

Notes

Introduction

1. For further publishing details, see Benn's *Media UK* and *Brad* for these years.
2. At the time of writing magazines cost about £1.80 each or £15 for an annual subscription.
3. Magazine and Design Publishing, which produces the main bulk of regular titles, has not to date applied for certification by the Audit Bureau of Circulation.
4. See Benn's *Media UK 1996*. Campbell (1993: 13) says that there is a circulation of 30,000 for *True Detective*.
5. *BRAD*, October 1995.
6. The reader profile for these long-running monthlies is of a readership over 45 years of age, occupying the C2, D, and E socio-economic bracket and largely female (Cameron 1990: 131).
7. Occasionally magazines refer explicitly to this recycling process in order to sell back-copies, e.g. 'Disaster at public execution', in *Master Detective* November 1994: 36, refers readers to the full-length version in a back copy from 1993.
8. This is from the promotional leaflet in the first edition.
9. Author of an investigation into the notorious A6 motorway murder entitled *Who Killed Hanratty?* (1971).
10. In fact, the well-known Penguin *Famous Trials* anthology of vintage cases was reissued as 'social history' (Mortimer 1984).
11. Bedford's book was an account of the longest murder trial to date (1957) of Dr John Bodkin Adams.
12. Hawley Harvey Crippen was hanged on 23 November 1910 for the murder and dismemberment of his wife Cora. He was arrested with his lover Ethel Le Neve (who was disguised as a boy) after pursuit on an ocean liner bound for Quebec. The event inspired a number of true accounts, novels plays, several films and a musical (see Goodman 1985).
13. Florence Maybrick was found guilty of the murder of her husband in 1889 (Wilson and Pitman 1961: 445–6).
14. Blue Books record the visual evidence of every murder inquiry in Britain.
15. These were not the first audio books to enter the true crime market. During the 1970s Ivan Berg Associates (Audio Publishing) re-issued Edgar Lustgarten's true crime radio broadcasts on audio-cassette (see, for example, Lustgarten 1976).
16. Known as the 'Yorkshire Ripper', Sutcliffe murdered 13 women between 1975 and 1980.
17. Christie is now thought to be responsible for the murders of seven women and a baby. He was sentenced to death on 15 July 1953.
18. Information from *The Bookseller* 1992–96.

19. Beverley Allitt was convicted in May 1993 of the murder of four children and of harming nine others (see Davies, N. 1993a).
20. During more than two decades the English couple Fred and Rose West abducted, raped and murdered at least 12 women and girls. Fred West committed suicide in prison while awaiting trial. In the 'trial of the century' Rosemary was convicted of the murders in November 1993 and awarded ten life sentences (Cobain 1995).
21. In August 1994 Roderick Newell was found guilty of the murder of his parents. His brother was convicted for helping to dispose of their bodies.
22. See Brown and Cheston (1994), Josephs (1994) and Wood (1994).
23. While 'instant' books, which are often crudely expanded journalistic dossiers of a crime, attract only occasional criticism for exploiting recent grief and fascination, television and film productions of notorious crimes often have to wait many years before they can be made with impunity. For example, the first British television drama documentary of the Peter Sutcliffe investigation was made in 2000. See *This is Personal: The Hunt for the Yorkshire Ripper* (Granada, UK, broadcast 26 January and 2 February 2000).
24. My understanding of the phrase 'law and order' accords with the definition formulated by Martin Kettle (1983: 218) that it is both 'a policy area covering crime and justice' and 'a belief in and practice of *discipline* in attitudes, behaviour and choices in the home, the streets and the workplace' (author's emphasis).
25. The journalist Nick Cohen (1996) has argued that the British press seeks to make ideological capital out of even the most appalling killings by blaming the permissiveness of 30 years ago. See also my discussion of the ways in which the Moors Murder case of 1957 provided a focus for some of these debates (Chapter 2).
26. It is clear, for example, that there has been a substantial rise in crime (or the recording of national crime figures) in Western Europe since the early 1950s (Central Office of Information 1995: 3). While readers may not be cognisant of these facts of rising crime they will share the perception that crime is rising and that personal risk is increasing.

1 'True stories only!'

1. See, for instance, the highly critical coverage of Gitta Sereny's second book on the child murderer Mary Bell, *Cries Unheard* (1998). See also the concerns expressed by the victims of the serial killer David Berkowitz about the making of the film *Summer of Sam* (Lee 1999 USA). Protestors against the film carried banners reading 'Murder is not Entertainment' (Wilson 1999: 25).
2. See chapter 1 note 14 above.
3. Finally, of course, both the genres of domestic photography and of police photography are situated, in the context of the gallery space, within the cultural category of 'art'.
4. The third book is Tom Byrnes' *Writing Bestselling True Crime* (1997).
5. This problem can be solved through literary ventriloquy but only, of course, when the criminal protagonist is long since dead. See, for example,

- Andrew Motion's (2000) recent biography of the aesthete and poisoner Thomas Wainwright (1794–1847), which takes the form of 21 fictionalised confessional chapters.
6. For another, quite different, self-reflexive commentary on the interdependence of actuality and representation, see Simon Schama's account of an historical murder. Here Schama transgresses codes of factual narration to highlight 'the teasing gap separating a lived event and its subsequent narration' (Schama 1991: 320).
 7. Cameron and Frazer add the codes of 'existentialism' to those of romanticism.
 8. Lennard Davis, for example, in his genealogy of the English novel, describes the 'act of disownment' in which the author denies a creative connection with their work, shifting the 'focus of the narrative ... to the authenticity of the document', as 'uniquely novelistic' (1983: 16).
 9. See, for example, the controversy over the 'truthfulness' of the representation of the events surrounding the Stephen Lawrence case following the broadcast of the drama documentary *The Murder of Stephen Lawrence* (Carlton/Granada, UK, 18 February 1999). See 'Television Version of Murder "Distorts the Facts"' (Davenport 1999) and 'The Justice Game' (Redhead 1999).
 10. The long history of crime literature, the boom in true crime since the 1980s and the tradition of lurid reportage ('if it bleeds it leads') might belie this assumption of a gentler literature in Britain.
 11. Suzanne Moore (1991: 13) has noted that in general the avowed moral concern about violent or offensive literature is often a smokescreen for other concerns. 'We know *American Psycho* is Literature with a big L because Norman Mailer has publicly defended it. ... In other words it is only when these things enter middle-brow culture that we begin to make a fuss about them. ... But the fuss we make often boils down to little more than an argument over good and bad art.'
 12. Thomas De Quincey (1890) is famous among true crime writers for his essay on the Ratcliffe Highway murders of 1811. The murders of three adults and a baby at home on the Highway and later of another three adults nearby were described by De Quincey as the 'sublimist' in the art of murder. On murder as art, see also Oscar Wilde (1922).
 13. While Jenkins is correct in identifying the strategic use to which serial murder may be put by lobbyists across the political spectrum, this view should be tempered with the recognition that special interest groups may have valid concerns over the way in which the police prioritise certain cases.
 14. See also work on gender, misogyny and modern crime by Caputi (1987); Soothill and Walby (1991); Radford and Russell (1992), Birch (1993) and McLaren (1993).
 15. See also Smith (1989) and Bland (1992) for commentaries on the Ripper cases.
 16. Knox is referring in particular to James Baldwin's *Evidence of Things Unseen* (1985, New York: Henry Holt) and Kate Millet's *The Basement: Meditations on a Human Sacrifice* (1979/1991, New York: Simon and Schuster).
 17. See Burns (1977) for an historical overview of the formation of 'public opinion' and Hartley (1992: 183ff) for an analysis of how the modern press forms 'public opinion'.

18. On the problem of violent film images, see 'Violent Anxiety' by Linda Grant (1996) and Brian Masters' 'Are We All His Victims?' (1999). The latter argues that public fascination with the character Hannibal Lecter 'depraves us all'. On the scandal surrounding the Myra Hindley portrait, see Daniels (1997) and Moulard (1997). See also the controversy over the artist Jamie Wagg's use of media images arising from the murder of James Bulger and its aftermath (Walker 1996). For criticisms of true crime programming, see, for example, Culf (1993a, b and c) and Hellen (1993).
19. The best publicised critique of Hollywood film to reach a mass audience is Michael Medved's *Hollywood versus America* (1992) which was serialised in the *Sunday Times* in February and March 1993 (see Medved 1993a and 1993b). Medved catalogued acts of violence perpetrated in mainstream movies as part of a broader argument about the socially and morally destructive effects of some popular films. In contrast, audience research conducted by Annette Hill (1997) found that audiences who watched violent films regularly actually become more sensitised to film violence.
20. See Gauntlett and Hill (1999: 248ff) for a summary of the debate and a concise account of academic work in the area of media violence and its effects.
21. See, for example, Hunter and Kaye's assertion that: 'everyone is a potential niche market. One of the many pleasures of consumer capitalism is that it so perfectly services this fragmented, postmodern individual. Out there in the global pick'n'mix is a text made just for you' (in Cartmell *et al.*, 1997: 3). See also the debate about the role of the cultural critic, populism and the free market between Graeme Turner (1992) and John Docker (1991 and 1994).
22. There has been a growing debate within cultural and media studies about a perceived abnegation of critical responsibility within the field. Connor (1992: 234) has characterised the problem of relations between theory and questions of cultural value as one of a continuing pull between the use of evaluative criteria (selection, preference and judgements of quality) and anthropological imperatives of observation and interpretation (see also Herrnstein Smith 1986). For more on this debate and its implications for the field, see McGuigan (1992), A. Ross (1989), Squires (1993), Tester (1994), Frow (1995) and Miller and Philo (1997).
23. See, for example, Ang (1982) Radway (1984) and Morley (1986) for examples of how popular texts are open to contestation by readers and viewers.
24. For an incisive critique of the ways in which recognition (and consent) is invited in the tabloid press, a form that shares many characteristics with the traditional true crime magazine, see P. Holland (1983).

2 Histories of True Crime

1. Davis notes: 'The evolutionary model [of the development of the novel] is perhaps the most pervasive one. In literary critical works which search for forerunners, precursors, embryos, and missing links the underlying metaphor is a phylogenetic one. ... The obvious flaw in using the evolutionary model for literary analysis is that its metaphor implies a slow,

- progressive change based on the key biological notion of adaptation' (Davis 1983: 2–4).
2. For example, there were developments in the new technologies of printing, of travel, of the distribution of goods, the availability of rags for paper-making and the cultivation of mass literacy.
 3. See Emsley (1987: 11–13, 248ff) for a concise summary of the progressive (Whig) interpretation of criminal history and of its opponents such as Rusche and Kirchheimer (1968) and Foucault (1978).
 4. See also Radzinowicz with Hood (1986) for a progressive stance on the history of punishment and reform.
 5. The trial and execution broadsheets sold on the streets were always popular, their sales swelling noticeably in the mid- to late eighteenth century and again in the second quarter of the nineteenth century (Gatrell 1995: 156).
 6. This is not to say that the people were always in complete accord with the rule of law. Distinctions between 'the legal code and the unwritten popular code' were commonplace and were usually rooted in the specific requirements of the community rather than of the country at large (Thompson 1963: 59–60).
 7. This could simply be a sound commercial justification for re-issuing stories without any direct resonance for English readers.
 8. Their construction is similar to some of the illustrations used in modern collect-and-keep true crime magazines, see Chapter 5.
 9. Executions themselves were, of course, a great popular attraction, since 'public punishment was theatre' (Emsley 1996: 256). See also Laqueur (1989), Garland (1991) and Gatrell (1994).
 10. For a psychoanalytic reading of the relationship between popular fascination with and repulsion towards the criminal, see Duncan (1996).
 11. It also renders explicit the law's relation to sovereignty (Foucault 1979: 47; Hunt and Wickham 1994: 40ff).
 12. The image of early policing as haphazard and inefficient has however been challenged recently (Emsley 1996: 216ff).
 13. It should be added here that although Colquhoun's plans were not immediately implemented, his conceptualisation of the role of the police chimed with those of later reformers.
 14. See, for example, the discussion of crime as organised entrepreneurialism in Chapter 3.
 15. As already indicated in Chapter 1, the growing imperatives within literature to distinguish between fact and fiction, biography and the novel, history and news, will impact particularly on true crime writers who attempt to remain objective while also necessarily employing 'imaginative leaps' to realise their stories.
 16. Shocking, atypical crimes did sometimes galvanise public opinion into calling for more organised policing; most notably the stealthy murders of two separate families within a week of each other in December 1811. This case instilled rising panic leading to abortive calls for police reform. See De Quincey (1890), Critchley (1970: 40–1) and Critchley and James (1971).
 17. There was a resurgence of political radicalism following Waterloo and the introduction of the Corn Laws (both 1815) epitomised in the drama of the 'Peterloo' massacre of parliamentary reformers in 1819. In addition, the

- appearance of the Chartist Movement (from 1836) and the growing fear inspired by insurrections across Europe from the 1830s, all helped to construct and bolster another kind of collective criminality – the mob (Briggs 1996: 111–18; Pearson 1983: 156ff).
18. 'Flare-up' may be found at the St Brides Printing Library, Special Collection. For an account of the development of street literature, see Shepherd (1973).
 19. Visual signification is still central to the appeal of modern true crime magazines. See Chapters 4 and 5.
 20. All the following examples of street literature may be found at the St. Bride's Printing Library, Special Collection.
 21. Dates followed by – signify that the date of publication is approximate.
 22. For a clear discussion of news values see Hartley (1982).
 23. Gatrell's (1996) own research suggests that this popular scepticism of the operations of the Council was well founded.
 24. See my discussion of Birkett's selection from the *Newgate Calendar*, above, for a reference to this leniency towards fraudsters.
 25. The idea of a 'criminal class' was always present but was most commonly used during the 1860s. The formal category of 'habitual criminal' was created by legislation in 1869 and 1871 (Emsley 1996: 168ff; Wiener 1990: 294–307).
 26. For a detailed discussion of the conflicting discourses of medicine and the law, see the discussion of the trial of Dennis Nilsen in Chapter 6.
 27. For a comprehensive description of Victorian 'penny dreadfuls' held in the Barry Ono Collection at the British Library see James and Smith (1997), for a list of the various working definitions of the 'penny dreadful' see Springhall (1998: 42).
 28. The novel, based on the Whitechapel murders which occurred when Lowndes was 20 years old, remains in print. It has been translated into 18 languages, adapted for five films, a stage play and an opera (Cyriax 1996: 282, Marcus 1996: xxii).
 29. For a comprehensive assessment of the 'the permissive moment' and the place of trial cases such as that of D. H. Lawrence's novel, see Weeks (1981: 249–72).
 30. Freud distinguishes quite clearly between remorse and guilt (1930: 324–6). The perpetual guilt of civilisation, the 'fatal inevitability of the sense of guilt', is reinforced by the suppression of aggressive inclinations which are carried over to the super-ego (ibid.: 325). Later he notes that the sense of guilt produced by civilisation appears as a kind of malaise or general 'dissatisfaction' (ibid.: 329).
 31. See especially my last chapter on the criminal as the subject and object of knowledge in Brian Masters' true crime biography of Dennis Nilsen (1985a).
 32. The spate of books about Hindley and Brady, together with full media coverage of the trial, led to press debate about the limits of representation of sensational murder cases. Some journalists were quick to criticise the popularity of books about real crimes (Whelwell 1966: 14). Others such as Ludovic Kennedy entertained the possibility of a 'benevolent censorship' in the light of the Moors case, although he ultimately sanctioned the public's need to know (Kennedy 1966: 489). Kennedy had good grounds for this

- defence since his own book about the Christie/Evans case, marrying a challenge to British justice with an enthralling real-life murder story, contributed towards a posthumous pardon for Timothy Evans (see Kennedy 1961).
33. An advert for *Beyond Belief* on the same page as the Fowler review reinforced its literary profile; carrying puffs by Rebecca West, as well as by *The Observer* and *The Times* newspapers.
 34. Smith was an unwilling spectator to the murder of the couple's final victim.
 35. For Brian Masters, writing nearly three decades after Williams, the same allusion to Pope is still apposite. 'All murder is awful. ... But we may still look at them, and at ourselves, and ponder. "The proper study of mankind is man." Murderers are men too' (1994: 15). It is also the epigram to Elliot Leyton's book *Men of Blood* (1995: 1), although it is wrongly attributed to a prison doctor.
 36. This notion of true crime as a mirror or reflection on the self is not new, see my discussion of early modern illustrated editions of true crime stories described above. In addition, several recent books on high-profile crimes have initiated a confessional form of crime writing which is still consistent with the ontological aims of more 'objective' accounts. Both O'Hagan (1996) and Morrison (1997) are introspective, drawing upon their own autobiographies to make sense of violent crime.

3 Discourses of Law and Order in Britain from 1979 to 1995

1. See, for example, Abercrombie *et al.* (1986: 11), who agree, with certain provisos, that British society is broadly individualistic in character.
2. Magazines such as *Killers* (renamed *Ultimate Crimes*) and the newest entry into the market *Murder in Mind* (February 1997–) exclude by definition crimes other than homicide.
3. Jack the Ripper is, perhaps, the most notorious example. See, for example, the special edition of true crime magazine *Murder Most Foul* (No. 22) which presents the mystery of the murderer's identity as its main attraction.
4. I refer to these as 'law and order' programmes in order to differentiate them from other real-life reconstruction programmes such as *Michael Winner's True Crimes* (ITV UK), which should more properly be designated 'true crime' programming. 'Law and order' programmes are those that operate in conjunction with the police and which invite the viewing public to help in investigating crime.
5. The exception to this is *Inside Crime* (Carlton UK 1997), presented by former police commissioner John Stalker. This programme showcases crimes that have remained unsolved for some time (usually years) through a mixture of interviews, visits to scenes of crime, and so on.
6. As Schlesinger and Tumber (1993: 30) indicate, *Crimewatch UK* also helps to disseminate the notion that something is being done about crime since the programme makes evident that these less stigmatised crimes are also being scrutinised by the police.

7. This emphasis upon the viewer as detective also masks the other purpose of the programme – to address the viewer as a consumer of television, to entertain the viewer and to maintain audience figures.
8. Of course it also in the interests of the police to be able to use the media as an instrument in the investigation of crime, see Innes (1999).
9. Private law enforcement agencies have always been reluctant to work with the programme for commercial reasons (stated on *Crimewatch UK* January 1999).
10. For example, police officers perform a whole range of functions aside from law enforcement and crime prevention, but these are obviously unrepresented in the programme (see Reiner 1992: 212; Southgate with Ekblom 1996).
11. These include a donation by Royal Assurance to be spent by Neighbourhood Watch schemes in 1989 and Crime Concern (1988), a crime prevention initiative funded by the Home Office and Woolworth (see Johnston 1992: 138).
12. This was undertaken as part of a government initiative launched in September 1994 called 'Partners against Crime'. The intention was to promote co-operation between the public and the police (Central Office of Information 1992: 5).
13. It should be noted that the Conservative government's fostering of private action against crime did not lead to a concomitant reduction in police power or to a reduction of state control over policing. See Sullivan (1998).
14. Johnston notes, however, that the boundaries of the private security industry are difficult to establish. He divides the industry into three parts: provision of mechanical devices (e.g. locks), provision of electronic devices (e.g. CCTV) and the provision of staffed services (Johnston 1992: 71). While reliable information on the growth in private security is elusive there is substantial evidence that the market has expanded rapidly (*ibid.*: 73ff).
15. So, too, the number of properties protected by apotropaic signboards stating: 'Beware of the dog'; 'Enter at your own risk'; or more assertively 'Go ahead – make my day' (accompanied by an image of a snarling dog) is also evidence of the less quantifiable, sometimes less legitimate, actions undertaken by individuals to deter intruders and safeguard property. During the early 1990s canine defence turned into criminal threat through the perception that the growing popularity of the pit bull dog constituted a danger to the public. It was certainly the case that the dog was deployed by some owners as part of a defensive public machismo. The dog became part of street armoury, in Iain Sinclair's phrase, an 'heraldic cartoon' embodying courage and aggression (Sinclair 1997a: 55).
16. O'Hagan (1995: p. 163) has indicated, for example, that some police officers privately believe that the computerised records of missing persons will provide a testing ground for a nation-wide system for locating and identifying all citizens.
17. This is a reference to 25 Cromwell Street – the address where Fred and Rose West murdered and disposed of a number of women and children.
18. In fact, the Thatcher government's housing policy was more hesitant and opportunist than Hutton's work suggests, even if its ideological motives were clear-cut. See Stewart and Burridge (1989).

19. For an entertaining and insightful documentary on Neighbourhood Watch, see *Cutting Edge: Street Patrol* (Channel 4, UK, 24 November 1998).
20. In fact, Abercrombie *et al.* (1986: 81ff) offer four constituents of individualism, briefly: 'liberty and freedom from interference, capacity for transformative action, rationality, responsibility and self-motivation'.
21. Foucault suggests also that 'the birth of detective literature and the importance of the *faits divers*, the horrific newspaper stories' contributed to this constitution of the populace as 'moral subject' (1980a: 41).
22. In 'Prison Talk' Foucault suggests that intolerance of the delinquent is now being eroded. Even if this is the case, the discourses of true crime and of law and order programming still deploy divisive strategies in their depiction of the moral subject and the criminal subject (1980: 42–3).
23. The carceral organisations include the school, the military barrack and the mental asylum, see Foucault (1975).
24. Parker's nomination of the habitual criminal who constantly returns to prison as the 'Unknown Citizen' is a reference to the 'Unknown Soldier.' Parker's analysis of the case of Charlie Smith, who once committed an act of theft only a few hours after being released from prison, suggests that the criminal, like the soldier, is a victim of an inflexible and crude system of regulation and abuse. Both soldier and criminal are sacrificed and then forgotten; shoring up the security of the nation.
25. At the 1993 Conservative Party Conference the Home Secretary Michael Howard said: 'We shall no longer judge the success of our system of justice by a fall in our prison population. ... Let us be clear. Prison works' (in Rawlings 1999: 152).
26. Indeed, Mary Desjardins (1993: 143) argues in her analysis of *The Krays* (Medak 1990 UK) that the story 'exposes the connection between free enterprise and criminality'. This is foregrounded in the title of Charlie Kray's book *Doing the Business* (Fry and Kray 1995).
27. True crime books such as Duncan Campbell's *That Was Business, This Is Personal* (1990), depictions of organised crime in London in the 1960s and 1970s, e.g. *The Long Good Friday* (Mackenzie 1981 UK) and *The Krays* (Medak 1990 UK), and the television series *Our Friends From the North* (January 1996–BBC2, UK) are indicative of this kind of portrayal. These texts, both fact and fiction, offer alternative communities in which conspiracy, gangsterism and organised crime thrive.
28. A recent variation on this type of real-life television includes the one-off programme *Rat Trap* (Carlton, UK, broadcast 08 March 2000). This 45-minute programme presented by the newsreader Kirsty Young, lays traps for criminal 'rats' by filming bait such as unattended motorcars to see who 'bites'. The footage is then broadcast to see if any viewer can identify the thieves. The executive producer Sarah Caplin defended the programme, claiming: 'We are not creating the crime, nor are we inviting people to steal. ... We are replicating normal activities ... and using cameras to see what happens next' (*Radio Times* 4–10 March 2000: 103).
29. True crime is, of course, only one of the many factual or fact-based genres that have repackaged 'real life' into mass entertainment (see Caughie 1980; Goodwin 1993; Paget 1998).

30. *In Suspicious Circumstances* is unusually long at 60 minutes per episode; however, there are usually three 20-minute stories told within each episode.
31. *In Suspicious Circumstances* actually credits Edward Woodward as 'story-teller' rather than as 'presenter'.
32. For example, the Channel Four documentary programme *Despatches: The Shame of Cromwell Street* (UK, 22 November 1995) concentrated upon a broader culpability in the failure of society (state services, neighbours, acquaintances) to detect and prevent the murders and abuse committed by Fred and Rose West over several decades.
33. An example of this may be seen in an episode of *In Suspicious Circumstances* called 'Crimes of Passion'. In this episode the presenter concludes the story by judging that the protagonist, for a variety of reasons (the murderer's putative innocence, her alleged pregnancy and the cruelty of capital punishment itself), should not have hanged. In this instance, the call for natural justice to be served supersedes that of official criminal justice.
34. Similarly, Edward Woodward is an actor known for his 'enforcer' roles in series and film adaptations such as *Callan* (Sharp 1974 UK) and the 1980s' vigilante series *The Equalizer*. Both these roles were of law enforcers who were at the margins of the law.
35. Here also, of course, the symbolism of the eyes of the law stands in stark opposition and dialogue with the eyes of the killer so beloved of horror iconography.
36. I am greatly indebted to Research Editor Lucy Wildman and Librarian Victoria Kearns for allowing me access to the *Digest* library and for their help in locating materials.
37. There are exceptions to this – see my discussion of an article by David Moller below.
38. See, for example, Hollway (1981), Bland (1992) and J. Smith (1989).
39. As indicated in my earlier discussion of the Charters developed under John Major, Thatcherite discourses, albeit somewhat reconfigured, continued to inform both political and popular discourses after the Thatcher years. However, it should also be noted here that Majorite campaigns, especially the 'Back to Basics' initiative, were also formulated in order to deal with the 'catastrophes ... which were the direct outcome of the Thatcher years themselves' (Rose, J. 1996: 56). In this sense Majorite political discourse constituted both an extension of, and a rejoinder to, Thatcherism.
40. The most dramatic example of the criminal as venture capitalist is the case of Nick Leeson, whose massive fraud brought down Barings Bank. A 'biopic' entitled *Rogue Trader* (Dearden UK) was released in 1999.

4 Crime Magazine Stories

1. In this instance 'Americanisation' means the importation of new cultural forms and styles, for example, changes in idiom, dress, music and popular literature.
2. For a literary exploration of this shift, see Graham Greene's 1938 novel *Brighton Rock*.

3. This strategy was far from new. The makers of 1930s gangster movies were impelled to add cautionary slogans to their films to defuse criticism of bad effects on impressionable audiences. John Springhall (1998: 100–1) relates how the Howard Hawks' film *Scarface* (1932) became subtitled 'Shame of the Nation' and included a straight to camera speech advocating citizens to fight against crime.
4. Deborah Cameron (1990: 134) notes that the pornographic gaze continued in true crime magazines until the late 1970s and very early 1980s. She notes, for example, the particular influence of pornography on the magazines of the 1960s and argues that the structure of true crime genre was always pornographic.
5. As John Fiske (1989: 106) observes, vernacular speech is not replicated directly by the popular press, instead a form of written language is developed that produce 'resonances' between it and the speech patterns of spoken cultures used by readers.
6. It is increasingly rare to see cover-girls on the front of even the more traditional true crime magazines, but the register and visual signification of Summer Specials in particular tends to hark back to what Leon Hunt (1998: 2, 25–6) has called the 'permissive populism' of the 1970s.
7. Roland Barthes (1977: 27) has noted that the contradiction between image (the smiling cover-girl) and text (the murder story) also appears in true romance magazines, producing a 'compensatory connotation'.
8. The nomenclature 'serial killer' in particular is frequently used outside of its correct temporal and cultural context in true crime and elsewhere. For example, the popular history magazine *History Today* (1986 Vol. 46: 3: 1) trumpeted 'Stuart tabloid horror' in a feature entitled: 'Serial Killers in Seventeenth-century England ... the grisly Stuart Counterparts to Fred and Rosemary West.'
9. Full-length true crime books also use anachronisms to appeal to the reader, see, for example, the recent publication of the autobiography of a Victorian detective called *The Crime Buster* (Caminada 1996).
10. 'Everyday life may be conceptualised in various ways. For example, John Fiske (1989: 47) argues that, 'everyday life is constituted by the practices of popular culture.' I favour Henri Lefebvre's (1958b) formulation that 'everyday life' may be located in work, leisure, the family and in 'moments "lived" outside of culture' (although he then proceeds to problematise this definition [1958b: 31ff]). My reading of Lefebvre suggests that by 'culture' he is actually referring to official or high culture and that consequently 'everyday life' is that lived outside of high culture.

5 Period True Crime

1. True crime magazines will be referenced by their initials: *TC*: *True Crime*; *TCSS*: *True Crime Summer Special*; *TD*: *True Detective*; *TDSS*: *True Detective Summer Special*; *MMF*: *Murder Most Foul* and *MD*: *Master Detective*.
2. This preview was featured in *Master Detective* June 1996: 17.
3. David Chaney (1993: 88) defines 'public memory' as 'dramatic traces, symbolic artefacts, of the institutionalised forms of social order, in these traces

representations of significant moments, people or ideas will be made available to interpretation and re-interpretation.'

4. Thus, the meaningfulness of a seventeenth-century account of the trial and punishment of a female killer is eroded not only by temporal distance, but also by the inability of a leisure interest magazine to address the specificities of husband-murder at a particular historical juncture.
5. Some of these stories have been discussed in 'Death in the Good Old Days: True Crime Tales and Social History' (Biressi 2000).
6. For a full-length study of the generic relationship between romance and true crime, see Knox (1998). Knox (1998: 87) observes usefully that romance and crime have been, and continue to be, immensely popular genres that are by no means mutually exclusive. She points out, for example, that in the 1940s adverts for lonely-hearts clubs appeared in *True Detective Magazine*. In addition, Chapter 1 of this book noted that a substantial proportion of true crime magazine readers are female and women constitute the bulk of the readership for romance novels.
7. For a detailed exposition on the historical development and relationship between love, individualism and capitalism see Macfarlane (1987: 127–43).
8. Vanessa Schwartz (1994) has linked the spectacle of tableaux death scenes to the moving image, albeit not theatre but film.
9. This strategy is analogous to the crediting of true crime television presenters as 'story-tellers' (see previous chapter).

6 Daring to Know: Looking at the Body in the New True Crime Magazine

1. Victimology is the study of the victims' circumstances, habits and lifestyle. Here the criminal investigator hopes that the victims' life will yield some clue about their death.
2. It is not always the case that 'quality' true crime writing seeks to occupy a moral high ground. See for example Gordon Burn's book about the West family *Happy Like Murderers* (1998). Here Burn's writing is novelistic, bereft of the dates, notes, sources or photographs that usually orient readers, lend authority to the writer and add a didactic quality to the text. Burn's book is much closer to his own novel-writing such as *Fullalove* (1995) and to Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood* (1966).
3. It is rare for true crime books and news articles to say much about the killer after he/she has been removed from the public sphere into prison. The continuing prominence given to Myra Hindley is an exception fuelled by the *Sun* newspaper, by subsequent confessions of further crimes, by the activism of bereaved families and by Hindley's attempts to gain release (see Soothill and Walby 1991). See also Brian Masters' (1995) exceptional article which examines the lives of US serial killers following imprisonment and the serialised 'exclusive on Dennis Nilsen's life behind bars' in the *Daily Mirror* 4 April (Edwards 1995).
4. Popular opprobrium can turn to carnivalesque celebration when a murderer does receive the death sentence. In the case of Ted Bundy, 'The execution was greeted with ghoulish enthusiasm, with "Bundy burgers" and T-shirts

- on sale outside' (*Real-Life Crimes* Issue 10: 218). A photograph of Bundy's face, frozen in a howl of despair as he hears his sentence, is one of the most commonly used images of Bundy in true crime.
5. This sort of scenario also emphasises the discursive links between medical science as both life-enhancing and as violent intervention. More broadly still, Evelyn Fox Keller (1990: 177–91) has illustrated how science itself contains within it the double imperative to 'unveil' the secrets of nature ('life') and to develop instruments of death.
 6. Forensic detection has constituted a new sub-genre of the true crime book, see Joyce and Stover (1993); Wecht (1993); Miller (1995).
 7. References for this magazine will be abbreviated to *R-LC*.
 8. For example, it has been suggested that the phenomenal success of Patricia Cornwall's forensic detective novels demonstrate that the scientist is the 'new avenging angel' of crime (Frances Fyfield talking on arts programme *Front Row*, BBC Radio 4, UK, 31 August 1999).
 9. Television programmes such as the series *Autopsy* (Channel 5, 50 mins, USA, 29.02.2000 –) examining the work of forensic scientists in the US, and *Forensic Detectives* (Discovery, 60 mins, USA, 09 March 2000 –) also attest to TV audience's interest in this area of criminal detection.
 10. The idea of the body as a 'natural' and readable phenomenon is underscored in an episode of *The Natural World* (nature documentary series) entitled *The Witness Was a Fly* (BBC2, UK, broadcast 17 April 1994; see also Davies 1994). Here the relationship between the cadaver and the rest of nature is revealed. The programme demonstrated, among other things, how the presence of a blowfly in a corpse can pinpoint the time of death.
 11. There are also clear parallels between pornography and fictional 'slasher film' imagery. See especially, Linda Williams' (1989: 184ff) discussion of the generic confusion between horror films and hard-core pornography. She shows how the supposedly *vérité* film *Snuff*, which seems to depict both real sex and real atrocity, appeared to present a logical extension of pornography's aim to see pleasure displaced onto pain. She notes: 'read in the context of pornography ... a flinch, a convulsion, a welt, even the flow of blood itself' proves that a woman's body can be *seen* to be physically "'moved" by some force' (ibid.: 194).

7 Figures in a Landscape: The Dangerous Individual in Criminal Biography

1. This chapter will refer to the serial killer as 'he' throughout because female serial killers are considered to be extremely rare and in any case popular representation, with which this analysis is concerned, nearly always assumes that the killer is male. Note, however, that the criminal psychologist Candace Scrapec (1993: 241–68) has challenged the assumption that serial murder is a male province and the gendered assumptions that support this view.
2. See, for example, Renata Salecl's (1994: 107–11) analysis of the events around the arrest of serial killer Andrei Chikatilo in the former Soviet Union. He was responsible for the murders of 53 men, women and children

- over a period of 12 years. Salecl argues that the pattern of his crimes echoed the logic of the Soviet system, both ignoring the law and also trying to become a law unto himself. See also Jenkins (1994: 121–38) for a survey of the ways in which the serial killing ‘problem’ has been deployed by various special interest groups as a weapon of social critique.
3. See, for example, the *Guardian’s* serialisation of Nick Davies’ book on the nurse Beverley Allitt (Davies 1993b) beginning 22 May, and of Andrew O’Hagan’s book on the Wests (O’Hagan 1995) beginning 2 September.
 4. See, for instance, the film *Seven* (Fincher 1995 USA) in which the serial killer despatches his victims on the theme of the seven deadly sins, and the novel *Every Dead Thing* (Connolly 1999) in which the killer, known as ‘Travelling Man’, flays his victims alive and displays them in tableaux resembling illustrations from Renaissance medical texts.
 5. According to *Brewer’s Twentieth Century Phrase and Fable* (1991) it was the ‘Zodiac Murders’, a series of unsolved killings beginning in California in the late 1960s, that was subsequently to be acknowledged as the first murders by a serial killer. The case signals the centrality of the media to the amplification of subsequent serial killer crimes since ‘Zodiac’ maintained contact with the press, police and even a television chat show up until about 1974.
 6. For an analysis of the complex relationship between murder, media spectacle and soap opera serials, see Hargreaves (1996: 44–56).
 7. John Duffy, known as the ‘Railway Rapist’, was arrested in 1986 for the murder of three women and the rape of many others.
 8. Jeffrey Dahmer was sentenced to 900 years in prison in 1992 for the torture and murder of 16 men.
 9. See Anthony Shaffer’s 1979 play *Murder* for a nostalgic re-enactment of these classic domestic murders. The play features a protagonist who is also a fan of period true crime; a man who fantasises about committing an old-fashioned domestic homicide.
 10. It should also be noted, however, that cases such as that of the West family illustrate precisely how the ‘new’ kinds of apparently unmotivated murder and atrocity can and do occur within the domestic realm (Wykes 1998: 233–47).
 11. For a comprehensive list of films and television production of Christie’s work since the 1970s see Light (1991: 234–5, n. 9). Heavily cited texts on the ‘golden’ period of crime fiction include Watson (1971); Symons (1972); Cawelti (1976); Porter (1981) and Mandel (1984).
 12. *Inspector Morse* made by Central Television for ITV (UK) was broadcast between 1987 and 1993, and has been repeated since. Set in scenic Oxford, many of the cases centre on murders within a family, business or other confined area. It is regarded as ‘quality entertainment’, winning a BAFTA for best drama in 1993 and for best actor (John Thaw) in 1989 (Holland, p. 1997: 290). See also ‘*Inspector Morse: The last enemy*’, an essay that addresses its ‘beguilingly timeless’ quality (Sparks 1993: 86–102).
 13. Leyton’s book is *Hunting Humans* (1986). In fact, Britain has a relatively low rate of homicide and few murders are the result of random ‘stranger’ killings. A later book by Elliott Leyton (1995) was written precisely to

- counter the 'moral panic' that Britain has a high rate of homicide and of psychopathic killers.
14. *Prime Suspect* (1991–6) was a television series made by Granada for ITV (UK). Scripted by Lynda La Plante it followed the work of a top woman detective heading a series of murder enquiries.
 15. Barnes' comments on post-permissive 'affectlessness' echo those of Pamela Hansford Johnson (1967) voiced in her contemporary account of the Moors Murderers (see Chapter 2).
 16. For example, see Iain Sinclair's *White Chappell, Scarlet Tracings* (1987) and also his non-fiction essays 'Bulls and Bears and Mithraic Misalignments' (1997b) and the 'Cadaver Club' (1997c) in *Lights Out for the Territory* (1997) and also Peter Ackroyd's *Hawksmoor* (1985) and *Dan Leno and the Limehouse Golem* (1994). For fictional explorations of more recent murders, see Pat Barker's *Blow Your House Down* (1984) which explores the lives of prostitutes set against the backdrop of Yorkshire Ripper-type killings, and *Another World* (1998), which depicts the haunting of a family by stories of child-murderers such as Mary Bell, and John Thompson and Robert Venables who killed James Bulger.
 17. See promotional leaflets for The Jack the Ripper Walk, 41 Spelman Street, London E1 and the House of Detention, Clerkenwell Close, London EC1.
 18. For a detailed account of the incompatibility of the individual and the social and its production of artists and criminals, see Martin (1986) where he examines notorious criminality as a partial response to artistic rejection. See also Katz (1988: 8) who makes an argument for the 'genuine experiential creativity' of crime.
 19. For an account of the gendering of the aesthete murderer and its implications, see McDonagh (1992).
 20. Simon During (1992) suggests that the artist, critic and poisoner Thomas Wainwright would be the British equivalent of Lacenaire. Wainwright, active in the 1880s, was eulogised by Oscar Wilde (1922) because he lived his life as art, killing people upon a whim (e.g. because a woman had thick ankles). During comments (1992: 164), 'he seems a very Foucauldian counter-hero.' See also Motion (2000).
 21. For an account of the hermeneutics of the detective story, see Umberto Eco's *Reflections on the Name of the Rose* (1993).
 22. Taubin (1991: 16) identifies this image of the serial killer as *revenant* also at work within the structures of the slasher film: 'It is the killer's ability to rise from the dead in film after film – rather than his appearance, his physical strength or even the extreme sadism of his actions – that demonises him.'
 23. Since writing this chapter Gordon Burn has published his true crime book on Fred and Rose West called *Happy Like Murderers* (1998). For me, Burn's book is one of the few substantial criminal biographies to avoid the legacy of the romanticism of crime and the criminal discussed here.
 24. I refer in particular to gothic as a literary form that privileges the psychological over the social, focusing on the fragmentation of the individual subject and how this interior struggle is often externalised through concepts of nature and the weather (see Jackson 1981: 97).

25. The film *The Silence of the Lambs*, in which the police try to draw on serial killer Hannibal Lecter's expertise in their pursuit of a serial killer, probably inspired this move.
26. Later Canter acknowledges the more prosaic possibility that the killer was trying to obliterate clues to identification.
27. The absence of a common ground here is symptomatic of the way in which jurisprudence works. Douzinas and Warrington (1991: 8) demonstrate the importance of the maintenance of legal discursive boundaries, observing: 'For jurisprudence the corpus of the law is literally a body: it must either digest and transform the non-legal into legality, or it must keep it out as excess and contamination.'

8 Concluding Comments

1. This objective is most visibly promoted by Thames Valley Police Force whose vehicles bear this slogan.
2. Differentiating between the degree of fearfulness within different demographic groups is notoriously difficult especially since findings are often tainted by the stereotyping of different social groups, see for example, Goodey (1997) and Gilchrist *et al.* (1998).
3. Philip Rawlings (1999: 169) observes that during the run-up to the general election New Labour could not afford to be seen as 'soft' on law and order issues and so simply tried to outbid the Tories on retributive policies on crime and punishment.

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