

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

Page 1/paragraph 1 to 3 & page 2/paragraph 1. Diana Mosley interview, Paris, 28.4.00. N. Mosley 3. Skidelsky 545.

CHAPTER ONE: 'TOMMY'

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

3/3 & 5/1. Mosley 4. Bill Williams, *The Anti-Semitism of Tolerance: Middle-Class Manchester and the Jews 1870-1900* in Alan J. Kidd and K.W. Roberts (eds.), *City, Class and Culture: Studies of social policy and cultural production in Victorian Manchester*, Manchester University Press, 1985.

4/1, 2 & 4, 5/1 & 3. Skidelsky 27-30, & *Interests* 189. Alan Kidd, *Manchester, Ryburn, 13, 18-9 & 64-5. Manchester and Salford District Communist Party, Manchester, Centenary of Charter, Manchester: Blackfriars, 1938, 1.* Sir Nicholas Mosley is buried in a Didsbury churchyard.

4/3 & 5/4-6. Mosley 3-19 & 329. Drennan 23.

6/1-2. *Ibid.* Mosley interview with Peter Liddle, 1977, Liddle Archive, Leeds University, & *Alternative*, 281. N. Mosley 2-3 & 32. Skidelsky 33-5. Gottlieb 178-9.

6/3. Lasch 32-8, 171 & 239-42, & *Minimal*, 18-9. '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.'

6/4. *Ibid.* Mosley 7-8 & 18. Skidelsky 32. Peter Gay, *Freud for Historians*, Oxford University Press, 1985, 25 & 72-5. According to analyst Nancy Chodorow (70-81), the infant idealises his mother as a source of 'unending, unambiguous gratification' and underplays her ability to frustrate his desires.

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'.

7/3. Cross 9. Gottlieb 183. N. Mosley 2. Mosley 14.

7/4. W.F. Mandle, *Psychology and History*, New Zealand Journal of History, No. 2, 1968. Jeremy Holmes, *Narcissism*, Icon, 2001, 43. If 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.

7/5, 8/1-2. Mosley 7-8, 14-6 & 21. N. Mosley 1. Skidelsky 31-2 & 36. Mosley/Liddle 77. Lasch 172-3, & Minimal 168-70 & 192. Chodorow 80-3, 184-5 & 196-7. Gottlieb 178.

8/3. Lasch 40 & 174-8 & Minimal, 169-81. Mandle 14. Skidelsky 35. Peter Davison (ed.), *George Orwell: 'Facing Unpleasant Facts 1937-39*, Secker and Warburg, 2000, 402. A modern parallel might be New Labour's Peter Mandelson, whose 'much-catalogued daredevil public risk-taking' was about fulfilling 'a masochistic wish to be punished and left bereft'.

8/4 Lasch 38-40. Robert Lacey, *Aristocrats*, Hutchinson, 1985.

8/5. N. Mosley 177. Mosley 7 & 21.

9/1. Forwood letter, 27.3.99.

9/2. Mosley 9-12. Hamilton Fyfe, *Sixty Years of Fleet Street*, W.H. Allen, 1949, 119-20.

9/3-4 & 12/4. Chesterton 12-4. Gottlieb 183. Mosley 8-14 & 23-6. Chodorow 162-6 & 176-7.

9/1 & 10/1. Mosley 7-8 & 24. N. Mosley 2. Lasch, *Minimal*, 173. White 13.

10/2-4. www.westdowns.com. E-mail, Daniel Hodson, 12.8.03.

11/1. Mosley 14-6. N. Mosley 3. John Mosley, letter, 20.7.98.

11-2 & 12/4 & 13/1. Peter Parker, *The Old Lie: The Great War and the Public-School Ethos*, Constable, 1987, 17, 35, 50 & 102-3.

11/3. Mosley 27 & 35. Skidelsky 38-9. N. Mosley 4. Gottlieb 184.

11/4. Skidelsky 38-9. Drennan 23. *Game Register*, N. Mosley Deposit, Box 6. Simon Mosley telephone interview 5.6.98.

11/5. Stel 18.12.83. HO 283/16/25-6.

12/1-3. Mosley 26-7 & 30-5. Skidelsky 40.

13/2. *Ibid.* Denis Richard, *Portal of Hungerford: The Life of Marshall of the Royal Air Force Viscount Portal of Hungerford*, Heinemann, 1977. ES, 20.9.32.

13/3-4. Mosley 30 & 38. Ellen Cameron, *An Introduction to Graphology: A Systematic Course in Handwriting Analysis*, Aquarian Press, 1989, 18-9 & 24-5.

14/1. Chesterton 24. Mosley was introduced in France to the sport of pistol duelling with wax bullets fired from a smooth bore.

14/2-3 & 15/1-2. S. Mosley 5.6.98. Skidelsky 41 & 68. Mosley 37-40. Mosley/Liddle 77.

14/4. Mosley 38. Green 243. N. Mosley 5.
14/5. Skidelsky 42. Mosley 42. Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart, *Your England*, Putnam, 1955, 171.

CHAPTER TWO: THE FIRST WORLD WAR

16/1-2 & 4, 17/1, & 20/1. Mosley 13 & 48-9, & Liddle 77. Wohl 65, 243, 257-9 & 304. Cannadine 69. Michael Paris, *The Rise of the Airmen: The Origins of Air Force Elitism, c. 1890-1918*, JCH, Vol. 28, 1993.
16/3. Colonel Henry Graham, *History of the Sixteenth, The Queen's Light Dragoons (Lancers), 1912 to 1925, 1926*. Mosley 45-6. Seaman 41-4.
17/2. Mosley's RFC records, NA WO 339/15781. Mosley 50.
17/3-4, 18/1-2 & 19/3. Mosley/Liddle 77. Mosley 50-5. Tyrrel Hawker, Hawker, V.C., Mitre Press, 42 & 64-5.
18/3 & 19/1. Wohl 249. Peter H. Liddle, *The Airmen's War 1914-18*, Poole: Blandford Press, 1987, 9.
18/4-5, 19/2 & 22/4. Chesterton 17-9. Mosley 51-8 & 63-5.
19/4. Stewart, 'Occuli Exercitus': No. 6 Squadron, Cyprus: RAF, 1963. Hawker 71.
20/2-3. Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman*, New Haven, 1981, 291. Hawker 76. Parker 236. Mosley 9 & 60. Martel 13.
20/3-4 & 21/1. James L. McWilliams & R. James Steel, *Gas! The Battle for Ypres, 1915*, Ontario: Vanwell, 1985, 17, 35, 45 & 55-6. Ulrich Trumpener, *The Road to Ypres: The Beginning of Gas Warfare in WW1*, *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 47, No. 3, September 1975. Mosley 59. G 7.11.98. Lt-Col. L.A. Strange, *Recollections of an Airman*, Greenhill, (rpt.) 1989, 104. The gas shells which lie buried are ninety years old but are still as effective and remain highly-toxic.
21/2-3 & 22/2. Liddle op.cit. Mosley 62. Hawker, 43, 71 & 80.
21/4, 22/1 & 23/1. Nigel Steel and Peter Hart, *Tumult in the Clouds: The British Experience of the War in the Air 1914-1918*, Coronet (pbk.), 1997, 80-4. Mosley 64-6, & Liddle 77. Chesterton 19. Cross 10. Skidelsky 63.
22/3. Wohl 288. *The Aeroplane*, 16, No. 1, August 1919. Colin Cook 150 & *A fascist memory: Oswald Mosley and the myth of the airman*, *European Review of History*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1997.
22/5. DT 9.2.98.
23/2. Parker 237. Col. Graham, op.cit. Blanch 126.
23/3-5. Seaman 69, 73 & 91-7. Arthur Marwick, *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War*, 1991, 208-10 & 292. Col. Graham, op.cit.
24/1-2 & 25/1. Mosley 66-74, & Liddle 77. Higginbottom 26-8.
24/3-5. Mosley 70. N. Mosley 6. WO 339/15781. G 24.1.98.
25/2. N. Mosley 7. Skidelsky 67. White 13. On the Elder see Reilly, *Pitt the Younger 1759-1806*, Cassell, 1978, 6-17, 21-2 & 31-3 and Basil Williams, *The Whig Supremacy 1714-1760*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1962, 128, 266, 356-9 & 375.
Pitt had hoped to fuse the factions in the Commons but, having accepted the Earldom of Chatham, he 'abandoned the arena of his power and sacrificed his popularity', and found himself

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.

25/3-4 & 26/1. Robert Blake, *Disraeli*, Prion, 74-5, 166-81 & 242-3. H.W.J. Edwards 10-26 & 66-7. Bishop 170.

26/2-4. Dame Edith Sitwell, *Swinburne: A Selection*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1960. Anthony H. Harrison, *Swinburne's*

Medievalism: A Study in Victorian Love Poetry, Louisiana State University, 1979. George P. Landow, *Swinburne's Political*

Poetry, The Victorian Web, www.landow.stg.brown.edu/victoran.

Margot K. Louis, *Swinburne and His Gods: The Roots and Growth of an Agnostic Poetry*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990.

26/5. In his *Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question* (1849) Carlyle argued that black people, who in his imagination were akin to animals, were inferior to their white 'lords' and had a duty to work for successful Empire-builders. The essay, suggests Catherine Hall (*Civilising Subjects: Metropole and the Colony in the English Imagination 1830 to 1867*, Polity Press, 2002), 'marked the end of the dominance of humanitarian, universalistic thinking about racial difference'. G 20.4.02.

27/1. James Webb, *The Flight From Reason: Volume 1 of The Age of the Irrational*, MacDonald, 232-3.

27/2-3. Lachman 87-8. Roger Griffin, 'I am a no longer human. I am a Titan. A god!': The fascist quest to regenerate time, unpublished, 1998. Mosley 122-3. Richard Thurlow, *The Return of Jeremiah*, in Lunn/Thurlow. R. Cavendish, *The Black Arts*, Paladin, 1967, 12-24.

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'.

27/4-5, 28/1-4 & 29/1-3. Skidelsky 66-7, *Interests* 176-8.

Mosley 11, 42-8, 70-6 & 80-4, & Liddle 77. N. Mosley 7-8, & interview, Gottlieb 215. WO 339/15781. White 19-21.

'Interrogation' (1917), quoted in Robert Wohl, *The Generation of 1914*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980, 28.

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.

30/2-4 & 31/1-3. G 19.4.02. Marwick 196, 216-7 & 289-2. Seaman 91-5 & 99. Stevenson, *British Society* 1914-45, 67-71, 89, 211 & 288. Newton/Porter 46. Barry Eichengreen, 'The inter-war economy in a European Mirror', Floud/McCloskey 292-3. Steel/Hart 261.

31/4. Stevenson 68-9 & 89. Mosley 86. Seaman 92. 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.

32/2. Mosley 86-8, & Liddle 77. FO List, 1917, & letter, Library and Information Service, 16.4.97.

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.

33/1. White 11. Skidelsky 64 & Sir Oswald Mosley: *From Empire to Europe*, *Twentieth Century Studies*, No. 1, March 1969. HO 9.8.18 & 14.10.18.

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.

33/3. Malcolm Brown, *The Imperial War Museum Book of 1918: Year of Victory*, Pan, 1999, 4, 168-70 & 246. 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. Higginbottom 29.

33/4. Mosley 70. N. Mosley 20.

34/1. Osbert Sitwell, *Laughter in the Next Room*, 1976. Siegfried Sassoon's *Diaries, 1915-1918*, Faber & Faber, 1983.

34/2. Skidelsky 66.

34/3. G 24.1.98. Thurlow 29.

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'.

36/4. HO 29.11.18. Mosley 91 & 101.

37/1. Skidelsky 65. White 23.

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).

37/3-4. Gamble 171-4. Skidelsky 58. Walter L. Arnstein, *Edwardian Politics: Turbulent Spring or Indian Summer?*, 63. Searle 24 & 32-3. Newton/Porter, 1 & 17-8. Semmel 24-6 & 177.

37/5 & 38/1. Semmel 168-74. Skidelsky, *Interests*, 90-1. H.J. Mackinder, 'The Geographical Pivot of History,' *Geographical Journal*, XXIII, April, 1904. Daniel Deudney, *Greater Britain or Greater Synthesis?* Seeley, Mackinder and Wells on Britain in the global industrial era, *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 2, April 2001. Geroid O Tuathail, 'Putting Mackinder in his Place: Material Transformation and Myth', *Political Geography*, 11, January 1992.

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 manderins', 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.

38/2-3. Seaman 18-9. Cain 40-8. Ingham 158-61 & 269. Skidelsky, *Interests*, 90-5. Newton/Porter 17-21. Semmel 26-7, 90-2, 101, 112 & 145. Thurlow 14 & 21. Feldman 264 & 380. Searle 82-3. J.L. Garvin and J. Amery, *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain, 1932-1969*, Vol. 4, Macmillan, 257. Gisela C. Lebzelter, *Anti-Semitism: a Focal Point for the British Radical Right*, Kennedy/Nicholls 103.

Despite the City's popular image as a 'cosmopolitan place crowded with Jews and other ambitious men of uncertain provenance', it was, in fact, run by 'English or Scottish stock and members of the established church', and anti-semitism was widespread in the City.

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.

39/2-3. Geoff Eley, *Defining Social Imperialism: Use and Abuse of an Idea*, *Social History*, No. 2, May 1976. Semmel 13, 24-7 & 223-9. Skidelsky 47-55.

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'.

39/5. Cain 35, 46-51 & 57-9. Skidelsky 56-7. Newton/Porter 16 & 29. Ingham 11 & 162-9. Nugent 146. Marrison 18-24. Gamble 173-4.

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'.

40/1. A.P. Thornton: *The Habit of Authority: Paternalism in British History*, Allen & Unwin, 1966, 333. Thurlow 15 & 21.

40/2-3 & 41/1. Marwick 304-6 & 350-1. Mosley 90-1. Skidelsky 75-7, & *Interests* 189. Clark 9. K. Morgan 176-9. Seaman 108. White 18.

41/2 & 42/3. N. Mosley 9. Skidelsky 78-80. Cross 14.

41/3-4. *Ibid.* Mosley 89-90. *The Aeroplane* 26.2.19. HoC, vol. 112, cols. 671-4, 17.2.19 & vol. 123, col. 111, 15.12.19.

42/1. Cook op. cit..

42-4. Quoted in Cartland 124.

43/1. John Grigg, *Nancy Astor: Portrait of a Pioneer*, Sidgwick & Jackson, 1980, 75-6. Mosley 112. Pugh, *Women*, 173.

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.

43/2. De Courcy 49-50. SE 4.6.39.

43/3-4, 44/1 & 44/3. N. Nicolson 1-2, 58-9 & 210. N. Mosley 12-9. 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.

43/5 & 44/2. de Courcy 12-6, 20-9 & 35-43. N. Mosley 14-9.

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 Belgians.

44/4 & 45/1-2. Mosley 98-103 & 134-5. Campbell, Smith, 527 & 701. Clark 5. Green 80-1.

45/3-4 & 46/1. James 35-6. Mosley 100-4. White 30-1. Skidelsky 81-2.

45/4. White 31. K. Morgan 177-8. Mosley, *From Tory...* op. cit.

46/1-3. James 70. Skidelsky 70-1. Mosley 99. Cross 12. N.

Mosley 8. Sir Colin Coote, *Editorial: The Memoirs of Colin R. Coote*, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1965. Coote was recruited by MI6 when he served in Rome. Phillip Knightley, *The Second Oldest Profession*, 91.

46/3-5 & 47/2. K. Morgan 179-189 & 205-7. Campbell, Smith, 527-9. Ball 39. Cannadine 119 & 158-9.

47/1. Skidelsky 82-3. Mosley 101. Campbell, Smith, 528. DM 16.7.19.

47/3. Ibid. Skidelsky, *Interests*, 190. Addison 191-2. Seymour-Ure 252. S. Taylor 245.

47/4. Ingham 181. Seaman 116-9. Newton/Porter 39.

48/1-4 & 49/1-2. Mosley 10-21, 128 & 138-9. Skidelsky 83 & 95. K. Morgan 206. Newton/Porter 43-4. Webber 20-1. N. Mosley 26. De Courcy 54-5. N. Nicolson 94-6.

49/3-4 & 50/1-2. Ravensdale 36. Skidelsky 85-7. De Courcy 56. White, p. 36.

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

50/5. Newton/Porter 42-3 & 53. Seaman 110.

51/1. Skidelsky, *Interests*, 190. Mosley 9-18.

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.'

51/3-5. Skidelsky 88-9. N. Mosley 24. De Courcy 56-7. Cross 14. Marchoness of Curzon 139-40.

52/1. Mosley 120.

52/2. Hugh David, *Heroes, Mavericks and Bounders: The English Gentleman from Lord Curzon to James Bond*, Michael Joseph, 1991. Skidelsky 89.

52/3 & 53/1. Psychologist Oliver James (*They F*** You Up: How to Survive Family Life*, 2003) argues that 'we will go to great lengths to try to create our childhoods in the choice of lovers. Above all, we will provoke or manipulate people to behave in ways that conform with our childhood experiences.'

James M. Glass, *Hobbes and Narcissicism: Pathology in the State of Nature*, *Political Theory*, Vol. 8, No. 3, August 1980. H. Rosenfeld, *On the Psychopathology of Narcissism: A Clinical Approach*, *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, No. 45, 1964. Dalley 96. Mosley 111-2. Skidelsky 84-5. White 21.

52/4. De Courcy 57. Skidelsky 84-5.

53/2 & 54/1. Cartland 266. James 72. N. Mosley 32-3. Mosley 81-4.

54/2. Cross 15.

CHAPTER FOUR: 'THE VISION SPLENDID'

55/1-2. Mosley 107-8 & 136-40. Skidelsky 82 & 94-6. K. Morgan 207-9.

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

56/1. K. Morgan 183 & 207. Martel 9.

56/2-3. Seamen 123. Skidelsky 96-8. Mosley 150-61.

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.

57/1-3. Margaret FitzHerbert, *The Man Who was Greenmantle: A Biography of Aubrey Herbert*, John Murray, 1983, 226-7. Mosley 152-4, & *From Tory...* op. cit.

58/4-5 & 58/1. Boyce 64, 71, 99 & 107. HoC vol. 135, col. 519-23, 24.11.20.

58/2. *Common Sense*, 4.12.20.

58/3. Newton/Porter 53-4. Seaman 110.
58/4. Mosley, 153. Skidelsky 109-10. HoC vol. 125, cols, 415-6, 13.2.20.
59/1. Seaman 131-5. Martel 5. White 38.
59/2. Skidelsky 109-10. FitzHerbert 226-8. K. Morgan 207.
59/3. Pugh, Women, 253.
59/4 & 60/1-2. Skidelsky 101-12. N. Mosley 28-9. A Liberal Imperialist, Grey had advocated war but only on the basis of a short one in which Britain suffered less from entering it than by staying out.
60/3, 61/1 & 61/3. Ibid. Seaman 56-8, 124-5 & 149. K. Morgan 30, 132, 189-90 & 209. Mosley 145.
61/2. Boyce 70, quoting Hammond MSS, vol. 18. Ball 3. Martel 4. To most Conservatives, the PM was detestable. For A.L. Kennedy there was just the impression 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.'
61/4-5 & 63/2-3. Skidelsky 91 & 113-6.
62/1. Mosley 117. Benewick 53 & 65. N. Mosley 48.
62/2. L. Mosley 221. De Courcy 62-4. Dalley 98. Lord Beaverbrook, Decline and Fall of Lloyd George, Collins, p. 258.
62/3. De Courcy 70-3 & 86-7. Bradford 95 & 127. Ziegler 142-3.
63/1. Mosley 143-4 & 166. Ravensdale 137-8. Mary Soames (ed.), Speaking for themselves: The Personal Letters of Winston and Clementine Churchill, Doubleday, 1998, 254.
64/1-3 & 65/1-2. Seaman 103, 127-8, 146-50 & 162. Cross 15-6. Skidelsky, pp. 117-8. Pugh, Women, 144. Mosley 165. Despite the absence of Liberal and Labour candidates, Mrs Strachey lost in a straight fight to a Conservative. Anti-feminist prejudices ran deep.
64/4. The Nation 11.11.22.
65/2. Mosley 165-6. Fitzherbert 227-8. Skidelsky 121.
65/3. Seaman 141-3. Letter, 28.2.22, 'The Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann, Vol XI. Holmes 294. Mosley 136-7. Christopher Catherwood, Winston's Folly: Imperialism and the Creation of Modern Iraq, Constable, 2004.
65/4. Seaman 114-7. Thurlow 128-9. HoC vol. 141, col. 294, 21.4.21; vol. 144, col. 2269, 20.7.21; vol. 155, col. 1156, 20.6.22; vol. 156, col. 136, 3.7.22. Bellamy 229.
65/5 & 66/1-2. N. Mosley 34, 81 & 94, & Times Magazine, 28.12.02. De Courcy, DM, 106-7. Cross 16-7. Mosley 168. McKibben 26-9. Chesterton 41.
66/1-2 & 67/1. Skidelsky 120-3. Mosley 115-6 & 137. White 47.
67/2. N. Mosley 46. Gottlieb 185. De Courcy 107. Drennan 67-8. Skidelsky, Slump, 47. Lady Astor and Violet Bonham-Carter were godmothers.
67/3. Brendon 44 & 151-2. Seaman 173.
67/4 & 68/1-2. MacKenzies 9 & 16.6.23. Mosley 216. Kramnick/Sheerman 183-4. Cross 16. Carl Stelling (ed.), Yea and Nay: A series of lectures and counter-lectures given at the LSE, Brentano's, 1923, 147-77.
68/3-4. Skidelsky 94. Ridley 154-5. Mosley 136-41.

69/1. Trzebinski 56-8.
69/2. Green 178. Mosley 199.
69/3. William McBrien, Cole Porter: The Definitive Biography, HarperCollins, 1998, 102. Artemis Cooper (ed.), A Durable Fire: The Letters of Duff and Diana Cooper 1913-1950, Collins, 1983, 20.12.23. Letter, Robert Rhodes James, 17.1.97.
69/4. Barbara Cartland, Men I have known, DT 27.6.98.
70/1. Thurlow 31. Chesterton 41. White 23. Booth/Pack 23. D. Mosley interview.
70/2-4 & 71/1-2. Mosley 167 & 170-1. Chesterton 42-4. Seaman 167-75. Drennan 66. Skidelsky 125. McKibbin 33-7.
70/3. Cross 17-8.
71/4. N. Mosley 52.
72/1. Chesterton 42. Thurlow 31.

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.
73/3. Booth/Pack 12-3. S. Glass 7-9 & 17-29.
74/1-3. Ibid. Taylor, Orage, 4-7 & 28. Steele 2-6, 18-20, 35-53, 72-86, 132-50, 187, 224 & 256. Finlay 64-9. Redman 18.
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'.
74/4-5. Edwards 26. Sternhell 239-42. Normand 62-4. Roberts v-vi & 194-5. Sternhell 240-1. Roger Eatwell, On Defining the 'Fascist Minimum': The Centrality of Ideology, Journal of Political Ideologies, 1996, 3. Robert Ferguson, The Short, Sharp Life of T.E. Hulme, Allen Lane, 2003.
75/1. Holton 181-2. Finlay 75. Redman 18 & 160. Webb 126. Marcel van der Linden, Second thoughts on revolutionary syndicalism, Labour History Review, Vol. 63, No. 2, 1998. Richard Price, Contextualising British Syndicalism c. 1907-c. 1920, LHR, Vol. 63, No. 3, 1998.
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.
75/2. Taylor, Orage, 41 & 65-7. S. Glass 5-33. Taylor, Cole, 19 & 33-8. Cornford 155. Redman 21. Hobson's New Age articles were collated (and translated by Por into Italian) as 'National Guilds' in 1914.

75/3. Normand 12-3, 24-6 & 62-5. Finlay 24. Steele 185. Meyers 31-3, 44 & 60-3. Sternhell 29-30, 44 & 237-8. Critical theorist Walter Benjamin warned that the 'aestheticisation of politics leads straight to fascism'.

75/4. Finlay 72. Meyers 56. Jameson 16, 30 & 87. Eatwell op. cit. Introduction by Edward A Shils, George Sorel, Reflections on Violence, Collier Macmillan, 1961, 15-17 & 23. Roberts 191. Sternhell 22-30, 60-2, 75, 91 & 102-3. Ascheim op. cit. 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.

76/1. Taylor, Orage, 77-9 & 82-4.

76/2. A.W. Wright, Fabianism and Guild Socialism, International Review of Social History, 1978. Booth/Pack 14. S. Glass 36-47. 76/3-4 & 77/1-2. Finlay 1, 10 & 23. Thurlow 91, & Return, 104-6. Redman 42-53. Townshend 73. Webb 120-1. Taylor, Orage, 102-4. Morrison 50. S. Glass 53.

77/3. Jameson 108. Meyers 68. Redman 17-22, 44-9 & 66. Finlay 72. Conford 157-61. Sternhell 22 & 85. Brian Cheyette (Jewish stereotyping and English literature 1875-1920: Towards a political analysis' in Kushner/Lunn 28) shows that Eliot and social creditors Pound and Lewis were closely aligned with 'populist representations of the Jew as embodying the evils of modern day capitalism and liberal democracy'. Eliot in his early poetry such as 'Burbank with a Baedeker' (1920), represented the Jew, in a theme common to the New Age, as a symbol of decaying European civilisation.

77/4. S. Glass 64-5. Steele 113 & 229. Webb 112-3 & 125. Pound, Lewis and Hulme belonged to the Quest Society. Taylor, Orage, 83 & 137. Ramiro de Maeztu, after returning to Spain, came under the influence of Spengler and fascism. He was imprisoned and executed by Republican forces in 1936 - supporting the ideas of Action Espanola.

78/1. Ritschell 26-8. Adrian Oldfield, The Independent Labour Party and Planning, 1920-26, International Review of Social History, Vol. 21, 1976, & The growth of the concept of economic planning in the doctrine of the British Labour Party, 1914-1935, Ph.D thesis, University of Sheffield, 1973. Dowse 65-8 & 76. ILP Conference report, 1921, 67, & 1922, 92.

78/2. Booth/Pack 22. Hollis 46 & 68. Pimlott 61. J. Townshend 7 & 79-80.

78/3. J. Townshend, 7, 79-80, 98-9 & 106. Cheyette, 20-1 & 108, & Kushner/Lunn, 17-21. Holmes, Anti-Semitism, 13 & 65-9. Feldman 265-6. Claire Hirschfield, The British Left and the "Jewish Conspiracy": A Case Study of Modern Antisemitism, Jewish Social Studies, 1981. Gisela C. Lebzelter, Anti-Semitism: A Focal Point for the British Radical Right, in Kennedy/Nicholls, 94.

In the Marxist Social Democratic Federation journal, Justice,

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.'

79/1. Newman 11. Ritschell 57. Skidelsky, *Interests*, 67.

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.'

79/3. Redman 52-63. Finlay 202-6. F. Beckett 80-2.

79/4. Wood 193-4. Dowse 96-7. NL 30.3.23 & 20.4.23.

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.

30. Neal Wood, *Communism and British Intellectuals*, 1959, 159-

80/3. Oldfield op. cit.

CHAPTER SIX: THE LABOUR PARTY

81/1. Cross 18.

81/2. Chesterton 47-9. Mosley 17. D. Mosley, *Loved Ones*, 161.

81/3-4. Gottlieb 186. Mosley 172. Scanlon 33.

82/1-3. Wertheimer xii.

82/4. Brockway 33. Brendon 44 & 152. Benewick 59. Cross 21.

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.

83/1. Mosley 174-5 & 217-8. Seaman 168. Cross 21. Cline 11 & 17.

83/2-4. HoC vol. 170, col. 706, 28.2.24. Boyce 7, 12 & 51.

Mosley 19-20. F. Beckett 64. See David Kynaston, *The City of London*, Volume III: *Illusions of Gold*, 1914-1945, Chatto, 1992.

83/5. Mackenzies, Vol4, 22.

83/1-2. Mosley 172-4. Seaman 176. G 31.7.82. Skidelsky 136-8.

Boyce 84-6. Wood 158.

83/3. Cross 19. Brewer 48. *The Worker* 4.8.24.

83/4. Chesterton 53. *Birmingham Evening Dispatch* 15.8.24.

85/1. Benewick 58-9. Skidelsky 130-8. White 52. TC 12.9.24. J. Johnson, Birmingham Labour and the New Party, Vol. 9, No. 12, April 1931. Thomas 46. N. Mosley 88. Pimlott 65-6. David Dilks, Neville Chamberlain: Pioneering and reform, 1869-1929, Cambridge University Press, 1984.

85/2. Letter from Mosley in Allen Collection, 20.9.24, Dowse 77.

85/3. Brockway 64. Pimlott 152-3. Mosley 174 & 218.

85/4. TS 20.9.24. Mosley 196. Thompson 32 & 39. Thomas 46.

86/1-2. Thomas 36 & 46-7. Green 319-21. Newman 1-3. Strachey, The Education of A Communist, Left Review, December 1934.

Skidelsky 137. James 38. Boyce 64.

86/3. Stuart Macintyre, John Strachey 1901-1931: The Making of an English Marxist, MA thesis, Monash University, 1971.

Strachey, Revolution by Reason, 173 & 253. Mosley 196. Thomas 37.

86/4 & 87/1. Thomas 49 & 69. Martin Pugh, 'Class traitors': Conservative recruits to Labour, 1900-30, English Historical Review, Vol. LXIII, No. 450, Feb 98. Wood 116. T 15.3.02.

Mosley 26. Stuart Rawnsley, Fascism and Fascists in Britain, Bradford, 1983.

87/3. Skidelsky 131-2. Mosley 177.

87/4-5 & 88/1. Skidelsky 132. Pugh, Women, 60 & 144-5.

Chesterton 56. Thomas 48. Brewer 48-9. A.H. Booth, British Hustings 1924-1950, Frederick Muller, 1956, 64.

88/2. Birmingham Mail 24.11.24.

88/3-4. N. Mosley 59-60. D. Moggeridge, The Collected Writings of John Maynard Keynes, 1981, pp. xix-xi & 439. Mosley 120-4, 178-9, 253-4, 319-20 & 486-7. Skidelsky 140-1. Ritschell 57.

89/1. Mosley, Revolution by Reason, 1925, 5. Dalley 90.

Skidelsky 133. N. Mosley. 59. Thurlow 18-9. Bentley, pp. 72 & 164-71.

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.

89/2. Holroyd 109. Mosley 148-9 & 224-5. Brian Holden Reid, Impressions of Sir Oswald Mosley, 25.8.77. Bentley 171-80.

89/3-4. Aschheim op. cit. Bentley 166, 188-8, 223 & 233-4.

Desmond MacCarthy, Shaw: The Plays, David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1951, 34 & 101. Hayes 72-3. Drennan 291. Mosley 193 & 224. Thurlow 19-20. Holroyd 109.

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'.

90/1-2. Mosley 13-5, 125-7 & 185. Reid, Impressions, 25.8.77. Lachman 20 & 82-3. 43. Skidelsky 133-8. Thompson 13.

91/3-4. Ritschell 30. Ingham 37 & 77-9. James 73.

91/1-2. Skidelsky, Slump, 168. Oldfield op. cit. H.N. Brailsford, Socialism for Today, 1925. Pimlott 154-5. Dowse 131-4. Newton/Porter 58-9. Ritschell 30. Rawnsley, Phd, 50. Thurlow 91.

91/3. Mosley 179 & 185.

91/4 & 92/1. T 15 & 20.4.25.

92/2. Pimlott 59. Skidelsky 142 & 150. Wood 160. Rawnsley, p. 51. Snowden's The Living Wage had advocating an Arbitration Board to fix minimum wages, pre-dated Mosley's idea by 13 years.

92/3. Pimlott 63 & 154-60. Booth/Pack 23. White 39.

92/4. Finlay 95, 124-6, 133 & 148-55. Webb 121.

93/1. Dowse 130-1. White 125.

93/2-3. Mosley 220, & Revolution 8-13. TC 10.7.25. Ritschell 58-6. Boyce 88-9. DH 8.8.25.

93/4-5 & 94/1-3. Finlay 206. Mosley 179-82, & Revolution 11-9, 14-7 & 21-4. Booth/Pack 23-6. Thompson 16-8. Rawnsley, p. 52. T 20.4.25. TC, 19.6.25. Lloyd, Stabilisation, 24-55. 75-8, 127-8. ILP Living Wage 13-9. Pimlott, Labour, 60-1. Skidelsky 126 & 141.

94/4 & 95/1. Thurlow, Return, 102-3. N. Mosley 69. Lebzelter 87. Webb 125. Chesterton 58-9.

95/2. Mark Burrows, 'The left-wing road to Fascism: An investigation of the influence of left-wing ideas upon the political ideology of the BUF', Ph.d thesis, University of Sheffield, 1999, 118-9. Mosley, Revolution, 24-5. Rawnsley, Phd, 52.

95/3. Brockway, Left, 147. NL 14.8.25. MG 10.8.25. Benewick 57.

95/4. MacKenzies 54. Mosley 172-3 & 221, & Revolution 7.

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.

96/2. Chisholm 142. Amabel Williams-Ellis, All Stracheys are Cousins, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983. Thomas 67. Robert Boothby, I Fight To Live, 1947, 171. Mosley 187-9. Chesterton 62. Swimming has a strong romantic significance. 'There is the desire to embrace the water which sometimes involves a death wish to sink.' The swimmer, with a child's eye view, glimpses a secret life. He feels spiritually alive and renews himself. Roger Deakin, Waterlog: A Swimmer's Journey Through Britain, Chatto & Windus, 1999.

96/3. N. Mosley 84-6.

97/1. Thomas 50-3. Finlay 207. Newman 12-5. Strachey, Revolution, 253. NL 4.12.25. Mactintye op. cit. Strachey was regularly heard on the BBC in discussions on philosophy with C.E.M. Joad, with whom he became increasingly close. Joad,

though, 'dominated the talks with his cynical hedonism'.
98/2-3. Skidelsky, Keynes, 247. Newman 13. Dalton to Strachey, 3.1.26, & Keynes to Strachey, 5 & 9.1.26, Strachey Papers, in 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.
97/4. Dalton, Labour Magazine, Feb 1926. Newman 11-4. Ingham 77-9.
98/1-2. Wood 195. SR Nov. 1925. Wertheimer 17-8. Newman 15. Pimlott 153-4.
98/3-4 & 99/1-2. Skidelsky 147 & 305. Boyce 101-2, 112 & 398. White 54 & 71. N. Mosley 61. Mosley 194-200.
99/3-5 & 100/1-4. Charles S. Maier, *Between Taylorism and Technocracy: European ideologies and the vision of industrial productivity in the 1920s*, JCH, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1970. Ray Batchelor, *Henry Ford; Mass production, Modernism and design*, Manchester University Press, 1994, 23-30, 47-8 & 73-9. Mosley 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. 1970. Letters, Roosevelt archive, Washington. Mosley 195.
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'.
101/3. Ritschell 60. NL 26.3.26, 2.4.26 & 1.10.26. Boyce 105. 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.
101/4. Mosley 186.
101/5. ILP Conference Report, 1926, 86.
101/6. Mosley, 'The Birmingham Proposals and The ILP Living Wage Policy', TC 16.4.26.
102/1. White 56-8. Lord Elton, *Among Others*, 1938, 214.
102/2-4 & 103/1. Skidelsky 242. Brendon 45-6. Mosley 192 & 214-5. N. Mosley 90. Skidelsky 156-7 & 173. Cross 25-6. Newman 18-9. Haynes 412.
103/2-3. Paton 273. Mosley 221. Brockway, *Tomorrow*, 77.
104/1-2. Pimlott 61. Oldfield op. cit. ILP Living Wage 38-40. NL 8.10.26. Ritschell 33. White 69. Mosley 220. Booth/Pack 24. Dowse 139-40. Wood 194.
104/3. Mackenzies, Vol 3, 53-5 & 103.
104/4. Chamberlain diary op. cit.
104/5 & 105/1-3. Donoghue/Jones 96-7. Brewer 49-50. N. Mosley 62. Skidelsky 158. Westminster Gazette 17.12.26. Snowden 874-78. J. Johnson, op. cit.

105/4-5 & 106/1-2. White 57. Skidelsky 159-633. Chesterton 65-7. Cross 27. DM 12.4.26. DH 14.12.26. Smethwick News 18.12.26. Brewer 50. MP 18.12.26. T 1.1.27.

106/3. Skidelsky 151-61. ILP, Annual Reports 1927 & 1928. NL 14.1.27, 18.2.27, 1.4.27 & 10.6.27. SR April & July 1927.

Finlay 208. Webb 121. Macintyre op. cit. Thompson 37.

The social creditors 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

107/1. MacKenzies 120. Snowden, II, 876. Elton 14.

107/2. Ellen Wilkinson, Peeps at Politicians, 1930, 38.

Skidelsky 165. DE 5.5.27.

107/3. Glass, Hobbes, op. cit. Skidelsky 163-72.

108/1. Amabel Williams-Ellis, The Wall of Glass, Jonathan Cape, 1927, 58 & 215. Lydia, 16.10.26, in Skidelsky, Keynes, 246.

108/2-4. De Courcy 120. N. Mosley 68-9 & 94-6. Mosley 198.

Cannadine 262.

109/1. Thomas 64-5. SR April & July 1927. Cline 110.

109/2-3. Skidelsky 152-9 & 167. SR September 1927. Pimlott, pp. 156-9.

109/4. N. Mosley 109. Skidelsky 173. Chesterton 73-4.

110/1-2. Marquand 478-9. N. Mosley 113. Thomas 65. TC 23.12.27. White 46-7. Wertheimer xiv/xv & 16.

110/3-4. F. Beckett 81. McKibben 32-5 & 40-1. Paton 336-7.

111/1. Gottlieb 186. De Courcy 122. DT 15.8.98.

111/2-4. Philip Ziegler, Osbert Sitwell, Chatto & Windus, 1998, 18-9. Bradford, Sachie, 167 & 183-4. Philip Hoare, Serious Pleasures. Hugo Vickers, Cecil Beaton: The Authorised Autobiography, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985, 103. Zita Jungman became engaged to Arthur James, the rich nephew of the Duke of Wellington.

111/5. Michael Luke, David Tennant and the Gargoyle Years, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1991, 17 & 35.

112/1. Joan Wyndham, DT 6.7.98.

112/2. Anne Chisholm, Nancy Cunard: A Biography, Penguin, 1981, 117. C. Mosley 29, June 1928.

112/3. Holroyd, Shaw, 169-70. De Courcy 122 & 131.

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'.

112/2-3 & 5. N. Mosley, 91-2, 114-20 & 156. Mosley 17.

Chesterton 74.

114/2-3. Green 247. Lees-Milne, Nicolson, 339. N. Nicolson 89-90.

114/3. Thomas 70-1. Newman 19. NL 23.11.28-15.2.29. Macintyre op. cit..

114/4. Taylor, Beaverbrook, 254.

115/1-4. Pimlott, Dalton, 153-4 & 218. Marquand, MacDonald, 479-81. Wertheimer 128. Labour Party Conference Reports, 1928, 232. Laybourn 102. Skidelsky, JMK, 130-218.

115/5 & 116/1. Pimlott 62-3. Skidelsky 42-3, 134, 155 & 174.

Kenneth Young, Churchill and Beaverbrook: A Study in Friendship and Politics, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1966, 105.

116/2. MacKenzies 155. Skidelsky, Interests, 37.

Kramnick/Sheerman 193-4.

116/3-4 & 117/1. 'Janitor', The Feet of the Young Men: Some Candid Comments on the Rising Generation, Duckworth, 1928, 11-25.

117/2. Cross 21. Neil Riddell, 'The Age of Cole?' G.D.H. Cole and the British Labour Movement 1929-1933, Historical Journal, Vol. 38, No. 4, 1995.

117/3-4. Ibid. Skidelsky, Slump 68-70, & Interests 38. Stewart 50-1. Newton/Porter 69. Mosley 271.

118/1-3. Boyce 227. N. Mosley 119-20. Skidelsky 168-71. Mosley 239-46. Beaumeister, T 15.3.02.

118/3. Vaill 209. Thomas 71-8. SR, May 1929. Newman 24.

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

119/1 & 120/1. Brewer 52 & 59-60. Wertheimer 148-9. TC 1.6.23. J. Johnson, Birmingham, op. cit.

119/2-4 & 120/2. De Courcy 132-4. Staffordshire Sentinel,

22.4.29. Pugh, Women, 171-5 & 192. Wertheimer 190. N. Mosley 117-8.

120/3. Anthony Sampson, Macmillan: A Study in Ambiguity, Allan Lane, 1967, 28. Cannadine 276.

CHAPTER EIGHT: 'A YOUNG MAN IN A HURRY'

121/1-2. Cross 32-4. Kingsley Martin, Harold Laski, 1953. K. Young 183. M.A. Hamilton, Remembering My Good Friends, 1944, 181. Farr 21.

121/3. Seaman 206. Catlin 76-8. Skidelsky 182. Boyce 17 & 226. Mosley, p. 231.

122/1. Marquand 493. K. Harris 86. Mosley 222 & 231-4. Shinwell 136. Shepherd 258. Skidelsky, Slump, 110.

122/2-3. Marquand 492. F. Beckett 82-6. Cline 103. Brockway, Tomorrow, 133.

122/4. Seaman 212. Brendon 154-5. Churchill, Great Contemporaries, 229.

122/5. Boyce 227. Meville, The Truth about the New Party, 1932, 29. Smart 45.

122/1. T. Jones 21.6.30. Catlin 543.

122/2. Mosley archive Birmingham University.
 122/3-4. Laybourn 122. Skidelsky 180-1, & Slump, 113. Riddell op. cit. Addison 291-2.
 123/1. Boyce 218. SE 30.6.29. K. Young 95. Skidelsky 183-4.
 123/2. Skidelsky 184. Thomas Johnston, Memories, 1946, 106. Lansbury, My England, 1934, 142-3. Cline 146. Raymond Postgate, The Life of George Lansbury, 1951, 256. MacKenzies, Vol4, 184.
 123/3. De Courcy 135. N. Mosley 132. Cartland 256-7.
 123/4 & 124/1-2. Skidelsky 185-9, & Slump, 116, 126 & 443-4. Mackenzies, 8.9.29. Cross 34-5. Boyce 228. Labour Press Service Bulletin, 19.9.29. O 21.1.68.
 124/3. Riddell op. cit. Mosley 253-9.
 125/1. Taylor, Beaverbrook, 269 & 277. Ball 6 & 40-1. Clark 77. Addison 293.
 125/2-4. A.L. Rowse, Notebook, 1995, p. 47. Campbell 38-9. Hollis 71-9. Lee 70-5. G 22.7.04. 'A Kind of Exile', ITV, 1970.
 127/1. Brendon 63-5 & 153. Skidelsky 191, & Slump 112-9 & 141.
 127/2. HoC, 31.10.29. Webb diary, 2.11.29. Raymond Challinor letter, Lobster, 42, Winter 2001.
 127/3. NA MacDonald Papers, File 17b. Skidelsky, Slump, 155-6.
 128/4. Taylor, Beaverbrook, 268. Marrison 328-9. W.R. Garside, Party politics, Political Economy and British Protectionism, 1919-1932, University of Birmingham, Vol. 83, No. 265. Jan. 98.
 128/1. Boyce 112-3, 137 & 155. T 16.2.27. MP 19.2.27.
 128/2-3. Newton/Porter 74. Garside op. cit. Boyce 111 & 179. Marrison 378-9.
 129/1. Marrison 328. Newton/Porter 55. Ritschell 30 & 35-8. Davenport-Hines 187 & 198. R. Boothby et al, Industry and the State, 1927. Ball 32. Seymour-Ure 253. Clark 78. Taylor, Beaverbrook, 268.
 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.
 129/2-3. Mosley 235-6. Donoghue/Jones 98, 133 & 155. Marquand 545. Skidelsky, Slump, 175.
 129/4. Mosley 137. MacKenzies, Vol4, 202. Marquand 534. Skidelsky 191-3, & Slump 192.
 129/5 & 130/1. N. Mosley 126. Skidelsky, Slump, 84-5, 113 & 192. Riddell op. cit. Harris 86. Brockway, Tomorrow, 209. Thomas, My Story, 1937, 170.
 130/2. ND 15.1.30. Cross 44. Meville, NP, 29. Cline 114. W.F. Mandle, Sir Oswald Mosley's Resignation From the The Labour Government, Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand, Vol. 10, May 1963.
 130/3. Ibid. Macintyre 109. Skidelsky 203 & 249. Ritschell 61. Mosley 250-1.
 131/1. Ritschell 61. Mosley, 'Unemployment Policy', CAB 24/209, CP 31 (30), 23.1.30. Booth/Pack 30-1. Skidelsky, 196, & Slump 198-200. G.C. Peden, The "Treasury View" on Public Works and Employment in the Interwar Period, The Economic History Review, vol. XXXVII, No. 2, May 1984. Mosley 250.
 131/2. Booth/Pack 31-2. Mosley 247-52. Cline 112-3. Cross 36.

Skidelsky 205. Marquand 534-6. MD P 1/446. Postgate 257.
131/3. Marquand 545. W.F. Deedes, 'When Mosley was trampled
on', STel, 3.8.69. Skidelsky, Slump, 176. Donoghue/Jones 157-
8. HoC vol. 234, col. 1643, 2.2.30, & col. 1952, 5.2.30.
Moggridge 312-5.
132/2. Thomson 58-9. DH 30.5/6.30. MacDonald diary, 9.2.30, in
Marquand, 536-7, MD P 1/445. Garside op. cit. Thomas papers,
U1625/C114, MacDonald to Mosley, 19.2.30; U1625/C102, MacDonald
to Thomas, 21.2.30. De Courcy 138.
132/3. ND 15.2.30. Chisholm/Davie 293-6 & 310. Boyce 252 & 286.
K. Young 115-6. Stanley was the son of Lord Derby, 'the King of
Lancashire', who had been a hostile critic of the Tariff
Reformers but now supported Beaverbook.
132/4. Clark 77. Ball 8-23, 34, 52-66 & 93.
133/1. ND (unpublished), July 1932. Marquand 538 & 700-1. N.
Mosley 109-112.
133/2. ND 12.3.30. C.P. 134 (30) in MDP 1/446. Snowden, An
Autobiography, II, 875. Mosley 237-8. Skidelsky 201, & Keynes
351.
133/3. Thomson 65. Mosley 235. W-ER 22.3.30. Partha Sarathi
Gupti, Imperialism and the British Labour Movement, 1914-1964,
Macmillan, 1975, 148-9.
133/4. MacDonald diary 29.4.30 in Marquand 438. DT 3.8.69. CAB
24/211. C.P. 1 134(30), Report of the Unemployment Policy
Committee, 1.5.30. Boyce 261. Ingham 245.
134/1. T. Jones Diary 13.5.30.
134/2. Cab 32/84, E.E. (B) (30) 36, p. 11, para 4. NA T.
175/26.
134/2. Cross 19-20. Ritschell 70.
134/3. Bellamy/Saville, Dictionary of Labour History, 1972. F.
Beckett, The Rebel Who Lost His Cause, History Today, May 1994.
134/4. K. Young 121. G 31.7.82 & 11.12.99. Ball 153. F. Beckett
89-95.
135/1-2. Boothby to Mosley 18.5.30, in James 102-4.
135/3 & 137/1. C.F. Meville, NP, 29, & Political Upheaval: Sir
Oswald Mosley, Fortnightly Review, Vol. 129, May 1931. DT
3.8.69.
136-1 & 137/2-3. Marquand 539. N. Mosley 146. Mosley 235.
136/2. MacKenzies, Vol4, 216.
136/3. DH 21.5.30. Catlin 83.
137/4. Cross 37-8. K. Young 121. De Courcy 139.
137/5. Mandle, Resignation, op. cit. Cline 111. Catlin 78.
137/6. Brewer 54-5. Marquand 540. CAB 29/30.
138/1-3. Ibid. Skidelsky 212-3, & Slump 209-11. Shinwell 154.
Brown 157-8. T & DH 23/4.5.30. Cline 115 & 146. Mosley 260-1.
138/4. Ibid. Ravensdale 139. Strauss diary entry, Nuffield Oral
History, 19.1.62.
138/5. Ibid. Strachey 133. Mandle, Resignation, op. cit. Brewer
54.

CHAPTER NINE: 'AFTER BALDWIN AND MACDONALD COME?'

139/1 & 3. Skidelsky 214-7. Cross 38-9.
139/2 & 140/2. Newton/Porter 70-1. HoC cols. 1347-58 & 1371-3,

28.5.30. Ritschell 61-4. Skidelsky, Slump, 201.
140/1. TS 7.6.30.
140/3. Mandle, Resignation, op. cit. Cross 40. Ritschell 78.
Wilkinson 40.
140/4. Lovell 135. MacKenzies, Vol4, 29.5.30, 217-8.
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.
141/1. Peter Clarke, The Keynesian Revolution in the Making
1924-1936, Oxford: Clarendon, 1970, 161. Skidelsky, 218-20.
Taylor, History, 286.
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
Scandinavia 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'.
141/3-4. Addison 296-8. K. Young 116. T 21.6.30. Stewart 81.
142/2. HoC vol. 241, cols. 1347-58 & 1371-2.
142/3. Beaverbook to OM, 17.7.30, in Taylor, Beaverbrook, 277-
8. ND 28.5.31.
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 boulder 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.
143/3. Ritschell 53 & 71-2. MacKenzies, Vol4, 223-4.
143/4. Mandle, Resignation, op. cit. Catlin, Fascist, op. cit.
143/5. Laybourn 125. Marquand, MacDonald, 543-60.
144/1. Stephen Roskill, Hankey: Man of Secrets, Vol. III 1931-
63, Collins, 1974, 162-3.
144/2. G 11.1.00. N. Mosley 112. Interview, Michael Quill,
6.6.98. Mosley 83-4. In 1932, Bailey's son, John, married Diana
Churchill. Bailey was a close friend of Churchill.
144/3-5, 145/1-4 & 146/1-2. De Courcy 142-4. N. Mosley 36-9,
108, 155-64. O'Keefe pp. 290-1.