

TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR JUSTICE

THE RT. HON ROBERT BUCKLAND QC

PETITION FOR MERCY IN THE MATTER OF CHRISTINE MARGARET SLOANE

(DECEASED)

PETITION

1. This is a petition for mercy to the Lord Chancellor and Secretary of State for Justice, the Rt. Hon Robert Buckland QC, respectfully requesting his recommendation to Her Majesty the Queen to exercise the Royal Prerogative of Mercy to grant a posthumous free pardon for Ms Christine Margaret Sloane - known to the world as Christine Keeler (hereafter "Christine") - in respect of her being prosecuted and sentenced, in December 1963, to nine months' imprisonment for perjury, with a concurrent six months for obstructing the course of public justice.

BACKGROUND

2. Christine was born on 22 February 1942 in Uxbridge. Her father Colin left when she was three years old, and she was brought up by her mother Julie in an unheated caravan on wheels, made from two converted old railway carriages, in Wraysbury, Berkshire. There is evidence that she suffered from neglect and malnutrition.¹
3. Her stepfather Edward was brutal, and she was sexually abused repeatedly as a teenager by others when she supplemented her paper round wages by babysitting. (According to her 1989 autobiography, "*I just tried to get away from the brutes as quickly as I could, and wipe their foul saliva from my lips,*" but her stepfather "*presented the worst threat, because he was so close. It took me ages to get to sleep at night, and the only way I managed was to wedge my door shut with a shoe and keep a little knife under my pillow.*" [**PAGINATED BUNDLE: EXHIBIT pages 1 to 3**]).

¹ BBC News. 5 December 2017.

4. At the age of 15, she found work as a model at a dress shop in London, and also undertook jobs as an office junior and as a showroom assistant.
5. At age 17, she was employed as a waitress/bar server (then labelled a 'barmaid') at a restaurant in Baker Street, London W1 and soon after as a performer (then labelled a 'showgirl') at Murray's Cabaret Club in Soho where she met Dr Stephen Ward who introduced her to Mr John Profumo, the Secretary of State for War, with whom she had a brief affair. The "Profumo Affair" in 1963 became a very public and international scandal which Profumo initially denied in Parliament ("*Miss Keeler and I were on friendly terms. There was no impropriety whatsoever ...*"), but it eventually led to his resignation from Government and Parliament following his aforementioned lie to Parliament about the affair (his letter to the Prime Minister stated: "... *by this deception, I have been guilty of a grave misdemeanour ...*").

OVERVIEW

6. The convictions for perjury and obstruction of justice came at the height of the 'Profumo Affair', after Christine was attacked outside 33 Devonshire Street, London W1 by Mr Aloysius "Lucky" Lincoln Gordon (hereafter "Gordon") on 18 April 1963.
7. When giving evidence against Gordon, she denied two further men had been present (Fenton and Camacchio), albeit – as detailed later herein – where the circumstances of the trial meant that her evidence was restricted. She did not lie about being attacked or injured.
8. Notably, the "Daily Express" report on her trial, dated 7 December 1963, included the words: "*Detective Superintendent James Axon told the judge there was no doubt in his mind that Gordon ... did assault Miss Keeler that particular night.*" [EXHIBIT: page 4]. Her denial about the two men was not a lie material to the attack, but she pleaded guilty in December 1963 under inordinate pressure from appalling public events, when public opinion was wholly against her.
9. The charges to which she pleaded guilty were particularised as follows [EXHIBIT: page 5]:

- a. Perjury: This was a charge that on 6 June 1963, at Gordon’s trial, she “*wilfully made a statement material in that trial which she knew to be false or did not believe to be true, to wit that ... no other man had been present with herself in a certain flat ... other than Paula Hamilton-Marshall’s brother.*”
- b. Obstruction of the course of public justice charge: This related to 17 April 1963 – 31 July 1963 and “*concealing from police officers investigating an alleged assault by one Aloysius Lincoln Gordon upon the said Keeler the fact that the said Fenton and one Clarence Raymond Camacchio had been present at the struggle during which the said assault was alleged to have taken place and that ... Fenton had taken part in the said struggle.*”

10. Not every inaccurate statement in court is unlawful. The issue is whether a particular statement is ‘material’. That is a question of law as to whether the statement might have affected the outcome of the proceedings (perjury) or affected the course of justice (obstruction).² The attached evidence demonstrates that whilst Christine did not identify two witnesses to a violent attack upon her, mentioning them would not have affected the outcome of her trial or the trial of Dr Stephen Ward. The attached evidence also suggests her pleas may have been equivocal. As she and her counsel Jeremy Hutchinson QC are both deceased, equivocality cannot be positively established but, for the purposes of this petition, it is open to conclude that she falls into the category of technically or at least morally innocent and thus worthy of pardon.

11. From 1963 she was vilified and suffered lifelong reputational damage, even though she was the victim of violence. Her iconic status was achieved by unjust societal opprobrium and discrimination, to which the conviction contributed, particularly because – shockingly – she was imprisoned despite the Prosecution accepting – via their following words - that she was the victim of an attack by Gordon: “ *... Gordon rushed in ... according to Camacchio, Gordon grabbed Keeler and struck her ... One need not go into the details of that. There was certainly an assault.*” **[EXHIBIT: page 6]**. Moreover, she was imprisoned (i) despite the fact that the two men (whose presence she denied) stated ultimately that they had

² See, for example: R v Lavey (1850) 3 Car & Kir 26 at 30; R v Millward [1985] QB 519, 80 Cr App Rep 280; R v Courtney (1856) 7 Cox CC 111; R v Mullany (1865) Le & Ca 593; R v Tyson (1867) LR 1 CCR 107; Baker [1895] 1 Q.B. 797

witnessed the attack by Gordon, and (ii) despite State and public knowledge of the wider pressures she was under.

12. When Christine was sentenced, the Judge told her: *“I have no doubt at all that you were under pressure, under fear and certainly for some time, under domination in the past ... that pressure of some kind may still have been operating when you were giving your evidence in the trial of this man Gordon.”* [EXHIBIT: page 7]
13. Viewed through a contemporary lens, the treatment of Christine can be readily identified as ‘slut-shaming’, the practice of denigrating a woman for behaviour disapprovingly framed as provocative or promiscuous, while ignoring or excusing the behaviour of associated men. In fact, a headline in “The People” dated 4 August 1963 read: “Christine Keeler is a shameless slut.” [EXHIBIT: page 8]
14. Christine’s case remains perhaps the archetypal example of the destructive force that is the intrusive treatment of women as scandal fodder. The legacy of her treatment has modern parallels. Throughout her life, Christine suffered relentless and voracious media coverage. She was unable to lead a life out of the public eye and survived it as best she could. Nonetheless, she was wrongly framed as scandalous, when in 1963 she had just turned 21, after being abused and used as a teenager. Granting this petition is an opportunity for public recognition and reappraisal of the enormous damage that can be done to women by the State, the media and by abusive individuals.
15. A posthumous pardon is also an opportunity to acknowledge historic discrimination against women and to reduce that continuing legacy for women today.
16. The material in this petition justifies a grant of free pardon. In addition, whilst Christine’s lie was non-material to Gordon’s attack, it is notable that, despite actually lying explicitly and materially to Parliament, the late Mr Profumo’s character was restored. Therefore, it seems only fair and just that Christine’s is, too.
17. Christine died at the age of 75 on 4 December 2017, which was her youngest son Seymour Platt’s 46th birthday. In her last will and testament she asked Seymour to tell her story, which this petition does. To be specific, the last paragraph of her will referred to Seymour,

and ended with the following words: *“It is my wish that he will look after my rights and reputation and do what he can to make sure that the truth is told about events of which I took part during my life.”*

18. An application for a free pardon allows the Secretary of State to consider a range of matters. A grant of mercy is a very wide power which has allowed for consideration of those who are “technically or morally innocent”³ and / or where the outcome was “unjust and discriminatory”.⁴
19. The material herein falls broadly into the following three topics:
 - a. the issue of materiality of lies and relevance to obstruction;
 - b. as the victim of an attack, Christine should not have been prosecuted at all and certainly not sent to prison; and
 - c. recognition of the discriminatory aspects for Christine, who carried the public moral opprobrium for the conduct and downfall of privileged men.
20. It is submitted that, in all the circumstances, once properly understood, Christine is worthy of a posthumous free pardon.

EVIDENCE

21. On 6 December 1963, 21-year-old Christine pleaded guilty to (i) perjury and (ii) obstructing the course of public justice, the particulars of which are set out above. The allegations stemmed from a criminal trial on 5, 6 and 7 June 1963 in respect of the accused, 32-year-old Gordon (born on 6 May 1931, according to the police). During this trial, while giving her evidence, Christine denied the presence of Fenton and Camacchio, who were two other witnesses (besides Ms Paula Hamilton-Marshall) to Gordon’s attack on her.
22. Attached to this petition is a paginated bundle of evidence running to 176 pages, some of which is referred to herein. We also attach victim impact statements, a Timeline and an

³ See detail below.

⁴ See *Turing* approach: BBC Report of the decision of the then Secretary of State Grayling on the Free Pardon for Alan Turing <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/technology-25495315>. It is acknowledged that Turing was an exceptional individual but the Royal Prerogative of Mercy is available for all British subjects, regardless of exceptionality, gender or sexuality.

Annex which contains additional analysis and arguments in support of this petition. In addition, a wide range of sources, including restricted case files retained by The National Archive, the Metropolitan Police, the Director of Public Prosecutions and the Cabinet Office and Lord Denning's Report on the "Profumo Affair" and files relating to it will be available to the Secretary of State.⁵

CHRISTINE ATTACKED BY LUCKY GORDON

Background

23. Christine was attacked by Gordon on 18 April 1963 when she was a young woman. His criminal record, as well as accounts given by his acquaintances, point to a particularly volatile, violent and controlling nature.
24. A police statement dated 9 May 1963 [EXHIBIT: pages 9 - 11] details Gordon's antecedents, including thirteen previous criminal convictions. One of these involved an attack on a woman in Denmark, for which Gordon served a prison sentence. He was deported from Denmark on 30 August 1961. In February 1973, he was again imprisoned for injuring a woman in the back and neck with a screwdriver [EXHIBIT: page 12].
25. Gordon's abusive behaviour became a grim feature of Christine's life in the period prior to his attack on her in April 1963. Below are just some examples from the transcript of her evidence at Gordon's trial.
 - a. Page 15 "*He used to telephone me about five times a day and threaten he would wait in the mews and cut me up.*" [EXHIBIT: page 35].
 - b. Page 17: "*I went to France purely to get away from him ... It was nearly a Court case when he held me up at Dolphin Square, when he found out where I was, with this axe.*" [EXHIBIT: page 38].
 - c. Page 19: "*I knew that I could not get away.*" [EXHIBIT: page 39].
 - d. Page 23: "*He had seen me previously in my car and chased me in my car with some friend of his, and at the red lights I just thoughtlessly went over the lights because he managed to get up to the car. He had taken the number plate down, of*

⁵ It is noted that such material was available for the recent application to the Criminal Cases Review Commission on behalf of Stephen Ward < <https://ccrc.gov.uk/commission-statement-on-its-review-of-the-1963-conviction-of-dr-stephen-ward-deceased/>>

course. He used to wait outside there all the time, and if then he saw the car there, he knew I was there and he waited for me to come out." [EXHIBIT: page 44].

e. Page 26: "*He constantly telephoned Miss Marshall for my whereabouts and threatened all sorts of things.*" [EXHIBIT: page 47].

26. In the following extracts from her 2001 autobiography (written with Douglas Thompson) [EXHIBIT: pages 81 - 90], Christine detailed some of her interactions with Gordon prior to 18 April 1963:

a. "*He had no control. He could go berserk in a moment, for any little reason.*"

b. "*He held the knife to my throat ... [a full account of this rape is provided as part of this exhibit] ... If I told him the truth he would have slashed me, cut my stomach, my throat ... "*

c. "*Lucky had kept me at knife-point and held me for nearly twenty hours. I felt amazed to be alive.*"

d. "*Lucky kept us in the flat for two days, wielding the axe to get his way. He never let up punching and slapping me until I was bruised and covered in fiery red sores ... Lucky was charged with grievous bodily harm and taken into custody ... Lucky's brother telephoned. He pleaded with me ... I decided it was better to let the whole business die out quietly. I rang the police and said I was going to drop the charges.*"

e. "*Lucky appeared from nowhere. He punched me to the ground without any warning.*"

27. All the above relate to events prior to 18 April 1963, the date on which Gordon attacked Christine and for which he was prosecuted. If the legal system at that time had been more sensitive and attuned to the conduct of perpetrators and the effects on victims, the events of 18 April 1963 may never have occurred.

Details of the attack

28. It was the Prosecution case that Christine had been attacked and injured by Gordon at around 12.30am on 18 April 1963, when she attempted to step outside 33 Devonshire Street, London W1, a property in which her friend, Paula Hamilton-Marshall, occupied a first floor flat.

29. Christine gave evidence as follows:

"When I opened the street door, I saw Gordon standing on the pavement about two feet away. I screamed and tried to shut the door, but he forced his way into the hallway.

[EXHIBIT: page 24]

"I did try to rush out into the street although he was holding on to me...He tried to slam the door, the front door, that is, and I kept my hand in between so that he could not close it, and then he punched me." [EXHIBIT: page 30]

30. Miss Hamilton-Marshall gave evidence that she witnessed Gordon's first punch to Christine's face, before rushing back to her flat to call the police. On pages 64 and 65 of the trial transcript is the Judge's Summing-Up:

"Miss Marshall's account of what she saw is that ... Miss Keeler was in front ... When she [Miss Keeler] opened the door, she jumped back and gasped and she, Miss Marshall, saw the defendant jumping at her [Miss Keeler]. He had come in, in the door, and grabbed her arm and said, "I want to talk to you," and she said, "I have got nothing to say." There was a struggle, and Miss Marshall saw the first punch in the face and said, very sensibly you may think, "I am going to get the police." ... So she ran upstairs and telephoned them, and she did not see the defendant again ... " [EXHIBIT: pages 74 - 75]

31. In addition, on 4 May 1963 – during Gordon's committal proceedings at Marlborough Street Magistrates' Court – "The Times" reported as follows:

"Miss Hamilton-Marshall, a secretary, said she saw the first punch ... She heard Miss Keeler scream and the sound of thuds and a scuffle as she [Miss Paula Hamilton-Marshall] ran back upstairs to her flat and telephoned for the police. She had seen Gordon previously. He used to come to the flat and ask for Miss Keeler, and several times he refused to believe that she was not there and insisted on looking round the flat.

Two days before the alleged attack he telephoned at 3am, she said, and asked if she had heard from Christine. He then threatened that if he found out that she knew where

Christine was and was not telling him "we would both be dead". [EXHIBIT: page 91]

32. It is worth stressing that (on page 53 of his trial transcript) Gordon tried to attribute Christine's injuries to a fall on her part. Gordon stated that Christine *"received the injury on the door, falling on top of her case, Sir. She caught her foot on the case, Sir."* The Judge replied: "Is that all you want to tell the jury about the way she received her injuries?" Gordon responded: *"Yes, Sir."* [EXHIBIT: page 65] Asked by the Judge if she tripped over anything, Christine stated there was nothing for her to trip over during her run from Gordon, then through the swing doors and up the staircase. [EXHIBIT: page 55].
33. While questioning Christine (which was conducted in a limited way by the trial judge after Christine had already been cross-examined by Gordon's barrister) [EXHIBIT: page 51], Gordon admitted that he had slapped her. He said, *"I would like to say this: when she suggested this, didn't I slap her?"* [EXHIBIT: page 55]. Gordon went on to say, *"And did I say to her that I was very sorry for her injuries, caused by me slapping her and she ran into the door?"* [EXHIBIT: page 57].

How Gordon knew of Christine's whereabouts

34. It is probable (as explained below) that Stephen Ward told Gordon where he could find Christine on the night of 17/18 April 1963. In her 2001 autobiography, Christine refers on various pages to Ward, from time to time, alerting Gordon to her physical location. EXHIBIT: pages 92 – 94 from the book include these extracts:
- a. *"Lucky Gordon had been given my new whereabouts by Stephen."*
 - b. *"Stephen wanted me out of the way. Permanently. He told Lucky I was still in London."*
 - c. *" ... he [Ward] gave Lucky a sketch he had drawn of me at the cottage at Cliveden and told Lucky I was staying at Paula's in Devonshire Street."*
35. Gordon, at his own trial, on page 52 of the transcript, alleged:
- "It is a more or less put-up thing by Dr Stephen Ward ... he gets his delight from seeing people being aggravated."* [EXHIBIT: page 64]
36. On page 55 of the transcript, Gordon continued with his claim about Ward:

" ... Ward is the man who told me this, that Christine Keeler wanted to see me ... that night." [EXHIBIT: page 67]

Christine's injuries

37. Dr Hughes gave evidence that at around 12:45am on 18 April 1963, he arrived by car at 33 Devonshire Street to examine Christine. His evidence was that Christine's bruises were consistent with the use of deliberate force. Dr Hughes stated: "*I found that she had a half-inch cut above her left eyebrow. There was a one-inch linear bruise above the right cheek bone, and she had a large swelling over her left cheek bone which extended down to the side of her nose. She had a livid mark over her right tenth rib, and she was tender in the stomach and over the left ribs. She had bruising of the left buttock, and I found that she was in a state of extreme nervous tension and extremely excited.*" [EXHIBIT: page 58]

Christine's evidence in respect of Fenton and Camacchio

38. Christine, Paula Hamilton-Marshall and the housekeeper, Mrs Olive Brooker, denied at Gordon's trial that two men (both friends of Miss Hamilton-Marshall [EXHIBIT: page 95]) – Mr Rudolph "Truello" Fenton and Mr Clarence Raymond "Pete" Camacchio – were also present (and thereby, witnesses) at the time of the attack on Christine by Gordon. Both Fenton and Camacchio ultimately accepted that they had seen Gordon attack Christine on the night in question.

39. Notably, Christine's initial statement dated 18 April 1963 did say that another man had been present, in addition to Gordon: "*I screamed and a man came to the door. I managed to get away and ran upstairs.*" [EXHIBIT: page 13]. It seems that she was inhibited from giving a full description at trial, partly because both married men, Fenton and Camacchio, had pressurised her not to mention them, and partly because the Judge limited her evidence to control a trial where Gordon, the perpetrator, became self-represented after he discharged his barrister.

40. The modern law prevents abusers from cross-examining their victims. In this trial, Gordon in fact discharged his barrister, Mr St Ville, after cross-examination of Christine had already finished, and the Judge initially told Gordon, as per page 29 of the trial transcript:

“ ... you will not be allowed to cross-examine the last witness [ie Christine], whose evidence has been finished.”

41. However, following an adjournment, the Judge changed his position and stated (as per page 30 of the trial transcript) **[EXHIBIT: page 51]** that Gordon could ask questions of Christine (ie effectively a second cross-examination) by stating his questions to the Judge, who in turn would ask them of Christine.

42. Even before Gordon had discharged his barrister, it is clear that the trial Judge had tried to manage some of the questioning:

THE COMMISSIONER: *Let the witness finish. She was explaining that the reason she wrote was a certain amount of pressure. Would you like to go on and tell us about that?*

KEELER: *Not really, because it does involve a friend of mine who –*

THE COMMISSIONER: *Very well; it is only for this, Miss Keeler: if you want to add to what you are saying before Counsel puts another question, you are entitled to explain. [EXHIBIT: page 40]*

43. The fact that, on page 20 of the trial transcript, the Judge allowed Christine to refrain from mentioning something about a friend may have led Christine to feel she was not required after all to mention Fenton and Camacchio when asked about them later in the course of her testimony. In any event, at Gordon’s trial, Christine did credit *"some people [who] walked by the front door"* as enabling her to escape from additional kicking by Gordon. **[EXHIBIT: page 31]**

44. Crucially, Christine was under pressure from Fenton and Camacchio not to mention them. They had obtained “a promise” from her not to name them **[EXHIBIT: pages 96 - 97]**. Given the judicial approach, it may well be that in the end her ‘lie’ was really the result of the exercise of case management by the Judge in a difficult trial. In any event, given Gordon’s ongoing coercive control and other exploitation, it is hardly surprising that Christine viewed Fenton and Camacchio as wholly incidental and non-material.

45. In her 1989 autobiography, Christine stated: "*On hearing that the police were coming, they [Fenton and Camacchio] were keen to be off.*" [EXHIBIT: pages 98 - 99]: As she understood it, one of the gentlemen was on bail and awaiting trial, and the other individual was worried that if he got mixed up in any trouble, he would lose his flat. He had many children and it wasn't worth the risk. This "other individual" is doubtless a reference to Fenton. Christine also cited the fear that Fenton and/or Camacchio might have received racist treatment from the police.
46. Fenton ultimately gave a statement to the police in 1963, stating: "*..the scandal would have killed my wife who was going to have a major operation somewhere around April 1963 ... She was already in hospital, and that is the reason I said I was not there.*" [EXHIBIT: page 100]. Fenton continued to deny his 17/18 April presence until after 30 July 1963, the date on which Gordon's conviction was quashed. Later, his counsel said in Court on 9 December 1963: "*Fenton always felt that Gordon had been rightly convicted and he did not consider he could help the police in their inquiries by saying he was a witness to the attack on Keeler.*" [EXHIBIT: page 101] Fenton's counsel also stated, on the same day, that a prime reason why Fenton did not tell the truth for so long was "*because he did not want his family to know of his association with Miss Keeler.*" [EXHIBIT: pages 163 and 101] Christine paid a huge price due to Fenton's entirely obstructionist policy of self-protection/self-preservation.
47. Whilst Christine knew that Fenton and Camacchio were present during Gordon's attack, she also knew they would never be willing witnesses. Camacchio's attitude was summed up in an interview he gave "The People" on 7 July 1963: "*I don't want to know anything about the Christine Keeler business ... I just don't want to get involved.*" [EXHIBIT: page 102].
48. Journalist Peter Earle would later write this about Christine's committal proceedings: "*Camacchio gives evidence. He says he was at the flat ... but didn't like to say so because he was worried about his wife hearing of it.*" [EXHIBIT: page 103]
49. Later, Camacchio very clearly did not exonerate Gordon. On 7 December 1963 "The Daily Telegraph" reported Camacchio's **ultimate** testimony, namely that Gordon grabbed

Christine and struck her on 18 April 1963. We will refer to this in more detail later in this petition.

50. As for Fenton, his counsel stated on 9 December 1963: "*Fenton felt that he was entitled to lie to the police and take any reasonable steps to protect his family.*" [EXHIBIT: page 104] Clearly, this included pressuring Christine to omit the presence of himself and Camacchio.
51. It is right to say that the obstruction of justice charge against Christine referred to "*divers days unknown between the 17th day of April 1963 and the 31st day of July 1963 ...*" This includes when she testified on 22 July 1963 at the trial of Stephen Ward. During that trial it was put to her by counsel for the defence that she had lied about who assaulted her, which she denied. It was also suggested that her injuries were caused by John Hamilton-Marshall, a suggestion she described as "nonsense" [EXHIBIT: pages 105 and 106]. She did expressly deny the presence of Camacchio and Fenton when it was suggested Gordon had wished to call them as witnesses. A significant injustice suffered by Christine was the credence given by some to Hamilton-Marshall's lies.
52. It is probable that, at the Ward trial, Christine continued to deny Fenton and Camacchio's presence due to fear of the consequences from them and for them. This does not alter the fact that she was the victim of Gordon's violence, and she did not obstruct the trial of Gordon or Ward on the material issues of violence and alleged prostitution respectively.
53. In her 1989 autobiography, Christine recalls a conversation she had with Camacchio some time after 7 June 1963, presumably in mid-July 1963. As per EXHIBIT: page 107, she told Camacchio: "*... you asked me not to mention your names. And I risked my own neck by not having you there as a witness to back me up in court.*"
54. It should be borne in mind that Christine was only 21 years old, and she was dealing with men who were (a) much older than her and/or (b) already convicted of crimes or facing criminal charges. Aside from Gordon (aged 32); Mr Profumo (aged 48 at the time of Gordon's trial), Ward (aged 50 at the time of Gordon's trial), Fenton was aged 39 [EXHIBIT: page 108] and Camacchio, 34. There is every reason to therefore conclude that Christine was out of her depth and in fear (particularly of the criminals Fenton and

Camacchio [EXHIBIT: pages 109 and 163]) and she plainly did not have the sort of victim support that would be available today.

55. There was no benefit to Christine in denying the presence of Fenton and Camacchio. They both were present and saw her attacked by Gordon. It was not her fault that (a) they did not come forward, willingly or timeously, to speak the truth and (b) they also pressured her to deny their presence. (In this regard, it should be remembered that one of Fenton's seven previous sentences was 12 months' imprisonment for causing grievous bodily harm by stabbing.) In any event, from her perspective, it is not who was there that was important, but the fact that she was attacked. In her 21-year-old view, it was surely sufficient that Paula Hamilton-Marshall had seen the attack. In her 1989 autobiography, she explained her mind-set after the 18 April 1963 attack: "*I would only have involved them [Fenton and Camacchio] if I thought their evidence was needed ...*" [EXHIBIT: page 110]
56. Accordingly, there was no malice or bad faith by Christine. She instinctively and immediately believed that Fenton and Camacchio were non-material, given that they could only be additionally corroborative. Both men were also of bad character. Christine was not intentionally seeking to obstruct justice – and did not obstruct justice - when she denied their presence. An often-overlooked important point is that from the outset, Christine gave a statement that admitted another man had been present at the time of Gordon's attack, ie in addition to Gordon.
57. It is correct that Gordon told the trial Judge that Fenton and Camacchio "*were present at the flat when this incident took place,*" [EXHIBIT: page 66] but he did not assert that they would support his account or prove him to be innocent.
58. Page 54 of the trial transcript shows that the Judge asked Gordon if arrangements had been made vis-à-vis any of the witnesses which Gordon wanted to be present. Gordon replied: "*The only arrangements I have made is with my solicitor, and he opposes it, Sir..*" [EXHIBIT: page 66].
59. In his Summing-Up, the trial Judge commented (page 64) [EXHIBIT: page 74]: "*although this defendant had, at one time, a solicitor, no effort was made to get Camacchio and Fenton to come to Court..*". This reveals that Gordon's own legal representatives saw no

value to Gordon if Fenton and Camacchio testified about the night of the attack – this makes perfect sense, given that both Fenton and Camacchio ultimately confirmed that they saw the attack by Gordon take place. It may be that Gordon believed Fenton and Camacchio might lie on his behalf, especially as he considered that Camacchio, whom he had known since 1956, was a “social friend” [EXHIBIT: page 111]. Notably, the police objected to Gordon receiving bail because they believed that witnesses would be intimidated [EXHIBIT: page 112].

60. Accordingly, Christine had no “grand plan” to try to subvert justice and, in all the circumstances, it is submitted that she should never have been prosecuted for denying the presence of two additional support witnesses.

Gordon’s apology and character

61. Pages 34 and 36 of the trial transcript show Gordon apologising: *“And did I say to her that I was very sorry for her injuries, caused by me slapping her and she ran into the door?”* [EXHIBIT: pages 55 and 57]

62. Gordon was of bad character with a propensity for serious violence against women. In addition to the matters set out above, at Christine’s December 1963 perjury trial, her barrister Mr Hutchinson QC submitted that Christine met Gordon in 1961, when *“he had just come back from Denmark, where he had served a term of imprisonment for the attempted murder of a girl. He was found guilty of wounding her with a pen-knife in the stomach because this girl of 19 had jilted him, and he was deported back to this country. She did not know.”* [EXHIBIT: page 113]

63. The attack by Gordon followed conduct towards Christine which included stalking, harassment, violence and sexual violence, including multiple rapes at knifepoint and an axe attack, all prior to 17/18 April 1963:

- a. The “Daily Telegraph” reported on 7 December 1963: *“Cross-examined by MR HUTCHINSON, Supt. Axon agreed that for a fairly long period before the incident ... Keeler had been in real fear of Gordon ... Police were called to Keeler’s flat on several occasions after approaches by Gordon. When she gave*

evidence at an Old Bailey hearing, there was another scene in which Gordon had to be restrained by police." [EXHIBIT: page 114] Similarly, and equally significantly, the "Evening Standard" on 6 December 1963 reported that: "*Earlier, Mr Axon agreed with various points put by Mr Hutchinson to the effect that there was no doubt an assault did take place on Miss Keeler by Gordon and that on various occasions the police had been called as a result of Gordon's approaches to Miss Keeler over the period before this actual assault. He [Axon] gave five dates on which the police had been called between March 1962 and February of this year.*" [EXHIBIT: page 113].

- b. Furthermore, "The Times" on 7 December 1963 reported that Detective Superintendent James Axon "*agreed that last April Keeler was in real fear of Gordon. There was no doubt he assaulted her on the night of April 17. Before that there had been a number of other assaults on her by Gordon ...*" [EXHIBIT: page 116]
- c. In an incident outside the Old Bailey on 1 April 1963, when Gordon tried to rush towards Christine, it took "*Five constables*" to restrain him. [EXHIBIT: pages 117 – 119] His conduct shows evidence of harassment, stalking, coercion, violence and sexual abuse, and in 1961-1963 Christine was not given the legal protection which she deserved.

Verdict and sentence of Gordon

- 64. The Jury's verdict, after less than 15 minutes, on 7 June 1963 was that Gordon was guilty of causing actual bodily harm to Christine, contrary to section 47 of the *Offences Against the Person Act 1861*. He was found to have assaulted her and to be the cause of her injuries.
- 65. On 7 June 1963, the trial Judge – Commissioner Sir Ernest Goodman Roberts QC - in passing sentence, said: "*I am satisfied that you have terrorised Miss Keeler over a period of time ... She was very frightened of you ... You have a terrible record.*" [EXHIBIT: page 80]

Attempt by Christine to correct her evidence

66. At the end of the Court hearing on 7 June 1963, after Gordon was sentenced, Christine immediately sought out the police, of her own volition, in a bid to be transparent with them about Fenton and Camacchio, given that Gordon had named them during the trial proceedings.
67. In her 2001 autobiography, Christine wrote **[EXHIBIT: page 120]** *"...I approached [Detective Sergeant] Burrows and [Chief Inspector] Herbert and said: "About those people present, I-" ... Herbert stopped me in my tracks: "Don't worry about that, Christine. Lucky is a very dangerous man." He assured me ... there was nothing for me to be concerned about."*
68. Christine was naïve, but definitely not blameworthy. Given that the police considered Fenton and Camacchio's presence to be non-material to the attack, it is hardly surprising that Christine, a layperson, perceived the matter in the same way. Importantly, in her 2001 autobiography, Christine says that, at first, Fenton and Camacchio were simply witnesses who watched Gordon's attack on her, *"stunned by the sudden savagery of the moment. Finally, they acted and pulled Lucky off me ... "* **[EXHIBIT: page 121]**

GORDON'S APPEAL

69. After his conviction, Gordon successfully appealed on 30 July 1963, on the basis that Fenton and Camacchio had not testified at his trial. The Prosecution (in respect of Gordon) did not oppose his appeal, even though there was no dispute Christine was attacked by Gordon, a fact admitted by the Prosecution (in respect of Christine) at her perjury trial. The decision to prosecute Christine for lying about who was present can only be considered as remarkable. A competent investigation would have revealed what is set out in this petition, that both Fenton and Camacchio were witnesses to her being attacked by Gordon. The fact that cannot be overstressed is that Fenton and Camacchio ultimately stated that they had both been present on 18 April 1963, and each stated that they had witnessed the 18 April 12.30 am attack by Gordon on Christine.

70. The Court of Criminal Appeal took the unusual step of allowing the appeal whilst acknowledging Christine may well have been telling the truth: The Lord Chief Justice stated that Christine "*may well have been speaking the truth*". He emphasised: "*... the Court is not holding that the complainant's evidence is untruthful ...*" **{EXHIBIT: page 123}**

71. With hindsight, it is, at the very least, unfortunate that the Prosecution did not oppose the appeal, because Fenton and Camacchio ultimately confirmed that they both had witnessed Gordon's attack on Christine. Lord Denning, in paragraph 227 of his report, stated: "*the Court of Criminal Appeal allowed the appeal on the ground that there were further statements (they were statements of the two witnesses whom Gordon wished to call) which might have led the jury to have reasonable doubt.*" **[EXHIBIT: page 124]** But if Fenton and Camacchio had been present at Gordon's trial, *and they had told the truth there*, they would simply have been two additional voices, providing supplementary confirmation at that trial of the actual bodily harm perpetrated by Gordon upon Christine at 12:30am on 18 April 1963.

CONDUCT OF OTHERS IN LEAD UP TO GORDON'S APPEAL AND CHRISTINE'S PROSECUTION

72. Gordon's appeal was against a difficult background where various men lied about Christine's conduct.

Threats from Ward's friend Paul Mann:

73. According to Christine's 1989 autobiography, Ward's friend Paul Mann indirectly sent her a highly threatening message after Ward's committal proceedings (ie after 3 July 1963, but before 22 July 1963): "*... if you don't put the blame on the police, he'll [Ward] get you as far as the Lucky Gordon case is concerned.*" **[EXHIBIT: page 125]**

74. Christine recalls: "*There was something even shadier about Paul these days, and I didn't trust him.*" **[EXHIBIT: page 125]** According to her 2001 autobiography, Mann was a bridge-playing friend of Ward's from the Connaught Club **[EXHIBIT: page 126]**. Indeed, Mann seemed to be willing to go to great lengths to defend Ward's reputation, even alleging

at one point that Fenton had told him there was no 18 April attack by Gordon on Christine. However, as stated elsewhere in this petition, Fenton stated that, on the night in question, Gordon hit Christine three times and when she fell to the ground, Gordon kicked her.

Lies by John Hamilton-Marshall, a friend of Ward and Gordon

75. Around the time of the above-mentioned threat, Ward's friend John Hamilton-Marshall (at some point between 6-10 July 1963) went to the police to falsely claim responsibility for causing all Christine's injuries [EXHIBIT: pages 127, 128 and 143]. He was lying. This was approximately 12 days before Ward's trial commenced. This was a deliberate attempt by John Hamilton-Marshall to discredit Christine by untruthful means, in the knowledge that she was about to be a principal witness at Ward's trial, and – because John Hamilton-Marshall was a friend of Gordon as well (please see below) – John Hamilton-Marshall appears to have been assisting Gordon, too.
76. Moreover, John Hamilton-Marshall only made his statement to the police after Christine's exact injuries had been disclosed during Gordon's June 1963 trial and had been reported by the media. In other words, when he came forward to allege he had caused all Christine's injuries, the extent and details of all those injuries were already in the public domain and known by everyone.
77. Furthermore, John Hamilton-Marshall's claims lack any credibility, given that he only gave his version of events at Christine's committal proceedings on 2 October 1963 after Mr Buzzard, prosecuting Christine *et al*, announced an "immunity pledge", stating: "*I am authorised to say on behalf of the Director of Public Prosecutions that he will institute no proceedings against this man [John Hamilton-Marshall], and that if any proceedings were taken against him, he would intervene to stop them.*" [EXHIBIT: page 129]
78. Accordingly, John Hamilton-Marshall had a *carte blanche* to say anything, and without any fear of self-incrimination. He alleged that, inside the 33 Devonshire Street flat on the evening of 17 April 1963, he hit Christine with his fist once or twice in her stomach; aimed to kick her backside but connected with her thighs, hips and legs, and – via a punch - caused a split eyebrow which bled. He stated he did not kick above the waist. [EXHIBIT: page 130]. Given that he admitted his sister Paula and Mrs Brooker were both also present and

actively intervening (“*I was being pulled off by Paula and Mrs Brooker*”) [EXHIBIT: page 143], it is extremely hard to believe anything more occurred than, at most, a split eyebrow.

79. Significantly, John Hamilton-Marshall was a friend of both Ward and Gordon. The “Daily Mirror”, on 31 July 1963, reported the following about Gordon’s arrival at his solicitor’s office after his 30 July acquittal: “*Several friends were also there – including John Hamilton-Marshall ...*” [EXHIBIT: page 131] Additionally, photographic evidence exists of John Hamilton-Marshall and Gordon smiling and having a drink together after Gordon’s successful appeal [EXHIBIT: pages 132 - 133]

80. However, on 6 December 1963, Mr John Buzzard, for the Prosecution, accepted about John Hamilton-Marshall that: “*There was no corroboration from an untainted witness of his evidence that one or more injuries to Keeler were caused by him and not by Gordon.*” [EXHIBIT: page 134].

81. It is noteworthy that John Hamilton-Marshall was of bad character, with a string of crimes to his name (mostly offences of dishonesty) between 1956–1961 [EXHIBIT: page 135]. It is therefore impossible to attach any evidential weight to any of his claims, and the committal proceedings gave him the perfect forum to make unsubstantiated false assertions, such as the wrong suggestion that Fenton was Christine’s boyfriend as at 17 April 1963.

82. At Ward’s trial, Christine said John Hamilton-Marshall had approached her, seeking money, saying that he would otherwise say he had assaulted her [EXHIBIT: page 106]. Christine rejected these demands. (Sadly, given the widespread societal acceptance of violence against women and girls, it seems she was habituated to physical and sexual violence, including minimising what John Hamilton-Marshall had done.) Furthermore, Hamilton-Marshall’s lies were used to wrongly discredit her when she was indeed attacked by Gordon.

83. It may well be that John Hamilton-Marshall believed discrediting Christine would assist in his friend Ward’s trial. A police statement refers to “*the efforts made by Ward prior to his arrest to influence persons being interviewed by Police.*” [EXHIBIT: pages 136 - 137]. After Christine was convicted, John Hamilton-Marshall in fact admitted: “*I did it for*

Stephen Ward. Paula was for Christine and I was for Stephen. But it all seems rather pointless now." [EXHIBIT: page 138]

84. Christine stated in her 1989 autobiography that she did indeed have a row at Paula's flat on 17 April 1963 with John Hamilton-Marshall, whereby "*I slapped his face and, hitting back at me, he cut my eye.*" [EXHIBIT: page 139]. In her 2001 autobiography, she says that the 17 April 1963 row between her and John Hamilton-Marshall "*got quite physical*", but nothing like the 18 April 1963 attack by Gordon shortly thereafter, when Gordon "*went for me ... shoving me back into the apartment building ... he punched ... then he kicked me all over ...*" [EXHIBIT: page 121]. Dr Hughes had confirmed the bruises were consistent with Christine being kicked [EXHIBIT: page 58], but John Hamilton-Marshall could not have been the cause in this regard, as he stated his alleged kicks were "*not very heavy*" [EXHIBIT: page 143]

85. Suggestions to this day that John Hamilton-Marshall was responsible for her injuries and she was not attacked by Gordon, we submit, are wholly untenable. At most, John Hamilton-Marshall caused a separate cut to Christine's eye and this does not alter Gordon's confession in respect of what Gordon did, as stated by him at his own trial. All it does is further highlight Christine's vulnerability to violence and assault and degrading treatment by men who gave her no dignity nor respect, matters which - had they been properly considered - should have led to a decision not to prosecute her at all.

Lies by Ward's friend Robin Drury

86. On 4 October 1963 – two months after Dr Ward's death on 3 August 1963 – Christine's former business manager, Robin Drury, alleged in Court that Christine had said on a tape (the so-called Drury tape) that Gordon did not hit her on 18 April 1963. Drury was lying. Mr Hutchinson QC posed a key question to Detective Superintendent Axon: "*It is correct that in that tape recording, Keeler insists that whatever may have been the position about these other men [Fenton and Camacchio] being there, there was no doubt that she was assaulted by Gordon?*" Axon replied: "*That is correct.*" [EXHIBIT: page 141]

87. The Drury tape did not in fact negate the fact that Gordon inflicted actual bodily harm on Christine on 18 April 1963, but it became well known and wrongly added to the destruction of Christine's reputation.

FENTON AND CAMACCHIO ADMIT WITNESSING GORDON'S ATTACK ON CHRISTINE

88. Both Fenton and Camacchio had in fact witnessed the attack on Christine by Gordon: "The Daily Express" on 3 October 1963 included the words:

" ... after Gordon was freed by the Appeal Court, Fenton admitted to the police that he was at the flat on April 17. But he insisted that Gordon hit Christine Keeler three times and when she fell to the ground Gordon kicked her." [EXHIBIT: page 144]

89. "The Times" on 4 October 1963 included this report of what Camacchio said:

"We went downstairs, Miss Keeler in front. Fenton and I followed and Miss Marshall was behind. Miss Keeler opened the door and 'Lucky' Gordon rushed in. Miss Keeler screamed. He stayed there and said: "I want to talk to you." Keeler had then said: "I do not want to talk to you," or something like that. Gordon grabbed Miss Keeler by the arm ... They struggled and fell to the floor ... Mr Camacchio said that Keeler crawled upstairs ... " [EXHIBIT: page 145]

90. It seems that Camacchio left it very late to tell the full truth of what happened to Christine. Finally, "The Daily Telegraph" report on 7 December 1963 included the words:

"according to Camacchio, Gordon grabbed Keeler and struck her. Fenton punched and grabbed him [Gordon] and he and Keeler were on the ground...Finally, Keeler got clear and ran upstairs. Gordon went after, but was caught and held back by Fenton.." [EXHIBIT: page 146]

91. It must have been awful for Christine. The media barely mentioned that Fenton and Camacchio had seen the Gordon attack. These absolutely crucial references in the "Daily Express" and "The Daily Telegraph" are not prominent. The atmosphere at the time preferred to focus on the denigration of Christine, rather than on the fact that the so-called 'missing' witnesses both confirmed, ultimately, that Gordon attacked Christine.

PROSECUTION AND SENTENCING OF CHRISTINE

Decision affected by the discriminatory labelling of Christine as a “prostitute” (to use the 1963 label)

92. Ward was prosecuted for living on the earnings of a prostitute contrary to section 30 of the *Sexual Offences Act 1956*. On 1 April 1963, the police started an investigation into Ward [EXHIBIT: page 147], and he was arrested on 8 June 1963 and denied bail [EXHIBIT: page 147]. After his committal proceedings, Ward was released on bail, on 3 July 1963 [EXHIBIT: page 147].
93. In Ward’s trial, Christine denied that she was a “prostitute”, but was ignored. The prevailing trope at the time was that receiving occasional, even small sums of money (whether that be willingly or in an unsolicited manner) – and even if it occurred in the context of an ongoing relationship - made her immoral, which in turn played into the political scandal of the time.
94. The jury in Ward’s trial rejected her above-mentioned denial and convicted Ward, but there is significant and lingering doubt about the course of those proceedings and the result. In her 1989 autobiography, Christine wrote about this entire subject: “*The police had twisted my evidence, but I had been too exhausted to make a fuss about changing it.*” [EXHIBIT: page 148]
95. Lord Denning accepted that Ward “*seemed to control*” Christine [EXHIBIT: page 149] and her barrister, Mr Jeremy Hutchinson QC, stated: “*for four years, this girl [Christine] was totally under [Stephen] Ward’s domination. She learns what she has to learn about human standards and approach to life from him. Dr Ward was on his own admission a man without morals. What he lacked in morals he made up for in charm.*” [EXHIBIT: page 150]
96. The categorisation of Christine (as immoral) plainly and wrongly fed into the decision to prosecute her for perjury. The public reaction to the Ward trial - and the subsequent decision to arrest Christine for alleged perjury one month later - was unjustified, whipped up by the press and against a background of political scandal, meaning the decision to

prosecute her did not consider the discriminatory aspects, nor her status as a victim of violence.

97. All of this said, it is submitted that the consideration of this petition should not be approached as a contest as between Ward's case and Christine's reputation. That was precisely the problem at the time. The correct approach is that when considered independently, even if some issues may be lost in time, she is worthy of a pardon as a young woman severely wronged by the State, the media and public opinion.

Christine's plea

98. Christine pleaded guilty to (i) perjury and (ii) obstructing the course of public justice on the basis that she had denied the presence of Fenton and Camacchio, in our view at their oppressive request. She was represented by Mr Jeremy Hutchinson QC. In mitigation, he told the Court: "*Keeler has said to me from the start: "I know I have done wrong and I know I must face it." That has been her attitude.*" [EXHIBIT: page 151.]. He accepted she had "done wrong", but he did not say she admitted the offences, which at least suggests there was a grave question mark over what materiality or relevance, if any, attached to her denials. Mr Hutchinson also expressed his concern at Christine's weariness. Christine pleaded guilty under such inordinate pressure that it may be that her plea was equivocal, although she is no longer here to confirm that in evidence.

99. Decades later, in her 2001 autobiography, Christine still gave her own erroneous layperson's view, adjudging therein, without self-pity: "*I lied in court. I committed perjury.*" These were the final two sentences about Gordon's 5 – 7 June 1963 trial, where Christine stated:

"He [Gordon] pleaded not guilty, at which I had to smile for I could still feel his punches, the actual bodily harm ... I had made a promise to Paula's two friends who had hauled Lucky off me that I would not implicate them, so when I was asked whether I knew two men called Rudolph 'Truello' Fenton and Clarence Camacchio, I said I did not." [EXHIBIT: pages 152 - 153]

100. Sadly a victim of violence and abuse and public vilification, Christine felt that custody would be her sanctuary, a temporary haven. In her 1989 autobiography, she recalled what she had been thinking at that time: *"I would be safe from Lucky, now that he was free again. I would be safe from the sharks, the blackmailers and above all from the public."* [EXHIBIT: page 154] She was in an intolerable situation. In her 2001 autobiography, Christine recalls:

"The fear became unbearable ... It was slowly driving me mad ... I was scared. Scared to answer the 'phone, or walk out of the front door. I was scared to go out in the street, not knowing if he'd [i.e. Gordon would] jump on me ... " [EXHIBIT: page 155]

101. Her circumstances were exceptional and should have prevented any prosecution. There was no public interest in prosecuting a victim of an attack or further shaming or blaming her for the political fall-out at the time.

102. She had been vilified in the press and by the public. In her 2001 autobiography, Christine recalled, in particular, the Ward trial: *"I knew the public hated me. It was obvious from the force with which they were throwing eggs at me – and screaming at me – their shouts coming out as one, synchronized into a piercing howl. There was a scrum when I arrived for the trial with policemen being shoved around by people trying to get a look at me."* [EXHIBIT: page 156]

103. In his book "The Profumo Affair", Iain Crawford reproduced an example of the type of message which was being published in newspapers in about June 1963 via readers' letters columns: *"Sir, it is absolutely wrong to continue the "Miss" with Keeler. "Miss" is a title of courtesy for a young girl or maiden lady. Do not continue to apply this word to Keeler because it would be very unjust and unfair to millions of decent girls."* [EXHIBIT: pages 157 - 158]

104. To give another example, one media report during the Ward trial stated that eggs were thrown at Christine during the lunch adjournment *"from a crowd which surged forward, shouting insults and catcalls ... Police linked arms to push the crowd back."* [EXHIBIT: page 159]

Sentence and imprisonment

105. Christine was sentenced on 6 December 1963 to nine months' imprisonment, that being nine months for perjury with a concurrent six months for obstructing the course of justice. The Recorder, Sir Anthony Hawke, said to Christine:

"I take into consideration that you have been under fear, and certainly for some time, under domination in the past, which may not have been to your best advantage. That pressure may have been operating when you gave evidence at Gordon's trial." [EXHIBIT: page 160]

106. It was an extraordinary punishment for a woman where there was no dispute that she was the victim of an attack by Gordon, and it disregarded the fact that not every lie is perjury. Indeed, Christine's denial of Fenton and Camacchio was for entirely innocent reasons, given that the denials were (i) coerced, and (ii) not made to benefit herself, and (iii) immaterial to the fact that Gordon had committed a crime when he attacked her and (iv) immaterial to the Ward trial issues.

107. When she went to prison, Christine was only 21 years old and had no prior convictions. After her release, she had no further contact with the criminal justice system. The result was that Christine, as a convicted person, suffered a substantial injustice for the remaining 54 years of her life.

108. Both Paula Hamilton-Marshall (23 years old) and Mrs Brooker (56 years old) gave the same guilty pleas as Christine; i.e. to the same two charges. Paula Hamilton-Marshall was sentenced to six months in prison. Mrs Brooker was conditionally discharged for 12 months (despite having previously been placed on probation for stealing 37 pounds [EXHIBIT: page 161]).

109. Three days later, Fenton pleaded guilty to obstruction of justice and, despite seven previous convictions, he was simply bound over for three years by Sir Anthony Hawke. Camacchio was never charged with any wrongdoing in respect of 18 April (e.g. obstruction of justice by not admitting, until months later, that Gordon struck Christine), and Gordon

had of course been acquitted, despite the Criminal Court of Appeal not holding Christine's evidence as untruthful.

110. The judicial handling of Mrs Brooker's case and that of Fenton seems at odds with the way Christine and Paula were treated. Sir Anthony Hawke didn't seem perturbed by what he saw as Mrs Brooker committing perjury. Instead, he told her: "*Yours is an entirely minor part in this. I shall conditionally discharge you for 12 months. Provided you behave you have nothing more to fear.*" [EXHIBIT: page 162]

111. In apparent contradiction, Sir Anthony Hawke told Fenton that Mrs Brooker, Christine and Paula had gone "*a great deal further*" than him as they "*lied in the witness box. So I would not be justified in taking away your liberty. That would be losing all sense of proportion of your part in this affair.*" [EXHIBIT: page 163]

112. The reality was that Fenton and Camacchio's unwillingness to be named made them the central, key protagonists. Christine, Paula and Mrs Brooker – when in Court - would never have denied Fenton and Camacchio, but for the fact that Fenton and Camacchio had already applied pressure to ensure that these three women didn't name them. The whole saga was triggered by the conduct of Fenton and Camacchio. Their part in the affair cannot be overstated; they were the entire catalyst for everything which followed.

113. Sir Anthony Hawke was critical of Fenton, stating: "*You have admitted that you tried to pull the wool over the eyes of responsible police officers.*" [EXHIBIT: page 163]

114. On sentencing Christine, he rejected the role of Fenton and Camacchio. Instead, he stated: "*That may or may not be so. It is of no concern to me.*" [EXHIBIT: page 162] Sadly, the result was that Christine suffered intolerable harm.

115. To conclude this section, Sir Anthony Hawke's position was that he could not "*pass this over altogether*"; his view was that Christine, Paula and Mrs Brooker had only told that part of the truth "*as happened to be convenient to them to tell*". For Christine to deny Fenton and Camacchio's presence was not convenient at all and to go to prison for an inconvenience was devastating.

THE TREATMENT OF CHRISTINE

Institutional and public treatment of Christine

116. It cannot be over-emphasised that the events in question happened to Christine at the age of 21. Her school education had ended at the age of 15. To receive a 9-month prison sentence at the age of 21 was a huge setback; a criminal conviction stays with an individual throughout their lifetime, and even beyond that, in the eyes of the public, i.e., even after it is a spent conviction.

117. In 1963 the mood of the nation was against Christine. In Parliament she was unjustly labelled “*a harlot*”, “*a whore*” and a “*poor little slut*” [EXHIBIT: pages 164 - 166]. Her public vilification over the “Profumo Affair” was shocking. Indeed:

a) at the December 1963 trial, Christine's barrister – Mr Jeremy Hutchinson QC – stated: “*I suppose there is not a person who has come into this court today who has not entered ... with some pre-conceived idea of the degree of guilt or innocence of these three people. This is because Miss Christine Keeler has played the major role in the events which led up to these charges and, of course, she has been made the central figure in this drama which has intrigued people over the past 12 months.*” [EXHIBIT: page 167]

b) Iain Crawford, in his book “The Profumo Affair”, wrote the following about Christine testifying at Ward's July 1963 trial: “*When Christine Keeler left the court at lunch-time after giving her evidence there were more demonstrations against her – boos, fist-shakings and someone even threw eggs and tomatoes which missed Miss Keeler but hit policemen and bystanders.*” [EXHIBIT: page 168]

118. Christine in December 1963 faced such critical public opinion in a society that gave greater value to privileged men. Christine plainly didn't have the support from the State that she should have had at the time. She was under inordinate pressure, depressed and beaten down by life and how society treated the women involved in these momentous

events. Thomas Grant QC, in the 2016 revised edition of his book "Jeremy Hutchinson's Case Histories", wrote:

(a) *"He [Jeremy] remembers vividly the day when Christine came to see him in his chambers ... Here was the most recognizable face in England at the time ... "It [Christine's voice] was the voice of a person who had lived many years longer than her twenty-one years and who seemed to have grown entirely weary of life. It was a voice which had lost any joy in life."*

(b) *What Jeremy discovered in his interviews with Christine was that there was a vast gulf between her public and her private face ... in truth, she was a wholly passive party. Events happened to her; she did not instigate them."*

[EXHIBIT: page 169]

Treatment of Christine in comparison with the men around her

119. It is perhaps worth examining the comparison of the treatment of Christine to those men around her:

a. **Lucky Gordon** was a violent criminal who repeatedly abused her. Iain Crawford wrote the following passage, about part of Gordon's trial, in his book "The Profumo Affair": *"In her [Christine's] evidence, she said that she had never agreed to see Gordon "other than under a threat". She had been taken to his room by force on one occasion, she told the court, and once, when Gordon had forced his way into her flat she had to run out with hardly any clothes on to fetch the police."*

[EXHIBIT: pages 170 - 171]

b. **Stephen Ward**, 29 years older than Christine, was found to have controlled Christine. After years of using her as a means to accrue greater influence within his desired circles, by early 1963, he was openly hostile towards her, and she received a threat – between Ward's committal proceedings and actual trial – that Ward might try to *"get you as far as the Lucky Gordon case is concerned."* A police statement described Ward thus: *"This man is an importunate liar.."* **[EXHIBIT: page 172]**

c. **John Hamilton-Marshall** was a friend of both Ward and Gordon, and he lied to discredit Christine, first to the police in July 1963, and again to the Court (in Christine's committal proceedings) on 2 October 1963.

d. **Robin Drury** was a friend of Ward, and he (Drury) lied about the contents of the so-called Drury tape. Christine admitted that the result of Drury's dubious tactics was that during the recording she was "*as high as a kite through drink and a narcotic stimulant which I did not realise I had taken*", adding that she must have "*unwound and really let my hair down*" at a time when she was "*desperately unhappy, frightened and lonely.*" [EXHIBIT: page 173] But in any event the police acknowledged that, on the tape, Christine actually **confirmed** the 18 April attack by Gordon.

e. **Rudolph Fenton** did not tell the truth until it was too late, i.e., he only told the truth after Gordon had been acquitted by the Criminal Court of Appeal.

f. **Clarence Raymond Camacchio**, like Fenton, should have told the police timeously what he ultimately did say – namely that he had been present and witnessed Gordon's 18 April attack on Christine. It is noteworthy that Camacchio was a "social friend" of Gordon.

g. **John Profumo CBE** – Christine's public vilification and the decision to prosecute her cannot be separated from the events that arose from Mr Profumo's lie to Parliament. It is submitted that Christine would never have been prosecuted if she had been unknown to the public, i.e.: if the then 46 year-old Minister for War had not pursued her after meeting her in 1961 when she was a teenager, with all the events which followed. While Christine was permanently saddled with the notoriety of scandal, Mr Profumo was permitted to restore his dignity and reputation, ultimately being honoured with a CBE in 1975. It is worth bearing in mind that Christine's background, unfair labelling and imprisonment did not give her the same opportunities.

OUTCOME

Impact on Christine's life

120. For the rest of her life, and beyond, Christine has, to date, carried the burden of the “Profumo Affair” and the events involving Gordon, Fenton and Camacchio.
121. Christine lived with her conviction from 6 December 1963 to her death on 4 December 2017, i.e. for nearly three quarters of her life.
122. Her friend James Birch stated in 2019: *"The trial totally ruined her. It devastated her for life, without a doubt. She couldn't really think about anything else. She was a wonderful woman who got destroyed."* [EXHIBIT: page 174] However, she did try to help others, as evidenced – for instance - by her voluntary charity work for Release, a centre for young people with drugs problems.
123. In 1963 she was a young woman, an abuse victim who should not have been in courtrooms with such a level of vulnerability, courtesy of the State, Gordon, Ward and others.
124. It is appreciated that the past cannot be wholly undone. But a posthumous free pardon would show compassion and pardon for a young woman who did not – as Gordon alleged at his trial - run into a door. Christine was vilified by society for the actions of men attempting to preserve themselves at her great expense.
125. Mercy is justified because a denial about the presence of additional support witnesses in all the circumstances was not material to the attack. The denial was morally understandable. The conclusion can be reached that the treatment of Christine was unjust and discriminatory.
126. Christine is worthy of pardon because today's coercive control, stalking, harassment and sexual violence laws and policy mean the Secretary of State can conclude that her case should have been approached differently. In 1963, the legal position in this area was far

less evolved. Nowadays, law and policy have been developed to provide greater accountability for offenders and redress for victims.

127. That said, the legacy of Christine's case lingers and the position for women like Christine remains precarious.

Continuing prejudice and discrimination

128. Significantly, the damage to Christine was recently recognised in part by the BBC's 2019/2020 drama series "The Trial of Christine Keeler". It was not entirely factually accurate, but it was produced and directed by women, primarily for women. The director has publicly acknowledged how Christine was 'manipulated and mistreated', 'vulnerable and complex'.

129. Nonetheless, Christine is still the subject of wild criticism. Christine's obituary in "The Guardian" is particularly critical. It portrayed her as scandalous (such as being in need of money and accepting a fee to attend the premiere of the film "Scandal", only to later explain that she had been deceived about the script and did not endorse the production), contrasting this to John Profumo who 'sought rehabilitation by public silence and good works'.⁶

130. However, Tanya Gold, writing in "The Guardian" on 7 December 2017, stated tellingly: "*She [Christine] was the woman, and the woman bears the guilt.*"

131. The fact of the matter is that, despite all the sensationalist media reporting over the years, Christine was misrepresented as a stereotypical "*femme fatale*": her true character was perhaps best encapsulated when she told the BBC Newsnight programme in 1980: "*I'm a very serious-minded person ... I do have a moral code of which I have always lived by in my life – that is not to hurt people or do cheap things.*" [YouTube search]

132. Lord Denning described Christine as, from the age of 16, "*enmeshed in a net of wickedness*" [EXHIBIT: page 175]

⁶ <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/dec/05/christine-keeler-obituary>

133. What is left is the truth that Christine was out of her depth, ensnared by a constellation of amoral men who deemed her expendable and the State unnecessarily engaged in that narrative; this is an approach which the Secretary of State is in a position to correct.

CHANGES TO LAW AND POLICY

134. It is submitted that, had the truth of Christine's position been properly considered, she would never have been prosecuted. There was a failure to support her by acknowledging the truth of her evidence about Gordon's attack; this is a lasting legacy at present. Such historic discrimination must be acknowledged.

135. It is not clear if there was any prosecutorial policy in 1963 in relation to violence against women and girls, nor any understanding that exercising the prosecutorial discretion needed to be done impartially and without discrimination.

136. It is notable for the purposes of this petition that on 29 November 2020, the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) updated its guidance on myths and stereotypes (in the context of rape but relevant here). Siobhan Blake, National Lead on Rape and Serious Sexual Offences at the CPS specifically stated that the reasons why the Legal Guidance has been recently revised to tackle them is because societal myths and stereotypes are outdated and damaging, and they must constantly be challenged by prosecutors.

137. It is stated that the CPS makes decisions to prosecute, not based on a lawyer's perception of which way a jury might go in deciding a defendant's guilt but based on the merits of each individual case based on the Code for Crown Prosecutors. A prosecutor must be satisfied that there is sufficient evidence to provide a realistic prospect of conviction and that a prosecution is required in the public interest.

138. The CPS has stated "We very much recognise that the world is changing and the guidance that we issue needs to be constantly reviewed and updated to reflect this. This has included new training on the impact traumatic experiences ... can have on behaviour ..." and "It is only by seeking to fully understand the impact of myths and stereotypes that we can seek to counter them so victims can get the justice we all want to see".

139. The CPS has also developed a Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) strategy “as a result of the importance the Service places on improving prosecutions of these crimes and supporting victims, but also in recognition of the United Nations, Council of Europe and End Violence Against Women Campaign initiatives and as part of the cross-government VAWG strategy”.⁷ The CPS includes Violence Against Women and Girls in its key priorities.⁸ CPS guidance includes prosecutions for false allegations of violence, not about who was present. The importance of not basing decisions on alleged dishonesty was recognised in a similar context in the 2013 Joint report to the Director of Public Prosecutions by Alison Levitt QC, Principal Legal Advisor, and the Crown Prosecution Service Equality and Diversity Unit, stated as follows:

CPS Guidance “seeks to strike a balance between ensuring that genuine victims who retract truthful allegations (often as a result of pressure or violence) are not prosecuted, whilst recognising the need to protect the innocent from false allegations of rape or domestic violence. It recognises that not only is it inherently unfair and undesirable that genuine victims should be at risk of prosecution, but that that it might have the effect of deterring other victims from coming forward.”⁹

140. The legacy of Christine’s case for women who are victims of violence is therefore twofold:

- a. **it feeds into the false narrative that remains today that women lie about violence and abuse, particularly by endorsing the nonsense that she ‘ran into a door’; and**
- b. **it feeds into the false narrative (which persists today) that women lie about violence and abuse, and it contributes to women’s lack of faith in the prosecuting authorities.**

141. There are now changes to the criminal law that would mean Gordon's coercive control, stalking, harassment, and violence over approximately a year and a half (prior to April 1963) would have given Christine some legal protection, long before events ever culminated in what happened on 18 April 1963. This alone demonstrates changes in law

⁷ <https://www.cps.gov.uk/publication/violence-against-women-and-girls>

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ <https://www.cps.gov.uk/publication/violence-against-women-and-girls>

and policy towards women who are victims of violence and why the prosecution of Christine is alarming.

142. The approach to Christine's case feeds into the ongoing legacy of discrimination against women: Combatting gender-based discrimination requires a confrontation of legal norms and policies where they have affected women disproportionately. Discrimination against women inhibits the full realisation of their personhoods. Although international human rights law and many international laws guarantee equality between men and women and prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex and gender, women remain subject to sexual and gender-based discrimination which entrenches their secondary status in society. The UK has adopted multiple international and regional instruments, including UDHR, ICCPR and ICESCR, CEDAW and the Istanbul Convention, with a view to eradicating, directly or indirectly, discrimination against women. Acknowledging the past injustices against Christine raised in this petition is a step towards those commitments being meaningful, just as the Pardon for Alan Turing was a step towards non-discrimination against same sex relationships.

143. The UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women in 1993. The preamble recognises the many facets of violence against women as "an obstacle to the achievement of equality, development and peace", an impairment to women's enjoyment of their rights and freedoms, "a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of the full advancement of women", and as "one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men". Christine was subject to physical violence by Gordon and deception and coercion by a range of others, as well as being let down by state actors including the prosecution decision makers. State Parties to the Declaration undertake to include in their periodic reports legislative or other measures they have adopted to combat violence against women, provide support for victims and statistical data on the prevalence of violence against women and the demographics of victims. The pardoning of Christine goes a long way to eradicate the long history of discrimination against women in criminal justice systems.

144. Christine's interests were subsumed in the rhetoric of the time. The decision making disproportionately affected her in a negative manner (being sent to prison when she was the victim of an assault) and as a pariah framed by a discriminatory narrative. This all re-enforced women's social and political subordination to men. Combatting discrimination against women necessitates an examination of the extent to which discriminatory norms influenced the law and its application or interpretation in Christine's high-profile case, still the subject of fascination to date, and borne by her throughout her life. She became the epitome of harmful gender stereotypes and was failed by law and policy approaches. The male-dominated institutions failed her at the time, and the Secretary of State has the power to correct this situation through this petition.

MERCY - Applicable Law

145. In the English tradition, the Royal Prerogative of Mercy is an historic Royal power reserved to the British monarch, in which she can grant pardons to persons convicted of criminal offences. The Lord Chancellor and Secretary of State for Justice has responsibility for recommending the use of the Royal Prerogative of Mercy to Her Majesty the Queen. It is exercised sparingly and only in cases of exceptionality.

146. There are two types of pardon that may be granted: A free pardon; and a conditional pardon. The effect of a free pardon is that the conviction is disregarded to the extent that, insofar as is possible, the person is relieved of all penalties and other consequences of the conviction. However, the conviction is not quashed. Only the courts have the power to quash a conviction.

147. Historically, the royal power of pardon was a power to forgive a legal wrong. The Jurisdiction in Liberties Act 1535 extinguished the powers of the Church and landowners to pardon and vested it in the Sovereign, thus ratifying and preserving the royal power. The Royal Prerogative of Mercy covers two functions – an act of forgiveness or acknowledgement of a mistake. It is a correction of last resort that allows for compassion and common sense to prevail in cases where offenders have been too severely punished or wrongly convicted. The Royal Prerogative of Mercy has the capacity to correct injustices

arising by reason of technical or procedural error, and it assists those whose plight is discovered too late for redress in an appellate court.¹⁰

148. For a modern application of the law see *R v Foster (Barry)*.¹¹ In *Foster* it was held that the effect of a free pardon was to remove from the subject of the pardon “all pains, penalties, and punishments whatsoever that from the said conviction may ensue”, but not to eliminate the conviction itself. The Royal Prerogative of Justice was abolished in the 17th Century. The Justice Secretary therefore cannot order a retrial, but retains the power to inquire into circumstances and to recommend that a sentence is remitted or commuted.¹² A pardon is thus a common law extra-judicial power which is exercised by the Crown under the Royal Prerogative of Mercy. It generally takes an exceptional case, of which this is one.¹³

149. In the case of *Bentley*, Watkins L.J commented that the prerogative power is: “*A flexible power and its exercise can and should be adapted to meet the circumstances of the particular case ... the prerogative of mercy [can no longer be regarded as] no more than an arbitrary monarchical right of grace and favour. It is now a constitutional safeguard against mistakes.*”¹⁴ Thus, the power to pardon constitutes a broad and flexible constitutional safeguard against mistakes, encompassing conditional as well as free pardons. It can apply to those who plead guilty or who are convicted after a trial.

150. A person can be pardoned where society has developed to recognize significant discrimination: Alan Turing was posthumously granted a free pardon where law and society had changed to recognize the injustice of criminalisation of same sex relationships. Similarly, society is now altered in its approach to women who are victims of violence and sexual abuse, particularly after the ‘Me Too’ Movement and the #March4Justice following the death of Sarah Everard.

151. The Royal Prerogative of Mercy is therefore a wide power, not limited to circumstances where a party is known or indeed believed to be morally or technically innocent, but also

¹⁰ CH Rolph *The Queen's Pardon* 1978 Cassell ISBN 0 304 30030 6 at page 2

¹¹ [1985] QB 115; [1984] 3 W.L.R. 401

¹² *Ibid* page 3

¹³ Stephen, J., 1964. *A History Of The Criminal Law Of England*. New York: B. Franklin, p.135.

¹⁴ [1994] QB 349 at para 365.

applicable where the conviction was unjust and discriminatory. Arguably, it is a form of natural justice: to act fairly, in good faith and without bias, or it can be characterised as a power to rescue a person from the cruelty of unmerited punishment or to forgive a person, including where there is wide public concern, such as regarding the treatment of sections of society (expressed in Turing), but here relating to a woman whose legacy is tarnished by shallow values that wrongly categorised and prosecuted her as a fallen woman, not worthy of belief.

152. The Lord Chancellor and Secretary of State for Justice the Rt Hon Robert Buckland QC is therefore requested to recommend a free pardon to correct the error in prosecuting Christine at all, and the manifest injustice that followed.

CONCLUSION

153. Accordingly, one vital aspect of this case is that a young woman, a vulnerable victim, ultimately served a prison term (6 December 1963 – 8 June 1964) for an issue which was not material to the attack (only to her alleged credit) for which she should not have gone to prison. The fact that she maintained her position at Ward's trial is primarily because (a) she may have feared reprisals from Fenton and Camacchio, and (b) Fenton and Camacchio were irrelevant to the fact that Gordon attacked her. It is therefore respectfully submitted that this is an appropriate case for the exercise of the Royal Prerogative of Mercy. Christine's failure to mention the presence of Fenton and Camacchio (especially when judged in the whole factual contextual matrix, coupled with her guilty plea and contrition) is rightly and justly deserving of mercy, pardon and compassion in the form of a posthumous Free Pardon.

154. It is perhaps noteworthy that Christine's prison sentence could have been avoided if she had simply spoken five words to the police and the Courts: "Fenton and Camacchio were there." Not doing so had devastating consequences which were not her fault. It is accepted that in some circumstances a lie going to credit may be material, but Christine's evidence relating to Fenton and Camacchio's presence did not benefit her in any way, nor was it material to an attack that was admitted by Gordon at his own trial when he said:

“ ... didn't she try to close the door on me?”

“ didn't I slap her?”

“Did she try to run, to get away from me?”

“And did I say to her that I was very sorry for her injuries, caused by me slapping her and she ran into the door?”

155. Fenton and Camacchio were simply additional witnesses to the attack upon Christine. The whole issue was moot, but for the apparent denigration of Christine because she was involved in the downfall of others.

156. Christine's case for mercy is clearly distinguishable from that of Ward as there is an ongoing issue with serious discrimination against women. Furthermore, Ward's case involved a posthumous appeal which the Criminal Cases Review Commission decided not to refer to the Court of Appeal. Instead, for Christine, we seek a posthumous free pardon, ie mercy for the injustice that she received as a result of the poor decision making around her situation in 1963 and a recognition that her testimony about the attack on her by Gordon was truthful.

157. In short, for all the many reasons set out in this Petition, the grant of a posthumous free pardon for Christine is respectfully requested. The sad subtext to all of this was addressed by Mr Jeremy Hutchinson QC when he stated at the December 1963 trial: *“ ... if I may use Lord Denning's words, Gordon considered her [Christine] to be his property. Your Lordship has heard occasions where police have been sent to deal with this man [Gordon] who was molesting this woman [Christine] ... She did not know he had 13 convictions, six of them for violence.”* [EXHIBIT: page 113]

158. Christine's son, Seymour, understands the situation better than anyone. He told “The Sun” on 1 January 2020: *“The trauma my mum suffered at his [Gordon's] hands was so bad that all her life she lived in fear of him. When I was young, everywhere she went she would check the security, even if it meant putting curtain rails over windows, to give her a*

false sense of having bars for protection ... All her life she was terrified of him."

[EXHIBIT: page 176]

159. Attached to this petition are five victim impact statements, which set out, in some detail, the adverse effects suffered by Christine.
160. As has been seen, there are substantive reasons underpinning this petition, going to any tests, i.e. of "technically or morally innocent" and "unjust and discriminatory", for the Secretary of State to respectfully consider.
161. It is a clear injustice when circumstances unfold, such that Christine received the prison sentence, served the time of multiple months behind bars, and then lived with these issues for the rest of her life, with her reputation unjustly damaged even today and the legacy that leaves for women more generally. She never gave up hope that, one day, what she suffered would be understood.
162. The Royal Prerogative of Mercy allows for injustice to be rectified - in Christine's unique case, posthumously, by a free pardon which forgives her for her having omitted the presence of Fenton and Camacchio on the night in question.
163. Moreover, this Petition does not raise any "floodgates" risk and does not seek to change the law. The facts of Christine's case - as seen herein - are wholly exceptional, as is the cumulative effect of the very many reasons for mercy.
164. The Lord Chancellor and Secretary of State for Justice, the Rt Hon Robert Buckland QC, is respectfully requested to recommend to Her Majesty the Queen the exercise of the Prerogative of Mercy.

It is humbly submitted that, for all the above reasons, Christine is deserving of a posthumous free pardon.

Submitted on 14 June 2021 by:



SEYMOUR PLATT

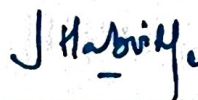
(YOUNGEST SON OF CHRISTINE)

Drafted by:



FELICITY GERRY QC

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(SRA NO: 19272)