NOTES

The following notes refer to sources within a particular paragraph. The first number is the page number, followed by the the paragraph on that particular page.

PREFACE


CHAPTER ONE: 'TOMMY'

3/2-2 & 7/1. Mosley Papers, Diary of Maud Mosley, 1896, Nicholas Mosley deposit, Birmingham University.

'Few things,' Mosley wrote, 'are more overrated than the effect of childish experiences on later life.' He charged psychoanalysis with the fascist insult of being 'feminine' for its 'negation of manhood and self-will'. It was attacked by Blackshirts as an 'occult science'. Mosley's own writings, however, contain numerous references to re-examination of his life in the light of analytical psychology. In his post-war The Alternative, Mosley suggested analysts might be 'fair judges of the neurotics who pass through their consulting rooms', but were 'very poor judges of Statesmen whom they have not ever seen. Their experience has been concerned with disease, not with the problems of astounding vitality.'
7/1. Lasch 171, & Minimal, 178-83. Mosley 14-5. Skidelsky 32. Lasch argues the narcissist seeks fulfilment in 'regressive fantasies' of 'absolute self-sufficiency', which propel the individual 'toward incredible feats of creativity, heroism, sacrifice and selflessness'. It is, however, a romantic idealism 'so exalted that it will sacrifice bodily comfort for a cause, preferring death to dishonor'.

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The conflict is not resolved in a healthy way by a mature relationship with both parents, then it can influence his adult behaviour in relationships. A man may seek a wife who resembles his mother (as did Mosley) or, instead, internalise his father's anger (which Mosley also did). The loss of a father - the Phaeton theory - whether through death or separation is the source of intense ambition for politicians. 'The octane of ambition in the mother of parliaments is thus fuelled by the mothers of parliamentarians. Every politician was a little child once, striving for approval,' Andrew Roberts.
CHAPTER TWO: THE FIRST WORLD WAR


22/5. DT 9.2.98.


isolated. 'It was an error of judgement so elementary as to cast doubts upon his fitness for office.' Commentators said the same following Mosley's decision to leave the Labour Party and set up the New Party. Chatham resigned, retired to the country and waited for the call to return. Mosley similarly retired to the country, awaiting the call to rouse the nation.


Following Blavatsky's death in 1891, the Theosophical cause was taken up by Mrs Besant and Bishop Leadbetter, who claimed to be able to see energy auras surrounding people. In 1909, he took under his wing a 12 year old boy, Jiddhu Krishnamurti, the supposed avatar of 'lord Maitreya', whose arrival as a supreme world teacher marked the beginning of a new age. These eastern mystical ideas attracted Lady Rothermere, wife of the newspaper baron, who sponsored lectures by Russian philosopher P.D. Ouspensky, attended by Eliot, Orage and Huxley. In 1917, Huxley pointed out Mrs Besant's 'errors in science and history, and cautioned about tall tales of hidden master and astral bodies' but found its 'belief in the core truth of all religions and its tolerance admirable'. A 'little judicious theosophy seems on the whole an excellent thing'.


Senior army officers were 'mostly authoritarian, political neanderthals with dictatorial powers which they freely exercised'. Officers 'operated a crude system of individual material rewards and coercion ... Penalties for wartime breaches of discipline were extremely harsh.' Their 'ideology
was informed by eugenicist perspectives associated with gender, class, race and geographical catchment area from which units were notionally recruited'. Julian Putkowski Lobster, 27, April 1994.

29/4 & 30/1. Mosley 30-1, 74-7 & 88. Mosley had been reading the only novel he seems to have admired, Stendhal's masterpiece, 'The Red and the Black' (1830). A revealing choice in that its romantic idealist hero, who secretly worships Napoleon, has to cynically choose which is the best route to power in France between the 'red' of the army or the 'black' of the Church. Eventually, denounced by his employer's wife whom he has seduced, he decides on a typically romantic act, death as a noble exit. If Mosley recognised elements of himself in Stendhal's hero, he made no comment on it.


31/4. Stevenson 68-9 & 89. Mosley 86. Newton/Porter 27. Ritschell 24-5. Lobster 27. Thurlow, Secret, 50 & 108. Stafford, Churchill/Intelligence, 86-7. In 1916 MoM set up the Labour Intelligence Division, staffed by MI5 officers. With the arrival of Churchill, it evolved into PMS2 to gather intelligence and allied itself with 'buccaneering patriotic organisations' in provocateur activities in its attempts to destroy socialism. In 1917 operations were transferred to MI5 and agents provocateur fitted up Mrs Wheeldon, a feminist and ILPer, who 'plotted to kill Lloyd George with a poisoned dart from an air rifle'. Dudley Docker, founder of the FBI, pioneered a productioneering creed and backed State intervention, as part of a corporatist model. Supporting social imperialism, he endorsed virulent campaigns against socialism. Financed by Docker, the British Commonwealth Union, espoused a variant of tariff reform, and created an 'Industrial Group' of MPs, later incorporated into the diehard element of the Tory Party. Davenport-Hines 114-7. Marrison 326-7.

32/1. Marwick 206-7, 215 & 293. Stevenson 70, 90 & 326. Newton/Porter 36 & 51. Ritschell 24-6. By the end of the war, MoM employed 65,000 staff, controlled over three and a half million workers, directly ran 250 factories and mines, and supervised 20,000 controlled establishments.


32/3. Skidelsky 69-73. N. Mosley 8. Cross 11. Guest established the National War Aims Committee to 'resist insidious influences of an unpatriotic character'. It received funds from the secret service vote and worked through patriotic organisations such as the British Workers' League and the British Empire Union to disseminate anti-socialist propaganda.

33/2. WO 339/15781. Mosley officially left the FO on 21.11.18. In January 1919 he was listed officer on the active list but on half pay. On 5.5.20 he resigned his commission.
At home, there was an outbreak of 'Spanish Influenza', in which 18,000 people perished. In late October, the Vorticist artist, Wyndham Lewis, convalescing in a military hospital, watched soldiers die from this 'fearful plague' like 'flies'.
33/3. Higginsbottom 29.
Siegfried Sassoon's Diaries, 1915-1918, Faber & Faber, 1983.
34/2. Skidelsky 66.
34/4. Bellamy 229.
34/5. Sternhell 31.
35/1. Mosley/Liddle 77.

CHAPTER THREE: THE PATRIOT PEACE

36/1-3. Seaman 105. Skidelsky 72-4. Mosley 90, & From Tory to Labour, Labour Magazine 8 (1) May 1929. Days before the poll, Mosley witnessed the first taste of disillusionment with his hero when, in a speech at Bristol, Lloyd George 'surrendered to the reparations clamour'. It was, Mosley recalled, 'his first great surrender - the first of many'.
37/2. Mosley later denied the social imperialist influence in a letter (18.9.74) to academic Nigel Nugent (144-6), who noted that 'if we accept this the resemblances are, ironically, all the more striking and Mosley appears even more clearly as being in the British political tradition. For the explanation now becomes not one of overt influence but of similar historical situations - a general decline in Britain's world position and a specific threat to her economy from foreign competition - bringing forth similar responses.' Mosley did, in fact, acknowledge his debt to social imperialist ideas (see Huddersfield Examiner 4.8.75).
Despite the fact that India was the 'Crown Jewel' in the Empire, Chamberlain, Seeley and Mackinder assumed India, 'which had meant so much to Curzon and the Victorian mandarins', would
become independent and that British resistance to an Indian independence movement would be doomed to fail. Mackinder warned (1919) peace could not survive German domination of Eastern Europe. Ironically, he found his most ardent disciples in Germany, where Albert Haushofer 'eagerly seized upon his theories'. He worked back from the disastrous situation which Mackinder envisaged in order to identify the means for achieving German domination. Thus Mackinder 'provided the framework upon which Haushofer built his theories and Hitler his principles of action'. Paul Hayes, The Contribution of British Intellectuals to Fascism, 182.


38/4. Deudney op. cit. Marrison 21. Only 20 per cent of Britain's food imports came from the Empire and only 40 per cent of the country's manufactured exports went to it.

39/1. Cain 42-4 & 51-4. Ingham 269. Semmel 145-53. Witherell 17, 49, 57-67, 80-1 & 208-13. William D. Rubenstein, Henry Page Croft and the Nationalist Party 1917-22, JCH, Vol 9, No. 1. Although regarded as reactionary, the diehards were an 'illogical amalgam of modernising and anti-modernising attitudes'. Youthful and radicalised, they abandoned the 'gentlemanly politics of the 19th century style and turned to a radical conservatism'; in the same way that Mosley was to twenty-five years later.


39/4. Ibid. Seaman 18-20, 36-7 & 100. O'Day 4-5. Marwick 196. Ingham 159. Newton/Porter 26. O'Day 6. Ritschell 22. Lloyd George's reform programme was seen by 'national efficiency' advocates as the 'national government' of which they had dreamed. His 1911 National Insurance Act can be seen as a calculated piece of Bismarkian social imperialism, in that 'whatever benefits it may have conferred on the working classes', the idea was 'an astute politician's bid to meet the menace of Socialism'.


In the end, the TRL campaign was undermined by the pre-war export revival. Protectionism had a potential to raise growth rates and a switch to home investment 'might have altered income distribution in the British economy, almost certainly
evening it out a little and transferring it northwards and away from rentiers'. Mark Thomas, An Input-Output Approach to the British Economy, 1890-1914, Journal of Economic History, 45, 1985.

The Liberal-Imperialists espoused free trade, which lost them the support of Hewins, who acknowledged their policy might provide cheap food but it also provided 'slums, low wages, unemployment, illiteracy and malnutrition'. Like Mosley, he advocated 'the deliberate adoption of the Empire as the basis of public policy and the substitution in our economic policy of Imperial interests for the interests of the consumer'.

42/1. Cook op. cit..
42-4. Quoted in Cartland 124.
For electoral reasons, Lady Astor downplayed feminist policies. She employed a woman as her political secretary. Hilda Mathieson had worked for the Special Intelligence Directorate which included a period during 1917 in the Military Control Office in Rome, and in 1918 as a manager in the MI5 Registry.
Leonard Mosley, Curzon: The End of an Epoch, Longmans, 1960, 60, 138 & 157. The Marchioness Curzon of Kedleston, Reminiscences, Hutchinson, 106. When the Curzon family left for India, another million dollars was raised by Leiter for his daughter.
Among their young guests was Princess Marie Jose, later wife of Umberto II, the last King of Italy. She was sent to Naldera for holidays with Cimmie and her sisters by her father, King Albert I of the Belgiums.


De Courcy 54-5. N. Nicolson 94-6.


White, p. 36.

50/3-4. Derby Evening Telegraph 21.2.98. N. Mosley 75.


51/2-3. Mosley 94. Skidelsky 43. N. Mosley 31. Clark 4. As Ross McKibben (38-9, quoting Bowley, Some Economic Consequences of the Great War) revealed, the number of people who earned in real terms £10,000 net-of-tax a year fell by two-thirds to 1,300 in 1925. 'The really very rich, therefore, were much thinner on the ground than they had been in 1914.'


Marchoness of Curzon 139-40.

52/1. Mosley 120.


54/2. Cross 15.

CHAPTER FOUR: 'THE VISION SPLENDID'


55/3. Mosley, From Tory... op. cit. White 11.


56/4. Dalley 100. A number of former Black and Tans and Auxiliaries joined the BUF, as did many Irish Catholics attracted by Mosley's early stand and later politics.


To most Conservatives, the PM was detestable. For A.L. Kennedy there was just the expression of 'cynicism, cleverness' as he 'took his cue from the audience'. There was 'much of the faux bonhomme in his manner. And a little theatricality'. Kennedy thought it best to 'get rid of the little brute'. He is not worthy of England.'

Despite the absence of Liberal and Labour candidates, Mrs Strachey lost in a straight fight to a Conservative. Anti-feminist prejudices ran deep.


Skidelsky, Slump, 47. Lady Astor and Violet Bonham-Carter were godmothers.


CHAPTER FIVE: THE UNDERWORLD OF REJECTED KNOWLEDGE

73/1-2. Mosley 102 & 173. Chesterton 116. The Hansa trade organisation, after starting along the Baltic coasts, grew rapidly across Europe, eventually linking more than 200 towns, including those on the English east coast, in the trade of furs from Novgorod, cod-liver oil from Bergen and pickled fish from Visby.

Orage's book: 'Friedrich Nietzsche, the Dionysian Spirit of the Age' (1906), 'Consciousness: Animal, Human and Superman' (1907) and 'Nietzsche in Outline and Aphorism' (1907). A surprised Nietzsche wrote that 'among all the radical parties (socialists, nihilists, anti-semitists, Christian-orthodox, Wagnerians) I enjoy an amazing and almost mysterious esteem'.

Chesterton and Belloc believed the only way to guarantee a free society was by the distribution of the means of production in a mixed economy of small producers and industries under workers' control. Their 'Distributism' had a strong back-to-the-land and blood-and-soil element. It was unfortunate for Chesterton, who believed in technological progress, that this 'attracted precisely the sort of cranks he dreaded'. In the thirties, a number of them became Mosleyites.

Critical theorist Walter Benjamin warned that the 'aestheticisation of politics leads straight to fascism'.

Sorel influenced proto-fascist intellectuals, including Wyndham Lewis who wrote a discussion on him in 1926, 'The Art of Being Ruled'. 'It is easy to see,' suggests Michael Roberts, 'how much there is in Hulme's position and in Sorel's, that appeals to people who for other reasons are fascists.' Sorel's influence was directed through guild socialism, which advocated a producers' alliance but without the irrational violence.
the 'Jew financier' was portrayed as the personification of international capitalism. Its statements might have come out of the BUF's Blackshirt. 'We have no feeling against Jews as Jews, but as nefarious capitalists and poisoners of the wells of public information we denounce them. It would be easy enough to get up a capitalist Jew-bait here in London, if we wished to do so; and the proletarian Jews would gladly help us.'

Booth/Pack 22. Dowse 98.

79/2. Hollis 47. Booth/Pack 22. White 70. Boyce 46-7 & 64. The ILP critique of the gold standard derived from Arthur Kitson: 'The end sought in exchange is the acquisition of commodities, not money.'


80/1. Ritschell 57-8.
80/2. Dowse 94-8. Boyce 62-3. The direct linking of banking with Jewry was not uncommon within the ILP and extended to the use of Jewish stereotypes on election posters.


CHAPTER SIX: THE LABOUR PARTY

81/1. Cross 18.
82/1-3. Wertheimer xii.
The first Labour PM accepted a Daimler and £40,000 in share certificates from his friend Alexander Grant, a biscuit tycoon, who not long after was made a baronet. MacDonald's biographer David Marquand concluded that there was 'nothing discreditable' in this, but, Paul Foot noted, 'Tory newspapers and thousands of MacDonald's constituents saw the matter rather differently. Before the year was out, the prime minister had to give back the shares and the Daimler. The problem was not in the intent, but in the hobnobbing.' G 11.1.00.

Boyce 84-6. Wood 158.
Shaw introduced the word superman in the appendix, 'The Revolutionary Handbook', to his drama, Man and Superman (1903). Spengler claimed Nietzsche 'did not have the courage to draw his own conclusions and it had been left to Shaw to complete the argument which Zarathustra had been too fastidious to make'. Shaw viewed the superman 'as much in terms of domination over others as in the will to power leading to self-control' and Nietzsche's vitalism was interpreted in political rather than ethical terms.

In 'Back to Methuselah' (1921), Shaw argued man had the will to evolve to a higher humanity. Mosley believed 'a far higher type had already appeared on the human stage, far more capable of effective action but doomed to be surpassed because of the ruthlessness of their natures'. It would be necessary to undertake 'a study of the highest types with a view to finding or producing more of them'. Shaw's solution was the eugenic
breeding of the Superman - 'the transformation of mankind into a stud-farm'.

91/4 & 92/1. T 15 & 20.4.25.
93/1. Dowse 130-1. White 125.
96/1. On 5 March 1925, Lord Curzon, suffered a severe haemorrhage from his bladder. A week after an operation, he suffered a fatal setback with congestion of the right lung. On the 19th, Curzon lapsed into unconsciousness with relations with his two eldest daughters virtually non-existent. Bowra 346.
though, 'dominated the talks with his cynical hedonism'.
Thomas 52. Hobson noted its special contribution was 'the
stimulation of consumption by the use of money power' but
worried prices would rise and employer's non-labour costs would
grow: 'Efficiency and increased productivity would not absorb
the unemployed.' Strachey dismissed this as an old argument:
demand would create jobs.
77-9.
Pimlott 153-4.
99/3-5 & 100/1-4. Charles S. Maier, Between Taylorism and
Technocracy: European ideologies and the vision of industrial
Batchelor, Henry Ford; Mass production, Modernism and design,
201-2. Boyce 101-2 & 112. When shown newsreels of the
concentration camps, they brought on Ford's last and most
serious stroke.
101/1. TL 29.10.70. BBC Radio 3, Personality and Power, Oct.
101/2. Skidelsky 147-50. Mosley 207. Allan Meltzer (History of
the Federal Reserve, Vol. 1, 1913-1951, University of Chicago
Press, 2003) makes the point that the Fed considered the
restoration of the gold standard one of its major achievements
with its principle objective still being the combatting of
inflation. He concludes that 'if the Federal Reserve had
maintained monetary growth, the country and the world would
have avoided years of depression'.
SR Feb. 1926. In parallel, two Cambridge engineers, Bertram
Austin and W. Francis Lloyd, published 'The Secret of High
Wages: The New Industrial Gospel', which sold well.
101/5. ILP Conference Report, 1926, 86.
101/6. Mosley, 'The Birmingham Proposals and The ILP Living
102/2-4 & 103/1. Skidelsky 242. Brendon 45-6. Mosley 192 & 214-
Dowse 139-40. Wood 194.
78. J. Johnson, op. cit.
The social crediters lost ILP support and the pro-Douglas Finance Enquiry Committee, which included Strachey, was allowed to lapse. Although there was 'nothing whatever, at bottom, the matter' with Douglas's economics, Strachey acknowledged social credit was fundamentally flawed. 'Currency cranks' argued they had 'a way by which poverty would be abolished without taking anything from the rich'. Strachey believed this was impossible as long as the present system of 'class dominance exists'.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE COMING FIGURE

107/2. Ellen Wilkinson, Peeps at Politicians, 1930, 38.
Skidelsky 165. DE 5.5.27.
Cannadine 262.
112/1. Joan Wyndham, DT 6.7.98.
113/1 & 4. De Courcy 123. Bradford, Sachie, 193-4. James 93-7. SE 23.9.28. SR July 1928. Newman 21. Mosley's flat was later occupied by the writer of the James Bond novels, Ian Fleming. Boothby was Parliamentary Private Secretary to Winston Churchill, though he disapproved of the Chancellor's deflationary policies. He was referred to as 'the coming man' but saw himself as a 'selfish, superficial, cowardly, self-centred, dishonest, egoist', who liked to be 'surrounded by rich and glamorous people'. In 1928, he accepted a position
with City brokers, Chasem Henderson and Tennant, to make 'a lot of money as rapidly as he could, so that he could concentrate on politics'.

Chesterton 74.


118/4. TC 16.5.29. Mosley, From Tory... op. cit.


J. Johnson, Birmingham, op. cit.


CHAPTER EIGHT: 'A YOUNG MAN IN A HURRY'

Out of parliament, Macmillan was married to Lady Dorothy Cavendish, who belonged to one of the great political families in the land. He was deeply concerned about rampant unemployment in the North East and was well acquainted with the writings of Keynes, for whom Macmillan acted as publishers.
Chapter Nine: 'After Baldwin and MacDonald Come'

139/2 & 140/2. Newton/Porter 70-1. HoC cols. 1347-58 & 1371-3,
140/1. TS 7.6.30.
140/5. MacDonald diary, NA 30/69/8/1. 29.5.30, & papers 30/69/6/33. MacDonald to Walton Newbold, 2.6.30, MDP 1/446 quoted in Marquand, MacDonald, 541-51. Boyce 261-2. Seaman 213.
141/2 & 141/5 & 142/1. George E. Catlin, Fascist Stirrings in Britain, Current History, Vol. XXXIV, February 1934, & Catlin 73-81. Thomas 79. Catlin had been introduced to Mosley through Quaker channels by Charles Roden Buxton. Mosley sent Catlin to Scandanavia to investigate farm subsidies which, by central planning, enabled northern areas to maintain viable fishing and farming communities. Catlin's memorandum was seen by civil servants but they distorted the plan 'out of all recognition'.

Macmillan wrote to The Times (27 May) that he 'did not understand the reasons which have led you and the non-Socialist commentators to such an unappreciative attitude towards Sir Oswald Mosley's position. Is it to be the accepted rule in our politics that a political programme is to be discarded as soon as it has served its electoral purposes? I hope some of my friends will have the courage to applaud and support his protest.' Diehard MP Lord Lymington replied that 'when a player starts complaining that it's hardly worth bothering to play' the game at all, it is usually the player and not the game who is at fault. It is then usually advisable for the player to seek a new field for his recreation, and a pastime more suited to his talents.'

Boothby was the father of Sarah, whom Dorothy bore in 1930. 'To many people in the know', however, the liaison confirmed the opinion that Boothby was a cad. In fact, David Cannadine suggests, 'far from being the bounder who had stolen a colleague's wife, Boothby was 'more the victim of the affair than the villain'.

143/1. Mosley 264-5. STel 21.8.66.
143/2. F. Beckett 91.
143/5. Laybourn 125. Marquand, MacDonald, 543-60.