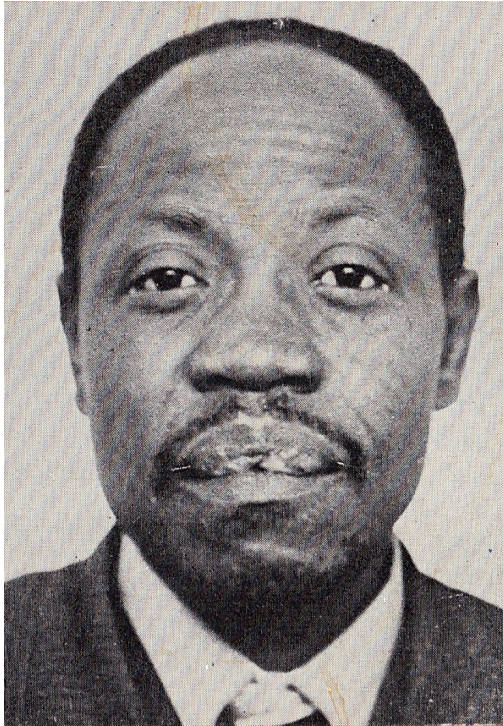


DAVID OLUWALE'S LIFE AND DEATH

The 11 page guide



Derived by Max Farrar from Kester Aspden *The Hounding* of David Oluwale (Vintage Books, 2008), and 'Northern Lights' in Caryl Phillips *Foreigners - Three English Lives* (Harvill Secker, 2007). www.rememberoluwale.org



The only image we have of David Oluwale, presumably taken by the Leeds police photographer. Note his suit and tie.

Page numbers refer to Kester Aspden *Hounding* (2008)

David was found on 4th May 1969, drowned in the River Aire at Knostrop (Leeds). He was hounded into the river, near Leeds Bridge, early in the morning of 18th April 1969.

1930 (?) TO 1949

IN NIGERIA (pp.37-8)

- d.o.b 8 Aug 1926 or 8 Aug 1929 or 30 Aug 1930 or 8 Sept 1931.
- Left school at 14.
- Consensus was that he was aged 38 when he died (p.37) (1969, so assumed b.1931).
- Arrested in Hull 3rd September 1949 (aged 18). Treated for gonorrhoea. Released 3 Oct 1949 and headed for Leeds.
- 5 feet 3.5 inches (prison record aged 19) (5'5" later) 9-10 stone and muscular
- Mother named Alice.

- Father worked in fishing trade said to have died in 1937.
- Left school at 14, after attending Christian Mission schools.
- Lived at 4 Tokunbo Street in the heart of the Brazilian Quarter, Lagos.
- Uncle said to have owned the Ilojo bar in Tinubu Square.
- Police records ascribe CofE, Baptist, Methodist, Muslim. Held Catholic rosary at time of death.
- (p. 83) Psychiatric nurse David Odamo stated that he had helped David write letters from High Royds to his father, who he said was a chief at Ikole-Ekiti in Western Nigeria.
- (p. 89) David gave David Sature Oluwuala as his next of kin – perhaps his father?

1949 STOWAWAY (pp. 17-20)

16 August 1949: M.V. Temple Bar sets off from Apapa Wharf, Lagos, with three stowaways holding a British Travel Certificate (meant for internal travel among British colonies in Africa). David Oluwale, Victor Lapido Oyewole and Johnny Omaghomi were smoked out of the hold by the captain over the next few days. Put to work.

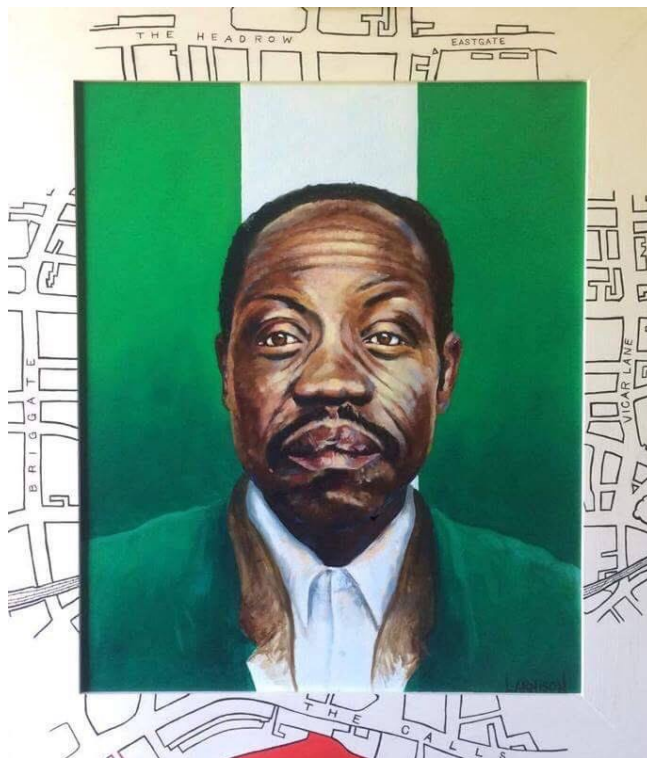
3 September 1949 disembarked at Hull and arrested under the Merchant Shipping Act for stowing away. Possession of British Travel Certificates meant they had to allowed entry [this rule was withdrawn in Sept 1949 (p. 43)]. Sentenced by J H Tarbitten at Hull Police Court to 28 days in Armley Jail, Leeds.

Released 3 October 1949 (p.43).

1949 – 1953 WORKING & HOUSING IN YORKSHIRE (pp. 22-37)

- Gabriel (Gayb) Adams, a fellow Yoruba, Gabriel Adams was driving a mobile crane at Wellington Street railway goods depot in the summer of 1949 . . . And more on Gayb and his first wife Joyce Winter on pp. 48-9. More pp. 93-4.
(From pp. 43-8):
- David released from Armley Jail on 3 Oct 1949.
- First address was 2 Well Close Place (in Little London, Leeds) – later became Faith Lodge (so perhaps a church property?).
- Then 12 Grove Terrace – Abbey Sowe’s house, with Steve Oke, Speedy [in Georgie Fame’s band, playing congas – p. 51], Frank Morgan, ‘Widey’ Williams, Ademola Johnston and Sheila (sometimes Sheba) Savage. Close friend named Lucky Akanidere.
- Then Lucky and David went to Bradford (for six months), working at Croft Engineering. Vincent Enyori worked there. He said black workers swept the floors or did hand-grinding: ‘They didn’t allow you to touch machines so that you might have made some money’, he told Kester Aspden in 2005.
- Became friendly with Christmas Ogbonson.
- Back to Leeds, where worked as a hod carrier on a building site and then at the Public Abattoir and Wholesale Meat Market (next to Kirkgate Market).

- Lived at 175 and 209 Belle Vue Road.
- By March 1951 he lived in Sheffield at 15 Oxford Street (Crookesmoor) with (mainly) Gold Coast Africans including Victor Cole who told police (in 1970) that David was unsociable and a drug user and supplier of opium and marijuana.
- Labouring work at Sheffield Gas Company. His boyhood friend Joseph Odeyemi was working there too. He said he worried that David wouldn't let anything go — his attitude was always getting him into trouble.
- Arrested 17 March 1951 under the name David Llewelyn for being drunk. Alleged to have bitten a police officer. Fined for assault and drunk and disorderly. Then worked in a foundry.
- Autumn 1951 back in Leeds at the Abattoir. Social life: Mecca and King Edward Hotel. Moses Owens (a Gambian) saw David at the King Edward Hotel regularly. Told police he smoked a lot of marijuana and was always by himself. {Kester Aspden accepts David's drug use and perhaps supply (p. 47)}
- 1952 David living at 209 Belle Vue Rd – on electoral roll as Olu Davies. Living with Widey, Isiaka Harding (nicknamed Tex) and Sunday Daniel (both from Lagos).
- Believed to have lived with Gladys (white) at 209 Belle Vue Rd and 4 Springfield Place. [Note: In Jeremy Sandford's play, *Smiling David*, it is said that Gladys had two children with David. No Africans attest to this. The wife of Christmas Ogbonson, Ann, told the press that Gladys was David's common-law wife, but does not mention children.]



Painting based on David Oluwale's photo by the artist Lynne Arnison
www.lynnearnison.co.uk

- Christmas said David was well liked, 'A quiet man and he was always happy and smiling . . . not aggressive and would not harm anybody.' Abbey Sowe remembered him as 'a very happy individual and a good conversationalist, he was always making jokes and could be the life of the party. Gayb confirms this. Not a big drinker, but enjoyed cannabis. 'He was always wanting to be like a Yank,' said Gayb. His nickname was Yankee. Aspden writes 'He couldn't stand to be pushed around or ordered about. When provoked he was capable of violence, but those who knew him also testified to his eagerness to avoid trouble, even his gentleness' (p. 48). Joe Okobga told Kester Aspden that David wore a made-to-measure suit and a trilby.

1953 POLICING – ARREST – HOSPITAL

- 25 April 1953: David 'Ulowale' arrested by PC Maurice Roberts at 11.20pm in King Edward Street, charged with disorderly conduct, assault on police and damaging a police uniform. Jailed for two months. African friends agree that argument started over unpaid bill at a café in or near King Edward Hotel. In the scuffle, David banged his head and was never the same again. {Gayb says on a documentary film that he was hit with a police truncheon, and that blow deranged him.}
- 6 June 1953 David admitted to St James' Psychiatric Hospital, Leeds, on a 14 day court order. Psychiatrist Michael Leahy recorded that David appeared 'apprehensive, noisy and frightened without cause'. Five days later described him as loud, excitable and terrified: 'Childish and wept when talking of his fears'. (pp. 55-6)
- 11 June taken to Menston Asylum, Leeds. [Menston described pp. 56-63.]

1953 - 1961 MENSTON HOSPITAL

June 1953 - April 1961 [19 April [p. 67] in Menston Asylum]
 1965-7 High Royds Hospital (new name for same place) [Refurbished and called GladeDale Homes from 2005 – 'the newest Yorkshire Village' 'Simply idyllic'.]
 (pp53- 4)

(p.58) *Diagnosis*

Dr Richard Carty, Menston consultant psychiatrist, said in police statement in 1970 that David was 'restless, noisy and restive . . . spoke English fairly well but he was so confused he could give no clear account of himself . . . visionally (sic) hallucinating seeing imaginary animals which he described as lions with fishes' heads which he believed were gong to kill him.' After two months, Carty said, he became quiet and reasonably lucid, sometimes withdrawn and mute. Every two months or so he would become overactive impulsive and aggressive, biting people, especially on their fingers. Diagnosed as schizophrenic. Treated with ECT.

(p.59 – 62)

- David on Ward 8 with the chronic patients, the violent, the suicidal and the persistent absconders.
- Eric Dent, staff nurse, said in police statement that David could be extremely violent and was the ‘most unpredictable patient I have ever seen’.
- Statement given during the trial in response to court reports of David as a harmless tramp. Dent’s narrative follows the police’s, comments Kester (p.66)

1961-65 WORKING – UNEMPLOYED – NO FIXED ABODE (p. 74)

- April 1961: 209 Belle Vue Road and labouring job at Storey Evans and Co.
- Soon after worked at West Yorkshire Foundry – sacked after a few months for fighting a Jamaican worker.
- June 1962 signed on at Labour Exchange in Islington, London.
- August: signing on in Sheffield
- September: Leeds. His African friends were married (p. 51). Described by them (Slim and Tex) as nervous, twitchy, slow, shuffling, laughing for no reason – ‘gone’ simple because of the blow to his head. Seen sleeping in the ‘Jews’ Park’. {This is now called Lovell Park. It was first landscaped in 1888. There’s a photo of it in 1910 here http://www.leodis.net/display.aspx?resourceIdentifier=2002514_48032778&DISPLAY=FULL] }

POLICING 1962-5

- Sept 1962 PC Dave Stanton finds him sleeping in the doorway of Maple, Debny and Spinks’ Furniture shop on Albion Street. Asked a few weeks later, asked why he wasn’t sleeping at St George’s Crypt, he told Stanton they gave him a hard time there because of his colour (p. 75).
- 21 Sept 1962 arrested by PC Harold Robinson on Woodhouse Moor after almost biting off the finger of the park ranger. Jailed for six months for malicious wounding. Sent to Hull prison. (p.75)

1963 - 1965 NO FIXED ABODE

- 1963 Lived at 15 Mexborough Avenue [Chapelton, Leeds] for several months. Landlord John James Mills said they exchanged few words ‘because he was an African and we are West Indians’.
- 1964-7 squatted on and off at 12 St Alban’s Place, Leeds [no longer on the map]
- June-October 1964 in Faith Lodge, 2 Well Close Place, Leeds, a hostel for ex-alcoholics, ex-mental patients and ex-convicts. Donald Paterson, the warden, described him as ‘A timid little man who had language difficulties and was simple-minded (p. 81).

- Oct 1964 jailed for drunk and disorderly. On discharge he went back to 12 St Alban's Place.
- November 1965 charged with malicious wounding of two policemen who caught him entering 12 St Alban's Place. (pp. 80-83)

1965-7 HIGHROYDS PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL, FORMERLY MENSTON, LEEDS

- On remand in Armley, Dr Carty, called in from High Royds Hospital, found him to be overactive, garrulous, aggressive, 'very paranoid about the police' and hearing threatening voices, sometimes in Yoruba, sometimes in English. Carty concluded he was a 'dullard'. David said he was a heavy drinker of sherry and rum.
- 11 November 1965: detained under Sn 60 of the Mental Health Act 1959 in High Royds Hospital (Menston Asylum was renamed in 1963). Carty said he settled down, becoming less aggressive and overactive, but remained elated, garrulous and 'somewhat childish'.
- In 1970 Leroy Phillips (a senior probation officer in Leeds at the time of writing this book) was a psychiatric nurse at High Royds. He said that David could be a handful at times, but was fine if properly dealt with. Believed that Eric Dent – 'an old school charge nurse', according to Phillips – had exaggerated the danger David posed.
- David Odamo, a Nigerian who had worked as a psychiatric nurse at High Royds, wrote to the Leeds' Chief Constable after reading press reports of the trial to say David 'was not a violent person' (p. 83).
- 27 April 1967 discharged from High Royds. Described by Dr Carty as quiet and co-operative, hallucinations faded and 'persecutory ideas' mainly gone. (pp82-3)

1967-69 LIVING ROUGH IN LEEDS & PRESTON PRISON

- 1967-9 David slept at John Peter's shop in Lands Lane, the Bridal House on the Headrow, Eve Brown's on Kirkgate, Peter's 'Sew and save' in Thornton's Arcade.
- Harry Franks (optician in Thornton's Arcade) said he never gave any trouble – 'an inoffensive sort of man'.
- Costas Athinodorou (prop Riviera Restaurant on New Briggate) said he was 'a harmless type of person though I formed the impression he was a bit mental'. 'He'd say something like "Hello, pal, how you keeping, all right?" and then he would walk away towards Chapeltown. Every time I saw him he looked miserable and scruffy.' (p. 88)
- Arrested as a vagrant four times, three times by PC Thorne.

- September 1967: back in Armley Prison, Leeds.
- 26 Dec 1967: PC Simpson says David admitted exposing himself to two women on Lands Lane. Sentenced to three months, most of which was served in Preston Prison.
- Leslie Shepherd had met David in Sheffield. In Preston Prison he described David as 'vastly different' and impossible to communicate with, 'a bit mental'.
- A T Elliot, Preston prison welfare officer, reported that David said he had a wife and two children but he didn't want to see them again. Said he had very low IQ.
- 29 March 1968 discharged from prison.
- Steve Oke saw him at a bookmaker's on North Street, Leeds, and thought he'd gone 'a little bit mental'.
- Tex saw on North Street and gave him some money for food. David said he wanted to go back to Nigeria.
- Abbey Sowe, developing a crockery business called Northern Pottery in Leeds, had a warehouse very near to David's squat [St Alban's Place], saw David and realised he was 'in a very bad way' looking like he was sleeping rough. 'Olu was a very proud person and would not ask for help,' but Abbey gave him some money and some clothes. 'He was not the man I used to know. He didn't talk sense and I thought he was a bit simple in the head.' He gave David a bit of work in the warehouse. He was physically weak, but 'remained happy in himself and was always laughing'. Once when he came back after a break, he told Abbey 'I've been to London, they always hit me on the head when they take me to London.' Abbey realised that London was his word for prison. When they saw a policeman coming David said 'Better go inside O brother, if he see me he take me to London and go beat my head.'(p. 91) In April 1968 Northern Pottery burned down and relocated to south Leeds.
- Ibrahim Swarray (from Sierra Leone) saw David at Jack Ash's betting shop on North Street in 1968 and took him home for a meal. David told him the damage to his top lip was caused by police beating him. Said David was odd and distracted.
- Largactil and ECT had made him shuffle and jerk.
- Gayb saw him in 1978 or 68 - said he looked nervous, twitchy, couldn't make conversation, looking over his shoulder (pp. 87 – 94)
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1968-9 DAVID'S LAST YEAR

- 17 April - 4 July 1968: accommodated at the Church Army Hostel in the Calls (p. 137)
- 17 April 1968 Arrested by PC Greenwood and Sgt Kitching in the doorway of the Queen's Hotel in Leeds for disorderly conduct. Conditional discharge. Kitching's first known contact with David.
- John Sugden, probation officer, said he was very backward with poor English. Placed him in the Church Army Hostel on The Calls. (pp. 94 – 5)

1969 DAVID'S BODY FOUND IN THE RIVER

- 4 May 1969 David's body found at Knostrop weir, River Aire/ Aire-Calder canal junction by a group of boys, including Wayne Batley and Martin Thorpe. Wayne said "We all thought it was a sack or a Guy Fawkes but then it rolled over slightly with the current and I realised it was a black man" (p. 2)
- PCs Steve Hall and Albert Stedman (Gipton station) arrive. PC Ian Haste (frogman) recovers body and thinks it might be David Oluwale. Supt Michael Wilson and Inspector Len Bradley were present when David's pockets are emptied.
- Certified dead by Dr Wahba at St James' Hospital.
- 5 May 1969 Dr David Gee, pathologist, conducts post-mortem. Herbert Bullock is the mortuary superintendent.
- Weighs 10 stone. 5'5".
- 3 June death registered. D.o.b given as 30.08.1930.
- 4 June buried after a 'welfare funeral' in Killingbeck cemetery. Plaque reads David Oluwale Alliwala 4th May 1969. Service conducted by Fr Martin Carroll from St Anne's Cathedral.
- Photos in National Archives: includes: Fox and Hounds (Tinshill Rd, Horsforth, LS167BT), John Peters Furniture shop city centre, Oluwale's remains on the slab. (pp.1-6)

1970 - 1971 THE POLICE ENQUIRY - NAMES

- (p.7) October 1970, 18 months after David's body was found, a police cadet sets off the investigation in to David's death. [Cadet Gary Galvin's story pp. 104-8]

Police Officers

- Chief Superintendent John Perkins
- His deputy Det Sgt Basil Haddrell (both of Scotland Yard)
- Chief Super Dennis Hoban, head of Leeds CID
- His deputy, Det Super Jim Fryer (all on p. 101)
- Dep Chief Constable Leeds police Austin Hayward, in charge of discipline (p. 114)
- Inspector Geoffrey Ellerker (p. 121) Ellerker had been convicted in 1969 for misconduct while covering up the death of a woman injured by a police car driven by a drunk officer. Sentenced to nine months and dismissed from the force. (Pp. 111-12)
- Sgt Ken Kitching (p. 102) (Both described pp. 129-34)
- Probationer Constable Gary Briggs talks to Gary Galvin's friend probationer Brian Topp about an assault by Kitching on a man taken into custody (pp. 105-6)

THE EVIDENCE GATHERED BY PERKINS' INVESTIGATION TEAM

- Perkins obtains the the bus conductor/postman story about two policemen pursuing someone down Call Lane to the river on 17-18 April 1969 (p. 113). Perkins was convinced their evidence was true (p.124)
- Nationality: instead of 'British' the word WOG appears on charge sheets for 23.2.1969 and 11.3.1969 (p. 114, p. 177, p. 211)
- Police Cadet Gary Galvin says, when asked why he thought Oluwale had been pushed into the river, "because he was coloured and there is racial prejudice everywhere" (114)
- Kitching's solicitor: Ronnie Teeman (p. 122)
- Kitching saw himself as a street cleaner, obsessed with removing rough sleepers from his sub-division – searching them out and giving them a kicking. Described by Sgt Dougie Carter as 'hard and ruthless and untiring' at harassing rough sleepers. (p. 153)
- Kitching tells everyone to inform him whenever they see 'Uggy' (p. 154)
Kitching [Ellerker??] was then to be called
- 7 August 1968: PC Seager and Ellerker and Kitching chase and catch David around 3 am in Cookridge Street and drive him out to the Fox and Hounds in Bramhope. Told him to knock on the door and ask for a cup of tea. They leave him there (p. 157)
- 11 August 1968 they take him to Middleton Woods and dump him there. Told him he would 'suffer if you don't stay away' (p. 158). "he should feel at home in the jungle", said Kitching when they got back to Millgarth (159)
- Kitching loathed all 'dossers' but it was specially vicious with David (p.159)
- Put David in a dustbin and rolled down one of the arcades
- David urinated on by Kitching while Ellerker held the torch
- Set fire to newspapers he was sleeping on in John Peter's (all p. 159)
- Bertram Leng, night-watchman at Lewis's on the Headrow [now Sainsbury's, Primark etc] referred to David as the 'Lame Darkie' and thought he was 'deranged'. Witnessed his arrest on 3-4 Sept 1968. Arrest described when Ellerker and Kitching got minor injuries (pp 161-2)
- Olive Bradbury, cleaner at John Peter's furniture shop in Land's Lane, Leeds, gave a police statement saying that when she roused David in the morning 'He would give a little salute with his hand as if to say thank you' but didn't speak as he walked away. He 'never left any mess' (p. 169)
- 9-23 January 1969 in prison for disorderly conduct when moved on from John Peter's.
- 26 Jan 69: Kitching called by PC 'Chopper' Woodhead. Taken to Millgarth police station. WPC Hazel Dolby, PC Ruddick and Sgt Frank Atkinson described brutal beating by Ellerker and Kitching (pp. 172-3) David sentenced to 14 days in prison.
- On release, Owen McHale saw David 'in a right state'

- Lucky Akanidere, early 1969, said he seemed fairly normal and Lucky asked him to visit. Told the investigation that David hated the police, describing what they did to him. (p. 174)
- PC 'Glob' Higgins saw Ellerker grab David's hair and bang his head repeatedly on the floor of the police van.
- Barrington Black, solicitor, remembers David as sad, shambling, probably mentally ill (p. 165)

WHAT HAPPENED IN COURT

13 April 1971: Ellerker and Kitching charged with manslaughter, ABH and GBH

8 November 1971: trial opens. (Judge: Mr Justice Hinchcliffe.)

Prosecutor: John Cobb QC (p. 191), Donald Herrod his junior (p. 202)

- Defence: Gilbert Gray QC, Harry Ognall his junior (Kitching) (p. 195) Basil Wigoder QC, Arthur Myers his junior (Ellerker). Ellerker's solicitor: Peter Fingret (p. 196)
- 120 subpoenaed; only about 1/3 called as witnesses (p. 208)
- Phil Ratcliffe, working in the central charge office at Millgarth said: 'I have never seen a man crying so much and never utter a sound' as Kitching pushed his knee into David's back at the charge counter. David, he said, was placid, far from violent, withdrawn and subdued. (p. 203)
- Hazel Ratcliffe, also a police officer, witnessed an attack on David on 26 Jan 1969: He was punched to the ground and kicked so hard that he was 'lifted a little'. 'He was holding his private parts with both his hands and he was crying' (p. 203)
- Donald Herrod said her evidence — refuting the point put to her that David had been 'absolutely berserk' — 'turned the tide' with the jury
- Both resigned from the police in December 1969 (p. 202)
- David Condon, bus conductor, saw a scruffy man being pursued by two police officers down an alley off Call Lane. It was dark, very early in the morning of 18th April, and he couldn't identify Ellerker or Kitching, couldn't say if the man was black or white. George Merrion, a postman, had remembered his conversation with Condon about this and reported it to Perkins' team (p. 204)
- Dr David Gee, Senior Lecturer in Forensic Medicine at Leeds University, said David had died by drowning but had an injury to his head inflicted a few hours before his death
- Police frogman Ian Haste said it wasn't certain the body had entered the water in Warehouse Hill (the Call Lane area) since it would have had to travel through two weirs to get to the point where it was found (at Knostrop). (The Perkins investigation had shown that that was possible, but Haste's view was not challenged in court.) (p. 204)
- Dr Carty, consultant psychiatrist at High Royds, said David spoke of lions with fishes' heads that were going to kill him; that he spat at people, bit the fingers of two staff; on admission he would defecate on the floor; lost jobs through fighting;

boasted of attacking a police officer; was confused, irrational, giggling and accused police of persecuting him — but settled down after a while and withdrew those accusations (p. 205)

- Sgt John Thomas Wall had searched for records (wireless messages, log book entries) of the occasions when incidents with David had been alleged to have occurred. Some were missing. There were none at all for 17/18 April 1969, the night that David disappeared. Anyone at Ireland Wood station had access to them (p. 206)
- After submissions from the defence that there was no evidence either of Grievous Bodily Harm or manslaughter, Justice Hinchcliffe agreed and said he would direct the jury to acquit on those charges (p. 207)
- Herrod told Aspden that he thought Hinchcliffe was a fair judge but they were disappointed that they hadn't prove as much as they had intended to (p. 208)
- 102 people subpoenaed for the trial; only one third were called (p. 208)
- Opening for the defence of Kitching, Gilbert Gray QC said "You would not bend over [if you came close to David Oluwale in the mental hospital] because as quick as a flash and as lithesome as may be [he] would leap up like a miniature Mr Universe and have hold of you, scratching and biting with a mouthful of the biggest dirtiest teeth Mr Dent [the psychiatric nurse who would give evidence] had ever seen in his life" (213)
- Transcript of Perkins' first interview with Kitching read out in court: "I have put him out of doorways and kicked his behind. Under Leeds Library in Commercial Street. Brill's, Bond Street, in Baker's in Trinity Street, in John Peters in the Headrow [actually, in Lands Lane], Bridal House in the Headrow, the Empire Arcade in Briggate and Trinity Church in Boar Lane." Other phrases included: "Tickled him with my boot", "never hit him really hard", "kicked him gently", "just a slap", "booted his backside out of it", "good slapping", Oluwale was "a wild animal, not a human being" (p. 214)
- Ellerker denied most of the evidence heard about his assaulting David. He said that on 4th September 1968 David "came at me like a hurricane . . . he scratched my face in a half-punching clawing movement. He was screaming like a lunatic." (p. 217) He only used necessary force when arresting David (p. 218)
- In his closing speech Basil Wigoder QC, defending Ellerker, said the defence had referred to David as a citizen. "What right have we to call him a citizen. His only claim to being a citizen was that every now and then he was lodged in the local prison." (p. 220)
- Defending Kitching, Gilbert Gray QC told the jury that "the police officer is faced with going down dark alleys at night. They have to stand foul-mouthed abuse in the street . . . They, in a real sense, are the night-soil men of society." 'Night-soil men', Gray later explained to Kester Aspden, are the men who use their shovels to clear the city's sewers at night, 'shovelling up the shit'. (pp. 220-21)
- Summing up the case for the jury on 22nd November 1969, Mr Justice Hinchcliffe said the police are "a fine and splendid profession. Without them there would be chaos and anarchy. They do their best to keep the peace and they do their best to enable people to sleep in their beds safely." David Oluwale was "a menace to society . . . a frightening apparition to come across at night." (p. 221)

- On 23rd November 1971, after four and a half hours deliberation, the jury unanimously found Ellerker and Kitching guilty of three assaults, and Ellerker of one other assault (p. 221)
- Justice Hinchcliffe sentenced Ellerker to three years in jail and Kitching to 27 months. He said “By your wicked misbehaviour to this coloured vagrant, you bring disgrace and shame not only on your wives and family, but on the whole of the police force of this country. The verdict of the jury today will add fuel to the fire of those who spend most of their time sneering at police officers and making brash criticism against the police force.” (p. 222)
- Released from jail, Kitching went back to his home in Hunslet in south Leeds and took a security job at Hepworths clothiers, where, one of his colleagues told Aspden, “no-one would entertain him.” He died alone on September 1966 (p. 226)
- Ellerker refused to speak to Aspden in 2004. His police colleagues did not know what he did after he left prison (p. 226)

RELEVANT EVIDENCE NOT HEARD IN COURT BUT INCLUDED IN PERKINS’ INVESTIGATION

- Bill Wheatley, ambulance driver, told Aspden that he took David to the disinfestation centre in Stanley Road on several occasions (though no records of his being ‘tubbed’ there) (p. 208)
- Bill remembers David as a lonely soul who smiled a lot and didn’t seem to be mentally ill or broken. “Big shoulders. Quite a boy. Kept much to himself. Totally harmless fellow. We didn’t have a bit of trouble from him.” (p. 209)
- Bill didn’t recognise David when he attended Knostrop after his body had been recovered. He noticed a dent on his forehead. Found David’s unemployment card when the body was cleaned at the mortuary. CID interviewed him a few weeks later and he told them about the dent on his forehead when asked if there was “owt [anything] untoward about the body” (p. 209)
- Bill’s evidence would normally be heard in court — but it wasn’t (p. 210)
- The Nationality ‘Wog’ entry on David’s charge sheet (p. 211)
- PC Michael Hargreaves told the investigation team that David “didn’t offer any objection” when he asked him to move on. PC Peter Smith said: “He was never violent, he just picked his bag up and went away chuntering”. PC Barry Clay said “he went away without much trouble but used to jabber like a witch doctor” (p. 219)