they rented the Dean place to stay through the winter, that was truly unusual. The "big house" on the Dean property was not all that big. It was very isolated and would have been particularly subject to all the harshness of a New England winter without many offsetting benefits. The Colfelt's could live anywhere. They had a place in New York City. Why would they choose to live in a cold house on a remote hilltop in a small New Hampshire village?

YOUNG: To go up there, up to the house where Mr. Dean lives, is quite a steep grade, so when you find . . . the end of the road, near . . . "the big house" you are on the beautiful little mountains there. You gentlemen have been there and will agree with me it is beautiful. The mountains overlook the valley to the south, and to the east the Temple Mts. It might well be selected as a place for sending signal lights. . . .

Lawrence Colfelt, his wife, Margaret, and his stepdaughter, Natalye, all testified at the hearing. Natalye was attending Vassar College and Mr. and Mrs. Colfelt had returned to live in New York City. They had all voluntarily come to New Hampshire so they could share with the Grand Jury what they knew about the case. They had been targeted as German sympathizers early on in their time in Jaffrey and they all talked about the impact it had on them. They were trying to be friendly, to be accepted into the community. They all seemed to genuinely care about Mr. and Mrs. Dean and made many accommodations on their behalf. There may have been some minor disputes about the shared use of the barn and there was an issue over a bill for the hay that Colfelt had agreed to purchase from Dean, but there was nothing indicating any serious hostilities. In their minds, Dean had apparently just become fed up with the idea that Mr. Colfelt wasn't working, or doing something, to contribute to the war effort. Particularly living on a farm, Dean felt that his land should be cultivated and the crops used for some beneficial purpose. He wasn't able to do it himself, and when Colfelt refused to do it, Dean decided he should ask him to leave.

YOUNG: But you will remember along about that time there was a considerable sentiment in this part of the country, New England particularly, that a man ought to be something more than a

¹ <http://oregonstate.edu/cla/polisci/individual-year-conversion-factor-tables>

consumer while we were engaged in this World War and everybody was doing all they could to make it a success. There ought not to be an able-bodied man sitting around using what other people produced but not contributing to it some way. You remember the "work or fight" order that was promulgated.

Dean didn't order them off the property but simply said he thought it might be best for them to find a different place to live. The Colfelts were distressed about having to leave but their lives had become quite difficult on account of the talk going around town about them. They kept three horses and a cow and Mr. Colfelt needed help around the barn. Meanwhile, Mrs. Colfelt was accustomed to having help in the house for cooking and cleaning. However, as the rumors about them intensified, they were unable to find people willing to work for them. They were being snubbed in the village. They finally found a new home to rent in the town of Greenville, New Hampshire – with a particularly good view of Temple Mt. it must be noted – and left Jaffrey on the 5th of June. After getting the family moved and finally finding some help so that he could stop taking care of the animals by himself, Mr. Colfelt decided he would find something to show his willingness to do his part for the war.

YOUNG: Mr. Colfelt felt that that "work or fight" order might get to him. So on Saturday before this murder was committed; he went to Portsmouth and obtained a job with the Atlantic Shipbuilding Corporation. He had plenty of money so he hired a room down to the Rockingham Hotel, rather an extraordinary thing for a man to be working in the shipyards, living on the pay they paid them, to have a room at the Rockingham Hotel, but he did it, had the money to pay for it, and I presume he had a right to.

Most consequentially, by taking a job in the shipyards in Portsmouth and having a room at the Rockingham Hotel, Mr. Colfelt had secured for himself an airtight alibi for the murder.

YOUNG: So far as we can discover from the Hotel, and so far as we can discover from the shipyards, Mr. Colfelt was there Tuesday night.

One of the most notorious rumors about this case involved Mr. Colfelt's car. While living in Jaffrey, he had purchased a Marmon automobile – a battleship gray Marmon. The car was well known in town as the Colfelts went out frequently for drives, and a car such as that would not be common.

YOUNG: He drove a battleship gray Marmon car. There are many rumors in East Jaffrey about a car of that description in that vicinity that night, but investigation on the part of the authorities disclosed the fact that Mr. Colfelt's car was absolutely in a Nashua garage since the Monday before. That is, he drove to Portsmouth Sunday night and the young man who took him over brought it back Monday and it was absolutely Monday it was in the garage there, from that time until long after the murder was committed.

But what can be made of all the stories about the lights? I think a separate research paper would need to be written to have any answers to that question. The paper could address possible natural explanations such as might occur from stars, planets, or even heat lightning. It might also consider the possibility of people witnessing headlights from cars driving around winding mountain roads, or even Dr. Dean making his late night milking excursions to his hilltop barn with lantern in hand. I would imagine the night sky was much darker back then and much more could be seen. However, it would be important to factor in the power of suggestion, and the tendency in human nature for people to be mistaken about what they thought they saw, particularly during a time of national emergency such as existed in Jaffrey in the summer of 1918. The Federal Government had been alerted to the light sightings in Jaffrey for two years prior to the murder and had agents investigating all that time. Nothing definitive was discovered and no one was ever charged. All of the reports from the entire investigation, from the first reports of strange lights through to the murder investigation, are in the possession of the Jaffrey Historical Society, having been obtained from the Department of Justice by Margaret Bean under the Freedom of Information Act. Any specific reports that I have taken quotations from for use in this paper are copied and attached as Appendix E.

There is one such report made by an Agent J.C. Leighton in early August, just a short time before the infamous conversation reported by Bert Ford between Mrs. Morison and Dr. Dean, noting: "Agent's opinion is that Mrs. Morison is a rather suspicious person as she stated to him that someone was tampering with her telephone". The agent checked out her claim and discovered that an inspector from the telephone company, who had presented Mrs. Morison with

his company identification, had been sent out to fix a short circuit in the cable. In the same report, Agent Leighton goes on to comment that:

A great many of these reports on the lights have come from women who are intimately acquainted with one another and it appears to have become a hobby with them to report these occurrences. During interviews which agent has had with them, they constantly refer to one another relative to what has been seen. Apparently no one living in the immediate vicinity from which these lights are alleged to have been displayed has seen them.

Many of these women belonged to the “summer club” in Jaffrey, a term for a group of wealthy people who mostly summered in Jaffrey but had homes in Boston or New York. Several of these women testified at the hearing, including Mrs. Morison mentioned above, as well as Mrs. Robinson and Miss Mary Ware. I believe Mr. Young was too professional to draw any direct connection between the light sightings and this group of wealthy women, but he did make the following statement immediately following Miss Ware’s testimony:

YOUNG: I presume that you gentlemen may not have a very clear idea about the strict realities of the evidence, but I assume everybody knows you can’t convict a person of a crime by testimony that comes through three or four persons before it comes to the person who finally tells it on the witness stand, and I think you ought to know there is about ninety percent of that kind in here, as with Mrs. Morison and Miss Ware. (73)

On the other hand, another federal agent, Robert Valkenburgh, who was assigned to the case immediately after the murder, testified at the hearing and talked extensively about the lights, about having seen them with his own eyes, and about his allegations concerning Mr. Colfelt’s connection to them. In my opinion, Valkenburgh came across as an arrogant, incompetent bully and left no impression that he had any credible evidence on the subject whatsoever. During his questioning by Mr. Pickard, he made the claim that is still repeated by people to this very day, that Colfelt was the illegitimate son of Germany’s former Ambassador to the United States, Count von Bernstorff. Special Agent Valkenburgh testified: “We have received communication

from Washington which our Washington office is checking up at the present time, I believe, that Colfelt is the illegitimate child of Bernstorff' (337).

Although quite an intriguing possibility – Bernstorff was married to an American woman and was known to have visited nearby Dublin – it was actually either an outrageously uninformed statement or a bald-faced lie. The claim doesn't stand up to the most easily researched facts that should have been available to a Special Agent for the United States Department of Justice assigned to the case. Colfelt was forty years old in 1919. Bernstorff, born in 1862, would have been only seventeen and attending school in Germany when Colfelt was born. There is no indication he was in the United States at that time and he did not become ambassador here until 1908.

However, due to all the sightings of the mysterious lights, the presence of the federal agents and the unusual lifestyle of Lawrence Colfelt; the German spy theory became very widely held. Its widespread belief was also due in large part to Bert Ford's articles in the Boston American newspaper and his subsequent book. Although Mr. Ford's articulation of this particular theory was very emotionally compelling, it lacked objectivity and was clearly biased. Mr. Ford's job was to sell newspapers. The more provocative his claims, the more newspapers he sold. He did such a good job at being provocative that his newspaper was sued by Charles Rich for libel, but that comes later in the story. In the meantime, Ford was busy waving the flag, making accusations, and doing his very best to keep the emotional intensity high in Jaffrey and beyond. Near the end of his book he continued with more dramatic and patriotic rhetoric:

There is no disputing the fact that Dr. Dean, an inoffensive law abiding loyal, patriotic American citizen was murdered because he attempted to perform his duty to country and flag by offering important information to the Federal authorities . . .

But then, Ford went on to finish that sentence with a bombshell:

and that certain prominent men feared those disclosures and were compelled to do away with him before he could tell his story.

Who were these prominent men who were compelled to do away with him? Ford didn't say, but he did say the truth was widely known:

The Selectmen and townspeople of East Jaffrey make the further sensational charge that they know who the murderers are and that the New Hampshire officials know . . . They say the men who killed Dr. Dean are enjoying their freedom because of "their social and political pull".

Someone must answer. This is a startling situation in a New England community. Treason is coupled with murder in the Dean case. (163)

These were sensational and startling charges indeed, and they will provide a good transition into the next theory, but first:

Interlude: Enter DeKerlor

The Grand Jury Hearing on the death of William Dean lasted eight days and over forty witnesses gave testimony. The published transcript consists of three hundred and fifty pages. Willie Wendt DeKerlor, alias Mr. Kent, was neither a suspect nor an eyewitness, but yet his testimony took up a full fifty pages, comprising nearly fifteen percent of the total. DeKerlor was a Polish citizen, born in Geneva, Switzerland, who had also spent time in France, Germany, England, and Italy before coming to the United States. He was fluent in five languages and claimed to be familiar with eighteen others. He said he had been educated in Cannes and had received a degree in what he explained was equivalent to a Bachelor of Laws. He had become acquainted with the Dean family in New York where Frederick Dean, brother of the victim, had reached out to him after the murder to see if he might offer any psychological insight into the case. After staying up late into the night discussing the details, DeKerlor and Dean were on a train to Jaffrey the next morning. That was Friday, August 23, ten days after the murder. DeKerlor testified that he was aware that Frederick Dean did not have much money, and he

agreed to spend a few days on the case without charging for his services if Dean would simply pay his expenses for the trip. Dean felt uncomfortable with that arrangement but DeKerlor appeased him by saying that if he was successful, Dean might consider giving a gift to him or his wife. When asked at the hearing what was his profession, he said “I am a psychologist, a criminal psychologist, a doctor, and a lecturer” (87). He also said he was sometimes employed as an “efficiency expert” at large corporations to conduct interviews and make determinations about employees’ suitability for certain jobs. A bit later, he admitted he was also being employed by the New York World newspaper as a correspondent to cover the Dean story. While riding on the train to Jaffrey, he and Frederick Dean agreed that he would be introduced as Mr. Kent, a friend of the family just travelling on vacation. When asked why he thought the alias was necessary, DeKerlor explained: “. . . I am very well-known probably all over the world through my various writings and my various activities, and my going on a murder case in the capacity of a psychologist would later, if my name ever arose about that . . . later would arise what you call scorn on the lips of people more or less skeptical of psychological methods”(89). After arriving in Jaffrey late Friday night, DeKerlor and Dean had a meeting with Mr. Rich at the bank on Saturday morning and DeKerlor immediately started focusing in on Rich as a potential suspect, using his expertise as an interviewer to pick up on supposed uneasiness on Rich’s part, and by surmising that the scars on Rich’s face did not fit the explanation of the injury that he had been giving. That afternoon they went out to the Dean farm and DeKerlor detected certain scratches in the wood on the doorstep of the portico leading into the barn. They were described as three “prong” marks. Then, he discovered three similar scratch marks on a stone near the cistern where the body was found. After taking measurements, he concluded that both sets of scratches had been made by the same instrument. Considering this new evidence as a potential breakthrough in

the investigation, Frederick Dean called County Solicitor Pickard who came right over. DeKerlor was able to convince Pickard to arrange for Dr. Dean's body to be interred so that measurements could be taken of the wounds on his face to see if they matched as well. DeKerlor did not mention it to anyone at the time, but he had in the back of his mind that these scratches might also match up to the scars he had noticed on Mr. Rich's face that morning. The plan was made to exhume Dean's body on Thursday, August 29th. Meanwhile, on the evening of Monday the 26th, after a meeting in Keene with Solicitor Pickard and other county officials, Frederick Dean apparently decided to just let the local authorities handle the investigation. Back at their boarding house that night, Dean made it clear he no longer wanted to be associated with DeKerlor. He announced he would be returning to New York the next day and told DeKerlor that he should return with him. Dean and DeKerlor met with Mr. Rich the next morning to say goodbye and DeKerlor became even more convinced that Rich was hiding something. DeKerlor tried to persuade Dean that the investigation was not being properly handled. DeKerlor tried to appeal to Dean to do the right thing by his murdered brother and let him stay on the case. The two men had quite a heated exchange before Dean finally decided to leave. DeKerlor, after a lengthy telephone call with the New York World newspaper, decided to stay. That Thursday, a group of men gathered at the East Jaffrey Cemetery for William Dean's internment. Among those who were present at the graveside were Drs. Dinsmore and Childs, the two doctors that had conducted the post mortem exam on Dean, two of Jaffrey's selectmen, Edward Boynton and William Coolidge, Chief of Police George Nute, Reverend Enslin, a professional photographer by the name of C.T. Johnson, Mr. Rich, DeKerlor, Undertaker William Leighton, and two grave diggers. Mr. Rich was there at DeKerlor's invitation. Although it seems unlikely that any of these men could ever possibly forget what they were about to witness, the occasion was captured

on film by the photographer. Ten pictures from that day were recently discovered in a collection acquired by the Historical Society of Cheshire County. With Director Alan Rumril's permission, I have included copies of them in Appendix F. Please be warned: the pictures are only suitable for the brave of heart (and stomach). Meanwhile back at Dean's grave, when the casket was opened, DeKerlor took a piece of paper and laid it over the face of the spoiling body. He then traced a "map" showing the scars from Dean's wounds. The party then drove up to the Dean farm. DeKerlor led the group to the barn and placed the "map" over the scratches on the doorstep of the portico. He declared it a match. He then walked up towards the cistern and placed the map over the scratches on the stone. These matched as well. He then turned to the group and said, "Mr. Rich . . . We have no desire to presume that you have committed this murder, but the coincidence is really extraordinary." He then walked up to Rich and placed this piece of paper - which was described as being so vile that Selectmen Coolidge refused to have it in his car - right on the side of Rich's face and declared, "Well, now, we have put this map on the floor of the porch and we have compared it also with the marks on the stone." . . . "You can see for yourself this mark [on your face] would be fitting here, the other one would hit there and this might, you see, actually cut the earlobe" . . . Now, it really looks too strange indeed those marks coincide" (99). Rich stood there stunned. He finally responded something to the effect that he had already explained his injury and he would only tell his story again at the appropriate time and place. DeKerlor had made quite an impression having been in town for less than one week.

It wasn't until sometime in November that Charles Bean (no relation) allegedly discovered the five-pronged hand cultivator that DeKerlor, and many others, came to believe was the instrument that created all of the above mentioned scratches. Bean was a male nurse and somewhat of an eccentric character in town. He previously had had a nervous breakdown and

was known in the village by the nickname “Crazy Bean.” Bean claimed he found the cultivator hidden under a stone on the Dean property out behind the barn. There was a mark on that stone as well. He had kept it without even telling anyone until he finally decided to turn it over to Dr. McGrath from Boston when the doctor came to do the autopsy on Dean in January. McGrath confirmed there was blood on it; although he was not able to determine whether it was human blood. McGrath ultimately concluded that, in his opinion, this could not be the instrument that caused Dean’s wounds. Looking at the photograph of Dean’s body, I think I would agree. Still, it was a rather remarkable performance by DeKerlor since the existence of that cultivator would not have been known to him on that Thursday afternoon in August, nor could he possibly have been able to know what the cuts on Dean’s face looked like until the casket had been opened. He must have been prepared to improvise. Nonetheless, by the time of the Grand Jury in April, the “digger” was the cornerstone of DeKerlor’s theories, both as to the weapon Dean was assaulted with, and as to the cause of Rich’s injury.

YOUNG: That is, those three marks you found on the head of the deceased you think were produced by three of the tines of this digger? That would be your theory?

DEKERLOR: Yes.

YOUNG: Now, get me right. I’m trying to follow your theory chronologically, and as I understand it we are to assume that the perpetrator of this crime struck Dean over the head with the digger, inflicting the three wounds which have been described. Next, the digger must have fallen from the assailant’s hand on to the floor of the porch?

DEKERLOR: No. Next it struck into the face of the second man, presumably Mr. Rich.

YOUNG: By the same man that struck Dean?

DEKERLOR: Yes.

YOUNG: Then as Dean was struck with this digger, tines down, then by the same man possibly – I’m not sure about that – the same man struck Rich across the face with the instrument. Then it fell to the ground, to the boards, and was stepped upon by someone in the scrimmage. And then it was picked up and carried by someone from the barn to the cistern, and by some method, which I

don't know anything about, was dragged across the stone at the edge of the cistern so as to scratch it and dent it quite thoroughly. And then it was taken by someone, I don't know who, from the point where it made the indentation upon the stone, down here?

DEKERLOR: Yes, afterwards when they made their getaway. (132-133)

DeKerlor's theory regarding how the scratches were made seemed hard for Mr. Young to follow. The really interesting part, however, was when DeKerlor was asked how he made his presumption that Mr. Rich was at the scene.

YOUNG: Referring to the paragraph appearing in the Boston Sunday Post of January 19, 1919, in which there is a paragraph in quotations which purports to be in your own language, I will read:

“And now comes the most startling incident of the entire case. There were some blood spots on the woodwork of the tiny porch which I wanted to photograph. I did so. Upon developing the plate I could see nothing different upon the negative. I was about to toss it into the waste basket when my eye was attracted to a small whitish formation on the plate. I looked at it closely and was amazed by a man's face. There was no mistaking it. I had seen it before. When I studied the plate three other faces appeared, one of them a woman's.”

Now, did you make that statement which I have just read to the reporter who prepared this article for the Post?

DEKERLOR: I made a statement similar to that . . .

YOUNG: Well, you have stated in this article here you had seen the face before, haven't you?

DEKERLOR: Yes, one of them.

YOUNG: Which one was it?

DEKERLOR: Rich.

YOUNG: You feel confident in this photograph taken from the plate that you made of the blood stains at the barn, there appears a picture which is the likeness of Mr. Rich, do you? . . . Do I understand it to be possible for anyone knowing Mr. Rich to recognize his likeness . . .?

DEKERLOR: Yes. I would say out of one hundred people there would be at least 90 percent of the people who would. (130-131)

DeKerlor goes on to explain the science:

They might, in the future, form a new means of detecting crime, for the theory would be that as the blood of the murdered man spills at the time when his conscience is still with him, the

particles of blood, which known scientific and psychological researches scientifically claim to be the vehicle of the electric body within man, would remain sufficiently conscious as to impress the more sensitive chemical ingredients of the photo filament within the retina of the eye. This, of course, is a faculty which is conspicuously developed with certain individuals who, by their temperament, are in a class different to others. (130)

And, DeKerlor also claimed to recognize one of the other faces in the photograph. It was Mr. Reginald Smith, a lawyer from Boston who had been recently employed by Miss Ware and the other summer residents of Jaffrey. When asked how the face of a man who was not present at the scene of the murder, who was not even known to Dean, or anyone else, at the time his blood was spilled, could appear in the photograph, DeKerlor explained: “This would be called a prophetic picture, a prophetic projection of the event” (132).

DEKERLOR: I would say there are various categories of thinkers – there are thinkers who are still within the bounds of the philosophical, others who go into metaphysics, and others who are perhaps still more advanced and who, besides having metaphysical understanding, have perhaps metaphysical vision. (130)

Another excerpt from DeKerlor’s testimony was his commentary on the New Hampshire judicial system when it comes to the handling of murder cases:

DEKERLOR: And I might say here, gentlemen, without casting any undue reflection on this State, that this State has the reputation abroad, in New York, and elsewhere in the United States of America as being one of the very worst managed from the point of view of solving and trying murders, and the Boston members, as well as the New York members, feel that help should be given to rectify the methods whereby murders are followed up. (125)

Remember he is addressing Attorney General Young, the chief law enforcement officer in the state, whose office is specifically responsible for murder cases. After asking him if that is what he has been saying in his newspaper stories, Young goes on to ask him, “Who is there here that you would have arrested if you had been in New York and had your own way about it?”

DEKERLOR: I would have arrested Mr. Rich for one, and his wife for two and possibly Miss Hodgkins.

YOUNG: Then after that, who would you have arrested?

DEKERLOR: Mr. Colfelt.

YOUNG: Anyone else?

DEKERLOR: I think Mr. Davis.

YOUNG: The administrator of Mr. Dean's estate?

DEKERLOR: Yes.

YOUNG: Who else if anyone?

DEKERLOR: I think I would have arrested these and let them squirm for two or three weeks and then watched.

YOUNG: Have you got processes in New York where you can arrest a man and tie him up for two or three weeks, or as long as you think it necessary, without giving him a chance to be heard?

DEKERLOR: In wartime, yes. (125)

I have to stop. It is a bit like watching an accident happen and you just can't look away.

In reading DeKerlor's fifty pages of testimony, I was absolutely stunned, but also mesmerized. I have given just a sampling of some of the things this man did while in Jaffrey, and the statements he was making in sworn testimony in front of the Grand Jury. I had to keep reminding myself that this was in fact, actual testimony – he really was a part of the case. These things really happened. Perhaps most unbelievable of all was that the Jaffrey Selectmen hired him as a special police officer to investigate the crime. He was paid only expenses, but those expenses amounted to nearly \$1,500 by the end of January 1919 – more than \$20,000 in today's dollars. He claimed the arrangement was based on maintaining an apartment for his wife in New York because he would be unable to earn his normal income while donating his services for this case. Nice work if you can get it. Eventually the money paid to DeKerlor became so controversial that the Selectmen stopped paying him and a lawsuit developed. There was one expense, however, that DeKerlor did not have to incur during his stay in Jaffrey: he boarded with Father Hennon at the parish house.

Theory #3: “A suspect has no friends”: Mr. Rich

YOUNG: Now it seems that sometime during the night of August 13th Mr. Rich sustained a very severe injury to his eye. That is, he got what we describe as a beautiful black eye. It was discolored way down on to the cheek, and way up, including the eyelid, and up on to the side of the nose. Mr. Rich reports that he sustained that injury by reason of a kick from his horse, that is, the horse was standing in the stable, Mr. Rich went in to feed it, didn't turn on the lights assuming the horse would hear him coming. He put his hand on the horse's flank and the horse, not knowing he was there, and being a high-spirited animal, kicked, and whatever Mr. Rich had in his hand was driven against his face, and he had a black eye, a real black eye. I saw it and it was really black then.

Now, there have been various stories as to how Mr. Rich acquired that black eye. There have been various conflicting stories as to where Mr. Rich was and what he was doing that night. It is claimed on his part that Mr. Dean left there that night before the murder at somewhere around half past ten. We shall bring to you everyone along the route who claims that they saw Mr. Dean. Mr. Rich's claim is that when Mr. Dean came there, he, Rich, had just been hurt by the horse, was applying hot water baths to the eye. And Mr. Rich says that because of the pain he was suffering and because of his attention to the eye, he didn't talk with Mr. Dean very much that night, and didn't know very much about what was going on.

There will be witnesses here, gentlemen, who claim they saw Mr. Rich later in the evening, later than the time when he said it was, and that he didn't have a black eye. There will be witnesses here who will claim they saw him out on the street later in the night.

Now I want to say this, gentlemen, that in matters of this kind a suspect has no friends.

No friends indeed. Although no clear motive was ever established, Rich became the prime suspect and remained so until his death some fifteen years later. Even many of the people who held the position that Colfelt was responsible, also believed Rich was involved. That was certainly the theory being championed by Bert Ford and the Boston American newspaper. It is quite an ironic element of the story. If Rich had not had the accident with his horse that evening, or if there had been any other witnesses other than his own wife, sister-in-law and Dr. Dean to establish that the accident occurred earlier in the evening, before the time of the murder, there would have been nothing to tie him to the crime, and no reason to consider him a suspect.

Georgiana Hodgkins writes in her book that the circumstances of fate were to blame. She makes

note of the fact that the town doctor, Dr. Frederick Sweeney, who lived just a short distance from the Rich's house and was a close friend of the family, had just shipped out for overseas duty earlier that very day. Dr. Sweeney had volunteered for service despite the hardship it created for his wife and children, and despite the void his departure created in the town for medical services. The next nearest doctor was in Dublin. Had Dr. Sweeney not left that very day, Mrs. Rich would have certainly prevailed in her insistence that her husband seek medical attention for his injury. Dr. Sweeney's house was just across Main Street and it would have been no effort at all, particularly with him being a good friend. That simple visit would have confirmed the timeline for Rich, but a trip at night all the way to Dublin was another matter. He scoffed at the suggestion and determined to care for it himself. There was a joke that when Dr. Dean was at their house and Rich was applying alcohol to the wound, Dean, the physician who never practiced, quipped that the alcohol would probably do more good if it was taken internally. The fact that Rich didn't seek medical help was not suspicious. His story about the horse kicking up and knocking his pipe into his face was not outlandish. If one is not expecting to be accused of a crime, one does not think about the need to establish witnesses and alibis. Why then was everyone so disposed to assume his guilt?

Although a leading citizen and prominent man in the town, Rich was apparently not particularly well liked. There was something a bit strange about him. He could be extremely friendly and generous one moment and then suddenly turn angry and cold the next. I can remember my own father telling a story about Mr. Rich. My father was only eight years old at the time of the murder, and had very few memories of those events, but he did remember an incident later on, when he was in high school, and Rich, in his capacity with the bank, actually came to the school one day and had my father sent down to the office. Rich claimed there was a

discrepancy in the deposit of the church collections that my father, a responsible young man, had been entrusted to deliver to the bank after it had been counted at the church. Apparently it was some trifling amount, but Rich, instead of discretely asking my father if there might be an explanation, publically humiliated him by having him summoned to the school office and angrily accusing him outright of stealing the money. My father protested his innocence and the matter got cleared up with nothing more said about it, but he never forgot the incident. It is interesting to note that in her book, Georgiana Hodgkins tells a quite similar story about problems with discrepancies in the collections from the Catholic Church whenever they were delivered to the bank by Father Hennon's housekeeper's son. In her version, however, Rich was the patient and understanding voice of reason while Father Hennon stormed into the bank, loudly accusing Rich of skimming off the money. Hennon ultimately pulled the church's account from the bank.

Okay, Rich was probably not a very likable guy. We can add that to the list of things that there are questions about, including why his sister-in-law was trying to implicate Mrs. Dean, why his employee's brother, Russell Henschman, cleaned up the barn and flushed out the pipes on the day after the murder, and why Rich just stood there and allowed DeKerlor to put that disgusting piece of paper on his face. Even so, and there are even more things that he did that were either suspicious or stupid, but even so, can the man be convicted of murdering his best friend without there being a compelling motive? Any motive at all?

It seems the federal investigators were having some trouble trying to establish something in that regard as well. Under questioning by Solicitor Pickard, Special Agent Valkenburgh made claims allegedly tying Rich to the light signals. He also stated he had evidence that Dean never visited the Rich house that night. His theory was that Dean spoke with Miss Hodgkins in the

village, and then rode straight home alone. Valkenburgh suggests that Dean told Miss Hodgkins the same information he had given to Mrs. Morison earlier in the day about being ready to report something important to the authorities, and then that information was subsequently conveyed by Miss Hodgkins to Mr. Rich. Rich then notified Colfelt over in Portsmouth. Colfelt hired a car (a gray Marmon, no less) and drove back to Jaffrey, picked up Rich, and the two of them went out to Dean's farm and killed him. Rich would have received his injury in the process of Dean attempting to defend himself. However:

PICKARD: Has there been any telephone communication found, or telegram from Rich to Colfelt, that your office has discovered, or that anybody has discovered?

VALKENBURGH: Not that I know of.

PICKARD: I haven't been able to discover any surely, and I didn't know whether your office had or not?

VALKENBURGH: No.

PICKARD: Well, now, assuming that Mr. Rich had a hand in this matter in some way, what is your theory of his motive? That he was himself pro-German and interested in covering up this information? Or just what was it?

VALKENBURGH: I couldn't say what his motive would be.

PICKARD: There has been some talk that Rich was financially embarrassed, that his accounts were short. Do you know anything about that?

VALKENBURGH: I don't.

PICKARD: As a matter of fact, Federal bank authorities have examined the situation, haven't they?

VALKENBURGH: I believe they have.

PICKARD: And so far as you know, they haven't made any report of any shortage?

VALKENBURGH: Not to our office. (336)

There were lots of speculations but there was no proof and absolutely no motive ever established. It's as if people wanted Rich to be guilty so badly that they were grasping at any

possible motive, no matter how contrived, any supposed evidence, no matter how questionable, or just about any rumor, no matter how outrageous, being spread around town. What's more, it was as if there was a steady supply of these rumors and pieces of misinformation being fed into the pipeline for people to grasp at. The Jaffrey Selectmen, DeKerlor, Bert Ford and even Agent Valkenburgh, all seemed preoccupied with casting suspicion on Rich. It was a negative propaganda machine directed at Rich, and it was operating far too effectively for there not to be someone directing it.

There was, however, one group in town that was not buying all the propaganda - the Masons. Rich had held to the belief that if he just carried on as normal, ignoring all the rumors and accusations, that the truth would ultimately prevail, but his unwillingness to defend himself was actually having the opposite effect. Rich's fellow Masons could see the momentum against him was building, and they felt the manner in which the selectmen were handling the case was spiraling out of control. They ultimately stepped in and tried to exert their influence, not so much for the benefit of Rich, but more to put a stop to what they felt was becoming a three-ring circus. They were concerned about what the case was starting to cost the town, both in dollars and in reputation. Remember, the Masons were the businessmen and professionals in town. There was a group of the five leading businessmen who were known as the Big Five. Four of those five were Masons. This group included my grandfather, Delcie Bean, and his business partner, Merrill Symonds. These were two young, self-made businessmen and their company, Bean & Symonds Co., had become one of the largest employers in town. These men wanted the town to return to its senses and stop wasting taxpayer money. They wanted to fire this character Kent, or DeKerlor, or whatever his name was, and hire a real detective to actually establish whether there was enough evidence on any man – including on Rich - to justify a grand jury hearing. Later on,

when Ford started writing his articles in the Boston American, and the campaign against Rich really went into high gear, it was once again his fellow Masons who implored Rich to defend himself. They urged him to sue the paper for libel, and certain members of the Big Five even offered to fund his legal expenses, my grandfather among them. When the Dean case still had not been resolved by the time of the town elections in 1921, the Masons came up with their own slate of candidates to run against the incumbent selectmen. There was a campaign letter sent out to the voters of Jaffrey signed by four of the Big Five making the argument that too much had been spent on the case with nothing to show for it. This letter was included as an appendix in the publishing of the Georgina Hodgkins book, and I have also included it here in the Appendix B section. This is a portion of that letter:

VOTERS OF JAFFREY

Take your head out of the clouds – plant your feet firmly on the ground and do some hard, straight, clear thinking. What will you do with Jaffrey?

Your present financial condition may be the result of excessive expenditures for schools, roads, or the Dean Case – it may be the result of inefficient administration. In any event, the first two factors are always with you but the last two can be eliminated at your pleasure.

In making the above statement, we want it clearly understood that we stand and have always stood for a full and free investigation and prosecution of the Dean Case. We have, however, no reason to believe that the Dean Case is now being prosecuted, while we have every reason to believe that one of our citizens is being persecuted.

How much has already been spent by the Town on the so-called investigation of the Dean Case, we do not know, nor do we believe does anyone. From figures available, however, it is pretty safe to say that on March 1, 1921 the total of Dean Case expenses – paid and unpaid – reported and concealed – is approximately \$10,000.00. (Note: About \$150,000 today) . . .

Yours for the good of Jaffrey,

Delcie D. Bean
Merrill G. Symonds
Wilbur E. Webster
Homer S. White

Unfortunately for Rich and the Big Five, however, their candidates were defeated and, even worse, these efforts only served to provide the anti-Rich forces with new grist for the rumor mill, polarizing the town even more. The talk was that the upper-class Masons were using their money and influence to advance their own agenda. They were not interested in justice, they only wanted to stop the negative publicity and turmoil in the town because it was bad for business and the smooth operations of their factories. Rich was their banker and they didn't want all this scrutiny into how they conducted their financial dealings. Maybe it was even more sinister than that. Colfelt was a wealthy man. Did he have investment interests in town that Rich and some of the Big Five were involved in that might have been at risk if Dean had exposed Colfelt as a German spy? Could it be that Rich went out to the Dean farm that night under orders to tell his friend to keep quiet? Dean refused, a fight ensued, and the murder was committed. How deep might this conspiracy go? Wasn't County Solicitor Pickard a Mason? Attorney General Young? John H. Bartlett, Governor of the State of New Hampshire was a Mason, and he was the one who denied the petition from the town calling for a second Grand Jury hearing. How tempting for the average citizen in town, the millworkers and tradesmen, to believe that this secret society of wealthy Protestants was behind this terrible deed. They all hated Rich to begin with. He was chief of the bank and the municipal judge. The little guy on the street, the vast majority of them Catholic, had been primed to believe Rich committed the crime, and now the big bosses were going to step in and help him get away with it in order to protect their own interests. They were being whipped into a frenzy believing that Rich was going to get away with murder - murder and possibly treason.

In somewhat of a digression at this point, I feel obligated to address the theory that has been subsequently raised concerning my grandfather's involvement in the case. In his novel,

Lights From Monadnock, local author Jack Coey, suggests this theory based on inferences taken from certain notes of the federal investigators. As mentioned above by Mr. Pickard, federal bank authorities had been called in to examine the books at the Monadnock Bank to search for shortages or irregularities. Speaking at the time of the Grand Jury hearing in April 1919, Pickard was aware of the final report that had come out, and although there were some criticisms of sloppy procedures, there was no evidence suggesting anything illegal or inappropriate. However, back on November 26, 1918, Division Superintendent George Kelleher, Asst. Division Superintendent Gifford, and Agents Valkenburgh and Teri Weiss met with United States Bank Examiners Mulloney and Scott, who had gone over the books of the Monadnock National Bank in East Jaffrey and gave the following information which was recorded in Agent Weiss' report:

Here is something that has not got into the case, but which might help a good deal to show the motives of the actors.

The Bean & Simons Co. is made up of Local fellows who did not have anything a few years ago, and have been since very successful in business. They made \$25,000 last year. They wanted to buy a lot called the Knot Lot, in the town of Jaffrey, for \$125,000. They did not have money enough, and they could not borrow from the bank. They went to Boston and were turned down on account of war conditions and shortage of money; it occurred to them that they could make up a syndicate of local men and finance it themselves. This is how Rich has some money owed in the bank, besides his Liberty Bond note. He took \$7500 as his share in the syndicate of the Bean & Simon enterprise.

Julius E. Prescott has \$5000.

J. H. Poole has \$8500.

D. P. Amory has \$8000.

Another fellow whose name is something like that of Poole, has \$50000. He did not have to borrow it at all. He put \$50,000 into this thing. I think it is one of these Amorys if I am not mistaken. He did not put a note into the bank, he had ready cash.

With all the subscriptions and the \$50,000, cash, they got the amount necessary together, and bought the lot, and the Bean & Simons Co. issued additional stock to pay for it. Each one of these fellows holds his shares. There are 90 shares with a guarantee that they will be repaid on the day of the note. In that case, if the Bean & Simons Co. has not got cash on hand in two years, at the date of expiration, this crowd can own the Company, i.e. take it over.

That shows how Bean & Simons are close to all these people. They are very successful. I told Rich that it was a very poor move, because the bank has nothing on Bean & Simons.

In his novel, Jack Coey took some dramatic license and added a wrinkle to this account by inserting a quote into the interview stating that: “These two are not the type of men to be told no” (113). Then in the same passage suggests that “if that unknown investor [who put in the \$50,000 in cash] was about to be reported to the Department of Justice, Rich might have to do something to protect his investment. . .” The clear implication in that statement was that the unknown investor was Lawrence Colfelt. Now, that piece of information would indeed lead to the scenario I mentioned above - Rich had to silence Dean in order to prevent Colfelt from being arrested. The whole Bean & Symonds investment scheme was threatened. If that fact was true, it would also lead to a scenario which directly implicates my grandfather in the murder. When I first became aware of Jack Coey’s angle on the story some time back, I thought, gee, isn’t that interesting. If D.D., as he was later called, was more Godfather than grandfather, and was possibly involved in this crime to protect his syndicate, it would certainly give us something new to talk about at family gatherings. I do know a little about the history of the Bean & Symonds Co. because it was the predecessor of the family’s current business, D.D. Bean & Sons Co., which was also founded by my grandfather, along with my father and uncle, twenty years after the Dean case. It was true that Delcie Bean and Merrill Symonds had very little when they started out. The two young men were competitors in the lumber business and they decided to join forces and start producing wooden box shooks and match blocks. The business had started in Rindge in an old rundown factory building and the move to East Jaffrey, close to the rail line and with access to a larger labor market, was the turning point in the success of the business. This was sounding plausible, but something about the timing didn’t seem quite right. I decided to

check the dates. I had an old photocopy of a publication called the Quarterly Bulletin of New Hampshire Forests which had a profile of the Bean & Symonds Co. of East Jaffrey:

Prior to 1907 two energetic young men, one Merrill G. Symonds, the other D. D. Bean, were engaged individually in the purchase of pine woodlots and their ultimate operating. Continuously, so the story goes; first one and then the other "beat his competitor to it" in the purchase of some desirable piece of stumpage. Apparently, the County wasn't large enough for these two enterprising lumbermen, and so, quite sensibly, they agreed to "bury the competitive hatchet", believing that in union lay strength, and likely enough, success.

In 1910, the new company, known as Bean & Symonds, purchased the old Diamond Match plant which was located at West Rindge. Since this structure was somewhat dilapidated due to time and wear, considerable improvements were essential if the plant were to resume operation and quality products manufactured. In 1912, the company was incorporated under the laws of the State of New Hampshire, and that same year the present plant in East Jaffrey was erected. (12-13)

I then confirmed that sequence of events in the town history.

Soon, however, larger possibilities for the expansion of the business were offered in Jaffrey and in 1912 the business was moved to East Jaffrey village where a large tract of land between the railroad tracks and the Peterborough Road had been acquired for the purpose. (Annett and Lehtinen 393)

The move to Jaffrey was in 1912. Using the syndicate as the means to facilitate the purchase of land in Jaffrey would have been entirely possible, but for Lawrence Colfelt to have been one of the investors would not. The land deal would have been made four years earlier than Colfelt even came to town, and six years before the murder. The syndicate would have long since been repaid by then.

There is one last digression regarding my grandfather that I would like to make before I move on to the fourth and final theory. While looking through the copies of the federal agents' notes, I came across an interview of my grandfather conducted by Special Agent Valkenburgh on March 21, 1919. I had not been aware that D.D. had been interviewed, and it was quite a treat to read the words he actually said. I was only ten years old when my grandfather died and I

obviously never talked to him about any of these matters. This was like being given the opportunity to go back over ninety years in time and hear him talk about the case. He would have been thirty-five in 1919. I have included the interviews of both Delcie Bean and of Merrill Symonds as reported by Agent Teri Weiss in the Appendix E section, but there are a couple of comments my grandfather made about the case which I will close this section with:

Q. (By Valkenburgh) Do the big five stand behind Rich?

A. There is not one of the big five, with perhaps one exception, Duncan. There isn't one of us men, who want anything against justice, and will do anything we can to have justice done. We don't care for Rich, nor anybody else. . . . I was called up by one of the leading men in Peterboro who says, "Bean, what is the trouble with Jaffrey. Who is responsible for employing this man Kent over there?" . . . I said, "I don't know what has come over Jaffrey, but" . . . I said, "I believe that this man Kent is crazy and ought to be locked up." I told the Selectmen if they have evidence, what the hell good is it, if they give it to the public. If you have a detective, a real one, he would not submit anything to the public, but direct to the authorities. It seems to me that he is trying by public sentiment what he cannot get himself. That is a damn hard thing which you fellows want to understand, namely, that this town is getting one damn bad reputation out of this, and I said that you don't hear much of the Federal authorities, or what they have found, but Detective Kent is advertising himself. The fact of the case is that we welcome anything that will bring this murder out. Do you think they give a damn for what the cost is. We don't give a damn who the man is, but we do object to have a damn cheap cuss like this Kent come up here and say that the big five are stalling it and that the Masons are doing it, etc. We would be only too glad, only too pleased, tickled to death, to have this thing brought out regardless on whom it may fall. That is the entire sentiment in my estimation. But you can go around town and what do you hear? That Bean and Symonds and Webster, and the leading men in the Knight Templars and the Masons are stalling this case.

Q. What do you think about Rich?

A. Rich is a very queer character. . . . I will just tell you one incident that happened to me with Rich which rather surprised me and will throw light on his character. I had gone to the bank many many times and was rather friendly with Rich. One day I happened to come in and he was at the counter and I wanted to check my deposit slips, and therefore asked him to lend me his lead pencil. He positively refused in a very ugly tone. Of course later on he would be sorry. But I could never forget it. He has very queer spasms. He will turn you down for absolutely nothing. Yet he is a man who would do almost anything for you.

Theory #4: The unholy son: Harold Griffin

In the introduction to her publication of the Grand Jury transcript, Margaret Bean offers a brief synopsis of each of the four theories that emerged: Mrs. Dean, Lawrence Colfelt, Charles Rich, and what she referred to as the “Hoodlum” theory.

Strongly held by some people was the possibility of HOODLUMS, drinking and perhaps with girls, who were found in his barn when he went to milk at midnight. Reacting to his anger, they accidentally killed him, and then carefully tied him up and carried him to the cistern. (10)

Since this theory was not mentioned in the transcript, it is interesting that she chose to include it. At the time she published her book, this theory was somewhat of a vestige of a belief held by some at the time and handed down through the generations. My father subscribed to this theory and he would have undoubtedly been my mother’s source for it. I imagine my father believed it because my grandfather did. It was the theory for the people who rejected DeKerlor and felt that Rich was being persecuted. It was the theory for people that didn’t buy into German spies sending secret light signals from Mount Monadnock. The only previous reference to the theory that I am aware of was a Yankee Magazine article published in February 1959. In this piece, writer Sumner Kean ends his article with the following passage:

Today, four decades after the crime, authorities still mark it “unsolved”. Certain conservative elder residents, however, hold to what they call a “hoss sense” solution:

There existed in the town and its environs a group of young toughs below draft age. They and their girl friends were in the habit of cavorting in empty houses. The Deans, because of their financial reverses, had rented the big house and moved to an old cottage about three hundred yards away. The big house tenant, because of suspected German sympathies, had but lately, at Dean’s insistence, moved to a nearby farm. A circuitous road passed near the big house. This showed tire marks the day after the murder. It is believed that two or more persons, one perhaps a woman, were in the big house when they saw Dean’s lantern. The theory is that they investigated, were recognized by Dean,

then struck him down with the weeder, the first weapon that came to hand. Panicking when he dropped with the blow, they tied him up, weighted the bundle so it would stay down, and dumped him in the handiest spot – the well.

Prosaic solution of the 40-year-old mystery, perhaps, but again perhaps the only one which will ever come out of this explosive World War I mystery. (79)

The Yankee story stands out because it was the earliest piece written after the hysteria of the murder faded. It makes the observation that “Today all the principals are dead . . . all in fact, save Attorney Pickard” (32). The article includes a few quotes from the then eighty-one year old Pickard about the case – he said he still considered it an unsolved mystery. It is understandable that Pickard would not comment on the hoodlum theory as it was never officially investigated or reported on at the time, but it seems to have been around ever since the crime occurred. These “toughs”, however, were not associated with any actual names. So who was Harold Griffin?

It may seem as if I am introducing a new character here, but actually I have referred to Harold Griffin before. I didn’t mention the name, but he was the son of Father Hennon’s housekeeper. It seems pretty certain that Father Hennon, pastor of St. Patrick’s Church, was orchestrating the negative propaganda campaign directed against Rich. DeKerlor boarded at the Parish house, as did the last two federal agents assigned to the case, Valkenburgh and Weiss. DeKerlor was the link to the media, especially to Bert Ford at the Boston American. Two of the three selectmen were Catholic, and as previously explained; the selectmen were being challenged in the elections by the Masons, and needed solid Catholic support to maintain their positions. Official meetings were being held at the church rectory and Father Hennon was being included and/or consulted in almost all decisions in the case. So, why would a Catholic priest be so

involved in this purely civic matter? Why would a man of the cloth be calling the shots behind the scenes in a murder investigation? What has all this got to do with Harold Griffin?

The answers to these questions became the basis of Georgiana Hodgkin's book, *Prominent Citizen: Prime Suspect*. In the telling of her story, which also carries the disclaimer of being a novel, Miss Hodgkins makes Dr. Frederick Sweeney a central character. Coming back from his service in France, Dr. Sweeney returns to a town that is "seething with suspicion and hatred" (82). As a brief aside, one of the only memories my father had from that time involved Dr. Sweeney's return to Jaffrey. The Sweeney family was quite friendly with my father's family; the children were of similar ages and were friends. Dr. Sweeney and my grandfather were fellow Masons. My father would have only been nine years old at that time, but he remembered Dr. Sweeney urgently entering the family kitchen one evening at dinner time – probably the day following his return from France – imploring of my grandfather, "Delcie, what has happened to my town?"

He had been away for a year and according to Georgiana Hodgkins, when he returned he felt he had to dedicate himself to defending his friend Charles Rich and to getting to the truth of who really committed the crime. Dr. Sweeney quickly realized Father Hennon's role in driving the suspicions against Rich and ended up waging quite a public campaign seeking to expose the priest's influence in the case. Miss Hodgkins, however, goes further in her telling of it and provides the possible explanation as to why Father Hennon seemed to be so personally involved. She credits a certain revelation to a character in her novel, Harvey Foster, a sensible retired mill worker who spends his day on a park bench on the common in downtown Jaffrey; watching, listening and trying to

figure out what is really going on in this case. One day, as Harvey is sitting on the bench pondering what the cause of all the animosity toward Rich might be, he noticed Father Hennon walking along Main Street together with Harold Griffin.

Harvey's eyes followed the pair idly as they walked up the street together on their way to the parish house. Suddenly he leaned forward and looked after them intently, and a strange expression came into his face. He pursed up his mouth in a tuneless whistle. His eyes narrowed with a hard suspicion. The gait, the carriage of the head and shoulders – both were identical in the two men. (78)

This Harvey Foster character started asking questions concerning young Griffin and discovered he is a dead-beat who never works, never has his own money, and hangs out in a gang with all the other bad actors in town who, for one reason or another, don't have to serve in the war. There is a group of them, along with some girls, who hang out at night in vacant houses. Miss Hodgkins names Oscar Dillon, an actual person in Jaffrey at the time, as one of the leaders of the gang, and refers to another real person, the eldest Croteau girl, without ever using her first name, as being his secret girlfriend. Then, sometime after she reveals Harvey Foster's epiphany regarding the true nature of Father Hennon's and Harold Griffin's relationship, Miss Hodgkins alleges that the following headline appeared in the Boston American newspaper one morning:

BRUTAL ATTACK ON YOUNG WOMAN

The accompanying story gave young Harold Griffin's name and address as that of the guilty party. It appeared that in some drunken altercation with a young woman whom he had been visiting in company with another man, he had struck her behind the ear with a blunt instrument and had left her unconscious and bound. The marvel was that she had not been killed. On her return to consciousness, however, she had named her attacker and been able to give a fairly clear account of the affair before she lapsed again into an unconscious state from which she had not yet rallied. The authorities who were conducting the investigation found it significant that so many of the details were similar to those that had brought about the death of Mr. Dean. The blow was struck by the same, or a similar instrument, and was in the same location. The cord, too, that bound the young woman's hands behind her back had been tied by an expert. Griffin's companion, who had been visiting him for some weeks, was a sailor. Griffin was being held pending the outcome. Inquiry at the parish house brought out the fact that neither the priest nor his housekeeper was at home. (88-89)

Conclusion

I would like to conclude this paper with the same sentiment that Attorney General Young expressed at the conclusion of his opening remarks:

YOUNG: Now, gentlemen, what I have started out to make as a brief statement has developed into quite a long statement, and I hope I haven't wearied you.

Although I can't exactly say that I started out intending to write a brief statement - the assignment for the class was twenty pages - I have, nonetheless, made a much longer accounting of this case than my original intention, and I certainly hope "I haven't wearied you." The theories are complex, the characters are complicated and the story is almost irresistibly compelling. It takes time to even begin to do justice to the telling of it. Nonetheless, regardless of how interesting the story may be, at the end of the day the question remains: Who killed Dr. Dean? As I stated in the Introduction, as hopeful as I am that someday there might be a definitive answer to that question, it was never my presumption to answer it here. I consider the writing of this paper to be merely the first phase of a multi-phase endeavor. I am working with the Jaffrey Historical Society to find an appropriate way to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Dean murder coming up in 2018. The full extent of that project has yet to be defined, but I felt that the writing of this overview would be an important first step. The scope of my research, although considerable, was limited to the documents and evidence already available. A subsequent phase would be to delve deeper into the theories and determine if any new evidence might be uncovered. Perhaps there are decedents of the Dean family still living in the Rochester, NY area. Possibly there are family records that could shed some better information on Mrs. Dean's dementia and her capacity for violence. Both her mother and her grandmother apparently suffered from the same condition; maybe there were other incidents that occurred. Regarding

Lawrence Colfelt, I have been told there is someone who has already been following his trail from the time after he left New Hampshire. It seems that Colfelt may have been the subject of an investigation at the shipyards in Norfolk, Virginia sometime before the outbreak of World War II. There could also be more information on Charles Rich to be discovered. Maybe even somewhere in my own family's archives could be a link connecting Lawrence Colfelt to a Mason syndicate and subsequently, to a motive for Mr. Rich to kill Dr. Dean. And finally, and perhaps most immediately, research could be done on what became of Harold Griffin. I did not find the article concerning his arrest that Georgiana Hodgkins claimed appeared in the Boston American newspaper anywhere in the archives of the Jaffrey Historical Society. If the incident actually occurred - complete with the friend who served in the navy who would have been expert in tying knots - I would certainly consider it quite a damning piece of evidence. Then also, what about Father Hennon? Where did he go after serving in Jaffrey? Did his housekeeper, Griffin's mother, go with him? Would it be possible to conduct any DNA testing to link Hennon to Griffin and possibly Griffin to the murder? It is my intention, with the help of others, to follow up on these questions and possibilities. I would like to see the Grand Jury transcript, and all the Department of Justice reports digitized, so that searches can be readily made and statements and testimony cross-referenced and compared. Perhaps a Dean Murder website could be put on the internet in an effort to reach out across the country for clues. I am definitely planning to contact the Cold Case Unit of the New Hampshire State Police Major Crime Unit to see what assistance they might provide. As I said at the very beginning, the most important reason why this story even matters is because it really happened. Once again, this is *not* a fictional story. A man was killed and no one was ever held to account for his death. The death of William K. Dean was murder, and there is no statute of limitations for murder.

In the final chapter of her book, Georgian Hodgkins quotes Charles Rich making the following statement:

It's over, he said, with the war. When that spirit of hatred is laid, the suspicions born of that spirit will die out. These neighbors of mine will return to reason. They will realize that I could not have killed my best friend, or have been a party to his murder. In the long run, character will tell. Then, too, eventually the guilty one will be discovered. The saying *murder will out* has a basis in the experience of man. Something overlooked by the guilty man will give a clue from which a solution will be worked out. (157)

Rich was certainly wrong about one thing: it wasn't over with the war. He went to his grave with his neighbors still believing he was involved in the murder of his best friend, and the crime remains unsolved nearly a century later. However, could he possibly have been right about the rest of it? Is there some heretofore overlooked clue that might provide the solution to the mystery? Is it true there is a "basis in the experience of man" for us to still believe, even if it takes one hundred years, that *murder will out*?

Appendix A

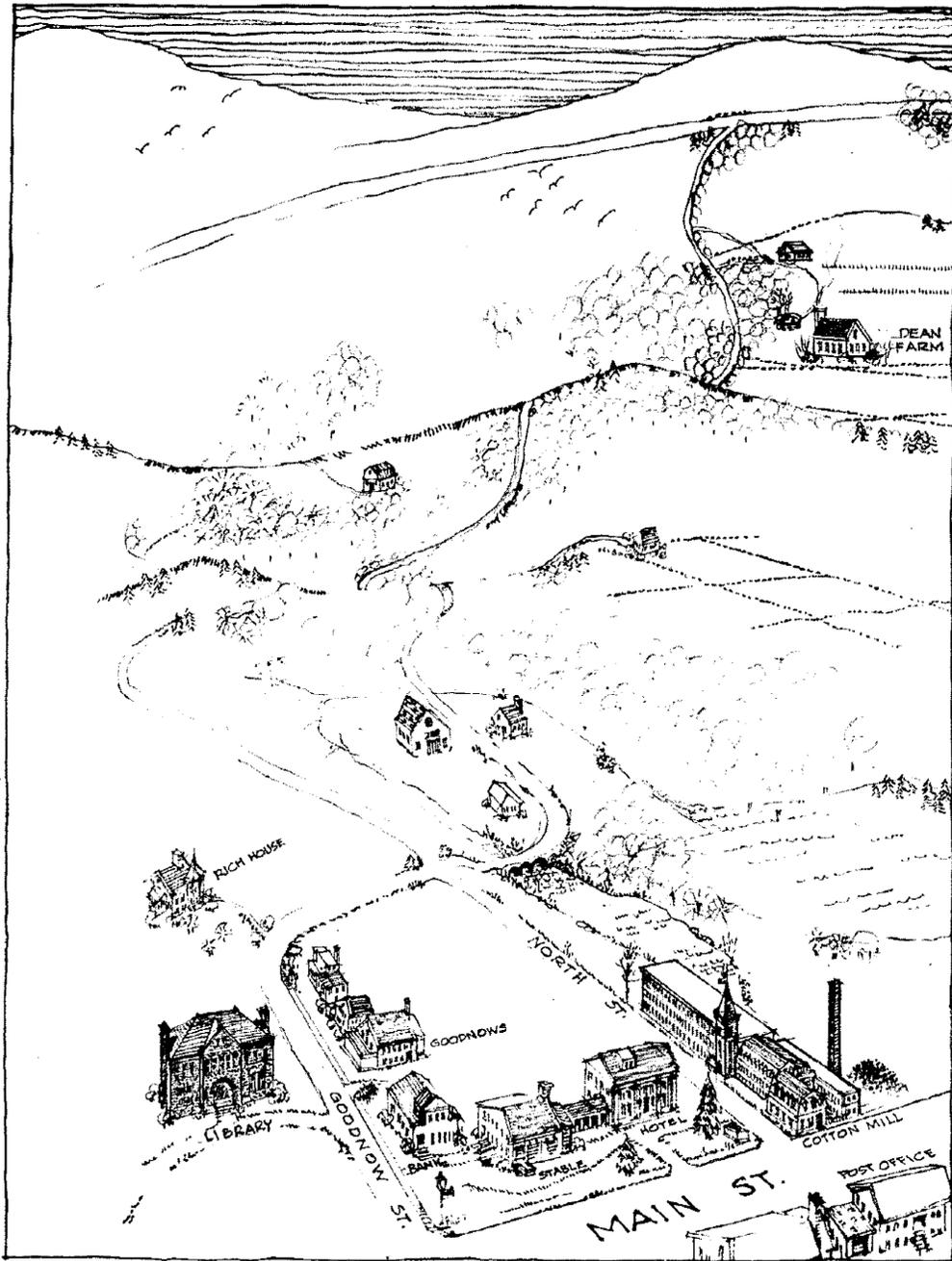
Hearing by the Grand Jury on the Death of William K. Dean by Margaret C. Bean

H E A R I N G *by*
the G R A N D J U R Y
on the D E A T H *of*
 W I L L I A M K. D E A N

A P R I L 11-22, 1919
 C O U R T H O U S E, K E E N E
 N E W H A M P S H I R E



Transcribed, edited and published by
 M A R G A R E T C. B E A N



East Jaffrey, New Hampshire, in 1918
by B. Leonard Krause

THE STORY BEHIND THIS TRANSCRIPT

I don't remember just when, after Jack and I were married in 1938, I first heard about the Dean murder. It was part of Jaffrey folklore, an intriguing unsolved mystery. I soon became aware, though, that for Jack's father, known as D.D., it was still a bitter episode and he was reluctant to talk about it.

For the rest of us it was a fascinating topic of conversation and everyone had a solution or theory to offer. There had been a book written about it at the time by the Boston newspaper reporter who had covered the case, but copies were rare, and it resolved nothing for certain. There is a copy of his book in the Jaffrey Library. There are clippings from Boston newspapers, and there are the personal recollections of a handful of people.

Dr. Frederick Sweeney had been, with Jack's father, a concerned citizen of Jaffrey at the time. Some of their concern was due to the fact that the selectmen had retained the controversial Dr. DeKerlor for his "expenses." From the Town Report Year Ending January 31, 1919:

Detail 31	Expenses on the Dean Case
Paid	
Mrs. E. M. Bryant	\$27.00
District Nurse Association	18.00
C. T. Johnson, pictures	38.85
C. E. Sweatt, repairs	3.97
F. R. Enslin, board	60.00
C. A. Hamilton, notary	2.00
Robert Hamill, auto	15.00
W. F. Coolidge, auto	39.00
F. A. Stratton, auto	283.25
Toy Town Tavern, board	13.48
W. DeKerlor, expenses	1,473.01
Mercer Bros., auto to Manchester	11.00
C. H. Cutler, M.D.	15.00
	\$1,999.56

Dr. Sweeney's son, Bud [DeForrest], now an English professor in California, was born after his father re-

turned from France. As a youngster he'd heard his father talk about the case, and a few years ago he thought he'd like to write a story based on the unsolved murder. On a trip east he collected as much material about it as he could, including a talk with Jack to share recollections, and a trip to the Keene Court where a Grand Jury Inquest had been held.

Sometime later we had a letter from Bud enclosing a letter from Stillman Rogers, Clerk of the Superior Court in Keene. It said that in rebuilding and enlarging the Court House, a brown paper package had turned up that contained twenty notebooks of Pittman shorthand, the recording of the Dean Murder Grand Jury Inquest held in April 1919. Since Prof. Sweeney had made inquiries about the case, they thought he would like to know about this. Bud wrote to Jack and me, "Any ideas?"

My interest leaped! In my pre-marriage days I had worked on Wall Street and Pittman shorthand was my tool. I had taken an advanced course in it at Pace Institute in New York City, and had attained a confident competency in it. Since then, Gregg shorthand has become more popular than Pittman and there are fewer people who know Pittman. With Bud's approval, I went to the Keene Court House and asked if I might try to transcribe the notes.

It required official permission, which was given. The arrangement was that I might take two notebooks at a time, and only when they were returned could I have two more. And that began my absorbing work, fitted into a busy schedule like handwork, for the next six years.

Adding to the challenge and the thrill of my work was the knowledge that these notes had never been transcribed. Transcriptions of Grand Jury inquests are not ordered unless there is an indictment and a trial, or a specific need. It protects the confidentiality of the Inquest, and saves the cost of the reporter's transcription.

Another unusual experience was ahead for me. I was working on the first notebook, making progress but having some difficulty. We were going to Jamaica for a month's vacation and I took the notebooks with me,

knowing there would be more time for uninterrupted work.

I couldn't believe it when Jack, reading the Jamaica Gleaner newspaper, said, "Hey, listen to this!" On the front page, with a picture, was Mr. Samuel Fitz-Henley, a Jamaican, and an expert in Pittman shorthand, who had just been paid some thousands of dollars in Florida for transcribing the notes of a reporter who had since died. A man's life depended on the transcription. The article told how Mr. Fitz-Henley had a worldwide reputation and was often called on to transcribe notes from many years before, in research projects, or even Congressional situations.

We were in Montego Beach, Mr. Fitz-Henley was in Kingston, so I telephoned him, and he graciously agreed to see me when we were in Kingston before returning to Jaffrey.

That meeting was a milestone. He told me why I was having difficulty with some of the notes. The court stenographer, Lena Marsh, had not been careless. He said she was an excellent reporter. But Pittman shorthand had been changed over the years and there were some differences. He showed me a teaching manual and a shorthand dictionary from the early 1900's, books Lena Marsh would have used, and pointed out the major points of change. Once I understood this, the transcription moved much more quickly and smoothly. Through a book service I was able to buy used copies of both these books and use them for reference.

There were times when I could work fairly steadily, and other times when the books were untouched for periods of time. Then an unexpected blow caused a major delay. In March 1983 I had a letter from the Clerk of Superior Court in Keene which read:

"I have been instructed by Judge Contas to request that we hold up on the transcription of the Grand Jury materials relative to the Dean Murder Grand Jury inquest. This is done in light of the Supreme Court's opinion in the case of the State of New Hampshire v. Rotha J. Purrington. . . . It may be that Chief Justice King will allow an exception to the rule in this case since no person was ever indicted by the Grand Jury."

It took the best part of a year to resolve this difficulty, but finally Chief Justice King did allow an exception and I was given all the notebooks. At last the job could be finished.

On one of my trips to the Court House, Mr. Rogers had asked if I would like to see the contents of a box he had which was marked "Dean Case." Of course, I would! He brought out a cardboard box in which were Mr. Dean's sneakers, the rope with which he was tied, and a few other things. A morbid thrill!

When I had completed my first rough draft, I started from the beginning, working with both notes and transcription, to make any changes or additions. As I became more familiar with the style of Lena Marsh, my transcription became more complete. For my final review, I worked from just the shorthand notes again, to be doubly sure the work was done thoroughly.

If a word seems unusual, it is included because I am sure of it. Occasionally Lena Marsh would write an unusual word in longhand, which was very helpful in confirming that it was the right word. She occasionally wrote names in longhand, but sometimes her handwriting was more of a challenge than her shorthand! As I worked, it kept impressing itself on me that these people weren't saying what some author thought they should say, but were speaking their own words, expressing their different backgrounds and characters, from the distinguished Miss Mary Ware (who, with her mother, gave the Glass Flower collection to Harvard College) to Fred Stratton, the local livery stableman.

It was also a little awesome to remember that no one had heard these words since they were first uttered in April 1919 under carefully guarded Grand Jury Inquest rules.

This Inquest took place almost nine months to the day following the murder. In that time some of the witnesses had rehearsed to themselves and others what they had witnessed to the point that it became conviction. It was for the jury to sort out conflicting testimony.

Here is a drama of ordinary people, caught up in a violent and mysterious happening that became an outlet for their prejudices, and compounded the already complex tragedy of the Dean Murder Case.

Mrs. Dean died quietly in September 1919 at the home of the Rev. F. R. Enslin, with whom she boarded.

Mr. Colfelt returned to New York and never again came to the towns of Jaffrey or Temple. His stepdaughter, Natalye Colfelt, graduated from Vassar College and earned her Ph.D. from Stanford University in 1926 in Political Science and Economics. In 1934 she married Warren Hall in California, and the wedding invitation showed both her parents were living at that time. She lost her only child, a boy, in infancy.

Mr. Rich's life went on in Jaffrey, seemingly a normal life, but in reality a quiet tragedy of its own kind, for he was never able to exonerate himself. He won a suit against the Boston American newspaper for libel, was awarded one dollar, but it changed no one's mind. He continued his banking and business career until 1930, when a stroke left him an invalid. He died in 1933 at the age of eighty, leaving his wife and a sister. There were no children.

THE EVIDENCE

I did not always see Mr. Rogers, Clerk of the Superior Court, when I stopped in at the Court House to return two notebooks and pick up two more. More often than not, he was busy and acknowledged me with a smile.

But one time he was free, and he asked me if I would like to see something interesting. Of course I said yes, and he brought out a cardboard box. As he opened it he said, "This is the evidence from the Dean Inquest."

I had already transcribed enough of the notes to quickly recognize the items as he removed them from the box. My reaction was an emotional one. This was no longer an impersonal transcript, but the unfolding of a real and gruesome murder.

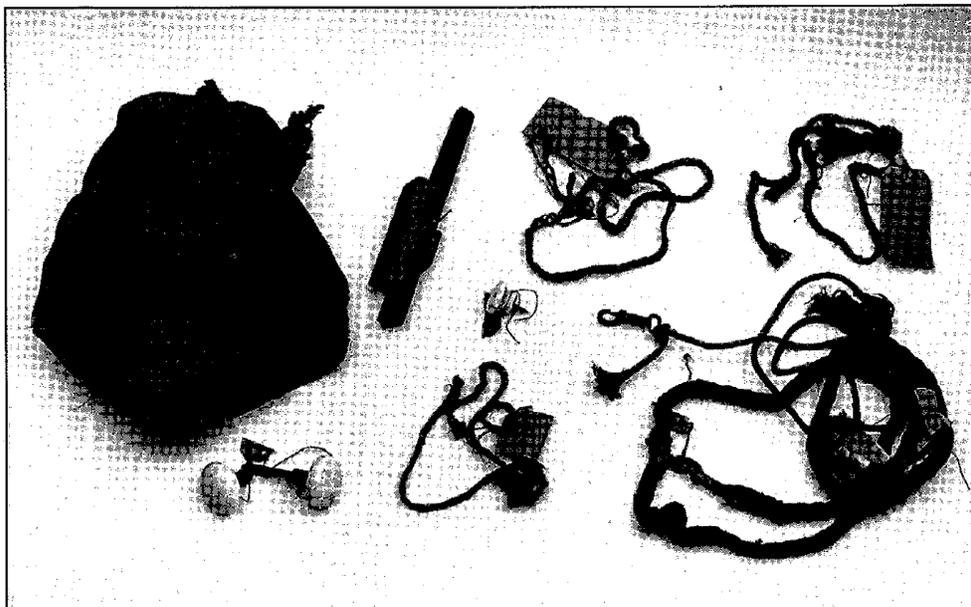


ABOVE: The calendar for August 1918 "was hanging back of the stove in the kitchen and on the date of August 13th there is written over the letters 13 'Billee' and under the letters 13 'died' and all encircled with a pencil mark."

BELOW: To see the "rubber foam canvas shoes and long black socks" Dr. Dean had been wearing made him suddenly very real, and I felt the grip of the panic and anger he had experienced in those last few moments of his life.

I cringed at the dark-colored blotches on the horse blanket, still showing the stains of the blood that had spilled that night. It had been wedged up against his head to stanch the flow.



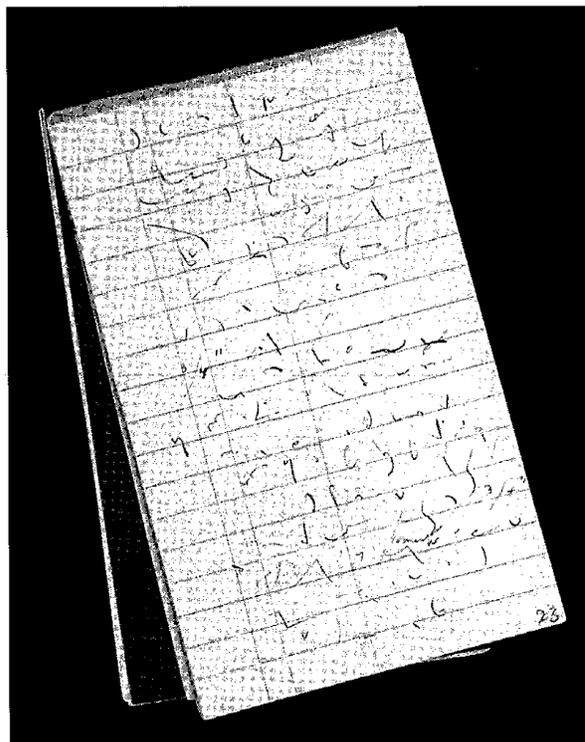


ABOVE: The burlap bag had been tied over his head, holding the blanket and the stone that were to weigh him down in the cistern.

The white porcelain doorknobs had been smudged by a bloody hand, but didn't show fingerprints.

Pieces of wood, taken from the porch steps, had "marks showing where something was dragged over it . . . and there was one blood spot on it."

Here were ropes that had been pulled so tight around his neck that they fractured a bone and killed him. Others had bound his hands and feet and been tied securely with square knots.



LEFT: The Pitman shorthand notes became very familiar after working with them for six years. Lena Marsh, the Court Reporter, had high marks from my expert Pitman friend, Samuel Fitz-Henley, of Kingston, Jamaica. This page reads:

. . . was that Mr. Dean died from strangulation, that is, he wasn't drowned. In other words, he didn't breathe after he went into the water. Wound around his neck twice was a hard hitch rope, or halter, one of those kind such as you gentlemen are all familiar with, a hard 3/4 inch rope.

Now Mr. Pickard is going to draw a little chart of the particular points, not, of course, according to scale, but so as to give you gentlemen a little idea of the situation up there at the Dean homestead.

I was telling you about the rope which was around Mr. Dean's neck. It was a hard 3/4-inch hitch rope with a snap on one end, and back a couple of feet or so, and I would say you could put this. . . .

ORDER OF WITNESSES

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The MYSTERY *of the* DEAN MURDER

"... The body was taken out of the cistern and it very plainly impressed itself upon the minds of everybody there at that time that it was undoubtedly a case of deliberate, premeditated, well-planned, and carefully executed murder."

ATTORNEY GENERAL OSCAR L. YOUNG

It was a hot day in August 1918 when Dr. Dean jogged to town in his horse and cart to do a little marketing before the stores closed at nine o'clock. What happened to him between that time, and the next morning, when his body was pulled from the cistern of his farm, remains a mystery to this day.

Did he go straight home? Or did he stop to visit his friend Charles Rich, banker and Town Moderator? Mr. Rich appeared with a black eye the next morning. Was it an untimely accident? Or was it the result of a midnight death struggle? Could Dr. DeKerlor, alias Mr. Kent, the criminal psychologist, really see the face of Mr. Rich in the photograph of a blood spot? Why did Mrs. Dean tell everyone that her Billy was "dead in deep water" *before* his body was found in the cistern?

Why were federal agents here investigating wartime signal lights? Who was the mysterious and wealthy Mr. Colfelt who rented Dr. Dean's hilltop house? Why did he spend the winter in Jaffrey? Was he a German spy and did Dr. Dean find out too much?

What motivated the suspicion against Mr. Rich to such an extent that he became the key figure and polarized the town?

How this transcript of the Grand Jury Inquest came about is a story in itself. It was only through a series of coincidences that the Court Reporter's shorthand notes turned up after more than sixty years. The notes had never been transcribed, and might never have been. It was again a coincidence that a student of the Pitman shorthand the reporter used heard of the notes and was given permission to transcribe them.

The transcript takes us back to 1919, to the Court House in Keene, where the Attorney General of New Hampshire conducted an eight-day Inquest. The witnesses come alive, as they tell, in their own words, what happened. There is horror, there is conviction, there is disbelief, there is even humor. But there is no conclusive answer to the question: "Who killed Dr. Dean?"

Will someone find a clue that others missed, or will the murder of Dr. Dean remain a mystery?

Appendix B

Prominent Citizen: Prime Suspect by Georgiana Hodgkins



PROMINENT CITIZEN:
PRIME SUSPECT

*A Personal Account of the Dean Murder Mystery,
A Tragedy in Which the Author Was Involved*

by Georgiana Hodgkins



Edited by Margaret C. Bean

Transcriber, Editor and Publisher of
HEARING BY THE GRAND JURY ON
THE DEATH OF WILLIAM K. DEAN

Published by
THE JAFFREY HISTORICAL SOCIETY





Preface

When this manuscript came to light the Jaffrey Historical Society saw a unique opportunity to publish an account, albeit fictional, that accurately portrays the prejudices, undercurrents, hostilities and attitudes prevalent in the waning war years and early 1920's.

It is the hope of the Society that this subjective publication will add to the fabric of understanding how a single event, like the Dean murder, can embroil a town in recrimination, hostility, and dissent — the effects of which lingered for decades to come.

William M. Driscoll, President
Jaffrey Historical Society
May 1996



Foreword

On a hot night in August 1918, at a time when this country was patriotically and emotionally involved in World War I, a respected citizen of Jaffrey, William K. Dean, was brutally murdered on his farm.

There is good reason to believe his murder was directly connected with the war since there were federal agents in the area investigating alleged signal lights and spy activities, and Mr. Dean had told someone he had important information to give them.

The tragedy was compounded in Jaffrey because of spy-novel complications. The victim's brother, Frederick Dean, brought with him from New York State a criminal psychologist, Dr. DeKerlor, a European whose methods fascinated some people and horrified others. Dr. DeKerlor was later repudiated by Frederick Dean, but was retained by the selectmen for his "expenses." This became a bone of contention in Jaffrey. It is almost unbelievable that this kind of fictional character should have played a major role in the case.

Another strange character was a rather mysterious Mr. Colfelt from New York. He and his wife were residents in Jaffrey in 1917 and 1918, not just for the summers, but year-round. It puzzled the natives that someone who was independently wealthy should choose to spend the winter in New Hampshire. It aroused people's indignation and suspicion that he neither worked nor served in the armed forces.

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The Colfelts had rented Mr. Dean's large house on the hill, while Mr. and Mrs. Dean, because of finances, moved into the smaller farmhouse. Was Mr. Colfelt a German spy, and did Mr. Dean find out and have to be eliminated?

The most unsettling piece of the mystery came about when a prominent citizen of Jaffrey, Charles Rich, became a suspect. Mr. Rich was cashier of the Monadnock Bank, a district judge, Town Moderator, and choir director at the Universalist Church. An untimely black eye on the morning after the murder led to increasing suspicion that he was somehow involved, although no motive was ever uncovered.

The atmosphere in the town itself was one of tensions — patriotic, economic, and religious, and it wasn't long after the murder before many townspeople began to take sides for or against Mr. Rich. Soon there was almost complete polarization. In April of 1919, eight months later, a grand jury inquest was held in Keene. The testimonies were conflicting and uncertain. The verdict, "murder by person or persons unknown," resolved nothing.

But here we have the account of someone who knew Mr. Dean. At the time of the murder, Georgiana Hodgkins was a high school English teacher in New York City and in August 1918 was making one of her frequent visits to her sister, Lana Rich, in Jaffrey. Mr. Dean, a close friend, visited them the very night he was murdered. Georgiana Hodgkins was one of the last people to see him alive.

Her story — this book — begins with that visit and ends in January 1933 with the death of Mr. Rich.

The manuscript came through Dr. DeForest Sweeney, son of Jaffrey's Dr. Frederick Sweeney. The Hodgkins family has given permission for it to be published.

Georgiana Hodgkins chose to put her story together as a novel, using fictional names, but the events are clear and factual and it is easy to identify most of the people involved. This has been confirmed by newspaper accounts, records, and the grand jury inquest transcript, and by the recollections of a number of responsible people who read her manuscript. It was the decision of the Jaffrey Historical Society to use the authentic names when they were clearly identifiable.

It must be understood that Georgiana Hodgkins was inescapably subjective in the telling of the story. It had been, for her, an intensely personal experience. We recognize that some of her accounts were hearsay (see Chapter 12) although she used the author's prerogative to be omniscient.

It must be understood as well, however, that she has given as factual an account as she could, an account that gives us insight into another very real and tragic consequence of the Dean murder mystery.

Margaret C. Bean



Appendix

*From Keene court House file:
The case of Boynton vs. Rich, Dated 5/2/21*

VOTERS OF JAFFREY

Take your head out of the clouds — plant your feet firmly on the ground and do some hard , straight, clear thinking.

What will you do with Jaffrey?

Your valuation on April 1, 1921 was \$372,000.00 greater than on April 1, 1917, but in spite of this, your tax rate has increased from \$24.00 to \$33.00 per thousand, and your bills are not yet paid.

In view of this, do you imagine that there will be any marked increase in building operations? Do you believe that any new industry can be induced to locate here? Are you even sure that, if the present antagonistic attitude is continued, you can retain the industries you now have? Larger Plants than any in Jaffrey have been discarded over night.

Do you believe that you are not affected by a high tax rate? If so, stop fooling yourself. You are the consumer and the consumer always pays. It matters not whether you own your home, rent your home, or board, a part of every dollar you spend here goes for taxes.

Do you know the financial condition of your Town? Do you know that before the money raised by taxation becomes available, it is cus-

tomary to borrow on notes at the prevailing interest rate? Do you know your condition in this respect? Here it is:

LONG AND SHORT TERM NOTES (NOT BONDS PAYABLE)

January 31, 1918	\$ 9,000.00
January 31, 1919	\$ 6,500.00
January 31, 1920	\$18,000.00
January 31, 1921	\$33,000.00

Your present financial condition may be the result of excessive expenditures for schools, roads, or the Dean Case — it may be the result of inefficient administration. In any event, the first two factors are always with you but the last two can be eliminated at your pleasure.

In making the above statement, we want it clearly understood that we stand and always have stood for a full and free investigation and prosecution of the Dean Case. We have, however, no reason to believe that the Dean Case is now being prosecuted, while we have every reason to believe that one of our citizens is being persecuted.

How much has already been spent by the Town on the so-called investigation of the Dean Case, we do not know, nor we believe does anyone. From figures available, however, it is pretty safe to say that on March 1, 1921 the total of Dean Case expenses — paid and unpaid — reported and concealed — is approximately \$10,000.00.

In support of this statement, we can merely say that since February 1, 1921 one firm of lawyers received \$1,430.00 of your money. Is it unreasonable to suppose that there are other unpaid bills?

Do you suppose any part of the payment in February covered the legal expenses of a Selectman, who is now defendant in a civil suit brought against him as a private citizen?

Do you know that the present Board of Selectmen plan to continue operations along this line for ten years? Do you imagine that the cost will become less as litigation develops?

About 104 times in the past two years you have heard, "There's going to be an arrest in about two weeks." Has there been one? Do you believe a Board of Selectmen who have publicly claimed, "That they know who killed Mr. Dean and that they have sufficient evidence to convict," are justified in allowing the murderer at large?

176 PROMINENT CITIZEN: PRIME SUSPECT

What do you propose to do about it? You alone have the remedy and you alone can effect the cure.

If you feel as we do about it, you will work for, vote for and elect on March 8, 1921 a Board of Selectmen who are pledged to no man or group of men — who will be dictated to and dominated by no man or group of men — who will handle the Dean Case or any other case solely on its merits — who will ever have in mind the best interests of your Town and who will, in support of their own good judgment, ACT INSTEAD OF TALK.

We are confident that the following candidates fully measure up to these specifications and we ask your aid in their election:

For one year

JAMES H. FITZGERALD — AN UP-TO-DATE, progressive, successful, efficient businessman.

For two years

ALBERT ANNETT — FORMER REPRESENTATIVE, State Senator and Councilor — originator of the idea of a Water System for Jaffrey and Chairman of Committee installing same — a retired businessman of sound and seasoned judgment.

For three years

JASON C. SAWYER — a young farmer of the modern school — graduate of New Hampshire State College — bright, clean-cut, capable and aggressive.

Their election means an Efficient Administration.

Yours for the good of Jaffrey

DELICIE D. BEAN

MERRILL G. SYMONDS

WILBUR E. WEBSTER

HOMER S. WHITE

EAST JAFFREY, N.H. MARCH 4, 1921

Appendix C

Opening Statement: Attorney General Oscar L. Young

THE HEARING

ORDER OF WITNESSES

Friday, April 11, 1919
9:00 A.M.

OSCAR L. YOUNG,
Attorney General of New Hampshire
EDWARD H. LORD, *Sheriff of Cheshire County*
WILLIAM T. COOLIDGE,
Chairman Jaffrey Board of Selectmen
EDWARD C. BOYNTON, *Jaffrey selectman*
FREDERICK STRATTON, *Liveryman*
GEORGIANA HODGKINS,
Sister of Mrs. Charles Rich

PRESENT: *Attorney General* **OSCAR L. YOUNG**
County Solicitor **ROY M. PICKARD**

PICKARD: Mr. Foreman and gentlemen, I take great pleasure in introducing to you Oscar L. Young, Attorney General of the State of New Hampshire.

YOUNG: Mr. Foreman and gentlemen of the Grand Jury, I will briefly state to you some of the circumstances concerning the death of the late William K. Dean. The purpose of this investigation is if we can deduce such facts as will satisfy you gentlemen that the matter ought to be inquired of further by a Petit Jury with respect to any particular person.

Now, William K. Dean, a physician by profession but who never practiced, as I understand it, was a rather peculiar person. He was born in New York State in 1855, and in 1880 he was married to the woman with who he lived until the time of his death.

Shortly after his marriage he removed to the town of Jaffrey and about a mile and a half or two miles from East Jaffrey he bought a tract of land, an old farm, remodelled the farm buildings, and at a short distance above the farm buildings constructed quite a large summer house and lived there, probably alone with his wife, until the time of his death.

At that time he was sixty-three and a half years of age, a man rather small of stature, and a man of scholarly attainments, who liked books, but had some peculiar habits and characteristics. For in-

stance, he had a habit of milking at midnight and at noon. He sat up very late at night, of course, and as a consequence remained in bed quite late in the forenoon.

Now the 13th day of August, as I remember it was a Tuesday, late in the afternoon, and you will bear in mind, gentlemen, when we speak of the time of day, that suntime was an hour earlier than the time that will be mentioned.

As I was saying, late in the afternoon of Tuesday, the 13th of August, Mr. Dean drove down to the village of East Jaffrey, with the horse attached to a little road cart, one of those kind where one end of the seat tips up, you get in, tip up the seat, walk through the opening and sit down, all fenced in. You have seen that kind of wagon undoubtedly.

He made some purchases at the various stores and when he had finished his shopping he went to call at the house of Mr. Rich, the Cashier of the Monadnock Bank at East Jaffrey, a man of some prominence in that community, and a man with who, and with whose family, Mr. Dean and his wife had been, and were at that time quite friendly. As Mrs. Dean became physically handicapped, Mr. Dean continued to exchange visits, going to Riches alone.

There may be some dispute as to the hour at which Mr. Dean left Mr. Rich's house that night. Fixing the time is a matter that presents no small difficulty. People witnessing an occurrence will oftentimes have different ideas as to what hour of the day this occurrence took place. So we have no theory as to the exact time Mr. Dean left Mr. Rich's house, but it is assumed that he drove up the road in his roadcart on his way home and several people saw him, and one or more heard a team go by at about that time and assume it was Mr. Dean's carriage, and finally Mr. Dean arrived at his home.

The road is a somewhat secluded road. The house where Mr. Dean lived is perhaps a couple of hundred yards in from the main road, the road that leads from East Jaffrey to Peterborough, and at the south of that road, some two hundred yards further, I think it

would be, is this large summer house, and in about one hundred fifty feet of the summer house was the stable where he kept his horse.

Now to go back just a moment to Mrs. Dean. Mrs. Dean at that time was sixty-eight years of age. She was an exceedingly well educated lady, a lady of refinement, and a lady who, in her younger days, was a very attractive woman indeed, but of late years her mind has faded somewhat and she was suffering from that malady from which we will all suffer if we live long enough, senile dementia. Her mind was not clear. If it were not for that fact, we could probably fix definitely the hour at which Mr. Dean arrived at his home.

Mrs. Dean's story, as we gather it from her, was that he arrived at the house somewhere around half past nine, that he brought in some things he had bought down to the village, some things the Riches had given him on his call there, left them at the house, drove his horse to the barn, put up his horse and came back to the house, got a little something to eat and at eleven o'clock left the house and went up to the barn to milk the cow, telling her he would return in an hour or, as she puts it, saying he would return at twelve o'clock.

That, gentlemen, was the last time Mrs. Dean ever saw her husband alive, or ever saw her husband so far as the authorities know.

Her story is that she waited for him in the darkness there at the home, wondering why he didn't come back, and at five o'clock she went out to look for him. She found the lantern in the stable overturned and out.

Not finding him and having no knowledge as to where he had gone or why he didn't return, she called up people down to the village. The story became current downtown that Mr. Dean had disappeared, and as a result some of his friends, Mr. Rich among others, called up to find out about it, and she immediately announced to them that Billy, that is her husband, was dead.

When she came to be interviewed by the authorities she still stuck to that assertion. When I interviewed her she insisted to me that Billy was dead and when I asked her why she thought he was dead, she, in a rather incoherent way, went on to state that his head hurt and that he undoubtedly fell over in the deep water, and when we inquired where the deep water was, she would point down across the valley where there was no water other than a swamp, and when I asked her if she could take us to the deep water she said she couldn't unless we were able to walk on top of the trees.

I speak of that merely to show you gentlemen in a way the condition of this woman's mind.

As a result of the report that Mr. Dean had disap-

peared, of course, an investigation was immediately begun. When they arrived there down at the barn they found blood stains on the doorstep, or it wasn't a doorstep but there was a little portico built out where this door was that went into the stable, a little portico built out about four to six feet with a pitched roof to shed the water that came off the eaves of the roof so it wouldn't run down a man's neck when he wanted to go in the stable door.

On that little platform were several blood stains, and on the edge of the step leading down to the ground there were blood stains. On the doorknob, and on the door leading into the barn, there were blood stains.

We took that doorknob off and sent it to the best fingerprint place at the Boston Police Department, and they informed us it was not a print but a smudge, so that brought us no results.

Undoubtedly it was human blood, and undoubtedly blood from Mr. Dean, and the theory of the State is that he was assaulted there, near that door, either in the stable or outside on this little platform, and that undoubtedly he received his death when he was.

Now, up at the corner of this summer house, which they call a bungalow but which is not a bungalow for it is a large two-story and a half house, but which some people over there, called the bungalow and if that term is used I presume that is the building they refer to.

This building was built by Mr. Dean first to live in, and then he concluded to rent it, and that building had been rented for a considerable time up to the early part of June of that year. And from June 5th, I think it was, until the time of his death, it had been vacant.

Now at the corner of that bungalow and about a hundred fifty feet distant from the stable, there is built into the ground a rainwater cistern and the inside of that was built after the plan of the inside of a jug, that is, it was circular, eight or nine feet in depth, seven or eight feet in diameter at the bottom, and then the sides, as they came up, were narrowed in until at the top it was about four feet and a half, and the top of the cistern was just even with the ground, with the exception that around the edge thereof had been laid bricks that projected just the thickness of the brick above the ground. And at one time the crevices between those bricks had been filled with Portland cement mortar, but owing to the erosion by the elements and the frosts, perhaps, those bricks had become loosened.

All the ground around that cistern was grassed over, with the exception of where the wagon tracks led down to the barn and another track led up to this house. Now I think between the stable and this cistern was a grade, perhaps in going a distance of a

hundred fifty feet, perhaps a rise of twenty feet, so that it was uphill from the barn to the cistern.

Now when the people began to collect in response to Mrs. Dean's request, they searched in every possible place around the barn and around the field, and finally someone conceived the idea of investigating the cistern, and they went to get a hard ice pick. You have probably seen those things they use in the ice house to shove cakes of ice around, long handles, seven or eight feet long, with a straight face on one end to push with, and a hook to pull with.

They fished around in the cistern and discovered there was something there, and finally got hold of it and found it was undoubtedly the body of Mr. Dean. There was nothing further done at that time until the coroner and the sheriff arrived, and the body was taken out of the cistern, and it very plainly impressed itself upon the minds of everybody there at that time that it was undoubtedly a case of deliberate, premeditated, well-planned and carefully executed murder.

An examination showed that on the side of Mr. Dean's head — he was baldheaded, a little more so perhaps than I am — and on the side of his head there were two cuts. They were not parallel, that is, if they had been continued far enough they would have come together. One was about an inch and three quarters in length, and the other was about an inch and a quarter. The investigations of the Medical Examiners disclosed that under one of these cuts there was a fracture of the bone. The report was that Mr. Dean died from strangulation. That is, he was not drowned. In other words, he didn't breathe after he went into the water.

Wound around his neck twice was a hard hitch rope or halter, one of those kind such as you gentlemen are all familiar with, a hard, three-quarter-inch rope.

Now Mr. Pickard is going to draw a little chart of the particular points, not according to scale, but so as to give you gentlemen a little idea of the situation up there at the Dean homestead.

I was telling you about the rope which was around Mr. Dean's neck. It was a hard, three-quarter-inch hitch rope with a snap on one end and I would say you could put this around a horse's neck, put the other end over the body and hitch it to a post.

That was wound around his neck twice, and the ends laid by, like that, but it wasn't tied. Undoubtedly your conclusion will be that at some time that rope was pulled with considerable pressure because there was an indentation around the neck where the rope was, and above it it was discolored. There will be some evidence that this bone in the neck was fractured.

There was a rope tied around the knees, a cord, probably the same kind of cord as you will find on a

window, one of those stiff, heavy woven cotton cords. And on the end of that there was a snap, the same as was on the end of the halter, that you could snap into the ring.

His hands were tied behind his back, and around the right wrist was another piece of this white window cord, looped like a slipknot. That is, the rope doubled, put around, and the end put through the rope and pulled tight, and that undoubtedly at some time had been pulled tightly because it showed the mark upon the wrist.

The hands were tied behind the back, the knees were tied together with this window cord rope which I have described, and a horse blanket was folded and wrapped around his head. Inside of that blanket was a considerable amount of blood, and in all probability the reason why there were not more blood stains, because he must have bled a considerable amount, was because of this blanket, and quite likely it was put around for the purpose of preventing the flow of blood.

Now then, over all that was pulled a gunny sack, a hard potato sack such as you gentlemen who live on farms, and some of you who do not, have seen hundreds of. Inside of that sack was a stone which weighed, as I remember it, twenty-seven pounds. That was inside of this gunny sack and the sack was pulled down to the waistline, or as far as it would go, and these ropes that he was trussed up with, were tied into the edges of that sack so that it wouldn't come off, and some of them, I believe, were tied into the belt loops on his trousers.

At that time he was dressed in a pair of short trousers — I forget whether they buttoned or laced at the knees — something the same as officers wear, as we have been informed by the officer in the room. Below the knees he had on a pair of long black stockings, and for shoes he had on a pair of low arctic overshoes. There was a heavy dew that night and it was exceedingly warm and when he left the house, so Mrs. Dean says, he took off the shoes he had worn downtown and put on these rubbers to keep his feet dry.

He left his coat, left his watch which was in his coat, and so far as we know, and so far as Mrs. Dean could tell us, he had no valuables at that time, either money or otherwise.

Now we have told you probably all that we know about the case up to that point.

Now, to go back a little bit, it seems that on the Monday night, that is the night preceding the murder, Mr. Dean had an interview with a Mrs. Morison. There had been numerous rumors current there in that neighborhood with respect to activities of spies, pro-Germans, or German agents. There had been numerous reports about lights which were thought to

be signal lights. They had been shot from the mountain tops to the mountains in that vicinity, so many people claimed, and there was a theory prevalent in that community that there was a bed or an organization of pro-German agents or German sympathizers or German agents, whatever you want to call them.

As I started to say, Monday night, the night preceding the murder, Mr. Dean had some talk with Mrs. Morison who he knew occasionally went to Boston and who was going to Boston the following day, and he told her to go to the Department of Justice at 47 Milk Street and tell them he wanted someone to come up there and investigate German activities, or words to that effect, and she asked him about it, some of the details about it, and he replied it was a man's job, it wasn't a woman's job, and he wanted her to go in there and have them send out a man.

The following morning she went to Boston — hadn't heard of the murder, the train left early — and went to the headquarters of the International Division of the Department of Justice at 47 Milk Street and related the story as Mr. Dean had told her and delivered the message he had given to her to tell to the Department of Justice.

Thereupon someone said that possibly there was some German agent, or pro-German, in that vicinity whose activities had become known to Mr. Dean, and fearing exposure, that this murder was committed to close the mouth of the man who knew.

Now, then, to go back to last spring and for a considerable time prior to the 5th of June, there was a man by the name of Colfelt who lived at this house we have designated the bungalow, the big house up on the hill, and perhaps this would be a good time for me to refer to Mr. Pickard's plan.

This is the road leading from East Jaffrey to Peterborough. It isn't so level as that, gentlemen. To go up there, up to the house where Mr. Dean lives, is quite a steep grade, so when you find the line up here near the end of the road, near the square marked "the big house" you are on the beautiful little mountains there.

You gentlemen have been there and will agree with me it is beautiful. The mountains overlook the valley to the south, and to the east the Temple Mts. It might well be selected as a place for sending signal lights.

The farmhouse, so called, that is, the place where the people originally lived who owned this farm that Mr. Dean bought, was a story and a half shingled house with a little ell built on in which he had a billiard or pool table, and the lower part of the back part of the house was all finished off into a room in which Mrs. Dean had a couch hammock swing, and I understand from her she spent most of her time in that room.

Around the edges of it there were bookshelves and they were all filled with books, and the door that led up to the barn, to the right here, you may see out through the middle of the house, like that, and she claimed she sat here on this couch and looked at the road toward the barn expecting to see Billy come back with his lantern, and it was too dark for her to go out and she stayed there until daylight.

This little square up here marked "Barn" is the stable. There is a large door here, large enough to drive in a load of hay, a small one-horse load, and the platform or porch built up. The ground at this end of the barn drops off very precipitately, and this is where you can get in with a team.

To repeat a little bit, it seems that he came from East Jaffrey that night, up this road, up to his house, stopped there, left his team and went in and delivered the articles that he had got downtown, drove his horse up here, drove the carriage into the barn, put up his horse, came back, ate his supper, whatever he had. Mrs. Dean wasn't clear about that, and the only thing found in his stomach were some raisins, as I understand it. And then at eleven o'clock, as she said, he went up to the barn to milk, saying he was coming back at twelve, but he was never seen afterwards.

There is a door here that leads into the barn where the white doorknob was I told you about, and the blood stains were on that doorknob, on the platform, and on the edge of these steps.

The cistern is indicated with a green circle here and the distance is about a hundred fifty feet between the cistern and the stable. The green line, I presume, indicates the possible route that the murderers took, for Mr. Dean was assaulted here at the door of the barn and they carried him up and put him in the cistern. Along this path — we inquired of those who were there first — and they all said there was nothing to indicate that anything had been dragged over, that there was nothing around the barn which we can discover was used as a conveyance, nothing like a wheelbarrow or anything like that, and no indications of any wheels having gone over the grass.

This square that Mr. Pickard has labeled "the big house" is the bungalow, and it stands on the highest point on the mountains there, a beautiful spot. The windows from the rear here and from the northeast side look out over that valley, clear way down into Massachusetts, and to the Temple Mts. on the east.

There have been many claims about seeing lights up around here. There is some claim on the part of the United States authorities that one of these windows in this house had been treated with some kind of preparation to prevent water coagulating on it, their theory being that it would have a tendency to disperse light rays if the rain stayed up in globules,

but this preparation would keep it separated out.

Now as to whether there is anything to that or not, it is for you gentlemen to say. This sheet of glass, I have seen it. It presents the same appearance that you get when you drop a drop of oil on the top of water, that kind of purplish appearance. Now whether that is a preparation or whether that condition of the glass very naturally occurs, I will have to leave it to you gentlemen to say. I am going to say that I have seen many panes of glass like it in old houses. Possibly some of you gentlemen may know more about it than I do. I have been unable to find anybody who could tell me anything about it from a scientific standpoint.

Now, as I said, sometime previous to June of last year this house, which we'll call the big house, was occupied by Mr. Colfelt, and he kept his automobile down here in the barn with Mr. Dean's carriage. There have been some rumors about Mr. Colfelt's activity as a German sympathizer. At least he was not a man who worked. He had an income sufficient to support him without working. But you will remember along about that time there was a considerable sentiment in this part of the country, New England particularly, that a man ought to be something more than a consumer while we were engaged in this World War and everybody was doing all they could to make it a success. There ought not to be an able-bodied man sitting around using what other people produced but not contributing to it some way.

You remember the "work or fight" order that was promulgated. Mr. Colfelt felt that that "work or fight" order might get to him. So on Saturday before this murder was committed, he went to Portsmouth and obtained a job with the Atlantic Shipbuilding Corporation. He had plenty of money so he hired a room down to the Rockingham Hotel, rather an extraordinary thing for a man to be working in the shipyards, living on the pay they paid them, to have a room at the Rockingham Hotel, but he did it, had the money to pay for it, and I presume he had a right to.

So far as we can discover from the Hotel, and so far as we can discover from the shipyards, Mr. Colfelt was there Tuesday night.

He drove a battleship gray Marmon car. There are many rumors in East Jaffrey about a car of that description in that vicinity that night, but investigation on the part of the authorities disclosed the fact that Mr. Colfelt's car was absolutely in a Nashua garage since the Monday before.

That is, he drove to Portsmouth Sunday night and the young man who took him over brought it back Monday and it was absolutely Monday it was in the garage there, from that time until long after the murder was committed.

I speak of these things, gentlemen, because we are

going to put before you all we can bring in, everything we can, to see if you, a Grand Jury of intelligent men, can suggest anything to help us in this most deplorable situation, in a case where a man, a respectable citizen, a man well liked, a friend of everybody, was violently murdered in his own dooryard, right here in the countryside town of Jaffrey.

Now there have been other rumors current. Mr. Dean, as I told you, and Judge Rich of East Jaffrey had been friendly for many years, visiting each other's homes. They were men of similar tastes. They were both somewhat scholarly, that is, they liked good literature. And they liked good things to eat. And they both enjoyed sitting down and having a cigar smoke together. And they liked to play billiards. And so it came about that they were frequently in each other's company, either at one house or the other. And Mrs. Dean and Mrs. Rich were friendly. And a Miss Hodgkins, a sister of Mrs. Rich, was very friendly with the Deans as well. And Miss Hodgkins was at home for a visit at the Riches that night when Mr. Dean called there.

Now it seems that sometime during the night of August 13th Mr. Rich sustained a very severe injury to his eye. That is, he got what we describe as a beautiful black eye. It was discolored way down on to the cheek, and way up, including the eyelid, and up on to the side of the nose.

Mr. Rich reports that he sustained that injury by reason of a kick from his horse, that is, the horse was standing in the stable, Mr. Rich went in to feed it, didn't turn on the lights assuming the horse would hear him coming. He put his hand on the horse's flank and the horse, not knowing he was there, and being a high-spirited animal, kicked, and whatever Mr. Rich had in his hand was driven against his face, and he had a black eye, a real black eye. I saw it and it was really black then.

Now, there have been various stories as to how Mr. Rich acquired that black eye. There have been various conflicting stories as to where Mr. Rich was and what he was doing that night.

It is claimed on his part that Mr. Dean left there that night before the murder at somewhere around half past ten. We shall bring to you everyone along the route who claims that they saw Mr. Dean.

Mr. Rich's claim is that when Mr. Dean came there, he, Rich, had just been hurt by the horse, was applying hot water baths to the eye. And Mr. Rich says that because of the pain he was suffering and because of his attention to the eye, he didn't talk with Mr. Dean very much that night, and didn't know very much about what was going on.

There will be witnesses here, gentlemen, who claim they saw Mr. Rich later in the evening, later than the time when he said it was, and that he didn't

have a black eye. There will be witnesses here who will claim they saw him out on the street later in the night.

Now I want to say this, gentlemen, that in matters of this kind a suspect has no friends. And I want to say also that personally I am entirely satisfied with everything which your Sheriff and your County Solicitor has done. I believe their investigations have all been reported to me from a perfectly disinterested standpoint, having in mind just one purpose, that we might discover who perpetrated this awful deed.

I want you gentlemen to understand that so far as the State is concerned, if it is possible to find out who did it, we don't care where it falls. Therefore, I want you gentlemen to approach this thing fearlessly, understanding that you are investigators the same as Mr. Pickard and myself and the Sheriff here, and we called you in here to help us, and if, when we are all through here, if as intelligent business men of affairs, you reach a conclusion that we have got evidence enough upon which we might properly conduct a jury trial to determine the guilt of any person with a fair degree of possibility of convicting them, it is immaterial to us who that person may be, and we shall expect you will find an indictment.

I would propose to say also that should you not indict anyone, that doesn't necessarily mean the conclusion of the affair by any means, because if we later are able to obtain further evidence as to who did this, why this investigation may begin all over again, and we can indict in the future just as well as we can at the present time.

Now, gentlemen, what I have started out to make a brief statement has developed into quite a long statement, and I hope I haven't wearied you. I ought to say also, gentlemen, in your role as investigators, if there is anything occurs to you that we don't bring out here, you have as much right to ask questions as we have.

MR. EDWARD H. LORD, SHERIFF

Direct Examination by Mr. Pickard

PICKARD: What position do you hold in the County?

LORD: Sheriff of Cheshire County.

PICKARD: Were you Sheriff last summer at the time of the Dean murder?

LORD: I was.

PICKARD: What have you in the bag with you?

LORD: Various things that were taken from Mr. Dean's body and the vicinity.

PICKARD: Will you spread these exhibits out and tell, as you do so, what each is?

LORD: This rope here was tied to Mr. Dean's legs, just above the knees. That rope there was one of the ropes that was tied around his wrist with his hands

behind him, and this rope here, with the snap catch on the end of it, was tied around his hands, and this was caught into the bag that was over his head, around in the rear.

This part of the halter with the snap on the end of it was around Mr. Dean's neck twice. I think I can illustrate that. About in that position, with the ends over his shoulder.

PICKARD: Was the rope tied?

LORD: It was not.

This bag was over Mr. Dean's head. This rope was on the front side and was fastened to one of these little buttons on his trousers. And this piece of the halter with the snap in the end of it was caught into the loop on the back.

This rock was in the bag.

This horse blanket was over Mr. Dean's head. The biggest part of it was on his left shoulder and that side of his head.

PICKARD: Are there any blood stains on the blanket?

LORD: There are some blood stains on the blanket here where it was in contact with his head.

PICKARD: How was the blanket folded?

LORD: It wasn't folded. There was this portion of it that came up over his head, something like this, and the biggest part of the blanket seemed to be sort of wrapped up next to his head.

PICKARD: You have some pieces of wood here, have you?

LORD: Those are two pieces taken from the steps that lead from the small door out of the barn, the side that faces towards the house and towards the cistern, that have marks showing where something was dragged over it.

PICKARD: This was the edge of the step?

LORD: The edge of the step, yes. This piece here was taken from either the end of one of the boards on the piazza or from the step, and there was one blood spot on that board.

This calendar was hanging back of the stove in the kitchen and on the date on the calendar of August 13th there is written over the letters 13, "Billy" and under the letters 13, "died." And all encircled with a pencil mark.

That's the knob that was on this door, this small door leading from the barn. There were blood stains on the knob. It has been at the office of the State Chemist at Concord for ascertaining whether it was human blood or not.

PICKARD: Now, at any time before it went to the State Chemist at Concord did you make a trip to Boston with it?

LORD: I did, for the purpose of ascertaining if there were any fingerprints on the knob.

These are rubber foam canvas shoes that were turned over to me and I took them to the State

Appendix D

Conclusion: Cheshire County Solicitor Roy M. Pickard

and performed the autopsy. I turned it over to Dr. Magrath for investigation, and that's the last time I seen it.

I will say this, that when we sprang the weeder on Rich under kind of a third degree move, he turned gray around the gills and couldn't look at the face of Dean as photographed in the coffin. When I handed it to him I asked him if this was Dean, his longtime friend. He looked at it and said yes, and held it for fifteen minutes, because I wouldn't take it from him, face down, and acted very nervous.

PICKARD: I think that's all, Mr. Valkenburgh.

WITNESS DISMISSED

CONCLUSION

PICKARD: There is just one short statement here I wish to read, and then I am simply going to tell you gentlemen something relating to your own understanding of what your duties are in the case, and submit it to you.

This is a statement of Mrs. Dean. I had hoped Mrs. Dean could be brought here, but her physical condition is such that it seemed best, by agreement of everybody, that she should not be brought. This is a signed statement by her, taken by Mr. Scott, who spent a great deal of time with her from time to time, and you will notice from her certain strange statements, rather strange to have used, but they were put down exactly as she gave them:

"On Tuesday, August 13, my husband went down to Jaffrey to Mr. Rich's place at 7:30 p.m. He went to Mr. Dillon's to order all his provisions. He went to Goodnow's and brought home my medicine. He gets that from Goodnow's. My medicine is lemons. He also brought home bread, butter, and crackers. He said that he was going to see Mr. Rich's sister that night. He told me when he got home that he had seen the Riches at their house.

"My husband loves ladies. He likes ladies very much. He got home, coming there at 9:30 p.m., took his stuff from the wagon and put it in the kitchen. He gave a bouquet of flowers to me to put in water. Then he drove over to the barn, put up his horse, then came back and took off his good clothes and put on his old clothes and he came down and had something to eat, bread and butter and milk, and then smoked a cigarette, and then got his pails, a strainer pail for milking and the pail for the feed for the cow boy. (That must be the bull calf.)

"I saw him go away with the lantern toward the barn. When he went to the barn he had on a pair of

kneelength pants, a white shirt, collar and tie, but he kept his hat on. He said he had been feeling bad that day. He had pains in his knees and in his feet.

"He went to the barn at 11 p.m. and said he would be back at 12 midnight and said, 'Now you will be ready with some food.' So I fixed some soup for him and had it all nice and ready for him, and I lay down and waited for him to come back. I looked to see him coming but he didn't come. I kept awake and waited and he didn't come, but at five o'clock a.m. I went out to the barn. I went in and found the lantern. It was standing inside as though he had it right there. It wasn't lighted but there was plenty of oil in it as I shook it to see, and it was half full, and I also found the feed pail which he took over with milk for the boy cow. Also, another pail, a blue and white pail which he had taken out to the barn, but I couldn't find the strainer pail anywhere.

"I brought the lantern and blue pail back to the house. I went up around the house which was occupied by Mr. Colfelt, and called, 'Billy, Billy!' I thought he might have gone in there and fallen asleep. I looked in all the wells and holes about the yard. I then came to the house and looked all around to see if he was upstairs.

"Then I had my breakfast. I had crackers and medicine. I mixed it with water and sugar. Two men came in to get the hay and I told them about Billy being gone and they said they would go to look for him. I then called up Mr. Rich by the telephone but he said he didn't know where he was. I told him my husband was lost last night and that I felt he had died.

"I then called up Mrs. Garfield and told her that Mr. Dean is gone and I am afraid he had died and I thought he might have gone there.

"Billy didn't get any letters from any girls. Billy had some money with him. He received \$40 per month from Mr. Colfelt and Mr. Colfelt didn't pay him for the last month. The Colfelts were very nice people. They lived here for ten months and left six weeks ago. Billy didn't have any trouble with them. They had an auto which they kept in the barn, one cow and three horses. Mrs. Colfelt came to see me frequently. She was very nice. She was also up to see me on Thursday. She thought Billy was dead because I told her I had seen him with some very bad spells.

"I think Billy is dead because he wouldn't be mean to me. He was always very nice and he knew if he stayed away he would worry me. I never expect to see him again. I think he is dead but I can't say where he is. He never went away before. This is the first time."

JURYMAN: What date was that statement, Mr. Pickard?

PICKARD: Sunday, August 18th.

JURYMAN: That's after she went to the sanitarium?

PICKARD: No, she went the following Sunday.

JURYMAN: Did she receive any assistance in making out that affidavit?

PICKARD: No. Mr. Scott asked her the questions and wrote down her statements, and then read them over to her and asked her if they were correct.

Now, gentlemen, that concludes the evidence that is to be introduced in the case. If time allowed, I might say a few words but it would simply be a repetition for I would say what has been said before, and I don't think I could add anything whatever to your store of knowledge.

Now, this case, in the way it has been introduced, it has been my purpose to put everything here, let the facts fall just exactly where they will, and when you come to your deliberations in this case you will endeavor to approach all the facts, each fact as bearing upon every other related fact, the appearance of the witnesses as they came before you, any motive they had in the case, in order to weigh their testimony.

All these things, of course, are things you will discuss if they at all bear upon this case. You understand that if an indictment is found against anybody, he isn't being tried. It is simply an indictment. In order to find an indictment, as I understand the law, you must be convinced beyond a reasonable doubt, by the evidence which has been introduced before you, that this person, or these persons, that this one has committed the crime which has been charged.

In most cases I have introduced only the evidence from the state. In this particular case, by reason of my talk with the Attorney General, with the Federal authorities, and with the selectmen, we have thought it best to introduce everything. We have brought forward the Colfelts. We have brought forward Mrs. Riches. It was my purpose to bring forward Mrs. Dean. I have brought forward any that I have been able to bring forward that had any bearing whatever on the case. If I knew of any witness who knew anything to throw any light, that witness would be brought forward. I have gone over it very carefully, either personally or with some member of the Sheriff's department or otherwise, and let all these names which have been brought in here, and the evidence may be simply an accumulation this way or the other. That is, it doesn't add anything either way.

Now, when you come to your deliberations I think the first question you ought to come to is this, and I am going to leave this paper with you, Mr. Foreman.

Upon consideration of the evidence introduced in a case before a Grand Jury, does the Grand Jury find that an indictment against any person or persons can be found for the homicide of William K. Dean on the

Dean farm on the night of August 13, 1918? That's the first question that you will come to.

1. Upon the evidence, can you find an indictment against any person? If you should answer that question "no," that ends your deliberations. If you should answer that question "yes," then you would deliberate further and determine from the evidence here introduced what person should be indicted for the murder of William K. Dean.

Assuming, as I say, if you decide that no person can be indicted, you needn't consider this question I am about to read. If you find that some person should be indicted, you will answer this question.

2. If any indictment can be found against any person, or persons, upon all the evidence introduced before the Grand Jury, against what person or persons can that indictment be found?

There are your two questions.

When the jury has completed its deliberations, you will notify me and reveal to me what the result is. Nobody will be here during the deliberation of this Grand Jury, except to produce evidence. If in any case you should call upon the stenographer for written evidence, you will be very careful not to discuss the case in any way in her presence. She will leave the room as soon as she has read the evidence to you.

If I should be brought in to answer any questions pertaining to the law, I wish it to be understood that I must not take part in any of the deliberations whatever. Now, that is the sum and substance of the matter.

JURYMAN: I would like to ask one question, if I may.

In the event of our bringing in an indictment against, well, we'll say Rich, for instance, in that case the man would be arrested under our indictment and tried?

PICKARD: Yes.

JURYMAN: Any person we indicted would be subject to arrest and trial?

PICKARD: Yes, absolutely.

JURYMAN: If we shouldn't find an indictment, this would continue until the next term of the court?

PICKARD: If you shouldn't find any indictment at this term, that doesn't prevent some future Grand Jury from going into this thing all over again. For instance, assuming that at the present time there is no evidence to indict anybody, and that between now and next October the County Solicitor or the Federal authorities or anybody later found new evidence, the matter would again be brought before that Grand Jury.

JURYMAN: My point was this. Actually, at the present time, there is no finality to our statement or decision at this time? The authorities would continue just the same, and in the meantime the Federal authorities are doing all they can to find evidence, so

Dean? For German propaganda only so far as it might have a bearing upon the murder of Mr. Dean?

PICKARD: Yes. This may make it plain. This is a Grand Jury. There is no law upon the State books you are called upon to investigate bearing upon German activities. The thing you are called upon here is simply having to do with the murder of William K. Dean. Now, assume one or more of the men would be called upon to sit on a Federal Grand Jury to investigate espionage and German activities. Then your investigation would be the fact whether any-body intimate with the case had committed treason.

There are two questions, and the main question here is, who killed Mr. Dean. The secondary question is, what was the motive. As bearing upon that motive, you may take into consideration those matters we have been discussing.

JURYMAN: The only thing, then, if we shouldn't bring in a verdict upon the evidence that the government or the Federal authorities had, they would?

PICKARD: Well, the only evidence I have of that kind is what you heard from Valkenburgh, so they have not already done so.

JURYMAN: Is there anyone with the knowledge of the Federal government beside Mr. Valkenburgh? He was aware of the evidence picked up on their own account, but what other agents, etc., picked up he was probably unaware of?

PICKARD: Mr. Valkenburgh has been on this case at East Jaffrey either alone or with county officers ever since last fall, and I think he knows everything that happened around East Jaffrey since that time. Whatever investigations have been made at Washington or New York, he knows only what he has told you. Does that make it clear? I want to answer all the questions you may ask with reference to him, or with reference to the present time.

JURYMAN: If we, from the evidence, feel that any person who seemed implicated by being in any of this in any way, we couldn't bring any indictment, I think?

PICKARD: Well, you couldn't bring in an indictment that Tom Jones, for instance, had killed William K. Dean if some time later he happened to hear some folks talking who actually had done the murder and he became cognizant of it in that way. But you could, if you are certain of it, bring in a verdict against Tom Jones for being an accessory after the fact, or something of that sort. But you can't convict a person of murder simply because at some later time he may happen to know about it, or something of that sort.

JURYMAN: Now, bringing up the matter of the circumstantial evidence, I presume much we have been listening to here, upon circumstantial evidence a Petit Jury would never convict a man? Would a court convict a man on circumstantial evidence?

PICKARD: Well, circumstantial evidence is sometimes sound. I mean by that, that a great many crimes are committed and the only kind of evidence you have is circumstantial evidence. For instance, suppose that I go into a house and I am seen to leave the house. Some time later a person is murdered in that house, and in some way so as to shed a lot of blood. And then certain blood stains are found upon my clothing. Now, nobody saw me kill the person. They simply saw me go into the house, they find a person murdered, and then find blood stains. That's all circumstantial evidence, and it's perfectly good evidence. Absolutely good.

Don't make the mistake, gentlemen, of thinking that circumstantial evidence is no good. It is all right if it is strong enough in itself, but there are all degrees of circumstantial evidence, just exactly the same as there are all degrees of direct evidence.

For instance, some person will say, "I just saw an automobile pass that street." Well, now, if this gentleman said so, you might believe him absolutely. For instance, if I or some other person who had some motive in saying so, said so, you wouldn't believe him at all. So you see, there are all degrees of evidence, whether direct or circumstantial.

JURYMAN: My point was leading up to this idea, that here are two men here to who the evidence is pointed more or less. Now, the idea is if we don't catch him, they will. So my point, we might say, we'll let it go up. Let it be tried. We don't want to bring up his case unless there is real strong evidence.

PICKARD: No, I think the charge for you is, you are instrumental, that you are bound by your oath here as though you were sitting on a Petit Jury, that if there is evidence before you which would absolutely convince you that somebody is guilty of this murder, then you ought to return an indictment. If there isn't such evidence, then you ought not to.

In the same way, if you were sitting on a Petit Jury, the charge would be, in order to convict this man of murder, you must have evidence which will convince you beyond a reasonable doubt. Here, you must have evidence which convinces you beyond a reasonable doubt, from the evidence you have heard, that Tom Jones, or John Smith, or whoever, committed the murder. Is that plain?

JURYMAN: Yes, that's plain, but on the other hand, just one more thing. Does this mean Colfelt, for instance, supposing he is a German spy, there is no one in this room would want to see, if there was any chance by playing the thing up to a Petit Jury to find him out, I think naturally a man would want to do it, you know. I mean to find the man out, not only in connection with Dean himself, but as being perhaps what Mr. Valkenburgh claims him to be.

PICKARD: In answer to that, I shall have to tell you this, and this only. That you can't, as I understand it, go beyond the deliberations of this room. That is, if you have evidence that convinces you that Mr. Colfelt murdered Mr. Dean, then you must return an indictment against him. If you haven't that evidence, then I think I should have to tell you it is your duty not to return an indictment against him.

The same thing is true of Mrs. Dean. The same thing is true of everybody.

GRAND JURY TAKES RECESS UNTIL 7:30 P.M.

This ends the Court Reporter's notes.

The verdict returned by the Grand Jury:

MURDER BY PERSON OR PERSONS
UNKNOWN.



Appendix E

United States Department of Justice Reports

REPORT FORM NO. 1

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207640

REPORT MADE BY: J. O. Leighton	PLACE WHERE MADE: Concord, N.H.	DATE WHEN MADE: August 13, 1918	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Aug. 10, 1918
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION: In Re: Lights around Peterboro, N.H.			
<p>STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.:</p> <p><u>At Peterboro, N.H.:</u> 182613</p> <p>Continuing investigation previously reported on August 5th agent learned from Mrs. Horace Morrison that suspicious lights had been seen on the mountains in the immediate vicinity of Peterboro.</p> <p>When asked for a description of these lights, she stated that on the night of August third she had observed a peculiar light on the South Pack Monadnock mountain. This light seemed to flash and being different in appearance from other lights visible, attracted her attention. Before she could call anyone to look at it, it had disappeared. Shortly after this happening, she received a telephone call from a friend of hers, who reported a peculiar light in this same vicinity. Before she could get to the window to see it herself, it had disappeared.</p> <p>She also stated that after going to bed, something startled her, waking her suddenly. Directly over the foot of her bed, through the window, she saw a dull red light. She glanced at the clock and it was 2:28 A. M. The light appeared to be from two to four miles away. She called her trained nurse, who also saw the light, which lasted exactly two minutes. They both agreed that it looked like a balloon, as it floated through the air, apparently receding, as it grew smaller and finally disappeared altogether.</p> <p>Mrs. Morrison stated that at 1:45 A.M. on the morning of August 4th, a large truck and trailer went by her house and through the south village, up the river road. This truck had no lights burning. At 2:30 A.M. it returned traveling, as at first, at a high rate of speed. Agent inquired concerning the direction from which it came. Mrs. Morrison was undecided but thought it might have come from some point on the Dublin Road.</p>			
<p>COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Boston, Mass. Office; Concord, N.H. "</p> <p style="text-align: right;">#65 81</p>			

REPORT FORM No. 2

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In Re: Lights around Peterboro, N.H.

Mrs. Morrison thinks that some of these lights which she has seen might have been near Carl Kauffman's house. One in particular, according to her belief, was directly over Kauffman's residence. Agent's opinion is that Mrs. Morrison is a rather suspicious person as she stated to him that someone was tampering with her telephone and that a year ago her wires had been cut and communication severed.

A few days ago, she stated, no one had been able to communicate with her and she had been unable to get Central. This interrupted service occurred almost immediately after she was notified of the lights. She said a man who gave his name as Mr. Blaisdell had been at her house on the day previous and had gone over the telephone lines. She did not like his appearance and thought possibly he might have severed the connection between her 'phone and Central.

Agent called at the telephone exchange in Peterboro and communicated with the wire chief at Keens, N.H., who stated that Mrs. Morrison's telephone was out of commission temporarily, owing to a short circuit in the cable, caused by the dampness. He had already sent an inspector, a Mr. Blaisdell, over to her house, who had gone over the lines.

A great many of these reports on the lights have come from women who are intimately acquainted with one another and it appears to have become a hobby with them to report these occurrences. During interviews which agent has had with them, they constantly refer to one another relative to what has been seen. Apparently no one living in the immediate vicinity from which these lights are alleged to have been displayed has seen them.

This investigation will be continued.

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REPORT FORM No. 2

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- 2 -

Feri F. Weiss: Boston, Mass: Dec. 4, 1918. Nov. 26, 1918.

In re: William K. Dean Murder Case:
(Suspicious Lights in New Hampshire Mountains)



At East Jaffrey, N. H.

Agent, after a conference at Boston, Office, between Atty. Gen. Young and County Solicitor Pickard of New Hampshire, Div. Supt. Geo. E. Kelleher, and Asst. Div. Superintendent Gifford, went with Agent Valkenburgh to East Jaffrey, N. H., and there at the Shattuck Inn, Jaffrey Center, met United States Bank Examiners Mulloney and Scott, who had gone over the books of the Monadnock National Bank in East Jaffrey, and gave the following information:

Mr. Mulloney:

"I had quite a talk with C. L. Rich, Cashier of the bank, who confidentially told me that he had been charged with the murder of Dean. He also told me that Dean had been in his house the night before he was murdered, until 10:30, that he (Dean) had been down town and met Mrs. Rich, and wanted to be polite and took her to her house in his team; they stayed at Rich's place until 10:30, or to be exact, 10:20. This is not the recorded conversation. Rich further stated that he was not surprised at their coming to him, for Dean was seen at his place the last alive. "This detective, Rich said, came up here and did not know anybody nor anything, and said that Dean had lots of money and I had to get Dean out of the way. Dean did not have any money as a matter of fact, and everybody knew that."

Mr. Mulloney:

"I said, how much of a balance did he run? Rich answered that he had about \$50 or \$100. I said, where did he get his money? Rich answered, "He rented the farm." I said, did he get enough out of it to make a living? Rich said, "I don't know." Rich further said that he went over to the farm the next morning after the murder to see Mrs. Dean, as soon as the body had been discovered."

Copy of this report furnished to: BOSTON OFFICE:

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REPORT FORM No. 2

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In re: William C. Dean Murder Case; WEISS for Nov. 26-18
 (Suspicious Lights in New Hampshire
 Mountains)

man's letter in her own handwriting. It would seem to connect her with the part she played.

Here is something that has not got into the case, but which might help a good deal to show the motives of the actors.

The Bean & Simons Co., is made up of Local fellows who did not have anything a few years ago, and have been since very successful in business. They made \$25,000 last year. They wanted to buy a lot called the Knot Lot, in the town of Jaffrey, for \$125,000. They did not have money enough, and they could not borrow from the bank. They went to Boston and were turned down on account of war ~~conditions~~ conditions and shortage of money, they it occurred to them that they could make up a syndicate of local men and finance it themselves. This is how Rich has some money owed in the bank, besides his Liberty Bond note. He took \$7500 as his share in the syndicate of the Bean & Simon enterprise.

Julius E. Prescott has \$5000.

J. H. Poole has \$8500.

D. P. Amory has \$8000.

Another fellow whose name is something like that of Poole, has \$50000. He did not have to borrow it at all. He put \$50,000 into this thing. I think it is one of these Amorys if I am not mistaken. He did not put a note into the bank, he had ready cash.

With all the subscriptions and the \$50,000, cash, they got the amount necessary together, and bought the lot, and the Bean & Simons Co. issued additional stock to pay for it. Each one of these fellows holds his shares. There are 90 shares with a guarantee that they will be repaid on the day of the note. In that case, if the Bean & Simons Co. has not got cash on hand in two years, at the date of expiration, this crowd can own the Company, i.e. take it over.

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REPORT FORM NO. 2

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In re: William Dean Murder Case:
(Suspicious Lights in New Hampshire
Mountains)

WEISS for Nov. 26-18.

That shows how Bean & Simons are close to all these people. They are very successful. I told Rich that it was a very poor move, because the bank has nothing on Bean & Simons.

I told him he was not entitled to borrow that much money. Colfelt has \$1000 down there in the United Gas Corporation and \$500 second Liberty Bonds, also \$500 on third Liberty bonds.

I asked Rich why Colfelt was down in the Navy Yard, and he said it was on account of the "Work or fight Law". I said, "How is it that he is out in Harrison, N. Y. if this is the case?" Rich said he did not know.

This fellow had a lot of sloppy things about the records in the bank and he has the stock right there. He finally had to change the subject, and from the way he talked I should be inclined to think that he had a pretty good subscription for a town of this size. The Liberty Loan made a good showing in the town, the last campaign brought in over \$80,000, which was better than the Third loan. He got the envelopes and everything in good shape. You would never believe it to look the place over and see the truck he has, and he really has everything right when you examine closely. In our conversation I said to Rich, "Who else might have killed Dean." He answered "there is his brother." He was not very friendly with him, but it was not like a killing matter.

I asked him what was the matter with him.

He said he used to borrow small sums of money and did not pay them back.

Then I said, "How could he borrow money from him when he had not much himself?"

He said, "Oh, just little bits of sums." I do not think there is any money, said Mulloney; I would suggest that you do not come into the bank on that check at the present time. You can get

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Peri F. Weiss

In re: William K. Dean Murder
Lights in N. H. Mountains
 (German Spy Suspect)

3/21/19

suppose, that many would be dissatisfied with the way the case had been handled, then the thing would be dropped, but the Selectmen were re-elected with such a majority that the workers practically slaughtered the manufacturers because the four big manufacturers in town were not in favor of the petition, and the defeat of the Selectmen would have meant a victory of the manufacturers who are employing now nearly all the hands in town. "

Agents went to the factory of Bean and Symonds and there Agent assisted Division Superintendent Gifford in cross-examining Mr. Merrill Symonds.

- Q. Mr. Symonds, do you remember when Mr. Rich was asked at the grave, how he could explain his black eye, he said that he will do so at the proper time?
- A. I don't think Mr. Rich is concealing anything, but whether he does or not, but I don't believe that he knows anything more about it, than you do. The point in my mind is because I have known Mr. Rich for twenty years, and I know his feelings, his failings and good qualities, and Rich is a man. There isn't a man in this town that has done so much as he had, but on the other hand, if you take him by the nape of the neck and the seat of his pants, that is, if you try to drive him, you can't do it. I Don't blame him for speaking as he did. Of course, I admit, that as things came out, it was kind of a poor statement for him to make at the grave, but I think that he made that statement in all good faith in trying to cover up.
- Q. Didn't he make the statement to you and to some of your friends and to the selectmen, which gave you the impression that Rich could make proper explanations at the proper time?
- A. I can say, Yes, in this way; that he had absolutely nothing to conceal, and that at the proper time, he will try to help the authorities in tracing down anything that might be of

Feri F. Weiss

In re: William K. Dean Murder
 Lights in New Hampshire Mountains
 (German Spy Suspect)

3/21/19

interest. As a matter of fact, I asked the very same question of him once, and he said, -I cannot give the exact wording of it, but the idea was that he was a little bit provoked that they should even insinuate that he had anything to do with the Dean Murder, that he used to convey the idea at the time when he was in the cemetery that he would tell anything he knew, in any shape or manner, to any proper authority. I think that is the attitude, while he may have, in my opinion, made a rather poor remark, I don't think that he had anything to cover up. I think he was kind of provoked for a minute and rather resented Kent's attack. But, damn it, I would have made the same answer, under similar conditions. You have to know the man. By knowing the man, you see it in a different light. I appreciate it that you are strangers, and I do side with you. It makes no difference whether your rich, or the poorest man, or the minister in town, his guilty, I want to get the man, no matter who it is. I want you to understand that we are not here to protect anyone.....there has been a good deal of agitation for a complete investigation. Some people felt that the investigation has been enough, or complete, so far.

Q. Have you felt that it was complete enough?

A. No. There seems to be something peculiar about this. It is a peculiar situation here in town. This thing has been going on here for six months. A lot of the people have the wrong impression of some of his fellow friends, of some of us fellows, I mean, of my partner and me, and some others, who have been the leaders of the other side of it, if you might call it, taking more of an active part. There is not a woman or child in this town, or any man of course, that wants the Dean murder cleared up. Now last August or September, or, I presume in October, I don't remember when it was, we had the idea of getting rid of this man Kent, who, in my opinion, you know, I mean the fellow whose real name is supposed to be DeKerlor, or something like that, well, who in my opinion is a poor damn stick - put it down in writing, I don't care - (turning towards Agent Weiss) I stated before the Selectmen, and before the other men with me that if the town was so hard up that they could not afford a good decent detective, I was willing to chip in \$100.00 of my own money, and some others should do likewise to get the best detective then can be gotten anywhere, and if Rich or anybody.....you understand I was not out to cover up any murderer, or anyone else, but I was damn sick of this man, Kent, aiming at Rich's goat.

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- Q. Do you think that this situation in your town will quiet down unless a public inquiry is started?
- A. No, Sir. I was in three times to see the Attorney General and I have been talking with the other men from this town, particularly with one who has seen him and talked in regard to a Grand Jury here. And he said he had talked with the Attorney General, Mr. Young, and I told him that it would cost the county \$4,000.00 and he said, "I don't care if it cost \$25,000.00. The feeling among us townspeople is that if they find anything on Rich, it will come out in the Grand Jury proceedings and so let us have it, and if not, they will have to shut up after that. The only thing to do is to have a Grand Jury hearing and present any evidence that may have been gathered. Personally, I don't think that this man Kent or DeKerlor, or whatever his real name is, has one percent of evidence. I believe that he has some of these men here, hypnotized. You may think that he is a good man, but I don't think so, and it is a wonder to me that we haven't come to blows yet. It makes a bad feeling amongst the townspeople to have that fellow around. Some of us fellows are just as honest in believing that this man Rich had nothing to do with the murder, as others in the town think, that DeKerlor is a wonder. I don't believe that there are any who think that Rich murdered Dean, but some think that he has a knowledge about it. Now this man DeKerlor came here and worked up all kinds of stories. He was called a liar by our Sherrif and our County Solicitor, and our County Solicitor said it was an absolute falsehood, what he stated, and still there are some people in town who think that DeKerlor is a wonderful man, and some of the best people too.
- Q. Isn't there some suspicious feature about this case in pointing to some individuals?
- A. Well, it is a very queer thing that C. L. Rich had a black eye the next morning, after the murder, but I would just as well believe that if real detectives came here, a man that was a real man, this man Rich would never have been suspected. They would have found that he was a great friend of Dean, and Colfelt, but as for linking his name with the murder, they would have never thought of it. It is a very unfortunate thing that Rich had the black eye the next morning. I admit that.
- Q. Is it your impression that Mrs. Dean had anything to do with the murder?
- A. No. Mrs. Dean had nothing to do with it, I believe. I have

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I have known the Dean's for many years.

- Q. Who got the idea around that she had something to do with it?
- A. I think some of it came from the Rich's. They were very strongly inclined to think that she might have done it. You know the Rich's have been there a great deal, and given them a good many things. They mended his clothes for him. He had to have his underwear buttoned on the side, and Mrs. Dean was not able to do any mending.
- Q. You didn't go up to the Dean farm after the murder?
- A. No. In fact this is the first time that any man in authority said anything to me about the murder, outside of Emerson one of the deputies. He came down here. I don't know whether he came for that purpose or not, but outside of that, nobody said anything to me about the officials. I believe that if you find out who killed Dean, you will find that Colfelt knows more about it than any man living.
- Q. Do you think that Mr. Rich is of the same idea?
- A. I haven't talked with Rich for two months. He may think more on that line now than he used to. I know Rich called me inside after it happened, and he wanted to know if I thought that Colfelt had anything to do with the murder, and I said Yes. I don't think that he actually would do the deed, but might have hired somebody else to do it. He was too smart to do it himself. Rich said if I had seen anything in regard to Colfelt, and I said, "No," but it is up to the authorities, and you and I cannot discuss Colfelt!" Rich said that he will be glad to do anything to clear up the mystery.
- Q. Did the idea suggest itself that probably Rich had some hidden idea on the matter, but felt that inasmuch as his own life was at stake, he should not be the one that should give the information, and that probably some other people in town would break down?
- A. I don't believe that anyone of us men could give any information that would scare Rich. I don't think neither that Colfelt could scare him. I do believe that if Rich thought that Colfelt had anything to do with the murder, Rich would come across. He is not afraid of anybody. He is that make. If he has anything to say, he will say it. Of course, if a man is talking about a murder, it is a very serious thing. If Rich knew anything about it, he might close up, but if Rich knew anything which would help you to get any clue, he would tell you. He is not half-hearted, or afraid. If he knew any-

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thing about the case, he would speak, and it wouldn't make any difference whether it was Colfelt, or anyone else. He would just as well tell you. That is my opinion. If it was some of us, I don't know but what we might do, but I cannot think that Rich knows anything about the case. They had had a lot of accusations against our county and state attorney general, and I just as much believe that Picard would take Rich or anyone else, regardless of what his name would be, they would take them.

- Q. Do you think that the county solicitor thought that Mrs. Dean did it?
- A. Yes. There was a time when he thought she did it. I never thought so. I don't think so now.
- Q. Do you know what the Rich's based their belief on when they thought she did it?
- A. I don't know. Only I know that at first, either he or his wife told me so, and I know that the attorney general thought that she did it. As to what their real idea was for thinking so, I don't know. Only that was what the Attorney general thought that Rich thought so, the same as Pickard thought. Of course, Pickard might have received his thought from the same source, or from Rich's, because a lot of people in town thought one way, and others the other. But I don't know what they based their ideas on. I haven't talked to Rich about it. But the fact is that Rich wanted a Grand Jury hearing.
- Q. Did he make a pretty strong request along that line?
- A. Yes, he did. He came to my house, after the Friday night he had been in Boston, and told me about the session he had with your people, from eight in the evening, until two in the morning, and how next morning at eleven o'clock, you gentlemen, I think Mr. Weiss and Mr. Valkenburg had come here ahead of him, and verified the facts that he gave us. He, also, told me that some of your gentlemen had advised him to get a Grand Jury hearing.
- Q. Wasn't it his attorney, Mr. Ruben, who advised him to that effect?
- A. I asked what he thought about it. Ruben, I think, suggested a hearing. Ruben is related to Goodnow, down here in the village. As I understand it, your federal men are trying to find out who the man was who murdered Dean. Now I cannot

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state, word for word, what was actually said at my meeting with Rich, but I remember telling him that I thought it was a duty he wanted himself and everybody else, and also a most important duty, that if by having a special Grand Jury, it might be that any other evidence which might be presented. He owed it to all of use, and to himself, to have a Grand Jury hearing called, and I said then. "I will make you this suggestion." I said, "Suppose I ask in a half dozen men here in town, who ought to have a little judgement, and see what they thought about it." And I asked him, "Would you come to a meeting like that?", and he said, "Yes." And I asked half a dozen men who were Homer White, (The Cotton Mill) Webster (Tank Shop), Louis Meyers (Runs a store next to the factory) Delcie Bean (My partner) John Townsend (The fellow in the bank) and George Duncan (Postmaster). We talked things over for three quarters of an hour, in a general way, and I tried to explain what they were there for, and I said, "Mr. Rich could explain it better than I could"; and he came over and explained it to them, as he had explained it that morning to me, and of course, as long as we fellows had no authority, it was merely our opinion to get a Grand Jury hearing, With the idea of bringing more evidence, and show to the people who were criticizing him (Rich) that he was trying to do the right thing, and clear up his own name, and everybody elses. Rich said he was glad to do it. The next forenoon, or at noontime, I called him up and told him that I will take him over to see county solicitor Pickard, with a view of having arranged a Grand Jury hearing. I, also, invited Homer White, and Rich said it was all right, and that he will be ready, and then I suggested that it would be a good idea to take the women folks with us, and treat them to supper. At half past four, Rich, so he said, called Pickard, to arrange with him to be in that evening, and Pickard to arrange with him to be in, and Pickard asked him if there was any new evidence that he would be glad to see him, but he told him that if there wasn't, he would not have a Grand Jury hearing until we have more evidence. Then Rich said that there was no question or any use for us to go over to see Pickard, but I said, that we had better take the women folks anyhow. Rich also told me that Pickard called me up again and said he consulted with the attorney general, and the attorney general said something to this effect - Not to have a Grand Jury because they wanted to know what use there was to calla Grand Jury without any evidence at all, and that is about the general idea.

- Q. Did that strike you, as sufficient, to settle the case?
- A. Yes. It struck me for this reason. When C. L. Rich told me

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that he called Pickard, and Pickard said that there was no evidence against him, meaning Rich, it struck me as good enough for me.

- Q. Do you think that the case would die as a practical proposition?
- A. I don't know just now about that.
- Q. I mean, will it die, without some Grand Jury investigation?
- A. No. I think you will have to get a grand jury hearing, but I don't think it will die until you have had a Grand Jury hearing. I cannot see any objections, as you may get some evidence in the Grand Jury hearing, which may be for the good of all, and I think they certainly ought to have a Grand Jury hearing, to answer that question more fully. We had seen Pickard again, and he told us from his own mouth that he had not one percent of evidence against Rich, and then when Rich told me how Pickard said he had no evidence against him, he thought that with what Pickard had already told him in Keene from his own mouth that Rich was telling the truth. Pickard told me that himself. So far as my talking with Pickard is concerned, trying to get a Grand Jury, I thought it was useless. I felt that there would be no object in talking with him.
- Q. When was that? After Dr. McGrath's autopsy?
- A. No. I should say that was in December. At the time we went to Keene. It was following the night C. L. Rich had had seen you in Boston. McGrath came here after that.
- Q. Have the findings of Dr. McGrath been published in Jeffrey?
- A. I saw a report in the papers which I sent to the selectmen. I guess these, or that is what you mean by findings. His conclusions. One of the selectmen told me that it really did not amount to anything to a man who was not an educated man along that line. It set forth what McGrath found, but not what he actually knew. DeKerlor goes under the big five, but the selectmen came out and stated that we are against Kent, because they didn't like his idea. As a matter of fact, we are not out against a good man. We wanted the best men to come here, thought we have been accused of blocking the investigation, because we are Masons, and, also, that we were trying to bribe the selectmen. We want this matter cleared up.

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While Assistant Division Superintendent Gifford was continuing the hearing with Mr. Symonds, Agent joined Agent Valkenburgh in the next room to assist in giving a hearing to Delcie D. Bean.

Questions by Agents Weiss and Valkenburgh

- Q. When Rich got back from Boston, did you have a meeting in Jeffrey?
- A. When Rich got back from Boston, we had this meeting, and came over that night. I don't remember exactly what was said, and what was not, but Rich said, he was ready to do anything we advised him to do. When he asked us in regard to a Grand Jury, we told him, it is up to him. We do not need to consider him at all, he answered. He was willing to do anything to clear this thing up. We were unanimous to do anything to get a Grand Jury hearing. Mr. Symonds took his car, and Mr. White and Mr. Symonds took their wives, and Mr. and Mrs. Rich to see about having a Grand Jury hearing through Mr. Pickard the county solicitor in Keene. I did not go with him. After they went, I talked with Pickard and he said that they had no evidence and could not afford to do it. I don't know what they did do. I never heard the results of the proceedings. It had been insinuated that Mr. Rich called up Mr. Pickard by telephone, but this is not so, because Mr. Symonds took them in the car over to Keene.
- Q. Did you have a talk with Mr. Pickard in reference to a Grand Jury investigation?
- A. Yes. We have had more or less talks about it with Pickard and he said he did not have one percent of evidence against Rich.
- Q. What do you think whether Pickard has any evidence?
- A. If you ask me what I exactly think. I don't think that the man has anything up his sleeve.- what he is not willing to give.

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Q. Mr. Bean, did you ever hear about a John Doe investigation?

A. I heard about it.

Q. Don't you think a John Doe jury to bring out the facts, would be the right thing, in this case?

A. Yes. If it would bring out anything to get this thing off. Chiefly because the people here have been rather scared. We have a night-watchman here in our factory, who gave up his job because he was scared on account of the murder. As far as I am concerned, I am willing to say that I am perfectly in accord with the proceedings mentioned, but I understood from Mr. Pickard that he said that no evidence could be used against any man, that was disclosed at the Grand Jury hearing. Suppose you have a John Doe hearing. I understand that the only people in there would be the witnesses, and the attorney general, and the jurors, and this evidence could not be used to prosecute whoever was indicted by this hearing.

Q. (By Agent Weiss) Mr. Bean, don't you understand that if this was the case, there would be no juse of having a Grand Jury hearing at all? What is the idea of calling a lot of witnesses, and then pigeon-holing the whole story. There is certainly no sense in that.

A. Pickard told the selectmen that a Grand Jury hearing would cost at least \$4,000.00, and with the evidence above, they would not want to take any chance.

Q. And that is exactly what they have done in the last three murders in the last three years, in this neighborhood.

Q. (By Valkenburgh) Do the big five stand behind Rich?

A. There is not one of the big five, with perhaps one exception, Duncan. There isn't one of us men, who want anything against justice, and will do anything we can to have justice done. We don't care for Rich, nor anybody else. In connection with that, I was just getting a little air when I was called up by one of the leading men in Peterboro who says, "Bean, what is the trouble with Jeffrey. Who is responsible for employing this man. Kent over there?" I said, "I will tell you I have just come back from a sanitarium, and I don't know what has come over Jeffrey, but I will put you in touch with somebody who can tell you something about him." I said, "I believe that this man kent is crazy and ought to be locked up.

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He came right here into our place when there were busy crowds here, and he tells all the people about this man Rich. He has done it in Peterboro and he has done it in Jeffrey, don't you know." and I said that I told the Selectmen if they have evidence, what the hell good is it, if they give it to the public. If you have a detective, a real one, he would not submit anything to the public, but direct to the authorities. It seems to me that he is trying by public sentiment what he cannot get himself. That is a damn hard thing which you fellows want to understand, namely, that this town is getting one damn bad reputation out of this, and I said that you don't hear much of the Federal authorities, or what they have found, but Detective Kent is advertising himself. The fact of the case is that we welcome anything that will bring this murder out. Do you think they give a damn for what the cost is. We don't give a damn who the man is, but we do object to have a damn cheap cuss like this Kent come up here and say that the big five are stalling it and that the Masons are doing it, etc. We would be only too glad, only too pleased, tickled to death, to have this thing brought out regardless on whom it may fall. That is the entire sentiment in my estimation. But you can go around town and what do you hear? That Bean and Symonds and Webster, and the leading men in the Knight Templars and the Masons are stalling this case.

- Q. Why should Rich not come across and tell on Colfelt, when he is the best friend of Colfelt?
- A. Mrs. White of Peterboro was the lady who rented our place to Colfelt. She is the Real Estate woman. Mrs. White used to come and dine with the Colfelts. She thought she would get them interested in the place which we wanted to sell. I directed the Federal Authorities, through Duncan to go and see Mrs. White. I know Mrs. White had a lot to do with the Colfelts.
- Q. She said that Colfelt would not take the place, because the woodland was cut down behind it.
- A. Mrs. White asked him why he did not buy the bargain, and get the Temple place and he said because there was no woods behind it.
- Q. Did you ever see any lights in the mountains?
- A. Yes. One night in the summer, Mrs. Bean called me out, and to my mind, there was a big ray of light flashing from the

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mountain side of Mount Monadnock.

- Q. Who brought out first that Mrs. Dean was the murderess?
- A. I think it was Pickard's men, but I told them right away that it must be Colfelt. Of course they run that town, because they found his auto in Nashua, and also found that he was working in Portsmouth. My idea of Pickard is this. He got discouraged on his first judgment and ought to be a big enough man to come out now, and say what he found out since we asked these fellows right in public in the meeting of the Board of Trade if they had any evidence to submit that they submit it.
- Q. What do you think about Rich?
- A. Rich is a very queer character. In all his arguments, he wants to smooth things over. I could see that when he acted as town moderator. I also noticed that when he joined the Bull Moose party. I thought that the party was bigger than Teddy at the time of the Bull Moose movement. I remained a sturdy Republican in this town and all the fellows who were against me came back into the fold. Rich said he was a Republican, but I accused him openly of not being one. Rich did not give me his pills but later he did. Rich is also a very queer man in regard to the people he deals with. In the bank, for instance, he would be very cross and sharp with the President of the bank and afterwards regret it. I will just tell you one incident that happened to me with Rich which rather surprised me and will throw light on his character. I had gone to the bank many many times and was rather friendly with Rich. One day I happened to come in and he was at the counter and I wanted to check my deposit slips, and therefore asked him to lend me his lead pencil. He positively refused in a very ugly tone. Of course later on he would be sorry. But I could never forget it. He has very queer spasms. He will turn you down for absolutely nothing. Outside of these late spats, I have never seen him fight. Rich has been accused of holding up the Liberty Bonds. Everybody in this town knows that is a fact. Tobey who is at the head of the Liberty Bond Bureau in this state said that Rich must be pro-German because he would not deliver the Bonds. That was not the idea of Rich, but you see he is stubby short-fingered man, which proves to me that he hasn't got any executive ability, but he is a worker himself, and I could always notice that there is no system to his bank. He must do every thing himself. He hasn't the ability to organize a force which should do things for him. Yet he is a man who would

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do almost anything for you. He would bring in four or five little boys and treat them and fix them up. Now we had a father and son supper here, and he brought in half a dozen little boys and handed them all kinds of things. However, you can always see that if he has something to do, he always wants to do it himself. He doesn't say anything when we go out with him, and so we very rarely took him to Boston because when you get in the City, and we all do what we like, we use our own opinion. But you take Rich, and he will sometimes make a suggestion which towers up in an entire different direction than where we wanted to go. He is not a mixer. He doesn't mix like some of the others do. For that reason, we don't want him with us when we go to Boston. I will also mention another thing to you that I remember. One day I went to the Bank and I passed the day, and I said, "Fine weather Mr. Rich," and he said rather roughly, "I don't know anything about the weather". Five minutes later he was damn sorry and apologized to me, but you see I can't forget these things.

- Q. In Concord, they had a petition for the prosecution of this case, but I did not see your name, nor the name of Mr. Symonds, your partner, on that petition.
- A. We had one meeting here and will explain where we stood. Boynton and the other Selectmen understood where we stand. I said that if the town wanted to pay the bills, I wouldn't object. That day when this petition was passed around, I had not slept all night and I was in bed, except when I happened to go into the drugstore in Duncans and while I was waiting to see Duncan about the Squantum plant in which we have an interest, I saw people stop in front of the window. So I looked it over and there was a sign there which read, "All who wish to register, come inside and sign the petition." I says to the girl, "Where in Hell is the petition", and she says, "It is right there in the showcase". It was Duncan's petition and his name was at the head of the list. Then there were a few cheap cusses. That did not have any bearing on me. I says to myself, if this is not the most absurd thing I ever saw. I was not prejudiced, but I said, "Isn't there anybody in authority in this Community in New Hampshire that wants to put this across. Why there isn't anybody here who wants to hamper a criminal in Jeffrey. We might as well have not signed the petition, whether we allowed the firemen in this town to use the water to put out the fire in White's mill. Then Duncan started to explain that the people didn't know about the case and I said, "This never will convince me".

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I told Pickard that Jeffrey wanted an investigation, and he said he didn't think so. I read a letter that Pickard wrote to Duncan, when Duncan had written him that 95% of the people in Jeffrey wanted an investigation, and he wrote back that the other 5% didn't want it. At the meeting we had two stenographers on the job who took every word that Pickard said.

- Q. It seems to me that the Selectmen probably took the view that you and Mr. Symonds and Pickard didn't want the investigation. In view of the fact that you and Mr. Symonds have not signed the petition.
- A. Well, if they wanted us to sign it, why didn't they put one of the petitions into Rich's bank. I would have been tickled to death to sign it. They should have put one in there.

This closes the interview.

Agents next proceeded to the Public Library, where we had a conference with the three Selectmen of Jeffrey in regard to the four cigarette cases that have apparently entered into this case. It was suggested that we see Mrs. Bourgoyne, who had seen Dean drive up towards his home alone, and afterwards had seen Rich in the village on the night of the murder.

This case will be continued.

Appendix F

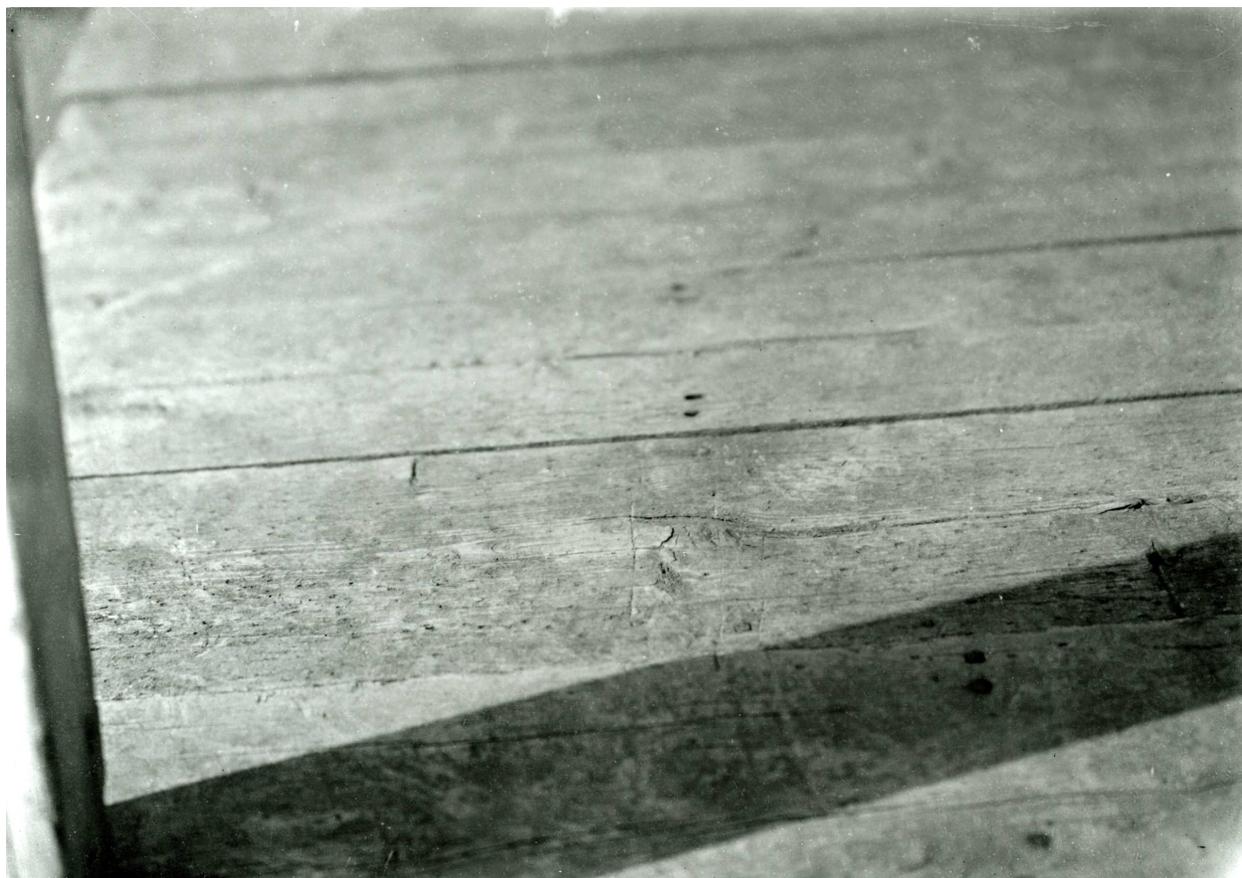
Photographs Taken August 29, 1918 by C.T. Johnson

Investigating the Cistern at the Dean Farm





Scratch Marks on Doorstep of Barn at Dean Farm



Scratch Marks on Stone Near Cistern at Dean Farm



Dr. Dean's Internment









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