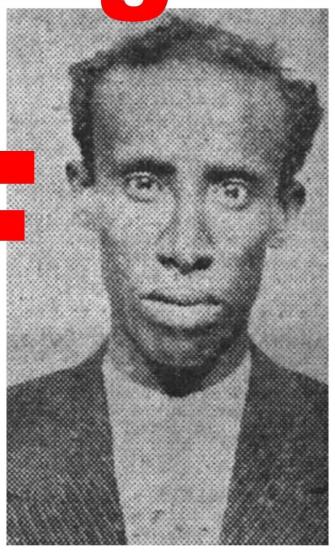
Hanged

for the Word

The murder of Lily Volpert and the execution of Mahmood Hussein Mattan



Chris Phillips

# HANGED FOR THE WORD IF

The Murder of Lily Volpert and the Execution of Mahmood Hussein Mattan

Chris Phillips

### Copyright © 2020 Chris Phillips.

All rights reserved.

This edition published by the author 2020.

www.hanged-for-the-word-if.org.uk

ISBN: 978 1 9163129 2 0

To the memory of Neil Sinclair, the historian of Tiger Bay.

I am the first man to get hanged for nothing in this Country, and I don't think that anyone believe what I say right now but before long one time You do believe it. ... Suppose I got a whiter skin I don't be hanged today for this case. because nobody been hanged for the word "if" in this Country before. because the Government accept that word and I am telling lies & other people telling truth. I doesn't interfere with anybody else and I dont tell one word lie in my case. I was true all the way.

Mahmood Hussein Mattan

On doit des égards aux vivants; on ne doit aux morts que la vérité. (We owe consideration to the living; to the dead we owe only the truth.) *Voltaire* 

If man will strike, strike through the mask! *Herman Melville* 

## Contents

Acknowledgments Introduction	xi
Note on Language	XIII
	XV
1952	
1. Tiger Bay	3
2. Volpert's	11
3. The Night of the Murder	18
4. The Scene of the Crime	26
5. A Somali Seen near the Shop	32
6. More Witnesses	36
7. An Identification	40
8. No Stone Unturned	46
9. Mahmood Hussein Mattan	53
10. Antecedents	59
11. Questioned about his Movements	65
12. Mattan's Routine	70
13. No Alibi	73
14. Interrogation	78
15. Clothes	85
16. May Gray	89
17. Mary Tolley	93
18. Charged with Murder	99
19. Building a Case	105
20. Offensive Weapons	108
21. The Dog Track and the Poker Game	111
22. Movements on the Day of the Murder	115
23. The Police Theory	121
24. On Remand	128
25. Brown Suede Shoes	130
26. The Razor under the Washing	135
27. Committal	137
28. Notice of Further Evidence	145
29. Awaiting Trial	150
30. The Trial: Opening Gambits	156
31. The Trial: Evidence about the Murder	160

32. The Trial: Mattan's Movements	168
33. The Trial: Mattan's Vices	177
34. The Trial: Mattan's Evidence	187
35. The Trial: Last Day	191
36. Refused Leave to Appeal	201
37. Execution	206
1954	
38. Tahir Gass	215
39. The Murder of Granville Jenkins	222
40. The Trial of Tahir Gass	228
1969	
41. Wounded Tiger	235
42. Harold Cover	238
43. The Attempted Murder of Elaina Smith	243
44. Investigation by The People	245
45. No New Grounds to Reopen the Case	250
1993	
46. Campaign	259
47. Appeal	264
48. Aftermath	271
2004	
49. Dahir Awalhi	277
50. Six Feet Tall	283
Who Killed Lily Volpert?	
51. The Evidence	289
52. Mahmood Hussein Mattan?	295
53. Harold Cover?	299
54. Tahir Gass?	303
55. Someone Else?	306
Appendix: The Sequence of Events	311
Note on Sources	319
Bibliography	323
Index	325
HIUCA	343

# List of illustrations

1. Police photograph of Volpert's shop.	10
2. Lily Volpert.	12
3. Police plan of Volpert's shop.	15
4. Plan of Tiger Bay.	22
5. William Archbold.	25
6. Press photograph of Volpert's shop.	26
7. Harry Power.	28
8. Harold Cover.	40
9. Tahir Gass.	43
10. Mahmood Hussein Mattan.	53
11. Harry Power with Habib Ali.	80
12. Police photographs of Mahmood Hussein Mattan.	99
13. Plan of Tiger Bay, Adamsdown and the city centre.	116
14. Lowdon Grant Roberts.	130
15. Granville George Jenkins with his son Howell.	222
16. Pencarn Lane, Dyffryn.	223
17. The signal box at St Brides Wentlooge.	226
18. Bute Street in the 1960s.	237
19. Photograph of Harold Cover published by The People.	249
20. Dahir Awalhi.	278
21. Description and photograph of Dahir Awalhi.	283

### Acknowledgments

I am most grateful to Nadifa Mohamed for valuable information and advice, to Tracy I'anson and Pat Marshall for all their help and encouragement, to the late Neil Sinclair for his unfailing assistance with expert knowledge of the people and places of Tiger Bay, to Lily Volpert's niece Ruth for being kind enough to share her recollections, to Eiluned John for very generously providing a complete English translation of Roy Davies's book, *Crogi ar Gam?*, and to the late Ismail Issa Elayeh and the late Ahmed Ismail Hussein Hudeidi, who shared their memories of Dahir Awalhi.

I am also grateful to the Chief Constable of the South Wales Police for his support and assistance in providing access to the surviving police records of the case.

I should also like to thank Len Barnett, Steve Fielding, John Gracey, Tanya McDonald, the late Philip Mattan, Debbie Menzel, Matt Morgan, Phillip Nifield and Satish Sekar, the Coroner for South Wales Central Area and his staff, and also the staff of the British Film Institute National Archive, the British Library, the British Library of Political and Economic Science at the London School of Economics, Cardiff Central Library, the Criminal Cases Review Commission, the First-tier Tribunal (General Regulatory Chamber), Glamorgan Archives, the Gwent Police, the Information Commissioner's Office, the Maritime History Archive at the Memorial University of Newfoundland, the Met Office Library and Archive, the Ministry of Justice, the National Archives, the National Maritime Museum, the Office for National Statistics and the West Midlands Police Museum.

For permission to reproduce illustrations, I am grateful to the National Archives (numbers 1, 3, 8, 9, 10a, 12, 16, 20 and 21), Lily Volpert's niece Ruth (2), Experian Ltd (4 and 13), the South Wales Echo (5 and 6), Glamorgan Archives (7a and 14), the South Wales Evening Post (10b and cover) and the South Wales Argus (15). Every reasonable effort has been made to trace copyright holders, but this has not been possible for numbers 7b and 11 (Empire News and Sunday Chronicle), 17 (Railway Studies account at <a href="https://www.flickr.com">www.flickr.com</a>), 18 (Evans, Dodsworth and Barnett, <a href="https://www.flickr.com">Below the Bridge</a>) and 19 (The People).

### Introduction

Mahmood Hussein Mattan, a Somali who had come to Britain as a merchant seaman, was executed on 3 September 1952 in Cardiff, for the murder of Lily Volpert, a Bute Street shopkeeper. He was convicted on circumstantial evidence, but few people expressed any doubts about his guilt. The judges who rejected his application for leave to appeal commented, "there was ample evidence upon which they [the jury] could convict if they chose." It seemed an unremarkable case. The Times didn't bother to report either Mattan's conviction or his execution.

Nevertheless, the case *was* remarkable. More than 45 years later, Mattan's conviction was quashed. It was the first time the conviction of a man who'd been executed had been overturned in the UK. In the Appeal Court, the Crown accepted that the evidence against Mattan was no longer credible. In fact, the documents discovered by his counsel left no doubt that he'd been convicted by false testimony, with the knowledge of at least one senior police officer.

Miscarriages of justice have formed the basis of a small literary industry. But the murder of Lily Volpert and the execution of Mahmood Hussein Mattan have been strangely neglected. The only book on the case is a slim volume in Welsh<sup>1</sup>, which ends by questioning whether the wrong man was really hanged. Perhaps the reason the case has been neglected is that since the appeal it has superficially seemed straightforward, just as it did in 1952.

In reality it has never been straightforward. The truth about the case has emerged only gradually – sometimes over the course of decades – and the revelations have usually complicated things rather than simplifying them. Things that had seemed clear and obvious have been cast into doubt by awkward new facts. Theories have collapsed under the weight of their own contradictions, and judgments have had to be – almost literally – torn up and thrown away. This process has continued during my own research. It's only in the last few months that the final disclosure of the police records has provided a full picture of how the case against Mattan was concocted.

The present account is an attempt to tell the story of what happened in Cardiff in 1952 as accurately as possible, to understand how Mattan came to be "fixed" for the murder<sup>2</sup>, and to consider the question of who really killed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Roy Davies, Crogi ar Gam? (2000).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> To use his own word (see page 83).

Lily Volpert. I have tried to make it as readable as possible, though inevitably it is quite detailed. And inevitably, the conclusions suggested can be only tentative.

But I think we owe it to the two people who lost their lives – the victim of the murder, and the man executed for it and later exonerated – to try to find out the truth as fully and as accurately as we can, however difficult that may be after 67 years.

### Note on Language

As far as possible, I've related the evidence of witnesses using their own words, even when not quoting them directly. One term calls for special comment. The word "coloured" is now associated with the unenlightened racial attitudes of the past, and many people don't consider it acceptable. But in 1952 it was a neutral descriptive term for people who weren't white. In fact, those in Tiger Bay who had mixed ancestry preferred it to undesirable alternatives such as "half-caste." Where witnesses used this word I've retained it, rather than trying to translate it into a modern-day equivalent.

The contemporary units have also been retained for distances and heights (miles, yards, feet and inches), weights (stones and pounds) and amounts of money (pounds, shillings and pence). In terms of purchasing power, based on the Retail Price Index, a shilling in 1952 was equivalent to about £1.50 in 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Little, Negroes in Britain, p. 134.