Jack the Ripper and the New Phenomenon of Celebrity:
What Made Serial Killers Become Instant Media Sensations in the 19th Century

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**Introduction:**

Serial killers, murder, blood, and gore, these are things that fascinated the people of the 19th century. It seemed that death was something that grabbed the people and held on tight. What made something as gruesome as death so entrancing? Many explanations can be devised to explain this phenomenon, like how it was the newspapers and the media of the time that created this phenomenon, how it was the lack of the church in the everyday lives of the people that allowed for this new pastime to emerge like sensationalism. Another explanation was how criminals were becoming craftier while police were still working with outdated methods of deduction. One theory that greatly gets overlooked is how all of these factors and more interact with each other to create a “perfect environment” for the development of this hunger for death.

This research explores how the overall view about serial killers had shifted from one of sin to them becoming instant celebrities during the 1800’s. This change in view allowed for this phenomenon to emerge in society not only locally, but globally as well. The best case study to use is the study of Jack the Ripper. In particular, Jack the Ripper will be used as an example of how the events leading up to the Ripper murders, during the murders, and even a little after the murders, have shaped a sensationalism movement with Jack as the centerpiece. Jack the Ripper was a serial murderer that has gone down in infamy as one of the most gruesome murderers. In 1888, he was credited with the killings of five prostitutes in Whitechapel England. No matter how hard the police worked to find this criminal,
they never had any definitive evidence to link any of their suspects to the crimes. After five murders, Jack the Ripper disappeared from the public eye. While there was speculation that Jack never stopped killing, none of the murders after the original five could be confirmed as Jack the Ripper murders. Even to this day, Jack the Ripper is a shadowy figure who seems to continue to linger in the shadows of society. Because of this, Jack the Ripper is the perfect case study for this research since he seemed to be the first celebrity serial killer that took over the people’s minds. My research outlines the progression of events that occurred at the tail end of the 18th century through to the late 19th century, when Jack the Ripper struck, and somewhat into the 20th century.

At the beginning, it all started with religion and how, as time progressed, it began to impact society less and less. At the tail end of the 18th century, religion was woven into many parts of everyday life. From education to law, religion was used to explain it all. As time progressed and the printing press became more advanced, cheaper to manufacture books and newspapers, and the increase in efficiency in producing these products, religious texts weren’t being used in all aspects of life. As the 19th century continued on, different ideas were able to emerge that made religion not the main source for answers.

With religion taking a step back from every part of a person’s life, this allowed newspapers and publishing companies to come onto the scene and become a form of entertainment for the masses. Newspapers were not only used for entertainment, but also to help spread information faster and more accurately.
Before the mass production of newspapers, much of the information that people received was through letters from friends or family or through word of mouth. The two main issues with these methods of information spreading is that with information spreading by word of mouth, there is most likely going to be errors in the facts. Secondly, information in letters comes from one point of view. Because the information may not be objective or they might not have all the information to make the right conclusions, which is also an issue. With newspapers and the ease of the printing press, information could spread easier, faster, and more accurately then before.

After newspapers emerged onto the scene, a new type of writing was born: sensationalism. Sensationalism was a change from the traditional style of writing because it was meant to cause the audience to feel some powerful emotion, whether it was anger, happiness, or pain. A similar writing style was implemented that gave people a new way of looking at the events in their neighborhood. This style of fictional writing was being used for events occurring in their own neighborhood, like crimes or scandals. As time progressed, this caused people to ask new questions like who, what, when, where, and why. With these questions in hand, the people started asking their local authorities and government officials in an attempt to get them answered, but this leads to our next section.

While changes were occurring in religion and newspapers, one area that was still a little behind in the times was the way police officers conducted their investigations. Police were still being forced to use outdated investigation skills like
basic deduction and witness testimonies. While this made it harder for police to solve crimes, it wasn’t until the masses started asking questions that the police couldn’t answer that brought it to a head. As the questions started piling up, the people began taking matters into their own hands and interfering in the investigation. This made an already difficult situation for the police even worse.

These events working in concert with each other created a perfect environment for the rise of serial killers as celebrities. With religion not being in every aspect of people's lives, with new stories and information spreading easier and more accurately, and with the rise of sensationalism without a change in police investigation skills, serial killers being described like celebrities became a fascination that has only flourished throughout the ages. In this work, we will demonstrate how these events lead to the rise in serial killers as celebrities and how they all work together to create this perfect environment; not just one part.

**Religion:**

After studying the newspapers spanning from the late 18th century till the middle of the 19th century, religion became less of a focus in the everyday lives of the people. ¹Early on in history, the church and other religious activities dominated much of the everyday lives of people. During the early 18th century, religious newspapers were published that described murder as the “ultimate sin.” During this time, the main piece of literature read was the bible. In most households, the

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only book that they owned was the bible\(^2\). Printing presses at this time were very expensive and most information the people received was through word of mouth of their neighbors or letters from friends. As the information was passed from one person to another, the information got distorted and was no longer completely accurate. As time progressed and the printing press became more advanced, it meant that the products could be cheaper and more readily available to the masses. This meant that people didn’t have to keep reading the same stories from the bible over and over, but instead could fill what free time they had with reading for enjoyment. Since religion wasn’t as much a part of everyday life for the common person, this opened the door for sensationalistic stories to grab hold of the population\(^3\). Religion was a major part of the everyday lives of people in the 18th century, yet there was a decrease of religion’s influence during the 19th century, so this research will clarify exactly how the people explained what was occurring during the 19th century without religion as much as in the 18th century.

To understand how the idea of murder shifted in the minds of the people, it is important to look at the view of murder from the point of view of the Bible. Since much of America in the late 18th century practiced a form a Christianity, by looking at the Bible\(^4\), the original view of murder can be analyzed since, as stated earlier,

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\(^4\) “Search,” The International Bible Society, , accessed March 12, 2018, https://www.biblica.com/bible-search/?q=murder. This takes you to the International Biblical Societies website. After searching the site for the key term “murder,” many readings from the Bible appeared. For the Sake of simplicity, the
the Bible was passed down from one family member to another. After the turn of the 19th century and as the price to print papers decreased, information was able to spread easier, but it also gave people another piece of reading material. This meant that children didn’t only have to read the Bible to learn how to read and write. They were able to use newspapers and other books that would have been better suited to teaching children these skills. During this time, we also see that religious newspapers were not as numerous, while some newspapers still made reference to religion, it was certainly less prominent than before.

According to certain sections of the Bible like Exodus 20:13 and Deuteronomy 5:17, it states that “Thou shall not kill.” For those who committed murder, they committed a vile sin that was against God and his teachings. In other sections, murder was only permitted when it was to punish the original murderer. This was to allow them to be sent to judgement before God. Based on this view, it was very clear that murder was not looked upon fondly and was punishable by death. If Matthew is examined further, it clearly states that “For out of the heart come evil thoughts—murder, adultery, sexual immorality, theft, false testimony, slander. These are what defile a person; but eating with unwashed hands does not defile them.”

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5 Exodus 20:13 and Deuteronomy 5:17
6 Numbers 35:19 and Matthew 5:21
7 Matthew 15: 19 and 15:20
Based on the above passages, it is clear that murder was one of the most unforgivable sins that defiled a person's soul. This is the view of most people of the time because the Bible was used as a learning tool to teach children not only reading and writing, but moral lessons as well. The Bible uses stories like that of Cain and Abel to teach these morals, clearly pointing out how horrendous the crime of murder was and how people should not act.

While the story of Cain and Abel was most likely taught to children to teach them important values, if we dive deeper into this story, this story can show how murder was viewed and why it was considered one of the vilest sins a person could commit. Cain murdered his brother because he was jealous of him. After his mother Eve showered him with love and attention, he thought of himself as the favorite. However, when God preferred Abel’s gift over Cain’s, it was something he had never experienced before, so he began to hate his brother. To be the better brother again, he decided to take out the competition.

In this tale, Cain demonstrated many of the sins like greed, envy, murder, and pride. This would teach children that these were sins and that God would punish you like he did to Abel. Because Cain demonstrated these characteristics, it leads him to sin and be punished by God. Based on this observation of the interaction between Cain and God, it demonstrates murder was one of the horrendous crimes that one could commit because if someone did something so bad that God had to directly punish you, then you were truly evil. Most sins could have been absolved through penance, but if God had to directly punish the murderer, it
was quite obvious how horrendous this crime was. Based on this information, the people right before the 19th century must have seen murder as a massive sin that would bring God’s punishment down on whoever committed the sin.

By 1818, the shift was occurring where people were not using religion as much to answer their questions, but rather they used other methods of thought. In 1818, a court case took precedence by asking how do people classify a whale, is it a fish or something else? While this case doesn’t seem to be of any significance, this case demonstrates how the views of the people started to shift to less religious views and ideas, which is important to this research.

To understand how this case has any relevant information pertaining to this research, it is imperative to analyze how the people attempted to answer the question of what a whale was. When this question was asked, the people responded in different ways depending on their beliefs or their training/education. When a religious man was asked for his opinion, he answered that a whale was a fish because when God created the world, he created three types of creatures: fish, beasts, and birds. The people used a passage in Genesis as their proof because it read “After making man in His image, God gives to humanity it’s inheritance, declaring: have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth.” Based on this reading, it would seem that a what is a fish. However, others were asked for their opinions on the matter.

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Merchants, scientists, tradesmen, fisherman, and common people were also asked this question, but they answered the question in a few different ways. Some, like Captain Preserved Fish, said that it was not a fish because he had been a fisherman for many years and “the whale had no one character of a fish, except that it lives in the water.”

To bring all of this information back to the research at hand, this clearly demonstrated a shift in thinking. If this question was posed to the people before the turn of the century, a whale would have most likely been called a fish because of the Biblical reasoning. This is because, while the question wouldn’t have changed, what was different was the information the people had access to. With the printing press allowing for the spread of information easier, it allowed other ideas to spread and other teachings. If these teachings were not available, then it would stand to reason that the people would have used the logic given to them from the Bible because that would have been the best way they could support their ideas and it was a socially acceptable answer. However, in the early 19th century, religion in newspapers was decreasing and more questions surrounding the present world and the murders within it began to swirl around in the minds of the citizens.

As time progressed and technology with the printing press continued to advance, it is clear that religion was becoming less of the primary focus. With religion falling into the background, the people were looking for other ways to explain these treacherous crimes. So as time progressed, it is no wonder that the

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people asked questions that weren’t being asked before. Since religion was supposed to be the answer to all their problems, without it, new ideas began to be accepted and it allowed an opening for sensationalism to develop.

**Newspapers:**

During the late 18th century, the printing press became one of the most popular inventions. When the printed word became more accessible to the masses, it allowed people to obtain more accurate information faster and easier. During this time, most cities and towns had at least one printing press. People were beginning to be able to branch out from just having the Bible and the religious stories that they grew up with, to more interesting stories about events in their own community.

Newspapers are a great source for historians to use in order to see what the people were interested in during that time because newspaper presses were trying to get the most people possible to buy their papers. As time progressed, newspaper companies began to saturate the area, so in order to keep their readers, they had to cater to what the people wanted to read more about. With the people looking for new writings, newspapers allowed for the rise of sensationalism. Before this time, religion was about obligation and a form of entertainment since books were so expensive. Most of the time, family Bible was the only book a family would have and it would get passed down from generation to generation. When newspapers began to print stories cheaper, sensationalism was able to take off because it was new and captured the mind of the population.
As stated earlier, with the market being saturated with numerous printing companies, each one of them had to do something or have something that no other company had. Each paper was trying to get confidential information so that they could one up the other. Many papers were criticizing the police, while other leaked details from the crime scene like the name of the victim, what her remains looked like, or what they overheard the police say at the crime scene. However, this was at the time of the murders, with history, there is a progression of events that led up to this point, so to actually show how the phenomenon surrounding serial killers changed from one part of the century to the next, the older newspapers from the beginning of the century need to be compared to the newspapers from later on.

To analyze newspapers, one method is just to look at the obvious differences between the different years leading up to the Jack the Ripper Murders and compare them to newspapers during and after the murders. Not only that, but to see how this phenomenon translates over various geographical locations, newspapers from both England and America will be compared. While some these are papers from America, one fact that needs to be understood is that based on evidence in these papers, this shift from more religious views to modern views was not just an isolated event.

Figure one is a paper from The Independent Gazetteer in Philadelphia Pennsylvania and was printed on June 29th of 1793\(^1\). This newspaper is over seventy years older than the Advocate, which is another paper that will be

\(^{11}\) The Independent Gazetteer (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), June 29, 1793.
analyzed, so the differences can be better analyzed. Since both newspapers are from what could be described as large cities with similar audience types, they can be compared without much undue influence. In figure one, the headings for the articles seems to be in a handwritten style, as compared to figure two which is more of a type writing script. This evidence shows that as technology improved, they were able to create a clearer script that would be easier to read. While most people in the late 18th century were literate, by evolving the type style to a clearer font, it made it easier for more people to read the paper which helped the newspaper sell more copies.

Figure two demonstrates a newspaper from 1871. More commonly, it was known as the Advocate, but another name for it was the Christian Advocate\textsuperscript{12}. This paper was printed seventeen years before the Ripper murders and it’s clearly not anything like what would be expected. This looks like the type of paper that people would most likely walk past because it didn’t grab their attention. However, if we look at this cover page, it is clear that technology had advanced for the printing press because at the top of the page, there is a small picture of the Christian cross, which is a religious symbol. This seems to be the papers logo; so it stands to reason that the newspaper would print this on all cover pages of their papers. If it was too costly to produce the picture for all copies of the paper for the demand, they wouldn’t have printed it. After looking at figure two, we see that it doesn’t have anything to do with murder. It starts with a poem, then it talks about everyday

\textsuperscript{12} The Christian Advocate (Buffalo, New York), August 10, 1871.
events, like public service announcements. It didn't have any important information about local crimes, almost like an opinion section of a current newspaper. This shows that while sensationalism was a part of the community, it didn't push religion completely out of the scope of the people since a newspaper still exists that used religious writing styles even in 1871. While this seems like a contradiction to the argument in this work, it actually is not since this was one of only a handful of religious papers found to be in print at the time. The rest of the newspapers found that were printed at this time focused more on sensationalist writing styles and not religious.

On Sun, Nov 21, 1830, a newspaper from London England named the Observer, was one of the most popular newspapers for the area, published an article called, “The Late Murder on Labeth.” In this article, the columnist describes how two months ago, a murder was committed and police were still trying to solve it. However, the way the piece is written, it seems to be more of a fictional story. The murder in the newspaper was described as “a murder wrapped in mystery.” This seems very fitting and would definitely grab the attention of many readers, but the words on the page cannot be the only information analyzed. By analyzing not only the words but the way the paper looks and the information surrounding it, we can get a clearer picture as to what people of this time thought of murderers. In this particular edition, the article is written on the third page. It seems rather unnecessary to state this fact, but in truth, it is important for historians to examine

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13 Figure 3 is a digital scan of this source. Please see the figures at the end for reference.
this piece of evidence. Editors are most likely going to put stories that the people really want to read about on the cover of the edition. This way, they could sell as many papers as possible since it is on a topic people would want to know more about. Because this article is buried in the fourth column on the third page, the placement makes it seem like, while it was an interesting story worth printing, it wasn’t considered to be the main focus of society. This makes sense because in the 1830’s, sensationalist stories of fiction were grabbing the attention of many readers, so this could explain why this piece was written like a piece of fiction, but because the paper almost buried it, it seems like the atmosphere had not reached that “perfect environment,” but was being primed for it.

Another key piece of information that can be taken just from the aesthetic of the newspaper was the lack of a photograph in figure one as compared to figure two. While figure two only has a small photo at the very top of the page, we don’t see anything even like that in figure one. It seems that the words themselves are the artwork that the paper used. It was because in the late 18th century, it was still expensive and time consuming to publish photographs in newspapers, so they did not publish any pictures unless the picture was necessary. When the technology became available to produce pictures at a reasonable price and made it so the newspaper could still make a profit, they started to publish photographs more. As time continued, we see that even the pictured they published became more intricate and detailed as compared to the earlier photographs.
Then, if we compare to figure one to figure two, we can see some differences more clearly in regards to the type setting used and the design. Figure two is much different than figure one. While the newspaper from 1793 is clearly from the earlier days of printing based on the script and the information within the papers, this shows that as time progressed and technology progressed, the environment in which these papers were being published was also progressing toward a more sensational type of writing style. This is a clear example of how the environment was being primed for the rise of serial killers as celebrities, even before the turn of the century.

Fast forward to January 1st of 1860, we see something a little different in regards to the setup of the newspapers. While these articles are on page seven, we see that there are more stories pertaining to death and gore then before. Recall in the Figure three, the murder was tucked in amongst stories that we wouldn’t consider to be of any interest to the masses. However, in figure four, we see that a majority of the stories are about murder, suicide, or different forms of death. While this is a major step up for murder since more stories are being written on it, one fact that still cannot be ignored is the fact that it is on page seven. This means that even though we do see the increase in the number of stories printed on this subject, because it is printed on page seven, it shows that we are still in the priming phase and that murderers are not yet breaking through the wall into being celebrities.

A few months before the Jack the Ripper murders began in 1888, murder seems to be more organized in a modern way. In the July 3th, 1888 issue of The
Times newspaper, we see an article pertaining to murder\textsuperscript{14}. While this is an English paper, they are writing about a murder that occurred in Ireland. Apparently, in Kerry, a man was murdered back in January. What seems strange about this article is that we see a shift in writing styles. While before we saw murder being written like a fiction story, here it is what can be considered a more modern style of writing since the piece gives us more of the facts surrounding the case and what each person did rather than create a story similar to the style of Edgar Allan Poe. This shows that stories like this were still in the general public's interest. The major difference was that the people didn’t just want another story, but the details surrounding it like the who, what, when and where. Based on this news clipping and a few others from England and America, it is clear that the “perfect environment” needed for serial killers to become celebrities has almost been reached and the only thing left is a killer to break through the glass and grab headlines.

After looking at the aesthetics, the content of the articles is the next step to analyze in newspapers. As we read the cover page of figure one, we see that murder and death aren’t even on the front page. The closest thing that the newspaper addresses as a crime is wine. While murder and death aren’t front page material in this newspaper, it just means that either the people of the time didn’t want/ need stories of murder at that time, or were still more focused on religion since we see “the family prayer” and stories about what it means to be a good Christian. Again, while these are papers from America, we see a similar progression in England,

\textsuperscript{14} The Times (London, England), July 4\textsuperscript{th}, 1888. See figure 5
where the Jack the Ripper murders were occurring. In figure four, the article about the murder on Labeth was tucked in between articles discussing funding, governmental appointments, and the fact that a ship made port. None of these are very interesting stories to the general public, but are more to cater to certain people like merchants, government officials, or people who want this information specifically. This demonstrates again how the environment was working toward serial killers being turned into celebrities, but they weren’t quite there yet. It seems like figure three is the only one in this example that even mentions death in a way similar to modern day newspapers. However, this source can still give us valuable insight because even after over twenty years have gone by, Jack the Ripper was still discussed and talked about even though he was no longer committing murders (as far as what the evidence can prove).

Shifting to 1910, figure six is clearly a newspaper meant to catch the eye and pull in the audience so they would buy the paper. Figure six is a paper that was published in Chicago, Illinois\(^\text{15}\). Even though the murders occurred in Whitechapel England, this figure clearly demonstrates several key facts that cannot be ignored. One, Jack the Ripper was still a headline story even over twenty years after the murders were committed. With murder was still on the brain for most of the population, Jack the Ripper was feeding the hunger that had grown in people.

Something important to also take note of was that newspapers in America were printing stories about Jack the Ripper. This demonstrates that this is not just

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\(^{15}\) The Inter Ocean (Chicago, Illinois), March 27, 1910. See figure 6 for reference.
an isolated phenomenon. As time progressed, newspapers in America were publishing information on Jack the Ripper. While this seems rather odd for a foreign country to document an event like this, it tells us that this phenomenon was impacting people on a larger scale. This can be attributed to the fact that newspaper could be sent over the ocean and information wouldn’t be changed as easily because the story was printed. Based on this information, it is clear that the celebrity serial killer wasn’t just a temporary change that had an expiration date, but it was a new way of seeing murder on a more global scale.

While this figure six is clearly different from the previous figures, the main components that can be taken from the paper is the types of displays the audience wanted to see. The Jack the Ripper's murders were committed in 1888 and this paper was printed only 22 years later. Not only does it demonstrate how the technology surrounding the printing press grew more advanced, but also how people craved to know more about the murders themselves. Figure six is an artist’s rendering of one of the murders. It is clear that the shadowy figure is the murderer disappearing back into the shadows after committing the crime and the woman lying on the ground is his helpless victim. One strange trait in many pictures published in the papers is that women were always depicted in a similar way. The women were beautiful figures that are lying on the ground as if asleep. When you display all of these figures side by side, it is clear that as the technology continued to advance for the printing press, newspapers were able to feed the audience more stories of gruesome murders and blood. While figure six is after the Jack the Ripper
murders occurred, it clearly demonstrates that even though twenty-two years have gone by, the people were still curious as to who Jack the Ripper was and why he committed the murders. While Scotland Yard never solved the murders and the former chief of police does explain his experience with the murders, it simply wasn’t enough to satisfy the people.

One critical piece of information that cannot be overlook when murders are examined is how the newspapers reported on the murders. One of the best examples is how Jack the Ripper used newspapers to his advantage and how the newspaper companies criticized the police. Jack the Ripper used the newspapers to create chaos and added to the sensationalist movement. Many people wrote to the local papers claiming to be Jack the Ripper, but most were hoaxes that the general population wrote to the newspaper companies just for fun. Three letters are said to be really from Jack the Ripper. This letters are set apart from the others because they reveal details that only the police, mortician, and Jack the Ripper would know. These letters were taunting the police officer’s efforts to solve the crime and how they were miserably failing. This helped create a population that felt their authorities were incompetent and unable to solve the murders. With these letters, Jack the Ripper talks about the kidney he removed from one of his victims and ate it, how he is too clever for the police to possibly be able to catch him, and how “saucy Jack” can outsmart the police. With these letters, newspapers were able to give the people exactly what they wanted, a link to the inner workings of the killer’s mind.
These letters are displayed as figures seven to nine\textsuperscript{16}. However, these aren't the only things that the printing companies published.

**Sensationalism:**

In order to understand this section, it is imperative to take a step back and look toward the beginnings of the century. As the availability of newspapers increased and more newspaper companies emerged, there was a saturation in many places. In large cities, it was not uncommon for twenty newspaper companies to serve the same population. This increase competition between companies lead to newspaper editors and staff to try and find ways to keep their readers loyal to them. While they could slash the price of the paper, it would most likely eat into their bottom line and their profits. Because most companies would not dare impact how much money they would make, the editors instead tried to out due the other with the material they published. This lead to fictional stories being published and not so much articles pertaining to religion. Because religion was no longer taking over every sphere of an individual's life, the companies were able to turn their attention to a new style of writing that captured the reader's attention; sensationalism\textsuperscript{17}.

Sensationalism is the use fiction stories to elicit an emotion response like anger or fear\textsuperscript{18}. While this definition is a little vague for our purposes, it can be

\textsuperscript{16} These letters were accessed using an online casebook for Jack the Ripper. See Bibliography for casebook location.
\textsuperscript{17} Karen Haulttunen, Murder most foul: the killer and the American Gothic imagination (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).
understood better through Haulttunen’s book *A Murder Most Foul*. In a few sections of her book, she describes how sensationalism had evolved from sensation and how it continued to evolve in the early 19th century. One main component, like the Merriam-Webster definition, is that it elicits a sense of fear or strong emotion. In Haulttunen’s book, she goes further and states that in 1801, William Wordsworth expanded the term by stating that it was “a craving for extraordinary incident and degrading outrageous situation.”\(^{19}\) However, another key piece of information when defining sensationalism is the fact that the observer feels that they are safe and not in the line of fire.\(^{20}\) With Haulttunen’s sources and the evidence showing the progression of the term, it is clear that as the phenomenon changed, people started changing the term to fit the events that were occurring during their lifetime. This progression of the term also demonstrates that the people were growing more interested in events that were “extraordinary” or “outrageous” for the simple fact that the term exists. The reason a term continues through the years, is that it evolves and is still relevant to the current society, so with the evidence and evolution surrounding sensationalism, it is clear that this was an idea that continued to linger on the minds of the people.

For sensationalism to take root in society, it is important to remember that it had to have been given the opportunity. As stated in the newspaper and religion

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sections of this piece, religion was starting to fall from the foreground of people’s mind and newspapers started to become more widely accessible. With more people needing something for entertainment, newspapers began to cater to the public by employing writers who created sensationalist stories. One of these writers was Edgar Allan Poe, who wrote stories, like “The Tell-Tale Heart”, “The Pit and the Pendulum”, and “The Cask of Amontillado”. While his work didn’t make him fabulously wealthy during his lifetime, his stories help mark when sensationalism was taking root because, while he didn’t have a large following during his life, his stories did start picking up momentum in 1835, although he died before he became famous. This combination of events led to a growth in the demand for sensationalist stories and lead to an increase in the desire for stories with blood and gore.

After the people got a taste of these sensationalistic stories, they wanted more stories about their neighbors and about events in their community. By 1836, we see that the people wanted to see what was occurring in their communities more and not just stories that were a work of fiction. In 1838, when Hellen Jewett was murdered, we see a start of the thirst the people had for these type of stories. Hellen (or also known as Ellen) Jewett was a prostitute from lower Manhattan that was found dead one morning in 1838. While murder has been a part of the world for a long time, when the murder of Ms. Jewett hit the papers, the people were clamoring for more information and newspapers were happy to provide it. Based on the stories

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from Hellen’s life and the pictures of artist’s renderings that were being published in the press at the time, it is clear that the audience was shifting away from Christian ideals at this time and moving toward a more critical analysis of murder. This was when people started taking these sensationalism stories and asking the questions like who, when, and why.

Based on the information above, the progression of events seems to be that sensationalism took off when newspapers were able to expand, then the demand for new stories other than those from the Bible increased. After that, demand seemed to increase for more sensationalist stories based more in reality than fiction. Because of this, stories like Helen Jewitt’s took off since the next logical step from fictionalized sensationalized stories is sensational stories based in the real world\textsuperscript{22}. After following this progression, we see that Jack the Ripper was the next step because he took murder to the next level.

The main question that will be addressed is how the phenomenon surrounding serial killers has celebrities changed. While sensationalism brought murder into a new light, it was kept in the light though sensationalism. Whether it be the fascination with murder or with the murderer itself, murder was changing into its own entity, where religion wasn’t needed to explain why someone became a murderer. Rather, this is most likely where questions as to “why” and “who” really started to take off. After the Ripper cases, murder seems to be propelled to the

front of everyone’s mind. In figure six, we clearly see that even though Jack the Ripper didn’t have a murder attributed to him since the first five from Whitechapel 1888, he still was on everyone’s mind. Even in the 1910 newspaper, the people were still asking questions about the murders like “where did the police go wrong?” If these weren’t the questions that weren’t on the people’s mind, then it wouldn’t make sense for the newspapers to write a story about it over twenty years after the 1888 Whitechapel murders.

This describes why Jack the Ripper was such a sensation for the time. While murder was clearly on the mind of people during this time, murder was also something that had been occurring for centuries. Not only this, but the murders occurred in Whitechapel. Whitechapel, England was considered to be the slums, so when the wealthy or the aristocracy went there for the evening, it was considered “slumming it.” Murder, theft, and drugs were not uncommon in this area, so the main question that will answered in this section is why was another murder in Whitechapel such an important event? In order to answer this question, it needs to be stated that Jack the Ripper was the embodiment of a sensationalistic story.

Murder was covered in the newspapers of the time because it was considered to be sensational. Haulttunen describes how people during this time period were entranced with the “pornography of violence,” and how blood, gore, and death were becoming an interest to the common person23. The Jack the Ripper murders held all

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of the above with one more critical detail: the audience wasn’t in direct harm unless they were a prostitute in Whitechapel. After a pattern started emerging where Jack the Ripper was only targeting prostitutes, it most likely made the rest of the public feel like they had some sort of protection against him because they were not prostitutes. In the beginning of this section, it was clear that a major part of a sensationalistic story is that the audience still gets the high from the gore without actually being in harm's way.

Newspapers allowed for this “shield” to protect the general public. Because newspaper companies were all trying to “get the scoop” or find out the latest information pertaining to the Jack the Ripper murders, the general public was able to get their fix for death, while still being safely tucked away from the true dangers of the murders. This is further corroborated by the fact that no credible witnesses could be found for the murders. While the public was interfering with the investigation, there were police around. The public wasn’t roaming the streets at night looking for the murderer, rather they were reading about the murders in the local newspapers and then going to the police with their ideas or complains about how the police were handling the murders, there was no evidence that anyone other than a prostitute was murdered. This again furthers the idea that Jack the Ripper was a sensationalist story because the public could play the modern equivalent of “Who did it?” without actually getting in the line of fire.

Next, the actual details of the crime gave the murders their sensationalist characteristics. The hallmark characteristics of a sensationalistic story is (1) there
was vast amounts of mutilation to the victim, (2) the act itself was violent and considered a horrendous act, (3) the act made the “audience” feel a powerful emotion like pain or anger, and (4) the general public still felt shielded from the event. These characteristics of sensationalism were taken from the reasoning and definitions stated earlier in this section.

While some stories may or may not have one or a combination of these characteristics, the Jack the Ripper murders had all four. When the autopsy files of the victims were seen by the public, it was clear that there was a great amount of mutilation to the victims. The victims of Jack the Ripper were opened and had, what could be best described as, a premature autopsy. The victims were cut open and some of their organs were removed. While some innards were still at the scene, just moved to either the bedside table or closer to their head, some parts were missing from the victims. Not only were the victims “autopsied” by the murderer, but some of the victim’s faces were violently beaten. It was clear that whoever Jack the Ripper truly was, he was escalating in his brutality. At the time of the crime scene investigations, photographs of the victims were taken. After examining the photos of Catherine Eddowes and Mary Kelly, it is clear that the mutilation and beating of the victims’ bodies and faces showed that the murderer was feeling powerful emotions that drove his actions. It was not clear what those emotions were; these acts could be described as acts of hatred or pleasure. If Jack had an extreme hatred for prostitutes, the mutilation he inflicted on the victims faces and bodies can be described his hatred bubbling over until he released it. Then again,
Jack could have been receiving some sort of pleasure from the mutilations. As stated earlier, serial killers escalate in their mutilations, so with this being the case, it would be like an adrenaline junkie who jumps out of a plane for the first time compared to the thousandth time. During the first jump, the person would feel a high or rush that would excite them and give them pleasure. However, after the thousandth time, that high dissipates and so, the person needs to up the ante and escalate the act. If Jack the Ripper was feeling pleasure when he was committing the murders, this would explain why he was escalating in brutality.

Next, the act itself was considered a horrendous act. While Whitechapel, as stated earlier, was no stranger to pain and brutality, dismembering a person’s body wasn’t a common day occurrence. With this murder being so much more gruesome than murders that were previously committed and recorded in the newspapers, it is clear that while horrendous, it still fed the hunger that the general public had for these gory, sensationalistic stories. Newspapers were writing the accounts of the murders with whatever facts they could find so then they had some detail that the other papers didn’t have which drove their sales. By taking pictures of the crime scene and the bodies of the victims, it not only described the dismembering, but it showed the public the act\(^\text{24}\). This was a stark change to previous years because most pictures that were published pertaining to a murder was an artist rendering and they always showed the woman as a helpless victim, almost as if she was sleeping.

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\(^{24}\) Figure 10 is a picture taken at the crime scene of Mary Kelly as accessed through the casebook of Jack the Ripper. (See bibliography). It clearly shows the brutality of the crime.
No blood would be on the ground and no visible wound would be depicted. With photographs being published and the general public being able to see the crime scene, not just read about it. This made these acts of murder more gruesome because there is a difference between reading or hearing about a murder than seeing it or the aftermath with your own eyes.

Another aspect to these murders is how the general public responded to them. These were not murders that became known and then drifted from everyone’s mind; the story of Jack the Ripper and his victims lingered even into the modern age and a large reason for this is because of the fact that they made the audience of any time feel some sort of powerful emotion. During the murders, some of the emotions felt were anger and fear, but also curiosity and worry. Whether it was toward the murderer himself or the police for how they responded to the murders, the general public felt some emotion because of this case.

Toward the police, they felt anger and worry. After all, these were the men who were charged with protecting them and keeping them safe. With a crazed murderer on the loose clearly growing more violent with each victim he takes, the public hoped that the police and their officials/p people in power would do something to stop the murderer. As the victims started to stack up, the fear seemed to grow more and more alone with the worry that the people who were supposed to be looking out for their wellbeing were not doing their jobs, but letting it slide because the victims were “just prostitutes from the slums.” What is interesting is that the first forensic laboratory was created in 1910. It is clear that from *The Independent*
*Gazetteer*, Jack the Ripper was still on the mind of the general public, so was it because of these murders that the modern day forensic techniques were devised to prevent this from happening again; this seems to be the case especially since the timings seem to line up and it would also take time for these new techniques to be discovered. What is also critical to state was that the Jack the Ripper murders because more of a mystery after the 5 murders that were originally attributed to him. For years after, many of the murders that were occurring were thought to be by Jack. This made the public even more fearful because there were stories of him even moving to America and continuing his killing spree there. While there is no definitive evidence of this, this also adds to the mystery surrounding Jack the Ripper because after the original five, no one really knows what became of Jack or even who he was, which seems to only help add to the endurance of his story.

Finally, the general public was shielded from the event. While this seems strange that the public could have been shielded from the murders, what is relevant is how the audience felt and if they felt like they were shielded from these murders. While it is clear that just because the newspapers reported about the murders, it didn’t end them, it did shield them other ways. One way that the general public felt shielded was probably because the papers gave background information on the victims of Jack the Ripper. Because the commonalities between the victims were the facts that they were prostitutes from the Whitechapel district and none of the victims were part of the general public but instead “outsiders,” this most likely gave the audience a distancing factor. By being able to say “that could never happen to
me” it lulled the general public into a small sense of safety. With Jack the Ripper’s victims all being prostitutes, the public most likely made the assumption that he would keep killing prostitutes and as long as you weren’t one, you were safe. While it is impossible to say for certain whether the public as a whole agreed with this idea, it is safe to say it could have been a possible scenario because the public didn’t stop going to crime scenes and interfering with the investigation. In fact, as the investigation went on longer, the public became more of a detriment to the investigation. This shielding that the victims common “career” path gave them most likely gave them a false sense of security where they felt it was okay to try and solve the mystery; because Jack wouldn’t come after them.

Another way that the public could have felt shielded from the murders was because of the shift in writing style during the 18th century. As stated in the religion and newspaper sections, newspapers were employing writers to write sensationalistic fiction stories for the general public. These were replacing religious stories and religious ways of interpreting events in their community. By writing about a real event in a sensationalist manner, it almost makes the story about Jack the Ripper turn into a work of fiction. By doing this, the reader can say “It’s just a story,” even though it really happened and was a true event. Because it was written very similar to a fiction story, the line could have been blurred slightly between what was fact and what was fiction, but the outcome was still the same: the public felt shielded from the events that were part of their community by disassociating themselves with the victims or this story and works of fiction.
It is clear that sensationalism had a large part to play in the way the murders of Jack the Ripper are remembered. It helped shape a generation that shifted form tradition views and practices to a more hands on approach. While it had a major role, it is imperative to state here that sensationalism wasn’t the only factor in the way the Jack the Ripper murders were remembered and how Jack became an instant celebrity. Religion still had to lose some of its importance and newspapers had to grow more advance before sensationalism could take the stage in this mysterious murder spree.

**Police Investigation Skills:**

When it comes to the detectives and the investigators who were in charge of conducting the investigation of the Jack the Ripper murders, many people from the time felt that the police didn’t do enough to prevent the killings and catch the bad guy. In the newspapers from that time, we see that the people were starting to get restless about the continued murders after the second murder. From the beginning of the murders, we see contamination of evidence by civilians and police officers, removing of evidence, and a lack of leadership during the investigation. All these factors lead to police officers staying one step behind the killer. While many of the problems the police had to deal with was the lack of effective forensic technology, there were still tactics that the police could implement to protect the crime scene, like isolate it from the public and keep it isolated for a day or two, and gather evidence, like not just looking for the obvious, but what is missing from the scene as well. While these tactics could have helped the police in their investigation, these
tactics were not utilized. One fact that is important to state however is that it was not all the police’s fault.

One point that should be stated in the defense of the police is that investigative procedures and tactics are always lagging behind the criminals. Many newspapers in 1888 were criticizing the police; calling the police incompetent and discrediting how the police were conducting the investigation, but the police could only work with the tools they had. In the 19th century, DNA analysis and fingerprinting was not common practices. The first forensic laboratory was not invented until 1910 by Edmond Locard in France. Since police didn’t have access to the technology that can be considered standard equipment for an investigation, much of the cases that police officers had could only be solved through eyewitness testimony and the information they gained from looking at the crime scene with the naked eye. When the Jack the Ripper murders were being committed, the community was in a perfect environment for sensationalism and this made people ask questions that the police had a hard time answering. Without many credible witnesses and very little evidence that they could detect, it was almost impossible for the police to come up with any reasonable explanation to who Jack truly was.

Technology from the 19th century was clearly not as advanced as the technology that is used today. Police investigations leading up to and during the Jack the Ripper murders were about what investigators could detect on their own.

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26 John D. Wright, Criminal investigation: evidence, clues, and forensic science (Bath: Parragon, 2007). Pg. 32-33
One example is when the police were examining the bodies after they were discovered, they didn’t take fingerprints or DNA evidence to take back to the lab to analyze. The police on the case looked at the way the incisions on the body were. This includes, but is by no means limited to, the location of the cut, the length and edges of it, and the marks left by the tool used to make the cut. Because the police saw that the incision was in the proper position for the missing organs and it was performed very similarly to that of an operation, they concluded that the murderer must have had some sort of medical training or has worked with the anatomy of a human, possibly as a doctor.

Another example comes from the letters that were sent by Jack the Ripper himself. In the “Dear Boss” letter, we see that the killer is mocking the police, explaining how they will never catch him and how he laughed when “they looked so clever and talked about being on the right track.” This is a sign that he feels comfortable committing these murders because he won’t be found out. This could mean that the murderer has never been arrested before and is most likely not part of the lower class that normally prowls Whitechapel. This skill is called deduction and before modern technology, it was all that the police had to go by in their investigations. By analyzing what the murderer is doing, they can come up with a profile for who they believe the murderer to be. While this is still a tool used today, machines have become the major tool used in police investigations.

Right from the beginning of the murders, we see the people who came across the body and the police making mistakes that would make modern forensic
specialists cringe. When the first victim was found by two men walking down the street, they touched the body to cover her up and made her more modest, than they told the next police officer they saw and he check the body as well. Without modern investigative tools and procedures, these men couldn’t have known that by touching the body, they were destroying or contaminating evidence. While their intentions were good that they wanted to allow the woman to keep some of her dignity, by changing the position of the body and her clothes, it makes it harder to retrace the events of the murder, which can help police find the criminal. As stated earlier, the police only had the evidence that they could detect with the naked eye. By changing the position of her clothes and her body, they were erasing evidence that the police could have used to get a better picture as to who the killer was.

Not only were the police handicapped by the technology they had access to during this time, but the police also had to control the public. According to research done by Philip Sugden, “crowds gathered around the mortuary, and about the police stations in Commercial street, Leman street, and Bethnal Green27.” Because the people were virtually creating a blockade, making the police fight to even lead the precincts, they had a hard time just getting to the scene before the evidence was contaminated. While it was one thing to read about the gruesome details and to see an artist rendering, the appetite of the people continued to expand to the point where they were going and interfering with the police investigation. In order to keep the peace and to attempt to solve the crime without disruption from the public,

the police had to work fast and take in as many details as possible as quickly as possible since the people were going to the police for answers, but they were actually becoming a detriment to the investigation without realizing it. Afterward, the police allowed the crime scene to be cleaned after only one quick look around. By the police being under so much pressure to solve the case and to keep the peace, it was a detriment to their efforts.

During the murderous killing spree, we see evidence being disregarded because of the lack of technology and because the police were thinking more about the public interfering then what they were looking at. Two prime examples were the writing on the wall and the leather apron.

At one of the murder scenes, when police arrived, they found writing on the wall near the body of the victim. While some officers wrote down what was written, they never took a picture of the writing. When the person “leading” the investigation saw how the general public was reacting to the murders, it seemed that his main objective was to control the public, not control the crime scene and make sure all the evidence was protected. Because of his need to control the population, he had the writing scrubbed off the wall. By scrubbing the writing off the wall, yes the public wouldn’t see it and stir into a frenzy, but they could have found out so much from this piece of evidence. By analyzing the spelling of the writing, what was used to write the message, and what the message actually said, they could have found out critical information about the killer like his education level, his emotional and mental status, and maybe what his ethnicity was. Because
this evidence was not properly documented, there is some debate as to what it said. As stated earlier, some wrote down what they saw, however, without a photograph of the actual writing, it is almost impossible to use this as evidence since so many versions of the writing are different because each officer saw something a little different when what another saw.

Another example is when the police found a leather apron near the body of one of the victims. This was the piece of evidence that gave Jack the Ripper his original nickname. Before the letters were sent to the newspapers, the murderer was called leather apron. It wasn’t until the letters became public information did everyone start calling the murderer, Jack the Ripper. This clearly shows how the perspective of people changes the course of history. However, the really critical bit was that the police didn’t realize that the apron was connected to the murders until they saw the leather apron again emerge at another Jack the Ripper crime scene. When they saw that similar evidence was appearing at the different crime scenes, they realized that this was how the murderer was able to walk away from each gruesome murder without arousing suspicion from passersby. The police used their skills at deduction and realized that the murderer would have had the blood of his victims on him and so, couldn’t just walk the streets covered in blood. By wearing the apron, he was able to butcher the women, then simply wipe his hands in the apron to remove the blood and walk away. This way, when he was done, he wouldn’t be seen with blood on him and could easily slip back into the general population. This evidence also led police to believe that because the murderer wore a leather
apron, this meant that he was a butcher or a doctor. The main issue here however was if they hadn’t disregarded the leather apron the first time it was found, would they have made this connection much faster and may have they been able to catch the killer?

While these examples could be seen as inexcusable, one question that begs to be answered is where was the lead investigator when all this was happening. During the investigation, the lead investigator was away from Whitechapel. Dr. Robert Anderson was appointed to the post of commissioner when the previous commissioner was removed from office. However, his doctor asked him to leave because he was suffering from exhaustion and needed rest. As commissioner, it was his job to see that the crime was properly investigated and handled with the utmost care28. Without that leadership however, the investigators were just scrambling to try and solve the crime without someone to direct their efforts. This left investigators all following their own instincts and use their own judgements on a case that was making headlines in most newspapers.

When police were going to a crime scene, they had to worry about controlling the general public. Because newspapers were becoming more widespread and they were printing stories about Jack the Ripper during this sensationalist time, the public became consumed with trying to see the crime scene. At some times, the residence that had windows overlooking the crime scene would charge people to come into their home and to view the crime scene from their windows. While this

might not seem to be very bad, what was bad was the fact that the public was asking the police questions in regards to the crimes, getting angry when the police weren’t answering them, and then they started to crowd the crime scene and continue screaming things at them like “Why haven’t you caught the murderer yet?” With the public becoming unrulier the longer they were at a crime scene, the police tried to gather up as much information and evidence as they could and they tried to barricade the public away from the scene as much as possible, but because they were half focused on the crime scene and half focuses on the surrounding public, they couldn’t have collected all of the vital evidence needed to find the criminal. This might also explain why the police didn’t make the connection between the aprons and the murders until later on in the investigation.

Based on this evidence, the public clearly were hurting the investigation, so blaming the police that were conducting the investigation wasn’t entirely fair since not only did they have to do their jobs and investigate, but much of the resources were going to keeping the public at bay.

One fact that must be understood is that sensationalism fed the people, but they still craved more. Sensationalism gave people a glimpse into gory death and dismemberment. With the public being exposed to these kinds of stories on newspapers and book for decades, it created a thirst in people for more blood, more gore, and more violence that fiction just couldn’t quench anymore. When the newspapers started to publish the murders of Jack the Ripper, the people began to insert themselves into the situation more so they could feed this hunger. When they
started to swarm the crime scenes however, they never realized that they were actually preventing the police from doing their job. Even if today’s investigation skills were used to try and solve the Jack the Ripper crimes, if the public were to have interfered as much as they did, then even with today’s technology, it would have been significantly difficult to discover who the killer was. While even today, we look back at the Jack the Ripper murders and say that the police were incompetent, it is because we forgot to look at the bigger picture and see that the people were preventing police from doing their jobs.

To recap, the police had no clear leader during the murders, they didn’t have the advanced forensic equipment that would have been needed to solve the murders, the general public were interfering with the investigation at almost every turn and because of this, evidence was being disregarded. While it would be easy to say that the police could have handled the investigation better, it would be unfair to the memory of these investigators and the police that were placed on the class because they tried to solve a crime that had so many obstacles, they were almost doomed to fail from the very beginning. Sensationalism gave the people a thirst for death, but couldn’t satisfy it. This forced the police to play the role of crowd control instead of focusing their efforts on the murders in front of them. While even in modern times, that law and technology is behind criminals, systems have been put into place to protect the crime scene and the investigation. If these practices were implemented during the Jack the Ripper murders, then it is possible that the
murderer could have been caught, but because this environment was so ripe with sensationalism, Jack the Ripper was able to elude investigators.

**Conclusion:**

After looking at these events in this manner and in this order, it’s clear that one change in the society during the 19th century helped for the emergence of serial killers as celebrities, but it was the combination of them all that created the perfect environment for the new celebrity. While many might ask, “Why is it important to understand the changes that were occurring in the 19th century?” it’s important because it clarifies how serial killers suddenly shifted from being people full of sin to that of the new celebrities. Once we can see how this shift occurred, we can start to answer even more questions like what part of the murder were people more interested in, the crime itself or the reasons why it was committed, what the implications of these types of crimes are, and how can we prevent these types of crimes from occurring in the future? It all starts from looking at one section of time and seeing how society could have changed so much in such a short amount of time.

The way this shift was able to occur was a development over the century leading up to the Ripper murders. First, religion had to take a step back from every aspect in the lives of the masses. From that point, something new could fill in the places that religion vacated. With newspapers and the printing press becoming a part of entertainment, it also opened the door for new writing styles, like the sensationalist style of writing. Because of these events, the people at the time began to change to more inquisitive and open minded thinking. But with this
advancement, it is clear that it also drove the change in police investigation
techniques because then we see in 1910, the first forensic laboratory coming on to
the scene as a reaction to this shift. With these events, it’s no wonder serial killers
become celebrities, but by studying this shift, we can also answer questions about
the modern era, like how had this phenomenon persisted through time? By studying
how the shift first occurred, we can see what originally fascinated the population
and then apply it to today.
Figures:

29 Figure 1 - The Independent Gazetteer (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), June 29, 1793. Original scans from https://www.newspapers.com/
Figure 2 - The Christian Advocate (Buffalo, New York), August 10, 1871. Original scans from https://www.newspapers.com/
Figure 3-The Observer (London, Greater London, England), November 21, 1830. Accessed October 11, 2017. P. 3 original can be accessed through www.newspapers.com
Figure 4- The Observer (London, Greater London, England), January 1, 1860. Accessed October 11, 1860. P. 7
Figure 5- The Times (London, Greater London, England), July 3, 1888. Original scans from https://www.newspapers.com/
Figure 6- The Independent Gazetteer (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), June 29, 1793. Original scans from https://www.newspapers.com/

I keep on hearing the police have caught me, but they won’t fix me just yet. I have laughed when they look so clever and talk about being on the right track. That joke about Leather apron gave me real fits. I am down on whores and I shant quit ripping them till I do get buckled. Grand work the last job was. I gave the lady no time to squeal. How can they catch me now. I love my work and want to start again. You will soon hear of me with my funny little games. I saved some of the proper red stuff in a ginger beer bottle over the last job to write with but it went thick like glue and I can’t use it. Red ink is fit enough I hope ha ha. The next job I do I shall clip the lady’s ears off and send to the...
Figure 10- The Body of Mary Kelly, the final verified victim of Jack the Ripper. Picture from the Casebook on Jack the Ripper. See Bibliography
**Bibliography:**


https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GS2wCrW6G4k.


The Christian Advocate (Buffalo, New York), August 10, 1871. Original scans from https://www.newspapers.com/


The Inter Ocean (Chicago, Illinois), March 27, 1910. Original scans from https://www.newspapers.com/


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