

146/3. Rosenfeld and Glass op. cit.  
146/4. Chesterton 78. Catlin 82-3 & 547. F. Beckett 126.  
147/1. Cudlipp 157-60.  
147/2. Ingham 186-90. T 19/20.9.30. Boyce 257. G 20 & 26.9.30.  
E.H.H. Green, *The Case of Arthur Steel-Maitland*, in E. Green 95.  
147/3-4. Adeney 79, & *The Motor makers: The Turbulent History of Britain's Car Industry*, Collins, 1988, 119-121. Boyce 283-6.  
Overy 100-18. Ingham 190-1. By the mid-twenties half of all Morris sales were made on hire purchase, which enabled it to outsell its nearest rival, the Ford Motor company.  
A keen sportsman, who had been mentioned four times in dispatches in the war, Portal was also director of the Great Western Railway company and Commercial Union Assurance. Gibson Jarvie ran Morris's innovative hire-purchase scheme.  
148/1-2. K. Young 125. Boyce 278-9. Headlam 193. Marquand, MacDonald, 574-75.  
148/3. Brewer 53. Bullock 450. Cross 40.  
149/1-4 & 150/1-2. Brewer 55-6. Marquand, MacDonald, 551-2 & 568-9. Catlin 84. W.F. Mandle, *Sir Oswald Leaves the Labour Party*, March 1931, *Australian Journal of Labour History*, Vol. 12, May 1967. White 111. Boyce 277. Foot 124-5. Report of the Labour Party Conference, 1930, 200-3. Brockway, *Left*, 211. T 10.10.30. Mosley 261. MG 8.10.30. Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill, Companion* Vo. 2 to Vol. 5: Documents, *The Wilderness Years, 1929-35*, Heinemann, 1981, 195.  
150/3. T obituary 15.1.60. Brown 7, 151 & 163. Brown dedicated his autobiography to the historian and later Nazi sympathiser, Arthur Bryant.  
150/4. Marcus Collins, *The New Party 1931-2*, Thesis, Cambridge University, 1992, 11. Brown 157 & 211.  
151/1. Brockway, *Tomorrow*, 143. Campbell, Bevan, 39-40.  
151/2. Forgan (1891-1976), in Bellamy/Saville (eds.), *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, Vol. 1, Macmillan, 1972. Cross 46.  
151/3. ES 30.11.23. Pugh, *Women*, 63.  
151/4. N. Mosley 168-9. Hollis 51 & 75-80.  
152/1. Brockway, *Tomorrow*, 145. Mandle, *Leaves*, op. cit. Skidelsky, *Interests*, 194, & *Slump* 84. Bullock 450. Marquand, MacDonald, 580.  
152/2. Brown 211. M. Collins, op. cit., 12. Skidelsky, *Keynes*, 377, & *Interests*, 184. Laybourn 124. Marquand, MacDonald, 572.  
152/3. Mosley 262.  
152/4. W-ER 7.6.30. Ritschell 145-6.  
153/1-3. Boothby 91-2. Mandle, *Leaves*, op. cit. Mosley 273-4. Cross 42. T 21.9.73. Drennan 243 & 261-4. W.E.D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1932. Andrew 373. Thurlow 43-44, 120 & 137. *Conversation with Richard Thurlow*, University of Sheffield, 19.4.94. F. Beckett 120-1. Jones diary, 26.10.30.  
153/4. T 30.10.30. Mandle, *Leaves*, op. cit. HoC vol. 244, cols. 173-4, 29.10.30. NR Nov. 1930.  
154/1. Colin R. Coote, *The Other Club*, 1972, 67-7.  
154/2. HD 3.11.30.

146/3. Rosenfeld and Glass op. cit.  
146/4. Chesterton 78. Catlin 82-3 & 547. F. Beckett 126.  
147/1. Cudlipp 157-60.  
147/2. Ingham 186-90. T 19/20.9.30. Boyce 257. G 20 & 26.9.30.  
E.H.H. Green, *The Case of Arthur Steel-Maitland*, in E. Green 95.  
147/3-4. Adeney 79, & *The Motor makers: The Turbulent History of Britain's Car Industry*, Collins, 1988, 119-121. Boyce 283-6. Overy 100-18. Ingham 190-1. By the mid-twenties half of all Morris sales were made on hire purchase, which enabled it to outsell its nearest rival, the Ford Motor company. A keen sportsman, who had been mentioned four times in dispatches in the war, Portal was also director of the Great Western Railway company and Commercial Union Assurance. Gibson Jarvie ran Morris's innovative hire-purchase scheme.  
148/1-2. K. Young 125. Boyce 278-9. Headlam 193. Marquand, MacDonald, 574-75.  
148/3. Brewer 53. Bullock 450. Cross 40.  
149/1-4 & 150/1-2. Brewer 55-6. Marquand, MacDonald, 551-2 & 568-9. Catlin 84. W.F. Mandle, *Sir Oswald Leaves the Labour Party*, March 1931, *Australian Journal of Labour History*, Vol. 12, May 1967. White 111. Boyce 277. Foot 124-5. Report of the Labour Party Conference, 1930, 200-3. Brockway, *Left*, 211. T 10.10.30. Mosley 261. MG 8.10.30. Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill, Companion Vol. 2 to Vol. 5: Documents, The Wilderness Years, 1929-35*, Heinemann, 1981, 195.  
150/3. T obituary 15.1.60. Brown 7, 151 & 163. Brown dedicated his autobiography to the historian and later Nazi sympathiser, Arthur Bryant.  
150/4. Marcus Collins, *The New Party 1931-2*, Thesis, Cambridge University, 1992, 11. Brown 157 & 211.  
151/1. Brockway, *Tomorrow*, 143. Campbell, Bevan, 39-40.  
151/2. Forgan (1891-1976), in Bellamy/Saville (eds.), *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, Vol. 1, Macmillan, 1972. Cross 46.  
151/3. ES 30.11.23. Pugh, *Women*, 63.  
151/4. N. Mosley 168-9. Hollis 51 & 75-80.  
152/1. Brockway, *Tomorrow*, 145. Mandle, *Leaves*, op. cit. Skidelsky, *Interests*, 194, & *Slump* 84. Bullock 450. Marquand, MacDonald, 580.  
152/2. Brown 211. M. Collins, op. cit., 12. Skidelsky, *Keynes*, 377, & *Interests*, 184. Laybourn 124. Marquand, MacDonald, 572.  
152/3. Mosley 262.  
152/4. W-ER 7.6.30. Ritschell 145-6.  
153/1-3. Boothby 91-2. Mandle, *Leaves*, op. cit. Mosley 273-4. Cross 42. T 21.9.73. Drennan 243 & 261-4. W.E.D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1932. Andrew 373. Thurlow 43-44, 120 & 137. *Conversation with Richard Thurlow*, University of Sheffield, 19.4.94. F. Beckett 120-1. Jones diary, 26.10.30.  
153/4. T 30.10.30. Mandle, *Leaves*, op. cit. HoC vol. 244, cols. 173-4, 29.10.30. NR Nov. 1930.  
154/1. Colin R. Coote, *The Other Club*, 1972, 67-7.  
154/2. HD 3.11.30.

154/3. T 15/19.11.30.  
 154/4. Mosley 276-7. Stewart 58. Booth/Pack 52. Ball 162-3.  
 154/5. Owen, HoC Nov. quoted in Skidelsky 234-5. T 15.11.30.  
 155/1. Hugh Dalton Political Diary (1986) 20.11.30. MG 19, 21 & 27.11.30. T 26/28.11.30. Mandle, Leaves, op. cit.  
 155/2. ND 30.11.30  
 155/3. Davenport-Hines 198. Ball 153 & 160-2.  
 155/4-5 & 156/1-2. Skidelsky 237. Mosley 262-3. Chesterton 90. Ritschell. 69 & 73-4. T 10.12.30.  
 156/3-4. Skidelsky 239. ES 4.12.30. Benewick 66. Brewer 57. They included Oliver Baldwin, J. Batey, Bevan, W.G. Grove, J. Lovat-Fraser, J.F. Horrabin, S.F. Markham, J.J. McShane, H.T. Muggeridge, M. Philips Price and C.J. Simmons.  
 156/5 & 157/1. Chesterton 91-3. MG 8.12.30. T 9.12.30.  
 157/2-3. Cole to Webb, 9.12.30, BLPES, Passfield Papers, II/4. Skidelsky 138-42, 241 & 302-8, & Slump, 303, & Keynes 438. Brewer 56. DH 8.12.30. Mandle, Leaves, op. cit. T 10.12.30. NL 12.12.30. BBC radio, 12.12.30. Lees-Milne, Nicolson, 8.  
 157/4. T & MG 17.12.30. Ritschell 70-80. Industry and State, 135-45. Mandle, Leaves, op. cit.  
 158/1. Ritschell 8-9, 50 & 77-81. D. Winch, Economics and Policy, 214-5. Referring to Paul Addison, The Road to 1945, 35, & Marwick, British Society, 328. G.D.H. Cole, Principles of Planning, 1935, vi.  
 158/2. T 12 & 18.12.30.  
 158/3. Mandle, Leaves, op. cit. Jones Diary 260. Ritschell 96.  
 158/4 & 159/1-2. James 105-7.  
 159/3. Taylor, Beaverbrook, 305. T 9.1.31. SE 11.1.31. DH 22.1.31. Foot 129.  
 159/4 & 160/1. HoC, 28.1.31. Weir 270-1. Mandle, Leaves, op. cit. MG 29.1.31.  
 160/2. ND 26.1.31.  
 160/3. Ritschell 54-68 & 82-3. Derek Crabtree and A.P. Thirlwall, Keynes and the Role of the State. The Tenth Keynes Seminar held at the University of Canterbury, 1991, Macmillan/St Martin's Press, 1991, 5-6 & 27-8.  
 160/3. Queen's Quarterly January 1931. Boothby to Mosley, 30.1.31. James 108.  
 161/1. Mosley 345. Overy 103.  
 161/2. DH 2.2.31. ND 68.

#### CHAPTER TEN: THE NEW PARTY

162/1. Harrison 11, 17 & 235.  
 162/2. HoC vol. 248 cols. 435-449, 11.2.31. MG & T 13.2.31.  
 162/3. K. Young 153. WER 14.2.31.  
 163/1. Wells Archive, University of Illinois Library at Urbana-

Champaign. Coupland, JCH. The Autocracy of Mr Pelham 164.  
Catlin 85. Bishop 385. Mosley 226-8.  
163/2. ND 68. Barry diary 17.2.31, quoted in Ritschell 146 &  
89. Joad, Prologomena to Fascism, Political Quarterly, 1931.  
163/3-4. Foot 130-32. MG 24.2.31. Jennie Lee, Tomorrow is a New  
Day, Cresset, 1939, 80. Cross 43. Benewick, 13.12.60, 67.  
Catlin 86. Williams-Ellis, Stracheys, 144-5. N. Mosley 170.  
164/1 & 164/4. MacKenzies, Vol4, 239-40, 1.3.31. Seymour-Ure  
246. Clark 82.  
164/2. A National Policy, 1931, 12-5, 22 & 40-41. Thomas 62.  
164/3. Gamble 175-7. Newman 39-40. TS 28.2.31.  
164/5. Brewer 62. BP & DH 25.2.31. Mosley 275.  
165/1. MG 2.3.31. Foot 132. Skidelsky 248. DR 15.6.54.  
Brockway, Tomorrow, 199. Brittain/Holtby 361. NL 27.2.31.  
165/2. Brown 159. Ritschell 89. Catlin, History, op. cit. M.  
Collins 15. Mosley 283. DM 12.3.31. Drennan 157. White 112.  
Taylor, Beaverbrook 305.  
165/3. Marquand, MacDonald, 592. A.J.A. Morris, C.P. Trevelyan,  
Belfast: Blackstaff, 1977, 184.  
166/1. Ritschell 84. Johnson, Birmingham, op. cit. Benewick 75.  
ND 69, 12.3.31.. Taylor, Beaverbrook, 315. Two former Liberals,  
Sir J.W. Pratt, parliamentary under-secretary of health for  
Scotland (1919-22), and Major C.R. Dudgeon, an ex-MP for  
Galloway, also joined. John McGovern, Neither Fear Nor Favour,  
Blandford Press, 1960, 117.  
166/2. Mosley, Why we left the old parties', NP broadcasts, No.  
2, 1931. C.E.M. Joad, The Case for the New Party (1931) 13.  
Benewick 68-9..  
166/3. Thomas 97.  
166/4. Foot 133. Brewer ix, 47 & 63. Lee, Tomorrow, 145. M.  
Collins 12-4. TC 27.2.31.  
167/1. Brewer 61. Benewick 74. T 13.3.31 & 13/18.4.31. Catlin  
86.  
167/2. Cross 47. Drennan 157. MG 16.3.31.  
167/3. Clark 83. Addison 302. T 18.3.31. Letters 20 & 25.3.31,  
quoted in Alistair Horne, Macmillan 1894-1956: Volume I of the  
Official Biography, Macmillan, 1989, 94.  
167/4 & 167/2. Wyndham Lewis, Hitler, Chatto & Windus, 1931.  
O'Keefe 296-308. Meyers 86-7, 134 & 184-9. Sternhell 237-8. I  
9.9. & 14.10.00. Normand 156-7.  
167/1. Brigitte Granzow, A Mirror of Nazism: British Opinion  
and the Emergence of Hitler 1929-1933, Victor Gollancz, 1964,  
pp. 25-31, 84, 96-7 & 159-60.  
167/3. MacKenzies, Vol. 4, 243-4.  
167/4. Brewer 122. J. Johnson, Birmingham Labour and the New  
Party, Vol. 9, No. 12, April 1931.  
168/1-2. Cross 47. De Courcy 150. BBC WA. PP Eckersly Papers,  
Minutes of the London Publicity Committee, New Party, quoted in  
Eckersly 235, 314, 328 & 334-9.  
169/3. ES 22.4.31. W.F. Mandle, The New Party, Historical  
Studies Australia and New Zealand, Vol. 12, No. 47, October  
1966. DH 29.4.31. HO 283/14, Mosley's submission to the  
Advisory Committee on Internment, July 1940. Cross 100-1.  
Melville, NP, 169/4. Chesterton 101.

169/4. M. Collins 18. T 8.4.31.  
170/1-4. J. Jones 248-51. Hodge 221-4. ND 27.4.31.  
171/1-3. ND 71-2. Brewer 62. J. Jones 252-3. Strachey, Fascism, 161. Cross 48. Lewis 31. MG 1.5.31. Letter, Mosley to Thomas, June 1971, Thomas 101. Mosley 284-5. DH 2.5.31. Skidelsky 253.  
171/4 & 172/1. Taylor, Beaverbrook, 315-6, Chamberlain to Beaverbrook, 6.5.31. Ball 165-70 & 210. DH 5.5.31. Melville, NP, 34. ND 74. Beaverbrook's Empire Crusade evolved into an Agricultural Party with food taxes the main policy plank but it failed to attract farmers in Norfolk and Lincolnshire. It was a lesson lost on Mosley who later attempted to attract the same constituency.  
172/2. Fortnight Review, May 1931. Joad, Prolegomena, op. cit.  
172/3. Mosley 284-5. Skidelsky 257. MG 16.5.31. Cross, p. 49. Dave Renton, Red Shirts and Black: Fascists and Anti-Fascists in Oxford in the 1930s, Oxford: Ruskin College Library, 1996, 3.  
172/4. Michael Davie (ed.), The Diaries of Evelyn Waugh, Pheonix (pbk.), 1995, 21.7.30, 323-4. ND 53, 11.6.30. Skidelsky 249-50. M. Collins 29. Lees-Milne, Nicolson, 18. According to Peter Howard's daughter (Anne Wolinge Gordon, letter 10.1.97), there are no Mosley letters in his files. They are believed to have been destroyed 'by a direct hit on parent's London house in World War II'.  
173/1. Edinburgh Evening Dispatch 18.5.31. Skidelsky 256-7. DH 29.8.31.  
173/2. ND 28 & 29.5.31.  
173/3. Pimlott, Dalton Diary, 139, 6.6.31. Stachey, World's Press News, 6.10.31.  
173/4. Cross 45. Melville, NP, 34. DE & DH 6/8.6.31 & 29.8.31.  
173/5. J. Jones 257-8. Hodge 225-6. MG 9.6.31.  
174/1. Farr op. cit. ND 5/6/7/10.6.31. Melville, NP, 40-4. Cross 48.  
174/2-3. Sitwell diary, 19.5.31, in de Courcy 152. DH 6.6.31. Richard Cohen, Charles-Louis de Beaumont: A short biography, in Edmund Gray, Modern British Fencing: A history of the Amateur Fencing Association 1964-1981, Amateur Fencing Association, 1984.  
174/4. K. Young 176. ND 23.6.31 & 0.7.31, and unpublished, & Beaverbrook to Nicolson, 25.6.31.  
175/1. Adeney, Nuffield, 125. ND 20.7.31 (unpublished) & 16 & 17.8.31. Lewis, p. 21. Lees-Milne, Nicolson, 16. Mosley wrote in 1965 to Nigel Nicolson (STel 22.2.98), who was then editing his father's diaries: 'This passage would be acutely embarrassing to the Duke. His position was always strictly constitutional. He never departed an inch from the propriety of his position.'  
175/2. Melville NP 42-3. Thomas 102.  
175/3. Ritschell 84-91. Strachey, Fascism, 159-64, & The Coming Struggle for Power, 1935, pp. 242-7. Thomas 102. Letter, Bevan to Strachey, 29.8.31, quoted in Thomson, 58. Newman 46.  
175/4. T 1.7.31. Thomas 104. DH 3.7.31. ND 25.6.31.  
176/1. Lewis 23. Strachey, Fascism, 163. DH 29.8.31.

176/2-4. Addison 302. Laybourn 125-132. BP 29.8.31. HoC vol. 254, col. 2147, 18.6.31. Skidelsky 259. HoC 15.7.31. MG & DH 24.7.31.

177/1. Martel 34. Brendon 94-5. ND 21.7.31. Charles Edward Lysaght, Brendan Bracken, Allan Lane, 1979. Addison 303. Stewart 84. John Charnley, Churchill: The end of glory, Hodder and Stoughton, 1993, 265.

176/2. Skidelsky 260. N. Mosley 189.

176/3. ND 82-3. 27.7.31. Joad went off to a University appointment, while Young became an adviser and confidant of Harold Macmillan. Bevan to Strachey, 29.7.31. Campbell, Bevan, 44. Thomas 107. Mosley 282. Green 322.

176/4. W-ER 1.8.31. Hodge 228. T 25.7.31. ND 83. M. Collins 21.

177/1-3. Green 109. John Pearson, Facades: Edith, Osbert and Sacheverell Sitwell, Macmillan, 1989, 303. Wohl, 1914, 106-9 & 231-4. Blanch 126-9 & 231-4. Haynes 386-9 & 424. N. Mosley 165.

179/1-2. Green 23-31, 72, 212, 262 & 270. Pall Mall Magazine, October 1935. Sunday Referee, 4.3.34. Meyers 113. Steele 230.

179/3-4 & 180/2. De Courcy 156-60. Mosley to Nicolson letter, 16.8.31. Rupert Troughton, Unemployment: Its Causes and Their Remedies, Hogarth, 1931.

180/1. N. Mosley 197. Gordon 51.

180/3-4 & 181/1. ND 87 Addison 303. Seaman 220-2. Hollis 55. Bishop 93. N. Mosley 204. Skidelsky 266. ND 25/31.8.31. Farr op. cit.

181/2. T 28.8.31. DM 31.8.31. Holroyd, Shaw, 110.

181/3. K. Young 20.8.31.

181/4. ND 89. Brian Roberts, Randolph: A Study of Churchill's Son, Hamish Hamilton, 1984, 93.

182/1. HoC vol. 256, cols, 72-823, 8.9.31. Leopold Amery, My Political Life: Vol. 111, The Unforgiving Years, 1929-40, Hutchinson, 1955, 64. G.D.H. Cole, 'Was it a banker's conspiracy?', NS 29.8.31. The role of the bankers, Ross McKibbin (115-6) suggests, in all this 'seems indisputable. They were clear that their conditions were to be accepted, and accepted by all three parties. Whether they framed them with an eye to bringing the government down is less clear.'

182/2. Mosley 263.

182/3. ND 12.12.31. Skidelsky, Keynes, 396. Moggridge 607-11.

182/4. ND 4.9.31. T & MP 11.9.31.

183/1. Melville, NP, 16 & 24-7.

183/2. NYT & T 21.9.31.

184/3. Boyce 2 & 370. Skidelsky, Keynes, 394-7. Barry Eichengreen, 'The inter-war economy in a European mirror', in Floud/McCloskey 309.

183/4. Smart 23. ND 23/5/7.9.31. Nicolson Private Notes, 25.9.31. Ritshcell 68.

183/5. Letter, 28.9.31, in N. Nicolson 229.

184/1. Hodge 235-6. T 26.9.31.

184/2. NYT 10.10.31. Farr op. cit. Gordon 53-4. Michael Harrison, Peter Cheyney: Prince of Hokum, Neville Spearman, 1954, 213-5 & 231. T obituary 27.6.51. Information from Julian Petkowski. Melville was a confidante of extreme Ukrainian nationalists. Donald McCormick, Who's Who in Spy Fiction,

Sphere, 1979, 58.  
 184/3. ND 28.9.31. Harrison, Cheyney, 232-4.  
 185/1. ND 93. A National Plan for a National Crisis, New Party, October 1931. Mandle, NP, op. cit. Benewick 80.  
 185/2-3. Action, No. 1, 8.10.31. Seymour-Ure 245-6. Koss 948-9.  
 185/4 & 187/1. Obits., DTel & T 25.1.00. I 26.1.00. Samuel Hynes, *The Auden Generation: Literature and Politics in England in the 1930s*, Bodley Head, 1976, 86-9 & 94-5. Green 29-30.  
 187/2. Charles Stuart (ed.), *The Reith Diaries*, Collins, 1975, 107. ND 22.7.31. Hodge 228-9. Gordon 56-7.  
 187/3. Hodge 228. Jacobs 76-7. David Turner, *Fascism and anti-Fascism in the Medway Towns 1927-1940*, Rochester: Kent Anti-Fascist Action Committee, 1993, 14. Skidelsky, p. 278.  
 Berry/Bishop 84.  
 187/4 & 187/1. NYT & T 19.10.31. Mosley in court, 11.11.31. Gordon 59. Brewer 66. Birmingham Gazette, 19.10.31. Harrison, Cheyney, 237.  
 187/2. J. Jones 263.  
 187/3. MG 24.10.31. Lees-Milne, Self, 97.  
 187/4 & 188/1. Seaman 226. Stevenson/Cook 122-3 & 221. Smart 32-5. ND 28.10.31. Brewer 64. M. Collins 22.  
 187/2. Ball x. ND 97-8. Stewart 86. Mosley 282.  
 187/3. Lewis 26. Skidelsky 280. Hodge 232.  
 187/4. Lees-Milne, Nicolson, 24. ND 5 & 7.11.31. Lewis 26 & 32.

#### CHAPTER ELEVEN: THE NEW MOVEMENT

189/1-2. ND 97 & 115. Pimlott 1 & 20. F. Beckett 284 & 304. John Beckett. *Why I joined the New Party: The New Party and the Old Toryism*, NP Broadcast series, David Allen, 1931, copy at [www.wcml.org.uk/fasci](http://www.wcml.org.uk/fasci). Chesterton 102. Mosley 301-2, & 'Mosley - Right or Wrong?', 1961, pp. 196-204.  
 189/3 & 190/1. Hodge 234-5. Mosley 285. Melville, NP, 32-3.M. Collins 17 & 31.  
 190/2. ND 24.11.31. K. Young 194.  
 190/3. Skidelsky, Keynes, 437-8. Ritschell 68, 126-39, 297-8 & 329. Keynes was attentative to the ideas of Harold Mamcillan, whose younger brother, Daniel was a schoolfriend and publisher.  
 190/4. Ritschell 87. A 26.11.31 & 3/10/17/24.12.31.  
 191/1. N. Mosley 205. Boyce, p. 370. ND 26.11.31 & 8/11/24.12.31. Koss 944.  
 191/2. Brendon 23-4. DM 31.3.28. R.J.B. Bosworth, *The British Press, The Conservatives and Mussolini, 1920-34*, JCH, Vol. 5 No. 2, 1970.  
 191/3. K. Young 196.  
 191/4 & 192/1-2. A 31.12.31. ND 23.2.32 & 106 & (condensed version) 24. Hobhouse became a successful barrister and a biographer of Charles Fox but was to die young. N. Nicolson, *Letters*, 231-2. Cross 56. Brendon 121. DE Grand 87. N. Mosley 209.  
 192/3. Brendon 115-9. Bosworth, Press, op. cit. N. Mosley 210.  
 193/1. Mosley 359, & *Right or Wrong?* 171. Brendon 24-5. N. Mosley 210.

193/2. Stanley G. Payne, *Fascism: Comparison and Definition*, University of Wisconsin, 1980, 77. Bosworth, Press, op. cit.

193/3. ND 98 & 110. N. Mosley 205. James 137.

193/4-5. ND 107-8, & (condensed version) 36-7. N. Nicolson, *Vita*, 233. Lees-Milne, Nicolson, 27-9. Lebzelter 34. Tony Kushner, *Pol/Marg*, 148. Nicolson allowed Hobhouse to lodge at King's Bench Walk and the two constantly dined together at their respective clubs. Nicolson noted that Hobhouse 'runs about looking for lost causes in order to defend them'.

194/1-2. David Sylvester letter, 14.4.98. BBC Radio 4, *Start the Week*, 9.2.98. Near the end of her life, David's mother told him that 'your father's tragedy was that he was an anti-Semite'. David Sylvester, *Memories of a Pet Lamb*, Chatto, 2003.

194/3. Lewis Morton, *Ted Kid Lewis: His Life and Times*, Robson, 1990.

194/4. Hodge 236-7.

195/1. Thurlow 13-5. G.R. Searle, *Critics of Edwardian Society: The Case of the Radical Right*, 25, 81 & 90-5, & *The 'Revolt from the Right' in Edwardian Britain*, in Kennedy/Nicholls 21-33. Barbara Lee Farr, PhD Thesis, "The Development and Impact of Right-wing Politics in England 1903-32", University of Illinois, 1976. John Hope, *Fascism and the State in Britain: The Case of the British Fascists 1923-31*, *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 39, No. 3, 1993. Wright, p. 99. Arnstein, p. 77. Rubinstein op. cit. Chris Wrigley, 'In The Excess Of Their Patriotism': *The National Party and Threats of Subversion in Wrigley, Warfare, Diplomacy and Politics: Essays in Honour of A.J.P. Taylor*, Hamish Hamilton, 1986, 94-8 & 107.

195/2-3. Steven E. Ascheim, *Nietzschean Socialism: Left and Right, 1890-1933*, *JCH*, Vol. 23, 1988. The eldest son of Sir John Makgill, and Margaret Haldane, half sister to Lord Haldane. Makgill was also General Secretary of the British Empire Producers' Organisation. Liddell to Foreign Office, FO 371/11775/33. Hope, *Fascism*, op. cit.

195/4. Richard Osborne, *Clubland Heroes: A nostalgic study of some recurrent characters in the romantic fiction of Dornford Yates*, John Buchan and Sapper, Hutchinson, 1983, pp. 134, 142, 147 & 160-3.

196/1. O'Day 7 & 11. Rubenstein op. cit. Henry Page Croft, *My Life and Before*, Hutchinson, 1949.

196/2. Markku Ruotsila, *The Antisemitism of the Eight Duke of Northumberland's the Patriot, 1922-1930*, *JCH*, vol. 39 (1)

2004. Richard M. Gilman, *Behind World Revolution: The Strange Career of Nesta H. Webster*, Ann Arbor, Insight, 1982.

196/3. Mussolini had contact with Scotland Yard and an agreement, which stayed in place throughout the thirties, was reached for the exchange of intelligence on communists. John Carter kept an eye on Italian anti-fascists and passed the information on to the Italian embassy. Douglas 108. Letter from Alfio Bernabei, 22.9.98, & Bernabei 94. HO 45/24893/113. See Leto, *Ovra Fascismo Antifascismo*, Cappelli, Bologna, 1951.

196/4. George Catlin, *Fascist Stirrings in Britain*, *Current History*, 1934, XXXIX. Kenneth D. Brown, *The Anti-Socialist Union, 1908-49*, in *Essays in Anti-Labour History: Responses to*



the Rise of Labour in Britain, Macmillan, 1974, 254.

197/1. Information from David Turner. John Ferris and U Bar-Joseph, Getting Marlowe to hold his tongue: The Conservative Party, the Intelligence Services and the Zinoviev Letter, INS, Vol. 8, No. 4, Oct. 1993. Gill Bennett, 'A most extraordinary and mysterious business': The Zinoviev Letter of 1924, History Notes, LRD No. 14 February 1999, 28, 38 & 105-111. Freemason Desmond Morton - a friend of Churchill and head of MI6's Production section - was a key figure in the Zinoviev 'red letter' campaign run by the Mail against the Labour Party. Makgill and Morton shared an agent, an MI5 employee who had infiltrated the CP, who was used to 'corroborate' the Zinoviev letter, a known forgery. It is possible that Hughes was, in fact, the agent transferred by Morton to Makgill.

197/2. Ron Bean, Liverpool shipping employers and the anti-communist activities of J.M. Hughes, 1920-25, 1977, based on the Cunard Papers, Liverpool University. John Hope, Fascism, The Security Service and the curious careers of Maxwell Knight and James McGuirk Hughes, Lobster 22.

197/3. Hope, Hughes, & Fascism op. cit., & British Fascism and the State, 1917-27: A Re-examination of the Documentary Evidence, Labour History Review 57, no. 3, 1992, & Surveillance or Collusion? Maxwell Knight, MI5 and the British Fascisti, INS, Vol. 9, No. 4, October 1994. West 216-17; HO 283/43/33. David Turner letter, LRB, Vol. 20, No. 5.

198/1-2. Selwyn 17-29. KV 2/245/301a. Martland 11-3. Cole 22-3. Kenny 74-8 KV 2/245/331b. DM 24.10.24.

198/3. Benewick 27. CAB 30/69/220, BF Apr/May 1924 & 24/162/153 & 157 Sept/Oct 1924R. M. Douglas 37-8, 59-60 & 78. In recognition of the WSPU work on behalf of MoM (infiltrating pacifist organisations), Allen was awarded an OBE in 1918. She was employed in 1920 by the Director of Intelligence at Dublin Castle, Sir Ormonde Winter (a leading BF figure), to deal with women IRA members in custody.

198/4-5. Benewick 27-30 & 34. Thurlow 176. McIvor 642 & 647. In 1926, just as he was bring to fruition his plans to establish the OMS for strike-breaking, Makgill died. Rather than be seen as unpatriotic, a section of the BF leadership left to form a 'non-political' group, the 'Loyalists', which was promptly incorporated into the OMS.

199/1-3. 'Investigator', The Fascist Movement in Great Britain, SR Investigations No. 1, Feb, 1926. FO 371/11384/C9108 & C9880. Thurlow 175-8. J. Wheelwright, Pol/Marg, 42-7. Benewick 31-42. Information from Alfio Bernabie.

199/4 & 200/1. Farr op. cit. Benewick 41. James Strachey Barnes, Half a Life Left, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1937, 15-6, & 1928, xxviii & 30-3. Griffin 10-11. Gianfranco Bianchi (ed.), Dino Grandi racconta L'Evitabile 'Asse', Milan: Jaca Book, 1984, 68. Alongside Mussolini's representative, Giovanni Gentile, two Englishmen sat on its board, Lord Sydenham and London University's Edmund Gardner.

200/2 & 4. Bryan Clough, State Secrets: The Wolkoff Files, www.state-secrets.com. HO 283/40/22 & 43/33. West 216-17.

200/3. Cole 39. Benewick 123. Selwyn 34-7. SP 17.12.39.

Martland 14. B 8.6.33. Kenny 74 & 87-8. Joyce to Lewis, 20.5.32, Sheffield University archive. Joyce, Twilight over England, Berlin, 1941.

201/1. Cross 65. BF 1.2.32. ND 110-1. Mosley's trips to Italy caught the eye of James Barnes. Nicolson lunched with Barnes and T.S. Eliot who proposed a fascist book on modern politics. Nicolson reported that Eliot, whose Criterion magazine was subsidised by Lady Rothermere, 'appears to be sympathetic'.

201/2. G 23.11.00. D. Mosley, Loved, 155-6. Dalley 82.

201/3. Tatler December 2000. De Courcy 166 & 54. Guinness 311. Bryan worked in commercial law but spent his time in the London Mercury offices chatting to the editor, J.C. Squire, and Alan Pryce-Jones.

201/4 & 202/1-2. De Courcy 165-9. TS 9.10.99. C. Mosley 22 & 76. Guinness 312-8 & 323. Dalley 82-5 & 123. Lovell 132. Lees-Milne, I 13.8.03.

2002/4 & 203/1. ND 112-4. Gordon 61-2 & 73. Eckersley 334-5.

203/2-4 & 204/1-2. ND 15.3.32 & 15.4.32. DTel 3.10.66. D. Turner 16. TNT, No. 1, 3. Holmes 146 & 186. Arnold Leese, Out of Step: Events in the Two Lives of an Anti-Jewish Camel Doctor, 1946. Benewick 44-5. Catlin 542-3. Lebzelter 76. Thurlow 97 & 158. HO 45/24967/63740.

204/3. N. Mosley 213-7. De Courcy 169.

204/4. HO 144/22454/51-2. G.C. Webber, Intolerance and discretion: Conservatives and British fascism, 1918-1926.

205/1. Cross 65. Chesterton 117-8. HO 283/13. Benewick 36. Rotha Lintorn-Orman suffered a heart attack and a concussion in summer 1932 and no issues of British Fascism until the autumn.

205/2. HO 144/21063/10-11. Thurlow 60-1. Lewis 29. Benewick 24.

205/3. Nicolson letters, 20.5 & 29.6.31. Farr op. cit.

205/4-5. TNT 1,3. NEW 28.4, 12.5, 25.10, 6.10 & 24.11.32. John Finlay (132 & 173-4) notes that there was always a 'danger within the Social Credit movement that an enthusiasm' for such a linkage would 'lead to something which approached, or which indeed was, Fascism'.

206/1-2. R.P. Dutt, Fascism and Social Revolution; A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Last Stages of Capitalism in Decay, 1935, 264. Ellen Wilkinson and Edward Conze, Why Fascism?, c.1934, 231. Philip M. Coupland, 'Left-wing Fascism' in Theory and Practice: The case of the British Union of Fascists, Twentieth Century British History, Vol. 13, No. 1, 2002.

206/3. Philip Rees, Changing interpretation of British Fascism: A Bibliographical Survey, xi, 193-4 & 189-93. Mark Burrow, The left-wing road to Fascism. An investigation of the influence of 'Socialist' ideas upon the political ideology of the BUF, Sheffield University, Phd. thesis, 1999. W. Risdon, The Heritage of National Socialism, BU Quaterly, 1, 1937, & Can a Marxist Become a Fascist?, A 10.4.37.

206/4. Winston S. Churchill, His Father's Son: The Life of Randolph Churchill, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1996, 43 & 87.

207/1. Smart xix. Stewart 153-4 & 163. Mack Smith 12-3. Cannadine 159-61. Bosworth 177. O 24.7.32.

207/2. TNT, No. 1 (June 1932), & 3, 5, BL Shelfmark: P.P. 3558. lab. M. Collins, NP, 33.

207/3. Nicolson letter 29.6.32, Nicolson Papers, Balliol College, Oxford. Mosley, Greater Britain, 1932, 115-19 & 128-9.

208/1-2. Cheyette 9-13 & 56, & Pol/Marg 139. Linehan 188-92. Claire Hirschfield, 'The British Left and the "Jewish Conspiracy": A Case Study of Modern Antisemitism, Jewish Social Studies, Spring 1981. Colin Holmes, 'J.A. Hobson and the Jews' in Holmes (ed.) Immigrants and Minorities in British Society, 1978, & Anti-Semitism 13, 63-9 & 83-4.

208/3-4 & 209/1. Skidelsky 309-10 & 390, & Interests 202. Ingham 266. Mosley 187. HO 283/16/25-6, 22.7.40. Cheyette 150-3 & Hilaire Belloc and the 'Marconi Scandal' 1900-1914: A Reassessment of the interactionist model of racial hatred, in Kushner/Lunn, Pol/Marg, 131 & 135-7. Melville, NP, 5-13 & 20-1. Sternhell 22 & 85. DH 20.8.32. Mandle, Anti-semitism, op. cit.

209/2-3. TNT, No. 2 (July) & 3 (August/September) 1932.

209/4. N. Mosley, p. 216. Cohen, p. 48.

210/1. De Courcy 170 & 197-8, & DM 90. Dalley 81-2 & 117-8.

210/2. SE 1.7.32. TNT 3. JC 19/26.8.32. Skidelsky 380.

210/3. Cross 65. D. Turner 16. DH 6.8.32, 20.8.32.

210/4 & 211/1. Mack Smith 19 & 88. St. A. 54/026803, 026812, 026826, 026823-25; 15/006867. St. Antony's collection of Italian foreign office records were transferred to the NA with a new classification. NA GFM 36/141. Wells collection, University of Illinois, 31.8.32. Philip Coupland, H.G. Wells's 'Liberal Fascism', JCH, Vol. 35. No. 4, 2000.

211/2-3 & 212/1. De Courcy 170-2. Ravensdale 141-4. Ritschell 145 & 153. Nicolson headed Herbert Morrison's office during the 1945-51 Labour government. He went on to be director-general of the Nature Conservancy (1952-66). Israel Sieff, Memoirs, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970, 170-1. Marcus Sieff, Don't Ask The Price: The Memoirs of the President of Marks & Sparks, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986, 35. Sieff's son verified the story in T 15.12.83.

211/4. Newton/Porter 87. Booth/Pack 60. Ritschell 157, 167 & 180. The PEP led to the Industrial Reorganisation League, whose chair was Macmillan, and adopted a mild quasi-corporate stance.

212/2. TNT, 3, 4.

213/1. Mosley 288.

213/2. DH 23.9.32. Information from John Hope. Notes taken from Jordan manuscript, c. 1933-4, 1, MSS127/NU/GS/3/5B. See 'Robert Richards', Geordie Recollections 1932-39, 3, Sheffield University. Branches included Newcastle (its first fascist organiser for the Newcastle branch was Capt. Vincent Collier), Gateshead, Durham, Darlington and Middlesbrough, and others in the process of formation in Sunderland and Easington. Comrade, May/July 1994.

213/3-4 & 214/1. De Courcy 172-3. N. Mosley 217 & 224-38. That night, Diana re-named him Kit. His nickname for her was Percher, short for Percheron, a breed of large white carthorse, dazzlingly white, with silky flowing blonde manes and tails.

214/2. K. Young 227. DH 23.9.31 & 1.10.31.

214/3. Taylor, History, 285-6. DT 3.10.66. 'The Thirties in

Britain: The Threat of Fascism', BBC Third Programme, 10.11.65.  
214/4-5. Harold Macmillan, Past Masters, 104-5. Drennan 44 &  
156. Bruce Coleman, The Conservative Party and the Frustration  
of the Extreme Right, in Andrew Thorne (ed.), The failure of  
Political Extremism in inter-war Britain, Exeter Studies in  
History, No. 21, 1989. Gamble 177. Thurlow, Failure, 72.  
215/1. White 114.  
215/2. Julian Critchley, A Bag of Boiled Sweets, Faber &  
Faber, 1994, 106. BBC 2, A Fall Like Lucifer, 1975.  
215/3. Leo Amery, My Political Life, Vol. 3 1929-40,  
Hutchinson, 1955, 20.  
215/4. BBC Third Programme op. cit. Strachey to Boothby,  
6.6.35.  
216/1. N. Mosley 265-8.

#### CHAPTER TWELVE: THE BRITISH UNION OF FASCISTS

217/1. Chesterton 107. Cudlipp 168.  
217/2. N. Mosley 301-2. Dollimore, p. 247.  
218/1 & 33-5. Drennan 275. Thurlow 149. Mosley, GB, 47, &  
Liddle 1977.  
218/2. MG 30.9.32.  
218/4. W. Warren Wagar, The Steel-Gray Saviour: Technocracy as  
Utopia and Ideology, Alternative Futures, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1979.  
Philip M. Coupland, The Blackshirted Utopians, JCH, 1998 April.  
219/2-4. Mosley, GB, 13, 89, 124 & 147. Benewick 23. Ritschell  
86, 92-5 & 123. Pimlott 67. Rees 200. Nugent 140-4. Lewis 5-8.  
220/1. Fortnightly Review December 1932.  
220/2. Benewick 88. DT 23.9.96. Roy MacGregor-Hastie, The Day  
of the Lion: The Life and Death of Fascist Italy 1922-1945,  
Macdonald, 1965, 208. He was a Mosley admirer.  
220/3. Martel 64. DT 3.10.66.  
220/4-5. Earl of Portsmouth, A Knot of Roots, Geoffrey Bles,  
1965, 159-60. D. Mosley, Loved, 161.  
220/6. Mandle, anti-semitism, 2. JC 28.10.32. T & DH 25.10.32,  
NS 29.10.32.  
221/1. De Courcy 174-5.  
221/2. Kingsley Martin, 'Mr Wells and Sir Oswald Mosley', NS  
29.10.32. Wagar op. cit.  
Inspired by Wells's Open Conspiracy thesis, Joad and Catlin  
founded the Federation of Progressive Societies and Individuals  
(FPSI) to co-ordinate 'rational progress' against the 'forces  
of reaction', which included Mosley. Supported by George Cole,

its journal, Plan, promoted a curious programme of planning and social reform, which combined social creditism with corporatism and industrial self-government, which echoed NP policies. The economic section was penned by Allan Young, who had been recruited by Harold Macmillan as his adviser, before becoming FPSI's vice-president, Harold Nicolson's political secretary. FPSI included a number of former NP adherents - Oliver Baldwin, plus old Mosley crony David Low, Beverly Nichols, Leonard Woolf and W.J. Brown (Strachey turned to Marxism and advocated a planned economy on the Soviet model). As Marcus Collins has suggested the NP could have gone either fascism or utopian left, FPSI was, however, highbrow and 'childishly utopian'. Affiliates included Federation of Sun Folk, Woodcraft Folk, World League for Sexual Reform. In 1932, The Times published a letter advocating nude sunbathing, compulsory vegetarianism and callisthenics signed by Joad, Shaw, Julian Huxley and Vera Brittain. The FPSI was everything that Mosley feared the NP might become - the 'notoriously unorganisable' intelligentsia achieving unity in the face of extreme 'danger' of fascism. R.E. Wilford, 'The Federation of Progressive Societies and Individuals', JCH, 2, 1976. Marcus Collins 26. C.E.M. Joad, Allan Young and D.N. Pritt (eds.), Manifesto: The Book of the Federation of Progressive Individuals and Societies, Allen & Unwin, 1934.

221/3-4. Robert Row, Sir Oswald Mosley: Briton, Fascist, European, Journal of Historical Review, 1984. Holroyd 112-3.

221/4. Cheyette 115.

222/1. Benewick, 'The Threshold of Violence', in R. Benewick and T. Smith (eds.), Direct Action and Democratic Politics, 1972, 51.

222/2. Benewick 153, 10.12.32. The struggle against Fascism in the thirties, North East Labour History Bulletin, No. 18, 1984. Skidelsky 353-6. Mosley 290. Alexander C. Miles, The Streets are still: Mosley in Motley, c. 1937, Original typescript in University of Warwick Modern Records Centre Trades Union Congress files MSS 292/743.11/2, 2-8. Former secretary of the Gateshead Branch of the National Unemployed Workers Committee and chair of the Newcastle Branch of the National Boilers, Miles had been recruited by his old associate, Bill Risdon, who, according to Miles, was 'a Mosleyite first, and a Fascist a long way after'.

222/3-4 & 223/1. John Stevenson, The Politics of Violence, in Peele/Cook 46, & 'The State and Public Order during the 1930s', 147-8, 159-64, 216 & 254. Thurlow 159. Hollis 407. R. Hayburn, 'The National Unemployed Workers Movement, 1921-36', International Review of Social History, 23, 1983. McKibbin 295.

223/2. Thurlow 112. Stevenson/Cook 133-41 & 153.

223/3. De Courcy, DM, 88 & 94. Guinness 323. Gottlieb 183-91.

223/4. Dalley 122-5 & 138. G 23.11.00. D. Mosley, Loved, 156. C. Mosley 52-4.

224/1-2. Pryce-Jones 60-4. De Courcy 82. N. Mosley 240-1.

Dalley 137-8. Guinness 339-4. Lovell 154. Betjemen married Penelope Chetwode, daughter of Field Marshal Lord Chetwode who had been Commander-in-Chief in India, and became friends for

life to all the Mitfords. James married the Viennese dancer Tilly Losch, with whom Diana's brother, Tom, was in love.

224/3. O 8.1.33. T 25.1.33. Pugh, Women, 530-7.

224/4. Aigner 272. Granzow 32. Lebzelter 94. N. Mosley 291.

Mepol 2/3069: Report on disturbances between BUF and Jews. JC 24.2.33.

224/1. Benewick 141. Lewis 62. New Clarion 4.3.33,.

224/2. K. Young 248. White 116.

225/3. Letters Cimmie/Roosevelt, March 1933, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, 1.4.98. Brendon 86. Skidelsky 308.

225/4. Gerarchia Vol. 12, 1932.

225/1. Eric Campbell, The Rallying Point: My Story of the New Guard, Melbourne University Press, 1965, 130-4. Thanks to Mosley's letters of introduction, Campbell talked to Ribbentrop and Starace. A year later, he wrote The New Road in which proclaiming that 'a serious and sane application of Fascist doctrines is the only hope if Australia is to preserve its freedom'. By then, however, the worst of the depression was over and Campbell lost his chance.

225/2. Smart 1.3.33, 49-50. Aneurin Bevan had been the original speaker but fell ill. Mosley 320-3, & GB 13. L 22.3.33.

225/3. Taylor, History, 317. Stevenson/Cook 12-20, 57 & 67. Harrison 27.

225/4. McKibbin 104, 228, 246-51 & 280.

225/1-2. Coupland, Left-wing fascism, op. cit. B 10.2.33. William Parsons, 'What was FUBW?', Comrade June/August, 1991.

225/3-4. Martin Durham in Pol/Marg 10-1. Leighton 136. Gottlieb 51, 117, 180-1 & 210.

228/1. George Orwell, Road to Wigan Pier, 1937. Gottlieb, pp. 51, 114 & 209. Silke Hesse, 'Fascism and the Hypertrophy of Male Adolescence,' in ed. John Milfull, The Attraction of Fascism, New York, 1990, 159.

228/2-3. John D. Brewer, The British Union of Fascists: Some Tentative Conclusions on its Membership, in Stein Uglvik Larsen, Bernt Hagtvet, Jan Petter Myklebust (eds.), Who were the Fascists:: Social Roots of European Fascism, University of Bergen, 548-9. Stevenson/Cook 238. Skidelsky 49. Hoare quoted in Smart 64-5 & 76-9. Charmley 271.

228/4 & 229/1-2. Benewick 88-9, 115 & 141-2. Skidelsky 358, & Reflect 78-80. Stephen Cullen, 'Political Violence: The Case of the British Union of Fascists', JCH, vol. 28, no. 2, 1993.

Stuart Rawnsley, Fascism and Fascists in Britain in the 1930s, Bradford, 1983, 116-8. N. Mosley 289. Barrett 50-1. Cross 82-8.

Margret Mullins, The Left and Fascism in the East End of London, 1932-39, Ph.d. Thesis, Polytechnic of N. London, 1985.

229/3-5. Statement from Bailey, 20.2.35, and collection of newspaper cuttings in MSS127/NU/GS/3/5C/D. John Hope, Blackshirts, Knuckle-dusters and Lawyers: Documentary essay on the Mosley versus Marchbanks papers. BUF provocation was witnessed at the TUC's Hyde Park rally, when two carloads of fascists drove into the assembled crowd hurling insults with the obvious intention of starting a brawl. Similar incidents were reported by TUC's affiliates and newspaper accounts of BUF rallies indicate that much of the trouble was generated by the

fascists' over-aggressive style of stewarding. Skidelsky 321 & Interests 198. Arthur Bevan, Mosley B/shirts, 57.

230/1. Cullen op. cit. White 20. Skidelsky 318 & 358-9, & Interests 198.

230/2. Report by H.R.S. Phillipott on the result of enquiries into the Fascist movement in England and Wales, May 1933, MSS 292/743/6. Miles 18. Lebzelter 137. Among the Jewish refugees was Albert Einstein, who spoke at a meeting in London. The Evening News wrote: 'The lecture is a piece of a alien agitation: its promoters ask nothing better than it shall make bad blood between this country and Germany ... "fair play" means allowing the Germans to run their own country in their own way exactly as we demand the right to run our country in our own way.'

230/3. HoC 9 & 11.4.33. Griffiths, Right, 19-21.

231/1. Sybille Bedford, Aldous Huxley: A Biography, Papermac, 1993, 274-7. DH 24.5.40. Tony Kushner, Asylum or servitude? Refugee domestics in Britain, 1933-45, Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History, Vol. 53, No. 3, Winter 1988.

231/2. Laybourn/Murphy 80. CC minutes 17.6.33.

231/3-4. MSS 292/743/6. Rawnsley, BUF, 163, & Fascism, 116. Neil Barrett, The anti-fascist movement in south-east Lancashire, 1933-1940: The divergent experiences of Manchester and Nelson, 49-50.

232/1. N. Mosley 242-3. B 17.4.33 & 1.6.33. Cross, p. 84. Emileo Gentile, Impending Modernity: Fascism and the Ambivalent Image of the United States, JCH, Vol. 28, 1993.

232/2-3. Ledeen 73-80, 98-9 & 101. Michael Ledeen, Fascismo Universale: The Theory and Practice of the Fascist International 1928-1936, Ph.D Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1969. MG 21.4.33. Cross 119. Mosley 362. Ravensdale 142.

232/4. Cullen 126. Griffin 7. A 4.9.31 article in the Popolo d'Italia, 'Is the White Race Dying Out?', showed that official fascism had both a supra-Italian and a racist dimension.

233/1. Annalisa Capristo, The Exclusion of Jews From the Academy of Italy, Israel Monthly Review, 18.3.02. G 17.8.02. Lebzelter 91.

233/2-3. N. Mosley 246. Fredericks MSS 292. Central News, 19.4.33. Cross 84. Celli: Department of the Army, Fort Meade, Regional Security and Intelligence Officer, Lombardy region, Maj. A.J.E Heath, 227944, 29.5.45. Carati Celli to Mosley, 27.7.35, Nicholas Mosley archive, Birmingham University.

234/1. Mandle 363-4. Benewick 117. Letter Dorothy Dundas (2nd wife) 30.3.97. Letter John Warburton 24.8.87. Curry to Grandi. 1.4.33 & 8.4.33, quoted in Bernabie, & Information.

234/2. Beverley Nichols, A Thatched Roof, 1933, 109. HO 144/19070/263. Gianfranco Bianchi (ed.), Dino Grandi racconta L'Evitabile 'Asse', Milan: Jaca Book, 1984, 68.

234/3. Mack Smith 87. Payne 77-8 & 194. Grandi, 10.3.33.

234/4. Lewis 185. Miles 27-8. Information from Alfio Bernabie. Fredericks MSS 292.

235/1. John Strachey, Fascism in Great Britain, New Republic, 2.5.34. W.E.D. Allen, The Fascist idea in Britain, Quarterly Review, Vol. 261, Oct. 1933.

235/2. Ledeen 78-80 & 110. Payne 194. Groups helped included the Austrian Heimwehr; Action Francaise; Jacques Doriot in France; Leon Degrelle's Rexists in Belgium; Antonio Primo de Rivera's Falangists in Spain; Ante Pavelic's Ustase in Croatia.

235/3. Asvero Gravelli (ed.), *Il Fascismo Inglese*, Rome: Nuova Europa, 1934, 68-77 & 89-112.

235/4. TN 4.4.34. Mosley, *Le Ripercussioni Del Patto A Quattro in Inghilterra*, Gerarchi, Vol. 13, 1933.

235/5. Cross 86. MSS 292/743/6. DH 7.6.46.

236/1. HO 283/6, 25.7.40. Eckersley 334. Liddell 8.4.41, 241-2.

236/2-3. Forgan to Cross, 1961, 91. St.A. 15/006867; 54/026826. GFM 36/39-41. HO 283/10, S.B. Report 6.7.40. Mack Smith 88.

237/1-2. Aigner 50, 66 & 78. TN 21.3.34. Jeffrey 41. Baukamper 235. B 1.6.33. Glyn Roberts, *The Most Powerful Man in the World: The Life of Sir Henri Deterding, Connecticut: Hyperion Press, 1938, 312*. Rosenberg visited oil magnate, Sir Henry Deterding, who funded the Nazi Party. Rosenberg was close to the American-German banking house, J. Henry Schroeder, and its German representative, Baron Schroeder, at whose Cologne home took place the Papen-Ribbentrop-Thyssen-Hitler intrigues in January 1933. A friend of Rothermere, Rosenberg met the 'almost comically reactionary advocate of Bismarkian methods', Lord Lloyd, and a 'cellophane-wrapped Fascist', Walter Elliott.

237/3. MEPO 2 3069 & 3098, 'Protest Movements, Civil Disorder and the Police in Inter-war Britain'. 'Disturbances between Fascists and Jews', May/June 1933. Paul Cohen, *The Police, The Home Office and Surveillance of the British Union of Fascists*, INS.

237/4-5. Skidelsky 380-1, & Reflect 94. David Turner, *Labour History Review*, vol. 59. No. 3. Mosley 338.

238/1. William Joyce, *Daemmerung ueber England (Twilight over England)*, Internationaler Verlag, Berlin, 1940. Holmes, anti, 176. Bondy 119. KV 2/246/466a. Cross 80-1. Skidelsky 343. HO 144/21062.

238/2-3 & 239/1. De Courcy 183-7, & DM 107-9. N. Mosley 250-3. Vickers, Beaton, 166. Mosley 109.

239/2. Ravensdale 143. Pryce-Jones 67. Bradford, Sachie, 1993. O 21.5.33. Reynolds News 25.5.33.

239/3-4. N. Mosley 253 & 280. Gottlieb 190 & 215. Pryce-Jones 67. Bishop 170.

240/1. N. Mosley 281. Mosley 9. S. Mosley, telephone conversation, 5.6.98. All three first marriages ended after ten years; Edward's in 1932 and John's in 1935. During the war, John was prominent in the Home Guard in Norfolk.

240/2-4 & 241/1. De Courcy 187-93, & DM 109-14. N. Mosley 258-60 & 279-80. D. Mosley interview 2000, & Loved 165-6. Guinness 325. IoS & DTel 17.8.03. Lovell 156-7. Pryce-Jones 54.

241/2-3. Guinness 357-9. Metcalfe 168-9. O'Keefe 333. N. Mosley 257. Ernst Hanfstaengel, *15 Jahre mit Hitler: Zwischen Weibem und Braunem Haus*, Munich: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1970, 306. Dalley 146. Pryce-Jones 154.

242/1. Dalley 118 & 142. Guinness 287. N. Mosley 260. Pryce-Jones 58-9.

242/2. Sean Hepburn, *Audrey Hepburn: An Elegant Spirit*, Sidwick



& Jackson, 2004. Pryce-Jones 73 & 107. Alexander Walker, Audrey: Her real story, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1994, 5-8. DM 24.9.00.  
 242/3-4. Gottlieb 177, 196-7 & 201-5. N. Mosley, Times magazine, 28.12.02. Cullen op. cit.  
 243/1. Mosley 247-8. D. Mosley interview 2000. Keynes lost a great deal of money in the Crash. By the mid-thirties, he had rebuilt his fortune to £500,000 [£17m], not by putting his confidence in British Industry but making investments on Wall Street.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN: UNIVERSAL FASCISM

244/1. Granzow 97. The only editor who had read Hitler's book was Mosley's friend, the Observer's J.L. Garvin, who became a forceful advocate of British rearmament and wanted, like Mosley, to expand the air capability.  
 244/2. Cudlipp 161-2. Bourne 112-3. GD, vol. 2, 11.7.33. The first drastically cut translation of Mein Kampf, was in October. The response of Beaverbook to affairs in Germany was very different. He wrote to Edgar Middleton (10.7.33): 'I am not a fascist. I believe in parliamentary institutions. I am quite certain that we are not going to solve our problems by altering our political structure.' Taylor, Beaverbrook, 329.  
 244/3. K. Young 262-3.  
 245/1. Jewish Economic Forum, Vol. 1, 28.7.33. Gottlieb 24. HO 144/21062, 692, 242/140A.  
 245/2. Archivo Vitetti, Grandi to Mussolini, 31.7.33. Renzo De Felice, Mussolini il duce: 1. Gli anni del consenso 1929-1936, Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1981, 591-2. Telespresso No. 6971, 25/29.8.33 & 4.9.33, from Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Grandi. FP 30.10.81.

| August        |         | Westminster October |                  |
|---------------|---------|---------------------|------------------|
| French Francs | 169.850 | French Francs       | 27.850 (£351.00) |
| Dollars       | 7.000   | Dollars             | 2.000 (£416.00)  |
| RM            | 1.900   | RM                  | 1.900 (£141.00)  |
| Swiss Francs  | 5.200   | Swiss Francs        | 5.200 (£325.00)  |

245/3-4. N. Mosley 297. HO 283/9 & 45/25700, 29.7.40. Files of the Ministry of Popular Culture, NA film, T-586/15 e seq. & T-586/148. Irving 93.  
 246/1. Edwards 66. Catlin 547. N. Mosley 287.  
 246/2. Cross 79 & 87.  
 246/3. HO 144/21063/10-11. N. Mosley 312. Charnley 63. Miles 48.  
 247/1. D. Mosley interview 2000. Benewick 116 & 123. Beavan, Mosley B/shirts, 58. Chesterton 15.  
 247/2. W.F. Mandle, The Leadership of the British Union of Fascists, The Australian Journal of Politics and History, Vol. XII, No. 3, December 1966. Bellamy 387-8 & 517.  
 247/3. Drennan 328. Beavan, Mosley B/shirts, 58. Charnley 65.  
 247/4-5. R.M. White, 'Some Features of the Development of Fascism in England', Communist International 10, October 1933, 640-6 & 641. Coupland, left-wing, op. cit. Brewer 12-25. Benewick 129.

248/1. T magazine 28.12.02. De Courcy 193-4, & DM 118-9.  
248/2. Guinness 280-2. Dalley 149-52. Bill Allen who was writing his book in Ireland, sent Mosley a letter (15.8.33) adding a note: 'PS Paula has offered to add a chapter on your private life - "by One Who Knows Him".'  
248/3. Metcalfe 169-72. Hanfstangl 308.  
248/4. Guinness 360. Martland 16.  
248/5. Hastings 93-4. Diana and Duff Cooper sneaked out of Hitler's oration but recommended to Janet Kidd, Beaverbrook's daughter, that she visit Germany. Janet was married to Ian Campbell, heir to the Duke of Argyll, and met Mosley several times. Churchill said that if he 'hadn't been quite so overtly ambitious and self-opinionated, he might have made an outstanding prime minister. But to jump from socialism to national socialism in order to get one's point across was to swerve through the full spectrum of political thought'. Janet Aitken Kidd, *The Beaverbrook Girl*, Collins, 1987, 125 & 137.  
249/1-2. Hastings 93. Guinness 326, 343 & 361. Dalley 152. Mark Amory, *Lord Berners: The Last Eccentric*, Chatto & Windus, 1998, 47 & 80.  
249/3. Benewick 122-3 & 198. Koss 973. Mosley 347. Bellamy 90.  
250/1-3. Brewer 116-7. 'The Canterbury Tales', Channel Four, 26.9.96. Cross 107. T. 7.8.33 & 18.2.34. Benewick 91. HO 144/20141, 310. MI5 report June 1934, No. 1. Leighton 276-7. In Worcestershire Blackshirt intervention was for the most part rejected and token refusals to pay were swiftly ended by issuing court summonses.  
250/5. Others included the half-Italian Anthony Ludovici, who worked for Rudolf Hess; Rolf Gardiner, farmer and poet; Reginald Dorman-Smith (Minister of Agriculture from 1939 to 1940); Michael Beaumont, MP, who defended the BUF and was prominent in the Rural Reconstruction Association; Foreign Office diplomat and 'appeaser', R.A. Butler; Harold Balfour, an wartime airman and director of Saunders-Roe; and Lt-Col. Graham Seton Hutchinson, who founded the National Workers' Movement in 1933 and was 'a great friend of Hitler' and was a paid agent of the Nazis. Cornford 149-53. Edwards 20 & 33. Portsmouth 109 & 127-8. Webber, *Ideology*, 42.  
251/1. Cornford 154. Finlay 49 & 54. Webb 115-6. Robert Speaight, *The Life of Hilaire Belloc*, Hollis & Carter, 1957, 434. Cheyette 178. Lunn in Lunn/Thurlow 34. Alastair Hamilton, *The Appeal of Fascism: A Study of Intellectuals and Fascism 1919-1945*, Anthony Blond, 1971, 258 & 270. Belloc would become 'increasingly convinced that "Cosmopolitan Jewish" bankers were trying to cause a war with Germany so that they might profiteer by financing, at usurious rates, the manufacture of armaments'. His thinking paralleled Mosley's own on the 'Jewish policy of war' but though Belloc, showed a positive interest in the Italian experiment, he was horrified by Hitler.  
251/2-3. Finlay 128, 159, 211-3, 229-30. Conford 162. Webb 97 & 121-3. Redman 67-8. Christopher Hollis, MP, wrote unorthodox Chestertonian books on money, which earned him the friendship of Ezra Pound.  
An outgrowth of the Boy Scout movement, the Kindred of the



259/1. Ledeen 73-5, & Ph.D. St.A. 30/014439-42. G. 8.5.99. Contacts included Col. Rocke, former military attache in Rome, a propagandist for the Italians. MI5 was concerned about 'notable people who lent themselves to favourable statements of the Italian point of view', including G.K. Chesterton, G.B. Shaw, Tory MP Sir Arnold Wilson and Rear Admiral Martin.

259/2. Ravensdale 143. Cross 101.

259/3. Middlesex County Times, 11.11.33. C.C. Aronsfield, 'Old Fascist, Writ Large. Mosley's Memories, Patterns of Prejudice, 11, Nov/Dec. 1968. Holmes, anti, 293.

259/4. Mosley 341-2. Lewis 98-101. Benewick 112-4. The inner circle around Mosley was known the Policy Directorate, the official line of communication to the Leader. This channel became a prize in the battle between the political and military factions within the movement. The Directorate's exact membership is not known, though Bill Allen was a member.

260/1-3. C. Mosley 15 & 61-2. Obit. Lady Mary Dunn, DT 1.2.93. Hastings 95. Guinness 304. Pryce-Jones 79. Lovell 152. D. Mosley 100. Chisholm/Davie 296. Beaverbrook's campaign included pro-fascist John Heygate, who had run off with Evelyn Waugh's wife and had to leave the BBC.

260/4. D. Mosley, Contrasts, 112. Robert Rhodes James (ed.), Chips: The Diaries of Sir Henry Channon, Weidenfeld, 1993, 22.

261/1-4. Dalley 155-7. D. Mosley interview 2000.

262/1-2. AA 43 R II/1432a, 371225, 13.11.33; No. 55, 21.10.33; 54, 18.11.33. Searchlight, No. 171, 1989.

262/3-4. HO 144/20130/662136/10, 9.11.33. Lebzelter 72. Arnold Spencer Leese, Out of Step: Events in the Two Lives of an anti-Jewish Camel Doctor, 1946, 51. Leese to Central News Agency 28.11.33. Ivan Greenberg papers 110/5 Mocatta Library. Fredericks MSS 292. HO 144/20142/314; 144/20144/103, 208 & 237-8 & 144/20145/222-5 & 235.

263/1-3. Comrade May/June 1987. Miles 85. N. Mosley 111. Letter John Wallder 15.3.97. Charles Dolan, The Blackshirt Racket - Mosley Exposed, c 1934, 8, Mocatta Libray MOC BA Doc. Fredericks MSS 292. Miscellaneous papers in Tait Collection, University of Stirling, Nov. 1934.

263/4. Bianchi 44. Ziegler, Edward, 206. Higham 74. Edward regarded Communists as 'traitor puppets of those Soviet assassins who had murdered his uncle and would, if they could, put the entire House of Windsor before a firing squad'. He attended dinners arranged by Mosley's former fundraiser, Lord Portal, where industrialists, such as Sir Wyndham Portal, Vincent Vickers and Sir Felic Pole, discussed industrial questions. ST, 23.8.98. PEP was approached by Porter in May 1933 on behalf of the League of Industry and viewed it as 'ripe for infiltration'.

264/1. Phillpott supplementary report 4.2.34.

264/2. Mosley 340. Stevenson/Cook 258.

264/3. John Hope op. cits. MEPOL 2/3069 & 3077; HO 144/19069 & 19070; 45/25386 & 25387; CAB 23/73 & 27/497. B 6.6.33, 15.9.33 & 19.1.34.

264/4 & 265/1-2. Memorandum with enclosure from Dolan, 2.11.34, MSS127/NU/GS/3/5A. Dolan 14. Untitled typescript memoir of John