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Dissected, torn, and exposed: the death and remains of the Jack the Ripper victims in The *Illustrated Police News*

Introduction

In 1888, amid Victorian England, the Whitechapel area of London was ravaged by a serial murderer who left the country in a state of resounding shock. While the identity of the murderer was never discovered, he became commonly known as Jack the Ripper; a name that has continued to haunt the British cultural and criminal imagination ever since (Walkowitz, 1992; Jarvis, 2007). Although it is thought that there could be many more, there are five canonical victims that are widely accepted to have been murdered by the infamous criminal. Mary Ann 'Polly' Nichols, Annie Chapman, Elizabeth Stride, Catherine Eddowes and Mary Jane Kelly. The violence these women were each subjected to was horrific, bloody, and destructive; each of them had their throats cut, and four of the women had their organs and breasts removed and displayed outside their body. Murdered both in their homes and on the streets of London, after death their bodies were discarded, often left exposed and lying, abandoned, in their own blood.

The intricate details of their deaths and the heinous violence these women experienced were told again and again across the country in public gossip as well as in newspapers and pamphlets. During the late nineteenth century, seen as the 'golden age' of newspaper production, print technologies such as the rotary press and linotype machine, revolutionised the speed that journalists could bring stories to print as well as their reach. Despite these developments, it is believed that during this time literacy rates were still growing and many still relied upon illustrated publications to engage with current affairs in a visual way. One of the most prominent illustrated publications at the time was the *Illustrated Police News* (1864-1938). First published in 1864, it became one of the first British tabloids and its popularity soared in response to the Jack the Ripper murders, as journalists swarmed the East-End eager to construct a sensational story that would shock and entertain.

Using a visual criminological framework, this chapter examines the *Illustrated Police News* archives that have been digitised by, and made publicly available through, The British Library. The archives were a delight to research as they offer a detailed, visual tapestry of Victorian England. They offer a rich insight into not only the fear and anxiety that surrounded the Jack the Ripper murders, but also the public and media treatment of his victims. Each publication opens a window onto how the crimes were told, re-told, and embedded into the public and historical imagination (Farge, 2013); their "'story of crime' is imaged, constructed and 'framed'" (Hayward in Hayward and Presdee, 2010: 9) through the illustrator's pencil. These archives have received somewhat minimal attention within academia to date (see Stratmann, 2011; Smalley, 2017; Stratmann, 2019; Logan, 2020), especially by criminological and thanatological scholars, and, as such, this chapter shines a light on a largely overlooked cultural snapshot of Victorian England. The *Illustrated Police News* serves as a valuable documentary insight into the social and cultural norms surrounding women, marginalisation, and death during the late nineteenth century, and reveals the punitive and penetrative powers of early media. More specifically, this chapter analyses the illustrations and representations of the women killed by Jack the Ripper, and

contends that the drawings are far from objective, factual depictions of the crimes that occurred. Rather, they are morally loaded images, imbued simultaneously with narratives of disapproval and salacity. Importantly, the post-mortem visual representation of Nichols, Chapman, Stride, Eddowes, and Kelly exposed them to a second process of victimisation which further reinforced their perceived position at the social periphery. They were victimised by Jack the Ripper and then subsequently exposed and scrutinised by illustrated print media.

This process of double victimisation is achieved through the passivity and openness of the women in the illustrations and the penetrative gaze this affords the reader. The drawing of their bodies and the perpetrating of further, symbolic, violence exposes similarities with the nineteenth century anatomists and the dissection of marginalised individuals (Sappol, 2002). Both in the UK and in the US at the time of the murders there were rapid developments in the medical profession and the anatomical dissection of human cadavers was central to this. The dissection of cadavers not only subjected the bodies to the penetration of the clinical scalpel but also to the powerful gaze of the white, male, middle-class elite (see also Mulvey, 1992). Sappol writes that dissection is "quintessentially phallic" (2002: 89) and so too, it is argued here, are the illustrative powers of print news and the new seeing powers they afforded the late nineteenth century public. In providing a detailed view of the torn and ripped bodies (Seltzer, 1997; 1998), the illustrations make the women vulnerable to the penetrative gaze of the media and the symbolic violence that surrounded medical and judicial Victorian dissection (Sappol, 2002).

The women killed by Jack the Ripper are all too often invisible, overshadowed by the mystery and allure of their unknown killer (Rubenhold, 2019). In response, this chapter presents four key arguments. Firstly, it puts the women at the very centre of its investigation and in doing so, not only seeks to examine their cultural, pictorial representation within Victorian England, but to re-centre their identities and experiences in contemporary narratives of victimisation and death, too. Secondly, the chapter highlights the performative and punitive function of the *Illustrated Police News* as it serves to further victimise the women after death whilst also fulfilling its role as a tool of moral instruction. Thirdly, it outlines the ways in which the publication commodifies marginalised bodies by constructing the women as disposable 'matter' and legitimising the voyeuristic gaze of the reader. And finally, whilst the illustrations themselves are not included within the chapter due to the limitations and scope of a short piece, the chapter demonstrates the value of visually analysing historical news archives for the advancement of both criminological and thanatological understandings of the difficult dead (Spokes et al, 2018). They represent a visual snapshot akin to Barthes' photograph; "a micro-version of death (…) a specter" (Barthes, 2000: 14).

The torn and open female body

The women murdered by Jack the Ripper were eviscerated; their bodies were violently torn apart and discarded. Four out of the five women were murdered in a public space, typically in an alleyway or street. Their bodies were often abandoned by their killer with their clothing partially removed or disturbed. Their bodies, in multiple ways, were thrown into a

state of openness. This section will discuss this relationship, and more specifically, it will examine the visibility of the women and their bodies after death and how their bodies were presented as objects primed for public consumption. But, beyond the physical, material openness displayed in the illustrations of the women, representations also point to a moral 'openness', a sense of promiscuity that is relevant here. In fact, in presenting a discourse (both written and visual) of moral promiscuity and destitution, we see the *Illustrated Police News* presenting a dual image of the victims. The openness of their corpses after death constructed a distinct passivity of the women; their bodies were objects, made vulnerable by their abhorrent victimisation. While illustrations of the women when they were alive, in particular, the representations of the women in the final moments before their death, whether keeping company with Jack the Ripper or socialising in public, present them actively as morally free women often observing behaviours associated with those 'fallen' from perceived middle class, Victorian grace (see Walkowitz, 1980 and O'Neill, 2010). In essence, 'openness' in this context refers to the representations of their dead bodies as cut, bleeding, and overflowing, but also in the moral and social judgements present in these pictorial depictions. They are drawn as 'open' women, objects of passivity and provocation, danger and desire.

To take first the representations of the material, physical bodies of the women. In many of the illustrations depicting their bodies after death, put simply, they are leaking and open. On the 6th of October 1888[1], the paper depicts the inquest on the "Fifth Victim", Elizabeth Stride as well as the discovery of Catherine Eddowes' body in Mitre Square, both of whom were murdered on the 30th of September 1888. Catherine's body is drawn in each frame lying on her back on the pavement, upon which she was murdered. She is laying in a pool of blood, her arms stretched out from her body, and her throat is cut. In each frame, her body is surrounded by male figures, including police officers shining an oil lamp above her to illuminate "the Mutilated Body" (Anon, 6 October 1888), as well as male civilians engaged in scuffles or striking matches to gain a clearer view of her body.

On the 24th of November, the publication details the murder and mutilation of Mary Kelly in her bed at 13 Miller's Court (Anon, 24 November 1888). The illustrations here depict the Ripper in the act of murder, standing over Kelly in her bed, his hand around her throat and brandishing a knife. Kelly is seen fighting for her life, drawn with fear in her eyes as she is brutally murdered. The next frame shows Kelly, now deceased, as a lifeless body in her bed. Her body is bleeding and abandoned, with her room in a state of disrepair.

A further two publications in October 1888 illustrate the discovery of a "Mutilated Trunk" (Anon, October 1888) and its subsequent investigation at the coroner's office (Anon, 20 October 1888). Illustrations depict a naked female trunk that had been separated from the rest of the body, with the images placing emphasis on the exposition of the woman's breasts. In each image, once again, we see the body surrounded by male figures ranging from the civilians who discovered the body, to male figures of (perceived) profound

[1] Anon. 1888. Two more Whitechapel murders. The *Illustrated Police News*, October 6. https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/two-more-whitechapel-murders-from-the-illustrated-police-news

expertise and knowledge including police officers and coroners. Thus, the woman's naked, mutilated body is drawn as powerless in the hands, and at the mercy, of male authorities.

One of the most common visual tropes that the paper engages in is to illustrate the women both before and after their victimisation, including both portraits of the women as well as illustrations of them with Jack the Ripper moments before their death and then finally in the mortuary. On the 22nd of September, we see illustrations of Annie Chapman "Before and After Death" (Anon, 22 September 1888). Before death, she is drawn as looking 'respectable' by Victorian moral standards, her hair is neat, skin clean, and she is staring into the distance with a perceived look of contentment. Beside this, we see the image of Chapman after death. By contrast, her forehead is furrowed, she has a black eye, two wounds on her left cheek, and her throat has been cut so that she is nearly decapitated. Above these juxtaposing illustrations, Chapman is framed by three male portraits: an unnamed "Foreman of the Jury", "Dr Phillips", and Annie's unnamed brother (Anon, 22 September 1888). Similarly, the following month we see two portraits of Catherine Eddowes (Anon, October 1888). Once again before her death she is drawn to reflect her normality; she is wearing a bonnet and her modesty is preserved with a dress that has a very high neckline. By contrast, after death she is drawn reclining on the mortuary table, her bleeding eyes are closed, the tip of her nose has been mutilated and, much like Chapman, her throat had been almost entirely severed.

At every stage, the deceased bodies of Nichols, Chapman, Stride, Eddowes, and Kelly are made open by the illustrations. They are cut, they are bleeding, and they are laid bare. After death, they became powerless over their own narrative, handing over control to middle-class, male authority figures to define their stories both formally through the implementation of justice and, equally, in media representations. As Rubenhold powerfully advocates "[…] that which has continued to cling to and define the shape of Polly, Annie, Elizabeth, Kate and Mary Jane's stories is this: the values of the Victorian world. They are male, authoritarian and middle class" (2019: 15). The violent and graphic depictions of the women as passive, open objects after death reflects the socio-cultural attitudes towards the women whilst they were alive.

The *Illustrated Police News* reflects such attitudes when narrating the final moments of the five women, who are typically drawn as walking the Whitechapel streets at night, meeting men in dark alleys or public houses, or in police custody. On the 20th of October, the *Illustrated Police News* explores "The History of the Last Victims of the Mysterious Monster of the East-End", specifically, the final moments of Elizabeth Stride and Catherine Eddowes. First, we see 'Long Liz' drinking with 'her friend 'one armed Liz'' in a public house (Anon, 20 October 1888). The next frame jumps to Liz later that evening in an embrace with a man in a dark alley that is plastered with police posters offering reward money for public information on Jack the Ripper. The couple are seen by a male witness, who is observing them from afar. Below, we see Liz's dead body lying on her back in the gutter while Jack the Ripper is seen running off into the night, knife in hand. Alongside this, we see illustrations of Catherine Eddowes being removed from a public house, found drunk in the streets by the police, and then placed in a holding cell to sober up earlier in the day. Upon her release, illustrations

show her, much like Liz, once again standing under the light of a streetlamp in a darkened London alleyway with 'The Whitechapel Monster'. The final image shows Eddowes' dead body mutilated and bleeding on the cobbled road of Mitre Square.

Similar illustrations of Nichols depict a perceived moral openness and promiscuity, who, in October 1888 was drawn speaking with a man in the doorway of a lodging house stating "I sharnt (*sic*) be long getting my bed money look at my smart bonnet" (Anon, October 1888). The illustration directly next to it shows "Fatal Bucks Row" (ibid) where Nichols' dead body lays mutilated on the ground. In the same publication Mrs Turner, who at the time was believed to be the Ripper's second victim, is drawn flirtatiously engaging with two soldiers in a public house with her friend. Both women are seen drinking alcohol. Surrounding this image, we see two illustrations, the first is of Turner's dead body "pierced with 39 wounds" (ibid). The image visibly displays numerous stab wounds, and she was clearly violently murdered. Below this, there is an illustration of Turner's stays (a fully boned lace bodice, similar to that of a corset) that had been pierced by the knife which strikingly alludes to the intimacy and penetrative nature of the violence inflicted upon the victims. In each of these illustrations we see clear attempts to relate the active behaviour of the women whilst alive with the brutality and violence of their deaths.

The true identities and histories of Nichols, Chapman, Stride, Eddowes, and Kelly were rendered irrelevant following their victimisation by Jack the Ripper, supplanted in favour of a construction that privileged moral judgments and the voyeuristic objectification (Mulvey, 1992) of marginal female bodies.

The 'disposability' of marginalised bodies

Whilst contemporary studies, such as Rubenhold's (2019), dispute the historical labelling of the Ripper victims as prostitutes, this dominant narrative very much defines the storytelling within the *Illustrated Police News,* and which served to "everlastingly freeze these women...into a singular identity" (Anwer, 2014: 435). Polly, Annie, Liz, Catherine, and Mary Jane were portrayed as marginalised women who lived in the heart of the East-End which, during the Victorian era, was commonly seen as "the embodiment of all that was rotten in England" (Rubenhold, 2019: 11). They sat firmly at the intersection of two profoundly disadvantaged social groups, women and the poor, and consequently after death their bodies were framed as 'other' by the media. Their bodies which in death had been so violently destructed were illustrated for public consumption. In nearly every image we see their bodies discarded as 'matter' by Jack the Ripper; abandoned powerlessly in the road or violated and obscured in their bed. The illustrations demonstrate a flagrant disregard for the humanity of the women, choosing instead to construct them as passive objects, rendered immobile by the weight of moral judgment and condemnation. They were constructed as disposable women whose bodies were laid bare for public scrutiny, yet this exposition was not purely one of sexual voyeurism but rather the illustrator documents, and simultaneously performs, acts of penetrative dissection.

In Sappol's (2002) *A Traffic of Dead Bodies*, he writes of the cultural obsession with anatomical dissections within the nineteenth century across America as well as parts of

Western Europe including England. Sappol argues that there existed a profound relationship between “anatomical acquisition, dissection, and representation of bodies [and] the making of professional, classed, sexed, racial, national, and speciated selves” (ibid: 1). To unpack this, the book contends that the surge in public and political interest throughout America in anatomical dissections was indicative of a growing appetite for knowledge of the human body, but more than this, it was bound up with the construction of a distinctly white, male, middle-class identity. Public anatomical dissection became a means of solidifying the authority of the medical profession and reinforcing its opposition to women and femininity. Typically, nineteenth century public dissections used bodily remains of some of the most marginalised individuals in society such as criminals, prostitutes, members of the black community, and manual labourers (ibid). For Sappol, “dissection, body snatching, anatomical iconography, and the history of anatomy were venues in which physicians staged rituals and exhibitions and told stories that constituted the profession as an authoritative cult, a male fraternity of dissectors” (ibid: 76), which, vitally, strongly contrasted the powerless, marginal identities of those they were cutting open. The identity of the dissector was thus relational; reliant upon the profound objectification and social ostracising of the bodies that were at their disposal. As Anwer writes, “behind every successful man is a decaying woman” (2014: 435).

Nineteenth century anatomical dissections of marginalised individuals were typically public affairs, where dissectors performed their 'craft’ and were eager to impress an audience who waited with bated breath to see inside the bodies of those identified as ‘other’. “As staged in sickbeds, medical colleges, professional journals, morgues, public school classrooms, graveyards, legislatures, courtrooms, novels and newspapers, anatomy was a cultural poetics” (Sappol, 2002: 8). Yet, dissection of such bodies can be seen as more than simply a demonstration of medical skill and technique, as these public displays of torn and sliced marginalised bodies became a form of “atrocity exhibition” (Penfold-Mounce, 2016: 21) that often embraced the gratuitous and pornographic. The inherent vulnerability of a corpse is only further compounded for the bodies of those who are marginalised, who, after death, were subjected to a violent attempt by white male, middle-class, elite to further “divide[…], colonize[…], and drain[…] of agency” (Sappol, 2002: 80). For the disadvantaged and socially ostracised, after death, their bodies were at heightened risk of acts of public destruction that served to further enhance the power of a growing elite; the strength of the anatomists and dissectors was fed by the physical and symbolic violence of posthumous undressing and dismembering (physically, emotionally, and morally). Unlike Victorian aristocrats who could request a *private* dissection after death[2], the bodies of the marginalised lacked agency and could not consent to their posthumous, public dissection; their powerless identity stripped them of any social status or empathy and as such their corpses became faceless objects, present purely to be fetishized and rendered disposable matter.

Disposability and invisibility are themes that dominate the images and narratives of Polly, Annie, Elizabeth, Catherine, and Mary Jane in the *Illustrated Police News*. Throughout the

[2] The bodies of aristocrats and the social elite were deemed important enough to warrant a medical examination in the interest of establishing a cause of death.

publications detailing their victimisation, the five women are very rarely named, referred more commonly as “The Murdered Woman” (Anon, 8 September, 1888), “The mutilated body” (Anon, 6 October, 1888), or “The Seventh Victim” such as with the death of Mary Jane Kelly (Anon, 17 November, 1888). By comparison, the papers frequently name and identify the occupation of male figures of ‘expertise’ who were working on the case including “Constable Neil”, “Dr Llewellyn”, and “Inspector Helston” (Anon, 8 September, 1888), to name only a few. Polly, Annie, Elizabeth, Catherine, and Mary Jane were bodies, devoid of identity and character; discarded by Jack the Ripper and left defenceless on Whitechapel streets and then portrayed as passive corpses and cadavers by the press who privileged representations of the women as open and lifeless. The *Illustrated Police News* constructs these five women as collateral damage, figures of disgust and titillation who were victimised by a ghoulish, mysterious male figure who continuously evaded a highly skilled, respectable male elite.

The identities of the five women were rendered irrelevant by comparison to the male figures who were portrayed as working tirelessly to find the perpetrator and bring him to justice. Thus, public outrage was less concerned with the deaths of five women who were mothers, sisters, and daughters and focused more on the fear that the lurking ghoul of Jack the Ripper incited. The *Illustrated Police News* constructs the women as very little other than corpses, the incidental bodies without whom Jack the Ripper would not have climbed to fame. Thus, their marginality, stemming as it did from their intersectional identities as women of a lower social class, rendered them as disposable ‘matter’ after death, and where they were visible, they were passive objects, very often even physically marginalised within the illustrated frame; cast aside and typically in the background or below male figures of the Victorian middle-class, white authorities.

Double-victimisation

These five women are so often discussed in relation to their shared identity as victims of Jack the Ripper, yet their experiences of victimisation did not cease after their deaths. The narratives told throughout Victorian media, but more specifically here in the representations of the *Illustrated Police News* exposed Polly, Annie, Elizabeth, Catherine, and Mary Jane to an additional means of victimisation. The ways in which the publication prioritised representations of the women as deceased bodies that were torn and open and discarded in public spaces or laid bare and bleeding in the mortuary under the watchful gaze of the anatomist serves a punitive function. The paper served as a means of moral instruction for Victorian citizens in need of deterrence or perhaps fear to be guided away from perceived morally ‘dubious’ lifestyles or behaviours. They were constructed as frightful reminders of the dangers of promiscuity, and whilst their label as prostitutes has recently been discredited, the impact of such harmful stigmas continues to be relevant as it defined their representation in the public press, which remains one of the most common means through which we can learn about and engage with these women even to this day. Their identities as marginalised ‘others’ continues due to the cultural afterlife of Jack the Ripper and the significance of these archives in the visual history of the criminal case.

Anwer writes of how the “Rippers ripping prefigures the process of slicing, opening up, and investigating the body during autopsy procedures” (2014: 437) and while the anatomical, medical dissection of the bodies is a dominant narrative within the publication, the *Illustrated Police News* itself extended this clinical dissection and further violates the women. Nicholls, Chapman, Stride, Eddowes, and Kelly experienced an additional layer of victimisation, this time posthumously, through the damning strokes of the illustrator. Much of the existing literature that examines the objectification and double victimisation of women's bodies after death, focuses on their representation in popular culture, for example in crime programmes such as Crime Scene Investigation (CSI) or Silent Witness (such as Nunn and Biressi, 2003; Tait, 2006; Foltyn, 2008; Penfold-Mounce, 2016). By comparison there is less research which examines this process in visual and narrative reports in real life historical criminal cases. Perhaps this can be somewhat attributed to a post-nineteenth century move away from seeing dead bodies and human corpses in news media. Nevertheless, the victimisation of women who are objectified and have their vulnerabilities commodified is a profoundly important area for criminological and thanatological investigation, especially in a criminal case whereby journalistic reporting and academic research has, for so long, focused on the male perpetrator and the power of male authorities to solve the crime. Women sit at the very heart of this case and, sadly, without their victimisation the spectre and mystery of Jack the Ripper would not exist, and so understanding who these women were and how they were visually represented and the narratives that were told about their lives and deaths, is in both the interest of gaining a fuller understanding of the case but also, of valuing their identities and experiences.

For Carney, “the modern photographic spectacle punishes in a performative way as part of a tradition of disfiguring image-punishment, a mode of virtual marking” (in Brown and Carrabine, 2017: 281). He goes on to argue that “we should extend the idea of the virtual mark to the circulation of traces in pamphlets, newspapers, as well as in the social murmur of gossip” (ibid: 286). It is hoped that this chapter has made a compelling case in support of Carney’s latter call and for the need to recognise the punitive powers of the media, but not only those that are characteristic of “the modern photographic spectacle” (Carney in Brown and Carrabine, 2017: 281), but of early media too. Print and visual discourses that monopolised on public understandings of criminal cases, that saturated the public consumption of crime news in a world without 24-hour information where information could be sourced from a myriad of global outputs. The *Illustrated Police News*, by comparison, had a relative monopoly and, as a result, it was able to define the narrative of these five women both in 1888 and frame their legacies during the centuries since. This narrative was one of disposability, marginalisation, and objectification.

Conclusion

In conclusion, there are four key arguments that this chapter has made. Firstly, it begins with the premise that there is a need to change the narrative focus of the Jack the Ripper case. Building on the work of Rubenhold (2019), this chapter puts the identities and experiences of Polly, Annie, Elizabeth, Catherine, and Mary-Jane at its very core and calls for greater recognition of their identities both in academic and public discourse. As part of this

mission, by examining the illustrations and representations of the five women within the *Illustrated Police News* publications, this chapter highlights their histories through a detailed visual and discursive analysis. The *Illustrated Police News* was the first British tabloid and while it undeniably gained momentum following the Jack the Ripper murders, by focusing simply on the elusive perpetrator, we obscure powerful insights into how the murders were handled by Victorian communities. By failing to examine these women, we limit ourselves to only a partial understanding of the events.

Secondly, this chapter has demonstrated the performative and punitive function of the publication. The *Illustrated Police News* served as a moral mechanism of Victorian England and thus was both used as a means of exercising the power and ego of the middle-class, white, male elite as well as being a means through which moral judgements were passed over the lifestyles and identities of marginalised and 'othered' communities. By illustrating the women, after death, as torn and open, the publication exposed them to an additional process of victimisation. After death, the women were largely denied respect or compassion from the public and the press, and instead, they were drawn as symbols of moral deviance and consequently objects for voyeurism and consumption by the reader.

Thirdly, in centring these visual representations of the women after death, this chapter demonstrates the role of the publication in commodifying marginalised individuals and corpses. The *Illustrated Police News* encourages the reader to view the women as 'matter', as disposable objects, and privileges a representation of them as open, both morally and bodily, and vulnerable. It functions as an extension of the anatomical gaze and medical dissections that gained such popularity during the Victorian era. Firstly, it validates the power of the clinical male elite, by prioritising representations of figures of medical and judicial authority, for example, frequently illustrating them at the forefront of the investigation. The crimes were very much framed through the actions and values of this privileged group. Secondly, in emphasising the corporeal, materiality of the women's bodies in the illustrations, the *Illustrated Police News* facilitates a public voyeurism of their corpses in much the same way theatres, classrooms, and medical colleges (and many more spaces) opened their doors to public dissections of marginalised bodies. The illustrator cuts through and exposes the bodies of Polly, Annie, Elizabeth, Catherine, and Mary-Jane in a process that is as much performative as it is punitive.

And finally, the chapter hopes to have demonstrated the value of investigating this historical case through visual methods (Carrabine, 2012; 2014; Rafter, 2014; Brown, 2017; Brown and Carrabine, 2017). The chapter contributes to the ever growing, valuable body of visual criminological research which focuses on understanding issues of crime, deviance, and punishment through visual methods such as images, videos, or artwork. By examining the visual representations of these five women within the *Illustrated Police News*, we can better understand the socio-cultural context in which they were living and also immerse ourselves in texts where these women are present. This is invaluable because in so many journalistic and academic discussions of Jack the Ripper, they are all too often side-lined and relegated invisible, in attempts to further romanticise the man that killed them.

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