**See No Evil: The Moors Murders on Screen**

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The Moors Murders are one of, if not the, most high-profile murder cases in Britain in the twentieth century. The murders shocked the nation and have become the benchmark by which other crimes and acts of evil are. In 1966, Ian Brady and Myra Hindley were convicted of the abduction, sexual assault and murder of Lesley Anne Downey (aged 10), John Kilbride (aged 12) and Edward Evans (aged 17). In his summing up, the trial judge, Mr Justine Atkinson, described them, as two sadistic killers of the utmost depravity, with newspaper reports presenting Hindley as the most evil woman in Britain. Four of the victims' bodies were buried on the bleak, unforgiving Saddleworth Moor located just outside of Manchester, England.[1] The photographs of Brady and Hindley taken at the time of their arrests went on to become iconic images.[2] The Moors Murders, therefore, are one of the key stories that have become part of the myth of the city. They are the darker side of the history of the city, and Brady and Hindley are part of a nascent 1960s celebrity culture in the same way as the footballer George Best. This chapter discusses the TV dramatisation of the Moors Murders, *See No Evil* (2006).[3] The two-part original drama was made by Granada TV to mark the 40th anniversary of the end of Brady and Hindley's trail, and it remains the only dramatisation of the case and it was made with the support of victims' relatives. The drama uses the techniques and tropes of the British kitchen sink dramas of the late 1950s and early 1960s, that is, film dramas made about the lives of working people, mainly set in the North

of England. Influenced by the realist approach of the French New Wave, the films marked a radical departure for British cinema, with a focus on the minutiae of ordinary life. In *See No Evil*, the influence of this approach serves to contextualise the case in time, space and place, and avoids the dramatic cliches often found in the dramatisation of true crime. In doing so, it produces a chilling portrait of the killers and their crimes.

**The Moors Murders**

Early in the morning of 7 October 1965, the Police in Hyde, Greater Manchester, received a phone call from a young man, David Smith. Smith told the Police that he had witnessed a murder at 16 Wardle Brook Ave, Hattersley on the night prior. The property was occupied by Smith's sister-in-law, Hindley, and her lover, Brady, and Hindley's grandmother also lived there. That morning, the police visited the address and found the body of Edward Evans, for which they they immediately arrested Brady, followed by Hindley four days later. In 1966, Ian Brady and Myra Hindley were convicted of the abduction, sexual assault and murder of Lesley Anne Downey (10), John Kilbride (12) and Edward Evans (17). Amongst Brady's belongings, the police found a ticket for left luggage at a Manchester train station, and on 15 October 1965, two suitcases belonging to Brady were recovered. The suitcases contained photographs and a tape recording of the torture of Lesley Ann Downey. She had gone missing from a fair on Boxing Day 1964. Her body, and that of John Kilbride, who had also been reported missing in November 1963

after disappearing from Ashton Market, were recovered from the Moors soon after.

At the time, two other children, Pauline Reade (aged 16) and Keith Bennett (aged 12), were also missing from the Manchester area, and it was felt that they, too, had been murdered by Brady and Hindley, something they confessed to in 1985. Pauline Reade was a near neighbour of Hindley's and had gone to school with her sister. In a huge police operation, Hindley and Brady were taken to the Moors to find the missing bodies. Pauline Reade's body was found, but at the time of writing, the body of Keith Bennett's body has still not been found.[4]

The Moors Murders became one of the most famous cases of the 20th century. From their arrest onwards, Brady and Hindley were a fairly constant feature of the case. There are several reasons for this. The photographs taken at Hyde Police Station when Brady and Hindley were charged with the murders have taken on an iconic status such that they are received as modern and symbolic representations of evil. The first is the nature of the crimes themselves. The fact that a woman was involved in the abduction, sexual assault and murder of children was part of the fascination with the crimes.[5] The events took place at the dawn of the age of television and the subsequent expansion in media coverage of such events, yet crime, particularly, violent sexual crimes, as the chapters in this volume illustrate, has always been a staple feature of the news cycle.[6] Brady and Hindley, therefore, were subsumed into the emerging "celebrity culture" of the period. At the time, writers such Hansford Johnson saw the case as representing the dark side of

The Swinging Sixties and modernity.[7] The crimes became symbolic of a loss of community and innocence.

Whilst Brady and Hindley were on remand and awaiting trial, the death penalty was effectively abolished in Britain. If they had been arrested earlier, they would have almost certainly been hanged. Alongside the brutal horror of the murders and the continued search for the bodies of Keith Bennett and Pauline Reade, there have been a series of other astonishing stories that meant the case was never far from the news. These included Hindley's attempt to escape from Holloway prison in 1973, the high profile campaign for parole supported by figures such as the former Labour cabinet minister Lord Longford and David Astor, owner of *The Observer*, and Brady's notorious hunger strike and appearance at a Mental Health Review Tribunal (MHRT) in 2014.[8] Hindley remained in prison until her death in 2002, while Brady was transferred to Ashworth Special Hospital in 1985, and remained a patient there until his death in 2017.

Consequently, the Moors Murders case are an early example of mediatised murder. Brady and Hindley were arrested fifty-five years ago but the impact of their crimes and the coverage of them continues to this day. The features of mediatised murder include a symbiotic relationship between the mass media and serial killing, including, for example, an obsession with the minutiae of the killers' lives, attempts to explain their motivation for the killings, the creation of nicknames for serial killers, which then bring about a kind of dark celebrity status, and the exploitation of the victims' families'

suffering. In addition, it also comprises the newspaper and TV reporting of particular cases which resurface time and again due to trigger events. For instance, the deaths of Hindley in 2002 and Brady in 2017 brought the case back to the front page of UK newspapers, for example. It also spawned a number of biographical works, novels, internet postings or reference to cases in popular music, such as The Smiths' 'Suffer Little Children' (1984), and art, such as Marcus Harvey's controversial painting of Myra Hindley (1995) that was displayed at the Royal Academy of London in 1997. The murders, therefore, have become a subject to be adapted into various cultural products. This raises several ethical and moral issues. We must acknowledge that studying media coverage of the case has become part of the "serial killing industry".[9] Serial killing is a modern phenomenon. Serial killing is planned, and this planning appears to form part of the motivation of the killer. The victims are seen by the killer as simply a means to an end, that end being the creation of the killer's own desires or the fulfilment of them.[10] This, combined with the anonymity of modern life, allows for the creation of the category of the serial killer. In the modern urban "society of strangers ",[11] the serial killer is able to operate in the depersonalised modern environment, preying on strangers. Mass media has a symbiotic relationship with serial killing. Dramas and novels featuring serial killers being hunted down by cops and psychological profilers are a staple feature of the TV schedules and the best seller charts.[12]

There is a morbid fascination with the lives of serial killers and the sites of their crimes. The Jack the Ripper walking tours, for example, are

among the most popular walking tourist attractions in London, drawing in approximately 100,000 people a year. The central feature of these tours are claims to authenticity — both of geographical place and the knowledge of the case by the provider, with several tours led by so called "Ripperologists" who claim to have solved the case and will reveal the "true" identity of the killer at the end of the tour.[13] The modern East End is, of course, nothing like the Whitechapel of the 1880s, and the mystery of who committed the crimes is unlikely to be solved. The focus on the perpetrator(s) thus marginalises the identity and humanity of the victims. In the case of the Whitechapel murders, Hallie Rubenhold's non-fictional work *The Five* (2019) is a counterpoint to the traditional focus on "who was Jack?", presenting a history of the lives of the women that is usually completely ignored.[14] Rubenhold seeks to explain why these women – all of them somebody's daughter, somebody's sister – ended up destitute on the streets of Whitechapel. The author was the subject of online abuse from Ripperologists for challenging the notion that the women were all sex workers.

**Place**

French historian, Pierre Nora, developed the concept of *Lieux de mémoire* as way of exploring the processes that lead to a focus on the memory of physical spaces.[15] He uses the example of the battlefields of Verdun, which came to represent the sacrifices of the French nation during World War I.[16] Inevitably, the creation of this symbolic role means that the reality of the battles at Verdun, the horror, the loss of life, the casualties, and the awful physical

conditions cannot be recreated. Thus, sites where horrific events have taken place have had the horror removed and the sites "adapted" as a tourist destination. Culturally, this is part of a process of developing public spaces where people come to remember the past and honour the fallen. Crime, of course, as our previous reference to the Jack the Ripper tours demonstrates, is inextricably linked to notions of place, but it also occurs in the names that the media gives to serial killers. For example, Peter Sutcliffe was, at some point, named the Yorkshire Ripper by the press. Clearly, this was a reference to Jack the Ripper, given that bodily mutilation and the killing of prostitutes were a feature of both cases, and the reader, it is assumed, will also, therefore, make a link between the nature of the crimes and the perceived status of the victims. To return to Brady and Hindley, their crimes are known as the Moors Murders and they became the Moors Murderers. However, the murders themselves did not necessarily happen in that place. Edward Evans, for instance, was positively killed elsewhere ,and there is insuffcient evidence regarding the exact location of the other two murders for which Brady and Hindley were eventually convicted. Nonetheless, the Moors themselves have become central to the on-going fascination with these brutal crimes and they are a site of memory negotiated through the recall of horrific events.

The *Red Riding* novels of David Peace (1999-2002) have the question why in that time at that place as a central theme.[17] They focus on a series of crimes, including the crimes of Peter Sutcliffe, but they also refer back to the Moors Murders case and expose the misogyny and corruption that formed the cultural backdrop of the hunt for the Yorkshire Ripper. The deindustrialising

city of Leeds of the 1970s, with its abandoned factories and areas of waste ground, is a dystopian site of violence.[18] In Peace's work, the city is presented as a *Lieux de mémoire*, with its focus on space as a place for remembering specific locations but with the horrors of the past removed. It is a place of horror —a *lieux d'horreur*—, a place which is inextricably linked to horrors of the past, where the memory of violence and horror still exists. In the same way, the bleak and isolated Moors have become symbolic representations of the crimes of Brady and Hindley, something we will now explore further with respect to the adaptation of the murders onscreen in *See No Evil*.

**Bricolage**

Before analysing *See No Evil*, we wish to make some brief comments about methodology. *See No Evil* is one dramatised account of the Moors Murders case, but alongside it, there is, as noted, a mountain of true crime, TV, and newspaper reports on the subject. Because of this, most viewers are likely to have some prior knowledge of the case, and this knowledge may well be one of the motivating factors for watching the dramatisation. As researchers, however, we have immersed ourselves in both the academic literature and popular cultural representations of the case. Thus, *See No Evil* was viewed and analysed using the approach of bricolage as a research method, defined as 'the assembly of mythic elements, motifs, allusions, characterizations and other stock materials to form stories'.[19] Wibberley argues that bricolage 'brings together in some form, different sources of data' and that 'the consideration of the process by which bricolage is built – however emergent – is an important

aspect of the overall work'.[20] The blurring and crossing of disciplinary boundaries play an essential part of the bricolage approach.Thus, our understanding of the significance of the case is the result of using several sources over time. The notion of the object of study as culturally inscribed and historically situated is reflected in *See No Evil*.[21]

Bricolage does not recognise that there should be a hierarchy of the significance of texts that need to be observed. Our analysis of *See No Evil* involved the reading of a key text but also formed part of a wider research project examining the ways in which the case had become embedded in British popular culture. This broader research examined texts in psychology, sociology, criminology and penal theory, alongside works of art and fiction. Bricolage is, ultimately, an inclusive not an exclusionary approach. The research considers novels, TV dramas, true crime accounts, Harvey's painting of Hindley, and even a book by Brady himself. Similar to viewers' responses to it, our reading of *See No Evil* is influenced by such broader knowledge. In addition, we read the drama through the prism of our own analysis alongside wider research on serial killing and its representation.[22]

***See No Evil***

The drama was first broadcast to critical acclaim in May 2006, the fortieth anniversary of the sentencing of Brady and Hindley, by which point Hindley had already died. Brady, however, was highly critical of the series, stating that it was largely based on Emlyn Williams non-fiction novel *Beyond Belief: A Chronicle of Murder and Its Detection* (1967), a semi-fictionalised account of the

Moors Murders, which included incidents that the author had fabricated.[23] Given the subject matter and the show's cast, including Maxine Peake as Myra Hindley, it was always likely to attract a large audience. The original episodes were shown over two nights in prime time, with each episode attracting audiences of over 6 million people. It went on to win a BAFTA for Best Drama Serial at the 2007 awards.

*See No Evil* is steeped in a particular version of the North with a focus on working-class solidarity and community. Drawing stylistically on the kitchen sink dramas of the 1960s and the long running soap opera *Coronation Street* (1960-present), it uses a number of nostalgic images of the post-war community, particularly working-class communities.[24] This is partly a function of nostalgia and notions that there was a time when violent crime was not a staple of the media agenda and output. The idea that the community was a safe space and children were free to play in the streets in ways that are now not possible is foregrounded in these cultural products. Whatever the merits of these notions, it would be foolish to deny the strength of their cultural currency. Brady himself pointed this out in his own evidence presented to the MHRT when he said that the case has been 'running longer than Coronation Street'.[25] This was an exaggerated point given the long-running soap began in 1960. In creating a modern day drama, which conjures up a nostalgic image of a particular period, the full horror of the repellent crimes committed by Brady and Hindley are placed in their historic context to represent the fracture that they caused not only to the victims' families but also to the wider community and, indeed, the nation, inflicting a deep wound on the self-image of the

community and unsettling more comforting notions of community solidarity and safety.

In this context, Brady (Sean Harris) is depicted as something of an aloof and mysterious outsider, while Hindley is deeply rooted in the community. Members of the cast had played key roles in other recent key Northern dramas. Harris was the dark and troubled lead singer of Manchester band Joy Division in Michael Winterbottom's film *24 Hour Party People*. When she was cast as Hindley, Peake was fresh from the Manchester urban drama series *Shameless*. Joanne Froggat, who plays Hindley's sister Maureen, was previously known for her work on *Coronation Street*.

The drama opens with a shot of the moors – wild, dark, yet beautiful and overlaid with the sound of a howling wind. The landscape is thus foregrounded even before the narrative begins. However, four captions then appear in sequence over this geographic backdrop:

> This is a true story
> Some scenes have been created for the purposes of dramatisation but what follows is based on extensive research
> Between 1963 and 1965 Ian Brady & Myra Hindley murdered at least five young people
> They buried four of them on them on the moors outside Manchester

These captions function to establish the drama as based in fact, and reminds the audience of the underpinning research informing the adaptation, but it

also functions to foreground the moors as *the* central location in the drama. The film then cuts to a shot of Gorton, Manchester, in the early 1960s, with the images of the cobbled streets providing a frame of reference and the Northern, working-class setting. The changes that the so-called 'Swinging Sixties' are about to bring in are also hinted at via an image of some smoking chimneys undercut by a rock and roll soundtrack elucidating a vibrant urban environment.

This opening scene, however, is followed by a shot of Hindley's sister, Maureen, pushing her baby daughter in a pram on the way to visit Myra at her workplace, and because Hindley came to be seen as a doubly transgressive woman for abducting and killing children, she is conceived of, in the public imagination, as the antithesis of the female archetype of the caring compassionate mother. The initial focus on Maureen, therefore, provides an immediate contrast in the context of family, juxtaposing the wider (and known) image of Hindley as an icon of evil with her role as a family member, both sister and aunt.

All the evidence suggests that, in real-life, Myra was very close to her sister, and the first episode focuses on the relationship between the sisters and with their partners, Ian Brady and David Smith. We see them socialising, including taking trips to the moors. In the first of such scenes, set in Brady and Hindley's house, Peake appears in a black dress with bleach-blonde hair looking strikingly similar to the "classic" Hindley photograph taken at the time of her arrest, an image that has become one of the most recognisable of the twentieth century and whose cultural iconography has come to represent a

particular form of female evil.[26] Further, in these scenes, there is a knowing interplay between Brady and Hindley that hints at a secret or a particular bond between them. The viewers are aware of the real nature of this bond. However, the drama does not overstate the matter, but, rather, frames it subtly as a prelude to the shocking events of part two of the series.

However, within this atmosphere of familial domesticity, including scenes of Myra babysitting and so on, there is a darker undertone. Ian calls Myra 'Hessy', which is a reference to classical pianist Myra Hess. Myra answers 'jawohl', a response which suggests something darker, linked to Ian's obsession with Nazi atrocities. Myra then calls him 'Neddy', a reference to *The Goon Show*, which was a popular UK comedy radio programme at that time. In these scenes, Ian is a brooding presence and there are subtle references to the ways in which Myra has changed since the start of their relationship. For instance, she has become, in some ways, distanced from her family, but remains close to Maureen. Moreover, Ian's strangeness is emphasised by his interest in the works of the Marquis de Sade whose writing he encourages Maureen's husband, David, to read.

The drama then moves to the moors where Ian tells David of his obsession with the area: 'This place owns my soul'. A further atmosphere of foreboding is established by shots of rustling grass and a howling wind, and Brady takes a photo of Hindley smoking, sitting on a rock, an image that some viewers will know as the actual photograph of a grave. Other viewers might be unsure of the meaning behind Brady's remark that the moors own his soul. The plot then moves to the case of Pauline Reade, a girl who lived near Inand Myra

in Gorton. At this point, Pauline had been missing for two years, and viewers with knowledge of the Moors Murders case will know that Brady and Hindley had already abducted and murdered her. In the drama, the next visit to the moors takes place when Myra drives Maureen, Ian and David to the moors in her Mini Traveller. 'You never know when you might need the extra baggage capacity', she tells them. The trip follows the death of the Smiths' daughter from natural causes and, as Ian and David go for a stroll, Myra and Maureen discuss the death surrounded by the darkness of the moors, with Myra stating, 'it's the silence that gets you isn't it?', another revelation that points to events to come.

The next visit to the moors takes place following the Smiths' move to Underwood Court on the Hattersley estate just outside Manchester, near to where Ian and Myra are (now) living in Wardle Brook Avenue. As Ian and David sit on a rock, Ian tells David, 'I don't believe in all that sin and mumbo jumbo', as he takes pictures with a new camera. Again, the drama is recreating here the set of famous photographs from the moors that were significant in the case made against Hindley and Brady *and* have appeared in numerous media reports. In addition, there are elements of the traditional detective narrative at play in the drama here. As the action unfolds, it transpires that the police have made a potential link between the disappearance of Reade, a missing girl from Ancoats (Lesley Ann Downey) and a boy from Longsight (Keith Bennett). In real-life, Detective Chief Inspector Joe Mounsey of Lancashire Police was convinced that there was a link between these cases during the investigation.

In the drama, we see Mounsey, played by George Costigan, battling bureaucratic indifference to continue his investigation.

Onscreen, the relationship between the four main characters evolves as Ian tries to involve David in a scheme to rob a bank, but also on this trip, Ian brings a gun and shoots a sheep just to illustrate his ability to kill, telling David that killing is the ultimate pleasure. He goes on to state that he has killed three or four and has not finished yet, before telling a disbelieving David that 'You stood on the graves', to which David replies, 'Such shit you talk'. Despite David's disbelief, viewers, however, will realise that Ian is telling the truth here.

While the first part of the drama contains elements of the traditional detective story, the second part follows this format more closely. As shown, in the first part, there are hints and clues relating to the dark secrets that lie at the centre of Brady and Hindley's relationship, and they are seen, and also regard themselves, as outsiders. There is nothing explicit that links them to the disappearances of Pauline Reade, John Kilbride, Lesley Anne Downey or Keith Bennett at this point. Indeed, in the first episode, the focus is on the daily lives and the developing relationships of the two couples. There is a brief, chilling scene where Brady sees Mrs Reade, Pauline's mother, looking out from a window. He casually asks Smith if anyone has news of Pauline Reade's whereabouts. Brady, of course, knows (as does the knowing viewer) that he and Hindley have already murdered and buried her body. The focus on the domestic aspects of their lives in the first episode only increases the horror that is revealed in second part of the drama. The most violent scenes in the

whole drama are the events of the evening of 6 October 1965, when Myra takes David over to their house under false pretences where he witnesses Brady murdering Edward Evans with an axe. Hindley looks on; the voyeurism that underscores their relationship is again emphasised. He helps them clean up, acknowledges Hindley's involvement in the crime, and then returns home. The Smiths go to Hyde Police Station the next morning and the plot unfolds amidst all four characters' disbelief and denial. It is the moors, however, that provide the central clues to the case of the missing children, and in searching Ian and Myra's house, the police find pictures of the unsettling location, including the aforementioned (and now infamous) picture of Myra sat on the rock and looking down at what are possibly graves.

Before the murder, there is a scene where Ian is shown discussing a plan with Smith and Hindley to raise money. Ian has an idea that they could go to "Canal St" and meet a businessman of a certain persuasion." Ian would then rob him. The contemporary viewer will recognise this as a reference to a gay man, because Canal Street is at the heart of Manchester's now world-famous Gay Village. The Gay Village did not actually exist in 1965. Brady met Evans in a bar near Oxford Road Station, which is five minutes walk from there. Brady's scheme is based on the assumption that the victim would not report an attack out of fear and embarrassment since, in 1965, a seventeen-year-old young gay man would have been at risk of arrest. What is clear, however, is that Brady and Hindley targeted younger children presumably because they were easier to subdue physically and because Brady had a sexual interest in children. The Evanses challenged Brady's statement that Edward was 'homosexual', and this

has to be seen in the context of the social attitudes of the time, since the Sexual Offences Act 1967 decriminalised homosexual acts in private between two men, with the age of consent being twenty one.

David tells detectives about the trips to the moors. The police realise that because Myra drives and Ian does not, she must have had a role in the movement of the bodies. Four days after Ian is arrested, the police arrest Myra. The officer leading the investigation takes David up to the moors to try and identify the places that the photographs were taken. 'You don't really think there are bodies up here?', asks David. But the discovery of the suitcase in the left luggage locker that contains the pictures and audio tapes of the torture of Lesley Ann Downey, as well as further pictures of Ian and Myra, leads to a search of the moors. Officers and volunteers scour the moors using long sticks to poke the ground looking for human remains, initially searching in the wrong place until further photographs help the police to identify Saddleworth Moor as the possible burial site. These are iconic images recreated for the TV drama from news footage and pictures from the 1960s. These scenes and those which follow, such as the discovery of the bodies of Lesley Ann Downey and John Kilbride, include long tracking shots of the bleak environment and the howling wind, creating an atmosphere of darkness and death.

The final part of *See No Evil* documents the interrogation and trial, and the impact on the lives of the Smiths. The trial uses original news footage showing the crowds of photographers, journalists and members of the public who turned up outside of the courtroom while the interior scenes draw on the works of Williams and Hansford Johnson who were in attendance each day.

Part of the drama of the trial is Myra's attempt to implicate David in the murders and the impact that this has on the Smiths' lives. Despite the fact that he was fully exonerated, the Smiths were shunned by the Hindley family and the local community, suffering attacks in the street. Eventaully their marriage breaks down and, tragically, Maureen died of a brain haemorrage, aged 34. Nonetheless, the closing scene of the drama, however, returns to Saddleworth Moor – it is the last thing we see with a postscript to the story which notes that Pauline Reade's body was finally discovered in 1987 but that Keith Bennett's has still not been recovered.

*Discussion*

In the opening shot of the series, viewers are told that the film was produced after discussions with the families of the victims. This establishes both the authenticity of the drama and is also a statement about the perspective that will be taken i.e. that *See No Evil* seeks to examine the impact of the crimes rather than add to the myriad of psycho biographies of Brady and Hindley. This is unusual in an adaptation of a true crime for the screen as it sets out to avoid the salacious titillation that can be found in other dramatisations of serial killer. It is important that the child murders all take place off screen, and the emphasis in the latter part of the drama on the impact of the crimes on the Smiths acts as a proxy for the suffering of the victims' families. However, there are also poignant scenes which also touch on this in this other ways, such as when Mounsey takes a shoe found on the Moors round to the Kilbrides' house

for identification by the family, and a scene where Edward Evans' mother is seen crying after identifying her son's body.

Using bricolage as a research method has allowed us to read the drama in the context of the wealth of material on the Moors Murders and to recognise the attention to detail and the authenticity of the telling of the story. The interior courtroom scenes, for example, demonstrate Brady and Hindley's awareness of their newly-acquired celebrity status, while the exterior trail scenes illustrate the public spectacle that the trail became and the shock and horror expressed by the local community.[27]

The drama also illustrates the way in which the case has to be considered in the context of the social changes that symbolise the 1960s. These include slum clearances, consumerism and increased car ownership, as well as other symbols of mid-twentieth century modernity, such as cameras and tape recorders. Although the 1960s is usually seen a period of rapid social change, the impact of these changes are still contested. Arthur Marwick, for example, sees the 1960s as a site of cultural revolution and the place where unresolved arguments about society, class, gender, race and sexuality were first debated.[28] The case of the Moors Murders has been subsumed into these debates. For instance, Hansford Johnson, a journalist who attended the trial, saw the crimes as the result of the changes in social attitudes and the loosening of moral structures. One of her key arguments is that Brady's well publicised pornographic and fascist reading materials influenced his actions, and that this indicated that there should be a restriction on mass circulation on certain types of books. She also seemed particularly concerned that the working-class

auto-didact Brady had read de Sade.[29] This analysis was a forerunner of the Thatcherite 1980s, where the ills of modern urban society were blamed on the over-liberal policies and cultural products of the 1960s.

Brady and Hindley's notoriety is also product of modernity. As highlighted in *See No Evil*, their crimes are also a product of 1960s modernity, which included greater to access to consumer goods. Much of the evidence presented in court reflects this. Brady and Hindley's personal photographs, taken and developed at home, including those of Lesley Ann Downey bound and gagged and of the murderers on the Moors, standing on the locations of graves of the victims, were key in the prosecution's case. Hindley drove a car. Receipts from a car hire firm, which corresponded with the dates of the murders, were also part of the case. The tape of Lesley Ann Downey's torture created waves of revulsion. This was a technology that, again, had only just become available. In Hindley's case, the fact that she had a driving license and that she hired the cars used to transport the bodies was crucial to the prosecution's case[30].

Although the modern city represents glamour, certain areas of it were also dark and threatening, areas where a potential serial killer may lurk. Even before the Whitechapel murders, the East End of London was represented as dangerous, hostile territory.[31] The metaphor of the city or the poorest areas of the city as a jungle continues to be a powerful one. The crimes of Brady and Hindley took place during a period of slum clearance; inner city communities were broken up and residents moved to large overspill estates on the edge of Manchester. Brady and Hindley were moved out to Wardle Brook Avenue on

the Hattersley estate. These crimes contributed to the notion that the personal bonds of the community were broken.

The case of the Moors Murders also has a key role to play in the creation of the modern serial killer narrative, despite the fact that the term was not in use when Brady and Hindley were arrested and convicted. The case has become an ongoing reference point—certainly in the UK context—for future crime, making the crimes of Brady and Hindley are used as some sort of benchmark. If killers are in a relationship, then they are almost inevitably compared to the Moors Murderers. There is often an obsessional fascination with both who the dominant partner is and the main instigator of the crimes. The view of the trial judge was clearly that Brady was the main instigator of these crimes and was the embodiment of evil.[32]

Whether real or fictional, the figure of the serial killer has become a stock feature of the hyperreality of modern cultural life; crime drama and detective novels are replete with detectives, aided by psychological profilers, putting the pieces of the puzzle together to capture the latest serial killers. In such representations, the crimes scenes contain evidence and symbols that lead to the apprehension of the perpetrator. These images seep into the reporting of real crimes. But this narrative does not actually square with the reality of modern policing and not in the case of the Moors Murders. Brady and Hindley were not suspected until the Smiths phoned the police after the murder of Edward Evans. The police then went to Wardle Brook Avenue and arrested Brady following the discovery of Edward Evans' body. Similarly, despite the huge amount of police time devoted to the case and extensive media

coverage, Peter Sutcliffe's arrest came about by chance. Sutcliffe was eventually arrested when police on routine patrol in Sheffield came across him in a car with a sex worker. A police check revealed his car had false number plates and found the tools that he had used to commit his crimes nearby.[33] The allure of crime fiction and drama, then, is that it imposes a narrative structure, which includes solving the crimes and, thus, providing a motive for the apparently senseless acts of brutality and the punishment of the guilty.

Alongside this, the dramatic style of *See No Evil* pays homage to the ground-breaking dramas of British cinema in the 1960s. Films of this era were revolutionary not only because of the subject matter and themes explored but also because they focused on the experiences, hopes and lives of working-class characters. *See No Evil* uses tropes associated with this genre to tell a very different tale. It is far removed from the slasher movie / serial killer genre that has become a tired, cliché-ridden genre of late. It uses the moors as a brooding backdrop to the domestic and interior scenes. In taking this approach, it seeks to contextualise horror in the everyday. This is the paradox of the serial killer. Their alleged ordinariness allows them to hide in plain sight in society. Brady and Hindley could not be described as an ordinary couple. In fact, they probably stood out in many ways. However, there is no evidence that anybody suspected them of abduction and murder before their arrest.

Once serial killers are arrested and convicted, then a popular cultural psychobiography is created which reinterprets the significance of events in

their lives up to that point. For example, Brady and Hindley went on a date to see the film *Verdict at Nuremberg* (year), a mainstream Hollywood movie that drew large audiences. *See No Evil* emphasises that it is Brady and Hindley's ordinariness that meant that they were able to commit these crimes without coming under suspicion. In an understated way, the film also emphasises the narcissism and nihilism at the heart of their crimes. Brady thought that his working-class neighbours were inferior, and therefore felt he could take a life because it was as worthless as the sheep he shot to impress David Smith.

***Conclusion***

*See No Evil* tells a well-known story through the eyes of people who suffered greatly because of the crimes of Brady and Hindley. This includes the families of the victims. The drama draws on a number of reliable sources and pays attention to characterisation and the relationships between the key players. This sets it apart from the majority of true crime screen adaptations. In this sense, it goes some way in addressing the moral and ethical issues involved in producing such an adaptation. The drama also highlights the darker side of modernity through Brady and Hindley's status as a reflection of the dark side of the burgeoning 1960s celebrity culture. What the drama brings out in particular are the way in which the reporting of the crimes, their impact on the wider community and the process by which the case became a template for the wayserial killers would be presented to the public in future via the mass media. What's more, the title of the drama itself encompasses the way in which

Brady and Hindley came to symbolise the epitome of evil in the eyes of the public both at the time and, subsequently, up to the reporting of their deaths.

The film's dramatic style, namely mid -twentieth-century kitchen sink drama, as well as its preoccupation with place through its use of a Northern cast reference the fact that the case marks a dark moment in Manchester's history. The drama juxtaposes the ordinary with the extraordinary while the natural setting of the moors provides a stark stage onto which unnatural events play out. By eschewing melodrama and violence in favour of a domestic drama played out against the backdrop of the bleak moors, the film presents a more complex and ultimately more disturbing portrait of the relationship between Brady and Hindley, the crimes and their impact.

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