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**News discourse and modality: the interpersonal representation
of male violence in a case study of the British press**

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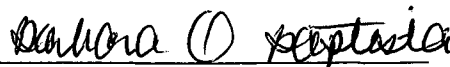
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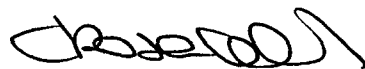


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To my parents, Armando and Elba.
To my brothers, Marcelo and Maurício.

For your love and faith in me,
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ABSTRACT

News discourse and modality: the interpersonal representation of male violence in a case study of the British press

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**Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina
1998**

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Male violence is a major problem in modern society and it can be said that it is, to a large extent, both a creation and a reflexion of the discourse of masculinity. This thesis investigates textual features in a specific media genre, namely newspaper police reports, with the purpose of examining how male violence is linguistically represented through discourse as a social practice by the British press. The corpus used for analysis consisted of 76 reports published in five British newspapers on the crimes of a couple of British serial killers – the West Case, as it became known in the media. An overview was given of multidisciplinary studies on male violence, where biological justifications for a stronger proneness to violent behaviour in men as opposed to women were refuted, and men were identified as the main agents of violence towards women, children and other men. Attention was drawn to the power of news as discourse, stressing its importance in the processes of forming of opinions, building of mental models of the world and social imbalance deriving from inequalities in terms of access to public discourse. The linguistic analysis proper was based on Halliday's theory of modality as a lexicogrammatical feature performing the interpersonal function of language. A comparative analysis was carried out of markers of modality used to represent male and female violence. The results showed that male violence was generally underestimated, in that the female defendant was 2.6 times as negatively represented as was the male defendant.

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RESUMO

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A violência masculina é um dos principais problemas na sociedade moderna e pode-se dizer que ela é, amplamente, tanto uma criação quanto um reflexo do discurso da masculinidade. A presente dissertação investiga aspectos textuais em um gênero específico da mídia: jornalismo policial na imprensa escrita, com o propósito de verificar de que maneira se dá a representação lingüística da violência masculina expressa pela imprensa britânica, através do discurso como prática social. Os dados utilizados na análise são provenientes de 76 reportagens policiais publicadas em cinco jornais britânicos sobre os crimes cometidos por um casal de assassinos em série: o “West Case”, como ficou conhecido na mídia. Forneceu-se uma visão geral de estudos multidisciplinares sobre violência masculina, em que as justificativas com base na biologia para uma maior tendência a um comportamento violento em homens do que em mulheres foi refutada e os homens foram apontados como sendo os principais agentes da violência contra mulheres, crianças e outros homens. Chamou-se atenção para o poder das notícias como forma de discurso, ressaltando-se sua importância nos processos de formação de opiniões, formação de esquemas mentais do mundo e desequilíbrio social advindo das desigualdades no que diz respeito a acesso ao discurso público. A análise lingüística propriamente dita baseou-se na teoria de Halliday sobre a modalidade como um aspecto lexicogramatical que desempenha a função interpessoal da língua. Conduziu-se uma análise comparativa de marcadores de modalidade utilizados para representar a violência masculina e a feminina. Os resultados demonstraram que a violência masculina foi, em termos gerais, subestimada, visto que a ré foi 2,6 vezes mais representada negativamente do que o réu.

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Table of Contents

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Masculinity, language, discourse, social practices and power	1
1.2 Purpose of the study	5
1.3 Background information on the West Case	6
1.4 Reason for selecting the West Case	6
1.5 Reasons for selecting police reports	7
1.6 Methodology	8
1.6.1 The corpus	8
1.6.2 A concise characterisation of the newspapers	8
1.6.3 Data validity and representativeness	10
1.6.4 The analysis	11
1.6.5 General analytical procedures	12
1.6.6 Specific analytical procedures	13
1.7 Outline of the thesis	14

Chapter 2 – Male Violence

2.1 Introduction	16
2.2 Why focus on <i>male</i> violence	19
2.3 Who are the victims of male violence?	21
2.4 The biological explanation for male violence	21
2.5 Male violence against women	24
2.6 Male violence against children	26
2.7 Inter-male violence	28
2.8 Concluding remarks	30

Chapter 3 – The Power of News as Discourse

3.1 Introduction	32
3.2 What's news?	33
3.3 The importance of police reports	36
3.3.1 Newsworthiness of the West Case	36
3.4 The media and their functions	41
3.4.1 Modality and the functions of the press	43
3.5 The social power of the press	44
3.5.1 Power	44
3.5.2 Access to public discourse	47
3.5.3 News discourse and the building of models	48
3.5.4 News discourse and gender imbalances	49
3.6 Concluding remarks	51

Chapter 4 – Markers of Modality and the Representation of Male Violence in the West Case

4.1 Introduction	53
4.2 The structure of modality	56
4.3 Modality of proposals and modality of propositions	57
4.4 Finite verbal operators of modality	58
4.4.1 The question of monosemy and polisemy	59
4.5 Modalisation	59
4.5.1 Finite modal verbal operators as modalisers	60
4.5.2 Modal adjuncts	65
4.5.2.1 Mood adjuncts	65
4.5.2.2 Comment adjuncts	68
4.5.3 Finite modal verbal operators combined with modal adjuncts	71
4.6 Modulation	72
4.6.1 Finite modal verbal operators as modulators	73
4.6.2 Passive verbs	76
4.6.3 Adjectives	76
4.7 Results and discussion	77
4.8 Concluding remarks	90

Chapter 5 – Final Remarks

93

References

98

Appendices

100

Appendix A – Corpus

Appendix B – Occurrences of Mood and Comment Adjuncts in the Corpus
(Complete Results)

Appendix C – Samples of Concordancing

List of Tables

Chapter 3

Table 3.1 Gender distribution in the authorship of the newspaper articles	51
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

Chapter 4

Table 4.1 Finite modal verbal operators found in the corpus	59
Table 4.2 Occurrences of finite modal verbal operators as modalisers in the corpus	79
Table 4.3 Frequency of finite modal verbal operators as modalisers per newspaper (rounded up figures)	81
Table 4.4 Occurrences of mood adjuncts in the corpus (condensed results)	82
Table 4.5 Frequency of mood adjuncts per newspaper (rounded up figures)	83
Table 4.6 Occurrences of comment adjuncts in the corpus (condensed results)	84
Table 4.7 Frequency of comment adjuncts per newspaper (rounded up figures)	85
Table 4.8 Occurrences of finite modal verbal operators as modulators in the corpus	86
Table 4.9 Occurrences of passive verbs and adjectives as modulators in the corpus	87
Table 4.10 Frequency of modulations: finite modal verbal operators, passive verbs and adjectives per newspaper (rounded up figures)	88
Table 4.11 Frequency of markers of modality in the corpus (rounded up figures)	90

List of Figures

Chapter 4

Figure 4.1 Percentage of markers of modality in the corpus	89
Figure 4.2 A comparison between modalisation and modulation	92

Chapter 1

Introduction

It is a universal fact of human existence that what we know best, that which forms part of our everyday mental landscape, is also that which we most take for granted, and question the least. And so some of the strongest jolts to our awareness, the deepest reorientations in our thought, often come from being confronted with the obvious. (Myriam Miedzian, 1991:3)

1.1 Masculinity, language, discourse, social practices and power

For quite a long time, inside and outside the academy, women have been focused on, studied, questioned and discussed. Femininity has been a favourite topic for social scientific scrutiny. Meanwhile, men's interests went well served by this general proneness to treat masculine ways as standard. Gender-studies shelves of any library are far more likely to be stuffed with writings on feminine studies than masculine. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, feminists began to challenge the dominant views of masculine-based society. They raised so far neglected questions such as 'sexual politics', 'patriarchy' and the 'oppression' exercised by the male gender over other gender classes. As a result of this movement, a gradual process of reassessment was triggered of what had for centuries been taken for granted and often regarded as a taboo, i.e. masculinity.

Masculinity is a rather broad term, encompassing a myriad of facets which can be looked at and into from an equally varying number of perspectives. This work, however,

focuses upon one aspect of this multifaceted subject, namely, male violence and its linguistic representations in a case study of the British press.

According to Archer (1994a:xii), 'most human violence is carried out by men.' Male violence has unquestionably been a serious problem in society and especially in modern society. Archer (ibid.) goes further to say that male violence 'may even be ranked as *the* major source of human suffering.'

Several authors, such as Kaufman (1987), Andrews (1994), Archer (1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1994d), Browne (1994), Campbell (1993), Campbell and Muncer (1994), Gilbert (1994), Frude (1994), Pollard (1994), Turner (1994), Dutton (1995) and Wedley and Wetherell (1995), have recently approached this type of violence. In spite of being a quickly acknowledgeable problem, tackling male violence becomes a difficult and long-term task in so far as it has deep discursive roots in biology and culture. Since there is a cultural component to male violence, a retrospective glance into history will make us assume that those aspects related to culture are most likely linked to manifold male-vested interests. There, precisely, lies the challenge to strike at ideologies such as sexism, capitalism, consumerism, racism, militarism, materialism – entrenched cultural elements which constitute the solid basis of male-oriented interests.

In order to start operating changes, the first move we have to make is identify the conditions and tools which contribute to reinforce and reproduce such a regretful aspect of masculinity. I am particularly inclined to think that not only are most of these conditions nurtured by, but they also originate in discourse (i.e., language use) for reasons that I set out to expose from now on.

What I intend to investigate in this work is whether or not language plays a role in the maintenance of male forms of dominance achieved through violence. Apart from cases of mental illness and some instances of defence, every display of violence

accompanies forms of social interaction where power is at stake. I do not claim that violence in the form of physical aggression is directly connected with a greater or lesser command one has of language. Rather, my aim is to see whether discourse practices in the press may – and if they actually do – foster the representation and acceptance of male violence as a norm in society. This is the research question I intend to shed some light on throughout this thesis.

Power relations within society extend far beyond class relations. They include all sorts of social groupings and institutions. Power relations occur between men and women, men and men, women and women, ethnic groups, dominating and dominated, different institutions and within an institution whenever there is a clash of interests on the occasion of engagement between such groupings. As a result, a relationship of tension is born and the immediate negotiation medium for this situation is language. Language is then ‘both a site and a stake in [social] struggle, and those who exercise power through language must be constantly involved in struggle with others to defend (or lose) their position’ (Fairclough, 1982:35). This reminds us that our discourse practices not only reflect society, but also construct it the way it is, even though most of the time we may not be aware of this process. Language is indissociable from society and vice versa.

Social relationships and positions are skilfully manipulated within and through language by institutions when their different kinds of discourse are designed and enforced. The dominant institutions hold as their hidden agenda the reproduction of those social relations that favour their positions as dominant. Because discourse practices can be nebulous and veil ideologies when desirable, people may be led to legitimise power relations in blind unawareness of what they are doing – to the extent that such relations are eventually taken for granted. Discourse participants may be

naturalising hierarchy without being conscious of doing so, for instance, by assuming fixed subject positions in discourse practices repeatedly imposed by dominant institutions over time. As Kress (1985:7) very well explains:

A discourse provides a set of possible statements about a given area and organises and gives structure to the manner in which a particular topic, object, process is to be talked about in that it provides descriptions, rules, permissions and prohibitions of social and individual actions.

Thus, the use of methods of critical discourse analysis acquire undeniable value in helping people see through the opacity of certain types of discourse and become aware of the causes and consequences of their own discourse practices as individuals. These methods are paramount to the demystification of common-sense assumptions which, in spite of being rather common, have very little sense and that even so are capable of establishing conventions after which people come to interact linguistically in a quite limited and power-restrictive way. Such is precisely the case of discourses of male domination and passive acceptance of male violence as a sex-bound trait.

Since language as social practice, or discourse in other words, is the most effective way of achieving and exercising power in modern society, it would be worth drawing some attention to the question of power and access to discourse. Let us think of it in terms of capitalist societies. Capitalism has as an immediate result the stratification of the population in classes, on account of an unequal distribution of wealth. Amidst the endless list of assets thinkable that make up wealth, we can find discourse as a valuable item. Access to and control over discourse production are as unequally distributed as is access to material goods. Those belonging to the dominant bloc have more access to different discourse categories and, hence, more power.

We live in the mass communication era and people in charge of the media have incalculable power in their hands. There is nowadays no other category of discourse more powerful than the media. The galloping advancements of technology, such as

satellite and cable communication, have caused the media to stand out loftily as the most pervasive and far-reaching form of discourse. The three daily media are the press, radio and television. A fourth type of media that can be regarded as an impending revolution in mass communication is the Internet. It has nearly the same potential power as the three previous media, inasmuch as it is becoming more and more popular and accessible with each passing day.

1.2 Purpose of the study

Because of the reasons explained above, I am interested in looking at interpersonal representations of male violence in the British press. I, thereto, chose to investigate news reports on the West Case (see 1.3 for background information), where both a man and a woman partook of a series of crimes conjointly. I adopted a comparative perspective, for I deemed that a good way of assessing whether male violence is over or underestimated was by comparing its representations with those of female violence. The West Case provided ideal conditions for such an analysis, in that both the male and the female defendant were responsible for the same acts of violence.

There are different angles from which to report a given episode. The choices made by the writer are significant, to the extent that they reveal, to the critical-eyed reader, the sort of ideology(ies) they are imbued with. The linguistic choices made for newspaper texts can reflect a manipulative use of information, as well as a partial version of the world through selection, reordering, transformation, distortion and suppression (Hodge, 1979). Finding out whether or not this is the case for male violence, by using Halliday's (1994) model of modality as a lexicogrammatical feature expressing the interpersonal function of language, is the ultimate goal of this study.

1.3 Background information on the West Case

The 'West Case', as it was called by the British media, is the story of a couple of serial killers, Frederick and Rosemary West, which reverberated through Britain and world-wide as well, when made public in 1994. A highly sellable story, the West Case was largely exploited by the British media, due to its uniqueness and plentifulness of macabre details and cruelty refinements.

In action since 1971, the couple went on a prolific series of murders and spree of sexual abuse and managed to remain untraced for 23 years, being eventually uncovered by the police in 1994. They were charged with murdering 10 girls and young women between 1971 and 1986. Amongst the victims were one of Frederick's daughters and Rosemary's stepdaughter, and one of the couple's daughters. *Ante mortem* acts of violence against the victims included rape and an array of other forms of physical torture. *Post mortem* violence consisted frequently of mutilation and dismembering of the bodies. In addition to these 10 victims, Frederick West was charged with murdering two other women, one of whom was his first wife. Apart from murder, the couple's files comprised a catalogue of other acts of violence against young women, with rape ranking as the most frequent, and a lifetime of sexual deviance.

Both Frederick and Rosemary West were arrested. He committed suicide in prison on New Year's Day, 1995, before coming up to trial. She was convicted of murdering all 10 victims and was sentenced to life imprisonment in November, 1995.

1.4 Reason for selecting the West Case

The West Case constitutes an excellent corpus for a linguistic analysis of masculinity and violence, in that it offers a unique opportunity of not only observing the social constructions of male violence via language, but also contrasting them with those of

female violence, since the two central violence conveyors in this case were a man and a woman, acting in mutual connivance.

1.5 Reasons for selecting police reports

My choice of police reports as the object of this study is justified by two chief reasons:

1. In my opinion, police reports, especially reports of outstandingly deviant, bizarre and violent behaviour as is the West Case herein linguistically investigated, rank amongst the most important newspaper features responsible for creating social constructs and notions of violence as far as written discursive categories are concerned. This is so because they offer us daily accounts of a crucial issue for modern society, i.e. violence. Violence plays pivotal influence in modern society, extending beyond the domestic context and the streets. It has represented a central problem, for example, even in schools, a domain not so long ago regarded as one of society's sanctuaries, a milieu where fundamental social practices and interactions take place. In its pervasiveness lies, thus, the importance of deconstructing such texts in order to find out whether or not they serve to reinforce the stereotyped notion that violence is an intrinsic component of masculinity to be taken for granted and accepted without due protest.
2. Within the specific context of this study, i.e. Great Britain, newspapers can be considered a far-reaching, mass communication medium, since the majority of the population is literate. The implications thereof are clear: newspaper police reports represent a powerful and effective means of spreading and consolidating ideologies (Caldas-Coulthard, 1997), which ultimately leads to the forming of opinions (Veen, 1995), one of the most salient functions of the press (see Chapter 3).

1.6 Methodology

In this section I intend to give a concise description of the kind of corpus selected for this study, the nature of the analysis carried out here and the analytical procedures as well.

1.6.1 The corpus

The corpus analysed in this study consists of 76 newspaper articles on the 'West Case', clipped from five British newspapers, namely *Daily Mail*, *Daily Star*, *The Guardian*, *Independent/The Observer*, *The Times*. The texts were collected on specific dates, as shown in Appendix A, within the interval stretching from October 7 to November 23, 1995. They are also identified as Text 1, ... , Text 76, which is how they will be referred to in the body of this work. The number of police reports per newspaper is as follows: *Daily Mail* (16); *Daily Star* (19); *The Guardian/The Observer* (29); *Independent* (2); *The Times* (10). The number of words adds up to 55,029 and has the following distribution per newspaper: *Daily Mail* (15,676); *Daily Star* (7,217); *The Guardian/The Observer* (23,321); *Independent* (1,621); *The Times* (7,194).

The articles assembled to form this corpus for study were obtained on a random-and-availability basis, which explains their heterogeneous distribution per newspaper. Nevertheless, this is a feature that shall be taken into account in the analysis, so as not to compromise the corpus's validity and representativeness.

1.6.2 A concise characterisation of the newspapers

The five newspapers from which the articles were taken can be classified according to two main groups, as regards a characteristic that, for the purpose of this study, I have

decided to call 'macrodiscourse'. Thus, in terms of macrodiscursive aspects, the newspapers are either *tabloids* or *quality papers*.

Tabloid¹ is the term used nowadays to describe a type of popular newspaper with pages that are normally half the size of those of larger, ordinary newspapers, containing in general many pictures and often short reports, not rarely inclined towards a sensationalist view of accounts (The New International Webster's Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language, 1996; Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 1989).

Quality papers or *broad sheet papers* are newspapers with pages generally twice as large as those of tabloids, and they cover a much broader range of subjects, normally providing a more in-depth view of accounts (Bell, 1991).

As news consumers, we are aware that different newspapers frequently consider different events as news or, at least, they tend to cover the same item of news from differing angles. A mass circulation tabloid such as the *Daily Mail* is expected to bring different stories or the same with distinct views as those found in elite readership papers such as *The Times* (Bell, 1991). Presentation aspects, such as design, use of photographs or illustrations, visual techniques and typography, are also features that enhance the contrast between 'popular' and 'quality' British papers (ibid.).

The National Readership Surveys (JICNARS, 1980, in Bell, 1991:109) carried out in Britain in 1980, classified British newspapers according to their readership social grade. The audience was sorted out in six different socio-economic classes: A, B, C1, C2, D and E). The first three groups stand for the middle classes and the last three for the

¹ According to Prof. Dr. José Gatti from the Departamento de Comunicação of the Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, 'tabloid' was a term originally used to refer to a newspaper's size, i.e. one half of that of standard papers. Currently, however, the term tabloid carries the connotation of what is generally called 'yellow press', which stands for the press mostly concerned with a sensationalist reporting of events that are, for the most part, related to gossip, scandals and celebrities'/authorities' private lives. In Brazilian Portuguese, yellow press was translated as 'imprensa marrom'.

working classes. Readership profile results, taking into account only the papers I am working on in my study, were as follows: in a decreasing order, *The Times* had the highest-grade readership, followed by *The Guardian* and *Independent*. Eighty per cent of the public of these three newspapers belong to classes A, B and C1 (upper-middle, lower-middle and middle-middle classes). Then an abrupt difference distinguishes the quality papers from the tabloids, with *Daily Mail* followed by *Daily Star*. Eighty per cent of their readership is drawn over from classes C2, D and E (working classes) (Bell, 1991).

A similar study was carried out by Jucker (1985, in Bell, 1991), who classified the British press into three groups: upmarket, midmarket and downmarket. According to him, the papers herein considered fit into the following categories: (i) upmarket – *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *Independent*; (ii) midmarket – *Daily Mail*; (iii) downmarket – *Daily Star*.

According to Butcher and Soto (1998), the readership of tabloid papers in Britain consists basically of young, non-qualified male workers.

1.6.3 Data validity and representativeness

Despite the differences in number and length of articles between each newspaper, all of them are complete texts in themselves, rather than excerpts, and constitute samples of naturally occurring language or, more precisely, authentic written discourse units. My intervention on the texts consisted of removing them from their newspaper format, by isolating them from accompanying pictures and occasional advertisements strategically placed near them, in order to change the articles into computer-readable files. Nevertheless, for the linguistic analysis I set out to conduct, the corpus is in accordance with Stubbs's (1996:23) principle related to the nature of data for linguistic analysis, i.e.:

that language should be studied in attested, authentic instances of use (not as intuitive, invented sentences); that language should be studied as whole texts (not as isolated sentences or text fragments); and that texts must be studied comparatively across text corpora.

In order to comply with the last requirement of this principle, the corpus is subdivided into five sub-corpora, each of them comprising each newspaper's text(s), so that a comparative study can be carried out across them. This procedure is of utmost importance for the validity and representativeness of the corpus and is very likely to bring revealing insights as to the discourse practices of each of the five newspapers, given their different characteristics as exposed above.

1.6.4 The analysis

For the purpose of this study, I opted for analysing the texts in terms of one lexicogrammatical feature which I consider to be a linguistic device of uttermost importance in establishing social practices through discourse, i.e. *modality*. My study was based basically on Halliday's (1994) theory of modality as the expression of the interpersonal function of language (see Chapter 4). There are certainly other linguistic strategies of equal relevance to be analysed in this vast corpus. Nonetheless, another key factor that led to deciding on modality was its relatively high frequency of occurrence throughout the corpus. Finally, the third criterion for selecting this lexicogrammatical categories was its tight association with choice. When we express our interpersonal views of somebody or something, there are varying degrees of modality as well as several combinations of markers of modality from which to choose. Regardless of how many they may be, the possibility of choice will always be there. Particularly for written discourse, lexicogrammatical choices are of an enlightening nature if we are to deconstruct a text and bring to surface its attitudinal elements. When elaborating written discourses as opposed to spoken discourses, time available is significantly longer for us

to make and even change our semantic choices before making them public. Time in written discourse allows us to make carefully considered choices and our discursive attitudes reside in our linguistic choices. It is true that newspapers work under a fast-paced production rhythm. Even so, when writing, one has the possibility of altering her/his message before it gets to her/his recipients within a considerably greater time flexibility than one has when speaking. A discussion of modality with a pertinent theoretical background and support shall be provided in Chapter 4.

1.6.5 General analytical procedures

Upon reading the corpus, I first pinpointed those relevant words or sets of words belonging to modality. Secondly, I observed and considered the contexts in which they occurred. These two steps concerned the qualitative part of the analysis. The next phase of the analysis was to ascertain their noteworthiness in terms of frequency comparatively throughout the corpus, within the sub-corpora and across them as well. This stage had to do with the quantitative part of the study, intended to look into the representation of male violence by means of a comparison with female violence and couple violence.

Due to the length of the corpus, information technology played a decisive part in my analysis. In order to be able to carry out also a quantitative analysis of the linguistic features I set out to investigate I deployed a highly practical computer-aided technique generically called *concordance*. A concordance is a computer programme that searches for words in computer-readable texts, printing them out in the centre of the page and giving a half-line context of roughly ten words on each side (Stubbs, 1996). Additionally, they offer statistics related to the frequency of a given word in the text being run. These features greatly facilitate the performance of both qualitative and

quantitative analyses in large corpora. The specific computer programme that I deployed was the *MicroConcord Version 1.0*, by Scott and Johns (1993).

1.6.6 Specific analytical procedures

Once having established which markers of modality my study would focus on, i.e. finite modal verbal operators and modal adjuncts for modalisation, and finite modal verbal operators, passive verbs and adjective for modulation, a careful reading of the corpus allowed me to survey their various exponents.

The next step was to scan the 76 articles in order to convert them into computer readable files, so that they could be fed into the *MicroConcord*. The use of a concordance was fundamental in gathering information about (i) number of occurrences and frequency of a given modality marker, (ii) context and (iii) newspaper where it was found.

Availability of data related to (i) and (ii) about each modality marker led me to devising eight variables that I considered relevant for my investigation, as follows: (a) total number of occurrences and their classification in terms of modalisations/modulations (b) for the female defendant; (c) against the female defendant; (d) for the male defendant; (e) against the male defendant; (f) for the couple; (g) against the couple; (h) not directly related to either of the defendants. The results of this survey were used for comparative purposes across the eight variables and are compiled in tables which can be found in section 4.8 below. This procedure also yielded a quantitative overview of the use of modalisation markers as opposed to modulation markers in the texts that I assessed.

In order to evaluate the variables above contrastively across the sub-corpora, I subsequently delved into their distribution throughout the five newspapers with basis on information about (iii); i.e. newspaper where a given modality marker was found.

Finally, I came to a cross-corpora diagnosis of each newspaper for each of the variables investigated. In order to arrive at these results, I divided the number of words of each sub-corpora by the number of occurrences of each variable, thus rendering detailed results with basis on proportionality. Considering that each newspaper comprising the whole corpus is represented by a different number of articles and that the articles differ in terms of length, I regarded the number of words per newspaper as an effective basis for comparison and inferences.

1.7 Outline of the thesis

This study was organised into five main parts. I start out by providing a contextualisation of masculinity and male violence and their connections with language, discourse, social practices and power, which lead to the purpose of my investigation and the methodology used to approach linguistically the question of male violence as well.

Chapter 2 is a brief exposé of the current knowledge of male violence with basis on studies carried in different areas, such as biology, sociobiology and psychology. I highlight the pervasiveness of male violence and touch on the biological explanation for it, which is often used as a justification, but that is highly questionable in terms of achievement of significant results. Finally, I discuss the triad of male violence, i.e. towards women, children and inter-male violence.

Chapter 3 brings forward the power of news as discourse. In it I raise such questions as the cultural importance of police reports in Great Britain and specific characteristics that impart newsworthiness to the West Case. I also discuss the functions of the press,

concentrating on the forming of opinions and the informative function, and close the chapter by drawing attention to the power of news discourse in terms of access to public discourse, building of mental models of the world and gender imbalances as regards male-female participation and presence in news discourse.

Chapter 4 presents a theoretical background of modality, mostly based on Halliday's (1994) Functional Grammar while providing both a qualitative and a quantitative analysis of the interpersonal representation of male violence in the West Case by British newspapers, with modality as the linguistic apparatus thereto. Modalisation and modulation were the two aspects considered and specific markers of modality were taken into account. For modalisation: finite modal verbal operators; mood adjuncts and comment adjuncts. For modulation: finite modal verbal operators, passive verbs and adjectives. Final results revealed a general interpersonal overemphasis of female violence as opposed to male violence.

Chapter 5 brings the final considerations about this investigation as well as a suggestion for further research.

Chapter 2

Male Violence

I believe that all human beings, even male ones, are born (or at any rate conceived) sensitive, loving, intelligent, open and real. We all know that they don't stay that way for very long and that males in particular tend to grow up arrogant, insensitive, alienated and, above all, violent. (Anne-Marie Fearon)¹

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I intend to provide a panorama of what has been recently studied and concluded in terms of male violence. Nevertheless, in order for us to achieve a fuller understanding of the issue of male violence, I ought to invite the reader to join me on a brief tour of other, more general domains of masculinity. This ride will enable us to locate masculinity in a broader context, i.e., the world we live in, as well as help us find our way around down to violence in the context of masculinity.

Femininity and feminism have been exhaustively studied, researched, discussed and written about over the past twenty years, whereas masculinity remains pretty well veiled and relatively untouched. Strange as it may seem, such silence around masculinity has but always been its ruse for maintaining its fierce grip on power (Easthope, 1990).

Masculinity's trump-card consists of trying to keep itself invisible in order to go unnoticed and pass itself off as universal and therefore unquestionable. An instance of

this can be easily found in terms of language. The English language makes use of the words 'man' and 'mankind' to signify the human species. These words are used in a general sense as if masculinity enveloped everyone. The way language treats this question reflects the views adopted by society through male arbitrariness, in addition to transforming them into common-sense assumptions on account of its repeated use over time. Now if the masculine can present itself as standard, it automatically dislocates the feminine to a position seen as deviant.

I firmly believe that the first step towards bringing masculinity to surface and unmasking it is to show that it does have a particular identity and structure and as such it can no longer claim to be universal. Trying to define masculinity is, however, a hard task to accomplish. It has always been put forward everywhere as the source of everything in overt attempts to naturalise men as the legitimate representatives of society (McLean, Carey and White, 1996). To a certain extent, this is precisely what makes it difficult to write about.

Nonetheless, there are two social manifestations that make possible to define masculinity from a critical standpoint. The first is the feminist movement, in action since the 60's, continually struggling for an egalitarian society as regards women's rights and hence putting masculinity in question. Through its questioning, the feminist movement highlighted some characteristics and eventually outlined a particular identity pertaining to masculinity. Such identity is largely of a competitive, aggressive, violent nature (Easthope, 1990).

The other social movement ever to defy masculinity was gay politics. 'In the same period gay politics has openly challenged the idea of masculinity that is promoted on all sides as normal and universal' (Easthope, 1990:2).

Both feminist and gay uprisings against masculinity have contributed to make it somewhat more visible. But, inasmuch as their accounts come from an outer and counter position in relation to the 'male' realm, they mostly regard masculinity as a source of oppression and to a certain extent fail to analyse it and find out what it consists of – two tasks that cannot be postponed any further if the traditional masculine ways of being are to be de- and re-constructed.

This is not to say, however, that the feminist and gay movements did not contribute in any way towards the process of revising masculinity. As a matter of fact, both of them, and mostly feminism, were responsible for triggering the process of in-depth re-examination of concepts, values and power distribution forming the deep-rooted threshold of society. By surfacing their problematic questions as representatives of social groups, they inevitably ended up sending disturbing winds to stir the peace in the seemingly out-of-touch kingdom of masculinity, since men stood at the very core of all the matters being put forward for questioning and discussion. Men were the source of their oppression. Men were the origin of the societal imbalance that divides the world into masculine and 'other categories'.

As women sought their actual roles and long-deserved share of participation and rights in modern society, a new, parallel and like interest evolved as regards men and their true roles in modern society as well. Masculinity roots had then begun to be dug up. The women's movement has developed and kept a keen awareness of the relations between men and women, but reciprocity on the men's part is still rather wanting (Boone, 1992). Feminism has constantly challenged men's ways of being and relating, drawing attention to power inequality as a striking characteristic in their relationships with women (Seidler, 1992).

If we have human history in mind, we could say that a great deal has been changed under the merits of the women's reaction movement ever since the 60's. The results attained could be analogously compared to those of the technological revolution. In both cases, the number of changes that took place amazingly surpassed those achieved in the course of the whole history of humankind. The similarities, however, find an end here. If on the one hand we constantly marvel at the unstoppable flux of findings and advancements of science and technology as they make our lives considerably easier than our parents' were, on the other hand we are still far from a satisfactory society, even though today's women's lives can be said to be a little better than their mothers' were.

2.2 Why focus on *male* violence

As I pointed out in the introduction, maleness has for such a long time been imposed and adopted as the model for *mankind* that, more often than not, both have been merged into one and regarded as the same. Therefore, I cannot but endorse the view of a number of authors, such as Andrews (1994), Browne (1994) and Turner (1994), who sustain that violence is much more a male rather than a human problem. It does constitute a human problem inasmuch as humankind at large gets affected by it, but it no doubt consists of a male problem in so much as it is a trait to be far more frequently found in men. Not only by inference, but also *de facto*, men perpetrate the vast majority of overt acts of violence. According to Archer (1994b), men prevail in statistic figures of homicides, violent crimes, violent acts in public, major acts of domestic violence and use of violence by organised groups, whether within or without the law (e.g., armies, gangs, etc.).

This is not to say, however, that women do not commit acts of violence. But such acts carried out by women generally amount to a much lower number. Campbell (1993)

offers us some insights as to this respect. Her findings in the realm of 'aggression' as understood by psychologists, i.e. reactions to taunts, self-evaluations of hostile feelings and verbal attacks, disclosed a certain balance between the sexes; nonetheless, men were still found to be more aggressive than women on the average, according to Archer (1994b). He adds that self-reported episodes of anger were similar between the sexes and indirect violence was more frequently used by girls than boys. However, none of the categories above represent the sort of violence involved in violent crimes. Rather, they account for day-to-day situations which we are normally able to negotiate without turning to physical aggression. Thus, it remains that the majority of events resulting in injury or death, or fear of these, is enacted by males (Archer, 1994b).

In view of this state of affairs, I recognise that women are also capable of aggression and violence. However, I must stress that we should not let our awareness of this fact side-track us from the much greater social problem that is caused by male violence. We have to be alert and critical enough not to be misled by the over-emphasis that is placed on the comparatively uncommon, but undoubtedly newsworthy, cases of female violence, such as women abusers, viciously violent wives or the woman serial killer. The results of my study on the West Case (see Chapter 4) reveal an excessive highlighting of the female defendant, a sexual abuser and serial killer, as opposed to the male defendant, her partner and also a sexual abuser and serial killer. Criteria for newsworthiness are also discussed (see Chapter 3) and emphasis diversion towards the female defendant can be explained in terms of exploitation of news values deriving from the unusuality characterising the involvement of a woman in acts of such a violent nature as were those committed by the West couple.

2.3 Who are the victims of male violence?

Male violence affects women, children and other men, with some differences in terms of the context in which each of them becomes the target. There are relatively fewer studies of inter-male violence, partly because its assessment is somewhat more complicated, since this kind of violence is often more dispersed, occurs in public places and frequently between strangers. It may also be the case that violence within the family triggers more immediate forms of social action aimed at preventing child cruelty and that violence against women has been constantly spotlighted by the feminist movement (Archer, 1994b). Despite fewer ideological or practical reasons for the dearth of studies on inter-male violence, we cannot neglect the vast social consequences that this violence category culminates in. Its repercussions have an effect not only on men, but also on their relatives. The scope for intervention on violence against women and children tends to be wider, in that such cases normally consist of systematic and repeated advances against the same people and in the same place, often with the development of coherent patterns. However, male violence against children may be underestimated, according to Andrews (1994), who criticises the concentration of studies in this area focusing on mothers as physical aggressors when men are nearly always the perpetrators of child abuse.

2.4 The biological explanation for male violence

No man is born a butcher. (Bertolt Brecht)ⁱⁱ

The attempts to explain male violence in biological terms is a vexing question. Such theories postulates that humans, and men in particular, are genetically and hormonally predisposed to acts of violence against other humans. In recent years, there has been a strong endeavour to reclaim for biology the accounts of human social behaviour

(Kaufman, 1987). It is a rather daring project of sociobiology to try to confine human social interaction to the boundaries of our genetic inheritance. In spite of studies showing a clear effect of hormones on non-human animals (see Huntingford and Turner, 1987), such an effect has not yet been quite determined for highly sociable and sophisticated mammals such as primates, dolphins and whales, due to the interference of social and experiential factors. Since human societies are by far more complex than those of any such other mammals, it is at least expected that these factors play a much stronger influential part in human behaviour. Additionally, exclusively human characteristics, such as culture and language, act directly and decisively upon the process of shaping forms of socially acceptable behaviour, for example, through the justification of some types of violence (such as corporal punishment of children) and condemnation of others (physical attacks on presidents, for instance). My study of British newspapers and their use of markers of modality for the West Case in Chapter 4, shows that denouncement of female violence was at least twice as intense as it was for male violence.

Despite the competition of social, experiential, cultural and linguistic factors with genetic and hormonal influence, there have been several studies concerned with the possible relation between human aggression and biological determiners. The main interest in most of such studies has been the fact that men are more prone to commit acts of violence and display antisocial, criminally aggressive behaviour than women (Turner, 1994). Cross-cultural studies have revealed that men are more assertive, refrain less from expressing and releasing their anger, and are more inclined to using physical aggression (*ibid.*). For comparative studies on male versus female assertiveness and expression of anger through language, see Cameron (1985), Graddol and Swann (1989) and Swann (1992). A survey of crime carried out by Simon and Baxter (1989, in Turner,

1994) in 31 countries between 1962 and 1980 disclosed men as the major group responsible for criminal disturbances, adding up to approximately 87 per cent of the total of arrests and 90 per cent of the arrests for homicide.

Many attempts to explain these differences between the sexes have their roots in genetic and hormonal factors. Excessive stress is placed, for instance, on the presence of the Y and X chromosomes in men's genetic code, as opposed to the usual two X chromosomes in women, as well as the higher plasma levels of the sex hormone testosterone in men. However, we cannot ignore powerful environmental factors such as the different ways in which boys and girls are brought up and the gender expectations imposed on them by parents and society. Neither can we forget that these two fundamental factors mentioned above are mostly and ultimately shaped and mediated through language in our everyday use of discourse as a social practice.

In her study of genetic and hormonal influences on male violence, Turner (1994:247) concludes that:

There are clearly no simple genetic or hormonal factors that can explain the variation in aggressive and antisocial behaviour between individuals or the difference in such behaviour between males and females.

Much work remains to be done in the biological and sociobiological areas yet, due to the high degree of inconclusiveness found in this field of research (Edley and Wehterell, 1995). Past studies had many conceptual and methodological deficiencies which have still not been satisfactorily tackled (Turner, 1994). There are intricate interactions between biological factors and environmental conditions. We must always bear this in mind and try to fathom the extent to which discourse as an environmental component can affect the aggressive behaviour of men and women by, for instance, envisaging a

boy and a girl growing up to adulthood learning pre-fabricated gender roles, i.e., how males and females ought to behave.

As Kaufman (1987:4) points out:

The essential question for us is not whether men are predisposed to violence, but what society does with this violence. Why has the linchpin of so many societies been the manifold expression of violence perpetrated disproportionately by men? Why are so many forms of violence sanctioned or even encouraged? Exactly what is the nature of violence? And how are patterns of violence and the quest for domination built up and reinforced?

A final argument here is that the degree of male dominance is said to vary from society to society. According to Lee and Daly (1987), male domination in modern states ranges considerably. In some of such states, women may be better off, as contrasted with more traditional states, while in some others they may be worse off. This kind of supremacy is stronger in some places and weaker or even non-existent in a few. In face of such differences from place to place, clinging to explanations based on genetics, hormones or the unchanging human nature would, at best, be a careless expression of one's naïveté.

2.5 Male violence against women

In spite of the inferior role that men assign to them, women are the privileged objects of their aggression. Simone de Beauvoirⁱⁱⁱ

Male violence towards women is the most frequent form of direct, personalised violence experienced in adulthood. It may range wildly from sexual harassment to rape, from unwanted incest to wife battering or simply the sight of crude pornographic images. Whatever the embodiment, few women are lucky enough to escape, somehow or other, some manifestation of male aggression (Kaufman, 1987).

According to Dutton (1995), twenty years ago wife assault was not recognised as a social problem and was ignored in academic texts. Even though many women physically

aggress their male partners and despite some surveys suggesting that slightly more wives than husbands indulge in forms of physical aggression against their partner, there is no doubt that it is women writ large who sustain most of the serious injuries resulting from marital violence (Archer, 1994b). Aggressive behaviour in women was found to be injurious in relatively fewer cases and most of it being of a retaliatory nature as surveyed by Saunders (1986, in Frude, 1994). Although both husbands and wives can be reported as 'aggressive', a much larger number of men can be referred to as being 'violent' (Frude, 1994).

As far as cultural norms and attitudes are concerned, it is said that society condones and even fosters male brutality in a domestic context as a way of holding fast to the status quo and affirming male dominance or patriarchy. In other words, violent behaviour on the part of husbands can be said to be a reflexion of social patterns of power and resource allocation (Frude, 1994).

Male sexual violence against women enacted by strangers or not is another serious social problem. Pollard (1994) reviewed studies of rape and other forms of sexual assault and concluded that they are worryingly far more frequent than what is generally assumed. He also found that the profile of the typical rapist is distant from the stereotype of the rapist that attacks a stranger. He is often an acquaintance of the victim(s), who does not have a criminal record and has never been reported to the police either. His study goes further to discuss two common erroneous assumptions about rapists: first, that they are poorly endowed with social skills or for some other reason have limited access to women; secondly, that they suffer from mental instability. Evidence available contradicted such beliefs. Instead, Pollard's research showed that most rapes are committed by psychologically undisturbed men and that this kind of aggressive behaviour may be tacitly condoned by peer groups and more indirectly

connived at by social attitudes, such as the rape myth discourse in which blame is primarily suspected to be on the victim. There is a strong positive correlation between rape-supportive attitudes, the vast majority of them manifested within and through discourse, and rape proclivity. Pollard closes his study by suggesting informational interventions to produce less rape-tolerant attitudes, such as exposure to courses or pieces information about women's rights – strategies that have already been employed with a certain degree of successfulness.

Supported by empirical evidence, Campbell and Muncer (1994) advance their hypothesis that men and women think differently of aggression and violence. According to them, men understand violence in instrumental terms, i.e. a means of obtaining concrete or abstract benefits, whereas for women it signifies a discharge of emotion to signal a refusal to cope.

Kaufman (1987) remarks the continuous necessity that masculinity has of being nurtured and affirmed. Domination of women by physical coercion constitutes a regrettable form of affirmation. Violence against women can be a means of affirming a man's power in the language of our gender-structured society for those who hold self-negative images or cannot channel their feeling of powerlessness otherwise. Such detrimental behaviour is but the blatant betrayal of masculinity's fragility and artificiality.

2.6 Male violence against children

Child physical abuse by men is a very serious question, mostly because of the general underestimation of this problem, owing to a mistaken tendency to concentrate on the study and survey of women as the main source of this particular mode of violence – a fact that has been criticised in recent reviews of the literature in this area. Whilst it is

recognised that men are the major perpetrators of child sexual abuse, investigations on their participation in child physical abuse are still rather scarce. A review by Wolfe (1985, in Andrews, 1994) revealed that studies up to 1985 included samples of mothers as abusers only. From then on, researchers have progressively included fathers and their roles in child abuse in their observations (Andrews, 1994). From such studies, a general outline arose of the features of fathers involved in child abuse. Most of them bore signs of psychiatric disturbances, especially personality disorders and alcoholism (Reid *et al.*, 1987; Rogeness *et al.*, 1986, in Andrews, 1994). In the United Kingdom, a recent study by the NSPCC (National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children), showed that men were approximately twice as likely to be involved in cases of child physical injury to children (Andrews, 1994).

Results of studies of child physical abuse perpetrators seem to be obscured by mostly two factors. First, more unwary offenders, such as young or inexperienced people who are not efficient in covering their tracks, normally come to the attention of local authorities more easily. Secondly, mothers, as the primary caregivers, are more likely to be reported as child abusers, particularly when showing signs of mental distress (Andrews, 1994). Data collection for such studies, thus, appears to favour men, in that their participation might be higher than what research has so far been able to detect.

Browne (1994) explains that male participation in child abuse is estimated to account for over 80 per cent of the sexual acts. He is especially concerned with identifying some characteristics of individuals seeking sexual activities with children, as well as the consequences for the victims of these experiences in terms of cognition and behaviour in adulthood. According to Browne's findings, most of the offenders were male, as was previously mentioned, with a concentration between the ages of 35 to 40. Although not belonging to the victim's immediate family, the majority was known to them. Despite

the identification of personality and behaviour disturbances in populations of assailants, an agreed profile of the typical abuser could not be drawn. The consequences of abuse in childhood are frequently wide-ranging, devastating and long-lasting. These include mainly the traumatic physical and psychological effects of the intercourse, a sense of betrayal of trust, a feeling of powerlessness and worthlessness, and stigmatisation. Posterior psychological repercussions may come in the form of anorexia, drug addiction, personality disorders and sexual dysfunction. Not rarely, one generation's victims grow up to be the next's abusers. Such was precisely the case with the male and the female defendant in the West Case. They both lived a childhood plentiful of sexual abuse and depravity inflicted by their parents and suffered most of the consequences mentioned above, which eventually evolved to extreme degrees of psychopathology.

2.7 Inter-male violence

Violence of men towards men, albeit not so extensively researched as male violence against women and children, is also an issue of social concern, in that it affects not only a large number of men, but also their wives, children and other relatives, as mentioned in section 5.4. In this study, I intend to provide a concise overview of inter-male violence involving individuals or small groups of men, therefore excluding forms of organised male violence comprising larger, formal or informal groups.

The most severe forms of within-sex violence, according to Archer (1994d), take place between men, in violent disputes involving pairs or small groups and the same is true for the majority of other forms of physical aggression. In examining the demographic characteristics of the participants, Archer (*ibid.*) found that inter-male violence tends to be concentrated amongst teenagers and young adult men at the margin of society's institutions. Precipitating events of these bodily confrontations are

apparently trivial in many cases. They normally consist of an escalating sequence of hostile verbal acts which are often perceived as identity threats. Such events may result in a quick dissolution of the conflict by one of the participants' apologising or escaping, or they may trigger an aggressive exchange, eventually leading up to homicide. The initial source of the dispute often becomes minute when viewed in retrospect, and the resulting violence, conversely, grows immensely disproportionate in relation to what caused it. Progression of hostile advances involves an assessment of the opponent's fighting potential, much like what has been observed in animals. Influence of alcohol and weapon availability, however, makes the crucial difference in human fights (Archer, 1994d), and may account for a great deal of a man's bravery.

Many social values seen as masculine are closely related to violence and a masculine subculture plays a decisive role in stimulating violent exchanges between men. Shared beliefs of social representations of masculinity are often reflected in the context where inter-male conflicts occur. Examples of this reflexion is the influence that the audience/witnesses of violent exchanges may exert by reinforcing (through instigating the parties in conflict, taunting them or questioning their masculinity) the necessity of face-saving and self-esteem, as well as the need for keeping or establishing one's reputation as a 'real man', given that such disputes commonly happen in public places, such as bars or the street. The fragility of masculinity is thereby evinced, making it clear that it is an achieved rather than an ascribed social status (Archer, 1994d) – and one that requires constant nurturing and (public) reaffirmation. Masculinity is, to a large extent, a discourse construction that consists basically of behaving in accordance to socially prescribed ways, whose fundamentals are highly questionable. The cultural backdrop to inter-male violence embraces a series of socially-shared beliefs about the worth of toughness and physical aggression as inherent constituents of masculinity. To be a man

is, in many ways, to be caged within the boundaries of an alien identity imposed by society, at the expense of the loss of one's essence.

2.8 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I tried to give but a glimpse of the seriousness of male violence as a vast social problem in the modern world. According to Gilbert (1994), 'male violence may even outrank disease and famine as the major source of human suffering'.

Biological explanations for male violence can sometimes be used to mean that this is the way things ought to be and that nothing can be done about it. But the notion that we are no more than the 'puppet of our genes' (ibid:383) has been progressively refuted by a number of scientists. Male violence is much more a result of interactions with the environment, rather than a genetic or hormonal predisposition and so far there has not been any solid explanation in biology to the fact that men commit more acts of violence than women. Amidst a number of environmental factors stands a series of 'masculine and feminine values', that are inculcated in children, since an early age and throughout their lives.

Masculinity values are closely connected with displays of aggressive behaviour and require constant reaffirmation to society. Aggressive behaviour is not exclusive of men, nonetheless there is a sharp disparity between men and women when it comes to acts of violence and the serious consequences thereof, such as injury or death. Men are at the front of most categories of physical aggression and are the main source of violence towards women, children and themselves. First and foremost, we have to identify the conditions that foster and stimulate the reinforcement and perpetuation of aggressiveness and violence as masculinity values. The question of male violence raises fundamental questions about notions that are accepted without questioning by most

people – men and women alike – in modern society to the extent that ‘as men, we often grow up to be strangers to ourselves’ (Seidler, 1991). Ideas and values find their gateway into cultures mainly through language and discourse practices. Within my scope of action as a linguist, my primordial task is to raise awareness to the ways in which discourse can labour with the intent to maintain dominant relations of power in society. By working on one example of how male and female violence are differently portrayed in discourse practices, i.e., the West Case, this is what I endeavour to demonstrate in the following chapters.

ⁱ Anne-Marie Fearon, ‘Come in, Tarzan, your time is up’ in *Shrew*, issue on ‘Feminism and non-violence’, spring 1978.

ⁱⁱ Brecht, B. (1965) *Threepenny Novel*. Trans. Desmond I. Vesey. Harmondsworth: Penguin. p 282.

ⁱⁱⁱ de Beauvoir, S. (1949) *The Second Sex*. New York: Vintage. P 162.

Chapter 3

The Power of News as Discourse

In particular, representations in media texts may be said to function ideologically in so far as they contribute to reproducing social relations of domination and exploitation. (Fairclough, 1995:44)

3.1 Introduction

In order for the purpose of my study on modality markers and male violence in the West Case to become clear, it is necessary to draw a critical picture of the situation of the news media in relation to their power of influence upon their audience. Despite the unassailable importance of television, radio and other forms of mass communication, my investigation takes into account only the press, which is the category that I approach in this study.

News is, in broad terms, a form of discourse and, according to Kress (1989), a discourse delimits, organises and prescribes the ways we are to express ourselves according to topics and contexts. Thus, I looked into news under a critical perspective, paying particular attention to the ways in which news creates and reproduces power, dominance and inequality in society – especially as regards the way in which male violence is discursively expressed in the British press. There are many linguistic devices to help us deconstruct texts. In my research I made use of markers of modality to verify my hypothesis that male violence was to a large extent overlooked and taken for granted in reports of the West Case in British newspapers (see Chapter 4). Before getting down to the question of power itself

and in order for us to achieve a fuller understanding of it, I will touch upon the general properties that characterise news as a textual genre, the importance of crimes reports in Britain and the newsworthiness of the West Case in particular, and the functions of the media and their relationships with modality structures.

3.2 What's news?

The written media comprises a variety of different genres, such as: news report, letter to the editor, advertisements, column, background feature, review and so on. There is much controversy as to what defines and delimits a genre and the aim of this study falls away from tackling this issue. What is common-sense, however, is the fact that the great majority of 'established' genres of the press can be easily recognised despite the difficulties in stating sometimes what tells one genre from another. A habitual reader of newspapers and/or magazines would not be expected to have problems saying what it is that s/he is reading in terms of genre. 'Visible' characteristics, such as presentation and format, integrate with 'invisible' ones, such as style and textual structure, so as to guarantee the identification of the different and more common genres.

News style, when news is approached in a stricter sense here as the reporting of an event, is largely reminiscent of the conventional style of storytelling, with such elements of narrative as setting, plot, resolution, etc. (van Dijk, 1988). News similarity in style with stories is an important feature, in that it can impart extra appeal to the text. So far as textual structures are concerned, news articles are generally organised in compliance with a 'formula' or pattern that entwines a sequence of categories, each of them performing a function of information. This news schema is précised by van Dijk (ibid.:176) as follows: 'Summary (Headline and Lead), Main Events, Backgrounds (Context and History),

Consequences (Consequent events or actions and Verbal Reactions), and Comments (Evaluation and Prediction).’ There is some degree of variation as to this standard, with headline and lead being obligatory structures, while some others may not necessarily be included.

Each news item in the press has a headline and they will seldom lack a lead, regardless of them being marked off with special printing type. An elementary rule is that headline precedes lead and both of them precede the subsequent news text structures. Together, they make up a semantic macrostructure equivalent to a summary in stories. The headline, *strictu sensu*, consists of a phrase or sentence, normally in large bold type, expressing one aspect of the whole news event around which the variable global content is to be inserted (van Dijk, 1988). It denotes the angle from which the story will be mostly approached. The lead is the first paragraph of a news report and may sometimes be identified by special printing type or lay-out. It may coincide with the thematic sentence of the headline and it ‘establishes the significance of the story, its direction, pace and tone’ (Murray, 1983:39).

Within the news schemata, main events are the central points of the news article, reported in relation to the context in which they occurred. They may be followed by backgrounds, which have a ‘more comprehensive, structural, or historical nature’ (van Dijk, 1988:54).

Consequences is another category routinely found in news discourse. The newsworthiness of an event is sometimes tightly bound with its social, political or other consequences. Depending on their scope, they may have the same hierarchical position as main events or even be expressed in the headline. Verbal reactions is a specific category of news schemata and is described by van Dijk (1988:54) as ‘a special case of consequences’. Within this category, normally, participants in a given event or prominent people (such as

politicians or scientists) will be asked to express their views on the subject-matter. This structure was commonly found throughout the reports of the West Case, where verbal reactions of victims' relatives, defendant's relatives, acquaintances and neighbours were included.

Finally, the news discourse category of comment features the newspaper's or the journalist's opinions, evaluations or expectations, in spite of the common ideological view that fact and opinion are to be kept apart in the news media (van Dijk, 1988). In relation to the newspapers that I analysed, this kind of macrostructure was more frequently found in the tabloids (*Daily Mail* and *Daily Star*).

According to van Dijk (1988), the term *news* can be rather ambivalent, in that it serves to convey different notions. The most basic meaning evoked by the word news is that of 'new or fresh information' (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 1989). The second meaning of news entertains the notion of media and mass communication. Finally, the third idea that we have of news has to do with the report of an event under the form of a newspaper article or a TV programme featuring reports of recent events. Therefore, van Dijk (ibid.:4) distinguishes between the three immediate notions of news in everyday language usage as follows:

1. New information about events, things or persons.
2. A (TV or radio) program type in which news items are presented.
3. A news item or news report, i.e., a text or discourse on radio, on TV or in the newspaper, in which new information is given about recent events.

My study centres on the third class of news, i.e., I regard news as a type of genre of the press of far-reaching scope and that, in this particular case, is restricted to newspaper police reports.

3.3 The importance of police reports

Police reports belong to a subdivision of the genre of press news called *hard news*. Hard news represents the main product of the press and includes reports of crimes, accidents, conflicts, discoveries, disasters, catastrophes, etc. (Bell, 1991). Crimes, depending on how unusual and shocking, can even belong to the category labelled *spot news*, which covers one-off, unpredictable and unexpected happenings. Hard news is largely recognised by journalists and media researchers as the central news product (ibid.).

The reporting of crimes in British newspapers enjoys a special status. Quality papers in Britain publish crime reports in their second pages, as pointed out by Caldas-Coulthard (1997). She relates this fact to the cultural relevance that issues of law and order possess in that country and wisely compares British newspapers with Brazilian ones in order to remind us of the converse situation of police reports in our papers. Newspapers in Brazil frequently present reports of police affairs in the last pages of the first supplements or even in other supplements, including the last (ibid.). *Folha de São Paulo* for instance, one of Brazil's most prominent quality papers, in its Sunday issues brings police reports in the fourth supplement, which means these cannot be immediately found, since they are roughly in the middle of the newspaper.

3.3.1 Newsworthiness of the West Case

The newsworthiness of a news item is determined by a series of criteria known amongst journalists as *news values* (Caldas-Coulthard, 1997; Bell, 1991; van Dijk, 1988). Such criteria have pivotal influence in the selection and chances of publication of a given news item. They stem from social cognition, i.e., by what is collectively shared by both

professionals and (indirectly) public of the news media as newsworthy (van Dijk, 1988). These values impart attractiveness to the text, a characteristic that is fundamental to news discourse if news producers want their product to be competitive and consumed.

Galtung and Ruge (in Bell, 1991:156/158) were the first to design a list of news values based on foreign news in the Scandinavian press. Their criteria were deemed applicable to various types of news in a number of different countries. Their criteria added up to a dozen items, as follows:

1. **Negativity** – it is a platitude that news is bad, although it is difficult to state why.
2. **Frequency** – how well a story conforms with the news work cycles; the day is the basic news cycle for the press
3. **Continuity** – once something is in the news, it tends to stay there.
4. **Meaningfulness/Cultural and Geographical Proximity** – geographic and cultural closeness enhance news value.
5. **Consonance** – compatibility with preconceptions about the social group or nation from which the news actors come.
6. **Unambiguity** – the more clearcut a story is, the more it is favoured.
7. **Unexpectedness** – the unpredictable or the rare is more newsworthy than the routine.
8. **Threshold/Superlativeness** – the most outstanding event gets covered.
9. **Composition** – compatibility of a news item to be mixed with different kinds of news and some common threads in the composition of a newspaper issue.
10. **Personalization** – something that can be pictured in personal terms is more newsworthy than a concept, a process, the generalised or the mass.
11. **Eliteness** – reference to elite persons such as politicians or film stars can make news out of something which would be ignored about ordinary people.
12. **Attribution** – highly valued news sources need to be elite on some dimension, particularly socially validated authority.

Bell (1991:156/160)

Later, van Dijk (1988:121/122) and Bell (1991:159/159) gave their contributions to this list by adding eight more values for news selection, namely:

13. **Relevance** – in general, information is preferred about events or actions that are relevant for the reader.
14. **Recency** – the best news is something which has only just happened.
15. **Competition** – every news outlet wants an exclusive.
16. **Co-option** – a story which is only tangentially related can be interpreted and presented in terms of a high profile continuing story.
17. **Facticity** (according to Tuchman, 1979) – is the degree to which a story contains the kinds of facts and figures on which hard news thrives: locations, names, sums of money, numbers of all kinds.
18. **Predictability** – if an event can be prescheduled for journalists it is more likely to be covered than if it turns up unheralded.

19. **Prefabrication** – the existence of ready-made text which journalists can take over or process rapidly into a story greatly enhances the likelihood of something appearing in the news.
20. **Presupposition** – the evaluation of novelty and recency presupposes extant knowledge and beliefs.

If an event is to be judged newsworthy, it has to comply at the very least with one of the conditions above (Caldas-Coulthard, 1997). The West Case fulfils many of these requirements as I set out to demonstrate below, by commenting upon the ones I found more evidently represented in the corpus.

Negativity – it is common-sense that negativity and deviation are the essential attributes of spot news, however, *why* is a difficult question to answer. Negativity is recognised as a general and basic value of news and a great deal of news discourse has to do with negative events such as accidents, death, crime, scandals, catastrophes, wars (Bell, 1991; van Dijk 1988). Disciplines such as psychoanalysis, sociology and cognition theory, according to van Dijk (1988) may serve as basis for some attempts to explain people's interest in stories with the characteristics presented above. In psychoanalytical terms, basically two factors draw our attention to these sorts of reports. First, such stories are, for the most part, the expression of our own innermost fears and the fact that the actors are normally distant from us produces a sensation of relief and safety. Second, we build mental models of negative events within our emotional system and our fascination with the danger and deviance of these stories is in fact a preparation for escape or defence. In a combined cognitive and sociological approach, the processing of such information represents a simulation of events that can potentially devastate the structure of our routines and at the same time test us in relation to the general norms and values of the society we live in, particularly when there is an element of deviance in the story. It is a way of defining and re-confirming the social group which we judge ourselves to be members of by contrast with traits that deem others

outcast. Extensive research on the attractiveness of negative news is still required. Nevertheless, negativity ingredients are abundant in the West Case. It is rich in deviant behaviour, appalling events and harrowing details. The mere labelling of the central actors as serial killers and psychopaths exerts undeniable appeal and fascination on readers. If the West Case did not have any of the other news values, this one alone would suffice for it to make a good, sellable story.

Meaningfulness/Cultural and Geographical Proximity – geographical proximity tends to enhance the newsworthiness of a story as well as cultural closeness does (Bell, 1991; van Dijk 1988). Given the extremely unusualness of the West Case, it quickly spread not only throughout Britain since it took place in Gloucester, a well-known place in England, but also all over Europe and even other continents. According to van Dijk (1988), close affairs make better topics for storytelling and, additionally, require less physical space in the newspaper, since the audience's knowledge of their local world is more comprehensive, hence fitting within desirable limits of retrievability and updatability where the need for general contextualisation is lower.

Unambiguity – the clearer the story, the more successful. In the West Case there was an avalanche of evidences against the defendants. A succession of corpses unearthed from their patio, to begin with, gave little way to doubts about their innocence. Further speculations on their past, mainly as regarded their sexual habits, sometimes labelled as 'kinky', and the efficiency of the prosecution in gathering key witnesses constituted a rich material for journalists to work on and come up with 'authentic' recounts.

Unexpectedness – unusual events for which there is little or no chance of foreshadowing, or that are rare normally yield good stories (Bell, 1991). This concept is related to that of *novelty*, which postulates that every news item is supposed to carry a new piece of

information (van Dijk, 1988). The oddity and unpredictability of the West Case are unquestionable and, due to a succession of new findings about it, the press dedicated a comprehensive coverage to the case, frequently repeating old information as part of the contextualisation process, but constantly feeding the readers with new information as well.

Threshold – has to do with the proportions, the grandeur, the scope, the impact of a particular story. The term used by Bell (1991) for the same notion is *superlativeness*. In this sense, the West Case did fulfil the condition of superlativeness, in that it was reported as the most harrowing, the most appalling, the most shocking event of its nature, which went on for longest span of time, according to Britain's recorded cases of serial killers, and stirred every corner of that country, causing national commotion. In my opinion, the threshold of an event can be ambivalent, in so far as it can be inherent to the event itself, but it can also be exacerbated through discursive strategies to favour the interest of the media. Sometimes the threshold of a story can be entirely the result of a construction of the media, even though I do not think that this applies to the West Case, due to the particularities and rarity of this story.

Relevance – as proposed by van Dijk (1988) has to do with the consequences that the events being reported might have on the readers' own lives or the closeness of such news with their reality. Relevance is also related with the interests of large groups or institutions and social actions that ought to be taken as a result of a given news item. The media exploited an array of relevant issues in connection with the West Case. In the private sphere, it raised concern on every parent about the dangers that their children are exposed to when wandering alone in the world. In the public sphere, it highlighted as blunder the failure of child care agencies and hospitals in detecting the clues that would have led to the defendants much earlier, thus possibly saving the latest victims' lives.

Continuity – regards the property of a given issue to remain as news. It's the quality that an item of news has of generating more news (Bell, 1991). Continuity was a striking characteristic of the West Case in the British press. My corpus consists of only a sample of news related to this case, but even so it goes from October 7 to November 23, 1995, i.e. one month and a half, a considerably long time in the fast-changing world of news, relentlessly avid for 'new news'. The West Case bred a variety of news around itself, with slight shifts of focus as well as other tangential news, the production of the latter associated with the value called *co-option*, i.e. the capacity of originating secondary news which are presented as a weighty continuing topic (Bell, 1991).

News values are, as a matter of fact, defined by social, economic and ideological interests that favour and cater for the maintenance of the *status quo* of the dominant classes.

3.4 The media and their functions

I shall now switch my focus of attention to the functions of the media. Although I am dealing with the press, the functions I am about to discuss pertain to the media as a whole. In literate societies, the press is regarded as a powerful vehicle responsible for conveying information to the population. In the most general sense possible, to perform the *informative* function is the essence of the press, even though it does exercise other functions as I shall briefly discuss further in this section. If we bear in mind, however, that the spread of information is, so to speak, the 'raison d'être' of the press, we may easily come to the reasoning that whatever is stated or reported by the written media can be taken as reliable, accurate, relevant, complete and – ultimately – true. This is what a great deal of the audience think. And I have emphasised the written media here not only because it is the object of my study, but also because many of us readers are strongly prone to accept as

incontestable any piece of written information that is rendered into printed language. But the fact of the matter is that there is a gap between ideal and real press. And all of us must learn to mind this gap, which in other words means to look at information provided by the media with critical eyes.

In terms of criticism, let me remind the reader that another function performed by the press is precisely the *critical* function. We can say that it branches off another function, which is the *forming of opinions* in the democratic societies (Ensink, 1995; Veen, 1995). Opinions, within the perspective of this study, are mainly formed and expressed in two ways. One of them is to build a certain point of view on the basis of information. And here we see how close a relation there is with the informative function. The other is to shape a standpoint grounded on proposed and previously formulated opinions. Both cases of opinion formation require that the readership be cautious before taking any position on account of what has been just exposed in the previous paragraph. Finally, in order for us to close a cycle and understand how the press comes to have a critical function, I should only wish to mention that opinions are of an evaluative nature and they emerge from socially relevant questions in what regards mass communication.

All such functions will eventually make for the *democratic* function of the media (Ensink, 1995). Since it is very improbable that there be in the press such things as absolute information and unanimous opinion, the condition of plurality – vital for democracy – is then met. Divergent information and opinions are expressed and made known for the audience to take their own stand. This is the core of the notion of freedom of the press. The ways in which the press makes use of its freedom is quite another question and it is up to us to be alert to them.

3.4.1 Modality and the functions of the press

At this point, I believe we can turn to the issue of what kind of relation there is between the lexicogrammatical category of modality, brought forward in Chapter 4, and the functions of the media. It is fairly easy to make the connections between the use of modality devices and the opinion forming and critical functions of the media. Opinions are the manifestation of one's stance with respect to a subject. Criticism, to a large extent, involves evaluation. The expression of opinions and criticism is but the overt performance of the interpersonal functional of language, which in turn, is achieved by means of modality structures.

Relating modality to the informative function of the media, however, precludes us, to a certain extent, from clinging to a logical thread of thought, if we consider that informing is a process confined to the presentation of facts. This is, in truth, what the readership at large assumes that a genre such as news report, regarded and described as informative, will do. Nevertheless, this is not always the case, due to: (a) dynamism in information dissemination, (b) overlapping with/intrusion of other textual genres, or *intertextuality* (Fairclough, 1995), and (c) difficulty in defining and delimiting the domains of a genre. This is why it is no wonder to find a news report with sudden sparks of interpersonal intervention, in spite of the journalistic premiss for this genre that opinion and fact are to be kept apart. More than just sparks, my analysis detected a significant presence of markers of modality in the 76 articles about the West Case selected for investigation (see Chapter 4).

3.5 The social power of the press

The powerful effects of the press upon the public has been an issue of debate and a growing field of research in the studies of mass communication (van Dijk, 1992). Discussions on this topic range from the influence of the press on its audience to its place and role as an institution in the broader framework of social, economical, political and cultural structures of power. In this study, I approach the question of the social power of the press under the perspective of discourse analysis, a cross-discipline of the humanities and social sciences that systematically investigates the relations between the structures and functions of language with the social practices that language serves to enact.

The application of discourse analysis to mass communication means, such as newspapers, entails a critical look into discursive structures, strategies and manoeuvres adopted by them in the construction of their messages, as well as the way in which such messages relate both to readers and institutional organisations in society. This means, in other words, that two dimensions of power are at play here. First, the cognitive influence that the press potentially has over its readership of changing and shaping mental models of the world by means of subtle discursive artifices of persuasion, repetition, pervasiveness, quotations, selection of information, deletion, editing, rearrangement, etc. Second, the consequences of being in a privileged position of control and detention of access to media discourse.

3.5.1 Power

Power can be defined in a number of ways, and if we want to understand what sort of relationship holds between it and the press, first we need to briefly conceptualise power in

relation to role of the press in society. It is important to point out that the definition of power here is given with basis on a macro view of the press as a social institution, thus ruling out micro levels of individual, personal power within the hierarchic framework of the press. Within this context, I agree with the concept offered by van Dijk (1992:2), which says that social power is:

‘...a social relation between groups or institutions, involving the control by a (more) powerful group or institution (and its members) of the actions and the minds (of the members) of a less powerful group. Such power generally presupposes privileged access to socially valued resources, such as force, wealth, income, knowledge or status.’

In the sense that the press has, to a greater or lesser extent, the possibility of controlling its readers’ minds, the nature of its power can be said to be symbolic and persuasive. The exercise of power by the media takes place in an indirect form, unlike methods of physical coercion or legal sanctions determining the compliance of the weaker part with the objectives of the stronger one. Despite tactical differences, the ultimate goal remains basically the same whenever there is any situation of struggle for power, i.e. control of actions. In the case of the press, the methods are said to be indirect in so far as they imply manipulation of mental representations by means of access to far-reaching forms of discourse (Fairclough, 1989).

It is true that there will always be counter-forces opposing this form of power, such as other sources of information with divergent opinions and/or information. According to van Dijk (1992) there is psychological and sociological evidence to support a claim that no matter how pervasive the symbolic power of the press, some of the readers will be able to keep a certain degree of autonomy and independence, instead of simply engaging passively and, thus, offering some resistance against persuasion. This may well be so; however, what ‘some of the readers’ means in quantitative terms is certainly a question of concern.

Mind control by the press may be particularly effective when the readers neither realise that such control is being enacted, nor do they envisage the implications thereof (Fairclough, 1985; van Dijk, 1992). Press discourse, therefore, is generally not authoritarian or straightforwardly direct in the exercise of power. Rather, it frequently makes use of mitigated language and softer devices of intrusion in its pursuit of control. This is a clever manner of infiltration and it is by using such disguises of indirectness that the press eventually manages to change certain of the audience's mental representations. Discourse deconstruction, in this case, would mean a recipient's ability to relate properties of news report discourse with the change, shaping or maintenance of mental representations, social cognitions, attitudes or ideologies shared by groups of readers. It is the first and fundamental step towards a better definition of manipulation and influence. Certain markers of modality constituted the particular property that I investigated in texts about the West Case and the overall results of both qualitative and quantitative analyses revealed a general kind of discursive practice working in consonance with a form of male dominance, i.e. physical violence.

Dominance is normally maintained by processes of reproduction whose ultimate goals are to preserve an oligarchic distribution of access to social resources and to legitimise this situation of inequality. Domination is frequently associated with power abuse which, according to van Dijk (1992) can be enacted by the press through manipulative moves, in that information can be biased, suppressed or edited so as to change the audience's social cognition in a direction which may not coincide with their best interests.

3.5.2 Access to public discourse

Public discourse is certainly a valued social resource inasmuch as it is a source of power. Therefore, access to public discourse is an important factor to be considered in a discussion of media power. Control of means of mass communication, together with economic and political control, represents much of the power at play in information societies (van Dijk, 1992; Fairclough, 1985). Thus, power distribution in such societies is, to a large extent, related to access to the production of public discourse.

Access to public discourse is, for most people, out of reach. Their control is normally constrained to everyday talk with friends, family members or colleagues. Consequently, they are rather unlikely to act directly upon the establishment of news contents or be the central actors of news reports. On the other hand, one of the factors that tells apart elite groups from ordinary people is the greater scope of action of the former and their influence and access to forms of mass discourse. The power of media discourse can be such that its influence may even tell on other elite groups, such as politicians or those in control of economic resources, when a relationship of dependence is born in which maintenance of power of the latter hinges on forms of mass communication (van Dijk, 1992). Thus, major news media may be institutions of power and dominance with such comprehensive influence that they get to affect both the public in general and other elite institutions as well.

The scope of the social power of an institution is closely related to its control of different public discourse genres. Analogously, the efficacy in enacting power will be associated with a larger number of people affected by an institution's discourse practices. It is my opinion that the unequal portrayal of male and female violence in the West Case, giving the latter a biased view as contrasted to the former, affects women at large in the sense that

female violence is seen as less acceptable than male violence. However, it is not my stance that it should be more acceptable. Rather, I advocate the general combat through language of any form of deliberate violence – irrespective of the agents' gender, skin colour or social class.

3.5.3 News discourse and the building of models

In a study of the power of news discourse, the notion of *model* is of great significance and cannot go unheeded. A model consists of the mental representations that we build of our experiences – and these can be defined as events that we participated in directly, witnessed, read or were told about (van Dijk, 1992). Upon reading a report about a given event we are either building a model of it, or updating an already existing one. The comprehension of a news report is directly linked to the constructions of models in our minds of the event about which information is being offered to us. Such a model may include our personal opinions, but it will often envelop also socially shared concepts, views and knowledge related to the nature of that particular event. In the West Case, these would encompass social models of murder, sexual abuse, rape, torture, serial killers, psychopaths, male violence, female violence, etc.

Public discourse, especially that conveyed by means of mass communication, is largely responsible for the formation of social models in modern societies. It is a primary goal of the press that their public form models of the events that they report. Not rare, however, is the fact that certain groups of people within the media manipulate information so as to shape social models in compliance with their own interests. One way of verifying this is to look at reports of different newspapers about the same event: we may find distinct foci of attention, divergent information and even differences in content between them. Information

steering is a key manoeuvre for the media to attain to success in disinforming, persuading and influencing their audience. It is an ancillary expedient for them to establish what van Dijk (1992:6) calls 'preferred [social] models', i.e., models that work in favour of the interests of specific groups within the media, regardless of their coincidence with their public's.

A common and cunning stratagem in newspapers towards the construction of their preferred models consists of highlighting certain aspects or actors of an event in a news report by, for instance, displaying them in the headline or the lead. By the same token, if newspapers want less attention paid to aspects that collide with their objectives or those of other élite groups, they may as well play them down by giving them less emphasis or even omitting them in the report. The quantitative analysis of markers of modality found in newspaper reports about the West Case revealed that the negative prominence given to the female defendant was, in general, more than twice as much as the same kind of attention dispensed to the male defendant.

3.5.4 News discourse and gender imbalances

I would like to close this section, related to the social power of the press, by briefly touching on the question of gender inequality as regards access and participation in news discourse. As far as access of women to positions in the news industry is concerned, their presence in this environment is still rather scant when compared with that of men, and their gains in terms of employment of female journalists are quite modest as of yet (see Creedon, 1993). According to van Dijk (1992), women are less frequently assigned higher editorial positions, given less credibility as sources, which means that they are less quoted than men, and regarded as less worthy as news actors.

Table 3.1 Gender distribution in the authorship of the newspaper articles

Newspaper	Female author	Male author	Authorship not specified
Daily Mail	1	8	7
Daily Star	2	4	13
The Guardian/The Observer	1	21	7
Independent	-	-	2
The Times	1	7	2
<i>Total</i>	5	40	31
<i>Percent</i>	6.58%	52.63%	40.79%

An investigation of the presence of male and female journalists in the corpus yielded results that corroborated what was stated above in terms of gender imbalance. Table 4.1 above shows that 45 of the 76 articles included authorship. From these, 40 were male and 5 were female journalists, that is, out of every 9 articles, only one was written by a woman. The vast majority of the newspaper articles whose author/s was/were specified was written by men. The purpose of presenting this finding here is to point out the omnipresence of men as holders of positions of power as authors of most of the articles on the West Case herein analysed. There is a situation of flagrant imbalance in this sense. However, I do not dare conjecture about a possible relation between this datum and the fact that male violence was generally overlooked according to my analysis. This is not the central issue in my research and constitutes a distinct research question. Consistent investigation would be required in order to come up with any conclusions in this respect. For instance, a closer look into the articles written by women showed that these were also highly biased against the female defendant.

It was previously mentioned that women are in general less newsworthy than men, although for the West Case the situation was quite the opposite. However, I must remark that the newsworthiness attached to the female actor here derives entirely from an unequal

exploitation of negative aspects, again bespeaking and reproducing a situation of gender imbalance where the favoured part is the male. Newsmakers must have soon realised that a story rich in extreme forms of violence as was the West Case would sell far better were the main character a woman, due to its element of unexpectedness, one of the news values discussed above. Negativity and unexpectedness were strategically exploited and discourse was used so as to preserve male interests since, with the woman in the spotlight, little room remained for the questioning of male violence.

3.6 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I tried to demonstrate some aspects of media power, particularly as regards news discourse in the press. Firstly, I pointed out some characteristics of news as a textual genre and drew an analogous comparison of its textual structures and those found in stories, aiming at evincing the attractiveness of news as a genre. Secondly, I made remarks about the special status of police reports in Britain and commented upon the newsworthiness of the West Case and the most evident news values found and exploited in it. Thirdly, I briefly discussed the functions of the media, giving special emphasis to how the press can influence its readership through the forming of opinions and tried to demonstrate that this process is strongly interpersonal. Finally, I addressed the question of power, stressing points such as access to public discourse, the formation of social models through media discourse and the unequal distribution of discursive power between genders.

In this chapter, my aim was to raise awareness to the consequences of that practice, bearing in mind the importance of the West Case in the British press and the vast coverage dedicated to it. My main endeavour was to alert the readers to the social models that may have arisen from the enactment of the discourse practices of newspapers concerning this

particular case: I am afraid that they might be seriously distanced from reality. In Chapter 4, I will demonstrate how male violence was overlooked in relation to female violence in the West Case, considering the use of markers of modality.

Chapter 4

Markers of Modality and the Representation of Male

Violence in the West Case

4.1 Introduction

Every discourse trespasses the limited boundaries of merely being *about* something by reflecting the speaker's stance, attitude, assertion, insecurity, commitment or detachment towards that something. The expression of these features in a text is called *modality*. According to Halliday (1994:75), 'modality means the speaker's judgement of the probabilities, or the obligations, involved in what he [sic] is saying.'

Modality is a lexicogrammatical category typical of the clause functioning as exchange (Halliday, 1994). Apart from carrying a message and conveying representations of the world, the clause also structures a system of interaction between speaker/writer and audience. In sending a message, the speaker simultaneously assumes a position (speech role) in the speech act and invites the audience to react to that message and thereby assume theirs. It is the *interpersonal* metafunction, as it is referred to in systemic grammar, being herewith realised, i.e., language being 'used to enable us to participate in communicative acts with other people, to take on the roles and to express and understand feelings, attitude and judgements' (Bloor and Bloor, 1995:9). In other words, the interpersonal metafunction (or functional component of meaning) serves to enact social relationships and modality is a linguistic device to communicate these.

The thrust of producing a clause entails the first and foremost speech roles, i.e. (i) giving and (ii) demanding. Giving and demanding are at the core of any linguistic exchange whatsoever. If we analyse giving and demanding at ‘microscopic’ level we will be able to deconstruct them and break them down to more complex meanings such as, respectively, ‘inviting to receive’ and ‘inviting to give’ (Halliday, 1994:68). Therefore, the production of discourse is by nature a non-unidirectional act, for it presupposes the existence of an audience just as much as it expects a response from them. It was in the increasing need of interaction and exchange that language originated. It was from the ever-growing complexity of interactions and exchanges that modality evolved.

However, the type of genre that I analyse in this thesis, i.e. newspaper articles, allows me to account for only one part of this interactive process – that of the writers – since I cannot have access to the readers’ responses. Despite the duality/multiplicity of discourse output and the bi-/multidirectional aspect of the clause as exchange, my study focuses only on one side of language production: the senders’. Nevertheless, this does not lessen the value of this study’s endeavours to highlight the importance of the clause as exchange, for in analysing what the writers are *giving*, i.e. communicating, under a Hallidayan perspective, and how they are doing that, I am, as a matter of fact, examining what they are *inviting* the audience *to receive* (as true, certain, untrue, uncertain, etc.) and how.

What is being put forward via utterances, words, or clauses is in general terms closer to the ideational metafunction of language. Ideational meanings, according to Halliday (1994), are the product of our mental manoeuvres to concretise the prior-to-language understanding of our surroundings and everyday world, bringing them down to earth in order to transmit them to others, having words as the primal instrument thereto. It is the language system concerned with expressing events, the external world and our internal world of

consciousness, a task accomplishable due to the representative properties inherent to language (Montgomery, 1995). The ideational system, therefore, envelops the codification into words of the notions of action, agency, quantity, possession and so forth.

The ideational metafunction is evinced by Halliday (1994) in his study of the clause as a message, within the transitivity system, which centres on the representational meaning of our semantic choices, i.e., what the clause is about. *How* our ideational meanings are being transferred to our interlocutors has to do with the interpersonal metafunction. Interpersonal meanings are the strategies that we use to interact linguistically with each other, the devices that we employ in order to try and make our hearers/readers react to our message in the way we expect them to. The interpersonal system is what enables us to start and maintain a dialogue, allowing us to act upon the speech event. Given that a speech event is a bi-directional linguistic manifestation, the interpersonal system is, on the one hand, concerned with informing, directing, querying, etc. and, on the other hand, involved in replying, commenting, acknowledging, etc, depending on specific roles adopted by each participant in relation to the others' contributions to that speech event (Montgomery, 1995).

The interpersonal metafunction is exploited in Halliday's investigations of the clause as exchange, emphasising what the mood structure of the clause is doing as a bridge for verbal interaction between sender(s)-receiver(s), within the lexicogrammatical category of modality. Even though the study of both metafunctions can bring invaluable insights to discourse analysis, the latter is the nub of this discussion. In this work, I am particularly interested in *how* writers of crime reports convey their representations of male and female offenders to their audience.

4.2 The structure of modality

The concept of modality has been broadly used to deconstruct texts which ‘express speakers’ and writers’ attitudes towards themselves, towards their interlocutors and towards their subject-matter’ (Fowler *et al.*, 1979:200). If a clause represents an event (ideationally) with respect to a given type of process, attached to this coding is the assessment (interpersonally) of the validity and certainty of the proposition therein embedded (Fairclough, 1995).

In modality, the main grammatical system in operation is that of *mood*. Interactional meaning is realised by means of mood structures; they show us ‘what the clause is doing, as a verbal exchange between speaker-writer and audience’ (Halliday, 1994:179). The mood system in English is made up of two categories: *indicative* and *imperative*. The indicative mood is subdivided into *declarative* (statements) and *interrogative* (questions). The imperative mood consists of commands and offers (Halliday, 1994; Bloor and Bloor, 1995).

Interpersonal meanings expressing varying degrees of probability, possibility, assertion and so on are referred to as *epistemic modality* (Carter, 1987). Epistemic modality expresses meanings related to the nature, grounds, limits, and criteria, or validity, of human knowledge and are related to the theory of cognition (Palmer 1979, 1986). On the other hand, interpersonal meanings expressing such aspects as obligation and permission are labelled *deontic modality* (Carter, 1987). Deontic modality has to do with meanings connected with moral obligation, duty or ethics (*ibid.*).

I shall now turn to another dichotomy in modality: modality *of proposals* and modality *of propositions*. This bifurcation is structured according to the types of commodities being exchanged via language, as follows.

4.3 Modality of proposals and modality of propositions

Halliday (1994) says that language is used to exchange basically two commodities: (i) *information* and *goods & services*. *Proposition* is the term used by him to define the clause working as a means of exchanging information. *Proposal* is the counterpart label to address the clause whose semantic function is the exchange of goods & services. In clauses having mood, we necessarily make a choice between indicative and imperative. The mood subdivision comprising propositions is the indicative, whereas the imperative embraces proposals. If we opt for indicative, the next step is to decide on declarative or interrogative with one choice excluding the other, since no clause can be both (Bloor and Bloor, 1995). The same reasoning applies to imperative, where a clause is, depending on our choice, either a command or an offer, but not the two.

After making the decisions within the mood system, a further position is taken as regards *polarity*, i.e., we choose between positive and negative (Bloor and Bloor, 1995; Halliday 1994). Between these two poles, however, there is a considerably wide range of degrees of indeterminacy and our possibilities of choice cover this whole spectrum of variation between *yes* and *no*, or *do* and *don't*. Common examples from this gradient are 'maybe', 'sometimes', 'allowed to', 'required to'. All of such indeterminate degrees of polarity are what characterises the lexicogrammatical category known in Halliday's functional grammar as modality.

4.4 Finite verbal operators of modality

There are two kinds of verbal operators in the mood system: modal and temporal. A finite modal verbal operator consists of a verb with modal meaning(s) in the mood structure of the clause. Verbs with modal meanings include not only the verbs traditionally known as modal (*can, could, dare, may, might, must, need, ought to, should, will and would*), but also other verbs that do not share the same grammatical features with them, such as *have/had to*, which can convey the kinds of meanings associated with modality as well. The verbs above stand for one of the verbal elements in the mood system; the other type of verb found in the mood system is the finite verbal temporal operator, which consists of a temporal auxiliary verb marking tense in the clause. My study concentrates on modal operators. In addition to expressing modality, these operators also carry the polarity of an utterance, i.e. the choice between positive and negative. Therefore, finiteness is comprised of a combination of a verbal operator – modal or temporal – plus the determination of polarity (Halliday, 1994). Table 4.1 below is a compilation of the verbal modal operators found in my corpus. They are sorted out according to polarity and degree of modality.

Table 4.1 Finite modal verbal operators found in the corpus (based on Halliday, 1994:76)

	low	median	high
positive	can, may, could, might	will, would, should	must, ought to, need/ed to, had to
negative	need + no	will not, would not, should not	cannot/can't, could not

4.4.1 The question of monosemy and polisemy

The finite modal verbal operators constitute a controversial section of grammar as regards their semantic properties. In this respect, according to Coates (1983), there are two basic accounts of such verbs and they are approached as either *polysemantic* or *monosemantic*. The monosemantic approach sustains the existence of one basic meaning for each modal verbal operator, whereas the polysemantic perspective argues that they can have more than one meaning. I consider the former approach rather problematic if we are to analyse all the uses of a modal operator. Consider, for instance, the immediate difficulties we would come across in accounting for *may* or *should* under this point of view. Therefore, I adopt a polysemantic view of modal operators in my analyses in sections 4.5.1 and 4.6.1 below, and agree with Palmer (1979:40) that ‘the overall picture of the modals is extremely ‘messy’ and ‘untidy’ and that the most the linguists can do is impose some order, point out some regularities, correspondences, parallelisms.’

One step further into the structure of modality will take us to its partition in two subcategories named *modalisation* and *modulation*, as shall be discussed below.

4.5 Modalisation

Modalisation is the term used by Halliday to describe the stronger or weaker polarisation of a proposition towards its assertion or denial, respectively, with a subdivision into two classes: (i) *degrees of probability* and (ii) *degrees of usuality*. There is a continuum along the scale of degrees of probability, which can be briefly exemplified through the words ‘possibly / probably / certainly’, denoting an increasing progression from ‘less probable’ to ‘more probable’, meaning ‘either yes or no’, i.e. ‘maybe yes’, ‘maybe no’ (Halliday,

1994:89), and signalling distinct degrees of likelihood as they lie closer to or farther from either pole. The scale of degrees of usuality behaves by the same token. A quick illustration of the different degrees of oftenness can be provided by the words ‘sometimes / usually / always’, representing ‘both yes and no’, i.e. ‘sometimes yes’, ‘sometimes no’ (Halliday, 1994:89).

According to Halliday’s (1994) functional grammar, three linguistic devices are available for us to *modalise* what we say in terms of probability and usuality: (a) a finite modal operator in the verbal group (see Table 4.1 above); (b) a modal adjunct of (i) probability or (ii) usuality (see Table 4.2 below); (c) a combination of both (a) and (b).

4.5.1 Finite modal verbal operators as modalisers

Finite modal verbal operators were already presented in section 4.4. They are used as *modalisers* as well as *modulators*. Below are some examples of their use in the corpus with the purpose of modalising the clause.

1. [Expert in handwriting] Ruth [Myers] concludes Rose has a warped philosophy of life, and she **can** neither give [n]or accept love. [Text 65] *Daily Star*
2. Rose was going with bigger and bigger black men and it got to the stage where Fred **couldn’t** satisfy her. [Text 58] *Daily Star*
3. But when he was 18, what **may** well have been the most fateful event of his life happened. Walking up a fire escape behind a village girl, he reached up her skirt. She turned and gave him a violent push and he struck his head (...). Many sex murderers have suffered head injuries in childhood. [Text 14] *Daily Mail*
4. Six signs pointed to Mrs West’s involvement. (...) Second, she **must** have enticed a number of the victims: she was in the car when Caroline Owens, who was released after an ordeal at the hands of the Wests, was picked up. [Text 19] *The Guardian*
5. The fact that Rosemary is alive, despite having lived with him for so long, is proof in itself that she **must** have had some control over him. She remains the only woman to have really known him and lived. [Text 16] *Daily Mail*
6. A special suicide watch **will** be kept to make sure she doesn’t follow her husband’s example. [Text 06] *Daily Star*
7. Folie à deux: Folly sounds too mild a word to describe what the pair embarked on, but there is a feeling that had they not met each other – had Fred not met his “perfect companion” as Brian Leveson QC describes her – then the full horror **would not** have taken place. [Text 42] *The Guardian*

The reason why the verbs above are called modal operators by Halliday instead of modal verbs is that in studying modality and modals, we are forced to include some verbs, e.g. *will* and *would*, that are also seen as closely related to the system of tense and volition, whereas the majority of the modal verbs (see section 4.4.1 above) are associated with concepts of possibility and necessity (Palmer, 1979). Thus, in view of the comprehensiveness of the term modal operators, I now set out to comment on each of the examples selected above.

The modal verb *can* is frequently used to express ability of the subject and, in excerpt 1 it expresses the female defendant's *lack* of ability to either give or accept love. However, *can* also encodes other meanings that at times seem to lie below the surface level, but that can be uncovered after some pondering. Still in excerpt 1, the use of *can* is linked to a discursive recourse called *appeal to authority* or *attributed source*, whose purpose is threefold: (i) it serves to reinforce the writer's view of accounts; (ii) at the same time it is a stratagem to relieve his/her commitment towards his/her pronouncement on the issue and (iii) it adds *eliteness*, one of the news values presented in Chapter 3, Section 3.3.1, to her/his news report. The linkage between *can* and appeal to authority here allows us to detect two other kinds of meaning other than ability, simultaneously conveyed by *can*. One kind of meaning is a form of judgement of the extent to which an action is im/possible and is called *circumstantial possibility* (Palmer, 1979). The circumstances for the woman's impossibility of giving and accepting love are the analyses of her handwriting carried out by an expert. The other kind of meaning perceived was that of *deduction* or *logical possibility*, as proposed by Lewis (1986): the female defendant's handwriting have such features that make possible to state that she *does not have the ability to/it is impossible for her to* give and accept love. Most cases of logical possibility are realised through *can't*. In my example, however, the negative particle comes in the form of the paired conjunctions

neither...nor. As we could see, a complex combination of three different meanings is communicated with the use of the modal verb *can* in association with appeal to authority/attribution, with the objective of stressing the obviousness of the woman's guilt.

In excerpt 2, the notions of (in)ability and (im)possibility implicit in *couldn't* stream together with a rather prejudicial argumentative structure in the first clause of that sentence. Having the first clause as an argument to support the second, two generalisations in terms of female sexual behaviour and one with respect to racism are made. The first two ones have to do with suggesting that there is a direct relation between a woman's taste for sex with men who are big and black and her tendency to insatiability. The last one is made evident through the simple mention of skin colour and sexual deviance. The overall picture here is that of a powerless man/husband, because he is neither big enough nor black, contrasted with that of a fierce woman. Even though the man is the subject of the modal verb, the role of modalisation (thus masked) here is to focus on the woman's scope of action.

In epistemic modality, *may* as well as *must* are used to make judgements as to the possibility of the propositions therein expressed (Palmer, 1979). In extract 3, we find *may* as an epistemic modal functioning as a judgement about the possibility that an injury on the man's head turned him into a sex murderer. Epistemic *may* is normally used as a sign of the speaker's/writer's lack of assertion in relation to a given proposition (Palmer, 1986). Although the writer here was not as confident as to make use of *must*, he does employ the intensifying word *well* for the benefit of the male defendant, thus strengthening his interpersonal intervention on the report of a possible excuse for the man's violent behaviour.

Whereas *may* is milder in terms of asserting the speaker's/writer's confidence and judgement towards the possibility that a certain proposition has of being held as true, *must* is epistemically stronger in doing so, with or without a specification of the facts based on which such deductions arose (Palmer, 1986). Example 4 consistently showcases the writer's stance as regards the woman's share of responsibility for the crimes, making it almost a categorical assertion. His attitude is further emphasised by the combination of *must* with *entice*, a verb more evaluatively marked and ideologically loaded than its alternative near synonym *persuade*.

In example 5, *must* has an analogous function, i.e. that of interpersonally signalling the writer's disapproval of the female defendant due to her being more dominant than the male. The reasoning underlying this proposition can be deconstructed and reworded as follows: the man was wicked, yet the woman was dominant over him; therefore the woman *must have been* heinous. Another serious implication here is the danger of a generalisation that in order for women to withstand an aggressive male companion they have to be of the same nature as or even worse than he is. There are certainly other, less face-threatening strategies that wives can draw on to survive violent husbands; however, modalisations of this kind preclude, to a certain extent, the reader's envisaging them.

In excerpt 6, *will* conveys not only the notion of futurity, but also the interpersonal meaning of intention (to carry out an action). Thus, there is an element of volition co-occurring with futurity and it is agreed that they are normally so tightly interwoven in the positive form of *will* that it is often difficult to detect the former at first sight (Palmer, 1979). *Will* may concomitantly allude to what is generally expected and it is frequently related to an assertive statement. Hence the importance of *will* as a marker of modality: it can easily masquerade as a future auxiliary verb as it serves to inculcate readers with

reactionary, warped views of the world through repeated use. In this case, in addition to futurity, *will* conveys the intention to prevent the female defendant from escaping her sentence, expressed at the same time as a consequence both expected and likely. I do not question this punishment policy in itself but I *will not* abstain from stressing that no such preoccupation was shown in relation to the male defendant; so much so that he managed to commit suicide and, therefore, eschew his sentence. This passage exemplifies the use of modality in a discursive practice of inequality between men and women, in blatant disfavour of the latter.

Would is seen as a 'remote form [of *will*]' by Lewis (1986:121) or a 'tentative form of *will*' (Palmer, 1979:48). It is therefore a modal verb which is frequently used to express the same meanings as *will*, but in a milder way. Additionally, it is common to find *would* in sentences containing conditionals and it is even misnamed as the 'conditional tense', which in fact the English language does not possess. Conditionals are associated with non-factual assumptions and hypothetical judgements of events. In the case of non-factual assumptions, the notion of inevitability is often underlying the sentence (Lewis, 1986). This is normally structured in two clauses: the first expressing a remote, non-factual condition and the second conveying the inevitable outcome of a presumed fulfilment of the immediately preceding condition. Hypothetical judgements entail the assessment of 'certain circumstances', other than those currently prevailing. In the circumstances conjectured about by the speaker/writer lies a great deal of attitudinal hints towards his/her stance in relation to the subject in question. In excerpt 7, the writer introduces his assumptions and judgements placing the man and the woman in egalitarian positions but soon shifts towards an imbalance, exempting the male defendant from responsibility for the crimes by

surmising that the female defendant was the condition which inevitably led to the crimes taking place.

I hope to have shed some light on the importance and use of modal operators as modalisers in my corpus. Let us, thus, turn to modal adjuncts, the second linguistic device of modalisation investigated in this study.

4.5.2 Modal adjuncts

An adjunct is a constituent of mood, ‘a function at the rank of clause (the others being *Subject*, *Finite* [within the mood], *Predicator*, *Complement* [within the residue],’ (Bloor and Bloor, 1995:255) that cannot potentially come to be as a subject. It appears commonly in the form of either an adverbial group or a prepositional phrase (Halliday, 1994). Depending on its type, an adjunct can be part of either the mood or the residue of a clause. Modal adjuncts belong to the mood because of their metafunction in the clause; they serve to express interpersonal meanings and these are contained in the mood (Halliday, 1994). The broader category of modal adjuncts encompasses two subdivisions, namely *mood adjuncts* and *comment adjuncts*.

4.5.2.1 Mood adjuncts

The group of the mood adjuncts is thus labelled on account of the close association that the adjuncts under this heading have with the meanings represented through the mood system, i.e. polarity, modality, temporality and mood (Halliday, 1994). A list of the most frequent mood adjuncts is given in Table 4.4 below and a complete list of all the mood

adjuncts found in my corpus is provided in Table B.1, in Appendix B. Instances of their use for interpersonal purposes were taken from the corpus, as follows:

1. “If they brought back capital punishment, I’d press the button, I’d pull the rope. We’re **absolutely** delighted [with Rose West’s life sentence].” [Text 43] *The Guardian*
2. Yet, he was **almost certainly not sufficiently** aggressive to be a rapist or – to begin with, at least – a sex murderer. [Text 14] *Daily Star*
3. And the temper ticks on some letters, such as the i and the t reveal Rose is **easily** provoked to anger. [Text 35] *The Guardian*
4. But her sobs were **entirely** bogus, the prosecution told the jury. [Text 70] *The Times*
5. In society, women are **generally** far less violent than men. (...) So Rosemary West has shocked our deepest instincts, broken the most important taboos. [Text 13] *Daily Mail*
6. She was **so** evil and **genuinely** the monster people had called her. [Text 08] *Daily Mail*
7. So how do we react to Rosemary West? With horror. Disbelief. A profound sense that the acts were against nature. More than **merely** against nature, that they were against the nature of women. [Text 13] *Daily Mail*
8. Fred West is **obviously** a man of limited intelligence with a poor degree of fluency and weak spelling. [Text 65] *Daily Star*
9. He performed the ‘operation’ [abortion] in a garage next door, and kept photographs of the bloodstained women – he **obviously** derived satisfaction from the sight of blood. [Text 14] *Daily Mail*
10. Mrs West said she **rarely** helped her husband renovate the cellar because she was **so frequently** pregnant. [Text 46] *Independent*

The examples above are a sample of what was found in terms of modalisation realised by means of mood adjuncts and some of them are discussed below.

Example 2 shows a rather fussy and fuzzy combination of four mood adjuncts with the ultimate goal of providing an excuse for the man’s violence. Fussy inasmuch as it is extravagantly overlexicalised by a plethora of successive adjuncts and fuzzy because the outcome of so many lexical items blurs the author’s standpoint or, in other words, disguises the writer’s interpersonal interference in the account of events. Nevertheless, the writer’s attitude towards the question is there. However, the use of ‘almost’ to mitigate the strength of ‘certainly’ bespeaks detachment from his statement, a dismissal of commitment, a face-saving strategy. The negative polarisation of ‘sufficiently’ by juxtaposition with ‘not’ is a sign of the writer’s justification of the man’s actions as well as a move to transfer his blame and responsibility to the woman, the latter being reinforced by what is left unsaid of her in

that clause and in the immediately subsequent ones, characterising it as an implicature (see Grice, 1994).

In excerpts 5 and 7 it is interesting to see how modal adjuncts were used to help make generalisations about the nature of women. They highlight the acts of the female defendant in terms of their antagonism to what is common-sensically expected to be the *feminine essence* and depict them as uncanny or aberrant with the help of such words as *instincts* and *taboo*. Instincts have to do with innate, genetic qualities which, according to example 5, women were not supposed to possess. Taboo is a word that carries the notion of forbiddenness and together with the mood adjunct *generally* serves to reinforce the idea that violence is a terrain where women are not socially allowed to tread on. The use of such words in combination with the mood adjunct *merely* in extract 7 accentuates the deviance attached to the female defendant's behaviour as opposed to what is taken for granted as *womanly conduct*. The way these two passages were written also leaves room for a great deal of implicatures as to the naturalness of violence as a trait of men. There is no doubt that discourse is a most powerful instrument to ban violence from society but we have to be aware that it is a sharp tool and that it cuts both ways. Violence ought to be scorned as an unacceptable trait of *people* regardless of gender. Refusing female violence exclusively can be a way of consciously or unconsciously naturalising male violence.

I intentionally selected two examples (8 and 9) with the mood adjunct 'obviously' to demonstrate that the same adjunct can be used for converse purposes. One newspaper made use of it in order to lessen the man's share of guilt and responsibility for the murders, whereas the other employed the same word in an attempt to stress his proneness to kill. What I intend to illustrate thereby is the potential ambivalence and antagonism of a word at play within the same context. The interpersonal feature of these two clauses is evinced

through modality, in that different writers of texts about the same issue make clear their divergent stances by assuming counter positions in relation to that subject-matter.

4.5.2.2 Comment adjuncts

Comment adjuncts are so called because they often perform the additional function of markers of textual organisation, similarly to conjunctive adjuncts, linking two information units and signalling their boundaries at the same time. They are not sharply distinguishable from mood adjuncts. In fact, there is a great deal of overlapping between these two categories and it is difficult to draw a line demarcating the boundaries between them. Notwithstanding, the comment adjuncts subdivision embraces those adjuncts which are less tightly bound to the grammatical structure of mood. Still, they are seen as modal adjuncts, for they carry the speaker's/writer's positioning in relation to the proposition as a whole (Halliday, 1994). A complete list of the comment adjuncts found in my data is included in Table B.2, in Appendix B. The most frequent comment adjuncts are grouped in Table 4.6 below. The following are some examples of their occurrence in the texts I analysed.

1. She left in November 1972 because Rose had **allegedly** made lesbian advances, and Fred had talked **endlessly** of group sex (...). [Text 14] *Daily Mail*
2. Rena had told a friend that Fred had some 'kinky' demands. Rose **apparently** had no objections to these, and her sexual appetite developed until she became virtually insatiable. [Text 14] *Daily Mail*
3. Much Marcle, the village straddling the border between Gloucestershire and Herefordshire where he was brought up, was soon to learn that his **apparently** cheeky manner could switch **swiftly** to extraordinarily hostile behaviour towards those weaker than himself. [Text 67] *The Times*
4. Fred seems to have been the stronger character **at first** but Rosemary later played the dominant role. [Text 42] *The Guardian*
5. **By** a million to one **chance**, a man suffering from a condition known to psychologists as satyriasm – a sex maniac to laymen – became the sordid soulmate of a nymphomaniac. [Text 14] *Daily Mail*
6. The combination was lethal. Like Hindley and Brady, they **no doubt** egged each other on to unimaginably cruel heights. [Text 66] *Daily Star*
7. The two most evil women in Britain – both **openly** bisexual – have been seen holding hands in Durham Prison. [Text 06] *Daily Mail*
8. "There is not a lot of difference **psychologically** between Stalin, Hitler or Rose West," said psychologist Oliver James. [Text 59] *Daily Star*
9. They [sexual sadists] are created by extremely aberrant childhood experiences of sex and aggression, **typically**, mothers molesting sons, as well as harsh disciplining them, hence sex and aggression become inseparably mixed. [Text 16] *Daily Mail*

10. Liz was not **unduly** shocked when Fred told her that Rose was a prostitute. [Text 14] *Daily Mail*

These are some examples of what was detected in terms of comment adjuncts in the 76 newspaper articles selected and I proceed to discuss some of them.

Examples 2 and 3 are instances of the comment adjunct *apparently* in interpersonal manifestations on the part of the writers in relation to the female and the male defendant respectively, showing their detachment or lack of commitment towards their statements. Even though both examples convey in general a negative evaluation of both the man and the woman, I believe example 2 to contain a certain amount of bias against the woman, unduly failing to criticise the man in a situation where both of them shared the same responsibility for their acts. If we analyse this passage focusing on kinky sex demands, we will be able to detect a stronger emphasis on the fact that the woman had *apparently* no objections to them to the extent that she became *virtually* insatiable, and the fact that the man *had* such demands is not questioned.

In stretch 5 we find another clear example of imbalance in terms of degree of responsibility attached to each of the offenders, putting the male aggressor in a privileged position as contrasted to the female. The comment adjunct of prediction *by chance* calls attention to the fatefulness and improbability of the encounter of two potential killers, but the man is portrayed as the weaker part by a process of victimisation in which he *suffers from* a psychological disturbance condition whereas she plainly *is* a psychologically deviant character. The whole situation is stressed by the use of the comment adjunct intensified in the prepositional phrase *by a million to one chance*.

Excerpt 6 is a less frequent occurrence of equilibrium in the treatment of the two criminals – male and female – as regards their share of responsibility and guilt for their

violent crimes. Here the writer makes use of the comment adjunct *no doubt* to convey his high degree of presumption that both were equally to blame. Although it is practically impossible to verify the veracity of this assertion – and precisely because of this condition – example 6 can be considered to be impartial and unbiased, as far as gender relations are concerned. In the absence of evidence to prove otherwise, both the man and the woman were assigned the same level of influence on the case, in the face of the abundance of clues pointing out at a situation of complicity. This is a good example of how we can start to change our discourse practices and avoid making crude, prejudicial generalisations with respect to gender.

While example 6 is an inkling of discourse as a means of promoting fair, gender-free social changes, passage 7 is its extreme counterpart, in that it is doubly prejudicial, sexist and a typical instance of discourse as a means of thwarting sexual plurality, in that it is bluntly homophobic. Disapproval of the fact that the female defendant was bisexual is prejudicially displayed and used in order to revile her preferences, to smut her reputation by suggesting a relation between non-heterosexuality and aggressiveness based on an isolated fact that two highly dangerous women happened to be bisexual. The prejudicial duplicity lies in the use of the comment adjunct *openly* to emphasise the rejection of bisexuality as a socially acceptable behaviour. *Openly* realises a negative modalisation in the sense that it bespeaks the woman's shamelessness in admitting publicly her sexual inclinations, since they are presented as socially deviant.

Antipathy against the female defendant is made strikingly clear by comparing her *psychologically* with Stalin and Hitler, two historical icons of massive human suffering infliction who, incidentally (?), were men. In addition to evoking the notion of ruthlessness, such a comparison is also a reminder of the ideas of leadership and intelligence, for this

were strong traits of the two characters mentioned above. This is in fact a metaphorical strategy to imply the woman's intellectual dominance over her partner, portraying her as the mentor of a series of violent crimes and diluting the man's liability in the case.

In trying to account for the factors that help to produce sexual sadists or, in other words, to give an explanation for the couple's violent behaviour, the male defendant is once more privileged by an inconsistent generalisation. In cases of child abuse by parents, the vast majority of the perpetrators is made up of *fathers* sexually abusing daughters and sons (Andrews, 1994) and not what the writer puts forward as typical, i.e. mothers molesting sons, despite the over-emphasis on the mother in studies of child abuse (*ibid.*), as was discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.7. This is a flagrant case of the writer's interpersonal intervention in the text, showing his incapability to account for male and female violence in equal terms – its a symptom of the prevailing discourse practices, i.e., those which tend to naturalise male violence but are unable to fathom out female aggressiveness.

4.5.3 Finite modal verbal operators combined with modal adjuncts

Finite modal verbal operators and modal adjuncts, whether of mood or comment, co-occur not only naturally, but also frequently in the clause. Below are a few examples found in the corpus.

1. What **can possibly** have gone in the mind of Rosemary West? [Text 66] *Daily Star*
2. "They have a lot of evil inside them, how **can** God **ever** forgive them? [Text 72] *The Times*
3. That plea in law of 'temporary insanity' which sometimes can console people, like myself, who hate to accept the notion of pure evil, **clearly cannot** apply here. With the facts of her case so new and horrendous, it is very difficult even to claim for her a total, overwhelming madness. [Text 13] *Daily Mail*
4. No words in the lexicon of brutality **could adequately** express the pain and humiliation inflicted upon her by the Wests before they killed and dismembered her. [Text 73] *The Times*
5. "The letters were extreme. Some said they could not understand how she **could possibly** deny being involved. [Text 55] *Daily Star*
6. As a younger teenager, she **had to** submit **regularly** to her father, often in his work van. [Text 38] *The Guardian*

7. **Separately**, they **might** have lived damaged lives of obscene but private sexual fantasy. [Text 12] *Daily Mail*
8. After all, in a population as large as Britain's, there **will always** be a few people whose conduct is beyond the range of the normal, the acceptable, or the readily comprehensible. [Text 12] *Daily Mail*
9. "(...) If attention is paid to what I think you **will never** be released. Take her down. [Text 43] *The Guardian*
10. Anne Marie had agonised for weeks over how to find the courage to face her depraved stepmum and deliver the damning testimony which **would surely** seal her fate. [Text 50] *Daily Star*

The overall effect of the combination of finite modal verbal operators with modal adjuncts is the enhancement of the modalising power that they exert alone. Since both categories of modalisation were introduced and discussed individually above, I do not think necessary to comment on these examples. Thus, let us now move on to the concept of modulation, the last subdivision of modality that I investigate in my work.

4.6 Modulation

Modulation in Halliday's (1994) nomenclature is the term used to represent the process of polarisation of a proposal, encompassing the intermediate degrees between 'do it' and 'don't do it'. The nearer a proposal is in relation to the positive pole, the tighter its connection with *prescriptive* meanings will be, whereas the closer to the negative pole, the stronger its association with *proscriptive* meanings. Both types of meaning are typical of hortatory discourse. The two speech functions pertaining to modulation are *commands* and *offers* (ibid).

According to Halliday (1994), a command can be modulated along a scale of obligation where examples of typical intermediate degrees are allowed to / supposed to / required to. By the same token, willing to / anxious to / determined to represent varying degrees of inclination in the modulation gradient of offers. Modulation, thus, has to do with the

deontic aspect modality and its expression by means of proposals, these being down-toned or emphasised in scales of obligation and inclination.

There are two linguistic devices to convey modulation in a proposal: (a) finite modal verbal operators, and (b) an expansion of the predicator either (i) by a passive verb, or (ii) by an adjective. A brief explanation as well as some examples of (a) and (b) found in the corpus are presented below.

4.6.1 Finite modal verbal operators as modulators

A discussion of finite modal verbal operators can be found in section 4.4. Although modal verbal operators were frequently found in the corpus performing a modalising function, their occurrence in the same texts as modulators was not expressive. Nonetheless, a few examples detected are given as follows:

1. But you **can't** pin Rosemary's cruelty and perversion on her upbringing. It was tough, poor and sparse of love, but not sadistic and depraved. [Text 66] *Daily Star*
2. For taking my sister's life and all the other lives, too, she **must** be locked up forever. [Text 72] *The Times*
3. Rosemary West was, is, to all outside appearances an ordinary woman. And yet this archetypal 'woman-next-door' figure was capable of many years of torture and murder without drawing attention to herself. This is perhaps the most frightening thing of all. There **need** be **no** obvious pointers to the worst form of evil. [Text 13] *Daily Mail*
4. Evil Rose West "**should** have her neck stretched", her disgusted brother-in-law said last night. [Text 49] *Daily Star*

It is often argued that *can* does not possess a deontic nature in its basic meaning (Palmer, 1979). It is not the purpose of my study to dwell into this discussion. However, I do consider *can* as a potential modulator given its frequent usage in colloquial speech to signal permission, just like *can't* is used to convey its denial, which is clearly the function performed in example 1. What called my attention in this excerpt was a prompt inclination towards a rejection of any justification for the female defendant's aggressive behaviour in

face of a quite different situation as regards the male defendant's violent acts. Scattered throughout the corpus were some explanations for the production of sexual sadists, and those included abuse suffered during childhood as one of the causes, putting mothers molesting sons as typical, which is highly questionable as was previously mentioned (see Chapter 2, Section 2.7). In addition, there were some hypotheses that what triggered the male defendant's aggressiveness were blows on his head, damaging some parts of the brain responsible for controlling aggressive impulses. The reading of the articles also revealed that both defendants had been sexually abused during childhood by their parents. It is striking the fact that some hypotheses are raised to explain the kind of violent behaviour observed in the West Case, but the use of most of them to justify the woman's acts is vetoed. Such a restriction is modulated with the use of *can't* in example 1.

Must is a modal verbal operator used in English to express strong deontic modality – and within the functions of modality, it represents deontic necessity (Palmer, 1986). There were very few occurrences of *must* with such meaning and extract 2 was selected simply as an example of its use in the corpus. In spite of being a statement against the female defendant, stressing the necessity of convicting her, and despite the fact that no similar demands were found with respect to the male defendant, I cannot sustain that this modulation was biased against the woman. This is because both defendants were in different situations at this stage: the man had already committed suicide by then and therefore could not be sentenced to imprisonment.

In stretch 3, modulation is realised through *need + no*. *Need* is both a modal and a non-modal verb, the latter being distinguished from the former by the existence of non-finite forms, an *-s* inflection, and its occurrence with *to*, while the modal form differs from the non-modal in that it has the 'NICE properties' (Palmer, 1979:9), i.e. negation, inversion,

code and emphatic affirmation. The modal form of *need* frequently accounts for modalised necessity negation as is the case in example 6. Again an epistemic modal verb is deployed incurring biased generalisation. Bound up with an exponent of stereotyped naming of women, such as “archetypal ‘woman-next-door’ figure”, it points up the impending threat that every woman purportedly represents through the proposition that no warning signs are necessary to evince a woman’s potential to be an aggressor. Once no such like mention is made about men, a hiatus is formed by what is left unsaid to generically imply that ordinary men do not pose any menace to society, a mistake which could have been avoided, had ‘person-next-door’ been chosen instead. In this case we have both modality and naming dynamically combined in a example of biased discourse practice that ought to be avoided and fought against.

Should is a modal operator that can function as a modulator when carrying the meaning of necessity or advisability, which are deontic meanings. A strongly negative attitude towards the female defendant is interpersonally conveyed by *should* in example 4, stressing necessity as well as advisability of violent punishment. The strength of the statement in excerpt 4 is enhanced by the fact that it is a quotation of words of a relative of the woman’s. Although they are not the writer’s words proper, his interpersonal intervention lies in his choice of including a key-person’s words in his text. I would even dare say that his interpersonal contribution to the text was strategically and indirectly realised in such a way that, at the same time, he saved his face by reproducing somebody else’s words and optimised the potential effect of the clause, in that the words used belonged to a person closely related to the female defendant.

After having demonstrated how modal verbal operators can be used for modulation purposes, I would like to introduce the two last forms of modulating considered in my study, namely passive verbs and adjectives.

4.6.2 Passive verbs

The presence of certain passive verbs indicating obligation or inclination in the structure of the predicator also constitute a form of modulation (Halliday, 1994). Examples of such verbs would be allowed to / required to / obliged to / inclined to. Examples of this kind of marker of modulation were rare throughout the corpus and two of them are presented below, the first expressing a weaker and the second a stronger degree of obligation.

1. In a highly unusual move, the Crown was **allowed to** present evidence of Rosemary West's sexual habits which would normally be inadmissible. [Text 69] *The Times*
2. The West's last known victim, daughter Heather, had been **urged by Fred to** find a boyfriend and lose her virginity. [Text 14] *Daily Mail*

The examples above account for just about all of the occurrences of such passive verbs in the corpus.

4.6.3 Adjectives

Like passive verbs, adjectives related to obligation and inclination found in the structure of the predicator are another device for modulating proposals. Examples of such adjectives are anxious / eager / willing / determined / inclined.

1. After the verdicts in Rosemary West's trial, Detective Superintendent John Bennet, who led the investigation said there was no evidence that the missing women had come to harm, but he was **anxious** they should be traced. [Text 33] *The Guardian*
2. "But I was **determined** to face her and my own fear and I did. Each time I told the jury of a particular act committed by Rose I turned and looked at her." [Text 19] *Daily Star*
3. He [Fred West] was 12 years older and **determined** to use his greater experience of life to prize the ingenious teenager [Rosemary West] from her perhaps over-protective parents. [Text 70] *The Times*

4. Maybe she cannot bear to face the horror of what she has done. She is, in a clinical sense, in denial. Or maybe she is not **willing** to take the responsibility for her own murderous actions. [Text 13] *Daily Mail*

Modulating adjectives, like modulating passive verbs, occurred rather sparsely in the corpus.

Having introduced modality and exemplified its application in discourse analysis for text deconstruction in the qualitative analysis, let me switch to the presentation of the results of the quantitative analysis and their discussion.

4.7 Results and discussion

Based on the analytical procedures described in Chapter 1, Section 1.6.6, the results obtained through the quantitative analysis are displayed and discussed in this section.

As regards modalisation through finite modal verbal operators, Table 4.2 beneath shows that the emphasis placed on the female defendant as a perpetrator of violent physical aggression was the highest (27.80%), considering only the cases directly related to the defendants. Modalisations of this nature, i.e. against the woman amounted, in fact, to roughly twice as many occurrences as those found against the man (13.70%). A curious finding was that the same pattern of proportionality was detected between occurrences for the woman (3.11%) and for the man (1.65%). These two last data, however, do not necessarily mean that there was less reservation in passing positive judgements about the woman. Rather, these figures can be a result of the fact that the woman was more mentioned throughout.

Table 4.2 Occurrences of finite modal verbal operators as modalisers in the corpus

Neg. fem. = modalisations against the female defendant
 Pos. fem. = modalisations for the female defendant
 Neg. male = modalisations against the male defendant
 Pos. male = modalisations for the male defendant
 Neg. couple = modalisations against the couple
 Pos. couple = modalisations for the couple
 Not direct. related = modalisations not directly related to either of the defendants

Finite modal verbal operators as modalisers	Total	Neg. fem.	Pos. fem.	Neg. male	Pos. male	Neg. couple	Pos. couple	Not direct. related
can/can't/cannot	57	15	1	3	2	14	-	22
could/could not/'nt	125	27	1	19	1	30	-	47
may	27	5	-	3	1	7	-	11
must	15	6	-	2	-	3	-	4
should	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
will/will not/'nt	44	22	1	2	-	4	-	15
would/would not/'nt	213	59	12	37	4	28	-	73
Grand total	482	134	15	66	8	87	-	172
Percent	100.00 %	27.80 %	3.11 %	13.70% %	1.66 %	18.05%	-	35.68%

There is an average ratio of approximately 1 positive modalisation for every 8.60 negative ones for both defendants, but the fact remains that violence carried out by the male was less approached in the corpus in the form of modalisations by means of finite modal verbal operators – half as much as female violence, in quantitative terms. Female violence was also more negatively modalised than couple violence. Modal operators as modalisers were the second most frequent marker of modality encountered in the corpus. *Would, would not* and *wouldn't* were outstandingly over-represented (213 occurrences) in relation to the other modal operators, with a dramatic drop to *could, could not* and *couldn't*, the second most frequent modal operators of modalisation (125 occurrences)

In order to make a diagnosis of each newspaper, I analysed the same eight variables considered above with respect to their distribution in terms of frequency per newspaper. Before beginning the discussion of the results, I would like to explain how I came to regard

a given number of modalisations as well as modulations as frequent. There is no such thing as a mathematical formula or an index to tell us whether the number of occurrences of a marker of modality is high or low and I did not rank the occurrences as high or low either. Rather, I compared them in terms of 'more frequent' as opposed to 'less frequent'. Notwithstanding, let me illustrate how I figured that a result of 1 marker of modality out of around every 300 words was relatively frequent. At first I had considered that 300 words could be equivalent to a paragraph but soon jettisoned this idea since there is a great deal of flexibility to paragraph size and it can vary greatly. But I then realised that 300 words could be the approximate length of an abstract, which is a text genre that allows for little variation as to size and one modalisation/modulation in one such text, depending on the context, can make itself a noticeable feature of that text.

In Table 4.3 below we can see the frequency results of modalisations through modal operators across the five newspapers. *Independent* was the only newspaper containing more modalisations against the man (1/232 words) than against the woman (1/811 words). *The Times* was the only newspaper which showed a negative interpersonal view of couple violence (1/423 words) more frequently than it did in relation to male (1/799 words) and female violence (1/600 words). The three other newspapers highlighted their negative views of the woman as a murderer, with *Daily Star* on the leading position (1/267 words).

Table 4.3 Frequency of finite modal verbal operators as modalisers per newspaper (rounded up figures)

Newspaper	Neg. fem.	Pos. fem.	Neg. male	Pos. male	Neg. couple	Pos. couple	Not directly related
Daily Mail (15,676 words)	1 every 296 words	1 every 7,838 words	1 every 784 words	1 every 5,225 words	1 every 653 words	-	1 every 413 words
Daily Star (7,217 words)	1 every 267 words	1 every 7,217 words	1 every 1,203 words	1 every 3,609 words	1 every 401 words	-	1 every 301 words
The Guardian/ The Observer (23,321 words)	1 every 583 words	1 every 4,664 words	1 every 972 words	1 every 7,774 words	1 every 833 words	-	1 every 307 words
Independent (1,621 words)	1 every 811 words	1 every 1,621 words	1 every 232 words	-	-	-	1 every 811 words
The Times (7,194 words)	1 every 600 words	1 every 1,199 words	1 every 799 words	-	1 every 423 words	-	1 every 225 words
Grand total (55,029 words)	1 every 411 words	1 every 3,669 words	1 every 834 words	1 every 6,879 words	1 every 633 words	-	1 every 320 words

There was a general tendency towards a very low number of occurrences of markers of modality for positive representations of the couple. Here, particularly, there was no such occurrence.

Mood adjuncts were the most frequent markers of modality present in the 76 articles that I studied and are listed in Table B.1, in Appendix B. Below, in Table 4.4, a list is given of the main mood adjuncts. Female violence was again more interpersonally stressed by means of such markers, this time taking into account those not directly related to the defendants as well. These occurrences added up to more than twice as many (28.45%) as those related to male violence (12.34%).

Table 4.4 Occurrences of mood adjuncts in the corpus (condensed results)

Modal adjuncts of mood	Total	Neg. fem.	Pos. fem.	Neg. male	Pos. male	Neg. couple	Pos. couple	Not directly related
almost	20	3	-	4	2	3	-	8
always	40	16	2	6	2	5	1	8
certainly	11	2		2	2	5	-	-
ever	25	15	-	2	-	4	-	4
just	58	15	5	8	-	10	-	20
never	67	23	5	12	1	18	-	8
no	11	1	-	-	-	1	-	9
only	68	12	6	5	-	20	-	25
particularly	10	3	-	3	-	1	-	3
possibly	13	3	-	1	-	1	-	8
probably	15	4	-	2	1	3	-	5
quite	14	5	-	1	1	5	-	2
so	54	14	6	6	-	15	-	13
very	53	11	2	5	4	20	-	11
other adjuncts	230	69	23	28	8	51	3	50
Grand total	689	196	47	85	21	162	4	174
Percent	100.00 %	28.45 %	6.82 %	12.34 %	3.05 %	23.51 %	0.58 %	25.25 %

Once more the number of modalisations against couple violence (23.51%) outscored that against male violence, the former being almost twice as frequent as the latter. *Only* and *never* were the most frequent mood adjuncts found in the corpus, with 68 and 67 occurrences, respectively.

Frequency of mood adjuncts per newspaper for each variable analysed is compiled in Table 4.5 beneath. Grand total results point out at a general pattern in which mood adjuncts are deployed to convey a negative interpersonal intervention more frequently directed to the woman, and then to the couple and lastly to the man.

Table 4.5 Frequency of mood adjuncts per newspaper (rounded up figures)

Newspaper	Neg. fem.	Pos. fem.	Neg. male	Pos. male	Neg. couple	Pos. couple	Not directly related
Daily Mail (15,676 words)	1 every 206 words	1 every 3,135 words	1 every 603 words	1 every 1,568 words	1 every 327 words	1 every 5,225 words	1 every 280 words
Daily Star (7,217 words)	1 every 249 words	1 every 1,443 words	1 every 601 words	1 every 2,403 words	1 every 226 words	-	1 every 258 words
The Guardian/ The Observer (23,321 words)	1 every 409 words	1 every 2,120 words	1 every 933 words	1 every 3,332 words	1 every 440 words	-	1 every 486 words
Independent (1,621 words)	1 every 232 words	1 every 135 words	1 every 321 words	-	1 every 1,621 words	-	1 every 232 words
The Times (7,194 words)	1 every 289 words	1 every 514 words	1 every 480 words	1 every 7,194 words	1 every 257 words	1 every 7,194 words	1 every 212 words
Grand total (55,029 words)	1 every 281 words	1 every 1,171 words	1 every 647 words	1 every 2,620 words	1 every 340 words	1 every 13,757 words	1 every 316 words

However, there were three different patterns of distribution within newspapers. *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* behaved in accordance with the general tendency exposed above. *Daily Star* and *The Times* gave more negative emphasis to couple violence, followed by female and then male violence. *Independent* stressed its negative views, in terms of frequency, firstly of the female defendant, as did *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian*, secondly of the male defendant and thirdly of the couple. In other words, three newspapers showed more disapproval of female violence by means of mood adjuncts, two of couple violence and none of them gave priority in this sense to male violence.

Even though mood adjuncts were approximately five times as frequent as comment adjuncts, a quantitative analysis of the latter was also insightful, in that it represented the third most frequent category of markers of modality in the corpus. Table 4.6 below contains

the main comment adjuncts found and detailed results of the survey are presented in Table B.2, in Appendix B. The investigation of comment adjuncts served to uncover a reproduction of the same pattern of distribution as that detected in the two previous categories of markers of modalisation with respect to the three variables concerned with negative modalisations, i.e., negative interpersonal manifestations were found to have the following decreasing distribution: 30.37% towards the female defendant; 27.41% towards the couple; 13.33% towards the male defendant. Even frequency of positive modalisations bore the same feature of proportionality found with finite modal verbal operators and mood adjuncts.

Table 4.6 Occurrence of comment adjuncts in the corpus (condensed results)

Modal adjuncts of comment	Total	Neg. fem.	Pos. fem.	Neg. male	Pos. male	Neg. couple	Pos. couple	Not directly related
allegedly	4	2	-	1	-	1	-	-
apparently	8	3	-	2	-	1	1	1
at first	9	6	-	-	-	-	-	3
especially	3	1	1	1	-	-	-	-
openly	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
psychologically	3	1	-	-	1	1	-	-
really	6	3	-	-	-	2	-	1
remarkably	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
sexually	26	9	-	2	2	10	-	3
uncontrollably	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
undoubtedly	4	1	-	1	-	1	-	1
violently	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	1
other adjuncts	60	13	3	10	-	20	1	13
Grand total	135	41	7	18	3	37	2	27
Percent	100.00 %	30.37 %	5.19 %	13.33 %	2.22 %	27.41 %	1.48 %	20.00 %

The most frequent comment adjunct was *sexually*, which is not exactly a surprise, since most of the defendants' crimes had to do with sexual violence. The main comment adjuncts were considerably less frequent than the main mood adjuncts (see Table 4.4 above).

The study of frequency of comment adjuncts per newspaper revealed a peculiar situation. Every newspaper behaved distinctly as regards the use of such adjuncts in negative modalisations directed at the woman, man and couple. A diagnosis of the negative modalisations per newspaper is given below in decreasing order, with a slash separating them where there are differences in frequency, as follows:

- Daily Mail: F / MC
- Daily Star: C / F / M
- The Guardian/The Observer: F / C / M
- Independent: M / FC
- The Times: C / M / F , where:

F = modalisations against the female defendant
 M = modalisations against the male defendant
 C = modalisations against the couple

Table 4.7 Frequency of comment adjuncts per newspaper (rounded up figures)

Newspaper	Neg. fem.	Pos. fem.	Neg. male	Pos. male	Neg. couple	Pos. couple	Not directly related
Daily Mail (15,676 words)	1 every 922 words	1 every 15,676 words	1 every 1,742 words	1 every 15,676 words	1 every 1,742 words	1 every 7,838 words	1 every 1,742 words
Daily Star (7,217 words)	1 every 1,804 words	1 every 3,609 words	-	1 every 7,217 words	1 every 802 words	-	1 every 2,406 words
The Guardian/ The Observer (23,321 words)	1 every 1,458 words	1 every 23,321 words	1 every 7,774 words	1 every 23,321 words	1 every 1,943 words	-	1 every 1,794 words
Independent (1,621 words)	-	1 every 1,621 words	1 every 1,621 words	-	-	-	-
The Times (7,194 words)	1 every 1,799 words	1 every 1,194 words	1 every 1,439 words	-	1 every 1,199 words	-	1 every 3,597 words
Grand total (55,029 words)	1 every 1,342 words	1 every 7,861 words	1 every 3,057 words	1 every 18,343 words	1 every 1,487 words	1 every 27,515 words	1 every 2,038 words

Table 4.7 above discriminates the results between the variables and newspapers. The overall results fall within the pattern so far observed for the other markers of modalisation, i.e. F / C / M.

Finite modal verbal operators as modulators were the fourth most frequent markers of modality found in the corpus. There were 70 occurrences of these markers as displayed in Table 4.8 beneath and, in quantitative terms, this means that there was less than one such marker per newspaper article.

Table 4.8 Occurrences of finite modal verbal operators as modulators in the corpus

Finite modal verbal operators as modulators	Total	Neg. fem.	Pos. fem.	Neg. male	Pos. male	Neg. couple	Pos. couple	Not directly related
can't/cannot	3	1	-	-	-	2	-	-
could not/'nt	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
had to	25	3	1	4	-	-	-	17
must	10	5	2	-	-	-	-	3
need + no	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
need/ed to	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
ought to	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
should/should not	29	10	1	-	-	4	-	14
Total	74	20	4	5	-	7	-	38
Percent	100.00	27.02	5.40	6.75	-	9.49	-	51.34
	%	%	%	%		%		%

Additionally, more than half of them (51.44%) were not directly used to modulate in relation to either defendant. Nonetheless, the number of modulations in this category against the woman (27.14%) was almost four times as large as that found against the man (7.14%). Another significant data found was that modal operators did not fail to replicate the F / C / M pattern of distribution of markers of modality used against the defendants. *Should* and *should not* were the most frequent verbal operators of modulation (29

occurrences), followed by *had to* (25 occurrences). There is a big difference between the most frequent verbal operators of modalisation, *would*, *would not* and *wouldn't*, (213 occurrences) and *should* and *should not*: the former was 7.3 times as frequent as the latter.

Passive verbs and adjectives, listed in Table 4.9 below, represent the least frequent type of markers of modality present in the corpus. In quantitative terms they can be regarded as practically inexpressive when compared with the other markers of modality, mainly those of modalisation. Like modal operators as modulators, almost half of them did not relate directly to the defendants.

Table 4.9 Occurrences of passive verbs and adjectives as modulators in the corpus

Passive verbs and adjectives as modulators	Total	Neg. fem.	Pos. fem.	Neg. male	Pos. male	Neg. couple	Pos. couple	Not directly related
<i>Passive verbs</i>								
allowed to	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	4
determined to	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
forced to	3	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
ordered to	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
told to	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Subtotal	13	4	-	2	-	2	-	5
<i>Adjectives</i>								
anxious	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
determined	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
willing	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Subtotal	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	3
Total	18	6	-	2	-	2	-	8
Percent	100.00	33.33	-	11.11	-	11.11	-	44.45
	%	%		%		%		%

Unlike any of the other markers of modality, however, passive verbs and adjectives were the only markers to show a different pattern of distribution of markers of modality used against the defendants, i.e. F / MC. Notwithstanding, it still shared one feature with the

other markers of modality, namely that of reinforcing a negative interpersonal view of female violence more frequently than it did in relation to male and couple violence.

Due to the relatively low occurrence of modulations throughout the 76 newspaper articles, I deemed sensible to treat all such occurrences as one group for cross-corpora frequency study purposes, as shown in Table 4.10 below. There were only two newspapers modulating against the woman, the man and the couple, namely *The Guardian/The Observer* and *The Times. Independent* did not modulate against any of the defendants, whether individually or as a couple. *Daily Mail* did not modulate against the couple and *Daily Star* did not modulate against the male defendant.

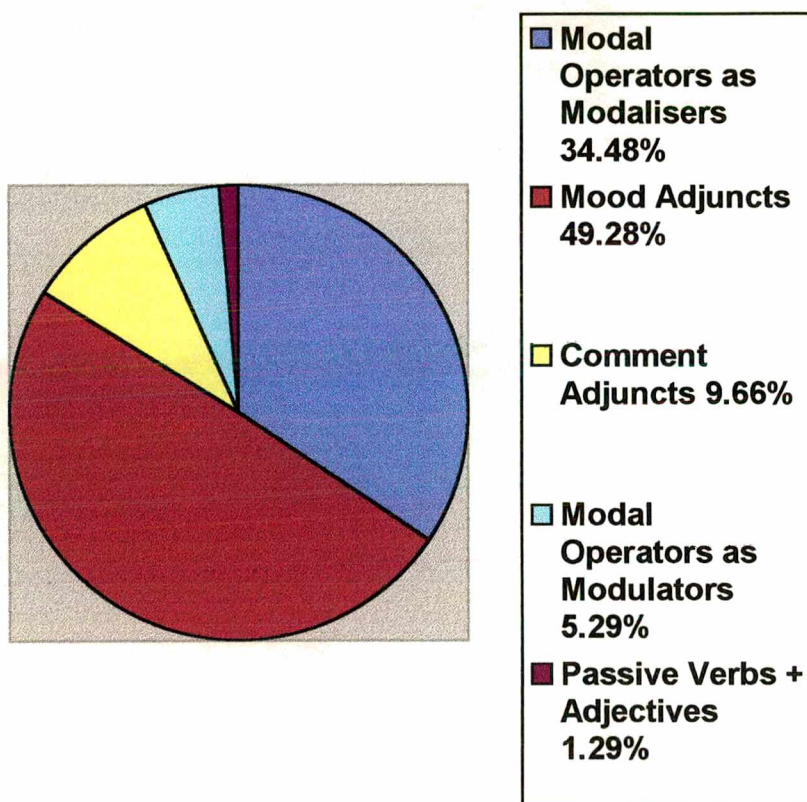
Table 4.10 Frequency of modulations: finite modal verbal operators, passive verbs and adjectives per newspaper (rounded up figures)

Newspaper	Neg. fem.	Pos. fem.	Neg. male	Pos. male	Neg. couple	Pos. couple	Not directly related
Daily Mail (15,676 words)	1 every 2,239 words	-	1 every 3,919 words	-	-	-	1 every 1,425 words
Daily Star (7,217 words)	1 every 802 words	1 every 7,217 words	-	-	1 every 2,406 words	-	1 every 802 words
The Guardian/ The Observer (23,321 words)	1 every 3,887 words	1 every 23,321 words	1 every 11,661 words	-	1 every 4,664 words	-	1 every 1,372 words
Independent (1,621 words)	-	1 every 1,621 words	-	-	-	-	1 every 1,621 words
The Times (7,194 words)	1 every 1,799 words	1 every 7,194 words	1 every 3,597 words	-	1 every 7,194 words	-	1 every 1,028 words
Grand total (55,029 words)	1 every 2,117 words	1 every 13,757 words	1 every 6,879 words	-	1 every 6,114 words	-	1 every 1,223 words

Except for *Independent*, all the other newspapers contained modulations against the female defendant and these were always more frequent than those against the male defendant or the couple. There was no positive modulation referring to the couple.

Figure 4.1 below represents graphically the percentage found in the corpus of the different categories of markers of modality which I selected for investigation.

Figure 4.1 Percentage of markers of modality in the corpus



The graph above shows the sharp contrast between occurrences of modalisation and modulation. The expression of modality in the corpus was by and large realised through modalisations (93.42%), as opposed to a striking minority of modulations (6.58%). Mood adjuncts comprised the vast majority of markers used to convey the meanings of

modalisation, followed by finite modal verbal operators and lastly by comment adjuncts. Finite modal verbal operators were preferred to express the few instances of modulation and passive verbs and adjectives were very little used in this sense.

I would also like to illustrate the importance in terms of frequency of the markers of modality which I selected, as shown in Table 4.11 below. As a group they constitute a pervasive lexicogrammatical feature of the texts comprising the corpus of my investigation, amounting to roughly 1 marker of modality for every 39 words. This is to say that one could find 7.7 markers of modality in abstracts with an average of 300 words. Modalisation was by far the kind of modality more frequently used throughout the texts (1/42) as opposed to modulation (1/598). Modalisations were approximately 14 times as frequent as modulations.

Table 4.11 Frequency of markers of modality in the corpus (rounded up figures)

Markers of Modality	Frequency
<i>Modalisation</i>	
finite modal verbal operators	1 every 114 words
mood adjuncts	1 every 80 words
comment adjuncts	1 every 408 words
Subtotal	1 every 42 words
<i>Modulation</i>	
finite modal verbal operators	1 every 744 words
passive verbs + adjectives	1 every 3,057 words
Subtotal	1 every 598 words
Grand total	1 every 39 words

Figure 4.1 and Table 4.11 complement one another in revealing that the textual structures of modulation and its interpersonal meanings are not characteristic of the news genre herein analysed. This means that they do not frequently make use of the deontic meanings associated with modulation, such as prescription, proscription and persuasion,

which are typical of hortatory discourse and are frequently found in advertisements. Rather, the 76 police reports relied heavily on the structures of modalisation and their epistemic meanings, mostly related to probability, possibility and assertion. As a matter of fact, these findings come as no surprise because, according to what was discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.2, the structure of news reports is closely related to that of stories, a genre which often draws upon structures of modality.

A final diagnosis of each newspaper is given below, based on a general analysis of all the markers of modality in terms of frequency per newspaper. The general situation in terms of modalisations and modulations against the defendants is F / C / M. Nonetheless, the picture per newspaper is as follows:

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------|
| - Daily Mail: | F / C / M |
| - Daily Star: | F / C / M |
| - The Guardian/The Observer: | F / C / M |
| - Independent: | M / F / C |
| - The Times: | C / F / M |

I hope that the quantitative analysis has helped to demonstrate contrastively how little male violence was interpersonally highlighted when compared with female violence and couple violence in the articles on the West Case.

4.8 Concluding remarks

Throughout this chapter I tried to present some facets of the concept of modality based mostly on Halliday's Functional Grammar and how this lexicogrammatical category conveying the interpersonal aspect of language can be used as a tool for exercising Critical Discourse Analysis.

Modality is the reflexion of the speaker's/writer's attitudes, judgements and degrees of commitment in relation to what s/he is saying. It can be classified according to two general

aspects in modalisation and modulation. Modalisation has to do with the epistemic aspects of language and is concerned with language as information, in the form of proposals, expressing the speaker's/writer's commitment towards her/his message. Modulation involves the deontic elements of language and is concerned with language as action, conveyed through propositions, expressing the speaker's/writer's attitudes in relation to actions to be taken by her/himself or others. The common feature shared by both modalisation and modulation is the involvement of the speaker/writer. The main aspects of modalisation and modulation as summarised by Heberle (1997:163) are presented in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2 A comparison between modalisation and modulation

Modalisation	Modulation
* epistemic	* deontic
* propositions: exchange of information	* proposals: exchange of goods and services
* polarity: yes – no (asserting – denying)	* polarity: do – don't do (prescribing – proscribing)
* evaluation/judgement/ assessment of the truth of the situation	* intervention in the speech act: permission willingness/consent to the action
* probability/usuality	* obligation/inclination
* indicative type	* imperative type
* commitment to propositions	* commitment to one's own and other people's wishes and requirements

Modality was deployed in my study as an instrument to deconstruct discourse practices of five British newspapers (*Daily Mail*, *Daily Star*, *The Guardian/The Observer*, *Independent*, *The Times*) regarding the West Case, with the ultimate goal of observing how male violence is treated by such newspapers. Therefore, I deemed enlightening to carry out a comparative study both qualitatively and quantitatively of the use of certain markers of modality to refer to male, female and couple violence. The markers selected were finite

modal verbal operators, mood adjuncts and comment adjuncts for (i) modalisation, and finite modal verbal operators, passive verbs and adjective for (ii) modulation.

General results demonstrated a tendency of newspapers to neglect male violence as contrasted to female and couple violence in a context where a couple of serial killers acted together. Female violence was much more frequently modalised and modulated against than was male violence – in overall terms, 2.6 times as frequently. The results of this analysis may be a warning sign of the warped view of male violence that prevails in society and that is realised and perpetuated in and through language.

Since the research in the (socio)biological area is progressively demystifying male violence, by scientifically dismissing the theories which postulate its genetic and hormonal determination in humans, there is hardly any excuse to go on excusing male violence. Human beings, regardless of their biological sex, are equally capable of committing violent acts. This is the notion that should be present in our discourse practices if any cultural changes are to take place. Due to its capacity to shape mental models of the world, news as discourse would have a great power to start operating such changes, as would any other type of media, if it were not for the fact that these changes are against the very best interest of those in control of discourse production.

Chapter 5

Final Remarks

News is the core and the bulk of media discourse. Stories of crime, particularly, have been traditionally valued in the British press as an important source of hard news. Police reports are to be found in all major British newspapers, whether tabloids or quality papers. Due to their widespread presence in and across such papers and the fact that the reporting of crime is closely related with episodes of violence, I deemed police reports a significant text genre for a linguistic analysis of male violence.

I started out my study with a intuitive hypothesis that discourse practices contribute to naturalise and petrify the long-preached and skewed notion that violence is inherent to masculinity and, as a result of that, goes overlooked and little challenged . In order to verify my assumption I would have to delimit the type of discourse I was going to analyse. I then decided on newspaper reports, for they are an important exponent of media discourse which, in turn, constitutes one of the most powerful and far-reaching forms of public discourse in modern, literate societies. How to demonstrate that male violence is misrepresented in the sense that it is underestimated in discourse was another question that needed to be addressed so as not to compromise the scientific reliability of my research. I thus realised the unique opportunity the West Case offered thereto, in that it consisted of reports of both a man and a woman sharing equal responsibility for their violent acts – the ideal conditions for a comparative study, which was crucial to determine the extent to

which violence perpetrated by men is by and large less questioned as contrasted to the same kind of violence and towards the same victims, *but* carried out by women.

My first move before carrying the linguistic analysis was to draw attention to male violence as a serious problem and source of suffering in modern society, by providing an overview of this issue based on a variety of studies with different perspectives. Researchers are unanimous in recognising men as the main perpetrators of all categories of major acts of physical aggression with serious consequences to the recipients, whether women, children or other men. Groundbreaking studies in biology and sociobiology defy and reject the hypothesis that violence in human beings is hormone-dependent and genetically determined – two claims that have for long been used to justify male violence.

Next, it was necessary to outline the importance of police reports in particular and news in general as powerful categories of public discourse. Stories of crime, as I said before, receive special attention from the British press and the West Case was exhaustively covered due to its unquestionable newsworthiness. It was present on the pages of all papers of national circulation in Great Britain, made news for a long time, according to mass media standards, and was read by millions of people in that country. On account of the pervasiveness of written news in the day-to-day life of literate societies, its importance as a means of mass communication can by no means be neglected, and neither can the consequences thereof. Although news as a genre is thought to perform the informative function exclusively, a closer look into it reveals that the forming of opinions seems to be an inextricable function of news texts, inasmuch as they report an event from one out of multiple angles possible. They are, therefore, largely responsible for their readership's building of mental models of the world. A problematic factor related to mental model

building is restricted access to public discourse, a factor aggravated by gender imbalances in the press, where women are a minority as news writers and are in general less newsworthy. In the 76 newspaper reports that I analysed, female authorship was in fact underrepresented. The status of female newsworthiness, however, was reversed: the story was mostly focused on the woman, which does not implicate that women were thereby favoured. Regrettably, it was no more than exploitation of the rarity of this case. After all, violent women apparently yield *harder* news than violent men, in so far as the female defendant's behaviour was much more frequently portrayed as (more) deviant than the male defendant's.

Having given a background of male violence studies and the power of news as discourse, the scene was set for a linguistic analysis. I drew on Halliday's (1994) theory of modality, a lexicogrammatical feature that helped me assess the interpersonal representation of male violence in the West Case. Markers of modality were analysed for two aspects of modality, namely, modalisation and modulation. In terms of modalisation, these markers included finite modal verbal operators, mood adjuncts and comment adjuncts. As regards modulation, the markers analysed were finite modal verbal operators, passive verbs and adjectives. The results disclosed a biased depiction of the female defendant, in that the overall number of occurrences of markers of modality used to express interpersonal disapproval of female violence was more than twice as large as the number of such occurrences related to male violence. The disproportionate emphasis placed on the woman overshadowed the seriousness of the man's violent acts and may have, to a certain extent, buffered their repercussion, despite the fact that both acted together in complicity.

The corpus utilised in this study constitutes a rich material for further linguistic research on gender issues. There have been quite a few investigations of naming for women as victims of violence; however, there seems to be a dearth of studies on lexical choices made for women as perpetrators of violence. The newspaper reports on the West Case are replete with lexical choices to describe the male and the female defendant and there appears to be a greater variety and markedness of these to refer to the latter. A comparative study of such choices in the press for men and women would be enlightening, given that naming is a powerful ideological tool and pointer to the ideology of the namer, in that different names for a person mean different ways of perceiving the same person.

In the beginning of this study, the research question I set out to cast some light on was whether discourse practices in the press foster the acceptance of male violence as a norm in society through a manipulative use of linguistic choices. I am bound to say that, as far as lexicogrammatical choices within Halliday's (1994) system of modality are concerned, I am convinced that they do. Male violence within this system was overlooked and underestimated. This is not to say that female violence was overestimated; notwithstanding, it was considerably often regarded as more deviant when there was no concrete evidence of that. I consider the result of my investigation a strong symptom of the general power imbalance that reigns across genders, with male dominance being tirelessly reinforced and naturalised through discourse practices such as those exposed in this study.

The first step towards a more gender-balanced power distribution in society consists of becoming conscious of discourse practices of dominance – and such consciousness is what I hope to have been able to raise throughout this thesis. The second step is to change our own individual discourse practices so as not to reproduce the same old formulas of

dominance through discourse but, rather, react against them. Although apparently naïve in their conception, these two steps have an enormous potential of change if we consider that the minority groups who need to start operating changes in their discourse attitudes to fight their oppressors are the majority of the population on this planet.

Women, for instance, are roughly half of the world's population and still children's primary caregivers. It is high time they realised the power of change that is in their hands, since the notions of 'masculinity' and 'femininity' are rooted in a child before the age of six (Kaufman, 1987) and such notions are a social construction of discourse. Hence, women are – and have always been – the major potential source of social change through discourse for the forthcoming generations.

Unfortunately, much of what is considered as masculine 'values' is still connected with physical and emotional endurance, toughness and a general tendency towards an aggressive (and violent if necessary) behaviour as a form of self and social assertion. As a child, I remember so clearly being systematically told that 'boys don't cry' and I almost grew up to believe that 'that's the way things are'. Somehow or other I managed to see that that is the way certain people want it to be. However, what worries me is that I seem to belong to a privileged minority. Sadly enough, most men of my generation appear to have (been forced to) become 'real men', with all those 'values' prescribed by the discourse of masculinity.

As often as to raise concern, the exercise of such notions of masculinity is taken to such extremes that it's a thin line between *butch* and *butcher* while, at the same time, there are severe constraints to what is socially accepted as femininity to remind us, as was the case in my analysis, that there's a thick wall between *mother* and *murderer*.

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APPENDIX A

Corpus

Text 1 through Text 16: *Daily Mail*

Text 17 through 26: *The Guardian*

Text 45 through 46: *Independent*

Text 47: *The Observer*

Text 48 through 66: *Daily Star*

Text 67 through 76: *The Times*


THE ROSE WEST TRIAL
COURT HEARS OF LAST TIMES THESE GIRLS WERE SEEN ALIVE

The tearful farewell


Carol: Waved goodbye

By PAUL HENDERSON and STEPHEN WRIGHT

A JURY heard yesterday of the poignant last sightings of five of the ten girls and young women allegedly murdered by Rosemary West.

Carol Ann Cooper, 15, who lived in a children's home, had a tiff with her boyfriend as she boarded a bus in Worcester on the night she vanished, November 10, 1973.

They had been to the cinema and a fish and chip shop with friends.

Andrew Chubb, assistant prosecution counsel, told Winchester Crown Court that five days later her boyfriend, Andrew Jones, described what happened.

'Carol and me had been getting a bit nippy with each other,' he said, adding that they argued as they stood by a passageway.

'She put her arms around me and


Lucy: Known as Luce the Moose

'Carol asked for a kiss, but I wouldn't. Then she was gone for ever'

asked me to kiss her, but I wouldn't. I was still feeling a bit nippy. She was standing opposite me. I think she was crying and I went over to her and made it up.'

When Carol got on the bus, she sat two-thirds of the way down on the same side as the entrance. The statement went on: 'I had given Carol her bus fare and enough money for ten cigarettes, 18/4p in all. I waved and she waved back. I haven't seen her since. It was 9.15pm.'

Lucy Farrington, a 21-year-old university student who disappeared on the evening of December 27, 1973, spent her last known hours comforting a disabled friend in Cheltenham before leaving to


Therese: Not used to city life

catch a late bus home. During her meeting with Helen Rinder, Lucy, who nicknamed herself Luce the Moose, wrote to the Courtauld Institute in London, applying for an MA course in medieval art.

She left at 10.15pm to catch a bus that usually took about five minutes to reach the stop nearest her home on the Evesham road. Helen said in a statement: 'If she had missed it, I would have expected her to return and my father would drive her home. Lucy has done this before.'

Catherine Arbuthnot, a fellow student with Lucy at Exeter University, said in a statement read to the court that Lucy was received into the Roman Catholic faith in


Shirley: Failed to keep a date

November or December 1973, shortly after the term ended. Lucy, she added, enjoyed her studies and was too busy with work to have a relationship then.

Therese Siegenthaler, a 21-year-old Swiss student, was a judo expert who felt 'confident in dealing with people', according to her friend, Edith Simmons.

She described in a statement how on the night before Therese left London to visit Ireland in April 1974, she warned her not to hitch-hike. Therese was not used to city life and was possibly over-confident of her 'physical skills', said Edith.

She spoke with a Swiss-German accent, but was fluent in English and had worked part-time in a Leicester Square shoe shop.

Mr Chubb said Therese's sister, Marianne, had described her as 'a sensible sort of girl'. Marianne went on: 'She told us she enjoyed travelling about England, and because of her lack of funds often hitch-hiked. She saw nothing dangerous about travelling this way, although we pointed out the dangers to her.'


Juanita: Wedding-day mystery

Shirley Hubbard's foster mother, Linda Hubbard, described her as a 'very pretty' but single-minded girl who often flirted with men.

The 15-year-old disappeared from Worcester on November 14, 1974 after work-experience at the local branch of Debenhams'. She left no note and took no belongings.

Her boyfriend, Daniel Davis, said at the time that he had put her on a bus on her way home to nearby Droitwich. They arranged to meet there the following day but she did not keep the date.

Juanita Mott, 18, who disappeared in April 1975, was last known to be living with a family friend in Newent, near Gloucester. She had made arrangements to babysit during a friend's wedding but failed to turn up. 'Since then no one in the family has seen or heard of Juanita again,' said her sister, Belinda Moore.

Rosemary West, 41, denies murdering ten young girls and women between 1971 and 1987, including her daughter Heather, 16, and stepdaughter Charmaine, eight.

Mystery of the cut hands 'I'd never leave Fred'

BOTH Rosemary West and her husband Fred needed hospital treatment for severe cuts to their hands, the jury heard.

Staff at Gloucester Hospital were told that Rosemary West had been playing with knives when she arrived late at night in August 1974 with deep lacerations across the ring and middle fingers of her right hand, said the prosecution.

But when she was transferred to a ward, it was

claimed she had been cutting wood.

Seven months previously, Fred West had been treated for severe cuts to his right hand at the same hospital, also late at night.

Earlier David Evans, who lodged with the Wests in Cromwell Street for about a year, said he had sex with Rosemary West on one occasion.

'She was the landlady but she came upstairs now and again because she liked sex,' he told the court.

Another former lodger,

Ben Stanniland, told of the time he and a friend, Alan Davis, spent with her at Cromwell Street in 1972.

'On the first night we lived there she came upstairs into the room and got into bed with me and Mr Davis,' he said.

'It only happened on that occasion. Mr West was not there at the time. He was downstairs.'

Asked by Brian Leveson QC, prosecuting, whether Fred West knew what happened, Mr Stanniland replied: 'Obviously.'

ROSEMARY WEST once declared that nothing her husband Fred could do would make her leave him.

Liz Brewer, a former lodger at the Wests' home in Cromwell Street, recalled the declaration while giving evidence.

Miss Brewer said she told her that a friend was leaving her husband. 'Mrs West told me that no matter what Mr West did, she'd never leave him,' said 39-year-old Miss Brewer. Fred West, a

53-year-old builder who was accused of 12 murders, committed suicide on New Year's Day in his prison cell.

Miss Brewer moved into 25 Cromwell Street when she was 17 in 1977. She said she became a close friend of Shirley Robinson, Fred West's pregnant lover, whose remains were found along with an eight-month-old foetus in the garden at Cromwell Street.

She saw the two kissing in the house, but added: 'Mr West would tell me that Shirley had become too

possessive.' She said Rosemary West told her she was looking forward to a retirement when she would spend all her time 'indulging in sexual activity'.

Next Thursday the jury of eight men and four women will visit 25 Cromwell Street, where the remains of nine of West's ten alleged victims were found.

The jurors told Mr Justice Maniell that seeing the house would help them. He said he would allow the trip with 'some misgivings'.

TAPE MASK TORMENT OF SHIRLEY, 15

SCHOOLGIRL Shirley Hubbard died with her head masked in tape and only a tube in her nose to breathe, the jury heard.

A top pathologist made the grisly find in a water-logged grave under 25 Cromwell Street's cellar.

Prof Bernard Knight revealed that parcel tape had been wound around 15-year-old Shirley's head 11 or 12 times and a U-shaped breathing tube inserted in a nostril. A second 16-inch length of tubing was found nearby. Her head and legs had been chopped off her body.

Cleaver

Prosecuting counsel Brian Leveson asked Prof Knight: "Without the tube would the person be able to breathe?" He replied: "No, they would suffocate."

Prof Knight also told the jury of the Wests' lodger Shirley Robinson,

MARTIN STOTE

18, whose dismembered body was found in the back garden with her nine-month-old foetus.

He found eight deep chopping marks on her right thigh bone, made by a cleaver.

But the pathologist told the court that he could not tell how any of the 10 young girls died.

And he could not say whether the girls were



GRISLY FIND: Prof Knight alive when beheaded. Most of the victims had been beheaded and had their legs cut off.

As he told how Rose West's daughter Heather, 16, was mutilated, she dabbed at tears and blew her nose.

Make yourself

By STEPHEN WRIGHT

ROSEMARY WEST told police her husband 'instructed' her to leave 25 Cromwell Street and sleep with another man on the night their daughter Heather disappeared.

But she said she noticed no change to the garden — where Heather's remains were found — on her return home the next day.

Asked if the 16-year-old was killed because she was about to 'blow the whistle' on what was happening in the house, she replied: 'I do not know anything about it.'

Yesterday, the jury at Winchester Crown Court heard a second day of taped exchanges between West, who denies ten murders, and Detective Sergeant Terry Onions. She was interviewed 45 times over a five-week period.

In tapes played on Monday, West told the officer she could not pinpoint exactly when Heather had vanished. In yesterday's recording, however, she had a clearer recollection of events.

Reminded how she said she returned after shopping to find Heather had gone and had taken her clothes, West told the detective she had spent the



night with a Jamaican in Gloucester, although she could not remember his name.

She claimed Fred West regularly encouraged her to sleep with other men, particularly blacks. She said she was paid for the sex sessions.

The detective asked West whether she had been ordered to leave Cromwell Street on the night Heather had left home. 'Instructed to,' replied West.

DS Onions: 'Instructed? Why do you remember that night, now that I've asked you?'

West: 'Because I didn't want to go.'

DS Onions: 'And why didn't you want to go?'

West: 'Because of things that was going on in the house.'

Asked to elaborate, she said her children Mae and Stephen were 'upset' that Heather had left.

Quizzed further, West, 41, said she remembered going home the following

'Fred ordered
Rose to
leave home
the night
their daughter
disappeared'

morning at about 7.30am 'in time for the children to get up'. She could not recall anything unusual when she returned.

Asked if she was aware that Heather was dead then, the mother of eight screamed: 'No!'

DS Onions asked: 'Was she killed because she was a girl who, as you said it, was different from the rest, because she was going to blow the whistle on what happened in your house, which, from the statements I have read from your children, was a bit like a prison for them at some stage? Was she killed because of that?'

West replied: 'I do not know nothing about it.'

The officer asked: 'Is it really a shock she has been found in your garden after rumours of the years gone by, is it a shock?'

West shouted: 'Yes, it is.'

'Did you know you have been living with a murderer for the past eight years?'

'No.'

The detective questioned her about Charmaine, the daughter of Fred West's first wife. West said she had looked after Charmaine when she was little but could not remember precisely when.

West said Charmaine had left with her natural mother, but she did not know where they had gone. 'Fred was sorting it out. It was their past, their children. I was 16 myself,' she said.

DS Onions told her that further excavations in the garden had found more remains. West replied: 'Oh, it is all getting too much.'

The case continues.



Daily Mail
INSTANT CASH
OVER 100,000 WINNERS ALREADY!
PLAY TODAY ON PAGE 60



Feminists and faith-healers who forged the new Diana

PAGES 46-47

Rose West's amazing friendship with Moors murderess

HAND IN HAND WITH HINDLEY

By PAUL HENDERSON and STEPHEN WRIGHT

ROSE WEST and Myra Hindley have formed a macabre friendship in jail, it was revealed last night.

The two most evil women in Britain — both openly bisexual — have been seen holding hands in Durham Prison.

They were drawn together by shared religion, and the 51-year-old Moors Murderess became West's confidante and adviser. They have made unsupervised visits to each other's cell, and prayed together in the jail chapel.

Hindley even sent a 'Good Luck' card before the start of the 31-day trial at Winchester Crown Court which has appalled the nation.

Prison sources described the relationship as 41-year-old West began ten life sentences for the 'House of Horrors' killings.

Mr Justice Mantell told her: 'If attention is paid to what I say you will never be released.'

West's face stayed as expressionless as it had been through all the evidence of the unimaginable cruelty she inflicted on her daughter Heather, stepdaughter Charmaine and eight other girls and women.

But her lawyers, who said they would appeal, admitted later that she had wept uncontrollably after the first three guilty verdicts were brought in on Tuesday.

As the trial ended, a furious row broke over how the Wests were able to go on sexually abusing their own children and torturing and killing other victims for 25 years.

An independent report by child care experts highlighted blunders and communication failures involving doctors, nurses, health visitors, teachers and social workers. But after it became clear they would escape virtually unscathed, Gloucester Tory MP Douglas French demanded a public inquiry, branding the report 'woefully inadequate'.

Police are sure West holds the key to the fate of nine more missing girls, known to have



Ten guilty verdicts: Rose West in a new police picture



Prison bond: Myra Hindley

The verdicts and the victims:
PAGES 4 and 5

Scandal of the missed signals:
PAGES 6 and 7

How could society breed such evil?
PAGES 10 and 11

Girl who grew into a monster:
PAGES 37 to 44

Turn to Page 2, Col. 1

Shout of 'hooray' as sentence was passed

Continued from Page One

stayed at 25 Cromwell Street, Gloucester, and possibly several others. Before he hanged himself in jail on New Year's Day, Fred West told a prison visitor there were another 20 victims.

Police are focusing on a 15-year period — 1979 to 1994 — when the only murder the Wests are known to have carried out was that of their daughter Heather.

A detective said: 'We cannot accept that they killed only once. They were in the classic serial killer loop, needing to satisfy their urges. Rose had become dominant — she is the most dangerous woman imaginable.'

There had been repeated warnings signs about Rose West's sexual deviance and violence.

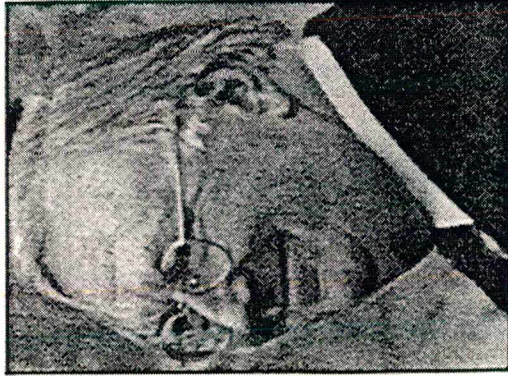
Dozens of officials came into contact with the family but missed the clues that should have saved lives.

The couple were fined for a violent sex attack on teenager Caroline Owens but no-one closely monitored them.

The strands of suspicion were not pulled together even when the West children were treated at hospital on more than 30 occasions for unusual injuries.

One was treated for a sexual disease and others suffered from squints and speech impediments — all conditions often associated with child abuse.

Education officials feared that Anna-Marie West was being abused



Mr Justice Mantell

at home but nothing was proved. There were no follow-up checks when her sister Charmaine, then eight, was recorded to have changed schools in 1971. In fact, she had been murdered.

Social workers knew girls in their care were visiting 25 Cromwell Street but failed to discover they were being sexually abused there.

Yesterday the jury of four women and seven men ended their 13 hours of deliberations shortly before 1pm, bringing in unanimous

Were nine more girls murdered at No 25?

By PAUL HARRIS

NINE more girls and young women were listed last night by police as possible victims of Fred and Rose West.

Detectives said the nine, who remain untraced despite extensive inquiries, could have been lodgers at 25 Cromwell Street.

Scant profiles were compiled by detectives based on information from former lodgers and others interviewed during the inquiry.

They stayed at Cromwell Street mostly between 1973 and 1979 although one, a college student named Maria Ann, may have lodged there in the summer of 1991.

Police identified another five as: Marilyn, in her late thirties, from

Gloucester; Donna Lynn Moore, the 13-year-old daughter of a U.S. serviceman; Mireeker, or Marleka, in her late twenties from Holland; Ingrid, an 18-year-old possibly from Germany; and Marilyn, 18 or 19, from the Forest of Dean.

Officers have descriptions for the other three girls, all in their late teens, but no names.

Police are cautious about linking any of them with the Wests and admit there is no evidence that they have been harmed.

But there is deep concern over Fred West's confession to his confidante Janet Leach that he killed up to 20 more than the 12 he was charged with murdering.

If that is true, the final death toll of Wests Britain's most prolific serial killers.

Police appealed to anyone with information to contact them on a special number: 01242 2676060; or Crimestoppers on 0800 555111; or the National Missing Persons Helpline on 0500 700700.

prisoner because of her horrendous crimes and segregated from other inmates at first.

It was threats by prison bullies that brought Hindley and West together on H Wing at Durham which houses the country's most dangerous women inmates.

Hindley, herself seeking parole, advised West on how to cope with constant abuse. Prison sources said she was 'fascinated' with the new arrival. They shared meals, cooking snacks for one another and

watching TV together in their cells. West, who wore a crucifix throughout her trial, hopes to follow Hindley and become a Roman Catholic.

She was still protesting her innocence last night. Court sources say she has repeatedly blamed her dead husband, moaning: 'It was all Fred — he took the easy way out and left me to face the consequences.'

John Edwards — Page FOUR
Comment — Page TEN

THE NIGHTMARE ENDS

SEVEN MORE GUILTY VERDICTS AND THIS EVIL

You should never

The judge's damning verdict on Rose West



By JOHN EDWARDS

ROSE WEST wasn't that tough after all and, when you couldn't see her, she was down in the cell block heaving and sobbing and breaking apart.

Her counsel Richard Ferguson, QC, sat across from her and watched the big woman shake and cry so much the tears came through her fingers when her hands were over her eyes.

She was so evil and genuinely the monster people had called her.

A couple of woman prison warders sat outside the open door of the interview room but never turned to see the shape Rose West had got into.

It was the night after they convicted her of the first three murders, and everyone knew the other seven would fall like dominoes. It was already all over for the woman from Cromwell Street.

The tears were dry by the time Rose came back to Court Three in Winchester yesterday. She strode in, puffed out, with that white plaster face stuck at showing no feeling.

But we knew different now. The door she kept coming through was the same as a curtain and she was acting.

Behind the door the bleakness of her future, a whole life in jail, hit her like a shell. That's where she had folded, retched and cried while the words of witnesses telling of her wickedness stayed in her head.

The clerk, Angela Merridale, picked up her sheet and asked for verdicts on the seven charges unresolved overnight. The foreman, a quiet-looking guy in his grey double-breasted, said 'Guilty' all the way down the list.

Ten is too many murder charges to get on a single piece of paper and the clerk made a fuss out of turning to sheet two.

Some man in the public gallery shouted 'Bloody!' but Rose West didn't hear.

The court was mostly silent as a desert. Mr Justice Mantell stretched his neck and looked down at the prisoner.

It was a hard look and he saw her the way she nearly always had been, stiff and expressionless in that tired old nearly-black suit of hers with the white blouse.

If she was still wearing the gold crucifix around her neck it wasn't easy to see.

Their eyes were at the same level of contact, not blinking, not shifting. The judge kept looking at her in the dock. The court seemed to die in the silence.

Mr Justice Mantell's voice broke it after a pause which was stunning drama. West had been convicted on each of ten counts of murder, you heard. It was a cool voice but it sounded like a cannon.

The sentence for each was life imprisonment.

West must have heard that but she still showed absolutely nothing.

The judge kept looking at her blank face as he said over the heads of the lawyers: 'Attention is paid to what I think you will never be released. Take her down.'

West's eyes were sinister, dark like her hair and the clothes she wore.

AFTER ALL THE YEARS OF HOPE, FACE TO FACE WITH



Lynda Gough: 'It was all taken away from her'

Mother who always trusted her daughter would return

It was the moment June Gough had been waiting for ever since her daughter's remains were found buried at 25 Cromwell Street in March 1994.

At last, across a hushed courtroom, she would come face to face with Rosemary West who had lied to her in 1973 over 19-year-old Lynda's whereabouts. West — wearing Lynda's slippers and clothes — had told the concerned mother that her daughter had 'been and gone', knowing full well that she had been butchered and buried in the cellar.

It would be a different story on the afternoon of October 11 1995, thought Mrs Gough. There would be no hiding place for the woman who murdered her daughter.

'It was going through my mind that when I had finished my piece, I would look over at her. But as things drew to a close, I realised I could not go through with it. I could not put enough expression of disgust and hate on my face. It just would not come that easily.'

The retired local government clerical officer had been terrified for her missing daughter when the bodies were unearthed.

'I thought, "Oh no, not that." I couldn't stop thinking of the horror of it,' she said.

Then came the terrible fastbacks of the day she confronted Rose West about her daughter's disappearance. Barely a week after Lynda disappeared in April 1973, Mrs Gough's inquiries led her to the Wests' home.

She speaks inconspicuously of the composed manner in which they handled her questions.

'We had a perfectly reasonable conversation for 15 minutes. Rose said children had no respect for their parents, lacked gratitude and didn't understand their feelings.'

By PAUL HENDERSON

The Wests' mask of deceit was threatened, however, when Mrs Gough realised that Rose was wearing Lynda's slippers and cardigan and her daughter's clothes were on a washing line.

Rose took the inquiries in her stride. 'She looked sheepish and said Lynda had left her belongings behind,' recalled Mrs Gough. 'I felt embarrassed to mention the clothes again.'

'We were sure Lynda would be back. When she didn't return we assumed she didn't want to bother. I often wondered what she looked like. There was a couple next door in their early 30s and I thought, "Does Lynda look like that now?"'

Lynda, who was educated privately at the now closed Midland Road School, had everything to live for with a wide circle of friends.

She was not particularly ambitious, nor particularly bright, just an ordinary teenager finding her way in the world.

And there lies the tragedy. 'She didn't have the chance to get married, have children and lead a settled life,' said Mrs Gough. 'It was all taken away from her.'

She flicked a glance to the side and was gone.

When her lawyers got down there she was sitting bent in a chair screwing her hands.

She didn't cry yesterday at all. 'She was giving it a hard think,' Mr Ferguson said. 'She was certainly beyond crying.'

There would be an appeal, he told her. Also her family had promised to visit her in jail.

'I'd say she was not taking it in,' he said later. The best anybody in the room could say was that she was in

shock. High above West the jury was going home. One man was in a football shirt, another in denim.

The court door had a notice which described the case only as No. T950144. So much violence and death came down to that.

West watched Mr Ferguson's mouth move. Then she leaned a little closer.

The voice was the same as it had always been in court. 'I would just like to thank you for all you have done,' she said.

They put her in the police van

which had become her taxi and drove her back to Winchester Jail.

Camerasmen let their flashes go off as near to the dark windows as possible. No picture of her came through.

On the concourse outside the court the usual groups pushed in front of all the reporters and competed for space in the records.

This one, a woman with tinted auburn hair and about 60, had been queuing every day from about 4am and that meant leaving home in Southampton and driving halfway

through the night. It was nothing, the grey-haired woman said, pushing in. She had also been coming from Southampton but earlier than the other woman. 'Why, this morning I was here at ten to five,' she said, full of pride.

A few streets away, where there were no TV cameras or notebooks, two elderly American tourists walked through the cold peace of Winchester Cathedral.

They stopped at the flowers leaning against the burial stone of Jane Austen on the floor of the north aisle.

'Were you tempted to go to the big serial killer trial up the road?' they were asked.

The man listened and closed his eyes. 'More horror,' he said, shaking his head.

'This woman thought only of beauty,' he went on and they both twisted to see what the man had cut into the stone about Jane Austen.

Not everything was drenched in crime and horror in Winchester yesterday when the judge sent Rose West away for what he hoped would be the rest of her life.

Breakthrough by a beat bobby

THE instincts of a beat policeman and a social worker with 28 years' experience triggered the inquiry that trapped the Wests.

PC Steve Burnside, a 6ft 6in Glaswegian, was walking down Cromwell Street in August 1992 when he was approached by a gang of children. They told him about a family called 'Quest' and asked if it

was normal for a video to be shot of a girl being threatened at Knifepoint.

The officer, now a detective constable, established who the family was and alerted social services. Five of the West children were taken into care.

Fun Phillips, 65, was chatting to one of the children when her fears for Heather West were aroused. The social worker recalled: 'I said

that my son-in-law was building a patio and the child said, "That's hard work because you have to dig the foundations so deep".

'I said it wasn't so hard because you only need to go 4in deep. Then the child said "My dad dug 6in but I reckon he did our Heather in and buried her".' Mrs Phillips told her boss and police but it was to be 13 months before the full horror emerged.

WOMAN WHO SEEMED SO TOUGH WAS BROKEN

THE NIGHTMARE ENDS

taste freedom again

THE MONSTER WHO SNUFFED OUT THE LIVES OF SO MANY YOUNG GIRLS



ANNE McFALL: The 17-year-old Gloucester moved to the Gloucester area in 1966, became a nanny to Fred's children — and disappeared in the summer of 1967. She was pregnant with Fred's baby. Fred killed her and buried her in a field near his childhood home at Much Marcle. Her remains were the last to be unearthed by the police.



RENA COSTELLO: She was Fred's first wife and the prostitute mother of his first daughter, Anna-Marie. She disappeared, age 25, in March 1970, but was never reported missing to the authorities. One of her sisters later tried to find her through Cilla Black's Surprise Surprise TV show. Her remains were found in a field near Much Marcle.



CHARMAINE WEST: Fred's eight-year-old stepdaughter was the product of his first wife Anna's affair with an Aalson shopkeeper. Rose once told Fred in a letter that Charmaine liked to be 'handled rough'. She disappeared between May and June 1971. Fred said she had gone to her mother in Scotland. She was buried at 25 Midland Road.



CAROL ANN COOPER: The 15-year-old was put on a Worcester bus by her boyfriend in November 1973, but never reached her grandmother's home where she was staying. A rebellious teenager, she was tortured there 'for the pleasure of those who wished to abuse her body' the court heard. Her dismembered remains were buried in the cellar.



LUCY PARTINGTON: Aged 21 and a recent convert to Catholicism, she was abducted from a Chatterbox bus stop after spending time with a disabled friend on December 27, 1973. The Exeter University student had been picked up by the Wests, kept alive 'for whatever hideous purpose' for a few days then murdered, dismembered and buried.



THERESE SIEGENTHALER: The Swiss hitchhiker, 21, was a judo enthusiast. But her combat skills were not sufficient to fight off the advances of the Wests as she travelled from London to Ireland in April 1974. Therese, a sociology student in London, was kidnapped, gagged and murdered.



SHIRLEY HUBBARD: The Worcester girl, 15, lived with fewer parents and ran away to do work experience. She was never seen after November 1974. The Wests bound and gagged her so tight that she had a plastic tube inserted in her nose to enable her to breathe. She was murdered, decapitated and dismembered.



JUANITA MOTT: She lived briefly at Cromwell Street until, aged 18, she vanished in April 1975. Up to the discovery of her body in March, 1984, her sister Selinda hoped she would return to Gloucester with a family of her own. But she had been picked up while hitch-hiking. Her skull was found with a massive fracture.



SHIRLEY ROBINSON: The 16-year-old was intoxicated with Fred West. Fred boasted that he had fathered the child she was carrying and 'taunted' Rose by patting her stomach and saying she would be 'my next wife'. Police found the remains of her and her fetus in a hole outside the back door at Cromwell St.



ALISON CHAMBERS: She absconded from Jordan's Book House children's home in Gloucester because she did not like the regime. She found a far worse one at the Wests'. The 17-year-old became intoxicated with Rose. It led to her being slaughtered and buried in the garden at Cromwell Street in September 1975.



HEATHER WEST: Rose's first child by Fred West, in court, West accused at virtually every session of her disappearance that Heather, 16, suffered a lifetime of depraved abuse and was killed, like the others, to stop her 'talking the whites'. In death, she did exactly that. Her disappearance led to the murders being solved.

In a prison cell, a literary goldmine for his children

WHEN Fred West hanged himself he left his children a lucrative legacy — the literary prize of the decade. He may have been an illiterate labourer — most of West's scant writing skills were self-taught during his ten-month incarceration — but with millions of pounds at stake this was a mere detail in the unseemly scramble to get his life story on to bookshelves. He left a 100-page handwritten account of his crimes. In addition there were 6,000 pages of transcripts of taped police interviews, psychiatric reports and recordings of conversations with lawyers. Surviving members of the West family and agencies

representing their interests became so concerned at the marketing of the West story that they asked the Official Solicitor, Peter Harris, to take over the mass murderer's estate. His duty in any such case is to maximise its value. The first move was to issue an injunction preventing anyone else selling details of the West jail interviews. Then an extraordinary and controversial deal was hammered out with literary agents Scott Ferris Associates. Gloucester MP Douglas French described it as 'extremely distasteful', comments backed by John Major. Mr Harris said it was his duty,

Anything less would leave him open to legal action. It is believed the deal gives half the proceeds to the five West children under 18 and none to the three adult children who sold their stories to newspapers. Mr Harris has also received notice of potential claims on the estate from relatives of three of the Wests' victims. Former Times Journalist Geoffrey Wansell was chosen to write a best seller on the life and times of one of Britain's most notorious mass killers. Publishers Hodder Headline put in the largest bid for the book, said to be fiction — but that is small change compared with likely revenue from sales, serialisations and film deals worldwide.

Law chief investigates payments to witnesses

THE Lord Chancellor yesterday called for a report on alleged media payments to witnesses in the case. Lord Mackay's office said issues of principle needed to be considered. The report would be studied by Ministers, including the Home Secretary and the Attorney General. During the trial evidence emerged that downmarket tabloids and TV stations, including the BBC, had made payments to prosecution witnesses. Former neighbour Elizabeth Agius, who revealed how the Wests had boasted of searching the streets for their victims, received £750

in cash from BBC and ITV researchers. Other witnesses told how they had received cash and been offered even greater payments from the Sun, the News of the World, the Daily Star and the Daily and Sunday Mirror newspapers. The Daily Mail has not paid any witnesses. The issue of alleged payments is likely to feature in the grounds for the appeal which is now being prepared. Liz Agius was approached after her name was mentioned during the committal hearings in February this year and was told that the

interview material would not be used until after the trial. West's solicitor Leo Costello said witnesses had been offered cash for their stories at a time when the case was sub-judice. He said: 'The kind of money offered to some witnesses represents for them the source of their material well-being in the future, which they could not have otherwise dreamed of. To preserve that opportunity, those witnesses had to tell a certain tale and the jury to believe it.' The Press Complaints Commission will review the issue next week.

Scandal of lost chances — Pages SIX and SEVEN

Daily Mail

COMMENT

An unchecked evil beyond all belief

IT is only in the latter part of this century with its army of 'carers' and therapists that society in its arrogance has come to believe that evil can be explained away, arguing that it is the result of biological make-up or social conditioning.

Previous generations knew better. Evil exists. Plain, unmitigated evil.

An obvious proposition, but deeply unfashionable. Many people in positions of influence or authority find this simple, Biblical truth hard to grasp. Let them, if they can stomach it, learn from today's gut-churning account of the West case.

It is the most appalling record of pointless evil to have come before the British courts this century. Two products of damaged and abusive families came together and were left to indulge in decades of sexual perversion, including murder and mutilation.

Some may feel there is nothing more to say than this: the driving power of synergy — the idea that the end result can be much more than the sum of the parts — was demonstrated when malignant lust thrust Fred West, a sex maniac, together with Rosemary, an abused, young lesbian nymphomaniac. Separately, they might have lived damaged lives of obscene but private sexual fantasy. Together they acted out in reality each other's filthy fantasies, using the bodies of the young and the vulnerable, including their own offspring, for their murderous, sexual games.

But while it is wrong to question the existence of evil, it is equally perverse to argue that it has no connection to the society in which it flourishes. There are logical threads which run through this horror show. What, for example, had the Wests and the majority of their victims in common?

Most came from dysfunctional families. The sort which have become ever more common since the permissive 1960s when both Wests grew up. Many had been abused, physically or sexually, as children. When they were cut adrift, or cut themselves adrift, from their families, nobody cared sufficiently to institute determined searches.

And then there is the endless catalogue of missed opportunities by police, social workers, health and education staff. As early as 1961 Fred West was first arrested for a sexual offence. Four years later, amazingly at his own request, Charmaine and Anna-Marie were taken into care. In 1973 the Wests were fined £50 each for indecent assault on Caroline Owens and told that they needed medical help for their 'unnatural sexual urges'.

For the next 20 years, police and social workers were constantly in and out of 25 Cromwell Street, dealing with grave allegations as diverse as child abuse, prostitution by Rosemary, and suggestions that the house had become a haven for girls on the run from local care homes.

Yet it was only in 1992 that the five youngest West children were finally removed under emergency protection orders. At that time hoards of pornographic videos, including some supposedly showing terrified girls being abused in the cellar of the house, were found, along with whips, straps and buckles. Even then, amazingly, it took another two years before the vital connections were made.

This then is a tale of evil. A horror story of depravity unrecognised. But also an abject tale of widespread family and social breakdown, and of professional failure by 'carers' and police on a scale which beggars belief.

BRITAIN'S FOREMOST MEDICAL WRITER ASKS HOW LONGFORD'S DAUGHTER ADMITS SHE'LL FIND

What society

DOES the West trial tell us anything more than just how depraved it is possible for human beings to become?

After all, in a population as large as Britain's, there will always be a few people whose conduct is beyond the range of the normal, the acceptable or the readily comprehensible.

In fact, the West case and trial gave us a terrible insight into the way of life of a section of modern England — a way of life which, interestingly, did not start with the Thatcher years, as is often alleged. The Wests were evil, but they lived in a milieu in which evil could flourish unchallenged.

Take the city of Gloucester itself. It is a fine example of the hideous concrete wasteland into which many of the country's cities and towns were turned in the 1960s and 70s. A combination of municipal corruption and ideological hatred of the past produced a townscape fit only for psychopaths. Worcester, Huntingdon, Lincoln, Shrewsbury, to name only a few similar places, have undergone the same brutalising architectural process and all are now regularly scenes of terrible, brutal crimes.

Cromwell Street is, if anything, more run down than most of Gloucester. It is in a locality of cheap lodging houses, to which drifters naturally gravitate. On the notice board of The Seventh Day Adventist Church, next to the Wests' home is a poster asking the passer-by whether he is seeking security in this mad mad world. No irony is intended.

PAIINTED on the end wall of a terrace of houses a few yards from Cromwell Street is a mural depicting the progress of the British people from hunger march to Income Support, with a Rastafarian at the front, holding aloft a banner saying GIVE US A FUTURE. Not without a certain artistic vigour, this mural captures the world in which the Wests operated without detection for more than 20 years.

This was a world in which young girls could disappear without the slightest consequence. Consider Rosemary West's account of the disappearance of her own murdered daughter, Heather. When asked why she had not alerted the police to her sudden departure from the household, Mrs West replied: 'So I have to snatch on my own daughter now, do I?'

Let us suppose for the moment that Mrs West had really known nothing of the cause of her daughter's disappearance. What, then, would her words to her interrogator have meant?

They would have meant that any public expression of concern about the whereabouts of her 16-year-old daughter, who had strayed into the wide world completely unprepared for it and, so far as is known, completely unqualified to make her way or earn a living in it, should be construed, not as the normal response of a worried parent, but as the betrayal of a conspirator to the enemy.

This was a world in which 16-year-old girls were regarded as requiring no further parental guidance and in which they owed their parents no more obedience, precisely the world from which Mrs West herself had emerged. When Rosemary met Frederick West at the age of 15, her parents (who had six other children to care for) could

only think to call in the social services, which took her into care, releasing her a year later. In attempting to explain away the disappearance of Charmaine, her stepdaughter, at the age of eight, Rosemary West told the court she thought the girl had gone back to her real mother, never to be heard of again. Ails, this pattern of child-rearing — children bundled off from one parent to another, apparently on a whim — is now common and, in some areas of the country, is almost the norm, rather than the exception. Mrs West's story, though a lie, was plausible.

Many of the Wests' victims — though not quite all — came from broken homes and appear to have been allowed to drift alone in the world. Juanita Mott, for example, left home at the age of 15 and lived in bed-sits thereafter. Shirley Hubbard had been placed in care at the age of two, and went to foster parents when she was six. She ran away from them when she was 15. Alison

Chambers absconded from a children's home just before she was 17.

There was no emotional or moral structure to the world in which these people lived: only a succession of moments, each unconnected to the last or to the next.

THEY were responsible only to and for themselves. So that, when a girl in the house in Cromwell Street was heard screaming in protest at what was being done to her, the lodgers did not think it any part of their business to find out what was happening to her or to intervene.

These events took place mainly in the Seventies, at the outset of the massive increase in single parenthood and the disintegration of the family. The atomisation of society has progressed rapidly since the

The potential victims of the Wests are legion. They can be seen wandering aimlessly round any city centre in Britain today

by ANTHONY DANIELS

Wests first took advantage of it in their perverted way. The numbers of drifters in our cities has increased greatly, as has the number of people living in single-occupancy households.

Unnumerable adolescents, with no guide to their behaviour but their own whims and the rules of maintaining their street cred, try to exist in less than splendid isolation. They each potentially will meet their West. Fortunately, the vast majority of them will escape that grim fate, though in all probability their lives will be sufficiently unenviable, even without people like the Wests.

That murderous couple was one in ten million, the like of which, let us hope, we shall never see again. But the potential victims of the Wests are legion and can be seen wandering aimlessly round any British city.

The West trial was like a nightmarish commentary on the whole of the Sixties: on the doctrine of complete personal freedom, combined with the complete absence of self-restraint. Do your own thing, we were told. And the Wests did their own thing.

SO MANY VICTIMS COULD HAVE REMAINED UNDISCOVERED, AND LORD IT DIFFICULT TO ARGUE THAT ROSE WEST SHOULD EVER BE RELEASED

could breed this evil?

A woman, a protector, a mother . . . and a monster



EVEN those people like myself, who have tried hard to avoid knowing too much of the monstrous happenings that went on in Cromwell Street, must now find ourselves dealing with the existence of such a woman in our society.

So how do we react to Rosemary West? With horror. Disbelief. A profound sense that the acts were against nature. More than merely against nature, that they were against the nature of women.

Rosemary West is not only a woman, she is also a mother. She has given birth to eight children. She has known what it is to create human life, and hold that most fragile of creatures in her arms, a new-born baby. The word 'mother' has always been associated with caring, protecting, not just of individual children, but throughout society. The mothering role, beyond the biological, produces a sense of respect, because it is recognised that motherhood or even mothering is one of the greatest responsibilities.

In society women are generally far less violent than men. The latest Home Office figures show there are nearly 13,000 men in prison convicted of violence, sexual offence or robbery and only just over 500 women convicted of the same crimes.

So Rosemary West has shocked our deepest instincts, broken the most important taboos. However it would be foolish of us to be surprised that a woman can be capable of as much evil as a man. There have always been infamously wicked women whether in fiction or in fact. Names like the mass murderer Lucretia Borgia, Medea, who chopped her children into pieces, and Shakespeare's Lady Macbeth, who encouraged her husband to wallow in bloody murder.

THE terrible history of concentration camps in the last war threw up such monsters as Irma Grese, who was found guilty at the War Crimes Tribunal of whipping her unfortunate victims to death in Auschwitz and then continuing her murderous policies in Belsen.

The most infamous case in modern times of a woman convicted of torture and murder, whose photograph is still used to threaten us with horrors beyond imagining, is Myra Hindley with her staring eyes and shock of blonde hair. Hindley, with her partner Ian Brady, tortured and murdered five children and buried their bodies on Saddleworth Moor.

Some years ago my father, Lord Longford, took up her case, holding the Christian view that even someone who had committed such bestial acts of depravity still had a soul and was therefore still capable of repentance. I was living abroad, when the Hindley/Brady trial took place so at first I escaped hearing the details of what became known as the Moors Murders, but my father's defence of a woman he felt had repented made it essential that I thought through for myself my own view on her case.

As a Christian, I too did not find it difficult to accept Jesus Christ's teaching that no one is beyond redemption. But a further point argued by my father and



by RACHEL BILLINGTON

many others interested in penal justice is that Hindley, after 30 years in prison, has served her sentence. She is no longer a threat to anyone and should therefore be let out of prison. Although I accept this as a correct principle, I still find it difficult to support wholeheartedly.

It is inevitable that Rosemary West will be often spoken of in the same breath as Myra Hindley. To try to say who is worse, who sank to lower levels of depravity, seems to me obscene in itself.

BUT there is one point of similarity to which I keep returning. Both West and Hindley were part of an unholy alliance, a dreadful pairing which created their nightmare scenario. If Hindley had not met Brady, can one imagine her being involved in the horrors? If Rosemary West had not met Frederick West would she, single-handed, have caused so much pain and

destruction? It seems that the fates brought together two people who, instead of acting as a brake on each other's worst instincts, encouraged in each other a dreadful capacity for evil.

With Frederick West removed from the scene, Rosemary West has made every attempt to hide behind the cloak of her dead husband's confession. Maybe she cannot bear to face the horror of what she has done. She is, in a clinical sense, in denial. Or maybe she is not willing to take responsibility for her own murderous actions.

Rosemary West particularly horrifies because she carried out her torture and murder over such a long period from when she was little more than a teenager to when she was a middle-aged woman with grown-up children. That plea in law of 'temporary insanity' which can sometimes console people, like myself, who hate to accept the notion of pure evil, clearly cannot apply here. With the facts of the case so new and horrendous, it is very difficult even to claim for her a total, overwhelming madness.

Rosemary West was, in, to all outside appearances an ordinary woman. And yet this archetypal 'woman-next-door' figure was capable of many years of torture and murder without drawing attention to herself. This is perhaps the most frightening thing of all. There need be no obvious pointers to the worst form of depravity.

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West: Unwilling to admit guilt?

Exclusively for the Daily Mail, Britain's premier criminologist profiles Rose West, the mother who murdered ten women and girls including her own daughter

Girl who grew into a monster

MALEVOLENT fate, it seemed, had conspired to bring Fred and Rosemary West together to forge their macabre alliance of depravity and murder. By a million to one chance, a man suffering from a condition known to psychologists as satyriasis — a sex mania to laymen — became the sordid soulmate of a nymphomaniac. The two went on to create their own terrible twilight world of abuse, butchery and burial.

Their first meeting set the tone for the rest of their relationship — two self-obsessed creatures intent on satisfying their every lust no matter what the cost.

In the summer of 1962, on the Stoke Road between Tewkesbury and Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, Rosemary Letts, then 15, was walking along in a dress that showed most of her legs. Fred — then a baker's roundsman — ogled her from his van before pulling over and offering her a lift.

She had no qualms about accepting, even though he was 12 years older and, as she would soon discover, married with two children. Despite her tender years, Rose was experienced sexually. Soon, they were in his caravan.

Thus began the terrible liaison that condensed at least ten girls and young women to a cruel death as the pair strove down the years to stoke their increasingly perverted desires.

It is one of the darkest, most chilling, stories in the annals of British crime and certainly one of the most unusual. So what mental forces moulded them into the monsters they became?

The West case stands alone among those of its kind because it was the woman, Rose, who was the more dominant of the two killers. Fred had committed murder before he met her. But it was meeting Rose that turned him into a serial sex killer.

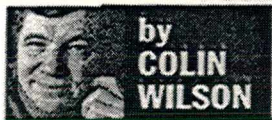
This 'chemistry of dominance' throws a floodlight on the murders. In the early 1940s, American psychologist Abraham Maslow conducted a lengthy study of dominance in women, and found they fell into three groups — high, medium and low.

HIGH dominance women, five per cent of the total, were promiscuous, often bisexual, and adored sex. Medium dominance women tended to be romantics who wanted to find Mr Right and liked the kind of lover who would take them to candlelit restaurants, and give them flowers and chocolates. They liked sex, but not to the point of obsession. Low dominance women were terrified of sex.

All three types preferred a partner within their own dominance group and found it hard to become personally involved with anyone outside that group. Maslow also discovered that all women prefer a male slightly more dominant than themselves, but not too much.

Fred West was dominant, but not quite dominant enough. That meant Rose was the boss. He adored her and saw her as a goddess. She probably had her reservations about him, and would have deserted him instantly if a more dominant male had come along.

Yet the extreme closeness of their



by COLIN WILSON

Distinguished writer on criminology and author of *The Outsider*, *The Serial Killers* and *The Misfits*, a study of sexual outsiders

relationship was due to the fact that they belonged to the same dominance group.

Fred felt he was lucky that she put up with him. She was the mistress, he the slave. He kidnapped for her, presented her with victims like a dog carrying a partridge to its master's feet.

Is this why he committed suicide — hoping there would not be enough evidence to convict her?

Probably not. Those close to the family believe Rose came to hate him after her arrest, and her rejection shattered him.

It is far more probable that he killed himself because he was deeply depressed at the prospect of a life behind bars. And Rose, who had come to regard him as a weakling, must have felt justified in her opinion.

The ultimate judgment on Fred West must be that, more than any other British serial killer, he deserves to be classified as a sex maniac. Like the Boston Strangler, he went around in a continual state of violent sexual desire.

Yet he was almost certainly not sufficiently aggressive to be a rapist or — to begin with, at least — a sex murderer.

What is certain is that what made him capable of murder was a blow to the head he sustained in his teens, probably causing brain damage. It meant that when he became angry or frustrated, he was unable to control his impulses of violence.

Fred was instrumental in releasing in Rose a flood of abnormally aggressive sexual desire and dominance.

All sex is based on 'forbiddenness'. But for someone whose adolescence had been a saga of incest, Fred was in the grip of a compulsion to discover new degrees of transgression.

He felt a life devoted to the further reaches of sexual experiment would be



Rosemary West at the age of six. In her face then, innocence. In her future, depravity

TURN TO PAGE 39

GIRL WHO GREW INTO A MONSTER THEY FED OFF EACH OTHER'S FANTASIES

Fred was her slave

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 37

one of total satisfaction. Unlike Moon Murderer Ian Brady, he was too illiterate to read the *Marquis de Sade* — yet he carried Sade's compulsion to extend sex into a kind of religious experience even further than Brady.

Even so, without Rose, it is doubtful he would have been anything more than a would-be Casanova with Jekyll and Hyde tendencies. Her aggressive lesbianism made her the ideal partner.

Together they could lure girls into their home and use them to satisfy their twisted desires.

The fact that he undoubtedly told her this early in their relationship meant she came to accept murder as a norm, just as she came to accept 'kinky' sex as a norm. Fred conditioned Rose, Rose conditioned Fred. They are a perfect textbook example of what the French called *foix a deux*.

The child's tale that led to a find of horror

IN August 1992, Fred West was charged with sexual offences. But the case came to nothing when one of the key witnesses changed her mind about testifying.

Detective Constable Hazel Savage had become friendly with one of West's daughters and was worried the girl's life might be in danger. In May 1987, 16-year-old Heather West had disappeared — the Wests claimed she had run off with a lesbian.

Miss Savage — tipped off by social worker Pam Phillips, who had spoken to one of the West children while they were in care — pressed the reluctant girl to tell her everything. The girl shook her head. "If I say anything, my dad says I'd end up in the back garden like my sister Heather."

When Miss Savage took this story to her superior, they were reluctant to take her seriously. If they started another investigation, and failed to back it up with evidence, West could sue them for harassment. And now Miss Savage was suggesting they should dig up his back garden.

EVENTUALLY, her persistence triumphed. On February 23, 1994, Detective Superintendent John Bennett obtained a search warrant. Next day, policemen disguised as council workmen began digging up the back garden.

The Wests' home, 25 Cromwell Street, Gloucester, was a three-storey semi where they had lived since 1972.

That evening, Rose was interviewed by a detective sergeant. Asked about Heather, she claimed she had left home while she, Rose, was out shopping. The problem, Rose explained, was that Heather was a lesbian. Asked what made her think so, she explained: "She knew exactly what kind of knickers the woman teacher had on."

Next day, she and her husband were arrested, both protesting loudly. That night, in police custody, Fred confessed to murdering Heather and revealed where she was buried.

When digging began again next day, police found a skull in a corner of the garden. Three feet further down they found the rest of the body, cut into pieces. Dental records identified the remains as Heather.

During the next two days, the digging teams found another dismembered female body, this time under the patio. A few feet away was a decomposed fetus. The girl was identified as 15-year-old Shirley Ann Robinson, who had lived in the Wests' house as a lodger in the late 1970s.

Other lodgers declared that she had been the lover of both Fred and Rosemary West, and that West was the father of the baby. She had last been seen in May 1978.

On February 28, another body was found under the patio — that of 16-year-old Alison Chambers, who had vanished in 1979, and who had been a regular visitor at 25 Cromwell Street.

Like the others, she had been dismembered, and rope and masking tape indicated she had been bound and gagged. She had been naked at

the time of her death. Suddenly, the House of Horror was on the front page of every newspaper.

The Wests had let out three bedrooms for as little as £3 a week — "the cheapest rooms in Gloucester" — and the Press theorized that their victims had all been lodgers, or girls who visited the house regularly.

This was disproved when a body found under the floor of the basement proved to be a 21-year-old Swiss student, Therese Siegenhalber, who had vanished in April, 1974, while hitch-hiking.

The next body — the fifth — was that of 15-year-old Shirley Hubbard, who had been doing work experience at Debenhams', Worcester. She had last been seen as she left there on November 13, 1974.

Originally, it had seemed she must have been abducted. But would it be possible to drag a girl into a car in the middle of the rush hour? And was it likely she would accept a lift from a lone man?

Police began to formulate the

theory that Fred and Rose had been cruising around in their car, searching for victims, and had offered both girls lifts. Reassured at the sight of a couple, Therese and Shirley had accepted.

Three more dismembered bodies were found in the basement. Lucy Partington, 21-year-old niece of novelist Sir Kingsley Amis, was a student at Exeter University. She vanished after leaving a friend's home to catch a late night bus on December 27, 1973.

Justine Most, 18, had vanished on her way from Newton to Gloucester in April 1978. Carole Ann Cooper, 15, disappeared in Gloucester in November, 1973.

Under the bathroom floor, the searchers found a body identified as 19-year-old Lynda Gough, who had been a regular visitor to the Wests' home before she vanished in April, 1975.

Fred was charged with the nine murders. Rose was freed on bail, spending much of the time in tears

— insisting she had no idea of the macabre secrets of 25 Cromwell Street.

There was more horror to come. Fred's first wife Rena had not been seen since March, 1970. Her daughter Charmaine was also missing. So was a friend of Rena's called Anne McFall, who had lived with Fred and Rena in a caravan.

The search now moved to Letterbox Field, near Much Marcle, Hereford and Worcester — where Fred had spent his early years. Rena's body was found buried there on April 10, 1994. Charmaine's body was discovered under the kitchen floor of the Wests' previous home at 25 Midland Road, Gloucester.

Finally, near Much Marcle, the body of Anne McFall was uncovered in Fingerpost Field on June 7. The body count stood at 12.

It seemed Fred West — who was charged with all the murders — was not only one of Britain's most prolific killers, he had also been murdering longer than any of them.



Curly-haired and chubby: Fred West aged three. At 12, he was seduced by his mother

By January, 1995, Rose had been charged with ten of the murders, including that of Charmaine. She was also charged with two cases of rape of an 11-year-old girl, in association with two men.

By this time, Fred had confessed to the murders, but insisted Rose was innocent. However, it simply did not seem possible that a man could carry out such a series of killings, burying the bodies in the marital home, while his wife remained unaware.

Some inkling of the Wests' secret life began to emerge when reporters located Caroline Owens, who had lived with the couple as a nanny in 1972, when she was 16 and Rose was 19.

Caroline had met the Wests when they gave her a lift and, soon after, went to work for them at £4 a week.

She left in November 1972 because Rose had allegedly made lesbian advances, and Fred had talked endlessly of group sex — although Caroline later admitted that she had had sex with two of the male lodgers, one immediately after the other.

ON DECEMBER 4, 1972, Caroline went to Tewkesbury to meet her boyfriend, and later accepted a lift home from Fred and Rose.

Rose climbed into the back with her. As they drove, Fred asked her if she had had sex with her boyfriend that afternoon — it was obvious the idea excited him.

She blushed and said no. Then Rose began fondling her and Fred stopped the car and punched Caroline unconscious. When she came round, her hands were tied behind her back and the Wests put adhesive tape around her mouth.

At 25 Cromwell Street, Fred dragged her upstairs, laughing and shouting "me". The tape was removed and she was untied, and Rose again began fondling her.

After that, they all drank tea — Caroline later suspected hers had been drugged. She was then beaten, sexually assaulted by Rose and — when Rose left the room — raped by Fred.

Finally, the Wests fell asleep, and Caroline tried unsuccessfully to escape out of the window.

In the early morning, someone came to the door, and she tried to attract their attention. A furious Rose held a pillow over her head. Fred told her he would keep her in the cellar for his black friends to use, then bury her under the paving stones of Gloucester — where, he said, there were already several girls buried.

Rose went off to see to the children, and Fred again took advantage of her absence to rape Caroline a second time. Then, astonishingly, he apologised to her, explaining that "it was all her (Rose's) idea".

The Wests asked Caroline to return as a nanny and, seeing her opportunity to escape, she quickly agreed. She even vacuuumed the room to indicate she was again a member of the family.

She was then made to take three baths in an attempt to get the gum from the sticking tape off her skin and hair. Finally, Fred dropped off Rose and Caroline at a laundrette. After a few minutes, Caroline walked out, and a friend gave her a lift to her home in Cinderford. She felt too ashamed to tell her mother what had happened, feeling that she was somehow to blame. Instead, she went to bed.

But when she got up, her mother saw the bruises, and got the story out of her. She rang the police, and the Wests were charged with assault.

But Caroline felt unable to face the ordeal of telling her story in court. So when the Wests appeared on

CONTINUED ON PAGE 40

Reporting by PAUL HENDERSON and STEPHEN WRIGHT Picture research by MARK RICHARDS

GIRL WHO GREW INTO A MONSTER HE HAD KINKY DEMANDS, SHE HAD NO

Rose became

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 39

January 12, 1973, they were charged only with indecent assault and actual bodily harm. The magistrate, John Smith, obviously felt that since a man and wife had been involved, it could not be too serious. He fined them £50 each, and they walked free.

Later, at Rose's trial, Caroline sobbed in court, saying: 'I feel like it was my fault.' This is obviously untrue — but some blame must be attached to the magistrate who failed to send them to prison.

The narrowness of the Wests' escape seems to have made them recognise that it was dangerous to allow their victims to remain alive to testify against them. From now on, if they felt there was any danger of a girl going to the police, they killed her.

The father's words that led to a sexual obsession

WHO was Fred West, and how did he turn into a serial killer?

He was born on September 29, 1941, in a farm labourers' cottage in Much Marcle. His father, Walter, was a 34-year-old widower when he met Daisy Hill, a 14-year-old maid-servant at the Ledbury Flower Show, where she was displaying her needlework.

She was three months pregnant when they married in January 1949 — but the child lived only one day. After Fred's birth, the couple would have five more children, two sons and three daughters.

In the West household, sexual abuse was commonplace. The father often told his daughters: 'I made you — I'm entitled to touch you.' His wife retaliated by seducing Fred when he was 12. His brother Douglas said: 'In her eyes, Fred could do no wrong.'

In such an atmosphere, Fred's interest in sex became an obsession. He was later to tell his daughter Mae's boyfriend how he used to play a game with his sisters and other young girls in which they dived into a pile of hay together for sexual frolics.

AS A child and teenager, Fred was mild and unaggressive. His sister-in-law remarked: 'He was soft as hell. He would sooner get a bloody nose than fight.'

But when he was 16, what may well have been the most fateful event of his life happened. Walking up a fire escape behind a village girl, he reached up her skirt.

She turned and gave him a violent push and he struck his head — remaining unconscious for 24 hours. After this, the family noticed a change in his character. Two years later, he had a motorcycle accident which again injured his head.

Many sex murderers have suffered head injuries in childhood. The brain has the consistency of a jelly, and is easily damaged.

Behind the prefrontal lobes lies an area called the limbic system, which is concerned with feeling, emotion and aggression. The prefrontal lobes seem to be the part of the brain that inhibits violent responses and strong emotions.

Damage to the frontal lobes can decrease their ability to control violent emotion. This is almost certainly what happened to Fred.

Normally quiet and good-tempered, he could be thrown into a violent rage by frustration or opposition. In effect, West became a Jeckyl and Hyde.

When he was 19, a 13-year-old girl became pregnant by him. Her family were so shocked they refused to speak to him. Fred was prosecuted for having sex with

an under-age girl. But the case fell apart and Fred declined to say anything. The result was that he walked free.

When he left home, he took a job as a lorry driver, and 18 months later met Rena Costello, a pretty Scottish girl working as a waitress in the New Inn, Ledbury.

At 18, Glasgow-born Rena had become pregnant by an Asian shopkeeper and moved South. Fred appeared not to mind about her pregnancy, and they married in Gloucester Register Office on November 17, 1962. She later gave birth to a daughter.

In early 1964, they moved into a slum council house in Glasgow. Fred was working on an ice cream van, and the marriage was already under strain because of his overpowering impulse to sleep with every woman he saw. While other drivers returned their vans at midnight, Fred was usually out until 4am.

Despite this, Rena became pregnant again, and another daughter, Anna Marie, was born in July, 1964.

Where his wife was concerned, Fred's Mr Hyde aspect was dominant. He often dragged her out of bed in the early hours to beat her. She seems to have taken these beatings with resignation.

But she finally retaliated for the indignities by starting an affair with a neighbour, John McLachlan. One night when Fred caught them kissing in the park, he attacked her and McLachlan gave him a beating.

YET both men remained on speaking terms and McLachlan later lent Fred his gardening shed for one of his assignments.

Rena became friendly with a girl called Anne McFall, five years her junior. She also came from a shanty home, and was accustomed to seeing her mother beaten up in domestic quarrels.

Anne was soon convinced she was in love with Fred. And when Fred and Rena announced they were returning to the Gloucester area, Anne decided to go too.

Fred told them he had rented a house large enough for all of them — including a friend of Anne's called Isa McNeil. They set out in a van that stank of butchered meat — Fred's latest job was in an abattoir, where he learned the skills that were to serve him so well later.

When they arrived at Kempley, near Much Marcle, the women were disgusted to find the 'large house' was, in fact, a small caravan.

But they moved in — Fred and Rena in a tiny room at the end with a draw-across shutter, the two children in beds that pulled down from the wall, and Anne and Isa at the other end.

The girls found it boring. They had hoped to get jobs and earn some money, but were about 15 miles from Gloucester, and could not afford bus fares.

They had to be content with occasional babysitting on the site, for which they were often paid in cigarettes.

Fred became more violent and Anne and Isa would take the children to a neighbour's caravan until he stopped beating Rena. Isa described Fred as 'a Jeckyl and Hyde.'

Finally, Isa managed to telephone John McLachlan, and begged him to come and collect them all. He agreed to drive down with a friend at the weekend, while Fred was at work.

But Anne told Fred, and when McLachlan arrived, Fred was waiting. There was a screaming row and Fred refused to let the children go. Finally, Rena and Isa drove out.

Anne said she would stay because she had a job in Gloucester. It was undoubtedly a lie — she looked forward to having Fred to herself.

By the end of 1966, Anne McFall was pregnant. But in July, 1967, a month before the baby was due, she disappeared.

Fred later told his son Stephen he had



Pictures from the family albums: Rose's parents, Bill and

stabbed her, but was vague about the reason. She may have decided that she also wanted to return to Glasgow.

West also told Stephen he had killed a 15-year-old Gloucester waitress named Mary Hastholm, who vanished on January 8, 1968.

A man named Vincent Oakes went to the police soon after Mary's disappearance, and reported that he had seen her four or five times in the autumn of 1967 with the same man, often sitting in a car a near her home.

When, in 1994, he saw a picture of Fred as a young man, Oakes identified him as the man he had seen with Mary. If this is true, it is possible Mary's murder was not a sex crime, but that Fred became romantically involved with her, then killed her in one of his rages.

By 1967, Rena was missing her children, and in July she asked Isa to return with her to Gloucester to try to get them back. But Isa was about to get married, so Rena returned alone. She seems to have moved in with Fred again in 1969. But Rena kept leaving for spells, forcing Fred to put the children into care. Fred later said she had decided to take the children back to Scotland. He had got her drunk — Rena enjoyed her alcohol — and strangled her.

He told acquaintances she had run away with an engineer. Rena, like Anne McFall, had never been close to her family, and no one asked her whereabouts.

Fred was again working as a lorry driver and now living in another caravan — at

Bishops Cleeve, near Cheltenham. A friend named Fred Crick shared the caravan for a while. He later described how Fred had become an abortionist, picking up pregnant girls in pubs.

He performed the 'operations' in a garage next door, and kept photographs of the bloodstained women — he obviously derived satisfaction from the sight of blood. This could explain why he later seemed to enjoy dismembering victims.

Then, in 1968, came the meeting with Rose.

The tortured mind that led to terror

ROSEMARY Pauline Letts was born on November 29, 1933, in Barnstaple, Devon, one of a family of seven children.

Her father Bill was an electrical engineer in the Royal Navy. He was also what psychologists describe as a 'Right Man' — driven by some deep psychological insecurity to behave like a dictator towards his family, unable to admit he might be in the wrong.

Such men have an almost pathological desire to be a 'somebody' and if the world

OBJECTION — AND SO BEGAN THE DESCENT INTO DEBAUCHERY AND MURDER

Obsessed with sex



Daisy Letts, and the young Rose (left) with a sister and two brothers.



falls to bolster their craving for self-esteem, they try to satisfy it by entering into a domination fantasy with their wives and children.

Letts would order his children to clean the house and if he found a speck of dust, would make them do it all over again. When they dug the garden, he would inspect it like a sergeant-major.

He would beat the children on the slightest pretext, and his mid-mannered wife Daisy was treated just as badly. One daughter took an overdose after he had beaten her. Neighbours complained to the police so often about the screams and shouts that he had to move home twice.

Yet Rose was never beaten. The reason was simple. From an early stage, Bill Letts had been committing incest with her.

In some ways, the situation was weirdly similar to that in the West family home in Much Marcle. Even when Daisy Letts, driven to desperation by her husband's violence, walked out with her children and moved to a derelict farmhouse, Rose stayed on with her father.

Some relatives had no doubt about the reason — she was enjoying the sexual attention she received from him.

At her trial, Rose was to try to gain sympathy by describing in some detail how she had been twice raped in her teens, then 'seduced' by Fred West. The truth, as her younger brother Graham revealed, was that Rose had never needed any encouragement to have sex. Rose always left the bathroom door open, and

paraded naked along the landing. While her parents were out working in the evening, she climbed into bed with Graham and introduced him to sex.

By the time she was 15, her preference for older men was unmistakable. She would return home late at night in cars driven by boyfriends twice her age. She began working for her brother-in-law Jim Tyler, in his roadside snack bar.

On a number of occasions, he arrived there at 4pm to find his shutter down, and Rose in a lorry with a driver.

Some time in that summer of 1965, Rose accepted her fateful lift from Fred West. It took little persuasion for him to entice her into his caravan for sex.

The local authorities were unable to hold her, and she moved into Fred's caravan.

Living with him removed the last of her inhibitions. Her brother Graham was later to say that Rose had always been a quiet girl, but after moving in with West she became obsessed by sex — talking of nothing else. She even began to adopt Fred's rough, coarse manner of speaking.

It seems clear there was some incredibly powerful chemistry between them. For Fred, the original attraction was undoubtedly that she was a teenager who looked younger than her age. And that, compared to his background, hers seemed almost middle class. Socially, she was 'above' him.

For Rose, Fred represented freedom from a life of repression, and she found him as exciting a contrast as he found her.

She had always enjoyed sex. Now it became the centre of her life.

Rena had told a friend that Fred had some 'kinky' demands. Rose apparently had no objection to these, and her sexual

appetite developed until she was virtually insatiable.

Curiously perhaps, she was probably not even aware that Fred was a sex maniac. Years of intimacy with her perverted father would have made it seem normal.

It never emerged during the trial why Fred murdered Rena.

But the knowledge that he met Rose many months earlier — and that she needed so little persuasion to climb into the back of a van — throws new light on the killing.

He was having an affair with an underage girl and wanted to bring her back to the caravan. While Rena was there, that was impossible. That is almost certainly the reason Rena had to die.

Fred had been morbidly jealous over Rena, but when he realised Rose was a nymphomaniac, it excited him. He began to dream of watching her having sex with other men — and women.

Rose, who soon realised she liked women as much as men, found her husband's fantasies as exciting as he did.

Life became a non-stop sex. They experimented with 'kinky' — leather gear, rubber face masks and handcuffs.

At this point Fred asked the school care while he tried to 'sort out' rage. It seems more likely to have been for uninhibited orgie caravan.

In October 1970, Fred and Rose moved into 10 Midland Road, Gloucester later into No 23.

Here, they started trying to lure in their sex life. Their first neighbour was a 19-year-old of two named Liz Agnes, whose husband worked abroad.

Fred introduced Rose at his which suggests he already had their new acquaintance. Liz, Rose as looking about 14 months pregnant.

Liz baby-sat for them twice, a second occasion they told her been driving around looking girls, preferably homeless.

THEY explained to offer them a home them to work as Liz was not unduly when Fred told her that Rose prostitute.

Fred also made no secret of he wanted to sleep with Liz. He detail about what he would do to her, including tying her up.

In turn, he told her, she could and do all sorts of things if she refused.

One day, Fred even snapped on her, saying: 'I've got you Rose ordered him to remove obeyed instantly.

Liz also described how Rose persuaded her to join in three. She said indignantly that if she to keep her friendship, she mention it again.

She apparently she held against the Wests for the them at Cromwell Street, and around their new home.

When Liz's husband home was violently jealous, particularly her husband put his arm shoulders.

He later told her her husband be under the ground, and to whip him before he killed and

In 1971 and 1972, Fred spent in prison for dishonesty — he of petty theft stretching 3 years. He and Rose exchanged that reveal the intense romantic between them.

He signified himself: 'Your sleeping husband', while she letter: 'To my dearest lover across the Log: From now on

She tells him: 'I know you lying, but it just seems queer should think so much of me.'

It was during Fred's first prison 1971 that Charmaine, disappeared.

On May 22, 1971, Rose 'Darling, about Charm, I think have to be the one to do it, her for her sake if it wasn't the children.' It seems clear already decided that Charm go.

Rose seems to have had handling Charmaine rough. Shirley Giles, told how her walked into the Wests' kitchen Charmaine standing on a chair tied behind her with a leather Rose West was maniacal wooden spoon.

Fred was also capable

TURN TO

ON — AND SO BEGAN THE DESCENT INTO DEBAUCHERY AND MURDER

Obsessed with sex



young Rose (left) with a sister and two brothers.

air craving for self-satisfaction by entering into a relationship with their wives

his children to clean around a speck of dust, do it all over again. In the garden, he would beat the children on the buttocks. One day, he was so angry with his mild-mannered son that he beat him just as badly. One day, after he had beaten his children, he was so angry that he had to go to the hospital. He was so angry that he had to go to the hospital. He was so angry that he had to go to the hospital.

West family home in 1968. When Daisy Lettis, on by her husband's children and at farmhouse, Rose was in some detail twice raped in her room by Fred West. The brother Graham had never needed to have sex. Rose's room door open, and

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SOON, he had persuaded her to give up her job, and become the nanny of his children. Rose continued to take home her wages every week as if she was working, but Fred was supplying the money.

Finally, Rose took Fred home to meet her father. Lettis exploded in jealous rage, and ordered her never to see 'that gipsy' again.

He divined, correctly, that Fred was a pathological liar after he told him he owned a hotel in Scotland. When Rose ignored her father's orders, he reached her taken into care. But when she had her 16,

Above right: Fred West the schoolboy. This classroom photo was taken when he was aged around 10. Right, his parents, Walter and Daisy. As a child and a teenager, Fred was mild and not aggressive.

'He was soft,' recalls his sister-in-law.

the local authorities were unable to hold her, and she moved into Fred's caravan.

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At this point Fred asked the social services if they would take the children into care while he tried to 'sort out' his marriage. It seems more likely he wanted room for uninhibited orgies in the caravan.

In October 1970, Fred and Rose moved into 10 Midland Road, Gloucester, and later into No 22.

Here, they started trying to involve others in their sex life. Their next-door neighbour was a 10-year-old mother-of-two named Liz Agius, whose Maltese husband worked abroad.

Fred introduced Rose as his girlfriend, which suggests he already had designs on their new acquaintance. Liz remembers Rose as looking about 14 and heavily pregnant.

Liz baby-sat for them twice, and on the second occasion they told her they had been driving around looking for young girls, preferably homeless.

THEY explained they would offer them a home, then get them to work as prostitutes. Liz was not unduly shocked when Fred told her that Rose was a prostitute.

Fred also made no secret of the fact that he wanted to sleep with Liz. He went into detail about what he would like to do to her, including tying her up.

In turn, he told her she could tie him up and do all sorts of things to him. She refused.

One day, Fred even snapped handcuffs on her, saying 'I've got you now,' but Rose ordered him to remove them. He obeyed instantly.

Liz also described how Rose tried to persuade her to join in three-in-a-bed sex. She said indignantly that if Rose wanted to keep her friendship, she would not mention it again.

She apparently she held no grudge against the Wests, for she later visited them at Cromwell Street, and was shown around their new home.

When Liz's husband turned up, Fred was violently jealous, particularly when her husband put his arm round her shoulders.

He later told her her husband ought to be under the ground, and threatened to whip him before he killed and buried him.

In 1971 and 1972, Fred spent two terms in prison for dishonesty — he had a record of petty theft stretching back several years. He and Rose exchanged letters that reveal the intense romantic chemistry between them.

He signs himself 'Your ever worshipping husband', while she begins her letter: 'To my dearest lover and writes across the top: 'From now until forever.'

She tells him: 'I know you love me darling, but it just seems queer that anyone should think so much of me.'

It was during Fred's first period in jail in 1971 that Charmaine, then eight, disappeared.

On May 22, 1971, Rose had written: 'Darling, about Charmaine, I think she likes to be handled rough. But darling, why do I have to be the one to do it? I would keep her for her sake if it wasn't for the rest of the children. It seems clear that she had already decided that Charmaine had to go.

Rose seems to have made a habit of handling Charmaine rough. A neighbour, Shirley Giles, told how her own daughter walked into the Wests' kitchen and found Charmaine standing on a chair, her hands tied behind her with a leather strap, while Rose West was menacing her with a wooden spoon.

Fred was also capable of treating

TURN TO PAGE 42

GIRL WHO GREW INTO A MONSTER

EIGHT LOVERS IN AN AFTERNOON

Fred the peeper spied on sex room

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 41

Charmaine brutally. A neighbour in Glasgow recalls how, when the youngster reached for an ice cream in West's van, he slapped her face.

The abuse that led to depravity

ROSE was to insist that Fred was out of jail when Charmaine vanished, but the evidence suggests otherwise. He was jailed for ten months on December 4, 1970 and came out after six months in mid-1971. But Charmaine was seen for the last time in the spring of 1971.

Rose insisted Charmaine had been taken away by Rena. Asked when she had last seen Rena, she answered: "When she took Charmaine."

Police believe Rose strangled Charmaine and hid her body in the cellar until Fred came out of prison and buried her under the floor at 25 Midland Road.

In March, 1973, the Wests committed what seems to have been their first joint murder — that of Lynda Cough. One of their lodgers, Ben Stanniland, had met Lynda in a Gloucester cafe, and brought her back to Cromwell Street, where they had sex.

Lynda also had sex with another lodger, David Evans. Both men were also Rose's lovers — Stanniland described how she climbed into bed with himself and another male lodger the first evening they moved into Cromwell Street.

It was about this time that Fred, with Rose's connivance, first had sex with his daughter Anna Marie, then aged nine.

WHEN she was 12, she was made to go to bed with Rose's lovers — about five of them, mostly black. While this happened, her father was spying on her through a hole in the wall, which was usually covered by a plaque bearing the name Rose.

Her stepmother also sexually assaulted her. But Rose became jealous of Anna Marie, so Fred had to commit incest without Rose's knowledge. At 15, Anna Marie became pregnant by her father and miscarried. She later left home to live on the streets.

The Wests' next murder victim was 15-year-old Carol Ann Cooper. She is thought to have been picked up as she got off a bus in November 1972, en route to her grandmother's house in Worcester. They must have intended to kill

her, since she was unknown to them and unlikely to remain silent about being kidnapped and raped.

The next victim was Lucy Partington. She spent the Christmas of 1973 at home with her family, and on December 27, went into Cheltenham to see a disabled friend, Helen Rinder. That night, her bus home was late — which is why she almost certainly accepted a lift from the Wests.

In April 1974, the Wests picked up Therese Siegenthaler, who was hitch-hiding en route to Ireland. They waited until November before searching for another victim, Shirley Ann Hubbard. She was on her way home to her foster parents in Droitwich when she disappeared.

JUANITA Mott, the last of the women found buried in the basement, went missing in April 1975. She had previously lived at 25 Cromwell Street and it seems fairly certain that she met her death either as she returned to see someone there, or took a lift from the Wests.

Juanita's sister Belinda continued to frequent the house, unaware of the part played in her sister's disappearance by the Wests. There is a three-year gap before the next victim, Shirley Ann Robinson, was murdered.

It is unusual for serial killers to stop for that long. It may be that Fred, having filled his basement to capacity with bodies, began burying others — as yet undiscovered — victim after victim.

Shirley, who was a lodger, worked as a prostitute for the Wests, sleeping with Rose's clients. When she died, she was pregnant — almost certainly carrying Fred's baby.

She may have been murdered out of jealousy. Fred occasionally taunted Rose, telling her that Shirley was going to be his next wife. Rose is thought to have killed Shirley while Fred was at work.

There was, as far as we know, only one more victim to be murdered for purely sexual reasons — Allison Chambers, who had found herself in a child's home after her parents split up.

The games that led to brutality

SO DID the Wests then give up their sex-and-murder spree?

Between 1979 and 1994 they are only known to have been responsible for one murder, that of Heather in 1987. Most sex killers are young — between 18 and 28 — and "burn out" as they approach middle age.



Top: Delay West (second right) during a break in work on a farm at Much Marcle. Above left: Fred West at 18 showing off his motorcycle to sisters and a brother and (below) as a youngster pushing a sister in her pram on a family day at the seaside. Above right: Fred in his teens on an evening at home.

The Wests had been conducting a more-or-less continuous orgy of debauchery and death for more than 20 years. But Rose still had her regular male visitors, and Fred often accompanied them upstairs and filmed them having sex.

One lover, Jamaican Andrew Angus — whom she had invited in of the street — said he found her irresistible. She told him she was "turned on" by black men, and that several of her children were half-castes.

When Fred came home from work, Angus was astonished that he appeared to have no objection to his wife seducing a stranger.

Another acquaintance, a housewife named Kathryn Halliday, told how she had sex with Rose as Fred watched — then, obviously excited by the spectacle, he joined in.

Every Thursday, Rose had a string of clients. They paid £40 each, although some long-term lovers were not charged. She often had as many as eight men in an afternoon.

Fred put a hole in the wall through which he could peek and installed intercoms, so he could listen. Afterwards, he always had sex with Rose himself.

Kathryn Halliday was shown the Wests' so-called secret room. It contained a four-poster bed plus a torture chamber with whips, hooks and chains. There was a pile of pornographic magazines and a

cupboard full of whips and sex aids. Fred showed her videos of young girls being tied up, whipped and tortured. Some did not seem to be commercially-made — one of the girls looked in agony.

Kathryn Halliday participated in some of the couple's "games" — allowing herself to be tied up with a pillow over her face, after which Fred whipped and abused her. But when he cut her stomach with a knife, she broke off the relationship.

The Wests' last known victim, daughter Heather, had been urged by Fred to find a boyfriend and lose her virginity. Finally, he took her virginity and abused her for at least two years before she announced at 16 that she was leaving home.

The Wests must have known Heather was unlikely to keep silent about her ordeal.

ACCORDING to Fred, he strangled her in the hallway "to wipe the smirk off her face". He then saved off her head and legs with an ice saw, so she would fit into a gasolin liner. But he insisted to detectives that her death had been an accident — and claimed Rose knew nothing of it.

However, his attitude towards his

wife was not entirely one of chivalry. He was later to tell police doctor James McMaster that Rose had been burying girls in the cellar without his knowledge.

During his period in prison, Fred unburdened himself to his son Stephen, and told him that there had been many more victims — some murdered and dismembered on a deserted farm near Much Marcle. (According to Stephen he named the farm.)

Fred was also to tell a social worker, Janet Leach, who acted as an independent observer at 86 of his interviews, that there had been 20 more victims. He claimed other people were involved in the murders — his wife, "another person, and some coloured men."

But Stephen described how his father would switch between confessing and claiming someone else was the killer. "He blamed it on everybody but the milkman."

Fred West committed suicide on New Year's Day, 1992, by hanging himself in his cell at Winson Green Prison, Birmingham. In her remand cell, his wife claimed to be delighted by the news.

After hearing that Heather's body had been found, Rose claimed that if she could get her hands on Fred "he would be a dead man."

Had she not originally been a young innocent lured into depravity? How could she have suspected Fred's grim double life?

Why was she not as much his victim as any of the women he killed?

It was, of course, a coldly calculated charade — almost certainly, according to the prosecution, a plot they had worked out in advance for Fred to take all the blame if they were ever caught.

But this week, at Winchester Crown Court, Rose West failed to fool the jury. They saw her for the murderous monster she is and found her guilty.

Guiltily as hell — which is surely where she belongs.

"Colin Wilson's latest book is *A Plague of Murder: A History of serial murder*, published by Robinson at £5.99.

GIRL WHO GREW INTO A MONSTER

THE MOTHER WHO CANNOT BELIEVE IT

My killer Rosie

IN her 75th year, the softly spoken grandmother should have the look of contentment that comes with having brought up three sons and four daughters.

Her ready smile and calm demeanour give that impression — but only for a moment. Then comes the realisation that Daisy Letts is hiding a mental torture beyond the comprehension of most people.

Living under an assumed name in an old folk's bungalow found for her by social workers, Mrs Letts says she will never come to terms with being the mother of Britain's worst female serial killer.

Like all parents she thought she knew her children even when they grew up and moved away. She knew what made them happy and sad, their preferences and dislikes.

The woman found guilty of the most grotesque crimes against teenage girls was the 'pony-tailed Rosie' she had brought into the world and loved. Mrs Letts has swung from saying she cannot believe her daughter is a murderer who will go down in criminal history alongside the likes of Myra Hindley and Ian Brady, to accepting the worst and blaming Fred West for corrupting her child.

'Rosie is my youngest daughter and she was the big baby of the family,' she said, recalling the first eight years of her daughter's life in Northam,

Devon, where the family led a hard life with little money.

'When she was at primary school she seemed much younger than the other children.'

The look of pain returns. Mrs Letts starts twisting a paper tissue through her fingers as she admits that Rose and her brothers and sisters did not have a happy childhood with their violent father Bill, who died 15 years ago.

THERE are dark stories of Mr Letts abusing Rosemary and other young girls.

It is a subject too awful for Mrs Letts to dwell on. She admits that her husband was tyrannical but claims she never witnessed any sexual abuse.

On occasions in Northam, the police were called by neighbours who feared for the safety of Mrs Letts, her sons Graham, Andrew and Gordon and her daughters Pat, Joyce, Gloriosa and Rose.

'He was particularly violent to me and Joyce,' said Mrs Letts. 'He seemed jealous of the attention I was giving the children.'

She remains curious about the way Rose silently dealt with her father's rages and escaped the beatings which continued when the family moved to Bishop's Cleeve, Gloucestershire, where Rose attended secondary school.

She recalled: 'Things were getting very bad in Bishop's Cleeve. My husband was very Victorian in his ways — he

was the master of the house, his word was law on everything and it could not be challenged.'

'We all lived on a knife-edge, always afraid of upsetting him because of the beatings. He was ruining our lives. He would lash out violently but, in some ways, the mental torture was worse. We had to keep so many secrets in case anything angered him.'

'But I never thought the heavy atmosphere affected Rose. She never argued with Dad. She would just listen to him when he was telling her off and say nothing. I can't remember her getting a beating.'

Rose never explained to her mother why she chose to stay at home with her brutish father when, during one of the worst periods, the rest of the family fled for several months to a farmhouse hideaway.

There are relatives who believe they know why... Rose had come to enjoy her father's perverted interest in her.

Remembering how she first learned of the horror at Crownwell Street, Mrs Letts said: 'I lay awake night after night wondering how Rosie could have lived with it for all those years and show no signs of pressure, if it is all true, that she knew what was going on. I keep saying to myself now, "How, how, how?"'

There has been no communication between mother and daughter since her arrest. Would Mrs Letts like to visit her eventually?

'Yes, I would like to see Rosie. To see her face to face, to get it straight from her mouth. If I had the courage I would ask, "Rosie, were you involved in RT"'



Daisy Letts: 'Rosie was a big baby'

Wedded to life of depravity

BEFORE the Wests, post-war Britain had known 20 serial killers, of which only two had been women — Beverly Allitt and Myra Hindley.

If this did not make the West case extraordinary enough, there have been only 12 cases worldwide in the last 100 years of a male and female couple collaborating in a serial-killing spree.

Its extreme rarity make this one of the most difficult categories of serial killing to fathom. But all serial killers share fundamental themes — if they are not killing because of delusions or hallucinations, they are usually sexual sadists.

Sexual sadism is sexual arousal linked to the suffering of sexual partners and usually involves humiliation and enslavement. Sexual sadists derive their pleasure from doing to others exactly what they please, and there is no greater power over another person than that of inflicting pain, particularly when that person is unable to defend him or herself.

They are created by extremely aberrant childhood experiences of sex and aggression — typically, mothers sexually molesting sons, as well as harshly disciplining them, hence sex and aggression become inseparably mixed. Frederick West appears to have

been seduced by his mother when he was 12, while his father often sexually abused his daughters. Hence the sadist's interest in forced sex — his own experience of powerlessness as a child in the face of abuse provokes a compensatory interest in sex with power, and since he only ever associates lust with aggression this becomes the only way he can get sexually excited.

Sexual sadists rarely get their thrills from any kind of mutual relationship, but if a sadist should meet someone who gets a kick from being subordinated, the couple-killing relationship may be born.

AN EXAMPLE occurred in Chicago in 1976 when 13-year-old Patricia Ann Columbo was seduced by pharmacist Frank DeLuca. An otherwise normal girl, things changed once she fell in love with paramour DeLuca. She agreed to kinky sex and drugs, adding to their mutual disturbance. She also slept with total strangers he picked out for her.

COMMENTARY

By Dr Raj Persaud

Consultant psychiatrist, University of London

Eventually, convinced by DeLuca that her father was trying to kill him, she collaborated with him in the murder of her parents and 13-year-old brother.

Some of the recurrent themes of couple-killers begin to emerge with the similarities between DeLuca and Columbo with the Wests — a girl with conservative parents she considered boring, under the spell of an older man who thrills her by introducing her to a forbidden world but himself gets excited thinking about her with other men.

It may be that Rosemary's attraction to Frederick was based on the fact that his appetite for sex and domination so closely mirrored that of her father Bill.

She had clearly learnt from an early age that her incestuous relationship with her father helped her avoid the beatings meted out to all his other children.

Hence Rosemary's father was unwittingly training his daughter how to survive in the household of a sexual sadist. This may explain why Rosemary was the only woman Frederick ever felt compatible with in the long term. For the first time

he had found someone who accepted domination and perversion without protest. The tug-of-war between her father and Frederick after she first met the younger man was probably a fight between two sexual sadists for a favourite plaything. Unfortunately for the world, the more dangerous man won.

But this does not mean the dependency in the relationship was always on Rosemary's side. Over time she obviously gained in confidence and was indulging her own debauched tastes.

IT MAY even be that towards the end she was dominant in the partnership. It was Frederick who committed suicide after being separated from her. From a psychiatric standpoint the member of a couple who copes least well when separated appears the most dependent.

This gradual shift of power from the man to the woman in killer-couples has been noted before.

Euse Koch, a book shop assistant in 1930s Germany, had many affairs with SS men, eventually marrying SS officer Karl Koch, who then got her to indulge in orgies with other women. She moved on to encourage male lovers who were officers to participate in random mass slayings at a concentration camp — earning her infamy as the 'Blitz of Buchenwald'.

Another reason for murder often

develops in couple-killers which is unique to this kind of serial killer. Because sex with third parties is usually involved, either member of the couple may become jealous.

Raymond Fernandez and Martha Beck originally murdered to steal during the 1940s in New York, but when Martha became jealous of Raymond's latest girlfriend, she persuaded him to kill the woman and her child.

A key aspect of a killer-couple's ability to procure victims is the presence of the woman as a lure to those who might otherwise never have been trapped. DeLuca and Maria de Jesus Gonzalez, two sisters who operated a brothel in Mexico in the early 1960s, lured 80 girls into enslavement and eventual death.

It is interesting to note that police thought Rosemary was running a brothel in the early years at Crownwell Street.

Other echoes occur with the case of Martin and Marie Dumouillard who killed a succession of 20 servant girls in 19th century France.

After cleaning bloodstains from the victims' clothing, Marie often wore them. One is reminded of Rosemary wearing some of the items of her victims.

Fred probably killed his first wife. The fact that Rosemary is alive, despite having lived with him for so long, is proof in itself that she must have had some control over him. She remains the only woman to have really known him and lived.



Alison Chambers, aged 19, went missing from a Gloucester children's home and died between August 1, 1979, and February 27, 1994.



Heather West, aged 16, died between June 1, 1987, and February 27, 1994. The eldest daughter of Fred and Rosemary West. Hers were the first remains to be uncovered in Cromwell Street.



Brian Leveson, QC, arriving at Winchester crown court

Cellar's secret 'more terrible than words can say'

continued from page 2

More than 20 years later her remains were found in a hole in the cellar floor. There was a sharp kitchen knife beside the body and a few days after her disappearance, on January 3, 1974, Fred West went to Gloucester Royal Hospital in the middle of the night for treatment for the laceration of his hand. It was suggested that the knife could have been used for dismembering the body.

Therese Siegenthaler

Therese Siegenthaler was born in November 1952 in Switzerland, and was studying sociology at Woolwich Polytechnic and living in its south-east London, when she disappeared in 1974. She had planned to travel to Ireland during the Easter vacation of 1974 and left her lodgings with a backpack. She was reported missing to the Metropolitan Police on April 26, 1974.

On March 5, 1994, her remains were unearthed in the basement of 25 Cromwell Street. Once kidnapped and secured in the Wests' home she had met her death. Professor Bernard Knight, Home Office pathologist, found that a scarf had been tied round her head.

Shirley Hubbard

Shirley Hubbard, who was born in June 1969, a pretty girl, was 15 when she disap-

peared in November 1974. Because of her parents' problems she had been taken into care at the age of 2 and subsequently fostered by Mr and Mrs Hubbard, who lived in Droitwich.

When she ran away from home in October 1974, the police were informed and she was found camping in a field near Worcester within a few days. But when she ran away again in November 1974 she was never heard of again.

She had left to do some work experience at Debenhams in Worcester, and had taken few personal belongings with her. It was not known what had happened to her before she reached 25 Cromwell Street, but her remains too, were found in the basement, adjacent to a fireplace decorated with Marilyn Monroe wallpaper.

"Professor Knight made an horrific and extremely significant discovery," Mr Leveson told the jury. A circumference of tape had been wrapped round the skull from below the chin to above eye level.

Inserted in the front of this mask was a narrow plastic tube in the nostril position.

"There can only have been one purpose for this type of binding," said Mr Leveson. "Shirley must have been alive when the mask was applied. Its purpose can only have been to keep her under control, just able to breathe."

Juanita Mott

Juanita Mott was the last girl in a series of five who died in a span of 18 months.

Born in March 1967, she came from an unsettled family life in Gloucester and left school at 15 to stay in bedsits in the area.

In the summer of 1974 she moved to 25 Cromwell Street. Amongst her friends was Jennifer Baldwin, with whom she had stayed and for whom she was due to babysit the day after she was last seen at Mrs Baldwin's bungalow in Newent, outside Gloucester, and on the main road to Much Marcle, the family home of Fred West. She was reported missing.

Her body was also found in the basement of 25 Cromwell Street, and her skull had suffered a depressed fracture. Plastic-covered rope, like a clothesline, was wrapped around her body.

"She died while she was being degraded either as part of what for her attackers was doubtless 'fun' or because she could not be released afterwards," said Mr Leveson. The site where she was buried was concreted over and later used as bedroom accommodation for the Wests' younger children.

Between 1977 and 1979

By now the cellar was full of bodies and perhaps the Wests felt that for a while enough was enough, the jury was told. But activities of another kind continued.

"Miss A" was another girl who had been in care and she recalled visiting 25 Cromwell Street from Jordansbrook children's home and finding

Rosemary West understanding. When she ran away, it was to the Wests.

She recalled being taken into a room in the summer of 1977 with two unknown naked girls. She was undressed by Mrs West and watched as one of the girls was taped with her legs spread apart. A vibrator was used on the girl by Mrs West.

She then turned her attention to Miss A, who was taped by Mrs West so that she could not move her arms. Fred West then had intercourse with her while Rosemary West fondled her thighs.

"She was allowed to go, and although she did not go into Cromwell Street again, she returned with petrol intended to set fire to the place as an act of revenge," said Mr Leveson. "At the last moment however, she lost her nerve."

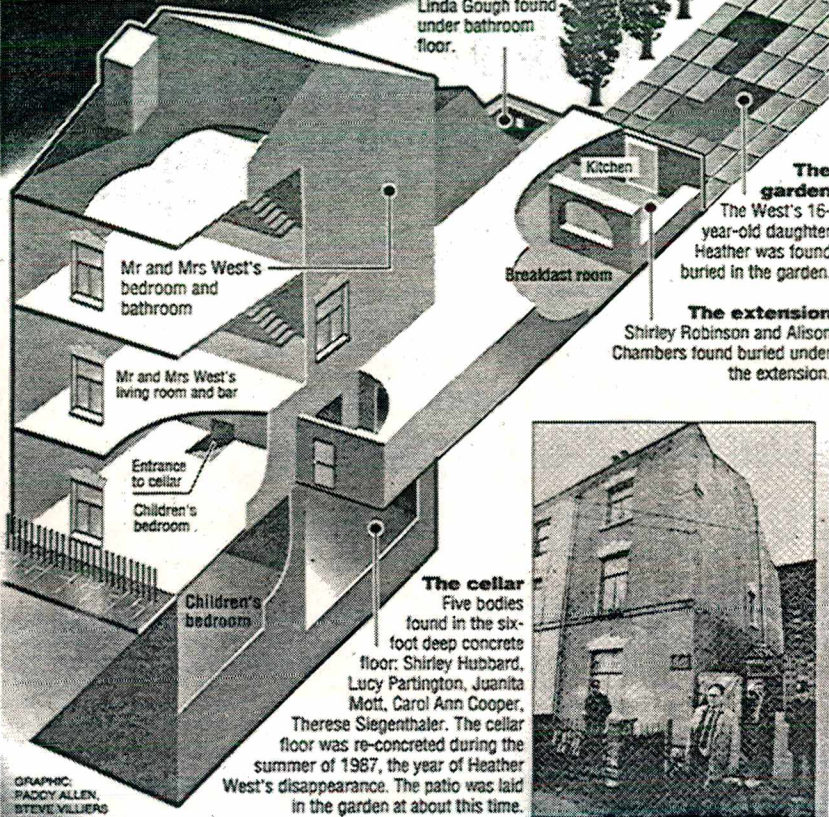
Shirley Anne Robinson

Shirley Anne Robinson, who was born in October 1969, had been taken into care and later into a secure unit but by 1977 she had moved to a live-in job as a housemaid in Chipping Sodbury. Eventually she was to occupy a room as a lodger in the Wests' home and by the autumn of 1977 she was pregnant by Fred West.

It seemed at first as if Mrs West had accepted this situation although Shirley was often seen hugging and kissing Fred in front of her. But another lodger, Elizabeth Brewer, noticed jealousy and increased tension.

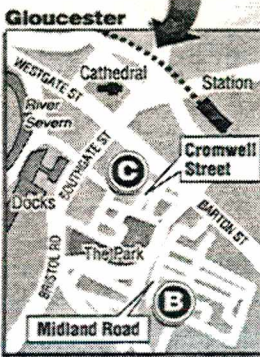
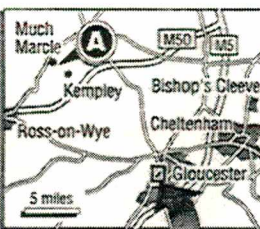
By April 1978, Shirley was

25 Cromwell Street



A total of twelve sets of remains were found by Gloucester police at four sites.

- A** Fingerpost and Letterbox fields beside the B4042 between Much Marcle and Kempeley: two bodies found.
- B** Charmaine West found at 25 Midland Road, Gloucester.
- C** Nine found at 25 Cromwell Street, Gloucester.



receiving maternity benefit from the DSS in Gloucester and spending her time in Ms Brewer's room in the house. One day she was missing and Fred announced that she had gone to visit relatives in Germany. A week later another lodger, Claire Rigby, saw Rosemary West in Shirley's old room, packing away her belongings.

When in August a visit was made from the benefits section of the DSS, a woman told the visiting officer that Shirley had gone to Germany. But by then she had been murdered, although it was 16 years before her body was to be found. Mr Leveson told the jury that Rosemary West had a much stronger motive for ending Shirley's life than her husband.

Alison Chambers

Alison Chambers was born in September 1962 and at the age of 14 or 15, after the collapse of her parents' marriage, she was placed in a children's home in Swansea. She ran away and ended up in

Jordansbrook children's home. On August 5, 1979, she absconded and was never seen again. Her remains were found with a leather belt clamped round her jaws, presumably to stop her screaming.

Heather West was just short of nine years old at the time and in a few years was to join the other girls. It was clear that there was growing friction between Heather and her parents, who did not like the fact that she had no boyfriend.

On June 16, 1987, she disappeared. A woman who had an office in Cromwell street, Anne Knight, asked Rosemary West what had happened to her daughter. "There was a hell of a row here a couple of nights ago," Mrs West told her. "We found out that she was going with a lesbian from Wales and has gone to Wales with her." This was a lie, the jury was told.

She told one person that Heather had assaulted the younger children and had been given a "good hiding." Mrs West said that Heather telephoned them so she knew she was all right.

A window cleaner, Erwin Marschall, was told that Heather had run away and the police had been informed. But Heather had been murdered and buried naked in the garden.

When the police came to investigate her disappearance, first in 1992 and again in 1994, Mrs West told them that Heather had gone after an argument.

In a later interview she said she had drawn out £600 for Heather so that she could leave. She said her daughter was a lesbian and "I had to think of the other children as well." But she could not remember which bank the money had come from and eventually said it was from her savings from benefits.

All suggestions of telephone calls were lies, the jury heard. The motive for her murder could have been a blazing row or that Heather resisted attempts to involve her sexually.

In November 1988, as an indication that the Wests were still involved in sexual activity that had occurred over the years, a woman called Kathryn Halliday, who

lived in Cromwell Street, met up with the Wests and within minutes of entering their house had gone into a bedroom with Fred and Rosemary and started to have sex. Fred West recorded what happened on video but later Mrs West became more aggressive.

However, Ms Halliday continued to visit Mrs West for sex every morning and had sex with both the Wests at night. She was shown whips and hoods and was tied to the bed and blindfolded.

"It is inconceivable," said Mr Leveson, "that Frederick would have done what was undoubtedly done [to the girls] without involving his wife."

What happened was an indication of her relationship with Fred West and the way she had run her life since she first met him as a teenager.

"It is that knowledge and the fact that we are dealing with events over 15 years which drives to the conclusion that she bears a full measure of responsibility," said Mr Leveson.

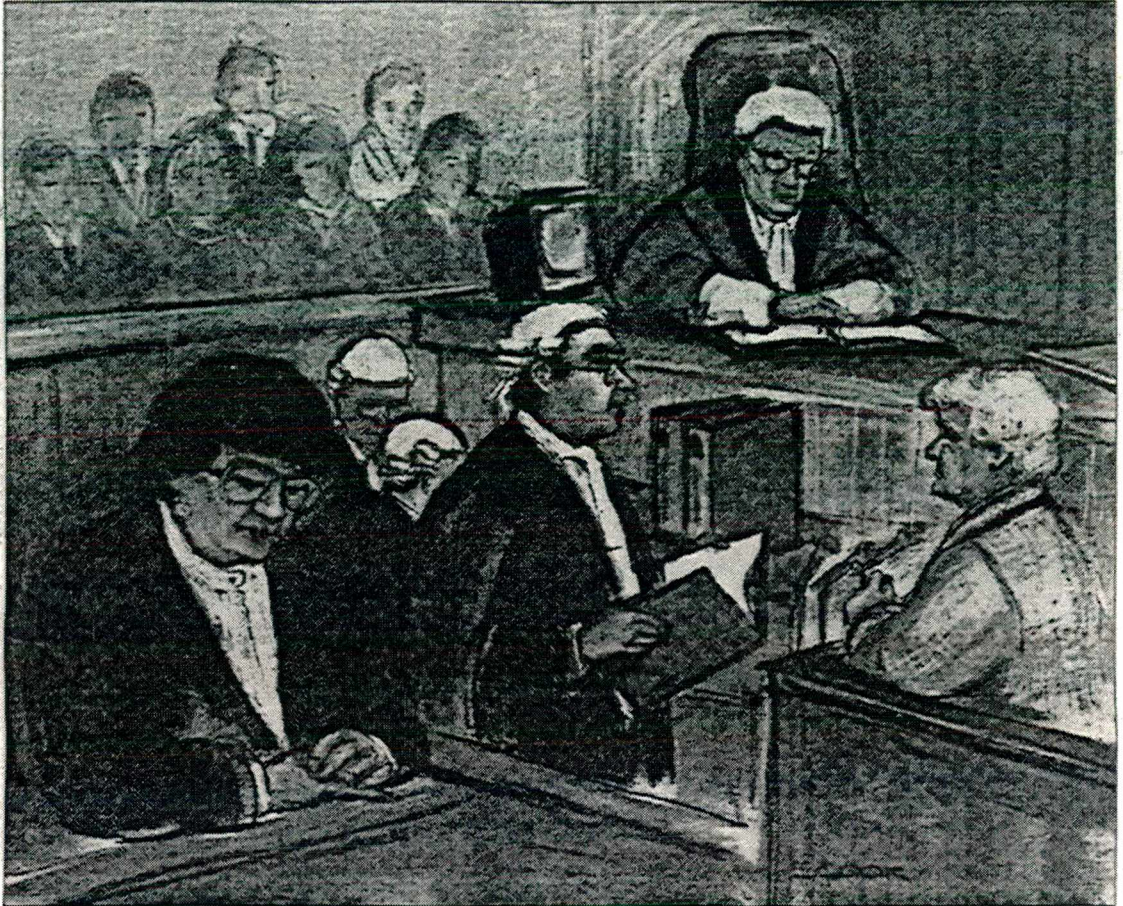
The trial continues on Monday.



THE WEST CASE

Accused woman 'warned parents that her husband could kill'

Reports by Duncan Campbell



An artist's impression showing Brian Leveson, QC, for the prosecution, questioning Daisy Letts, the mother of Rosemary West (left) yesterday

'There's nothing Fred wouldn't do'

Mother's evidence

ROSEMARY West told her parents 25 years ago that her husband Fred West was capable of anything, including murder. Winchester Crown Court heard yesterday.

The remark was recalled by Daisy Letts, Rosemary West's mother and the first prosecution witness, as the two women faced each other across the crowded courtroom. The mother, composed and smartly dressed in a grey suit, avoided looking at the daughter, who seemed distressed.

Mrs Letts told the court

how Rosemary had come to visit in 1970, when Rosemary had started living with West and had a daughter four months old. When West came to collect Rosemary, she was quiet and seemed frightened, Mrs Letts recalled. "She turned to her father. She said: 'You don't know him, there's nothing he wouldn't do — even murder.'"

She and her husband had thought them the words of a highly-strung girl and did not take them seriously, said Mrs Letts. Eventually her father had told Rosemary: "You've made your bed, you lie on it."

Mrs Letts, aged 76, recounted how she and her husband had disliked Fred West as a boastful liar and had had their daughter taken into care in a bid to end the relationship.

"I didn't have a chance to get on with him," said Mrs Letts. "We just thought what he was telling us wasn't the truth. We didn't take to him."

Fred West killed himself in jail on New Year's Day this year after being charged with 12 murders.

The court heard from Mrs Letts that Rosemary was the fifth of her seven children. The family had moved to Bishop's Cleeve near Cheltenham in 1964. She left school at 15 and then worked in a restaurant/bakery.

Rosemary had been a "babyish" girl, Mrs Letts said, and had liked to play with younger children. She would take her younger brothers, Graham and Gordon, shopping and would buy them sweets. But then at the age of 15 she had met Fred West.

West had told Mrs Letts and her husband that he owned a hotel and a holiday camp in Scotland. They also disapproved of him because, at 27, he was much older than their daughter.

In 1969 Mr Letts had contacted the local social services because he was concerned about Rosemary's relationship with West and she was taken into care. However when she was released from care she went to West's caravan. By the time she was 16 they had no legal control of her.

She had not known that her daughter was pregnant and had given birth in 1970 until she had arrived with a baby of about four months old. Rosemary had seemed to want to stay at the Letts's home when she returned but

when West came to collect her she had made the remark about him being capable of murder.

Describing Charmaine, whom Rosemary West is accused of murdering when her stepdaughter was aged eight, Mrs Letts said: "She was a lovely little girl, happy little girl. Rosie always seemed to keep them [the children] nice, keep their hair nice."

She told of one occasion when she had visited her daughter at the Wests' then home in Midland Road, Gloucester. Charmaine was in the flat on her own. "I was surprised," said Mrs Letts. "She said she'd been naughty."

Later Rosemary said that Charmaine had gone back to live with her mother in Scot-

land. Mrs Letts was not surprised because she said that Charmaine "had a foreign look about her".

Mrs Letts was unaware that Fred and Rosemary had got married until a year or two after the event. She had kept in touch with the Wests during the 70s and 80s and had sent presents to the children. One of her other children had told her that Heather, Rosemary and Fred West's eldest daughter with whose murder Rosemary is charged, had left home.

Cross-examined by Richard Ferguson QC, for Rosemary West, Mrs Letts agreed her husband had threatened Fred West in a bid to stop the relationship and that he may have locked Rosemary in her room to try and stop her from seeing West.

Girls were 'cut up and bizarrely mutilated'

Prosecution

THE bodies of the victims of Fred and Rosemary West were cut up and some were bizarrely mutilated before being buried under the cellar and garden of the couple's house in Gloucester, Winchester crown court was told yesterday.

In most cases their legs and heads were cut off and seven had one or both kneecaps missing, said Brian Leveson, QC, for the prosecution.

But it was not possible to say precisely how the 10 victims died because only their bones remained, he said. There was evidence some were stripped and sexually abused, but it was not possible to say if they were strangled, suffocated or stabbed.

There were only "graphic illustrations", he said, of what might have taken place — the ring of adhesive tape on the remains of Lynda Gough, the "terrible mask" on Shirley Hubbard, the clothes line around the limbs of Juanita Mott, and the belt round the skull of Alison Chambers.

How could the missing bones be explained? Mr Leveson asked. One explanation was that the nine bodies found at 25 Cromwell Street were not originally buried there but somewhere else, and parts had been lost in transit. The other possibility was that the bodies were deliberately mutilated.

"It is absurd, isn't it, to visualise nine removals, each one months or years after the killing and each one carrying its own risk of discovery," Mr Leveson said. "Fingers could have been removed to render identification more difficult; that is mutilation. Why is one

or both kneecaps missing from seven of the girls? The only answer, we submit, is mutilation."

Mr Leveson said the Crown had to prove four points with each murder: that the person was dead, that she died from the use of unlawful force, that her attacker or attackers intended either to kill her or cause really serious bodily harm, and that Mrs West was one of the attackers or the attacker — or that she acted as part of a joint plan with Frederick West or others which

'It is not possible to say whether the victims were strangled, stabbed or suffocated'

led to the death. Mr Leveson said this final ingredient was likely to be the real issue: "What I have described as them being in it together."

Six signs pointed to Mrs West's involvement:

□ First, each girl had died where she was found. Mrs West had a complete run of the place where the girls were murdered, said Mr Leveson.

□ Second, she must have enticed a number of the victims to 25 Cromwell Street: she was in the car when Caroline Owens, who was released after an ordeal at the hands of the Wests, was picked up. She had collected Lynda Gough from her home. Mr Leveson suggested Lucy Partington, a student, would never have got into the Wests' car had Mr West been alone.

□ Third, each girl had been the subject of sexual abuse

and violence. There was evidence this took place with Mrs West's co-operation in Cromwell Street.

□ Fourth, if the killings were for "perverted sexual pleasure", Mrs West was as involved as her husband.

□ Fifth, considering the time it would take to dismember the bodies, dig a hole, dispose of excess soil and clear up the mess, Mrs West must have known what was going on.

□ Sixth, she had lied to Lynda Gough's mother when she came looking for her daughter. "There is no innocent explanation for these lies," said Mr Leveson.

On the death of Mrs West's stepdaughter Charmaine, at 25 Midland Road in Gloucester, Mr Leveson said it was ludicrous to suggest Mr West would have buried her there unless his young live-in girlfriend (Rosemary) was fully involved. Mrs West also had a much more powerful motive for killing Shirley Anne Robinson, who had been pregnant with Mr West's child.

On the disappearance of Heather West, "the first born of Mrs West and the first child of her union with Mr West", Mrs West told police she had not reported her missing because it would have been "snitching". She had lied on her own account when she was first seen by the police in 1982. "What possible innocent explanation could there ever be for such a lie," asked Mr Leveson as he concluded his opening speech on the trial's second full day. "None. The only reason for lying is guilt."

Mrs West denies 10 murders, including those of her daughter Heather, aged 16, and stepdaughter Charmaine, aged eight. The case continues today.

Sister's story

Fred West 'made smutty remarks' to wife's sister

THE elder sister of Rosemary West, Glenys Tyler, told the court that Fred West had made "smutty" remarks to her on an occasion when he was giving her a lift to Gloucester in his van.

"He was talking about Rosemary and himself having an open marriage and had I ever thought of trying it," she said. "He was suggestive but no more than that."

Mrs Tyler said that she remembered West coming into the cafe which she helped her father to run in Gloucester. He would come in on a number of occasions with Shirley Robinson, one of the



Fred West... 'talked about having an open marriage'

young women Mrs West is accused of murdering. Mrs Tyler said West announced that Shirley was pregnant and that it was his child. "I was appalled," she said.

Mrs Tyler said that Charmaine, Rosemary's stepdaughter, was a very pretty normal seven-year-old. She added that she was highly

strung and the relationship between the little girl and Rosemary West was troubled. The child had a bed-wetting problem and Rosemary was annoyed at having to change the bedclothes all the time.

Asked about the disappearance of Charmaine, Mrs Tyler said that she was told that the child had returned to her natural mother. "As time went by we became concerned," she said. "Mum and I discussed whether or not to get a private detective to find out where she was."

Asked about Heather, whom Rosemary is also accused of murdering, she said that the last occasion she had seen her was probably in 1987 when Heather was about 16. She had appeared unhappy and later she heard from Rosemary that Heather had left and that that was what Heather wanted and "that was an end of it".

Mrs Tyler's daughter Helen had visited Heather shortly before her disappearance and Heather had told her that as soon as she was 16 she would leave home.

Neighbours' evidence

Best friend saw Charmaine with her hands tied behind back

THE woman who as a young girl had been Charmaine West's best friend told the court she had seen Charmaine with her hands tied behind her back at the Wests' home in Midland Road, Gloucester.

Tracey Hammond, aged 32, said: "I still find it quite disturbing. She had her hands behind her back. All I could see was this huge brown leather belt round her wrists

and the prong of the belt stuck into the leather." She said a lady was standing beside Charmaine with a spoon in her hand.

Mrs Hammond, who was seven or eight at the time, had been in the flat to get milk for her mother. She remembered going to see Charmaine another time and being told by the lady: "She's gone to her mother and good riddance."

Shirley Giles, Mrs Hammond's mother, who lived in the flat above the Wests in Midland Road with her husband, Ron, and her two children, said she remembered how distressed Tracey was after the belt incident.

She said she had asked Mrs West why she had done this and Mrs West had told her that Charmaine had been naughty and had to be taught wrong from right.

Mrs Giles said Charmaine could be very wilful and Rose-

mary, who was then aged around 17, said this got her down. "I think there was a clash of personalities between them. She ruled with a steel rod," she said.

In the house, Mrs Giles recalled seeing a model caravan made out of matchsticks which Rosemary said Fred had made while in Leyhill prison for dishonesty offences. Mrs Giles said how much she would like one and that she had written to Fred in prison asking him to make one for her. The letter was read out in court and in it Mrs Giles had written: "Rose said how fat you'd got."

Cross-examined by Richard Ferguson QC, Mrs Giles agreed she had changed her evidence and made a number of statements to police. She said this was because she was not sure at first about some of the dates she was asked about.

UCCINI TO GAMBACCINI.

JOURNEY THROUGH THE CLASSICS WITH HIS 'MORNING COLLECTION' WEEKDAY MORNINGS AT 9.00AM.



Text 19

THE WEST TRIAL: Duncan Campbell on a mother who tried to find her missing daughter, and one of the survivors

Woman 'wore dead girl's slippers'

THE mother of one of the victims of the West trial said yesterday she had seen her daughter's slippers in a woman's house at 25 Cromwell Street in Gloucester wearing her slippers. She had disappeared.

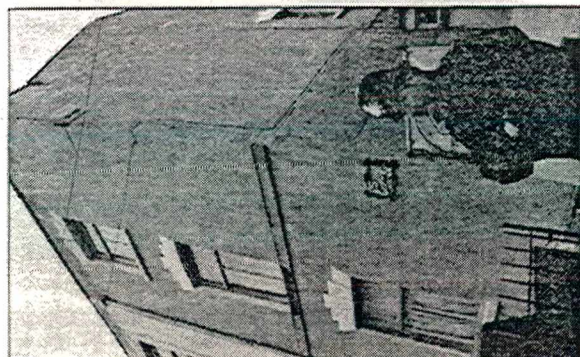
She had shuddered when she saw the slippers in the house later bricked up. Mrs Gough, a retired companion, said she had seen the slippers in the house of a woman who disappeared in 1973, aged 19, told Winchester Crown Court her daughter had gone missing after she had found a note saying she had found a flat.

Mrs Gough was giving evidence for the prosecution in the trial of Rosemary West, charged with the murder of 19-year-old girls between 1971 and 1987. She is pleading not guilty to all charges.

Mrs Gough said Lynda, her eldest daughter, who worked as a domestic in Gloucester, had attended a school for special needs. She had left school without any qualifications. She described her daughter as cheerful, happy, friendly, and smart.

At her daughter got older, she said, she started to rebel. She had last seen her on April 13, 1973. "It was a Thursday, that has always stayed in my mind," she told Brian Leveson QC.

Lynda had left a note which read: "Dear Mum and Dad, Please don't worry about me, I've found a flat. I'll come and see you some time, love Lynda."



Where bodies were found... 25 Cromwell Road
Lynda's mother had passed 25 Cromwell Street several times over the past 20 years. On one occasion she noticed the basement was bricked up. 'I shuddered,' she said. 'I don't know why but I shuddered'



Lynda Gough... went missing after leaving a note saying that she had found a flat
Cross examined by Richard Ferguson QC, Rosemary West, Mrs Gough said she had passed 25 Cromwell Street several times over the past 20 years. She said she did not know whether her reported Lynda was missing.

Victim still suffering severe guilt at 'failing to prevent murders by having couple charged with raping her'

CAROLINE OWENS, the victim of a violent sexual assault by Rosemary and Fred West in 1972, tried to kill her assailants by poisoning them with a rat poison. "In particular I am wary of other adult females, even friends, I have a terrible feeling of uneasiness."

The court was heard how the couple had been charged with the assault was reported in the local press. A report from January 13, 1973 in a local paper was headlined: City pair stripped and assaulted in rape. It was very depressing and I was very depressed and in a statement made last October.

She was prescribed lithium and tranquillizers, and in 1978 had taken an overdose and had to have stomach pump. She still suffered depression.

"I felt I had gone to court with my rape case. I could have stopped it," she said in her statement.

Yesterday she told the court: "I want to get justice for the girls that didn't make it because I felt it was my fault. I was so ashamed. My husband had been charged with the rape case and I was so ashamed."

"One detective treated me really badly and that put me off going to court. I thought I was being punished. My husband had been charged with the rape case and I was so ashamed."

She had not sought help from two of the male judges in the house because "they were so nice to me. They could see on my face that I was so sad. They had to be so kind to me. I had to be so kind to me. I had to be so kind to me."

She had not sought help from two of the male judges in the house because "they were so nice to me. They could see on my face that I was so sad. They had to be so kind to me. I had to be so kind to me."

THE WEST TRIAL: Ex-lodgers recall police raids and 'open marriage' at house where nine bodies found

Cromwell Street life of sex and drugs

Duncan Campbell
Crime Correspondent

GLOUCESTER police raided the home of Rosemary and Frederick West several times in the early 1970s and arrested lodgers for cannabis possession. Winchester crown court heard yesterday.

The jury in Mrs West's murder trial was also told she went to bed with many of her lodgers, sometimes the night they moved in.

Mrs West, aged 41, is pleading not guilty to 19 murders of young women and girls between 1971 and 1978.

A picture of life at the Wests' home at 25 Cromwell Street in Gloucester in the early 1970s emerged yesterday as many former lodgers gave evidence about events in the house where the remains of nine of the 19 alleged victims were found last year.

Ben Stanniland, aged 41, a lodger of the Wests in 1972/73, said that on the night he moved into his bedsit Mrs West came to his room and got into bed with him and his fellow lodger, Alan Davis. He said Mr West was downstairs.

"We were a bit dubious about going downstairs [the next morning] but he made it obvious it was okay," he said. He said he remembered Lynda Gough, an alleged victim, coming to Cromwell Street, and said he had done to bed with her. She had done babysitting for the Wests. He also remembered Caroline Owens, who the court has already heard was indecently assaulted by the Wests. He

said he recalled going to borrow a vacuum cleaner from Mrs West and finding her with Mrs Owens. "The reaction was shock."

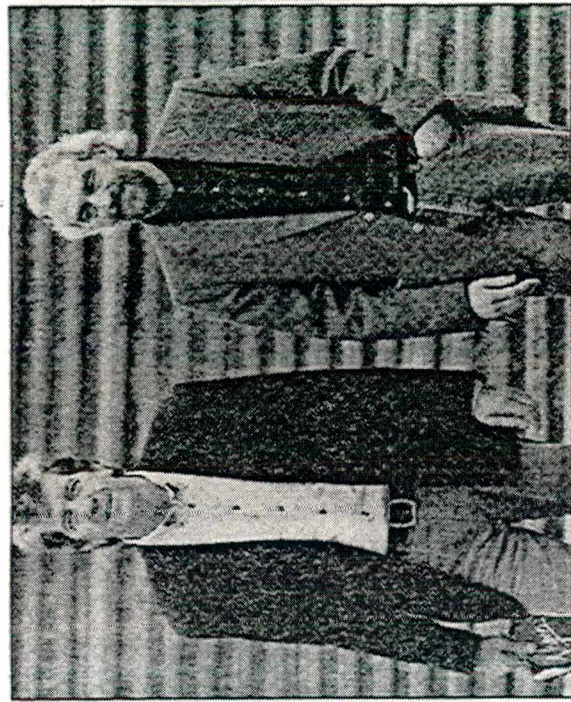
He also remembered the police coming to search for drugs, and that a lodger received a conviction for cannabis.

David Evans, aged 45, another former lodger of the Wests, in late 1972, said of Mrs West: "She liked sex." He had been to bed with her on one occasion. He also remembered Ms Gough and that she had not reappeared in the house on one occasion. "Rosemary said she hit Anna [Fred West's daughter] while baby-sitting and she wouldn't be coming back again."

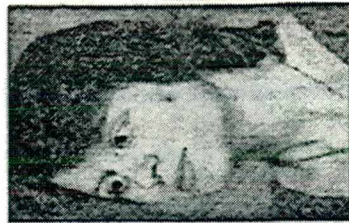
Mr Evans agreed the police came searching for cannabis on a number of occasions, and he had been convicted of possession. He also remembered that Mr West was in the cellar on many occasions.

Terence Davies, aged 48, from Worcestershire, told the court that when he stayed at 25 Cromwell Street the Wests kept their room locked most of the time. "Fred was a nice bloke as far as I was concerned," he said. "He took us out for drinks." He remembered Mrs West once came to the door in a see-through negligee. He described the cellar as dark and muddy with earth that "clung to your feet".

Elizabeth Brewer, aged 35, who lodged at 25 Cromwell Street in 1977/78, told the court there was much talk of sex there. "Rosemary said when she visited she was going to spend all her time having sex."



Witnesses Ben Stanniland (left) and David Evans, and alleged victim Shirley Anne Robinson



'Rosemary said whatever Fred did she would never leave him. They seemed to have a bond between them'

Ms Brewer, who was 17 when she rented a bedsit at the Wests' house, said Rosemary had a "special bedroom". The Wests also had a mutual bedroom, she said, but Rosemary's "was always kept locked and as far as I know no one was ever allowed in there except Mr and Mrs West".

She said the children slept in the cellar until an extension which Mr West built was finished.

Ms Brewer told the court whatever Mr West did she would never leave him.

"They seemed to have a bond between the two of them," she said. "Mr West was the breadwinner and Mrs West was in charge of the domestic scene and child care."

Ms Brewer's bedsit, she told the jury, after a breakdown in communication between her and the Wests, Mr West had complained that Shirley was becoming too possessive. "Shirley asked if she could stay in my room," said Ms

Brewer. "She had expressed how she needed to keep away from Mr and Mrs West."

● The court heard that on August 13, 1974 Mrs West was admitted to the casualty department of Gloucester Royal hospital for treatment for deep lacerations across her ring finger, which she said were caused by "playing about with knives". When she was taken for surgery for the wound she said it was caused "cutting wood".

The case continues.

THE WEST TRIAL: Ex-lodgers recall police raids and 'open marriage' at house where nine bodies found

THE WEST TRIAL: Couple 'happy' after pregnant girl vanished from Cromwell Street

Lodger hated noises from 'Rose's room'

Duncan Campbell
Crime Correspondent

ROSEMARY and Fred West appeared to be very happy the day after one of her alleged victims disappeared from their Gloucester home, Winchester crown court heard yesterday. Mrs West was later seen apparently clearing the young woman's belongings out of her room, the court was told.

Elizabeth Brewer, a lodger at 25 Cromwell Street, Gloucester, for four years, told the court that another lodger, Shirley Robinson, had become "very frightened" of the Wests and moved in to her bedsit in the house.

Mrs West is pleading not guilty to the murder of Ms Robinson and nine other young women and girls.

Mrs Brewer told the jury that Shirley had become very emotional and wanted to stay in her room to keep away from the Wests. On the last day she saw her, Shirley — then about 9½ months pregnant with Mr West's child — said she was too tired to meet friends at a cafe.

When Mrs Brewer, who worked at a Gloucester disco, realised Shirley was not in the house she did not immediately ask the Wests where she was. The following day, though, Mr West told her Shirley had left to visit relatives in Germany. She said the Wests seemed very happy. Mr West told her another reason Shirley left was that she was "planning to rip my knickers off me if she stayed".

While Mr West was telling her this, Mrs West was looking over his shoulder nodding in agreement, she said. "They appeared very happy."

Mrs Brewer said she was,



Artist's impressions of Cromwell Street lodgers Gillian Britton (left) and Elizabeth Brewer telling the court about life with the Wests in the 1970s

led to believe they were keeping in touch with Shirley in Germany. "I was told she had had a baby boy and called him Barry."

Jane Bayle, aged 31, a cousin of Mrs Brewer, told the court she visited Mrs Brewer on a daily basis when she was a schoolgirl in Gloucester in 1977. She had met both Shirley Robinson and the Wests. "Fred was a bit crude, a bit smutty."

Asked about Mrs West, she said: "She made me feel unnerved at times because she stared a lot and dressed like a child." She said Shirley Robinson had moved in to the

West's bedroom for a while and was having a sexual relationship with them both.

Another former lodger, Claire Rigby, who was 18 in 1978 when she moved in to a bedsit at the Wests' house, recalled that they had five children when she moved in. She said shortly after Shirley Robinson disappeared she saw Mrs West in her room. "She was in there with piles of clothes, bundling them into carrier bags. When Rose saw me she pushed the door to." She added that Mr West had told her Shirley Robinson had "done a bunk".

Peter Gregson, a DHSS officer in Gloucester in 1978,

recalled visiting 25 Cromwell Street over maternity benefits due to Ms Robinson. A lady told him she had left and gone to Germany.

Kathleen Ryan, the sister of another lodger, recalled going to the house in 1978 and being admitted by Mr West, who brought her into the living room. There were lots of children there and Mrs West was with Shirley Robinson, who was very pregnant.

Mr West said: "These are all the children." Ms Ryan told the court. He then indicated Mrs West and Shirley Robinson and said: "This is my wife and this is my lover." Ms Ryan said: "I looked at

my sister and thought 'God, this is a bit weird'."

Gillian Britton, who was 17 when she moved in to 25 Cromwell Street in 1977, said Mrs West's bedroom had a plaque on it which said "Rose's Room". In the evenings and particularly after midnight she would see men going in, sometimes two or three at a time. Ms Britton said: "There was thumping and crashing about and walls of a sexual nature." She said there had been a lot of noise and shrieking. She thought of it as a joke and as she was just 17 had not thought very much more of it. But later her attitude changed.

She added: "It could get beyond a joke at times," she said. She would turn on the radio and try and ignore the noise. "The noises didn't sound like pleasure."

Cross-examined by defence counsel Richard Ferguson QC, she said: "It did disturb me. Within six months I left."

Mrs West is accused of murdering Charmaine West, her stepdaughter, Lynda Gough, Carol Ann Cooper, Lucy Partington, Therese Siegenthaler, Shirley Hubbard, Juanita Mott, Shirley Ann Robinson, Alison Chambers and Heather West, her daughter, between 1971 and 1987. She is pleading not guilty to all charges.

Recording reveals mother's shock at murder admission

THE WEST TRIAL: Jury hears suspect threaten to kill partner over death of eldest daughter. Duncan Campbell reports

A TAPE recording of the moment Rosemary West was told that her husband, Fred, had confessed to murdering their eldest daughter was played to the jury at her trial yesterday. In it she cried out that Fred was a "dead man" if she saw him again.

Her husband's admission that he had killed Heather, aged 16, had come as "a massive shock", she said. She said she was "totally surprised".

Questioned at her home at 25 Cromwell Street, Gloucester, Mrs West told Detective Sergeant Terry Onions that Heather had told everybody at school that she was planning to leave home when she was 16.

Winchester crown court has already heard that Heather's remains were found under a patio Fred had built in the back garden. Mrs West, aged 41, has pleaded not guilty to the murder of 10 young women and girls. Yesterday the jury was played recordings of a series of interviews with Mrs West as she was questioned about the alleged murders in February last year.

She said that she did not have a good relationship with her daughter: "She didn't seem to want to know me that much, she was all her father, not me." She told DS Onions that she had got £600 together to give to Heather because she had said she wanted to leave.

She told the officer that she had a problem with Heather because Heather was a les-

bian. She had been unhappy about that because of all the younger children in the house.

"There was no communication. You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make it bloody drink, can you? She was a stubborn girl, you ask the rest of the family, she didn't want to do her own washing, she didn't want to move up off the seat, she was so negative."

She then told the officer that "if you had any brains at all you could find her. It can't be that bloody difficult."

'If you had brains at all you could find her. It can't be that bloody difficult'

Pressed as to why she had not made any inquiries to try and find her missing daughter, Mrs West responded: "This is 16 years of a child you're talking about, you imagine the flipping work I put in and then they turn around and just turn their back on you."

Asked why she had not reported her daughter's disappearance to the police when it happened in 1987, Mrs West replied: "So I have to snitch on my own daughter now, do I?"

DS Onions then asked about the patio rumour which the five younger West children, who he says are all in care, had been speaking

about. There had been gossip that Heather was buried under the patio.

Mrs West said that she did not know where the rumour had started and told him that Fred had claimed to have seen Heather in Bristol and later in Birmingham when he was on bail for child abuse.

Then a dramatic moment comes in the tape recording when DS Onions says that there has been a major development that morning. "Fred has confessed to murdering Heather," he tells her. Mrs West is heard to cry out and say: "So you know where she is?"

DS Onions tells her that she is automatically implicated in the murder to which Mrs West replies: "It's a lie." She says that Fred was the dominant member of the house and would push her out of the house to see other men.

When DS Onions asks her how she feels now that she knows that he's "slain your eldest daughter", she replies: "Put it this way, he's a dead man if I ever get my hands on him."

Earlier the jury was told a commercial video showing a distressed naked woman being taken into a cellar, tied to a beam and abused by two men was found in 25 Cromwell Street during a search of the house on an unrelated matter in 1992. Police had found another 98 pornographic videos, and sex and bondage aids.

Mrs West wiped her eyes in the dock as Sergeant Peter Maunder told how a bone had been found under the patio in the back garden on February 26 last year. Fred West was brought into the garden and had helped to identify two other sites where sets of remains were found.

The case continues.

Cromwell St victim's tape mask

THE WEST TRIAL:
Duncan Campbell
hears pathologist
give evidence
at Winchester

A MASK made out of tape was found wrapped round the skull of one of the bodies discovered in the cellar of 25 Cromwell Street, the trial of Rosemary West heard yesterday.

The body of Shirley Hubbard was one of five found in the cellar in March of last year, said Home Office pathologist Bernard Knight.

Tape used to wrap parcels had been wound round her head 11 or 12 times and a 17-inch U-shaped plastic tube had been inserted where the nostrils would be, which would have prevented suffocation.

Professor Knight, of the University of Wales, told Winchester crown court that most of the bodies found at the Wests' home in Gloucester had been decapitated and dismembered.

Mr Knight said he was asked by Gloucester police to attend the excavations at 25 Cromwell Street in February last year. The remains of nine young women were found there and the remains of a girl was later found at the Wests' former home of 25 Midland Road in Gloucester.

Mrs West is pleading not guilty to 10 murders, including those of her daughter Heather and step-daughter Charmaine.

The remains of two other bodies were found in fields near Much Marcle in Herefordshire, the earlier home of Fred West, Mr Knight said. Mr Knight said that the legs of the bodies had been dismembered at the hip joint. In some cases a cleaver or similar instrument had been used. On other bodies there were a series of fine cuts on the femur such as might have been made by a sharp knife.

The decapitated body of West's daughter Heather, buried beneath the patio in the back garden, was the first to be recovered.

The body of Alison Chambers had been found with a wide belt with a large buckle wrapped round the skull. Both kneecaps were missing, said Mr Knight, as was the

case in most of the bodies. Many finger and toe bones were also missing from all the bodies.

There were four possible explanations for this, he said: the bones could have disintegrated; the police diggers might not have found them; the bodies had been cut up elsewhere; or parts of the bodies had been deliberately removed.

He believed that the first two possibilities were highly unlikely because the other bones found were in very good condition and because he had seen the digging teams doing a meticulous job.

With Shirley Ann Robinson's body he found an eight-and-a-half to nine-month foetus which had "matchstick-sized bones".

A black-handled knife with an eight-inch blade had been found beside Lucy Partington's body. She had also been decapitated.

A plastic clothes line had been found with Juanita Mott's body and two nylon socks, bra, pants and tights, wrapped round the skull at the top of the jaw.

A mask made of adhesive tape had been found beside Lynda Gough's body. A clothes line had been recovered from beside the body of Carol Cooper.

In April, he had excavated the bodies of Rena West, Fred West's first wife, in a field near Much Marcle.

A small red boomerang was found at the base of her skull. He had also excavated the body of Ann McFall, which was found with the remains of a six- or seven-month old foetus.

Fred West had been charged with the murders of both women before he committed suicide in prison in January.

Cutting up the bodies would have taken "a good many minutes" unless the person doing so was a surgeon or butcher, Mr Knight said.

In a taped interview between Mrs West and police after her arrest in February last year, she said Fred West had tried to choke her, and had struck her on the jaw.

She told Detective Sergeant Terry Onions that during fits of anger, he had attempted to choke her for up to two minutes and had then let go. "He just caught hold of my clothes and that and the neck. He's only done it when he's been angry. It's more when he was younger."

THE WEST TRIAL: Accused tells how she came to regard the man she had once loved as a 'walking figure of evil'

'Fred used to grin, as if it was a joke'

Duncan Campbell
Crime Correspondent

ROSEMARY West sobbed yesterday as she described how her husband as a 'walking figure of evil, with horns and a satanic grin'.

She broke down as she told her defence counsel, Richard Ferguson QC, how she never realised she had been living with a murderer for more than 20 years.

She denied killing her eight-year-old stepdaughter, Charmaine, and leaving her husband to bury the body so that they were "tied together forever".

Mrs West pleads not guilty to the murders of 10 young women and girls.

Asked how she felt when told by police in February last year that her husband had confessed to murdering her daughter Heather, she replied: "I hated him. I couldn't believe I could ever hate anybody so much."

She said: "I didn't see the man I had known all those years. He was just a walking figure of evil. It may seem daft — I saw him with horns and complete with a satanic grin. He never looked sorry for what he did. He was just used to grin, like it was a joke or something."

Asked about Shirley Robinson, one of her alleged victims, whose body was found

'I couldn't believe that I could ever hate anyone that much'

with an eight-month-old foetus at 25 Cromwell Street, she said that Fred West told her that the baby was that of a married businessman.

When Shirley disappeared she believed Fred when he told her that she had gone back to Germany.

Asked about Miss A, who has accused Rosemary West of taking part in a violent sexual assault upon her, she replied: "I don't remember her at all... If it was such a terrible thing, why didn't she tell anybody at the time?"

Shown a photograph of one of her alleged murder victims, Alison Chambers, she said she had no recollection of her at all.

As she spoke of her daughter Heather, who would have been 25 last month, Mrs West's voice broke and she wiped tears from her eyes.

She said their relationship when Heather disappeared in 1987 had not been good.

Heather had been a shy and nervous girl who had no boyfriends and showed no interest in doing normal things.

When Heather was 16, Fred told her that she had got a job

at a holiday camp in Devon and was about to leave home. Fred told her to go and do her shopping while he spoke to Heather. "I made him promise not to let her go until I came back."

When she returned Heather had gone. She had been led to believe that a woman had picked Heather up in a car and driven off.

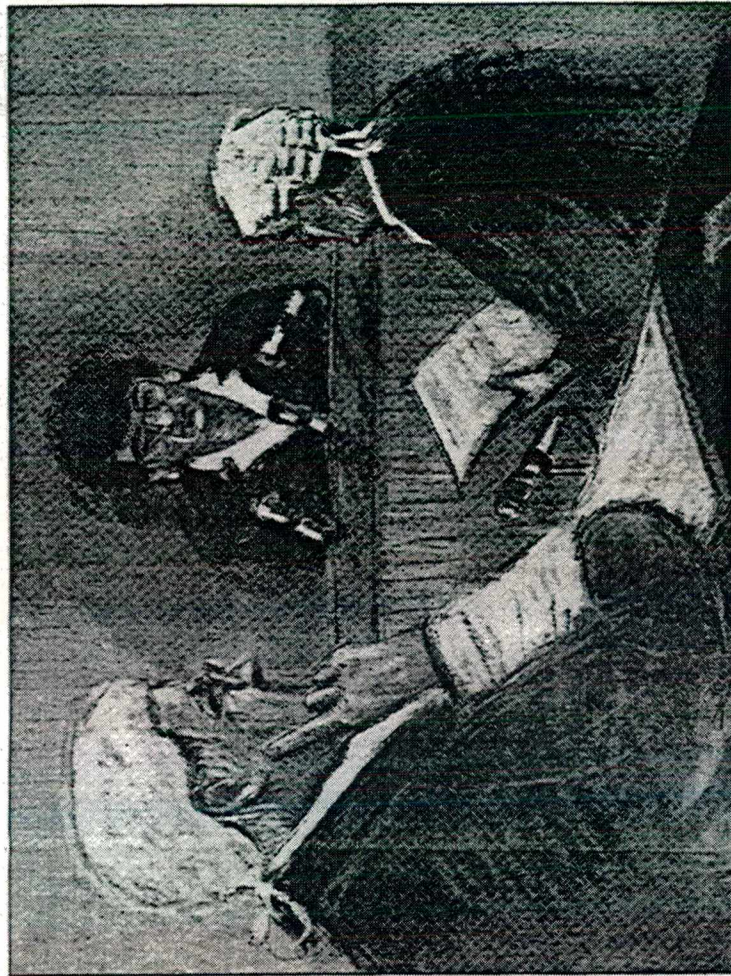
Asked if she had ever heard from Heather since she disappeared five years ago, she replied: "I feel a fool about it now but I believe I did. Fred said he had heard from her on the telephone, and I was handed the phone and there was somebody drunk on the other end." It sounded like a young person's voice in a busy pub or club.

Questioned about her stepdaughter Anne Marie, who has claimed that Mrs West subjected her to violent sexual abuse, she said: "She was just a little girl who needed to look after. I wanted to care."

Asked if she had ever disciplined her stepdaughter, she said that she might have spanked her on her legs with a wooden spoon.

Asked about her stepdaughter's allegations, she replied: "It's just not true. She must just hate me."

Asked about her relationship with Kathryn Halliday, who had earlier told the court that she had been distressed by Mrs West's violent sex



Artist's impression of Rosemary West being questioned by Richard Ferguson QC at Winchester crown court yesterday

play, she said that they had been friends for around six months.

She denied that she had ever made Ms Halliday do anything against her will. Dildos had been used, but not in a violent way.

Mrs West said that she always had a special room to which she brought men back for sex. Fred had put a hole in the door so that he could watch, although she had not been aware of this at the time.

"It was straight sex. It wasn't anything kinky. It wasn't way out. We would have a drink and play records."

There were two whips in the house, she said. Fred had tried to persuade her to get into bondage and had tied her up on a couple of occasions, but she had not liked it.

Cross-examined by Brian Leveson, QC, for the Crown, she admitted that she had been in love with Fred when she first met him at the age of 15, but said she had fallen out

with him halfway through their marriage. Mr Leveson read her a love letter that she had written to him when they first met 27 years ago.

He suggested this showed she was besotted with Fred. "I'm afraid I fell in love with him," she replied.

Mr Leveson suggested that she would do anything sexually with anyone, male or female. She replied: "I felt under obligation to do it because he was the breadwinner. I tried to make it fun."

She was asked about a letter she wrote to Fred in Ley Hill prison in 1971. In it she had written: "Char [Charmaine], likes to be handled rough."

"I would just be referring to the fact that she seems a bit tougher than Anne Marie," she said.

You abused that girl, didn't you? Mr Leveson later asked. "No, sir."

"You killed her." The case continues today.

so enraged that they have tried to pull the alarm from the dashboard."

But the AA thought 30 seconds was too short. "It would not alert anyone to the fact that the car is being broken into. People are much more likely to think it has gone off in error."

That is exactly what most people think most of the time, according to environmental health officers. Car alarms, whether sirens or horns, form part of the background noise of every day life.

Sarah Boseley

AFTER road rage comes alarm rage. A car alarm screeching hopelessly in the early hours for its absent owner is said to be driving normally peaceable men and women to violence.

Peace and quiet may yet be restored. Stephen Norris, junior transport minister, is proposing to shut car alarms up after 30 seconds and ban the beep which warns that a car has an alarm. In a Commons written answer he said he was "aware of the concern felt about their potential for noise nuisance", although he believed they were a deterrent to car theft.

Driven to distraction by sleep deprivation, some neighbours have taken the law into their own hands. Adrian Ruck of the AA said: "People have become so enraged that they have tried to pull the alarm from the dashboard."

But the AA thought 30 seconds was too short. "It would not alert anyone to the fact that the car is being broken into. People are much more likely to think it has gone off in error."

That is exactly what most people think most of the time, according to environmental health officers. Car alarms, whether sirens or horns, form part of the background noise of every day life.

Rosemary denies any involvement in murders

Wife 'blamed for all Fred's crimes'

West trial

**Duncan Campbell
Crime Correspondent**

ROSEMARY West claimed yesterday that she was having to take the blame for all her husband's crimes because he was now dead. She admitted she had changed her story when questioned by police but said that was because she was confused and unhappy at the time.

Concluding her evidence after nearly three days in the witness box at Winchester crown court, Mrs West denied she had killed seven young women because of sex abuse, her stepdaughter because "she liked to be treated rough", a lodger because she was in the way, and her daughter because she was going to blow the whistle.

Brian Leveson, QC, prosecuting, asked her to explain why she had given different accounts of the disappearance of her daughter, Heather, in

1987 to different people. She said the witnesses had been mistaken or had been listening to "gossip or rumours".

"It's all very well for someone to say I said this ... I'm the only one in the spotlight ... Fred West is dead and I've got to take the responsibility for what he done. Fred is responsible for these murders. I wasn't mixed up with murder, especially of my own daughter."

She accepted that she told the police one version of Heather's disappearance when she was questioned in 1992 and another in 1994. She had been worried about her children on the first occasion and had just wanted to get out of the police station.

Two of her other children, Mae and Stephen, had told her in 1992 that Heather could have been under the patio. She had not believed it. "Me and my children thought it was a bit of a joke."

Mr Leveson said that she had sexually abused many young women. "As a result of that there are seven girls lying dead, isn't that right?" — "I had nothing to do with murder, sir."

"Then there was Charmaine who liked to be treated rough. That's you as well isn't it?" — "What's me as well?"

"Shirley Ann Robinson, pregnant by Fred, getting in the way. You were involved in that?" — "No sir."

"Heather, was she going to blow the whistle?" — "I don't know why he killed her, sir."

Of the indecent assault on Caroline Owens, for which Mrs West and her husband were convicted in 1973: "It is the one mistake I made in my life and it's obviously one I'm regretting now."

Questioned about Miss A, who has alleged that Mrs West carried out a violent

sexual assault on her, she said: "She's using me as a scapegoat for what happened in her past life." Mrs West said that her brother, who had been going out with Miss A, had married someone else.

Asked about Shirley Robinson, whose body was found at 25 Cromwell Street Gloucester with an eight-month-old foetus, Mrs West said that she was unaware that the child was Fred's. Mr Leveson asked her if Fred had said of Shirley in her company: "This is my next wife". — "If anything like that was said it would only have been said in jest."

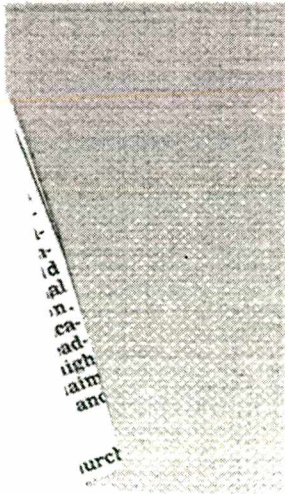
Mr Leveson asked her why she told police last year that she could not remember Shirley Robinson, who had lived in her house for a year. "I had mixed her up with someone else. At the time these questions were being asked I had just been told about the death of my daughter. I was very confused. I was in a mess." She then broke down in the witness box.

Denying that she had murdered Ms Robinson, she said: "The girl was pregnant, sir. I wouldn't kill a baby. I wouldn't kill anybody. It would take a really sick mind to do anything like that."

A witness identified only as Mrs B said that she had been raped by Fred West when she was only 15. She had met him in 1960 when Fred was 19 at the Rendezvous cafe in Newent in Gloucestershire. They had had a platonic relationship but on one occasion when they were driving back from his parents' home in Much Marcle he had stopped the car at a gate to a field and had then pushed her onto her back and raped her. Afterwards he had said he was sorry. She had not gone to the police.

The case continues.

London Assurance Company Limited No. 894616, Authority and which, together with Sun Alliance and 1 Bartholomew Lane, London EC2N 2AB.



Woman held after two boys found dead in their beds

Key witness, who admits lying about deal with newspaper, recalls claims by dead builder about victims being disposed of at a farm

Fred West 'told of 20 other bodies'



Janet Leach giving evidence yesterday CRAMMO ELIZABETH COOK

**Duncan Campbell
Crime Correspondent**

FRED West claimed that he and his wife, Rosemary, had been involved in the deaths of 20 girls whose bodies have not been found, the trial of Mrs West heard yesterday.

Winchester crown court also heard a witness, Janet Leach, admit having lied in evidence about a six-figure deal for her story with a national newspaper group.

Mrs Leach, aged 38, was wheeled into the witness box by a doctor. She was the "appropriate adult" who had sat in on police interviews with Fred West when he was arrested in February last year, and she told the court last

week that he had a "pact" with his wife that he would take all the blame for the murders.

Mrs Leach collapsed last Tuesday before completing her evidence and was taken to hospital. The trial was adjourned for three days.

Yesterday she told defence counsel, Richard Ferguson QC, that Fred West had told her he knew that the body of Mary Bastholm, who went missing from a Gloucester bus stop in 1968, was buried on a farm. He had also told her that the deaths of the girls were accidental and that some of them had been carried out by other people.

She could recall the many hours of conversation they had because West repeated himself so much, she said. She encouraged him to tell

the truth about the bodies for the sake of the families involved.

West told her that "another 20" had been disposed of at a farm, she later told crown counsel, Brian Leveson QC.

West told her that he, his wife, and some other men were involved. She agreed that she did not know if he was telling her the truth.

Mrs West is pleading not guilty to the murder of 10 young women and girls. Mrs Leach had ceased being an appropriate adult for Fred West in May last year, she told the court, but had continued to visit him in Winslow Green prison, write to him, and receive phone calls from him about three times a week. She had hoped to persuade him to tell where the bodies of

his victims were hidden. She had been planning to visit him when he killed himself in his cell on January 1. She had signed an agreement of confidentiality about what she and West discussed.

Mrs Leach admitted to Mr Ferguson that she had had dealings with Mirror Group Newspapers (MGN) about a book and newspaper serialisation. She said a friend had made the initial approach and that she had met MGN representatives. On August 2 last year, she had entered an agreement that for £7,500 she would not talk to anyone else about her story.

Mrs Leach agreed that her boyfriend, Brian Jones, had accepted money on her behalf and that a total of £12,700 had been paid. MGN had also provided a chalet in Somerset for

her and her boyfriend and three of her children to stay. She also accepted that she had agreed to an offer of £100,000 from three members of MGN staff for exclusive rights to her story. She added: "I didn't discuss it with them. I pressed by Mr Ferguson as to why she had told the court that she had not received any money from the press. Mrs Leach agreed she had made an untrue statement. She denied she had made her story more colourful so as to make it more valuable.

She told the court she had heard rumours put about by a police officer that she and Fred West had an emotional attachment, but this was untrue. She had warned West not to entertain such ideas.

She agreed that she had received a letter from West which read: "When this you read, remember me and bear me in your mind. Let the world say what they will. speak of me as you find me... If the police let you and me have two weeks together we would sort this out. We would have all the right people in prison where they should be."

After Mrs Leach had finished her evidence, Mr Justice Mauteil told the jury that they must be clear that what Mrs Leach said was not evidence against Mrs West. She had been called only to give rebuttal evidence after the defence had introduced tape-recorded interviews with Fred West, and her evidence was merely relevant to what Mr Leveson will start his closing speech today.

atre



an

West guilty of 3 killings

Duncan Campbell,
Lawrence Donegan
and Andy O'Hagan

ROSEMARY West was yesterday convicted of the murders of her eldest daughter, her stepdaughter and the mother of her late husband's unborn child. She stood in the dock pale and breathless as she heard the foreman deliver the verdicts that mean an automatic life sentence.

The jurors returned to their hotel last night to deliberate on seven further murder charges.

Shortly after 3pm at Winchester crown court the Tannoy announcement for "all those concerned in the case of Rosemary West please go to court number three" brought an end to more than nine hours of deliberation and 30 days of trial during which the jury has heard harrowing evidence of what had happened in 25 Cromwell Street, the home of the Wests and their eight children.

There was an almost eerie silence in the court in which every seat was taken by lawyers, reporters, police officers, relatives and those members of the public prepared to queue in the wet Winchester pre-dawn for a seat in the public gallery.

Standing between two female prison officers, West, who will be 42 next week, gazed impassively at the trial judge, Mr Justice Mantell. She heard the court usher ask the jury foreman if they had reached unanimous verdicts on any of the 10 counts of murder.

The foreman replied that they had. He was then asked for their verdicts on each of the charges. On count one, the murder of Charmaine West, the foreman said they had reached a decision. That decision was guilty.

There was a sharp intake of breath and a muffled cheer from the crowded public gal-

Turn to page 4, column 3

The Guardian • Wednesday November 22 1995

In 1970, when Rosemary West was still a teenager, she was looking after a young girl named Anna Marie in 25 Merton Road in Gloucester. Charmaine and her own baby daughter Heather were dead, and Anna Marie was 50 years old. She was a child prostitute who came to live with Rosemary West, Fred's first wife, and an Asian man. She and her sister had been in a field near his home in Much Marcle, Herefordshire.

Mrs West she had left home and gone to Wales after a row. During the next year, the Wests gave a number of enquiries to Heather's disappearance until, in 1982, Rosemary West was questioned about her daughter's whereabouts. She told detectives she had persuaded her not to leave home, but that she was not sure where she was.

Interviewed again, Mrs West said she had heard from a friend of Heather that she was "getting on well". Her daughter had spoken to her on the phone, she claimed. But when Mrs West's answers to the police inquiries making extensive inquiries about her. They could find no trace of her. All suggestions by contact by telephone from Mrs West were lies.

The jury was told that the police eventually went to 25 Cromwell Street on February 24, 1984, armed with a search warrant. Two days later, back at the police station, a skeleton was found. It was Heather West, Mr Leveson said.

Heather's body was found first of all in the house for her death was "no longer speculative", prosecuting counsel said. It could have been because of Heather's resistance to attempts to lure her in the sexual activities going on in the house.

West particularly in the killing of her own daughter; why else the ludicrous story about the circumstances of her leaving, the failure to make any inquiries as to where she was and the fact that she was still alive.

Mrs West went frequently when details of her daughter's death were spoken of in court. She said that while she had differences with Heather, she had not killed her, and had had her body buried in the back garden. Fred West, she said, was still alive at the moment when she was found in the back garden.

There were frictions, Shirley Ann Robinson becoming emotional. Shirley Ann Robinson, 36, a former child model, said she was young and was taken into care and spent time in a secure unit. She moved into a room at 25 Cromwell Street around April 1977 and by then she was pregnant with Fred West's child.

Elizabeth Brewer, who was living at number 25 then, told the court this eventually happened. She had been in her room for much of the time to allow her to escape the row, her relationship with Mr West had ceased. Mrs Robinson was last seen in the Gloucester health centre, where she went for a check-up on May 5.

Mr Leveson said Mrs West had probably killed Mrs Robinson to remove the threat she posed to her marriage. He said Mrs West was a "cold, calculating woman" who had been in the house for a long time.

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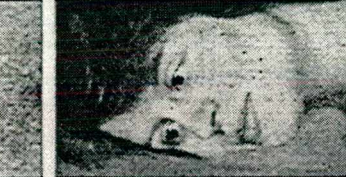
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Heather West (left), step-daughter Charmaine (top right) and Shirley Ann Robinson, who was pregnant by Fred West

West facing life after three murder convictions

Charged earlier - to retire on counts two to nine. On count 10, the murder of Charmaine, the eldest daughter of Rosemary West, he was charged with the murder of her mother. He was charged with the murder of her mother, Rosemary West, on May 1, 1975, and February 27, 1984.

West appeared to sway slightly on her feet as the forensic delivered the guilty verdict. The judge asked the jury to return a verdict of guilty on all counts. The judge said the jury should return a verdict of guilty on all counts.

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Screams in the dark that Rose explained away

Duncan Campbell on years of nightmare

IRVIN Marschall was a nightmare," he was told. As usual, Rosemary West was lying. But in a way she was also telling the truth. Heather was living a nightmare and it was her desire to escape from it, to tell others of the routine horrors behind the green front door that almost certainly led to her death at the age of 16, her burial beneath the patio and the ready a violent wife beater. One of their friends was

and Rosemary West. It was the search for the missing Heather that led the police to dig up the back garden. Her bones were the first to be found.

The long trail of murder that ended with the death of Fred West in his prison cell and the trial of Rosemary West began in the early sixties when, as a young farmworker, Fred met a good-looking young Scottish woman called Rena Costello who was working in the New Inn at Ledbury in Herefordshire.

She was pregnant with Charmaine, whose father and was later to bear Anne Marie, Fred's daughter.

The couple married in 1962. Rena returned to Glasgow and Fred joined her and started driving an ice cream van. He was already a violent wife beater. One of their friends was



Infamous address... the house of horrors where Fred and Rosemary West conducted a reign of terror and murder

Anne McFall, a girl five years younger than Rena, who told a friend she was falling in love with Fred. By autumn 1968, Fred decided to move back south. Rena and the two girls came with him and Anne McFall, who was to act as a nanny of sorts followed. Fred's beatings got worse

and eventually Rena was rescued by Glasgow friends. Anne McFall stayed behind. The last sighting of her was in the spring of 1967 when she was heavily pregnant. Rena went missing in 1970. Both were dragged and buried in a field near Fred's home at Much Hat-

Fred would tell people that Rena had become a prostitute — and had been true — and had been run out of Glasgow. By then he had made his new home at a caravan site at Lakeside Road in Bishop's Cleeve on the outskirts of Cheltenham.

Rosemary Letts was only 15 when she met him at the bus station in Cheltenham in 1969. By 1970, she was pregnant with Heather.

The couple moved to 10 Midland Road in Gloucester and in the summer to the larger 25 Midland Road, a semi-detached house in a modest street overlooking the park.

Fred always a ducker and diver, was getting into trouble in December 1970 at Cheltenham magistrates' court for 19 months for minor offences of dishonesty. While in jail he wrote

besotted letters to Rosemary. She replied. In one letter, signed 'Your ever worshipping wife, Rose,' she told him: 'Darling, I think she likes to be handled rough. But darling why do I have to be the one to do it?'

Rosemary, then only 17, was having to cope on her own with Charmaine, now seven, and baby Heather. It was clear to visitors that she resented Charmaine.

Shirley Giles who lived in the top flat with her daughter Tracey and husband Ron, recalled that the Wests' flat seemed 'like a morgue'. On one occasion Tracey went down to borrow some milk and saw Charmaine tied with a feather bolt to a chair, an image that remained in her memory.

It was in 1972 that Caro-

Already the Wests were experimenting sexually. Next-door neighbour Elizabeth Agius, a former ice cream worker married to a Maltese man, recalled Fred suggesting three-in-a-bed sessions and wanting to tie her up in handcuffs.

But Mrs Agius, who has now returned to Malta, has more haunting memories of the Wests' little habits: they told her that they liked to go out together looking for young girls hitch-hiking to introduce them to prostitution. It was easier, they explained, to get the girls into a car with Rosemary in it.

On January 29 1972, Fred West, 'bachelor', married Rosemary. Children then arrived at regular intervals; eight in total, three of them fathered by one of other of 'Rose's black friends'.

Rape victim told: 'We'll bury you under the paving stones'

line Owens, who was to prove their eventual needs, came into their lives. An attractive and bubbly woman who does not like to complain, Rose was picked up on a night out at a club in nearby Cinderford. The Wests picked her up hitchhiking to Tewkesbury to see her boyfriend. "They looked like a respectable married couple," she said later. They got on so well that she was offered a £3-a-week job as a nanny. But Caroline soon started to feel uncomfortable. Rose was taken to a room up to the second floor of the house, and she was raped. The Wests picked her up hitchhiking to Tewkesbury to see her boyfriend. "They looked like a respectable married couple," she said later. They got on so well that she was offered a £3-a-week job as a nanny. But Caroline soon started to feel uncomfortable. Rose was taken to a room up to the second floor of the house, and she was raped.

and offered her a lift. Rose said she began fondling her. She was overpowered after Fred stopped the car, her hands tied with her own scarf and her mouth taped. She was driven back to Cinderford, where she was sexually assaulted by Rose and raped by Fred. He warned her: "We'll keep you in the cellar and let my black friends use you. Then when we're finished with you under the paving stones of Gloucester."

The following day she went with Rosemary to the launderette, escaped and eventually told police. On January 1, 1973, the Wests were charged with the murders. Rosemary pleaded guilty to the murders. She suffered a catalogue of abuse from both parents which began at the age of eight when her father initiated her into sex



Caroline Owens... Wests fined £50 after sex ordeal

plegie until the sounds grew more violent and she repeated herself. Over a period of 18 months the pattern was repeated. Caroline Anne Cooper, aged 15, was reported missing in November 1973 and was kidnapped or abducted for a year-old victim in the Wests' next victim was a highly intelligent 21-year-old student, Lucy Charlotte. She went to see her father in Birmingham. She was last seen going to catch the last bus home. The road on which she would have been standing had been covered in a mask of adhesive tape from Rosemary West's fan-mail. She was killed shortly after midnight on January 5, 1974, seven days after Lucy Partridge's disappearance. Fred West went to Gloucester hospital with a hand laceration.

they knew of their father. Rose (60), was later treated for her injuries from one "playing with knives" to a claim she had been chopping wood. The catalogue of victims continued. Theresa Sienkiewicz, 15, was reported missing in November 1974. She was a year-old when she ran away in November 1974 from her foster parents in Droitwich.

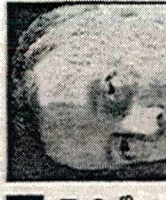
The finding of her body in the garden of the Marlborough house, 111 Marlborough Avenue, Cheltenham, was the first clear evidence of how she had been killed but unable to scream; her skull had been partly covered in a mask of adhesive tape wound up to eyelids and a fan-mail from Rosemary West towards into the postbox.

Police were assigned to the case. The excavation of the bodies was carried out using ground-probing radar equipment and a metal detector which can detect objects underground. Home Office pathologist Professor Bernard Knight had to work in a quarantine in the back garden to recover the bodies. Fred gave the police 10 interviews totalling 108 hours, which amounted to 7,000 pages of transcript, during which he admitted to the murders. He also confessed to kidnapping and boasting about other offences. The detective constables who interviewed him, Darren Law and Geoffrey Morgan, said that he consistently changed his story. By the time he was interviewed by detectives who used her name when she had last seen her, he had said that Detective Superintendent John Bennett, who led the investigation, had said that Mrs West had multiple personalities. "The answers we were given all depended on which of the personalities we were talking to on any particular day."

Mr West, aged 50, in his second year with the force, was no stranger to dead bodies but he described events at Cromwell Street as "disgusting and appalling." So, when Fred West was a perfect pair. The total cost of the investigation was £1,726,822.

Mystery of nine other women who visited house

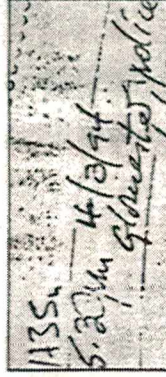
The missing
Descriptions issued as police attempt to establish individuals are safe and well



John Bennett, who led the investigation into the Wests, placed the descriptions of the nine women who visited the house. He said it was possible some might have been traced during the investigation without it having been realised that they were missing. He introduced the "missing nine" into the inquiry but they have been incorrect or faded.



The brunette woman who visited the Wests in 1975 thought to have been taken to the house during a full moon in late 1975. Maria Anna, a white woman in her early 20s, she had long blonde hair and may have been a student. Minkler or Marjika (or similar), a white woman in her late 20s who may have come from Holland, 1971/72. Name not known, a white woman aged between 18 and 20. A white woman, possibly called Ingrid, said German accent, possibly with a German accent, 1979/78. Marjika, an 18 or 19-year-old with long blonde hair. Name unknown, a white woman aged 17-20 with blonde hair and a Swedish or Dutch accent, 1973.



1135u
5.2.74 in Gloucester police station
I Frederick West authorize my solicitor Howard Ogden to advise West to admit that I wish to admit to 9 killings - expressly Charles Gough, Reena, Linda Gough and others to be identified.

Inquiry
At one point 84 officers were assigned to the £1.7m investigation



Hazel Savage, who was later taken off the case, dropped. However, the detective decided to pursue the investigation. He started gathering intelligence on what might have happened to her. It was Detective Constable Savage, who was later re-commenced over allegations that she had a sexual connection with a key figure in the case. Police discovered that there were no medical, employment, social security or tax records for her. Her name was still alive. They re-opened the inquiry. Both the Wests originally denied the allegations. However, when Fred realised that about 100 people had been back garden he pointed out to them where they would find Heather's remains. At one point, 84

Police yesterday apologetically pooled for information on nine women who visited the Wests and whose whereabouts are unknown. They were aged between 13 and the late 20s when they were known to have been at the Wests' home at 25 Cromwell Street, Gloucester.

After the verdicts in Rosemary West's trial, Superintendent John Bennett, who led the investigation, said there was no evidence that the missing women had come to harm, but they were missing. He should be traced. "We would still like to establish that they are safe and well."

Police said that at the start of the inquiry they attempted to identify every person who had visited the house. The names of visitors and tenants were established and they were located and interviewed. They in turn gave the names of other people they remember. The missing women were listed at various times. Many could give only descriptions, or first names, or nicknames.

Police yesterday released this note written at Gloucester police station by Fred West to Detective Superintendent Bennett. West admits to a further (approx) nine killings: Charmaine, Reena, Linda Gough and others

During this police inquiry it was discovered that the Wests had a back garden he pointed out to them where they would find Heather's remains. At one point, 84

Police discovered that there were no medical, employment, social security or tax records for her. Her name was still alive. They re-opened the inquiry. Both the Wests originally denied the allegations. However, when Fred realised that about 100 people had been back garden he pointed out to them where they would find Heather's remains. At one point, 84

Joyful scenes in court — then Heather's remains were found

to the bed and her arms taped, turned face down and raped. Ann Robinson was a lodger in Cromwell Street for more than a year. By October 1977, she was pregnant by Fred West, something that Rosemary happily told neighbours. Rosemary was also pregnant at the time, but she and Heather became jealous of Shirley, particularly when Shirley would kiss Fred openly in front of her and say she loved him. She was last seen on May 2, 1978.

Allison Chambers, aged 16, was another Jordans resident who abhorred Brook to 25 Cromwell Street to see a friend in April 1979. Rosemary began to show signs of mental illness, discovering that Allison loved the countryside, told her that they owned a farm called "the real McCoy". Ma Halliday had left her husband and moved to 11 Cromwell Street from Millington Farm but it was a photograph taken from an estate agent's office which led her neighbour Kathryn Halliday to remember the Wests' obsession with pornography.

the house had also visited. It after she went out for a shopping trip by Rosemary. A few potential victims of the Wests survived to tell the tale.

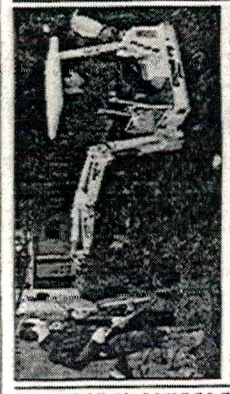
At the age of 13 Miss A. Six weeks later she had been taken into care in Gloucester to use a toilet. Brook's former partner took her into her room and went to 25 Cromwell Street where others from

1 Heather West
Born on 17 September 1970. Their eldest child and one of the main victims of their credit card assaults. Her escape route was Marina and copartners smoked to the back garden where her body was eventually found. On 18 June 1987, at the age of 16, just after completing her GCSE exams, she disappeared.

2 Allison Chambers
Born 8 September 1962 in military hospital in Germany. Her parents, who were both in the service, took up in the job. Her escape route was Marina and copartners smoked to the back garden where her body was eventually found. On 18 June 1987, at the age of 16, just after completing her GCSE exams, she disappeared.

3 Lynda Gough
Born in Gloucester in May 1953. Young for her age, she left school at 15 without qualifications to work as a seamstress at the Co-op in Gloucester. On 19 April 1973, ran away from home. At first her parents thought she would return. Had an affair with two lodgers at 25 Cromwell Street. On 7 March 1984, her remains were found with a mark of adhesive tape beside her.

4 Shirley Robinson
Born on 18 September 1959 at RAF Cosford in Shropshire. In 1982 her parents split up. Eventually taken into care by Bristol social workers. Contact with her mother "fizzed out". By October 1977 was pregnant by Fred West. Lived at Number 25 for more than a year. On 26 February 1984 her remains and those of the child she had still to deliver were found in the back garden.

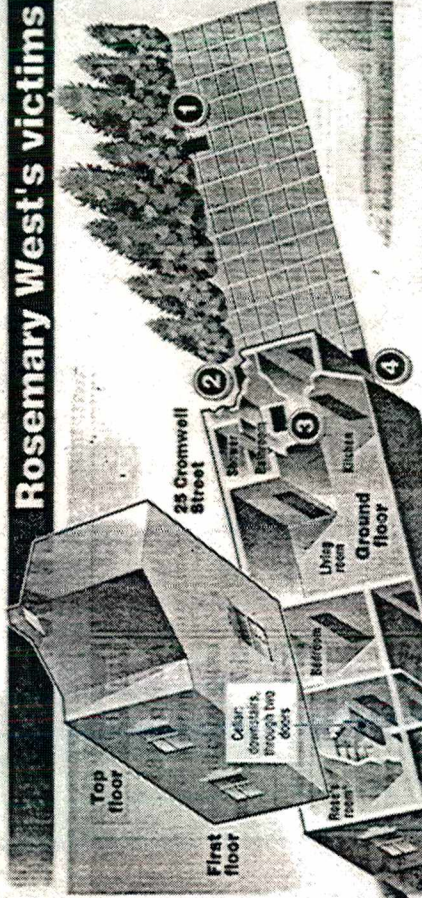


Police excavating in the garden of 25 Cromwell Street after the remains of the Wests' daughter were found there

see my misdeeds, she'll sort you out." She remembered Rosemary wearing a very short skirt and no knickers. She was dragged into a room by Rosemary. Fred followed Rosemary made love to her. Six days later she had been raped by Rosemary. Rosemary's regular visits continued until March 1989 but she became worried because the Wests were becoming more and more violent. How much of all this her husband, the Wests' oldest daughter, witnessed is impossible to say. Sullivan, passive, said, her parents called her for not an understanding of the world. He has to watch out for boys putting their hands up her

skirt, she said she would smash anyone who tried to touch her. On 16 June 1987, at the age of 16 years eight months, she disappeared. The stories about the exact nature of Heather's departure varied and it was difficult to understand the reasons. Rosemary's inactivity in the house was a factor in the police investigation which was sent. But by now the police had gone off with a lead. Rosemary's inactivity in the house was a factor in the police investigation which was sent. But by now the police had gone off with a lead. Rosemary's inactivity in the house was a factor in the police investigation which was sent. But by now the police had gone off with a lead.

Rosemary West's victims



Where the bodies were found
Heather West was the first body to be found after police started their excavations on February 24 last year. Fred claimed that he cut up his daughter's body in the bath and the others in the cellar without his wife being aware of what he was doing.



6 Lucy Partington
Born on 4 March 1962. Cousin of the writer Martin Amis. In October 1971 went to Exeter University to study medieval English. A committed Christian who was being received into the Catholic Church. Interacted in emotional contact. At 25 Cromwell Street she was hoping to go to the Continent with her family plan to publish her memoirs.



6 Carol Cooper
Born on 10 April 1954. A drink-clogging child, her parents passed her into care by Gloucestershire social services. Disappeared in November 1973. First body to be discovered in the cellar.



8 Therese Siegenthaler
Born 27 November 1962 in Switzerland. Came to London to study zoology at Woodhatch Polytechnic in South London. Politically concerned, studied in a flat in 1974 and was going to London for the Easter holidays in 1974 and was going to London to meet a priest friend. Remains were unearthed on March 5 1981.



9 Shirley Hubbard
Born on 26 June 1969 in 1981 in London. She was a student at the age of 12 and was taken into the care of the Hubbard's. Fred West was living in Broomfield, they were located when she decided to take their names. A single-minded, strikingly good-looking young woman. On March 5 1982 her remains were found.



10 Charmaine West
Born on 22 March 1963 in Leamington to Catherine 'Frenchie' Cooper and Alan Lister. Her mother by then was living with Fred West. In early 1970 Charmaine was fostered in Trimpley. Described as a strikingly attractive child who was stubborn and rebellious. She was hated by Rosemary. Her body was found at 25 Millard Road, Gloucester where the Wests lived before moving to Cromwell Street.

'Contact' liaisons — and panic beneath

The Guardian, Thursday November 23 1995

ROSEMARY Pauline West was born at Highfield hospital in Barnstaple, Devon on November 29, 1953 to William Letts, an armed services steward and later electrical engineer and TV repairman, and Daisy.

One of four boys and three girls, she grew up in the seaside village of Northam in Devon, before moving eventually to Bishop's Cleeve in Gloucestershire. As a girl, she was seen as young for her age and not very bright, being happier in the company of younger children and in particular her two smaller brothers, Gordon and Graham.

To outsiders, the family appeared to have strict and old-fashioned views on sex. In fact, Rosemary's father, who died in 1979, was a violent man who, according to Rosemary, abused his wife and disciplined his children by taking them by the hair and smashing their faces against the wall.

When she was 15 she got a

She was happy to give sex for £10, or free to mechanic who repaired van

job in a local bakery-cum-cafe where she met Fred West. He made a pass, took her out for a drink and the affair started. A letter of the time which she kept shows that even then she knew her own mind: she tells Fred that he must come clean about his wife Rena or the relationship cannot continue.

"We didn't take to him (Fred)," says Mrs Letts, a neat, smartly-dressed, grey-haired woman now. "We thought what he was telling wasn't the truth." He had boasted that he owned a hotel and a caravan site in Scotland.

Because Rosemary refused to end the relationship, she was taken into care in 1979 as "uncontrollable" at the request of her parents. But there was nothing the Letts could legally do to prevent their daughter from seeing him once she had turned 16 and from that moment they had lost her. She had shown an early interest in pornography and Fred's constant talk of sex fascinated her. She was already a sexually precocious girl, despite her babyish ap-

pearance. Once she had gone off with Fred, she saw her family rarely and they did not know she had had a baby until she arrived at Bishop's Cleeve with four-month-old Heather. She had then wanted to return to the family home but Fred came and collected her. Her father said: "She's made her own bed, she must lie in it."

Her brother, Graham, says that when he visited the house at Cromwell Street the children often seemed cowed and would only require a glance from Rosemary to fall into line if they were misbehaving.

She did not forgive her parents for their disapproval of Fred and none of the family was invited to the wedding in 1972 when the young Rosemary was slim, with long dark hair and a look of wide-eyed innocence — a far cry from the bespectacled soul with her helmet of dark hair who appeared in the dock at Winchester crown court.

Rosemary West described herself as a bisexual, "not a true lesbian" although she said she enjoyed her affairs with women more than those with men.

She advertised in contact magazines for partners or clients. In one magazine, called *Bitch*, she asked for sex with a "West Indian, well endowed, 50-60" but was happy to have sex with people who did not fulfill the criteria and who had seen the ad.

At the height of her prostitution she was seeing as many as six clients a night. She did not overcharge and was happy to give sex for £10 or in the case of one mechanic client, in exchange for him fixing Fred's van.

Her cheerful public disposition masked growing internal panics. In 1992 she took an overdose of pills and drink and her stomach was pumped in Gloucester Royal hospital. She was also treated for depression. In prison at Pucklechurch near Bristol, she took to obsessive eating and put on more than three stone. She had turned to God and had become friendly with an elderly Catholic nun, Sister Paul, who visited her.

She entertained hopes of being released, after which she would leave Gloucester and "start a new life." She wanted to spend her retirement, she once told lodger Liz Brewer, "indulging in sexual activity."

precocious teenager and the pathological liar who found they shared obsession with sex

DIY man who told of blood and orgies



MUCH Marcle in Herefordshire, where Frederick Walter Stephen West grew up, looks like the archetypal west country village. There are notices about the Brownies' next meeting pinned up in the Much Marcle Stores and pints of Flowers being pulled as skittles is played at the Walwyn Arms.

The local 13th century church, St Bartholomew, holds in its porch the "table of kindred and affinity forbidden to marry ... wife's mother's mother and wife's son's daughter", as though in presence of the havoc that one of its parishioners was to wreak on his own family in years to come.

Fred West was born on 29 September 1941, one of six children, and is said to have been sexually abused by his mother when he was 12 — she died at the age of 44. His father, Walter, a farm-worker and waggoner, died in 1992. Fred himself was arrested for

remarks about women, fascinated by pornography and constantly making passes. He was proud of his old-fashioned, seventies sideburns and thought they were his best feature but slightly self-conscious about his shortness — he was 5ft 7ins.

He collected pornography and boasted that he had carried out many abortions on women. His children suffered much more than unwanted passes. He would order his daughters to walk in front of him naked and tell them that "boys don't do it properly, dad's know how to do it right".

When he worked at the Stroud Court home for the mentally handicapped near Nailsworth he told workmates that the women there, of all ages, were "nymphomaniacs" who kept asking him to go to bed with them. The remarks got back to the management and complaints were made about his behaviour.

Derek Thompson, who employed West in his construction firm for six years until the time of his arrest, said: "He was a very hard worker and would never take a holiday."

A pathological liar, he would regale his workmates with tales of accidents he had seen on his way to work, stories of blood across the road and dismembered limbs hanging from vehicles. They got used to "another of Fred's tall stories". They were less sure whether he was telling the truth when he would announce that he had to finish work promptly because "we're doing an orgy this weekend for coloured people".

He would also make remarks about his own daughter, Anne Marie, when she was on a job with him: "Her boobs are bigger than a handful now."

He found difficulty with spelling and Rose would fill in his time-sheets for him. His favourite paper was the Sun.

Right up to his death in prison West attempted to avoid responsibility for his actions. He told his son, Stephen, when he learned that the latter was about to father twins: "Don't spend all your time at work. I did that and look what went on at home." He had been planning to write his account of events. The working title for the book was "I Only Ever Loved an Angel."

A pathological liar, Fred would make up stories about horrific car crashes

allegedly committing incest but was cleared in 1961 after evidence was withdrawn.

Fred West was not a bright pupil and left school barely able to read but strong enough to earn his living as an itinerant farm-worker.

At the age of 18 he was in a motorcycle accident and spent eight hours lying unconscious in a ditch before he was found. One of his brothers claims that the cheerful, decent soul that Fred had been before this changed dramatically. "It was like Jekyll and Hyde."

Although always described as a builder, Fred West had a number of other jobs in the mid-sixties including that of an abattoir driver and an ice cream salesman in Glasgow. His first wife was Rena Costello whom he wed at Ledbury register office in Gloucestershire on November 17, 1962. Charmaine was born four months later.

West was known as a hard worker and a DIY enthusiast. But he was also known as someone who was obsessive about sex, forever making



Clockwise, from top: Fred West, aged two, with brother John, aged one; Rosemary West, aged six; Daisy Letts, Rosemary's mother, (left), who 'didn't take to Fred' and put Rosemary into care in an attempt to end their affair, and Daisy West, Fred's mother, who is said to have abused him; and Fred and Rosemary together. They met when she was 15

I wanted to die. I was told to be grateful' Press deals investigated



Survivors
 Daughter remains sane despite rape by father and assault by stepmother

CONSIDERING that she was raped by her father and sexually assaulted by her stepmother at the age of eight, that her mother and two of her sisters were murdered by her father or stepmother, that she was pregnant at 15 and lost the baby and then had to live on the streets, Anne Marie Davis, the main survivor of the horrors of 25 Cromwell Street, is a remarkably sane woman.

Born on July 6 1964, she was Fred and Rena West's first child. With her father's dark hair and eyes, she talks in the quiet, almost toneless voice of someone who has seen and endured too much.

Anne Marie opted for acquiescence at home. It is probably the only reason she is alive today. She earned to

He would laugh about the size of her breasts in front of his workmates.

She was absent from school on more than 60 occasions in her penultimate year. From the age of 13 she was made to sleep with Rose's clients, occasionally being rewarded with a box of chocolates. Her father would watch.

She became pregnant by her father but the pregnancy was ectopic, although she did not realise she had even been pregnant until much later. At 15 she escaped from Cromwell Street and for a while lived on the street, agreeing to sex with strangers for a roof over her head.

Although now separated, she has two daughters, aged 11 and eight, from her marriage and she has a new partner.

Now living on an estate in Gloucester she has had bricks thrown through the window and taunts. She has received counselling and will continue to do so.

In the midst of her evidence she was taken to hospital after taking too many prescribed drugs mixed with alcohol. She was also treated in hospital after the same thing

happened when her father killed himself on January 1 this year.

She is hopeful about her future and has been working with Ginny Hill of the Daily Star on a book, *Out of the Shadows*. Remarkably she did not hate her parents, even sending them mother's and father's day cards after she had left home.

Other survivors have sought counselling to deal with their experiences.

One of the Wests' earliest victims, Caroline Owens, is receiving counselling for the guilt she feels because she did not pursue a rape charge against Fred in 1972 but accepted the advice of the police that she would be the subject of hostile cross-examination if she did so.

"I feel sensitive to people cuddling me," she says. "I have a terrible feeling of worthlessness." After the attack, she suffered severe depression. Four years later she took an overdose and had to be stomach-pumped.

Miss A, who both witnessed and was subjected to a violent assault by the Wests, also attempted suicide in 1983. In 1988 she was admitted to hos-

pital suffering from depression. She had also taken refuge from her first husband in a battered wives' home.

She had experienced hallucinations since 1980 in which Fred West appeared as a "man in black". In March 1990, she took another overdose.

Miss X has also been receiving treatment which was one of the reasons she could not be identified.

More than 40 people, mainly relatives and friends, have received counselling from Victim Support in Gloucester in connection with the case.

The five youngest West children are in care on the south coast near each other, under different names which the press is prohibited from revealing. Three of the older children have signed book deals. Stephen, who works part-time for Fred's former employer, has twins and another child on the way. Mae is also expecting a child.

One positive outcome of the case is that 110 missing people have been traced as a result of the police inquiries and some have been reunited with their families.

Media
 Press Complaints Commission inquiry into payments for witnesses' stories

Andrew Guff and Clare Dyer

THE Press Complaints Commission announced last night it is to conduct an inquiry into newspaper payments to witnesses in the West case.

Members of the commission are to debate the issues arising from the trial next week. Its intervention coincided with a call from the Lord Chancellor for a report into cash offers for witnesses' stories.

A spokesman for Lord Mackay, the Lord Chancellor, said he was concerned about the payments, which raised "issues of principles which need to be considered". He would discuss with Sir Nicholas Lyell, the Attorney Gen-

eral, and Michael Howard, the Home Secretary, what steps needed to be taken.

In a statement, the PCC said: "Serious allegations have been made about the way in which some newspapers have handled reporting of the Rosemary West trial.

"The PCC has been maintaining an extremely close eye on the allegations made about the conduct of the press, particularly the issue of the apparent payment of money by a few newspapers to witnesses."

Lord Wakeham, chairman of the commission, is understood to believe it is one of the most serious issues to have come before the commission. Clause nine of the industry's code of practice prohibits payment to witnesses or potential witnesses in current criminal proceedings.

Leo Gootley, Rosemary West's solicitor, said press intrusions had blighted the case: "The issue of press coverage has become inextricably incorporated in the proceedings and has affected the shape and course of the proceedings."

A spokesman for the Attor-

ney-General said contempt proceedings against the papers were not being considered because it would have to be proved that they had intended to interfere with the course of justice.

It was revealed that witness Janet Leach — who gave evidence about her conversations with Fred West while he was held in prison — had a £100,000 verbal agreement with Mirror Group for exclusive rights to her story.

Other deals include:

- Stephen and Mae West: said to have been paid £50,000 by the News of the World for a story and book.
- Miss A: a victim of violent sexual assault by the Wests, has an agreement for £30,000.
- Caroline Owens: a victim of Wests' sexual assault received £9,500 from the Sun, with £10,500 on publication.
- Anne Marie Davis: Fred's daughter was paid £3,000 by the Daily Star.

Reports (except Media) by Duncan Campbell

The mundane street where innocence died

Sarah Boseley on the anger, bewilderment and distress the Wests left behind them

CROMWELL STREET was once an insignificant Gloucester backwater, a short cut through tall redbrick villas between the city shops and the park. In the horror of what happened there, it lost its innocence.

Even the kids climbing on the railings talk of hanging Rose West. "Torture her like she did to people," said 14-year-old Sean Mayor.

There is wariness in the faces of many of his elders and anger that their community is again under scrutiny. Many doors remain closed, and many people will not give their names. But Sean's opinion is universally held — Rose West deserves to die.

"Imprisonment is too good for her," said Louise Jones, aged 74, who lives in a nearby street. "A life for a life is what it says in the Bible." Like so many who knew the Wests, she is bewildered that such incomprehensible evil infiltrated their calm lives.

"I used to see him walk

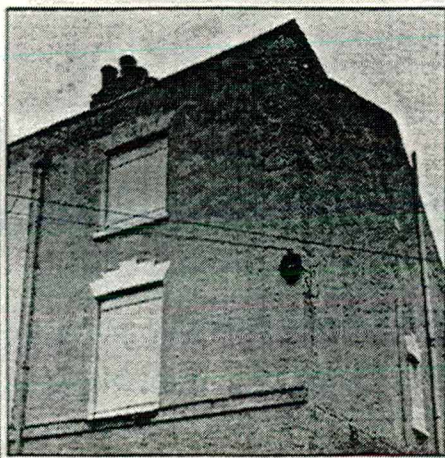
along here to get tobacco and stuff. They said he was a very nice man to speak to. And then they killed that dear little girl in Midland Road. She was only eight.

"Every time I went into the bingo, they'd say they'd found another body. I couldn't believe it."

David Robinson, an attendant at one of the car parks abutting the end of Cromwell Street, threw his arms in the air at news of the verdicts. "Everybody knew she did it," he said.

He even thought Rosemary West could have been the mastermind. "Fred didn't seem an evil person around here. Round the pubs they all knew what sort she was — an easy-going woman. She was always with different blokes. People felt sorry for Fred."

An elderly man who used to rent a flat in one of the three-storey houses, built for merchants in the 1920s, opposite the Wests, said he once borrowed a drill from Fred: "We used to sit on the wall and have a roll-up." He was almost angry with



Boarded up . . . 25 Cromwell Street, home of the Wests

himself for talking about it. "Pretty sick," he kept saying. "Pretty sick."

A prosperous middle-aged couple emerged from a house which belonged to their disabled son. Most of the other houses on the side opposite the Wests are dilapidated and rented as cheap bedsits. Cromwell

Street tenants move on quickly. Nobody thought Number 25 was any different.

The couple were angry at the plague that had fallen on the street. "Our son is disabled. He cannot move from one floor to another, but he can't sell his house. Estate agents laughed in

our faces." Morbid curiosity, which was attracting sightseers even yesterday, did not entice buyers.

"All kinds of people live here, but the majority are good and kind and nice," said the woman. "There is a lot of distress. There are people whose children played in that basement. That has sickened an awful lot of people."

"They should have hanged her from that lamp-post years ago," growled her husband. They believe that for Cromwell Street, the worst is to come, now legal restrictions are lifted and the books and films can be released.

Number 25 is structurally unsound, due to the excavations, and the city council wants to have it demolished. An inter-denominational church group, called Gloucester Inter-Faith, is calling a public meeting this evening about planting a memorial garden. More practical, sniffed one woman, would be a memorial car park. "Vandalism within this part of the city is so great that even wreaths left outside the house have been torn apart."

The priest of Christ Church parish, which includes Cromwell Street, be-

lieved the impact of the murders went beyond the locality. "It has had quite an effect on the whole city and the whole country," said the Rev David Brazington. "People ask, 'why should this thing go unnoticed for such a long time?'" He is opening his church today and tomorrow for people to pray and talk. They did it before, when the bodies were being brought out, but few came.

But Philip Cooke, the city's leisure and tourism manager, thought the discoveries had not affected the city greatly. "It is the Cromwell Street murders, not the Gloucester murders," he said. "It's not like the Warrington bomb or the Hungerford massacre."

Jon Holmes, Labour leader of the city council, said Gloucester should bear no shame. "This appalling case could have happened anywhere. But it happened in Gloucester, so it is right that we bear the sadness as a fitting memorial to those who were so cruelly treated by Fred and Rose West."

But such calm sentiments are a long way from the feelings of those who once enjoyed obscurity in Cromwell Street. Neighbourliness, for them, can never be the same again.

'People say at least you know where she is. But I wanted to know where she was alive . . .'

continued from page 1

The police eventually put together a profile of Alison, using dental records and DNA, which was seen to match one of the unidentified bodies. The body was Alison's.

"It was all over the papers before we properly knew about it ourselves," Sue said. They were angry at some of the journalists, and furious in general, as they felt it was important that they learn everything from the police first. Everything they didn't want to read about Alison in the newspapers first. They

wanted to know everything that had happened to her. The whole family felt that way.

A young reporter on one of the local papers presented himself at the door like a double-glazing salesman. He was pushy, but they preferred not to speak to him. He went up and down the street knocking on all the doors, asking people if the Owens were married, and if Sue was a bad mother.

Another paper made stuff up about Alison leaving home because she didn't get on with her stepfather; another, hearing of the family's hardship in

the face of the sudden funeral expenses, mocked them, most inaccurately, as a family "pleading poverty". The Owens, of course, found all of this hurtful and hurtful to Alison's memory.

As they sat in Winchester Crown Court, Sue and Alf often looked amazed, and quite shocked, that all of this could have happened to them and theirs.

"People come up to you and say 'At least now you know where she is,'" Sue had said to me, "but I wanted to know where she was alive, not where she was dead. Alison

would've loved to have been part of the world now. The way things have changed — how easy it is to go abroad — Alison would've loved all that. She would've loved seeing her nieces. We've lost Alison, but I have to think now of my husband, my son, my other daughters and grandchildren . . ." She broke off, and cried behind her glasses. "I sometimes speak to her picture. We've lost Alison, but we shall never forget her." Sue says she does not believe in hanging, or want revenge. They just want peace.

Alison's was the first body

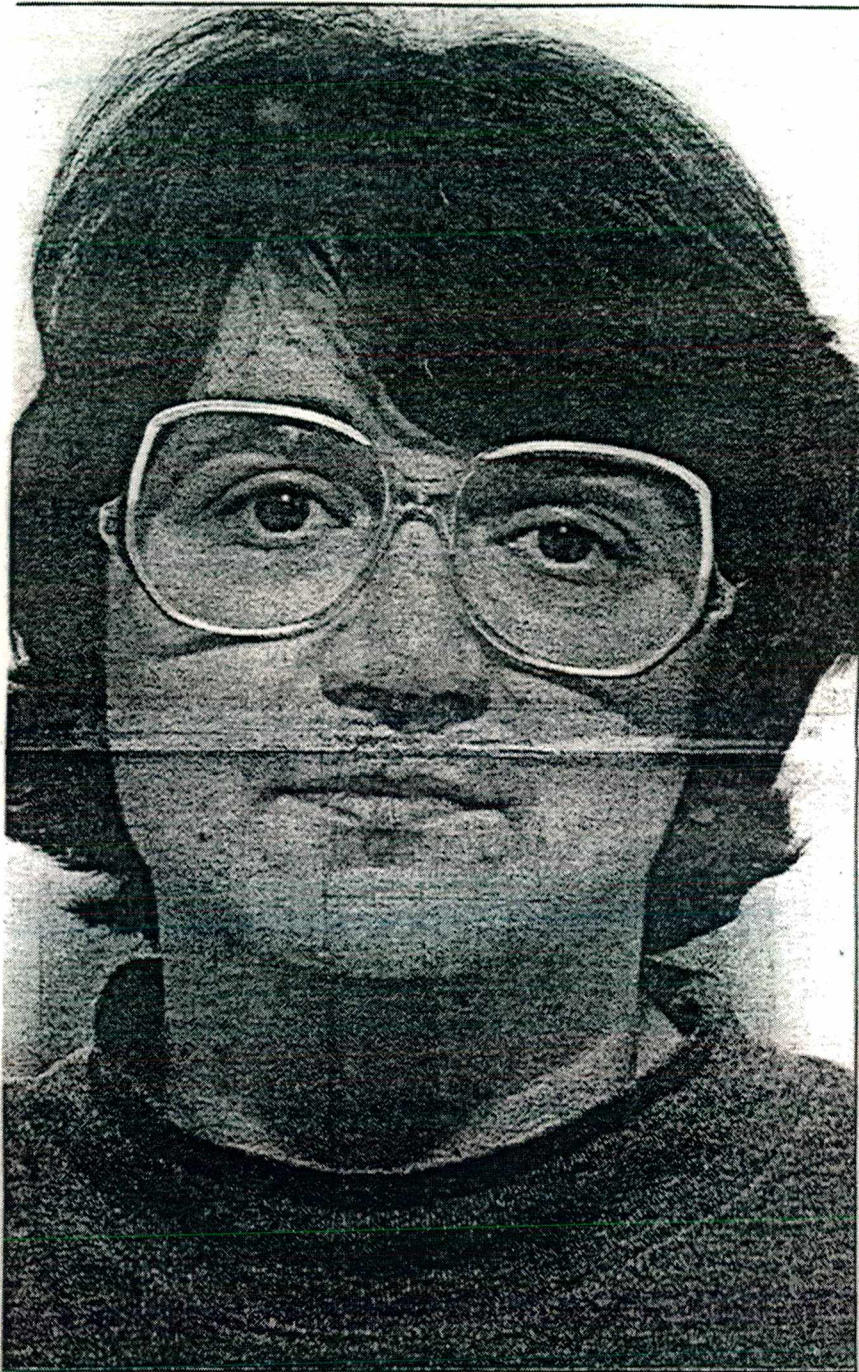
to be buried. It was a small, quiet affair, done locally but with some secrecy. Just to keep things quiet there was no announcement on the board at the crematorium. The family took the ashes and spread them in the sea. "The water was rough," Sue said, "all the way up to the sea wall. And the next day it was very calm."

Andrew O'Hagan is the author of *The Missing*, the book which explored the background to the 30,000 people who vanish every year



Alison Chambers — full of teenage enthusiasms

It never be released'



Rosemary West in a picture released by police yesterday. She went to jail still protesting her innocence

The warning signs

In the 1960s
 In 1962 Fred West carried out an attempted abortion on his wife, Rena, which was said to have been reported to the authorities. No action taken.
 In 1966, a man thought to be West tried to abduct Janette Jarke then 16 but escaped police capture during a second attempt. In 1968 a similar attack was reported by a 13-year-old girl.
 Seven of the ten victims had been in care at any one time between 1966 and 1979 as had two of the main three survivors but social services had no record of 25 Cromwell Street being where they went.
 Fred West had put his daughters Charmaine and Anne Marie into care on five occasions between December 1965 and 1970. No action taken when Charmaine disappeared some time after 1970.

The 1970s
 In 1972 Fred West pursued a

letters of the registration number of his van and in 1975 he tried to abduct another schoolgirl who helped police prepare a photo.
 The West family had 21 treatments at accident and emergency between 1973-82. These included many injuries for which different and unconvincing explanations were given.
 A number of the family were treated for thrush, including Fred West. One child when still a minor had gonorrhoea.
 In 1973, on her ninth birthday, Anne Marie was seen at Gloucester Royal hospital and scratches and bruises round her breasts were noted. Rosemary West's explanation was accepted.
 In 1973, magistrates decided not to send the Wests to prison, even though they were found guilty of indecently assaulting Caroline Owens. They were fined £50.
 Later that year, Lynda Gough was reported missing. Her mother says she told police officers she had seen Mrs West wearing her

daughter's slippers. No record of report exists.
 Miss A, a key witness in the murder trial, did not report the violent assault against her in 1978, "you couldn't go to the police then. There was a stigma. If you were in care."
 A DHSS worker visited 25 Cromwell Street after Shirley Ann Robinson's disappearance in 1978 after she had failed to respond to inquiries about her maternity benefit. He was told she had gone to Germany.
 Anne Marie was absent from school on 60 occasions in her penultimate year yet no one seems to have investigated what was going wrong. Her school reports noted her mood swings but again nothing seems to have been followed up.

The 1980s
 In 1980, at the age of 15, Anne Marie was admitted for the termination of a pregnancy (her father's child). She says that she

was not even told that she was pregnant and was not interviewed separately. No checks with the social services were made.
 In 1987 Fred West did tell a teacher he had "laid Stephen out". The teacher did not tell it merited a child protection report.
 Anonymous call to Social Services in 1988 suggested that the West children were being left alone and Rose was working as a prostitute. A social worker visited the house but found no apparent cause for concern.
 Arthur Dobbs, one of Rose's clients, says that he rang social services in May 1988 after she had confided that Fred was having sex with his own children but there is no record of this call.
 In March 1989, a teacher called the NSPCC to express concern about one of the children. The social services were informed and the child was seen for four months after which he indicated that he did not want to be seen again. The NSPCC file was destroyed in error

'People say at least you know where she is. But I wanted to know where she was alive, not where she was dead.'



Andrew O'Hagan

SUE and Alf Owen got up in the middle of the night. Their home, overlooking Swansea Bay, was lit up at 3am, as they prepared to set off on a journey to Wuschester crown court, a journey that seemed all the longer for being the last.

They were going there to witness the end of something that had started in 1979 with the disappearance of Sue's daughter, Alison Chambers, and which began to move towards its end just under two years ago, when Alison's remains were discovered under the cellar at 25 Cromwell Street in Gloucester.

Sitting outside Court Number 2, awaiting the outcome of the jury's deliberations, Sue spoke quietly. "Whatever the result is, it won't bring our Alison back," she said. They just wanted it to be over, and it was with this in mind that they took their places in an area of the public gallery that had been specially roped off for the families.

They sat in the middle row, just behind Anna Marie West, step-daughter of the accused. Her mother, Rena Costello, had been murdered by Frederick West some time in 1970. Rena's sister Georgina sat at the end of the row.

Their eyes smarted at the strain of peering down at the court, and the effort at keeping themselves under control.

They didn't get the ending they were after right away. They sat still — cheeks of relief going on around them, triumphant snaps of the fingers, followed by tears — as guilty verdicts were read out in relation to Charmaine West, Heather West and Shirley Anne Robinson. Charmaine's aunt broke down.

The Owens had waited in the foyer for two days to hear word of count nine, the number of their Alison, but they had to wait until yesterday for that.

The word was guilty. They were back in Swansea by then and the television was on all morning. Just before 1pm, Sue put down her cup and she heard the newscaster tell them what they had waited to hear.

Sue was overcome. "It's been such a long time," she said, "but I'm pleased." Alf was pleased, too, but more resigned. "It's not ended," he said, "they're now talking of more girls — nine new names — and those families have got all this to go through."

and Winchester, Sue and Alf Owen had dredged up all sorts of memories — memories and jokes and doubts — connected with Alison. Sue spoke of the way she was as a baby — hanging her legs over the balcony of the house they had in Germany. She caused a laugh by describing Alison's theft, as a toddler, of the family trifle.

She was a typical teenager, full of mad enthusiasms, all in love with fashion and jewellery, longing for her independence. At school, Alison was bullied by older girls and she later started to stay out, sleeping in gardens, running away. She was put into care.

Alf said she did not resent it. They thought it would help her to buck up her ideas. She was moved from one to the other and eventually she was taken to the Jordansbrook home in Gloucester.

The last time Sue saw her, at a hotel in Gloucester, Alison was looking well. Sue told her she had to stop running away, she couldn't keep running. They had coffee and parted without acrimony. Alison sent a letter not long after, saying she was living with a nice family. There was a girl of her own age, and she was now helping to wash the dishes and things like that.

Around the same time, Alison told an old friend from Jordansbrook, Sharon Compton, that she had met people who promised to take her to a farm in the country, to ride



horses and write poetry. She didn't say who the people were, but they had given her a key to their house in Gloucester.

That house was at 25 Cromwell Street. Its owners, Fred and Rosemary West, were the only people ever to see Alison again.

Sue and Alf often thought of her through the years, and they assumed that she must be happy, having her own life somewhere. On birthdays and Mother's Days, Sue would feel the loss of her more than usual, and wonder why she never got in touch. But she felt there was nothing more she could do; it was her life.

When word came that two bodies had been found at the West home in Gloucester, Sue and Alf thought again about Alison, but discounted her from that inquiry, because they had always thought she was in Reading (where someone claimed to have seen her) or in London (where a boy from her school said he had spotted her on a tube train). They thought it impossible that she was part of this Gloucester thing.

But the police had suspicions and sought the help of the Missing Persons Helpline. Turn to page 5, column 3

What produces sadistic killers?

Theories

Were 'well-matched couple' inspired by porn or abuse by their own parents?

WHY did an apparently cheerful, hard-working married couple with a large brood of children embark on such a catalogue of sadistic slaughter? A number of theories have been mooted.

Family background: Fred came from a family where there was a high degree of sexual abuse. He himself was charged with incest but acquitted. Both his parents were said to have taken part in the abuse, sexual or otherwise, of their large family and Fred grew up in a world where sex occurred regardless of consent. Rosemary West's family was much stricter but her father was a sexual abuser and was to abuse Anne Marie, his step-granddaughter.

The bang on the head: This has been one of the favourite theories of Fred West's family, that his personality changed when he suffered a motorcycle accident at the age of 18. The American neurologist Jonathon Pinckus studied a murderer who had been involved in a serious road accident at the age of 16 and came to the conclusion that the accident had had the affect of a lobotomy and had prevented the prefrontal lobes from carrying out their function of inhibiting violence. But there were signs well before the accident that Fred was already well down a path of gratifying his sexual urges by force.

Folie à deux: Folly sounds too mild a word to describe what the pair embarked on but there is a feeling that had they not met each other — had Fred not met his "perfect companion" as Brian Leveson QC described her — then the full horror would not have taken place. Most cases of *folie à deux* have one strong character influencing a weaker one, with the pair doing together what they could not do singly.

Fred seems to have been the

stronger character at first but Rosemary later played the dominant role. When two people are engaged in violent abuse they can create a shared normality, say psychologists.

Psychopathology and predisposition to violence: Research carried out in the United States by Adrian Raine and quoted in the recently published *A Mind to Crime* by Ann Moir and David Jessel suggests that a dysfunction in the prefrontal area of the brain could be a reason why people are able to carry out merciless crimes. This part of the brain which acts as an inhibitor of violence in normal people was virtually inactive in a sample of murderers.

Colin Wilson, who has made a number of studies of murderers and recently published *A Plague of Murder*, suggests that serial murderers are often driven by a sense of low self-esteem. "Killing is a way of asserting they exist," he said.

Sexual fantasies and pornography: Both the Wests pursued a wide range of sexual fantasies. Ray Wyre, a sexual crime consultant and

author of *The Murder of Childhood*, who has worked on the West case with the police, suggests that as each fantasy failed to provide the gratification they sought, they would carry on relentlessly in that pursuit. In this they were assisted by a large collection of pornography, much of it to do with violence.

Fred had an obsession about seeing his wife with "coloured men" and this may have been a result of his own feelings of inadequacy.

He also fantasised that his victims had provoked him or were prostitutes and deserved what happened, a similar justification used by Peter Sutcliffe, the Yorkshire Ripper.

Both Fred and Rose used pornography, home-made and professional, to fuel their fantasies. There were 99 porn videos in the house and Kathryn Halliday, Rose's lover, said that pornography was playing on videos in the background in the way that other people's houses had music.

Some of the scenarios on the videos discovered in their house — of girls being dragged into a cellar and tortured — were re-enacted exactly. — *Duncan Campbell*

Rose West jailed for life: nine more victims feared

Duncan Campbell
and Lawrence Donegan

DETECTIVES announced last night that they were seeking information about nine more missing young women who had links with Rose and Fred West, after Rose West was told by a judge that she should spend the rest of her life behind bars.

She was taken to Durham prison after her conviction at Winchester crown court yesterday for the murders of 10 young women and girls brought to a close one of the most dramatic criminal trials this century.

The case also spawned a comprehensive investigation into how state agencies missed warning signs of the horrors unfolding in the Wests' house at 25 Cromwell Street in Gloucester.

Mrs West's solicitor, Leo Goatley, said outside the court that his client still protested her innocence and had broken down in tears after the verdicts. He said she would be appealing against her conviction and claimed



"intrusive media activities" had blighted the trial.

Mr Goatley was speaking moments after the Lord Chancellor, Lord Mackay, announced he had asked for a report into payments made by journalists to witnesses.

The verdicts were delivered at eight minutes to one, when the jury filed into Court Number 3 to tell the clerk that they had reached decisions on seven more murder counts, in addition to the three on which Rose West had been found guilty the previous day.

As "guilty" was repeated seven times, Mrs West offered no clue as to her feelings, but in the public gallery her stepdaughter Anne Marie, who gave damning evidence against her, collapsed.

Mr Justice Mantell told Mrs West: "Rosemary Pauline West, on each of the 10 counts of which you have been unanimously convicted by the jury, the sentence is one of life imprisonment. If attention is paid to what I think you will never be released. Take her down."

The judge then told the jury: "You will not have had a more important job to do in your lives. I am fully aware of the great sacrifice each one of you has made."

Detective Superintendent John Bennett, who led the investigation, said: "This was a terrible case. It is quite clear that Mrs West must be a psychopath. She and Frederick West were a perfect pair for each other."

In a remarkable development, he gave details, some sketchy, about another nine missing women who had visited or stayed at the Wests' home in Cromwell Street but whom detectives had been unable to contact. One is believed to be an American, Dorna Lynn Moore, aged 13, who disappeared in 1973, around the time she was living with the Wests. Detectives issued descriptions of all nine and a photograph of one. The full names of the others are unknown.

"There is no suggestion that any of these people have come to any harm, but for the sake of completeness we would like them to come forward," Mr Bennett said. Reports that a further 20 people, including four in Glasgow, may have been killed were pure speculation.

An independent investigation into the West family's contacts with various authorities over the past 36 years, conducted by the Bridge Child Care Consultancy Service, exonerated the agencies of any major responsibility for events at Cromwell Street, but said there were lessons to be learned.

"There is not a child protection service in the UK that, on the basis of the information available, could have predicted that the family was at the centre of multiple murders," the report concluded.

Michael Honey, chief executive of Gloucestershire county council, said people must resist judging the events at Cromwell Street with the benefit of hindsight. "Care agencies are now much more vigilant and better trained. They work together better and their systems have been tightened up. Warning bells would be heard today."

Jeff James, the chief executive of the Gloucestershire health authority, said the NHS had had contacts with the family over 30 years but nothing untoward had been spotted. He warned against seeking scapegoats among health and social services staff. "It would have required remarkable perception and abilities to penetrate the web of deceit spun by Frederick and Rosemary West," he said.

The NSPCC came into contact with the family four times in 1989 following a reported assault, but took no action after the complaint was withdrawn. Jim Harding, the NSPCC's chief executive, said last night: "On the evidence before it at the time, which is very different to that available now, the NSPCC did not believe the case serious."

Mrs West, who will be 42 next week, was yesterday convicted of murdering Lynda Gough, aged 15; Carol Cooper, aged 15; Lucy Partington, aged 21; Therese Siegenthaler, aged 21; Shirley Hubbard, aged 15; Juanita Moff, aged 18; and Alison Chambers, aged 19. The previous day she was found guilty of the murders of her eldest daughter, Heather, aged 16; her stepdaughter, Charmaine, aged eight; and 18-year-old Shirley Ann Robinson, a lodger pregnant by Fred West.

Fred West, aged 53, who was also charged with murdering all 10, as well as his former wife, Rena West, and a family friend, Ann McFall, committed suicide at Winslow Green prison on New Year's Day.

Mr Goatley said last night that his client continued to maintain the "love and support" of her children.

Kathryn Halliday, who gave evidence during the trial about her relationship with Mrs West, wept outside the court as she heard the verdicts. "She should never be released," she said. "If they brought back capital punishment, I'd press the button. I'd pull the rope. We're absolutely delighted."

One of Rosemary West's brothers, Andrew Lefts, said: "I can't think she'll ever understand what she's done to everyone." Fred West's brother, Doug West, said: "I would put most of the blame on Rose."

4 | HOME NEWS

THE WEST TRIAL: 'He was charming, joking, laughing' after assault on hitch-hiker, court hears

Jury told of builder's solo sex attacks

**Duncan Campbell
Crime Correspondent**

FREDERICK West carried out a series of solo sexual attacks on young women, the trial of his wife, Rosemary, was told yesterday. One of the victims described him as "charming".

Mr West liked to prey on schoolgirls and hitch-hikers. A series of women recounted attacks they believed had been carried out by him.

Their evidence was given as Mrs West's defence team of Richard Ferguson, QC, and Sasha Wass sought to demonstrate that Frederick West often acted alone and carried out abductions and assaults without Mrs West.

The court also heard that West tried to abort his step-daughter, Charmaine, with

whom he murdered. His wife is now charged, and that he had impregnated Anne McFall, the young Scottish nanny with whose murder he was charged before his death in Winson Green prison on January 1 this year.

The jury at Winchester crown court also heard that West had been seen playing sexual games with his young stepdaughter.

Mrs West is pleading not guilty to the murder of 10 women and girls.

Janette Clarke broke down in the witness box as she told of an incident in 1966 when she was 16. She had got off the bus on her way home and had realised that a man in a car was following her. "He just glared at me. I didn't feel comfortable, I felt very nervous."

Three nights later the same man was present in his car. "I just froze as I saw him; I

couldn't move; I couldn't scream." Her younger sister was close by and had run up to the car, banged on its window and told the driver "to bugger off".

In February of last year Miss Clarke had seen West's face in the evening news. "I just screamed and dropped the mugs of tea. I said, 'My God'. It was like something from the past. I shall never forget his face."

A woman known only as Mrs C described how in 1966 she was given a lift by a man she now believed to be Frederick West. He had driven towards Bishop's Cleeve near Cheltenham, pulled into a lane, and attacked her sexually as she tried to escape.

Afterwards, Mrs C said, "he was charming, joking, laughing". He drove her back into Cheltenham but she did not report the incident to the

police because she was having problems with her family and believed she was foolish to be hitch-hiking alone.

Allison Clinton, 13 in 1968, said in a statement read to the court that a car had stopped when she was on her way home and a man had grabbed her by her wrists. She escaped and reported it to the police. When she saw a photograph of Frederick West on the television last year she realised it was the same man.

In a statement, Caroline Langman, who was 16 in 1972 and had been in Gloucester, said she had been cycling home in her school uniform when she had noticed a dirty, old blue van. Gradually she realised the van would overtake her and the driver, whom she described as dark, swarthy and with a lot of hair, would try and look up her skirt.

Soon afterwards she received an obscene telephone call at her home. The police had been called and given a description of the man. Last year, when she saw a picture of Frederick West "I went very cold and felt strange".

Evidence from three others, Julie Coulson, Theresa Davies, and Mrs D, told similar stories of attacks or attempted attacks by a man they now believed to be West.

Evidence about the attempted abortion and West's sexual abuse of his daughter Charmaine came in a statement read to the court from Margaret Clarke. She had known Frederick West and the woman who was to become his first wife, Rena, at Ledbury in Gloucestershire in 1962. "Rena had told Fred the baby was half-caste," she said. She had acted as a look-

out when Frederick West and Rena went into the woods for Frederick West to try to carry out an abortion.

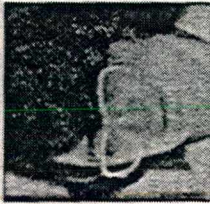
Some time later she had seen West with his step-daughter, Charmaine, who was not wearing any pants. West was rubbing the child against his private parts.

The jury heard about the disappearance of Mary Bastholm, who went missing in January 1968 at the age of 15. Vincent Oakes said in a written statement that he had seen Mary Bastholm on a number of occasions with a man sitting in a car. Last year, when there was publicity about the findings in 25 Cromwell Street, Gloucester, he had seen a photograph of Frederick West and realised he was the man who had been in the car with Mary Bastholm.

The trial continues today.

West: never saw women under cellar

Wife tells of life with Fred West



WILL BENNETT

Rosemary West yesterday denied she had ever set eyes on five young women whose remains were found in the cellar of the house where she lived with her husband, Frederick.

She was passed photographs of Carol Cooper, Therese Stegenthaler, Shirley Hubbard, Lucy Partington and Juanita Molt at Winchester Crown court. Asked by Richard Ferguson QC, defending, if she had ever seen them, she replied: "No sir."

Once, after looking at a photograph of Lucy Partington, she wiped her eyes with a handkerchief but otherwise she showed no emotion as she completed her first day in the witness box.

She was not always so impassive during the day, frequently weeping as she told the court of her life with Frederick West. He was charged with 12 murders and was found dead in his prison cell on New Year's Day.

A short, dumpy, bespectacled figure, dressed in a black jacket and a bottle-green skirt, Mrs West left the dock for the first time on the 17th day of her trial for the murders of 10 girls and young women. She denies all the charges.

Speaking with a strong West Country accent, she denied a claim by Elizabeth Aplos, a former neighbour, that she and Mr West used to go out in their car looking for young girls to get into prostitution.

She said that Charmaine West, the daughter of Mr West's first wife, Rena, by another man, had been difficult and disruptive when she was brought

evening, Mr West told her that Charmaine, whose remains were found at the Wests' former home, 25 Midland Road, Gloucester, had gone off with her mother to Scotland and was "very happy about it."

Mrs West also told the court that she had tried to stop the sexual assault on Caroline Owens in 1972 when she resented to sex with herself and allowed that the girl had not consented to sex with herself and her husband. Both the Wests were subsequently fined after pleading guilty to assault and indecent assault.

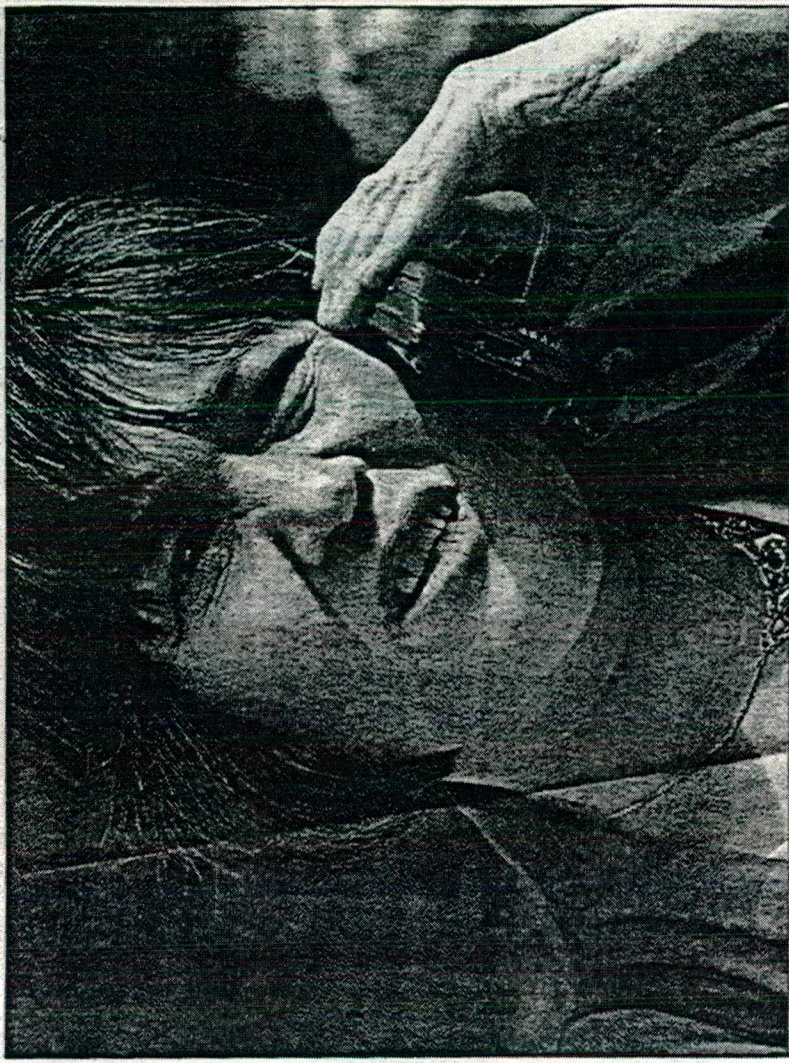
Mrs West said: "I remember Fred saying to me about getting involved with Caroline Owens in a lesbian relationship which would have been my first experience with a woman. He did persuade me that Caroline Owens was willing to try it out."

"As soon as she put up resistance, as soon as I realised that she was against this, that she did not agree with it in any way I stopped. All I can remember is being very frightened. Fred was a threat ... I was pleading with Fred all the time for it to stop. I didn't want to get involved in anything like this. I didn't want Caroline to get hurt. It was just a message. She said that she could not remember taking Mrs Owens back to their home, adding: "I have tried very hard to remember these events but I just can't. I was a young girl. I had been coming into this situation."

"I was terrifying. I believe that I was as much a victim as Caroline was," said Mrs West who added that she had been intimidated and that she had never broken the law before.

The trial continues today.

Short says sorry as Blair reads riot act



Close call: Clare Short in Bedford yesterday. She and her Shadow Cabinet colleagues will be told to toe the line on policy or face the sack

Leader's warning against stepping out of line

COLIN BROWN
Chief Political Correspondent

The Shadow Cabinet will be warned tomorrow by Tony Blair to toe the line on policy or be sacked, after Clare Short gave a tubome public apology for overstepping the mark on the Tories over policy on Europe.

The Labour leader's office made it clear last night that al- ter being given a carpentering, Ms Short was not at risk of losing her position as shadow Trans- port Secretary.

But Mr Blair's message to Shadow Cabinet colleagues will carry the clear threat that if they step over the line in future, they will be sacked.

The leadership used the con-

right of the Tory party. I am of course aware of the need for collective responsibility and I will not apply to aside by it in the future."

The determination of the Tories to avoid disruption in their own ranks was under- lined last night by Sir Norman Fowler, the former Conservative Party chairman, who ruled himself out as a candidate for the chairmanship of the 1992 Committee of Tory MPs.

He urged MPs to back Sir Marcus Fox, the present chair- man, against the challenge by Bob Deans, a right winger. Sir Norman said the party needed "stability" in the run-up to the general election.

Leading article, page 16

Ms Short was given sympathy, but no support by her friends for making the mistake of speaking her mind at the weekend in the breakfast with Frost interview on BBC television.

She issued her apology after a half-hour meeting with Mr Blair in his private office at the Commons. A Labour leadership source said Mr Blair reminded Ms Short that all members of the Shadow Cabinet, to which she was elected a fortnight ago, were bound by collective re- sponsibility and every state- ment would come under intense scrutiny.

In her statement, Ms Short said: "I should not have re- sponded to David Frost in the way that I did. I was explaining why I supported a Commons motion on the 100th anniversary of the former Conservative Party chairman, who ruled himself out as a candidate for the chairmanship of the 1992 Committee of Tory MPs.

Ms Short said she was "very sorry" but that she was "perfectly be- lieving" that she had overstepped the mark on drugs at the end of an interview on a subject she had promised to discuss from the real political issue of the moment - the lurch to the

news

He had promised me the world, promised me everything and because I was so young I fell for his lies ... He promised to love me and I fell for it

Rosemary West tells of Fred and sex

WILL BENNETT

Frederick West promised his future wife Rosemary "the world" after they met at a Gloucestershire bus stop while she was a teenager, she told Winchester Crown Court yesterday.

On their first date he gave 15-year-old Rosemary a fur coat and a lace dress. Soon they began a sexual relationship and she became pregnant.

When her father issued her with an ultimatum to have an abortion or leave with Mr West she decided on the latter.

Mrs West, 41, who denies murdering 10 girls and young women whose remains were found at two homes where she and her husband lived in Gloucester, spent most of yesterday in the witness box giving an emotional account of her life.

She said that she was born in Devon but that the family later moved to Bishop's Cleeve, Gloucestershire, where she grew up as one of seven children in the Lettis family.

Mrs West told the court that when she was 15 she was the victim of two rapes. The first was when a stranger gave her a lift home from a Christmas party.

She said that the man drove to some hills where he raped her. "I honestly thought he was going to kill me," she said.

Asked by Richard Ferguson QC, for the defence, if she had told her parents, she sobbed as she replied: "No I didn't."

She said the second rape took place when a man approached her at a bus stop.

When she became frightened and ran away he followed, dragged her into a park and raped her.

As a result of this attack she started using the main bus station in Cheltenham and it was there that she met Mr West, who also lived in Bishop's Cleeve.

Her initial reaction to him was "shock and horror" but he persistently asked her out



In the dock: Rosemary West, who yesterday began giving evidence at her trial for the murders of 10 girls and women. Photograph: Adrian Sherrett

and she agreed to go to the village pub. He was living in a caravan with two children, Anne Marie and Charmaine. Mrs West said she enjoyed looking after them and within weeks she had begun a sexual relationship with Mr West.

Her parents were furious when she became pregnant and tried to end the relationship. Having her put into care her father gave her the ultimatum and she decided to leave home.

Asked about her feelings for Mr West, she said: "He had promised me the world,

wife Rena by another man, had been difficult and she had smacked her. But she denied a neighbour's claim that she had stood the child on a chair with her hands tied behind her back.

She told the court that Mr West contacted Charmaine's mother after he was released and arranged for the child to go back to her. Mrs West is accused of murdering Charmaine, whose remains were found at 25 Midland Road last year.

She said that shortly after Mr West came out of prison he started pressuring her to have

sex with other men. She explained: "He always brought the subject up, it was a daily thing he talked about."

The Wests married and moved to 25 Cromwell Street, Gloucester, where the remains of nine girls and young women were found last year, five of them in the cellar. Mrs West said she rarely helped her husband renovate the cellar because she was so frequently pregnant.

She said that she was horrified when Mr West suggested they take in lodgers and further

upset when they used drugs which resulted in police rick on 25 Cromwell Street.

Mr West persuaded her to have sex with some of the lodgers. She told the jury: "He was always on about other men. He would use emotional blackmail."

It is apparent... that he was capable of murder without her assistance. It is also apparent that he was capable of dismembering and disposing of the bodies without her knowledge, help and assistance.

A male jury was discharged yesterday bringing the jury count to eleven.

The trial continues today.

BRIEF

Trader suspends live exports at port

Animal rights campaigners last night welcomed as a "major triumph" the decision by a trader to suspend live exports from the Essex port of Brightlingsea. Roger Mills, who is based at Framlington in Suffolk, said the move was temporary and blamed his decision on restrictions imposed by police - only one covey of hares per week-day allowed and none at weekends - and "market trends".

But the lobby group Campaign in World Farming said the suspension was a major triumph for all who had opposed the live animal trade during the past 10 months and local campaigners. Brightlingsea Against Live Exports, said the suspension was "obviously good news".

Priest defies call

The Church of England priest who was accused of sexually abusing members of his New Age-style Nine O'Clock Service has refused to quit. The Rev Chris Brain, 38, had been asked to resign earlier this month by the Diocese of Sheffield where he is banned from working. But his legal advisers have said that he is not prepared to resign "at the present time".

Car couple robbed

A masked raider robbed a couple at gunpoint as they sat in their car at a popular spot for courting couples in Portwood, Southampton. He smashed the passenger window, pointed a gun at the couple and demanded money. They handed over a wallet and the woman's handbag and the robber ran off after snatching the money.

Vouchers recruit

Norfolk County Council has become the fourth local education authority to sign up, in principle, to the Government's controversial nursery voucher scheme. But the council - which is the home county of Gillian Shephard, Secretary of State for Education and Employment - is mulling on an escape clause, and on setting conditions which could radically change next year's first phase.

Sinn Fein talks

Sinn Fein officials are to hold talks in Belfast today with the Northern Ireland Office minister, Michael Aheran, in a new attempt to end the deadlock on

forced her to go out to rub to pick up men and although she was normally paid, they sometimes gave her gifts.

Increasingly she and her husband began to lead separate lives, she said, and she began to have lesbian relationships. "My sexual relationships with other women were very special, to me," she said. "They were entirely different to when I went with a man. They were warm, close and I would say they were more fun."

Mrs West admitted that her husband was not the father of all her children and that he was sometimes jealous of that.

Earlier Mr Ferguson, opening the defence case, told the jury: "I want to tell you now, clearly as I can, that Rosemary West is not guilty of any of the counts on this indictment."

"She neither knew nor took part in any of the activities which led to the deaths of these girls nor did she knowingly do anything afterwards either to hide or conceal these murders."

"Just because Mr Leveson [Brian Leveson QC prosecutor] has put forward a convenient and superficially attractive theory does not mean that you have to accept it."

Mr Ferguson said that the jury might think that it was "plain as a pikestaff" that Mr West had been involved in the murders. He said: "It is a fair assumption that Fred West murdered before he even met this defendant then some consequences become immediately apparent."

"It is apparent... that he was capable of murder without her assistance. It is also apparent that he was capable of dismembering and disposing of the bodies without her knowledge, help and assistance."

A male jury was discharged yesterday bringing the jury count to eleven.

The trial continues today.

Down the cellar steps to Hell

Stepdaughter chills court with tale of childhood abuse

David Harrison

THE MICROPHONES in the witness box picked up her every breath, her every sob. They spread her whispered words around a courtroom so silent that reporters hesitated before turning over the pages of their notebooks.

The testimony of Anne-Marie Davis at her stepmother Rosemary West's trial in Winchester Crown Court redefined the word 'harrowing'. The court has already heard appalling allegations of abuse and murder. But Anne-Marie's evidence was the more distressing because the victim was alive, sitting in front of us, struggling to get her words out, sipping water, breaking down, pressing a handkerchief to her face.

It was more distressing because she said the abuse happened not when she was a teenager, but when she was an innocent eight-year-old girl. And because the alleged abusers were her father, Fred West, and her laughing stepmother,

the very people who in a normal world should have been protecting her from the horrors they were perpetrating.

Anne-Marie said that as they strapped her naked to a steel frame and abused her with dolls and vibrators in the family home, Rosemary assured her this was normal, that all loving parents did this; that one day this would help her keep her husband; and that — ultimate corruption — she should be grateful to them.

The abuse went on for years, she told the court. Her mother would beat her with 'sauceman, broom, belt, whatever'. Her father would have sexual intercourse with her in his van, in the woods, in flats, anywhere.

And yet, she said, she was a Daddy's girl; she would have done anything for him, or for Rosemary.



the back of the court, just stared — at the judge, at the floor, and at the pale face of Anne-Marie, now 31. Smacking her lips, taking notes, adjusting her oval glasses, she showed not a flicker of emotion. What on Earth was going on inside? Three times, when Anne-Marie said her stepmother's name, she looked across at her. Once their eyes met. For a second the court stilled, and then Rosemary, who denies 10 murder charges, looked down.

Yet the anarchy of life at 25 Cromwell Street had a poignant counterpoint of normality. Many witnesses said the Wests were a 'nice' or 'pleasant' couple. And few, even alleged victims of abuse, omitted to mention that Fred was generous with the drinks and that Rose-

Anne-Marie's evidence was the more distressing because the victim was alive, in front of us

many would often chat over a cup of tea.

The feeling was reinforced on Thursday when the jury was taken in a coach with a police escort to 25 Cromwell Street.

The jurors saw white ribbons marking where the mutilated remains of nine girls and young women were dug up by police. They saw a peephole in a bedroom door and rectangular holes in the beams on the cellar ceiling. But the rest was an ordinary suburban semi in a rundown Gloucester road.

Prosecution witnesses also told of Nice and Nasty at 25 Cromwell Street. 'Miss A', described Rosemary as a 'jekyll and Hyde, one minute a motherly shoulder to cry on, the next an aggressive sexual predator. Kathryn Halliday, a lesbian,

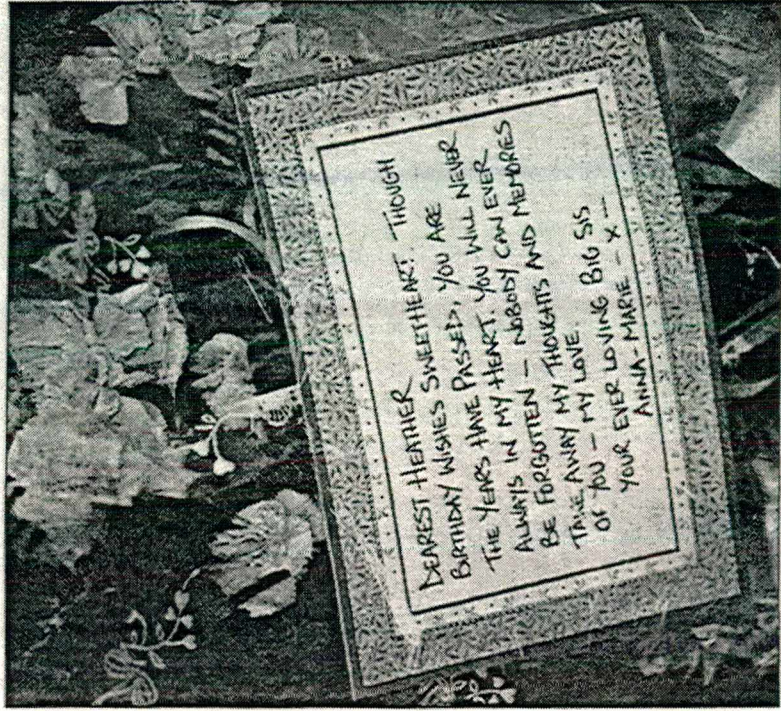
told how Rosemary would be gentle to her at first and then would become violent and sadistic in bed. Eventually, she said, she stopped going round because she was pushed beyond her 'physical and mental limits'. It was becoming dangerous. She was not interested in the rubber suits and whips the Wests had shown to her.

Richard Ferguson QC, defending, asked Ms Halliday why she kept going back, suggesting it was just for sex. In a hysterical outburst, Ms Halliday denied this and said she was like a moth drawn to a flame until it is burnt and can go back no more.

In cross-examination, Mr Ferguson suggested that Rosemary was not involved in abuse, that the witnesses had embellished their accounts, encouraged in some cases by large payments from national newspapers.

He has met firm resistance. 'I stand by my statement,' said Ms Halliday. Anne-Marie, who arrived late for her second appearance in court, on Friday, said she was 'not interested' in money but in looking after her family — she has two children. The case continues.

Leader, the Review, page 3



Undying love: A floral tribute was left at 25 Cromwell Street by Anne-Marie Davis to her sister Heather, whose body was found there. Photograph by Stefan Rousseau

DEAREST HEATHER
BIRTHDAY WISHES SWEETHEART. THOUGH
THE YEARS HAVE PASSED, YOU ARE NEVER
ALWAYS IN MY HEART YOU WILL NEVER
BE FORGOTTEN — NOBODY CAN EVER
TAKE AWAY MY LOVE
OF YOU — MY LOVE
YOUR EVER LOVING BIG SIS
ANNA-MARIE - X

THE STAR SAYS

JURY and judge did the right thing. Evil Rose West will spend the rest of her days behind bars.

Natural justice demands that she should pay with her own worthless life.

Her very notoriety means that she will receive special treatment in prison.

Like Myra Hindley, she will be a Category A celebrity.

That is NO PUNISHMENT for torturing and murdering all those poor children and girls.

The West case does not teach us any lessons about our society. They were a man and woman who nurtured each other's cunning wickedness in ways that are beyond human belief.

POINTLESS to blame police and social workers. Who could have imagined in their darkest nightmares the evils taking place in the cellar of 25 Cromwell Street?

Let's just be thankful that the Wests' reign of horror has ended.

Stretch her neck storms brother



DOUG: 'Rose was like the Devil'

EVIL Rose West should "have her neck stretched", her disgusted brother-in-law said last night.

Fred's brother Doug said hearing Rose had been convicted of killing her daughters was "better than winning the Lottery jackpot".

He added: "But I realise all they can do is to lock her up, and chuck away the key."

"She should have her neck stretched — and I'd like to swing from her feet."

Said farm labourer Doug, 49, who lives with wife Christine in Much Marcle, Hereford: "I'm sure that if Rose had been let out, it would all have started up again. She has told so many bloody lies."

"Fred was besotted with Rose. I'm convinced she was the boss in everything that happened. When he hanged himself,

he hoped it would allow her to go free." Doug had always found Rose's "piercing" look terrifying. "It was like looking at the devil," he said.

Rose had led the way in covering up for Heather's disappearance.

Doug recalled: "Whenever we asked about her, she'd butt in just as Fred was going to answer, and say, 'We haven't heard from her lately. She's still at the holiday camp.'"

Ashamed

Last night Rose's mother said she should "rot in hell" for her depraved crimes.

Devastated Daisy Letts, 76, admitted: "I'm ashamed to be Rosemary West's mother. She's evil. She doesn't deserve to live for what she has done."

12:59 PA NEWSFLASH.. sentences and told by

That evil woman robbed me of my childhood, stole my innocence and sentenced me to a life of shame

— STEPDAUGHTER ANNE MARIE YESTERDAY

WORLD EXCLUSIVE

Star reporting team: David Newman, Martin Stote and Virginia Hill

ROSE WEST'S brave stepdaughter Anne Marie survived rapes, beatings and abuse in the House of Horror — but was condemned to a living hell.

Last night Anne Marie sobbed: "That woman robbed me of my childhood, stole my innocence and sentenced me to a life of shame. She has ruined my life and haunted my every moment. I am her living victim but thankfully her last."

After Rose was given 10 life sentences yesterday, tearful Anne Marie said: "At least now I have justice and so do the families of those other poor girls who suffered so terribly."

Agonised

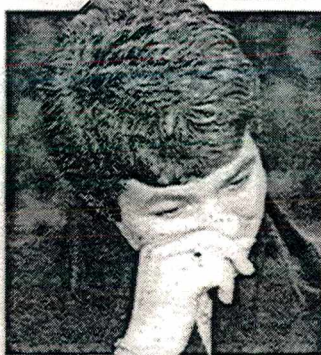
She let out a sigh of relief in the public gallery at Winchester Crown Court as the jury foreman pronounced guilty verdicts on the seven remaining murder charges yesterday. Tearful Anne Marie was led shaking from court. She was the real heroine of the trial of the century.

She had captivated a hushed courtroom as she gave evidence of the terrible and constant abuse she had suffered at the hands of her father Fred and stepmother Rose. But despite the emotional torment she suffered giving evidence over two days, Anne Marie returned to court to listen to Mr Justice Mantell sum up. She said: "I had to come to hear the summing-up. It was the only way I would know the full story."

"I knew it would be difficult but I forced myself to be brave and steered myself for what I would hear."

She gained inner strength from having the names of her murdered twin sons and sister Charmaine close to her heart.

Anne Marie had agonised for weeks over how to find the courage to face her depraved stepmother and deliver the judgment.



ANNE MARIE: Haunted by terrible past

CAGED WITH MYRA

WEST will join Moors killer Myra Hindley in Durham Prison's grim H-Wing — nicknamed Hell Block II after the Aussie TV soap.

It is a jail within a jail, and Britain's only top-security unit for long-term women prisoners. West will spend her first days under close watch in case she attempts suicide. Then she will be

allowed to mingle with the wing's 44 other inmates, including Hindley who was transferred from Cookham Wood, Kent, last year.

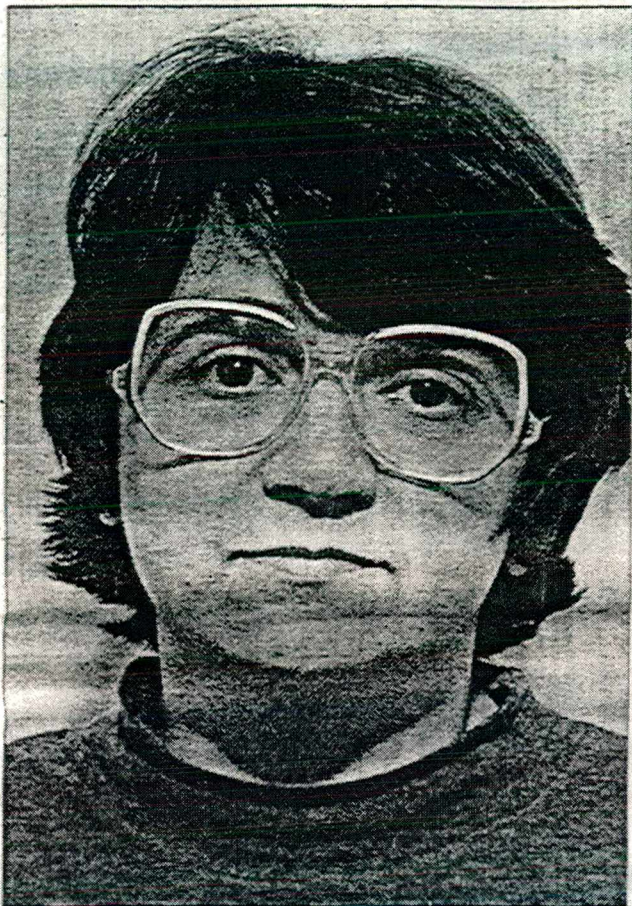
West will spend nights locked in an 11ft by 5ft 6in cell which contains an iron bed, toilet and basin. Days are split between meals, workshops, education classes and association periods.

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Rosemary West given 10 life judge she would never be released...



REST IN PEACE: Anne Marie at Rena's makeshift grave



RARE SMILES: Anne Marie and Rose hid a terrible secret

Butch sadist is most hated killer

ROSE West replaces Moors murderer Myra Hindley as Britain's most hated killer.

For her own safety, she is almost certain to serve her 10 life sentences in solitary confinement.

The butch sadist and her psycho husband Fred, who hanged himself in jail, go down as the worst serial killing couple in British or American history.

Sentencing her, Mr Justice Mummery said: "If attention is paid to what I think you will never be released."

This would mean that West will join an infamous group of killers who will never be freed, including Hindley, Hlack Panther James Earl Ray and mass killer Dennis Nilsen.

Prosecutor Brian Leveson, QC, had told the 21-day trial that the Wests were a couple "obsessed with sex" who "shared a knowledge about each other which bound them together".

They were "the perfect companions".

Helped

Yesterday, mother of eight Rose showed not a flicker of emotion as the jury unanimously convicted her of seven more murders.

She stood almost trance-like, her hands clasped in front of her, staring straight ahead.

After West had been led to the cell, the judge commended the police and medical experts who had helped to identify the 10 victims.

And he told the jury of seven men and four women: "You deserve my thanks and your country's for the part you played."

"It is of course the most important part in this trial."

After the sentencing, Mr Leveson told the judge: "The activity of the media in relation to this case has thrown up important issues. I have been asked by the Attorney General to provide him with a factual report."

A later statement said the Lord Chancellor, Lord MacKay of Clashfern, had called for a report on payments which appeared to have been offered to witnesses.

Gloucester Tory MP Douglas French last night demanded a full public inquiry to establish how the Wests got away with mass murder for two decades without arousing the suspicion of the authorities.

testimony which would surely seal her fate. As her date with the witness box loomed, she realised the answer was in the Christened wooden casket containing the ashes of her Rena and Charmaine.

Ever since their funeral six months ago she had tossed over-shoulding solace from keeping the casket in her bedroom at her home.

Anne Marie hid her sister and the mum, whom she thought had abandoned her, cremated in the same coffin to bring them together again at last.

Wep

She lifted the lid of the casket with its brass double name plate and with immense care trickled a tiny quantity of ashes into a treasured gold locket given to her as a good luck charm by friends.

"I knew it would give me the strength I needed," said Anne Marie, who wore the locket with the ashes inside for her court appearance.

She fingered the tiny piece of engraved gold every time she felt her courage fading.

Later when the ordeal was over she carefully put back the ashes and replaced them in the locket with tiny photos of her family.

Anne Marie relived the terror and "excruciating pain" of being raped in the cellar at Cromwell

HOUSE OF HORROR

25 Cromwell St

Street at the age of eight by the stepmother she feared and the father she adored.

She said: "When I first walked into the court Rose half smiled at me and I felt a shiver go down my spine."

"But I was determined to face her and my own fear and I did. Each time I told the jury of a particular act committed by Rose I turned and looked at her."

"The first time she held my gaze. But then she looked away."

After that she seemed unable to look back at me.

"But I kept on looking at her knowing I had to face my fear and I'm glad I did. Only by doing that could I lessen the power she had over me for all those years."

"I can never bring back my family or the other victims. But this was something I could do for myself and all the others who suffered or are still suffering."

But although Anne Marie had steeled herself to give evidence the pain of telling the world about her ordeal proved too much to bear.

Her anxiety was heightened because her evidence was interrupted for a day while the jury was driven from Winchester to Gloucester to inspect 25 Cromwell Street.

That night she stayed alone at a hotel in Southampton waiting to resume her evidence.

But later that night she was rushed to Southampton General Hospital by ambulance after suffering an overdose of prescribed tablets and booze.

The half-hearted suicide bid was the third try for help she had made in the last 15 months. On the morning following Anne

Marie's overdose the judge ruled nothing should be reported about what had happened and simply told the jury she had been "indisposed".

But the truth of how she was overwhelmed by her witness box ordeal emerged as she told the Daily Star: "I panicked."

"I felt I couldn't cope and I was confused. I took too many of the tablets my doctor had prescribed for me to help me deal with my nerves and inability to sleep."

"I washed them down with alcohol but I never wanted anything more than a break from the pain and distress I was suffering."

Secret

Her head in her hands she added: "I need to be here for my two lovely daughters. I don't want them to grow up without a mum the way I was forced to."

But Fred West's daughter by his first wife, Rena, still feels these are unanswered questions.

Anne Marie, said: "What did they do with the bones? How did these girls die and most of all how could it have happened without my knowing? I was only a child then but I still feel guilt

and wonder could I have done anything in reality I know I couldn't but I can't help wondering."

"I still find it hard to understand what my father and Rose did or why."

Anne Marie wept when she heard the details of how her sisters Heather, 16, and Charmaine, eight, died.

She added: "I have lived my life with a terrible dark secret always feeling I would not be believed if I spoke out."

"At last I have been able to do so and the world now knows I have told the truth. I wanted justice for me, for my sisters and the other families."

For months Anne Marie lived in fear that her stepmother would be cleared.

"I would have had to flee for my life if she had got off," she said. "I cannot tell you how terrifying that would have been for me."

But Anne Marie said she still cannot hate her step-mum.

"I don't hate her. I'm not really capable of feeling hate. If anything, I pity her," she said. "Rose will hate prison. Somehow, I cannot but help feel pity for her."

HOW MANY MORE? — SEE PAGES 4 & 5

JURY OFFERED DISTRESS AID

THE jury is to be offered counselling on how to cope with distress in the aftermath of the trial.

Winchester Crown Court's chief clerk Alan Davison advised jurors on how to seek professional advice and assistance if they were anxious.

And two welfare officers from the Lord Chancellor's Department were on hand to speak to individual members of the 11-strong jury.

Throughout the case the seven men and four women — one

man was released during the trial — were encouraged to speak to court ushers if they were distressed by exhibits or trial evidence.

Secrets

Under the 1981 Contempt of Court Act it is an offence for anybody, jurors included, to disclose the secrets of the jury room.

But under a section of the Act jurors who seek counselling can discuss evidence heard in court — the most likely source of their distress.

THERE COULD

Cops fear for girls who have never been traced

MARTIN STOTE and NICK GATES

FRED and Rose West were yesterday described as "multiple-personality psychopaths" . . . who could have slain another THIRTEEN young women.

The fear that the couple's murder toll could be at least 25 was voiced by detectives and former friends.

For the police released descriptions of NINE girls who visited the House of Horror and have never been traced . . . while in Scotland, ex-pats of Fred said how they believe he killed FOUR when he was living in Glasgow.

Det Supt John Bennett, who led the Cromwell Street investigation, said of the girls he needs to trace. "We found over 150 people who had gone through the front door for one reason or another . . . but these ones we couldn't find."

Fred West's old acquaintances in Glasgow — where he spent two years in the mid-1980s — thought he could have butchered four women and buried them on an allotment now covered by houses and a motorway.

An ex-neighbour in the Kinning Park area said: "He took women to his allotment shed for sex."

"What was strange was that he never grew anything there but still kept the soil perfectly flat. It would have been easy to bury a body and then smooth it back over again."

But Det Supt Bennett himself refused to speculate as to how many girls he should not be said that they are victims.

"We are just trying to establish whether they are safe and well and we are appealing to them — or anyone who knows them — to come forward." The "missing persons" are:

1. **MARILYN**, who was in her late thirties in 1973 and possibly lived in Matson, Gloucester. Believed to be a devout Christian, who worshipped at a local church in Parkend Road.

2. **DONNA Lynn Moore** — slightly different — or lived at 25 Cromwell Street in 1972 when she was 14 but looked older.

Tattooed
She was white, 5ft 2in to 5ft 3in, slim and pretty with long fair hair. She may have been tattooed, spoke with an American accent and is believed to have come from a US Air Force base in East Anglia — possibly Lakenheath or Mildenhall.

Her father was a US serviceman and she used to pubic in Lakenheath, the Bull and the Bell. She is believed to have stayed in Britain when her parents returned to America.

3. A **PRETTY** brunette whose name is not known to detectives. But she visited Cromwell Street in 1975 and her photograph, supplied by police, was probably taken at about that time.

4. **MARIE ANN** was probably a college student who lived in the house for a few months in the summer of 1991. She was in her early twenties, 5ft 2in and slim, with long blonde hair.

5. **MIRIELLE** or possibly Mirielle Marieka may have originated from Hildesheim in Hanover. She was born at Cromwell Street from 1977 to 1978, had a boyfriend called Kevin and used to roll her own cigarettes.

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HAUNTED: Kathryn

I'd hang her says ex-lover

ROSE WEST'S lesbian lover declared last night: "I'd happily pull the lever to hang her."

Emotional Kathryn Hallday, 37, who took part in auto-masochistic acts with the Wests, added: "They were horrible, evil couple and I came so close to being one of their victims."

Divorcee Kathryn is haunted by memories of the Wests' torture chamber.

Masks

A former Cromwell Street neighbour, she took part in three-in-a-bed sex romps with the sadistic couple.

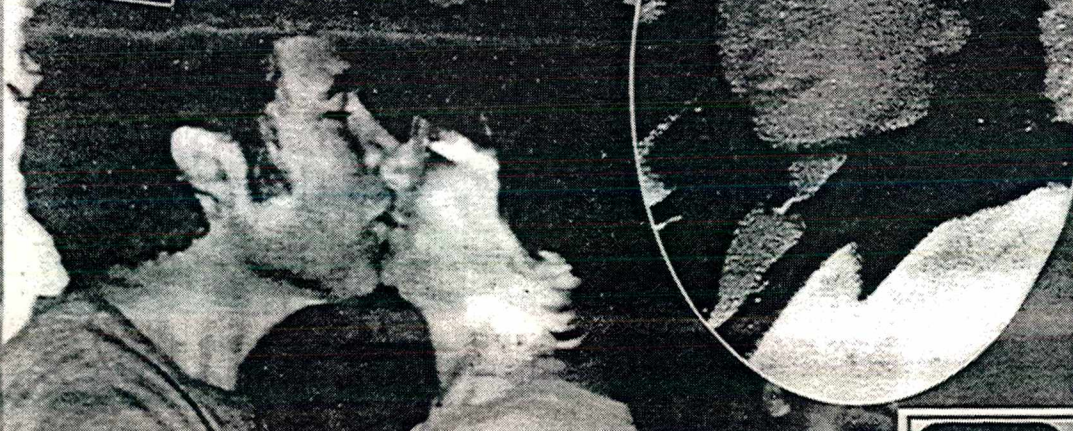
She said: "In their torture chamber there were whips, masks, rubber suits . . . all sorts of things."

"Some masks were designed so there was no way you could breathe, others just had eye-holes."

"I sometimes dream I have one of the masks on and wake up in a cold sweat. I realise how close I was to becoming one of the victims."

BE 13 MORE

HOUSE OF
25
Cromwell St
HORROR



Sickos wrote to Rose

ROSE West has been bombarded with "fan" mail while on trial. Many letters sent to Winchester Prison — where she was kept while on trial — were abusive. But some were forgiving or asked for her HELP. A prison insider said: "The letters were extreme. Some said they could not understand how she could possibly deny being involved. They didn't exactly wish her well." "Others took the opposite view. That she is innocent and God was on her side." "Some women who have written just want to tell her how their lives have gone wrong as well."

Ghouls
He added that West had never showed any emotion about the letters, whatever the content. Governor Mike Pannoe said all West's letters were vetted by staff, as with any top-security inmate. Last night ghouls flocked back to Cromwell Street to gawp at the House of Horrors after the guilty verdicts. Cars frequently pulled in as their occupants stopped to take a look at the brickied-up semi with dried-up floral tributes to the dead. One resident, who gave only his first name Mark, said: "I'm glad she's been sent down and it's all over. She deserved it."

KISS OF DEATH: Fred and Rose West embrace and, inset, an unknown brunette — one of the 13 missing girls

WEST TO APPEAL

MASS murderer Rose West yesterday claimed she was innocent and vowed to appeal against her convictions. Her solicitor Leo Gostley said she was "totally devastated" and had "wept uncontrollably". He added that she "maintained her innocence and retains the love and support of her children." He said: "She contests the verdicts and we are actively pursuing an appeal."

Flawed
Mr Gostley claimed that the evidence of some witnesses, which helped to convict West, had been so "irretrievably flawed as to be valueless" because they had been offered cash for their stories by newspapers. He issued a statement slamming the media's conduct. He claimed "intrusive Press activity has blighted" and "affected the shape and course of these proceedings."

Mr Gostley said: "The kind of money offered to some witnesses, represents the source of their future material well-being, which they could not

otherwise dreamed of. To preserve that opportunity these witnesses had to tell a certain tale and the jury to believe it. "Certain witnesses were not called for the very reason that their evidence would be so undermined that I believe we should all reflect upon at great length. "I am told that the Attorney General proposes to investigate an inquiry into this issue. I do not know the form that inquiry will take. Such an investigation is welcome, but, of course it is futile so far as this trial is concerned."

The solicitor also said: "There was an application to proceedings, the legal arguments of which included consideration of prejudicial Press coverage. "The matter has at various times been considered by the Attorney General as well as ruled upon by the trial judge prior to commencement of the trial."

BY IAN TRUEMAN



PERVERTED KILLER: Fred West

rettes. She was white, in her late twenties, 5ft 6in or 5ft 10in, slim with dark hair.

6 ANOTHER girl whose name is not known. But she lived at Cromwell Street in 1978 and suffered with a bad stomach.

She was between 18 and 25, 5ft 3in and slim, with blonde hair down to the nape of her neck.

7 INGRID, who possibly smokes with a German accent, lived at the house in 1976-78. She was 18, 5ft 2in, with blonde bobbed hair, and a good figure.

8 MARILYN stayed at 25 Cromwell Street in 1972. She may have come from the Forest of Dean and visited Newent. She was 18 or 19 with long blonde hair.

9 ANOTHER mystery woman for whom police do not have a name. But she probably lived at Cromwell Street in 1973, spoke with a Swedish or Dutch accent and was between 17 and 20.

She had blonde, shoulder-length bobbed hair with a flick across the left eye though she was "plain" and wore little makeup.

Det. Supt. Bennett

appealed to anyone with information to contact Gloucester Police on 01242 374069. Crimestoppers on 0800 555111 or the National Missing Persons Helpline on 0500 700700.

Psychos
He said: "It is important to stress that neither Fred West, and certainly not Rose West, has admitted to any other offences. But he still condemned the pair as being "perfect" for each other, saying: "Quite clearly they were both psychopaths. "I think that if someone is involved in multiple murders, and certainly those that include members of your own family, what else can you say?"

He added: "We were dealing with two people who have multiple personalities and can change them from one to another. It all depends what personality you are dealing with on a particular day... so it is very difficult to give a correct analysis of them. "They fooled everybody, including the police — their personalities were such that they could do it — but the jury were able to see through the lies."

Then Det Supt Bennett declared: "It is very satisfying that Rosemary West has been convicted."

PURE EVIL - TURN TO PAGE 23

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DAILY STAR PROBE INTO THE COUPLE WHO TURNED 25 CROMWELL STREET INTO THE HOUSE OF HORROR



MR and MRS EVIL

- THEY could be Mr and Mrs Ordinary — but behind the smiles of Fred and Rose West is darkness and depravity beyond belief.
- Fred was a sexual psychopath, Rose a sadistic prostitute with an insatiable lust for kinky sex.
- Together, the two evil monsters lived in a nightmare world of perversion, torture and — mass murder.
- Twelve young women died at their hands. But now the killing spree is over. Fred cheated justice by taking his own life and Rose has been caged for life.

Reports by:
DAVID NEWMAN, MARTIN STOTE and VIRGINIA HILL

INSIDE THEIR CHA

HOUSE OF
25
Cromwell
St
HORROR

THIS is the tomb of terror where a string of young girls were led to their doom by the most twisted couple in Britain. Wicked Rose and Fred West bound and masked their petrified victims. Then they strung them from beams to be used as human sex toys.

Once the girls — gagged so they could not scream — were of no more use they were slaughtered. Then builder Fred chopped up their bodies and buried them round the house under concrete . . . where they lay until Cromwell Street finally gave up its horrifying secrets last year.



CRUEL: Fred strung up girls from the beams to be used as human sex toys

STAIRWAY TO HELL: Racy cellar door poster taunts sex victims

FRED and Rose West turned the cellar of 25 Cromwell Street into a chamber of horrors.

BY DAVID NEWMAN

A brief, terrifying glimpse of its dank walls was the image many young victims took to their graves. Death itself was a blessed relief from the torture the Wests inflicted on them.

Their nightmare began when they were bundled down the stairs to the dark cellar. A scantily-dressed woman on a poster greeted the bound girls as they were pushed through

the doorway to hell. Masked and gagged to stifle their screams, some helpless girls were suspended from beams to be sexually abused at will.

When they were of no more use they were murdered and mutilated.

The cellar — decorated with a Marilyn Monroe mural and a child's cowboy cartoon — became a tomb for five of the victims.

Fred cut off their heads and hacked off their limbs before burying them. Three girls

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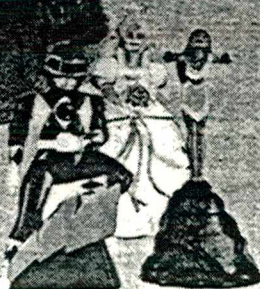
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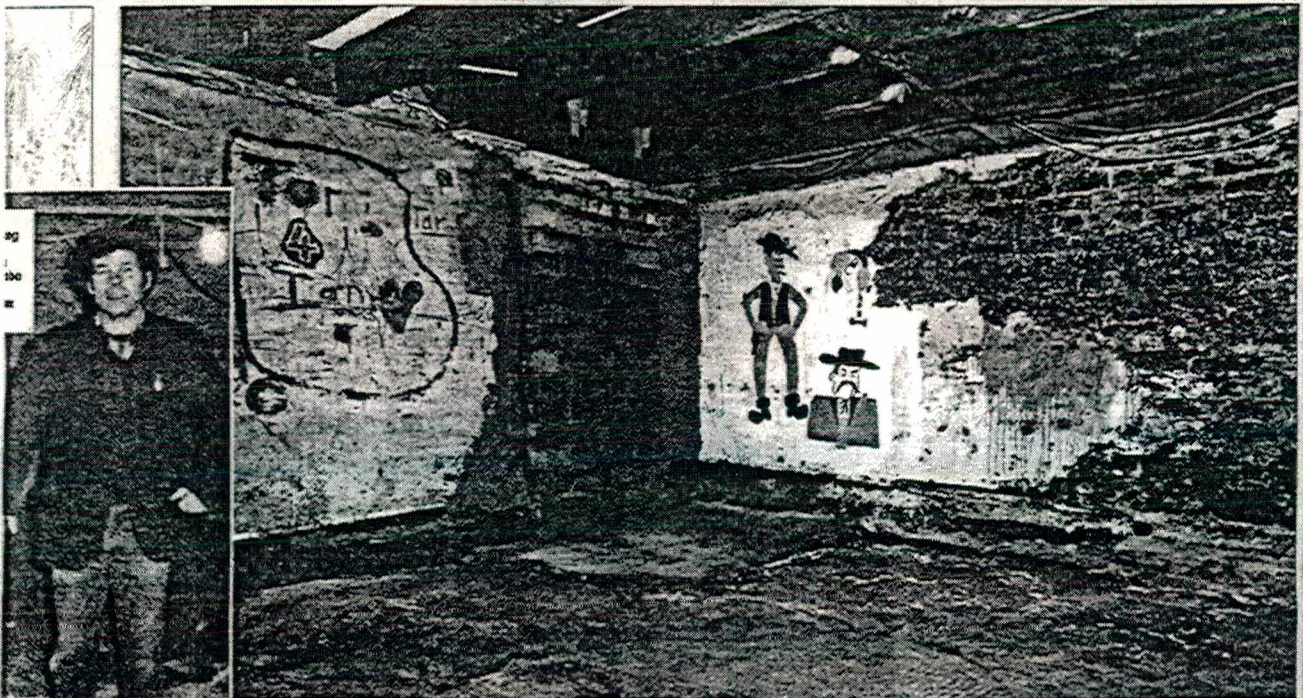
HOUSE OF HORROR: West family home



SHROUD OF SORROW: Remailer

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CHAMBER OF DEATH



DEAD MEN TELL NO TALES: Cowboy cartoon characters decorate the grim walls in 25 Cromwell Street's underground torture chamber

were found in the garden. Another victim was under a bathroom.

The task of looking for the remains left hardened cops shaken.

Sgt Terry Jay, who led the 14-man police digging team, said he will never forget THAT cellar. "It's dark, it's damp and there is a feeling of sadness."

Sgt Jay added: "Under the cellar we were hunched up because it was too low to stand. Searching for bodies is harrowing and distressing. It's always at the back of your mind that there are families who are grieving."

On the 12th day of the trial, the members of the jury were taken on a tour of the Cromwell Street house.

They saw the cube-shaped graves of the nine victims, marked out with white ribbon.

And they saw the girls' only memorial — a police tag bearing their names.

They wandered through the tiny rooms — perhaps wondering at Rose's claim that she was unaware of Fred's serial killing.

And they saw the spy hole drilled into the door so Fred could watch her romping on her four-poster bed.

Lured

In that room Rose played punsters with with porn videos and rum at her "Black Magic Bar".

They wandered through the tiny rooms — perhaps wondering at Rose's claim that she was unaware of Fred's serial killing. Most chilling of all they saw the cellar where so many innocents ended their days — and knew the memory would haunt them forever.



s are taken out

VICTIMS IN THE TOMB



Shirley Robinson



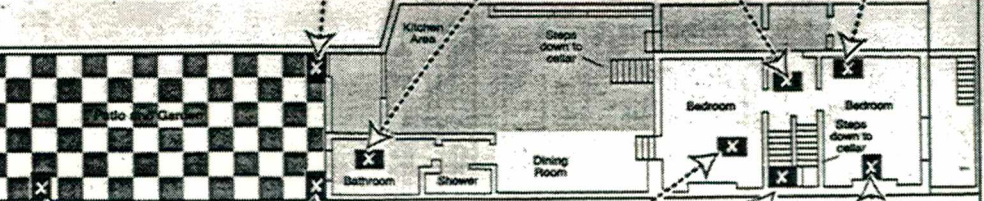
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Therese Seigenthaler



Heather West



Alison Chambers



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Shirley Hubbard

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Sadistic lesbian Rose and her pimping

MURDERERS FOR EACH

IT was a marriage made in hell. Fred West was a sexual psychopath. His prostitute wife Rose was a lesbian sadist whose appetite for sex knew no bounds.

The mass killers were united by their own depravity. Psychologist Paul Britton, who interviewed them for police, said they had become "completely psychologically bonded" in their own world of torture, sex and murder.

They indulged one another's greed for deviancy and death — becoming prisoners of their own perversions. Daughter Anne Marie said: "Fred and Rose used to barter with one another about things they could do to turn the other on sexually."

Psychologically, Fred never grew out of the leering adolescent who was always making crude passes at teenage girls.

Bisexual Rose indulged him. The youngsters he chased up were potential lesbian partners for her.

Whips
 When killer Fred first became besotted with his teenage lover he was the boss. But the psychologists are convinced that eventually Rose held the whip hand.

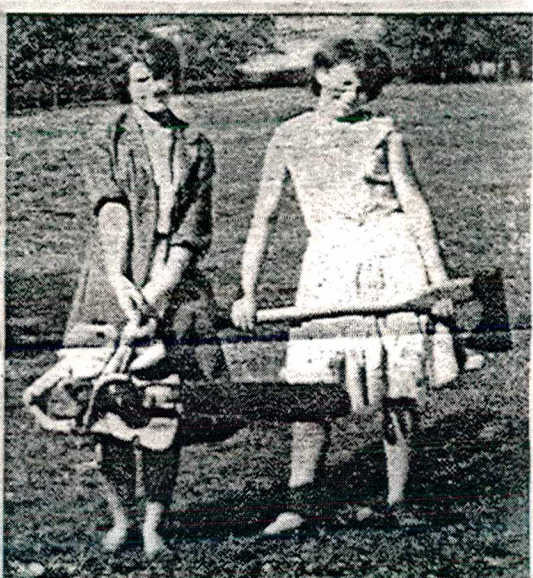
His dumpy harridan of a wife in her heavy belts became a substitute for his podgy mum Daisy whom he worshipped — even when she lashed him in the fields in March 1962.

Whips
 Anne Marie said: "Rose liked to wear big black leather belts under her clothes. At one time she even had a weightlifter's belt. She enjoyed it, it made her look powerful."

Detectives are convinced she instigated some of the later kidnaps and murders. One officer said: "We've convinced many of the girls snatched off the streets were used by Fred for sex, but then abandoned to Rose's evil whims — possibly for days on end."

Glutton
 She and Fred videoed straight, lesbian and group orgies and tape-recorded the cries of anguish and ecstasy.

Rose advertised in contact magazines and the vile couple used youngsters — including one of their own daughters — as playthings in a child sex ring. Rose was such a glutton for sex that she would sleep with a man



FRED'S SISTERS: Kitty and Gwen West pose with a chainsaw and axe

for a pork pie or a box of chocolates. Rose's room became a honeypot for scores of West Indians as Fred acted as her pimp.

In a seedy first-floor bar, dubbed The Black Magic and decorated with a Caribbean mural, they were piled with dark Jamaican rum, Mailou or Martini.

Screams
 The room next door was a "viewing room" where snaps of Rose's private parts were displayed with the message "View before you choose."

In Rose's wardrobe was a bullwhip and a cat-o-nine tails. Lodger Gillian Britt said: "We used to hear screams and banging and all sorts of noises. The screams became quite frightening."

TORTURE TROPHIES
 Anne Marie was shocked when she learned the secrets of Rose's Room when she was 12. She said: "I put my right eye to a spyhole in the door and saw my stepmother on the bed with a black man. I felt sick."

Police found a book in which Rose logged details of men she had sex with. She gave a score on a scale of one to 10 for performance and the size of their manhood. Sex-crazed Rose was a central freak who craved perversion, torture and death. "There is not a lot of difference psychologically between Stalin, Hitler or Rose West," said psychologist Oliver James.

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psychopath husband were united in their own depravity

MADE OTHER

Queen of Tarts Rose had sex with a horse, dog and donkey

ROSE WEST starred in a string of bestiality videos. She was filmed indulging in sex acts with a horse, a donkey and a dog.

One neighbour told how locals would drink in the Wellington Arms, Gloucester, with the Wests and then go back to their house to watch videos.

He said: "I have seen Rose perform oral sex with a horse. The animal was enormous."

"In another video, I saw a donkey tied down on its back and she was squatting down on top of it."

"Later I watched her having sex

with an albatross dog. I was even told that they all went off in the van one weekend into the countryside with their video equipment to try to film Rose with a bull."

"But it didn't work out. That's about the only time I ever heard of her ever losing her nerve."

Handcuffed

He added: "Fred must have made a small fortune from the videos. They were £10 to watch in the house and £50 to buy."

"Sometimes while we were watching them at the Wests' home, Rose would come into the room dressed in a French maid's outfit.

Quite a few black blokes boasted they had sex with her on those occasions."

Ex-judge Barbara Jones saw a video of Rose having sex with SIX men.

And Rose's brother Gordon picked up a video to find it starred his sister.

He said: "Rose was tied to the bed and handcuffed. Fruit was involved."

Detectives seized hundreds of porn videos. An officer said: "One policeman needed time off work he was so stressed out watching them all day."



DAUGHTER OF DEVIL: Rose's kinky appetite was indulged by Fred

I heard confession from Fred

FURIOUS neighbour Yvette Arthur shopped Fred West to Social Services a YEAR before his daughter Heather was murdered.

She told them he had confessed to her that he was having sex with Heather. But NOTHING happened.

Exactly a year later, Heather, 16, was killed — her head bashed from her body and her remains buried under the patio at 25 Cromwell Street.

Last night mother-of-two Yvette, 34, said: "It's disgusting that nothing was done. It makes me sick. What were the Social Services up to?"

"That bitch Rose West deserves to be put alive on a bonfire. I would light it personally."

The year before Heather died, Yvette was an unmarried mum given a council bed in Cromwell Street. Fred West moved her belongings for her, then started to pester

her about making porn videos. "Every time he suggested it, I said No because I wasn't into that sort of thing," she said.

He said Rose starred on the videos and he wanted new talent to star with her. "He didn't particularly star in the films or like sex with adults. He liked kids he said and added, 'Especially my own'."

Shocked

"I was totally taken aback. I told him: 'Get out and don't come back!'"

The next morning she telephoned Social Services offices in Gloucester. "I said I was ringing to inform them that there was a Mr Fred West, of 25 Cromwell Street, who was messing around with his kids."

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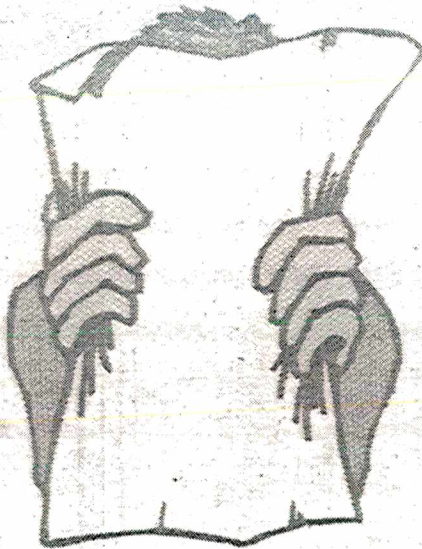
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SUPER-SLEUTH: Hazel Savage

Rape probe uncovered sickening haul of Copper's hunch 27-year trail of

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A REAL-LIFE Prime Suspect detective's determination finally exposed Fred and Rose West's 27-year catalogue of murder.

Detective Constable Hazel Savage mirrored TV cop Jane Tennison as she relentlessly pursued the Wests, whom she was convinced were hiding a terrible secret.

Her "outstanding investigative skills" won her the MBE after she provided the springboard for the Cromwell Street inquiry.

But DC Savage's achievement was marred when a police probe found her guilty of discreditable conduct over a reported £1 million book deal.

The long-serving Gloucester CID officer had known Fred West for years - but she always harboured a strange unease about him.

Torture

Her first break came in 1992 when he was charged with raping one of his teenage daughters and Rose was accused of involvement.

Police who searched 25 Cromwell Street seized a sickening array of hard-core pornography, torture implements, plus sadism and bondage gear.

Among the items were 90 porn videos, a rice flail, whips and rubber gear.

One sick video showed two men dragging a naked girl into a cellar, suspending her from the beams before whipping and sexually abusing her.

At her Gloucester home, Rose's step-daughter Anne Marie was taken by surprise when a frantic Rose rang at 8am and barked a terse order down the phone. She warned: "If you think anything of me or



your dad, especially your dad, you'll say nothing and keep your mouth shut."

Moments later, the doorbell rang and DC Savage was on her doorstep.

For the first time in 20 years, courageous Anne Marie knew it was time to finally break her silence - for the sake of her sisters.

She recalled: "I told Hazel Savage things I had never told anyone."

"I told her how my father had raped me when I was eight and how Rose had helped him."

But, crucially, Anne Marie also told her about her sister Heather, 15, who had vanished from Cromwell Street so suddenly in June 1987.

On June 7, 1993, Fred and Rose bugged in the dock at Gloucester Crown Court as the child sex charges against them were dropped. Their terrified children had been too frightened to give evidence against them.

After social workers took them into care, a persistent rumour again aroused DC Savage's suspicions.

Rumour

Anne Marie said: "She wanted to know about a family joke the children kept repeating to their foster parents."

"They thought the children seemed genuinely scared of Fred and Rose and frequently the kids said they didn't want to end up like Heather under the patio in the back garden."

DC Savage immediately took her growing suspicions about Heather's fate to her boss.

Her fears sparked six months of intense inquiries.

Police searched doctors' records, National Health and National Insurance files and DMS offices for any trace of Heather. But they drew a blank.

Finally, on February 23, 1994, a warrant was granted to search 25 Cromwell Street.

Two days later, officers dug up the decapitated, dismembered remains of Heather.

They then dug by hand to recover the skulls and bones of the other victims, as well as various torture gadgets.



DARK PAST: Rose in her teens

FRED HAUNTED

FRED West never knew the names of three girls he killed - but he was haunted by perfect images of them.

And 20 years after they were strangled, he was able to recall every detail of their appearance.

Police artist Detective Constable Bob Wilcock drew a series of Fred's vivid sketches of the faces of the three victims imprinted on the killer's twisted mind.

The detective compiled remarkably accurate sketches of Swiss hitch-hiker Therese Siegenbaler, Carol Cooper and Shirley Hubbard from Fred's descriptions which led to the girls being identified.

Bob said: "The images of those poor girls remained with Fred West all his life."

"If one can say anything good about him it would be that he put his heart

and soul into his work with me. Fred concentrated very hard. He was trying his very best to identify those three unnamed victims."

Respect

He asked: "I'll never forget shaking those big hands of his. They were hard and cold and covered in rosine stains."

Two other hitch-hikers helped compose a photo of

porn videos

ends fear



PICTURE OF INNOCENCE: Little Rose aged six



PICTURE OF GUILT: Evil West as she is now

BY 3 GIRLS

of the fiend who raped them at knifepoint. Police are convinced their attacker was Fred West.

A detective said: "Both the description of the man and the method of operation are Fred West to a T."

"He spoke with a strong Midlands accent. He even told them that he was on his way to Worcester."

The girls, aged 13 and 19, were picked up on the M1 near Barnsley, South

Yorkshire, on February 14, 1974 and raped in a lonely lane near Sutton in Ashfield, Notts.

Less than 24 hours later, West snatched murder victim Shirley Hubbard, 15, after she left work in Droitwich, Worcs.

West proved he was able to strike twice in a day — lending added weight to his boast that he killed 20 victims on top of the 12 he admitted.

Social workers and cops ignored glaring clues

Blunders that let them get away with murder

HOUSE OF HORROR
25 Cromwell St

THE damning question haunting parents about the Cromwell Street scandal is: "How was it allowed to happen?" As the House of Horror trial unfolded it seemed incredible that two serial killers lived unde-

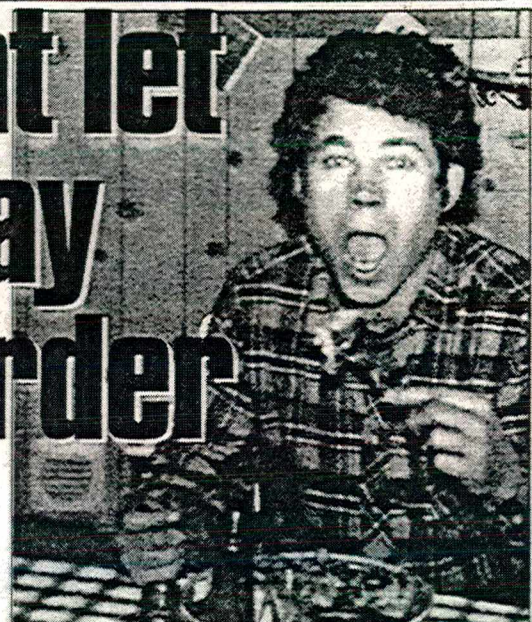
TECTED in a major city for 27 years. Now social workers stand accused of a shameful catalogue of blunders spanning nearly three decades. Police, teachers and doctors also missed glaring clues which should have set alarm bells ringing. The saddest legacy of those mistakes is that later victims — like the Wests' daughter Feather — could still be alive if the signs had been heeded. Gloucestershire's social services boss at the time was Harold Nicholas, who is now dead.

Shocking

Between 1970 and 1983 — during the height of the sex murders — his deputy was Brian Rice. He is now 64 and retired — and refuses to speak about the Cromwell Street affair.

After leaving his Gloucestershire post, Mr Rice became Leicestershire's social services boss and was embroiled in one of Britain's most shocking child sex-abuse scandals.

A report into a social worker given five life sentences for rape and sex



ANIMAL: Fred West murdered and abused undetected for 27 years

offences, singled out Mr Rice for damning criticism. It condemned him as "a poor leader" and said his decision not to put the offender on a DIES warning list regarding his suitability for work with children was "inexcusable".

The Wests came to the attention of police, social workers, teachers and doctors many times when, with hindsight, the risks they posed were obvious.

During the seventies, 25 Cromwell Street's notoriety as a brothel where

porno movies were filmed and sold spread throughout Gloucester. A report into the affair lists a catalogue of incidents involving children in the family suffering unusual injuries.

Swollen In a two-year period "it should have been blindingly obvious something was wrong". Children were treated for a swollen penis, sore genitals, skin creases, vaginal problems, gonorrhoea,

being struck with a mallet, and experiencing pain when sitting down. Jeff James, chief executive of Gloucestershire Health, said yesterday that practices for protecting children were being reviewed.

He said the West case lessons "will be acted on." Mr Jeff added: "In the 1970s and 80s it would have required remarkable perception and abilities to penetrate the web of deceit spun by Frederick and Rosemary West."

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I am not a good person... I have got a lot of things on my mind... I hope you will be able to help me... I have the conviction that you are the best person for me...

*My husband
Happy Birthday Son!
All my love
Rose*

THE twisted minds of Fred and Rose West were clear to see — in their handwriting. Expert Ruth Myers — who examined notes they penned — says Rose was a sadist and Fred disturbed. Ruth said Rose's broken capital J on a card has a whip-like leaning, denoting extreme cruel tendencies. The hooked-shaped formation on the letter y indicates sexual deviation and violence. The pointed t bars express hostility with a desire to punish. And temper ticks on some letters, such as the l and the t reveal Rose is easily provoked to anger. The stab marks inside oval letters indicate she is manipulative and the loop in the letter a shows secretiveness which she uses to combat her fears and defend her ego. The tall t's and d's on the Valentine card show Rose is lacking in self-worth and she tries to compensate with exaggerated defensive self-approval or vanity. **Warped** Ruth concludes Rose has a warped philosophy of life, and can neither give or accept love. She provokes hostility and enjoys picking fights. Ruth examined three letters written by Fred to his daughter Anne Marie and her children. She says: "He is a deeply disturbed person."

TWISTED: Handwriting samples show Fred, left, was disturbed and Rose, above, was a sadist says expert Ruth Myers

The falling words in one letter showed a deep depression. Fred is obviously a man of limited intelligence with a poor degree of fluency and weak spelling. There is great variation in pressure on the paper which indicates a lack of control, said Ruth. "This could easily explode in irritability and temper outbursts. The variation in slant emphasizes his unpredictability and mood swings." Along with other traits, such as the hooks on the letter p, this adds up to an argumentative, resentful and aggressive character. Above all, the small narrow loops on the left of circular letters showed he was a compulsive liar.

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FIONA Webster



WHEN the end came, Rosemary West was led away to start a life sentence.

Nobody felt sorry for her. If she shed tears later in the silence of her cell, they were for no one but herself.

No grief for the many lives that lie in pieces because of her sexual sadism.

The effect of the West trial has spread like a contagious disease. Relatives and victims from Wales to the North West have had counselling.

Having heard some of the evidence in court, I can understand why. It's hard to choose the most harrowing.

Maybe the story of Heather West, locked in that depraved family for 16 years, desperate to get out, who almost made it.

Or that of Lucy Partington, the bright, kind student who had visited a disabled friend and was on her way to post a post-graduate course application when she disappeared.

Or maybe Anne Marie West, a living victim who stood in court and told how she was raped by her father at the age of eight, while stepmother Rose looked on and laughed.

Fear

She clung to the couple, because, like other abused children, she knew nothing else. They told her that her pain, fear and humiliation were normal parts of growing up.

They were in that family, Or the simple evidence of one lodger, who heard a child screaming in the cellar one night for 20 minutes.

Not one of the murder victims survived past 21. Little Charmaine never made it to nine.

What can possibly have gone on in the mind of

Rosemary's legacy

Rosemary West? When she was 16 she turned up on her parents' doorstep with newborn baby Heather.

Her dad, who had never liked the baby's father Fred said: "You've made your bed, you lie on it."

Rosemary used the exact same words when she described a fictitious conversation she'd had with Heather before she had "left" home at 16.

But you can't pin Rosemary's cruelty and perversion on her upbringing. It was tough, poor and sparse of love, but not sadistic and depraved.

Rosemary and Fred West were two of a kind.

It was to everybody's misfortune they happened to meet at a bus stop 26 years

ORDINARY FACE OF PURE EVIL

ago. The combination was lethal. Like Hindley and Brady they no doubt egged each other on to unimaginably cruel heights.

And like that cowardly sadistic couple, they each lied through their teeth when they were caught.

You can't legislate for monsters like the Wests. Thankfully they only come along every several decades.

But we can respond better to clues where children are concerned.

Risk

Everyone knew there was something wrong in the West household. Something that put children at risk.

The police had convicted the couple of sexual assault, social services had frequently had some of the kids in care, teachers saw bruises, a hospital treated wounds and the NSPCC was alerted.

Yet the West children were left to grow up with that grotesque couple. The authorities simply let them down. If they had acted, it may have saved some lives.

Molesters don't always look like monsters.

When Rosemary West went into the witness box at

the start of her trial she looked like a typical mum you'd see at the supermarket.

Smart, but hadn't spent much on clothes because money was tight. Neat haired, but no fancy haircut — no time.

But then a lot of people thought the Yorkshire Ripper, Peter Sutcliffe, looked like any normal bloke.

Thanks to the police, and the courageous victims who came forward, the jury did not believe the claims of this woman who seems so ordinary — on the outside.

And her victims and their families finally got some justice.

And Fred West? He took the easy way out like the coward that he was.

Rest in peace? I hope not.

e entertained clients

Life of violence and perversion began as a boy

By BILL FROST
AND RICHARD DUCE

FREDERICK WEST

FROM childhood, Frederick West was ruled by his dark and sinister nature: a little boy with a precocious appetite for violence and depraved sex who was dominated by his mother.

Much Marcle, the village straddling the border between Gloucestershire and Herefordshire where he was brought up, was soon to learn that his apparently cheeky manner could switch swiftly to extraordinarily hostile behaviour towards those weaker than himself.

The Wests were known by other villagers as a family who kept themselves to themselves. "It was as if there was some kind of dark secret they were keeping," one said.

Ann Colburn, who went to school with the young West, said: "There was a lot of gossip about the Wests. They didn't mix like other children."

Life for the Wests in Much Marcle would have been much as it was for those who had occupied their tied cottage 100 years earlier. There was no proper sanitation and the children emptied lavatory buckets into a sewage pit.

West's mother, Daisy, was the dominant figure in the household and, despite his dysfunctional behaviour and frequent brushes with authority, he was the apple of her eye.

His sexual appetites became increasingly perverse as he grew into adolescence. He would force himself on village girls whenever he found them alone. There were complaints to his school about his conduct. However, his mother would never listen to a word against him and would berate teachers in front of other pupils for picking on her son.

Robert Williams, a contemporary who is now 53, said West was "neither gifted nor a tryer. He was really scruffy, dirty and untidy." Ann Colburn said he was "always in trouble at school" and "not very bright at all".

Yet not even a charge of making an underage girl pregnant while he himself was

still a minor could dent his mother's love. The case collapsed when the girl refused to give evidence.

While still a teenager he launched a violent sexual assault against a young woman who rejected his advances at a dance. On another occasion he deliberately rode his motorcycle at a girl he believed had snubbed him.

However, even after the truth about him was revealed, there were those who expressed astonishment that this "easygoing man" could be a multiple murderer. The day after he was found hanged in his prison cell at Winson Green, his sister-in-law Christine West said: "Even now we



West as a boy: he forced himself on village girls

still can't believe all that has happened. The Fred we remember is a kind, gentle family man who was a workaholic."

West's son Stephen, who visited his father frequently in prison, said he believed that he planned his death. "He told me, 'If they take their eyes off me, I will be gone.'"

He made a rope from strips torn from his blanket, twisted and sewn together. One end was made into a noose, the other was wound in tape and knotted through a grille above the door.

He apparently stood on his plastic chair, then kicked it away. The full inquest into his death is expected to be held early next year.

Eerie silence of children who were 'unnaturally subdued'

FREDERICK and Rosemary West married at Gloucester Register Office on January 29, 1972, but none of her family was invited (Bill Frost and Richard Duce write). Relatives were likely to be greeted with outright rudeness if they called at the family home.

One couple were allowed past this barrier and into 25 Cromwell Street: Graham Letts, Rosemary's brother, and his wife, Barbara. "Rosie and Fred were always fine with us," Mr Letts, 38, said. "Sometimes Fred would sit quietly in a corner, which was his way of saying he'd rather we weren't there."

"There was something eerie about the atmosphere. The children were always immaculately turned out. Their manners were impeccable but they were so subdued it was unnatural. Whenever we walked in there was never any noise. Even with nine or ten children around you'd hear a pin drop."

"Barbara and I felt it was probably because Rosie was so strict. If the children looked



Barbara and Graham Letts: invited into secret world

at schoolfriends and others that she had been "planted" in the garden. The complaints came to nothing; the children refused to give evidence.

In 1971 Charmaine, Frederick's daughter by his first wife, Catherine "Rena" Costello, vanished at the age of eight. "We visited Rosie and Fred every week," Mr Letts said. "One afternoon I noticed Charmaine wasn't there. Fred explained she had gone to live with her mother in Scotland."

The family grew rapidly between 1970 and 1983. Mae, the eldest, is now 22, Stephen 21, Tara 17, Louise 16, Barry 15, Rosemary 14 and Lucyanna 12. On Frederick West's admission, three of the children were fathered by other men.

In June 1987 Heather, 16, went missing. Before that she

had become very withdrawn. Mr Letts said. "She was every mother's dream: pretty, polite, well-behaved and helpful. When I asked where she had gone Fred said she'd gone off with a lesbian in a blue Mini."

There was much about life at 25 Cromwell Street that struck Mr Letts as peculiar. However, he was among the last to discover that his sister had become a prostitute with the blessing of her husband. "It was obvious that she'd slept about. But Rosie is my sister and I didn't want to think the prostitute rumours could be true. But the clues were all there: the telephones, the layout of the house and the fact the children were always so well dressed. Where was all the money coming from?"

Eventually Mr Letts con-

fronted his sister. She confessed immediately. "What shocked me most was how casual she was about the whole thing. She and Fred seemed to take pride in how slick the operation was. She was calling herself Mandy Mouse and she had a separate front door bell for her clients. Fred boasted about how much money they were making out of it. Sometimes clients would visit the house. We'd be sitting downstairs with her husband while Rosie would be looking after a customer upstairs."

When they first visited the house Mr and Mrs Letts were told that the upper floors were "strictly out of bounds". But the Wests were later to show off their secret world.

"It was obvious Fred had an abnormal sex drive," Mrs Letts said. "As time went on it got more and more out of control. If we stayed for any length of time, he and Rosie would have to disappear upstairs for sex."

"One time they showed me a blue bottle which had been sealed. Inside were a pair of Rosemary's knickers. She said she'd worn them during a fantastic sex session with Fred. She wanted to preserve them as a souvenir."

"Eventually we were invited upstairs to the private room right at the top. There were naked pictures of her all over, and a bar. They had a huge video library."

"Rosie chose one but I could only see a few minutes. It was the most sick film I have ever seen. There were humans and animals involved in disgusting sex acts. I think it was her way of trying to initiate us into their world but we just didn't want to know."

Mr Letts remains haunted by the possibility that he might have helped unwittingly to entomb some of the Wests' victims. In 1987 he helped his brother-in-law to concrete the cellar, which he was told was being converted into two rooms for the children.

"Throughout it all Fred was laughing and joking — he was enjoying himself. Now I know what was underneath I feel sick. I helped to bury some of those poor mites. It will haunt me until my dying day."

THE FAMILY

like playing up, just a half glance from Rosie was enough. It reminded me of our mum and dad when we were kids. Rosie was every bit as strict and seemed to be using the same tactics. Nothing was stated but the message was clear: 'If you don't do as I say you'll regret it.'

The children were too afraid to speak of what happened in the house, though Heather West once told a friend that her father used "to touch her sexually" and beat her if she complained. She said that she was terrified of both parents.

Sharon Sellick, a schoolfriend, said: "I only went to her house once and it was really creepy. It was so dark and musty. I remember Heather would say her dad was a real bastard. She said she was going to run away because she couldn't stand it at home and was frightened."

Stories told by the younger West children after Heather's disappearance led police to 25 Cromwell Street in 1992, two years before the multiple murder inquiry began. They had

Care costs £250,000

THE four youngest children of the West family are living under new identities with foster families far away from Gloucester. The cost of keeping them in care runs at about £250,000 a year.

The three girls and a boy are now aged 12 to 17. Another teenage daughter is believed to be living with relatives in Gloucestershire. She successfully applied to have the care order on her lifted a few months before her mother's trial.

All the children were placed in care after allegations were made against their

parents in August 1992. The four still in care are expected to remain there until they are 18. The fathers of two of the girls are unknown, but Frederick West was the father of the other two in care.

Gloucestershire County Council's social services department is footing the fostering bill. The children are understood to be receiving counselling which is likely to be long-term, possibly for all their lives.

An order from the High Court Family Division prevents publication of details of the children's new homes.

Dead man's testimony secured success for prosecution



Mantell: could have barred taped confession

By FRANCES GIBB
LEGAL CORRESPONDENT

THE conviction of Rosemary West was secured by the prosecution in spite of the lack of any direct evidence against her. The evidence was entirely circumstantial, and there was no proof that she had even met five of her victims.

The trial also broke ground in that it was the first time the tape-recorded murder confession of a dead man, Frederick West, was admitted as "documentary hearsay" evidence.

Yesterday morning the jury returned to the courtroom to ask the judge: "Is the total absence of direct evidence, other than the presence of the remains linking the victims to 25 Cromwell Street, an obstacle to bringing in a guilty verdict?" Mr Justice Mantell's answer was no,

and within 30 minutes they had given the remaining seven guilty verdicts. That issue is certain to be at the heart of the appeal planned by Rosemary West's lawyers, as well as the admissibility of details about her sexual activities.

On paper the case against her looked weak, despite the apparently overwhelming wealth of circumstantial evidence — namely the bodies under the cellar. The prosecution team had the task, therefore, of constructing a case on what is called "similar fact" evidence. This was based on the case of Caroline Owens, who told the court how she had been bound, gagged and raped after being picked up by the Wests.

Ms Owens was used as an evidential "blueprint"; the Crown's case was that inferences could be drawn from her ordeal about what happened to the murder victims. In

THE EVIDENCE

a highly unusual move, the Crown was allowed to present evidence of Rosemary West's sexual habits, which would normally be inadmissible. One legal observer said: "The Crown built up what was almost a psychological profile of Rosemary West by introducing evidence of her sexuality from all sorts of people who had dealings with her."

Michael Hirst, law lecturer at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, said: "The normal rule is that evidence of an accused's bad character or previous criminal offences is not admissible evidence in respect of the offences charged."

Mr Hirst, author of the practitioners' textbook *Andrews and Hirst on Criminal Evidence*, said: "Normally such evidence of previous

actions would be allowed only if the similarity is so striking as to 'scream' the accused's guilt. Otherwise there is a danger that such evidence will be prejudicial."

There was only circumstantial evidence in the case of the van driver Robert Black, who was convicted last year of the murder of Caroline Hogg and other children in different parts of Britain. The locations where the children disappeared tied in with where Black had been making deliveries, and the court was allowed to hear this "pattern" of evidence.

"You could argue that the evidence about Rosemary West's sexual practices was devastatingly prejudicial, and created more prejudice than probative value," Mr Hirst said. "The more prejudicial the evidence is, the more careful the court must be when admitting it.

The prosecution is likely to have argued that it must all be allowed in, as all part of the picture."

The second striking feature of the case, and one that was unprecedented, was the defence lawyers' use of the police tapes of Frederick West. They turned the hearing more into a trial of Fred and Rosemary, one lawyer said.

The tapes were admitted as documentary evidence under section 28 of the Criminal Justice Act 1988. Previously only documents could be used as evidence where the author was not available (dead, ill or abroad). The Act extended this to electronic documents.

Mr Hirst said: "At common law, such a confession would have been inadmissible; it would have been hearsay. In a case in 1985, the judge refused to admit a confession by someone else whom the defendant

said had been responsible for the crime." But West's confession was on tape, and the man himself dead. That made the tape legally admissible under the 1988 Act as evidence West would have given had he been alive.

Mr Justice Mantell had a discretion to exclude the tapes. "But there is no way he would have done because, if true, they are dynamite," Mr Hirst said.

"There is also the danger that the jury might have speculated; what did Fred say about all this, did he in fact implicate Rosemary West?"

It followed from use of the tapes that the prosecution was allowed to call evidence to attack West's credibility. Janet Leach, who had witnessed West's confession to police, was called to cast doubt on his reliability and to highlight inconsistencies.



Rosemary West aged six: according to her mother she was "such a sweet girl but a big baby at heart"

Young innocent learnt to relish depravity

By Bill Frost

THROUGHOUT the 31-day trial Rosemary West's bovine expression was to alter only at the mention of her daughter Heather's name. But her sobs were entirely bogus, the prosecution told the jury.

West, 41, was unconcerned at the appalling suffering she and her husband had inflicted on their victims. She had revelled in the pain they caused.

Britain's most prolific female serial killer was the very model of anonymity. Her youthful prettiness had faded long ago while her figure ballooned. And yet this woman was co-author of perhaps the most chilling chapter in recent criminal history.

From the moment she first encountered the man she was to marry, Rosemary Letts ceased to be a sweet little girl and became a troublesome and ungovernable teenager. She fell completely under his malign influence. At first he was the senior partner in the relationship. However, with the passage of time she became as evil as her mentor.

She was just 15 when she met West in the small Gloucestershire village of Bishop's Cleeve, where she lived. He was 12 years older and determined to use his greater experience of life to prize the ingenious teenager from her perhaps over-protective parents. The girl kept her relationship with the all-but

illiterate and monosyllabic West secret as long as she could. Her parents, William and Daisy, were angry and distraught when they discovered she was involved with an older man who lived on a caravan site. He was too old for her and, worse still, already married with children.

Daisy Letts, now a 75-year-old widow, said: "We disliked Fred from the outset. Quite simply we didn't think he was good enough for our Rosie. She had never had a boyfriend before. When she introduced him I was shocked. He was terribly scruffy and really old

heart: she would burst into tears at the slightest thing.

"In the end, after meeting Fred, she wouldn't do anything we asked. It was so sad. Her father and I wanted her to have a good life so much."

A psychologist said yesterday that the couple probably told each other that their victims enjoyed the sexual depravity that led to their deaths.

Professor David Canter, head of the Liverpool University investigative psychology unit and author of *Criminal Shadows: Inside the Mind of a Serial Killer*, said he believed they would have created their own "adventure story" of being involved in "some extreme and unusual sexual activities which, from time to time, led to people dying".

He said: "My guess is that the Wests would have discussed it with themselves along the lines of everybody having a good time."

When a couple were involved in serial killings they were both likely to be types who saw other people as there to be "exploited, abused and made use of", and they would feed off each other's desires. To some extent the horrific acts which they carry out grow to be a response to what the other would want," he said.

The fact that neither made a move to stop the other would also have encouraged them to continue with the murders.

THE KILLER

for her. We didn't understand what a man with two children wanted with a 15-year-old girl."

In an effort to end the courtship, her parents contacted the local authority who agreed to put her in care. But three weeks later, on her 16th birthday, when she could no longer be detained, she moved in with West.

"Maybe it was our fault. I feel in some ways responsible for them getting together," Mrs Letts said. "We were so strict with our children and sex was never discussed. Maybe she ran off with him as a rebellion against her upbringing. As a child she was such a sweet girl but a big baby at



Victims of Cromwell Street: Juanita Mott, Carol-Ann Cooper, Alison Chambers, Linda Gough, Shirley Hubbard and Shirley Robinson

Lost souls whose refuge became their grave

MOST of the Wests' young victims had severed all links with their families by running away from home or from local authority care. To the outside world Cromwell Street was a refuge for the flotsam and jetsam of life, but for the runaways it provided a home from home.

Shirley Robinson was born in October 1959 in Germany of a British father and a German mother. She moved into Cromwell Street and was eight months' pregnant by Frederick West when she disappeared in April 1978. She had written to her father, who formerly served with the RAF and was running a pub in Cologne: "I

OTHER VICTIMS

am expecting a child from Freddy. We are in love." A foetus was found alongside her remains.

Alison Chambers, born in September 1962, was also the daughter of a British serviceman serving in Germany. She was described as "a troubled teenager". She was living in a children's home in Gloucester and working as a trainee at a solicitor's office when she vanished in September 1979. Her disappearance was never reported to police although the Missing Persons Bureau was in-

formed. Her remains were the second set recovered from Cromwell Street.

Lynda Gough, born in May 1953, vanished in April 1973 from Gloucester where she had rented a flat and worked as a seamstress. Hers was the eighth set of bones found.

Juanita Mott, born in March 1957, was the daughter of an American serviceman and lived at Newent, near Gloucester. She was unemployed when she vanished on April 11, 1975. Her disappearance was never reported to the police but her family did contact the media. Identification of her remains, found on March 6, 1994, proved difficult as there were no

dental records. Carol Ann Cooper, known as Caz, disappeared on November 10, 1973. She had been living at The Pines children's home in Worcester and had been spending the weekend with her grandmother. She vanished after boarding a bus home after a day out with a boyfriend. Police were informed. She was the ninth and last victim found at Cromwell Street on March 10, 1994.

Shirley Hubbard, born in June 1959, vanished aged 15 on November 14, 1974. She was on work experience in Worcester and was seen returning home. Hers were the fifth set of remains found on March 5, 1994.

Deals that led to debate on justice

Questions raised over witnesses who sold their tales

BY BILL FROST
AND RICHARD DUCE

HOURS of the case were spent in the absence of the jury while the judge heard concerns raised by the defence counsel that witnesses had been making deals with the media.

A main plank of the defence case was that so many of the prosecution witnesses had sold their stories that they had a financial interest in seeing Rosemary West convicted.

The debate over publication had already extended beyond witnesses and newspapers. Detective Constable Hazel Savage, widely acknowledged to have uncovered much of the original evidence and who conducted many of the initial interviews with Frederick West after his arrest, was accused of contacting a literary agent with the idea of writing a book about her career and the case.

A week before the allegations surfaced, she had received the MBE and was said



Savage: reprimanded



Ogden: court fight

THE MEDIA

to have "an exceptional career" ahead. Last September she received a reprimand for discreditable conduct and her appeal was rejected by a Home Office tribunal. She was taken off the West case.

Tony Butler, the Chief Constable of Gloucestershire, said her involvement in the investigation was raised in the discussions with a literary agent, but she had disclosed no confidential information and had received no money.

Frederick West's solicitor, Howard Ogden, was sacked by the murderer after learning that he was touting his story for £1 million. Ogden, whose usual clients were drink drivers, burglars and shoplifters, was offering 20 hours of taped interviews with his client in his prison cell, giving intimate details of his married life. Pictures of the basement at 25, Cromwell Street, were said to be available, plus videotapes and photographs of Rosemary West having sex with a variety of partners.

West won a High Court order preventing Mr Ogden from selling material. The Law Society referred the matter to the Solicitors Disciplinary Tribunal, which has held off hearing the case until the outcome of the trial. Subsequently Mr Ogden won a

the truth told. Fred asked me to contact them because he wanted the truth told," she said.

The trial jury first learnt of media money for witnesses from the first witness, Elizabeth Agius, a neighbour of the Wests at their former address in Midland Road, Gloucester. Under cross-examination she disclosed that she had been paid £750 by an ITV news organisation for an interview and had also been paid a similar fee by the BBC. She was the witness who said the Wests would boast about cruising in their car looking for young girls.

The next witness to admit she had received money, but only after first talking to police, was Caroline Owens. She told how she was abducted and assaulted by the Wests, for which they were fined in 1973. Mrs Owens, 40, said she had been paid £9,500 by *The Sun* and would receive a further £10,500 after publication. After entering into the deal she had turned down £50,000 from the *Sunday Mirror*.

Liz Brewer, a former lodger at Cromwell Street, admitted in court that she had been paid £3,000 with a further £7,000 to come from a Sunday newspaper for her account of life inside the Wests' home.

A woman known only as Miss A said she stood to be paid £30,000 by the *Daily Express* for her account of how she was abused by the Wests and lived to tell the tale.

Then came Kathryn Halliday, who admitted a lesbian affair with West. She has been paid £8,000 by the *Sunday Mirror*.

Some of the most damning evidence against West came from her step-daughter Anne Marie Davis, who said that her parents had abused her from the age of eight. She said that she received £3,000 from the *Daily Star*. She is expected to receive close to £70,000 for a book.

The most controversial book sale is by the Official Solicitor of the Supreme Court, Peter Harris, who can sell transcripts of 100 hours of police interviews and papers relating to Frederick West's defence. Geoffrey Wansell, 50, a former *Times* journalist, has been commissioned to write a book using material from the estate. Money raised will go to West children and claimants on the estate.

High Court action against Scott Canavan, his former clerk, preventing the disclosure of confidential information on the Wests. He said that he sought a ban "in recognition of the onerous duty on solicitors to protect the confidences of clients".

Janet Leach, a witness who had sat in on police interviews with Frederick West, gave the prosecution its most embarrassing moment in court. She was brought out to tell the jury of his private confession that he was covering up for his wife. Mrs Leach, 39, told the court that she had not spoken to the press and had signed no deal. She collapsed during her evidence. When she was well enough to return, Richard Ferguson, QC, for the defence, had established that she had signed exclusive rights to her story for £100,000 to the *Mirror* Group. Mrs Leach was forced to admit that she had lied during evidence.

In the summer of 1994 she contacted the *Daily Mirror* through a friend because she was planning to write a book. "I was a woman who wanted

Killing blamed for death of heartbroken parents, who never learned of daughter's fate

Quiet student laughed off warnings before fatal trip

REPORTS BY BILL FROST AND RICHARD DUCE

FADING photographs issued by police as they put names to the bodies unearthed at 25 Cromwell Street show an astonishing physical resemblance between the two most academically gifted of those abused and butchered by Frederick and Rosemary West.

Thérèse Siegenthaler, a Swiss student, and Lucy Partridge, now 40, finds it difficult to recall her sibling without tears. She remembers reading of the Cromwell Street excavations last year and experiencing a terrible sense of foreboding. "After the third or fourth victim had been identified I just had this feeling that she was going to be among the rest of the dead."

"There was a picture in our Swiss papers of Lucy Partridge and there was such an uncanny resemblance. My blood ran cold... I just knew they had killed Thérèse as well, and soon after I was proved right."

On March 5 last year police recovered the remains of the Swiss student. She had been decapitated and her body dismembered. Like all the other victims she had been bound and gagged before protracted sexual abuse.

"I have tried to imagine what happened to her and I know they hurt Thérèse very badly," Mrs Siep said. "I know it is not wise to think

about it, but I cannot stop these terrible thoughts in my mind still." She said that her father and stepmother suffered badly after the disappearance of Thérèse, dying before her fate was known. The family believes that they died of "broken hearts" caused by the loss of their daughter.

Soon after the disappearance Rosa, Thérèse's stepmother, spoke of her quiet and

knew she was dead, but there was always an uncertainty," Thérèse's father, who suffered from Alzheimer's disease, died in 1990. His widow believed that Thérèse's disappearance hastened her husband's end. Mrs Siep said: "It enticed him. It took away his desire to live. He always spoke of her, and had nightmares about her."

"Thérèse was his favourite child. In some ways it is fortunate that he died before we knew what had happened. It would have been an unbearable shock for him to know that she had been murdered."

Mrs Siep described the young Thérèse as a girl who "did not have to work hard to pass exams and was very good at sports". Perhaps because of her accomplishments, Thérèse was sometimes picked on until she learnt judo.

Her decision to study sociology in London marked the "flowering" of Thérèse, Mrs Siep said. "She loved the city and wrote frequently telling us about college and her many friends."

When a flatmate called from London to say that she had gone missing the family "went frantic with fear". Jürgen Siegenthaler, her brother, travelled to England and to Ireland on a number of occasions before realising that

there was no trail to follow. "We cried and cried, our hearts were broken," Mrs Siep said. "We could not look at photographs or read her old letters. Every knock at the door brought hope and then despair. Christmas and Easter were always very hard."

Since the telephone call from Gloucester police in late March last year Mrs Siep has studied serial killers — "I wanted insight into the Wests" — and seen a medium. "I asked her to make contact with Thérèse. She told me that mother had been waiting to pick up her soul when she died and they were together and at peace. I suppose it did help for a while."

Despite her grief and anger Mrs Siep says she does not feel hatred for West and her late husband. "They have a lot of evil inside them, how can God ever forgive them?"

"For taking my sister's life, and all the other lives, too, she must be locked up forever. I want her to become aware of what she has done, understand the evil she has done, maybe that is the best punishment."

"My sister had her whole life in front of her and was such a good and kind person. These people were the opposite. Who can really understand such terrible evil?"



Thérèse Siegenthaler, aged 16, on her confirmation day at home in Switzerland

Family waited 20 years to mourn 'lovely Lucy'

JUST after 10pm on December 27, 1973, Lucy Partington hurried from the home of a friend in Cheltenham, worrying that she might miss the last bus home to the Cotswold village of Gretton, where her mother lived.

She had spent the evening with Helen Renner, a seriously disabled woman who has since died. They shared an interest in medieval English, art and music. Helen told police after her friend's disappearance that when Lucy had missed the bus in the past, she would return to Helen's house and her father would drive her home. But that night she neither returned nor reached her destination, and those who loved her had to wait more than 20 years before being told of her fate.

The 21-year-old Exeter University student was the niece of Sir Kingsley Amis and had wanted to become a writer. Her cousin, Martin Amis, dedicated his latest novel, *The Information*, to her memory.

Frederick West told detectives after his arrest that he had courted the young woman for three months before murdering her. He said that he had met her at a boating lake in a Cheltenham park. She had fallen in love with him and threatened to reveal their affair to his wife, he claimed.

They were cruel lies. In a statement to police Lucy's mother gave a detailed breakdown of her daughter's movements during 1973; at no time could she have fallen into the Wests' orbit until the night they plucked her from the street.

Lucy's parents, long since separated, have said little or nothing about their feelings since police confirmed that she was among the bodies unearthed at 25 Cromwell Street. Their daughter's fate was too harrowing a topic to share with anyone outside the immediate family.

Sir Kingsley, who died last month, remembered "lovely little Lucy". He said: "The



Lucy Partington: was taken from bus stop

poor little thing ... it's so dreadful." He expressed his sadness and anger that the Wests had robbed him of the opportunity to watch his niece grow into adulthood. "Had she lived I might have got to know her well."

There was a wistful Pre-Raphaelite quality about Lucy which none who met her could fail to recognise and respond to: a sensitive and highly intelligent young woman with

THE TRUSTING UNDERGRADUATE

a hint of sadness in her expression. She studied Middle English at Exeter, wrote poetry and spoke of what might have been a religious vocation. Always a devout Christian, her faith had become more intense and she decided to join the Roman Catholic Church.

She seemed well set for success and rich fulfilment, whatever direction she decided to take after finals. She might have been the inspiration for the phrase "brightest and best".

But this chaste and gentle young woman was never to realise her full promise. Her trusting nature led her into the hands of two people as cruel as she was kind. No words in the lexicon of brutality could ade-

quately express the pain and humiliation inflicted upon her by the Wests before they killed and dismembered her.

It is all too easy to picture a battered car drawing up at the Cheltenham bus stop; how Lucy's initial suspicion at the offer of a lift was dampened by the presence of a couple in the vehicle, how she was beaten into submission. Once she was bundled from the Wests' car and dragged into 25 Cromwell Street, Lucy was tightly bound with cord. The couple also covered her face with loop upon loop of strong adhesive tape.

Trial evidence made plain that Lucy was kept alive for several days for the sexual pleasure of her abductors. The precise cause of death will never be known.

Her family postponed their deepest grieving for more than two decades after Lucy's disappearance. Then came the telephone call from Gloucester police during the excavations at Cromwell Street. Roger Partington, her father, said: "It's very painful but is something we will have to come to terms with ... we have been living with this for 20 years. Our immediate reaction was shock ... it is the last chapter we have been expecting."

Her mother, Mary, would not speak of her pain to the media then, or now. She had never really given up hope until the call from Gloucester police. A few months after the disappearance she had said: "Strangely enough, the longer it goes on without any news whatsoever, the more my hopes are raised."

When it was confirmed that Lucy was among the victims of the Wests, the Partingtons closed ranks against the outside world. Villagers in Gretton said her mother "suffered terribly" as she sought to come to terms with her daughter's death. One said: "Just leave the family now, let them get strong again if they can. They have been through so much, more than anyone can imagine."

Silent pain of 'daddy's girl'

ANNE MARIE DAVIS, the daughter of Frederick West whose evidence was perhaps the most compelling and distressing of the trial, lives with the stigma of being a member of the West family. Stones have been thrown through her windows and she is taunted in the street.

Her account of sexual abuse at the hands of her father and stepmother Rosemary from the age of eight brought a hush to the courtroom at Winchester.

After her first day of evidence Mrs Davis, now 31 and the mother of two girls, took antidepressant tablets and alcohol and had to be taken to hospital. A psychiatrist determined her fit to continue her evidence and the jury was not told of the incident. A family friend said: "Anne Marie felt

she had to give evidence so that justice can be seen to be done. She believes her children should have the mother she never had.

"She is extremely articulate and intelligent and perhaps, had she been born into any other family, she could have made a success of her life."

DAUGHTER'S EVIDENCE

Mrs Davis said she was often filled with terror while growing up at Cromwell Street, yet she still idolised her father. She visited him in Winson Green prison after his arrest and took an overdose when he was found hanged.

She endured regular beatings from Rosemary and has criticised the authorities for

not piecing together evidence that could have brought her stepmother to justice earlier.

In her penultimate year at school she was recorded as being absent 60 times. Yet, according to friends, the education authorities never once sought an explanation for her repeated truancy.

At the age of 14, she had an abortion and at 15 she ran away and fell into a life of prostitution.

A close friend said of Mrs Davis's childhood: "She lived in terror of meeting Rosie's eyes. Living in that house was like living in a prison. She didn't go to the authorities because she was terrified.

"She knows she is alive today only because she kept her head down and didn't ask questions about Heather and Charmaine."

Rosemary

'If attention is paid to what I think, you will never be released. Take her down'

BY RICHARD DUCE, BILL FROST AND MICHAEL HORSNELL

ROSEMARY WEST entered the annals of criminal history as Britain's most prolific female serial killer as she was jailed for the rest of her life yesterday for the murder of ten young women and girls.

Mr Justice Mantell said: "Rosemary Pauline West, on each of the ten counts of murder of which you have been unanimously convicted by the jury, the sentence is one of life imprisonment. If attention is paid to what I think, you will never be released. Take her down." Not a flicker of emotion passed across the face of the 41-year-old mother, who was flanked by two women prison officers, as the sentence was passed.

Leo Goatley, her solicitor, immediately announced that she planned to appeal against the convictions, which included the murder of her 16-year-old daughter and nine other young women and girls.

Mr Goatley said: "My client is totally devastated and wept uncontrollably after the verdicts. She continues to maintain her innocence and enjoys the love and support of her children."

He welcomed moves by government law officers to investigate the role of the media in the trial. He claimed they "blighted these proceedings" by offering large sums to key prosecution witnesses in the case.

The trial reached a climax shortly before 1pm as the jury returned to courtroom No 3 after a retirement of more than 13 hours.

On Tuesday, West was found guilty of murdering her eldest daughter Heather, 16; stepdaughter Charmaine, eight and her husband Frederick's pregnant lover, Shirley Robinson, 18.

Yesterday, the jury of seven men and four women decided she also murdered students Lucy Partington and Therèse Siegenthaler; 17-year-old Alison Chambers; Lynda Gough,



Mr Justice Mantell

a former lodger; Carole Cooper; Juanita Mott and 15-year-old Shirley Hubbard, the youngest of the couple's victims. West, dressed in black, as she had been on every day of the seven-week trial, swayed slightly as the verdicts were announced.

As the last verdict was delivered, Anne Marie Davis, West's stepdaughter, collapsed in tears in her seat in the public gallery. She had given evidence that her father, Frederick West, had raped her at the age of eight while his wife held her down.

West will join an infamous group of killers who are unlikely ever to be freed, including Myra Hindley, the Moors murderer, Donald Neilson the Black Panther, and Dennis Nilsen, the mass killer. She will join Hindley in a special secure unit in Durham Jail.

The verdicts followed some of the most shocking and harrowing evidence ever heard in a British court. Girls were subjected to "appalling and depraved" sexual violence before they were killed, dismembered and buried beneath the West home at 25 Cromwell Street, Gloucester.

Some lingered for days, bound and gagged, to be used as objects of sexual gratifica-

tion by West and her husband, who escaped trial by committing suicide in his prison cell last New Year's Day.

The jury rejected Frederick West's claims — in tapes of interviews with police played in court — that he was the sole killer.

After the case, estimated to have cost the taxpayer around £4 million, Detective Superintendent John Bennett described Rosemary West as a "psychopath". He said he had no plans to question her at Durham Jail about other missing women, although police still want to trace nine who are known to have stayed at Cromwell Street. There were no plans to search for more bodies, although Frederick West claimed to have killed 20 more women.

An independent report for Gloucestershire County Council yesterday said there had been "worrying signs" about the West family which should have been picked up by care agencies. The Bridge report concluded, however, that there was no evidence of failings by individuals or organisations and said poor record-keeping and medical confidentiality had failed to bring the West's activities to notice.

Michael Honey, the chief executive, said: "We must resist judging the events of ten, 20 and 30 years ago with the benefit of hindsight."

The jury, who will all be offered stress counselling after the harrowing 31-day trial, were praised by the judge. "You will never have had a more important job to do in your life. I am aware of the great stress it must have placed each of you under. You deserve my thanks and the country's for the part you have played."

Reports, pages 25
A picture of evil, page 19
Janet Daley, page 20
Leading article, page 21
Television review, page 47

Rosemary West trial told of child assaults

I tried to burn down house to avenge rape, says Miss A

BY RICHARD DUCE AND BILL FROST

A 15-YEAR-OLD girl tried to burn down the house of Rosemary and Frederick West after she was subjected to a degrading sexual attack by the couple at 25 Cromwell Street, Gloucester, a jury was told yesterday.

Armed with petrol and matches, the witness, now 33, told how at the last minute she decided against the arson attempt on the house where six weeks before she had been raped by West after his wife had bound her wrists and ankles with sticky tape. Minutes before she was attacked she had witnessed the couple abuse another tearful teenage girl, Winchester Crown Court was told.

The woman, known only as Miss A, had come to trust Rosemary West as a "big sister-cum-Mum" with whom she could share her troubles as a runaway from local authority care. After the attack in the summer of 1977, she felt hatred toward Mrs West who

she eventually saw as a "Jekyll and Hyde" figure capable in one moment of compassion and the next of aggression.

Miss A made several visits to the Wests' home after discovering that Mrs West provided a shoulder to cry on. Then one Friday morning she was led into a bedroom by Mrs West and there she found two naked young girls together with West wearing only a pair of shorts.

One girl, a blonde, could have been no more than 13 or 14, she said, while the other dark-haired girl was about 15 or 16. Mrs West then began to undress Miss A who said she was "dumbstruck". She told the jury: "I felt like I was in a fairground where you are stuck up against the wall."

Miss A, who was often in tears as she gave evidence, said the blonde was caressed by Mrs West as she lay on the bed and was then taped around the wrists and ankles before West had intercourse



Rosemary West: once viewed as a friend

with her. Miss A said the blonde girl was very upset. "She looked distressed and frightened". Miss A said she could see "tears and pain" in the girl's eyes.

During the assault Mrs West spoke to the girl. "It was like Jekyll and Hyde — one minute she had an aggressive voice and the next minute it was all motherly again."

Miss A said the blonde went to sit against the wall with the dark-haired girl as Mrs West then led her to the bed. "I thought: 'God, I'm next.' I wanted to scream, kick and cry." Instead she did none of those things. "I just felt numb", she said.

Miss A said she too was bound by the wrists and ankles by Mrs West who said "relax and enjoy" before she was assaulted with a vibrator and what she believed to be a candle. West then raped her. "I just kept thinking why?" said Miss A.

Afterwards Miss A asked to go to the bathroom. She told the jury: "I felt horrible, dirty. I just wanted to scrub away." She said she pulled on her dress and ran from the house. She told no one of her ordeal for 17 years until police began to uncover the bodies of nine young women and girls at

Cromwell Street. "I felt so ashamed and I just felt sick and I felt stupid."

Brian Leveson, QC, for the prosecution, asked Miss A what she felt towards Mrs West after the attack. She replied: "Hate. I had trusted someone and they'd used me. I couldn't go to the police because there was a stigma for children in care. If you were in care you were bad. I couldn't go to my mum or my dad. There was nobody."

She returned to the house intending to pour petrol through the letterbox and set it alight. "All I had on my mind was revenge. I stood by the front gate. I just stood there. I wanted to do it so much."

The prosecution are seeking to establish that both West and Mrs West were obsessed with carrying out depraved sexual acts on young girls, some of whom they allegedly kidnapped. If they believed their victims would tell police, they were murdered and their dismembered bodies buried beneath the house. Mrs West, 41, denies ten charges of murder. Her husband was found dead in his prison cell on New Year's Day.

Miss A said that police traced her in 1994 after bodies began to be uncovered at the Wests' home. After telling detectives of her allegations she said she was now being paid £30,000 by a national newspaper for her story.

Miss A also told how as a child she had been sexually abused by both her father and her brother. Her second husband had been a violent man who "kicked her" and physically abused her in other ways, she added.

Miss A also told the court that she still believed on occasions that a man in black was following her and sat next to her on the lavatory while she was in the bath. Asked by Mr Leveson who this person was, she replied: "Mr West." The trial continues.

OUR

REFULLY

APPENDIX B

Occurrences of Mood and Comment Adjuncts in the Corpus

(Complete Results)

Table B.1 Occurrences of mood adjuncts in the corpus

Modal adjuncts of mood	Total	Neg. fem.	Pos. fem.	Neg. male	Pos. male	Neg. couple	Pos. couple	Not directly related
1. absolutely	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. almost	20	3	-	4	2	3	-	8
3. always	40	16	2	6	2	5	1	8
4. automatically	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. badly	6	2	-	-	-	1	-	3
6. barely	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
7. blindingly	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
8. blithely	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
9. certainly	11	2	-	2	2	5	-	-
10. clearly	5	2	1	-	-	1	-	1
11. closely	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
12. completely	4	-	-	1	-	1	-	2
13. constantly	3	-	-	2	-	1	-	-
14. deeply	3	-	-	-	2	-	-	1
15. deliberately	3	-	-	1	-	2	-	-
16. devastatingly	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
17. dramatically	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
18. easily	4	2	-	1	1	-	-	-
19. enough	7	2	-	2	-	-	-	3
20. entirely	4	1	1	1	-	-	-	1
21. equally	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
22. ever	25	15	-	2	-	4	-	4
23. exactly	8	3	-	-	-	1	-	4
24. extraordinarily	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
25. extremely	4	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
26. fairly	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
27. frequently	8	2	2	-	-	2	-	2
28. fully	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
29. generally	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
30. genuinely	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
31. greatly	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
32. happily	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
33. heavily	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	1
34. highly	6	2	-	-	-	1	-	3
35. increasingly	3	-	-	1	-	2	-	-
36. in fact	7	2	1	1	-	3	-	-
37. inseparably	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
38. instantly	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
39. irretrievably	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
40. just	58	15	5	8	-	10	-	20
41. likely	6	2	-	1	-	1	-	2
42. little	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	1
43. loudly	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
44. mainly	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
45. maybe	7	3	1	-	-	2	-	1

Modal adjuncts of mood	Total	Neg. fem.	Pos. fem.	Neg. male	Pos. male	Neg. couple	Pos. couple	Not directly related
46. merely	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
47. mostly	3	2	-	-	-	1	-	-
48. naturally	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
49. never	67	23	5	12	1	18	-	8
50. no	11	1	-	-	-	1	-	9
51. normally	4	1	2	-	1	-	-	-
52. obviously	8	1	1	3	1	-	-	2
53. occasionally	2	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
54. of course	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	3
55. only	68	12	6	5	-	20	-	25
56. particularly	10	3	-	3	-	1	-	3
57. partly	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
58. perfectly	2	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
59. perhaps	9	3	2	-	-	3	-	1
60. personally	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
61. plainly	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
62. possibly	13	3	-	1	-	1	-	8
63. precisely	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	1
64. probably	15	4	-	2	1	3	-	5
65. promptly	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
66. purely	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
67. quite	14	5	-	1	1	5	-	2
68. rarely	3	2	-	-	-	1	-	-
69. readily	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
70. really	6	1	-	2	-	2	-	1
71. regularly	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	1
72. repeatedly	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
73. scantily	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
74. so	54	14	6	6	-	15	-	13
75. simply	4	1	-	1	-	-	-	2
76. slightly	5	2	-	1	-	-	-	2
77. strictly	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
78. strikingly	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
79. sufficiently	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
80. superficially	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
81. surely	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
82. terribly	3	1	-	1	-	1	-	-
83. tightly	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
84. totally	4	-	3	1	-	-	-	-
85. typically	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
86. unanimously	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
87. unimaginably	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
88. unlikely	4	1	-	-	-	3	-	-
89. usually	6	1	-	1	-	3	-	1
90. very	53	11	2	5	4	20	-	11
91. virtually	4	1	1	-	1	1	-	-
92. widely	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
93. yes	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-

Modal adjuncts of mood	Total	Neg fem.	Pos. fem.	Neg. male	Pos. male	Neg couple	Pos. couple	Not directly related
Grand total	689	196	47	85	21	162	4	174
Percent	100.00 %	28.45 %	6.82 %	12.34 %	3.05 %	23.51 %	0.58 %	25.25 %

Table B.2 Occurrence and distribution of comment adjuncts in the corpus

Modal adjuncts of comment	Total	Neg. fem.	Pos. fem.	Neg. male	Pos. male	Neg. couple	Pos. couple	Not directly related
1. abnormally	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. academically	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
3. actively	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
4. adequately	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
5. aimlessly	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
6. allegedly	4	2	-	1	-	1	-	-
7. amazingly	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
8. apparently	8	3	-	2	-	1	1	1
9. astonishingly	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
10. at first	9	6	-	-	-	-	-	3
11. bizarrely	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
12. brutally	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
13. carefully	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
14. coldly	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
15. crucially	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
16. cruelly	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
17. curiously	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
18. endlessly	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
19. especially	3	1	1	1	-	-	-	-
20. honestly	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
21. immaculately	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
22. impassively	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
23. inaccurately	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
24. incredulously	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
25. indecently	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
26. indignantly	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
29. in general	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
30. initially	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
31. knowingly	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
32. morbidly	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
33. no doubt	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
34. openly	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
35. persistently	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
36. politically	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
37. preferably	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
38. presumably	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
39. properly	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
40. psychologically	3	1	-	-	1	1	-	-
41. quietly	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
42. really	6	3	-	-	-	2	-	1
43. relentlessly	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
44. remarkably	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
45. romantically	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
46. sexually	26	9	-	2	2	10	-	3
47. silently	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
48. smartly	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2

Modal adjuncts of comment	Total	Neg fem.	Pos fem.	Neg male	Pos. male	Neg couple	Pos. couple	Not directly related
49. specially	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
50. strangely	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
51. suddenly	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
52. supposedly	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
53. swiftly	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
54. thankfully	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
55. uncontrollably	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
56. undoubtedly	4	1	-	1	-	1	-	1
57. unduly	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
58. universally	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
59. unnaturally	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
60. unsuccessfully	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
61. unwittingly	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
62. violently	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	1
63. weirdly	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
64. wholeheartedly	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
65. woefully	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Grand total	135	41	7	18	3	37	2	27
Percent	100.00 %	30.37 %	5.19 %	13.33 %	2.22 %	27.41 %	1.48 %	20.00 %

APPENDIX C

Samples of Concordancing

MicroConcord search SW: certainly

90 characters per entry

Sort : 1R/SW unshifted.

1 home was late - which is why she almost **certainly** accepted a lift from the Wests. In April DAY014.TXT
2 e, a coldly calculated charade - almost **certainly**, according to the prosecution, a plot th DAY014.TXT
3 hard think,' Mr Ferguson said. 'She was **certainly** beyond crying.' There would be an appeal DAY008.TXT
4 hen she died, she was pregnant - almost **certainly** carrying Fred's baby. She may have been DAY014.TXT
5 ehind the green front door, that almost **certainly** led to her death at the age of 16, her b GUARD015.TXT
6 iolent sexual desire. Yet he was almost **certainly** not sufficiently aggressive to be a rapi DAY014.TXT
7 t to stress that neither Fred West, and **certainly** not Rose West, has admitted to any other STAR005.TXT
8 ries in the annals of British crime and **certainly** one of the most unusual. So what mental DAY014.TXT
9 re, that was impossible. That is almost **certainly** the reason Rena had to die. Fred had bee DAY014.TXT
10 ne is involved in multiple murders, and **certainly** those that include members of your own f STAR005.TXT
11 control violent emotion. This is almost **certainly** what happened to Fred. Normally quiet an DAY014.TXT

Data from the following files:

DAY008.TXT DAY014.TXT STAR005.TXT GUARD015.TXT

MicroConcord search SW: sexually

90 characters per entry

Sort : IR/SW unshifted.

1 r when he was 12, while his father often **sexually** abused his daughters. Hence the sadist's DAY016.TXT
2 A also told how as a child she had been **sexually** abused by both her father and her brothe TIMES010.TXT
3 here was evidence some were stripped and **sexually** abused but it was not possible to say if GUARD003.TXT
4 ss girls were suspended from beams to be **sexually** abused at will. When they were of no mor STAR010.TXT
5 f six children, and is said to have been **sexually** abused by his mother when he was 12 - sh GUARD020.TXT
6 t but failed to discover they were being **sexually** abused there. Yesterday the jury of four DAY006.TXT
7 of a joke." Mr Leveson said that she had **sexually** abused many young women. "As a result of GUARD011.TXT
8 ke over how the Wests were able to go on **sexually** abusing their own children and torturing DAY006.TXT
9 g her from the beams before whipping and **sexually** abusing her. At her Gloucester home, Ros STAR015.TXT
10 riend that her father used "to touch her **sexually**" and beat her if she complained. She sa TIMES002.TXT
11 am, pulled into a lane, and attacked her **sexually** as she tried to escape. Afterwards, Mrs GUARD027.TXT
12 up. Many had been abused, physically or **sexually**, as children. When they were cut adrift DAY012.TXT
13 s had been drugged. She was then beaten, **sexually** assaulted by Rose and - when Rose left t DAY014.TXT
14 aring the name Rose. Her stepmother also **sexually** assaulted her. But Rose became jealous o DAY014.TXT
15 ing that she was raped by her father and **sexually** assaulted by her stepmother at the age o GUARD021.TXT
16 prosecuting, said Mrs West may have been **sexually** attracted to Ms Robinson, and at first a GUARD014.TXT
17 ion this becomes the only way he can get **sexually** excited. Sexual sadists rarely get their DAY016.TXT
18 Heather resisted attempts to involve her **sexually**. In November 1988, as an indication that GUARD001.TXT
19 pared her for what happened when she was **sexually** initiated by her parents. "It hurt so mu GUARD021.TXT
20 sex and aggression - typically, mothers **sexually** molesting sons, as well as harsh discipl DAY016.TXT
21 ry. Already the Wests were experimenting **sexually**. Next-door neighbour Elizabeth Agius, a GUARD015.TXT
22 of sex fascinated her. She was already a **sexually** precocious girl, despite her babyish app GUARD019.TXT
23 t things they could to turn the other on **sexually**." Psychologically, Fred never grew out o STAR011.TXT
24 e her tender years, Rose was experienced **sexually**. Soon, they were in his caravan. Thus be DAY014.TXT
25 he bisexual whore - serviced clients and **sexually** tortured girls she lured into her evil w STAR010.TXT
26 son suggested that she would do anything **sexually** with anyone, male or female. She replie GUARD010.TXT

Data from the following files:

DAY006.TXT DAY012.TXT DAY014.TXT DAY016.TXT STAR010.TXT
STAR011.TXT STAR015.TXT TIMES002.TXT TIMES010.TXT GUARD001.TXT
GUARD003.TXT GUARD010.TXT GUARD011.TXT GUARD014.TXT GUARD015.TXT
GUARD019.TXT GUARD020.TXT GUARD021.TXT GUARD027.TXT