As a direct result of the decision to deepen surveillance, it was decided to increase the strength of the SB from 136 to 200 officers. Curry 107.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN: ROTHERMERE

270/3 & 272/2. Telespresso No. 101095, 19.1.34, & No. 814, Ministero Affari Esteri, 392/147, 30/1.1.34. FP 30.10.81. Bianchi 44.
270/1. HO 45/25700, 29.7.40.
274/3. Everyman, 2.2.34. 274-4 & 275/1. TUC op. cit. Miles 86. HO 144/20140/289. Benewick 98.
276/1-2. Smart 99-100. Stevenson/Cook 224. 276/3. NA 30/69/1/400, MacDonald Papers: Simon to Gilmour, 16.2.34. Trenchard to Gilmour, 26.2.34. HO 144/20158/107.
277/5. Fredericks 4. Lewis 66. Gottlieb 54. Coupland op. cit. Margaret McCarthy, an Accrington communist, recalled that roughly two-thirds of local CPGB membership went over to the BUF. Barrett 58.
277/3. NR 2.5.34. Benewick 195-6.
277/4. HO 283/13, 2.7.40.
278/2-3. Thurlow 138-9. Benewick 197-201. Rawnsley Interview, 16.2.77. Lewis 81. MSS 292/743/6. Cross 89-90. Selwyn, p. 69. Skidelsky 385. Maitles 9. In 1936, as chair of the Nuffield Trust, Portal was appointed to Special Areas Reconstruction and the Treasury Fund to finance industries in these areas. He was praised by Labour for his work in these areas.
279/3. BU Quarterly, 2, April-July 1937. Jonathan Dollimore, Death, Desire and loss in Western culture, Penguin, 1998, pp. xxvii & 128. Max Nordau's Degeneration (1892), which influenced fascist thinking, had been one of the most popular books dealing with the perceived decline of Western culture and the intense fear of 'social death'. Roger Griffin (ed), Fascism, Oxford University Press, 1995, 3-7.


281/3. N. Mosley 293.

281/4. The black shirt acquired a quasi-religious aura. Bellamy noted that many 'showed bloodstains, honourable marks', evoking the image of a martyr's relic. The choice of black was not chance. It had always been implicated as the dress of the powerful, evocative of strong emotions and also suggested decay, death and evil. In 1934, the National Council of Labour pronounced that the BUF blackshirt was 'the symbol of death' presaging 'the end of all freedom and the reign of poverty and tyranny'. FW 4-10.5.34. B 8.6.34. Philip Coupland, The Black Shirt in Britain: The meanings and functions of political uniform, in Linehan/Gottlieb, 4. National Council of Labour, What is this Fascism?, c. 1934, 11. Holtby, 170.


282/2. Gottlieb 154-5 & 172. DH 8.11.33. Douglas 123-7 & 140. FWeek 25.5.34. The Reserve was involved in the organisation of an exhibition "concerning the activities of the Godless in Russia and throughout the world" under the auspices of the International Entente Against the Third International Policewoman's Review 8:2, June 1934.


284/4. J. Loughlin, Northern Ireland and British Fascism in the Inter-War Years, Irish Historical Studies, 29, November 1995. R. M. Douglas, The Swastika and the Shamrock: British Fascism and the Irish Question, 1918-1940, Albion, 29, 1, Spring 1997. Letter Prof. Philip R. Schlesinger, University of Stirling, 3.3.99. Allen traced BUF heritage to the Ulster Volunteers and assigned to Sir Edward Carson the role of leader of the first fascist movement in Europe. Joyce compared Carson with Mosley as the only other man in 20th-century British politics to be regarded as a hero and proclaimed as such by his followers. He was described as a Fascist in 'bearing, will, act and thought'.
285/1. PRONI files CAB9F/123/7. Loughlin op. cit. FW 23.3/4.5.34.
286/1. Captured Italian Documents Collection GFM 36/41, 006867/8/9, 15. xii, Secreta Particolare del Duce, 15.4.34.
286/2. DM 23 & 24.4.34.
287/3. DT 23.9.99. AA III R 77175, Pl. 29, 008.
288/1-2. HO 144/20141, 303, MI5 Report No. 1, 1934. AA III R 77175, Pol. 29, 029, 13.12.33, 16.2.34; 022, 18.5.34, 029, 31.3.34; 29, 029, 24.4.34. R 43 1432, 371267-9.
289/1. G 22.5.03. Tony Milligan, Adolf's Tartan Army: Fascists and 'men of the night' in IN 1930s Scotland, Cencrastus, Spring 1995.
289/2. Barrett 49 & 58-9. Consideration was given to moving the
BUF national headquarters from London to Manchester, which had just replaced Preston as 'Northern Command Centre, but was abandoned when membership fell to 1,500. Martin Pugh, Lancashire, Cotton and Indian Reform: Conservative Controversies in the 1930s, Twentieth Century British History, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2004. Pugh points out that four Lancashire Tory MPs - A.R.N. Nall-Cain (Lord Brocket), N.J. Hulbert, J.J. Stourton and Moore-Brabazon - all joined extreme right organisations.


290/3-4 & 291/1. AA III R 77175, Pol. 29, 027; 022 18.5.34. R43 II/1432, 371265/6, 4.5.34. R43 II/1432, 371270, 14.5.34.

Guinness 362.

291/2 & 293/1. AA III R 77175, Pol. 29, 63-66, 2.5.34. The informant added that 'there are forces at work to afford the Crown in the event of such a conflict the necessary powers to resist a socialist government.' The Chief of the General Staff was said to be 'engaged in the formation of "crystallisation points" in the form of suitable people in all the important offices throughout the country'.

291/3-4. News Chronicle, 7.5.34. Bourne 112.

292/2. Webber, Ideology, pp. 45 & 51. MP 25.5.34.


292/5. Stanley Baldwin, This Torch of Freedom (1937), 31, quoting 1934 speech. HO 144/2014.


294/1. Ziegler 206-10, John Aird diary 31.5.34.


CHAPTER FIFTEEN: OLYMPIA

295/1-2. T 6.3.98. HO 144/20141, 57-8. 7.6.34. SB report.


297/2. Ronald Blythe, The Age of Illusion: England in the


298/5. De Courcy, p. 206.
298/6. Benewick 181. FW 29.6.34.
299/4. K. Young 297, 9.6.34. N. Mosley, p. 326. Clement Attlee said the BUF was not only anti-democratic but 'at times definitely anti-semitic'.
300/1. T. Jones 130-1.
300/3. City and East London Observer, 16.6.34. CAB 23/79 (34), 1, 13.6.34.
300/4. HO 144/20142/108.
302/3. Der Sturmer, 4.6.34. AA III R 77175, Pol. 29, 4.7.34, 055.
302/4 & 303/1. HO 144/20130 662136/36, 17,18.7.34. AA III R 77175, Pol. 29, 67, 29.6.34.
303/4-5 & 304/1. AA III R 77175, Pol. 29, 056-68, 2.7.34.2
305/1. Kramnick/Sheerman, pp. 352-3. Laski was shunned by senior Jewish figures because he 'suspected fascists everywhere', insisting 'they were in the officer class of London's Metropolitan Police ... in the government itself. That's where you find the gentlemanly kind of fascism.'
305/2. Chesterton 126.
Skidelsky 388.


310/3. Mosley 246-7. G 11.3.04. In 1999, when editor of the Evening Standard, Max Hastings, who was critical of Israel's policies, lunched with Vere Rothermere, he was told there had been a visit from the Jewish Board of Deputies: 'They say you are anti-semitic.' They warned that 'the Israeli Likud wants to organise a boycott of the Evening Standard'. When Hastings asked how he responded, Rothermere replied: 'I told them that such a boycott would be a very good story for the Standard.'

310/4. Bourne 112. Rothermere's brother, Cecil was a believer in the conspiracy theory that Jewish diamond merchants had been responsible for the Boer War. Chesterton 43-6. Mandle, anti-semitism, 8.


On 28 July, Ezra Pound wrote from Rome, where he gave talks for the Italian Broadcasting Company, suggesting Mosley would 'have an international significance IF you will look forward, instead of playing round with the theatrical side of fascism ... The only fascism that CAN work in Eng is fascismismo di sinistra [left-wing fascism]'. The letter re-emphasised the importance for Pound, who was influenced by A.R. Orage, of fascism as a means for monetary reform. Orage died on 6.11.34, shortly after giving a radio speech on economics, which Pound heard.
312/1. Letter from Dolan, 4.6.35, MSS 127/NU/GS/3/5C. Hope, Marchbanks, op. cit. Dolan had been in the CP from 1921 to 1927 and went to prison for political offences. Benewick 268. Cross 145-6. T 4.2.34.
312/4. HO 144/20142, 113. MI5 Report, No. II. Webber 151.
313/2. HO 144/20142, MI5 Report, 8.10.34. Cross, p. 131. Round Table, Sept. 1934, referred to the 'castor-oil methods' of the BUF and the need to avoid revolutionary violence. There was increased profitability in the motor and aircraft industries, and branches of textiles which introduced new technology. Both Courtaulds and Morris were notable for their 'rapid expansion', doubling their production in the four years to 1936, 'undertaken almost entirely by internal finance'. Government policy played no part. Harrison 23, 83 & 201.
314/1. H.W. Richardson, Economic Recovery in Britain, 1932-9, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967, 21. B.W.E. Alford (Depression and Recovery?: British Economic Growth, 1918-1939, Macmillan, 1972, 69-73) suggests the National Government was largely guided by 'conventional wisdom' and paid little heed to alternative views. Budgets were 'draconian' and resulted in the 'death knell of any expansionary public works programme' of the kind Mosley championed. A large proportion of unemployment was the result of technology. The evidence suggests recovery was cyclical and not from an increase in industry's competitiveness. Forrest Capie and Michael Collins, The extent of British Economic Recovery in the 1930s, Economy and History, XXIII, 1980.
The government's main effort in industrial planning, the Special Areas policy introduced in 1934, was not an attempt at a managed economy. Although 'planning' was in vogue it was vague. The National Government dismissed the concept, primarily because 'sound finance' provided 'a defence ... against state socialism'.
314/4. Thurlow, 182, & MoD 27. R 34/526 Policy Political Broadcasting BUF, 1934-39, BBC archives. letters, 15/16.5.34. 315/1. N. Mosley 66 & 350. Skidelsky 323. A meeting in July between Mosley and the remnants of the BF, Rotha Lintorn-Orman, was not a success. She was ill caused by excessive drinking, turned down Mosley's final attempt at a merger.