

Warburton, 16. Coupland, left-wing, op. cit.
 265/3. Thurlow 51, 113 & 207. Andrew, MI5, 6.
 265/4 & 266/1. NA TS 27/522. Curry 101-7. Andrew, MI5, 7.
 Masters 26-8. West 233. HO 283/40. Simpson 36.
 266/2. Mosky versus Marchbank Papers, statements made by Mr
 C.M. Dolan at conference at Unity House on 2.11.34, MSS
 127/NW/GS/3/5A. HO 144/20144/126 & 45/25385/28. Kay Frederick,
 MSS 292/743.11/2, Modern Records Centre, Warwick University,
 1. B 16.9.33.
 266/3. Stevenson/Cook 149. Paul Foot review, Guardian,
 27.11.99. Simon Burgess, Stafford Cripps: A Political Life,
 Gollancz, 1999. Skidelsky, Interests, 131-2.
 266/4. HO 45/25386/54-9. Thurlow 114 & 204. KV 4/54/5. 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.
 267/1-2. C.M. Hamilton, Life Errant, Dent, 1935, 68. Douglas
 118-27. T 7/11/33 & 9.12.33. HO 144/21933/512110/330.
 267/3. HO 144/20142/118 & 20140, 9.6.34. HoC vol. 285, cols.
 360-1, 31.1.34; 290, cols. 1341-8, 11.6.34 & 290, cols. 1875-
 6, 14.6.34.
 267/4. Fascist Week 22-8.12.33. Drennan 198-9. Benewick 126.
 Leonard Wise in Mosley B/shirts 5-6.
 268/1. Coupland & Wagar op. cit. Cheyette 147.
 268/2-3. Curry 81. D.C. Watt, Personalities, 122. Margarete
 Gartner, Amabassadress of good will: Foreign policy work 1914-
 1950, Athenaum-Verlag: Bonn, 1955, 149 & 161. R 43 II/1432a.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN: ROTHERMERE

269/1. Fredericks MSS 292. Colin Brooks, The Devil's Decade,
 1947, 144. S. Taylor 266.
 269/2. Gannon 123. S. Taylor 292 & 300. Cudlipp 165-6 & 174.
 Paul Addison, Patriotism under Pressure: Lord Rothermere and
 British Foreign Policy, Gillian Peel and Chris Cook (eds.), The
 Politics of Reappraisal, Macmillan, 1975, 189.
 269/3 & 270/1-2. Mosley 344. Roma No. 10265, 29.12.33. Foreign
 Ministry, 19, 29 & 30.12.33. N. 10295. FP 30.10.81. HO 283/1,
 807.060/90, 21.2.39. John Hope, Cable Street, the BUF and the
 Italian subsidy, Searchlight, No. 292, Oct. 1999. Mosley/Liddle
 1977.
 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.
 270/3. HO 45/25700, 29.7.40.
 271/1. Koss 953. Cudlipp 171. Mosley 344.
 271/2-4 & 272/1. Gannon 25-26 & 34. Cross 94-6 & 117. Smart 97-
 102. Addison, Patriotism, 198. Horrie 19 & 39. The Mirror
 joined the campaign a few days later under the slogan GIVE THE
 BLACKSHIRTS A HELPING HAND.
 272/3-4. Cudlipp, Water, 62 & 273-3. R. Edwards 75-6. Horrie
 40. Louis Heren, The Power of the Press?, Orbis, 1985. Fascism
 and the 'Daily Mail', Political Quarterly, April 1934. Research
 and Economic Department TUC, Fascism, MSS 292/743/6, 22.2.34,

Warwick University.

- 273/1-4. Mandle, anti-semitism, 6. N. Mosley 310. Lewis 65. Benewick 100. Eatwell 165. Griffin 4. Paxton 16-7.
- 274/2. S. Taylor 300-1 & 313. Addison, Patriotism, 195. Ambassador at Berlin, 31.1.34, HO 144/19070/208-11.
- 274/3. Everyman, 2.2.34.
- 274-4 & 275/1. TUC op. cit. Miles 86. HO 144/20140/289. Benewick 98.
- 275/2. HO 144/20140/286 & 300-6, & 144/20142: MI5 Report No. I, April-June 1934. Groups were set up in the Civil Service and in educational centres including the Universities of London and Birmingham, Stowe School and Mosley's own school, Winchester.
- 275/3. See David Llewellyn, Nye, The Beloved Patrician, 1960. James King, Virginia Woolf, Hamish Hamilton, 1994, 503. Hermione Lee, Virginia Woolf, Chatto & Windus, 1996, 645.
- 275/4. A.J.P. Taylor (ed.), Off the record: Political Interviews 1933-1943, W.P. Crozier, Hutchinson, 1973, 28.1.34, 11-2.
- 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.
- 276/4. Sylvia Scaffardi, Fire Under the Carpet: working for civil liberties in the 1930s, Lawrence and Wishart, 1986, 62 & 95-6. Andrew Moore, Sir Philip Game's 'Other Life': The Making of the 1936 Public Order Act in Britain, Australian Journal of Politics, Vol. 36 No. 1, 1990.
- 276/5. 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.
- 277/1-2. Strachey, Growth, 123. Mosley 344. Joan Leighton, Power Elites and the British Union of Fascists 1932-1940, M.Phil, Manchester University, 1992, 51. Thurlow 121 & 135-6. HO 45/24891/40. N. Mosley 341. Benewick 195-6.
- 277/3. NR 2.5.34. Benewick 195-6.
- 277/4. HO 283/13, 2.7.40.
- 278/1. Adeney, Nuffield, 127-9.
- 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.
- 278/4. Lewis 81. Mosley 348. Skidelsky 326-30. Benewick 199. HO 144/20142.
- 279/1-2. www.britishembassy.org/ge/information/roots. Skidelsky 301. Thurlow 151, & Mod 37. Drennan 224.
- 279/3. BU Quarterly, 2, April-July 1937. Jonathan Dollimore, Death, Desire and loss in Western culture, Penguin, 1998, pp. xxviii & 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.

279/4. Drennan 179, 184 & 191. Dollimore 106. Louise Irvine, *The Birmingham Schoolteacher, Mosley's Blackshirts: The Inside Story of the British Union of Fascists 1932-1940*, 1986, 49-50. Philip M. Coupland, *The Blackshirt Utopians*, JCH, Vol. 33, No. 2, April 1998.

280/2-5 & 281/1. Thurlow pp. 21-5 & 44, & Return 108-10, & 'Destiny and doom, Spengler, Hitler and "British" Fascism', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 15, 4, Oct. 1981, pp. 24-6. Mosley 330-8. Hughes/Kolinsky 395. Skidelsky 312-3. *Action*, 6.11.37. Mandle, anti-semitism, 12. Bentley 190.

281/2. Lewis 41. N. Mosley 300-1. Thurlow 39. Mosley 327. Eatwell 308. Roger Griffin (ed.), *International Fascism: Theories, causes and the new consensus*, Arnold, 1998, 14. R. Gordon-Canning, *The Inward Strength of a National Socialist*, BUF, 1938, 3. Beverley Nicols, *News of England or a Country Without a Hero*, 1937, 292. Olive Hawks, *Time is my Debtor*, 194?, 110-11. Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*, 305.

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.

282/1. Kushner/Lunn, *Politics*, 11. Douglas 141 & 153. Gottlieb 52 & 151-9. Hilda Kean, *Some problems of reconstructing a suffragette's life: Mary Richardson, suffragette, socialist and fascist*, *Women's History Review*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1998. G 27.11.03. Anne Page, a BUF activist, remembered Richardson as 'one of the most militant suffragettes'. In 1914, she had slashed one of the world's most famous paintings, Velazquez's *Rokeby Venus*, in response to the imprisonment of Emmeline Pankhurst. 'Fascism Will Mean Real Equality for Women', B 22.2.35. Stephen Cullen, *Four Women for Mosley: Women in the BUF, 1932-1940*, *Oral History*, Spring 1996, Vol. 24. No. 1. Martin Durham, *Women in the British Union of Fascists, 1932-1940 & Gender and the BUF*, JCH, Vol. 27, 1992. N. Elam, 'Fascism, Women and Democracy', *Fascist Quarterly* 1, 3, July, 1935.

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.

282/3. De Courcy 203-4. Hastings 92-6.

282/4 & 283/1. Smart, *Esmond Harmsworth to Hore-Belisha*, 9.6.34. R.D. Edwards 78. Cross 97.

283/2-3. Pryce-Jones 112-3. Bondy 124. Der Sturmer March 1934.
283/4. Michaelis 60-1 & 75-6. Soucy 12.
283/5. Weiner Library Bulletin, 'The Nationalist
International'. Frits Calusen, Volk und Staat im Grenzland,
Zurich, 1936.
284/1-2. Mosley 292. Georg Arnold Pfister, Italy:
Naturalisation certificate- 17.1.10. NA Australia, A63/1,
A1910/341.
284/3. H.P. Knickerbrocker, Blackshirts in England and
England's Economic Rise, Rowohlt, Berlin, 1934. Lita-Rose
Betcherman, The Swastika and the Maple Leaf: Fascist Movements
in Canada in the Thirties, Toronto, Fitzhenry & Whiteside,
1975, 76-80 & 107. AA III R 77175, Pol. 29, 080, 23.7.34, NY
Tribune 21.7.34.
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.
285/2-5. Curry 7-8, 48, 58-9 & 107-10. Skidelsky 354. HO
144/21933/330 & 144/20141, 307, MI5 Report No. 1. Thurlow xii.
N, Vol. 138, 4.4.34.
286/1. Captured Italian Documents Collection GFM 36/41,
006867/8/9, 15. xii, Secreteria Particolare del Duce, 15.4.34.
286/2. DM 23 & 24.4.34.
286/3-5. Weir 273-4. Smart 130-1. Cross 98-9. TS April 1934.
Skidelsky 335-6.
287/1. H.G. Wells, Experiment in Autobiography, 1934, 669-70.
Coupland, Wells, op. cit. Michael Foot, H.G.: The History of Mr
Wells, Doubleday, 1995, 282-3.
287/2. Moody 353-5. Gordon 1 & 22-3. Vivienne was shut away in
a sanatorium, where she died at the age of 59, through a self-
administered overdose. She had become unhinged by Eliot's
desertion. T.S. Mathews, Great Tom: Notes Towards the
Definition of T.S. Eliot, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1974, 118.
287/3. DT 23.9.99. AA III R 77175, Pl. 29, 008.
287/4. Bauerkamper 230.
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.
288/3. Lewis 64 & 74. Benewick 110. Cross 105 & 132. Webber
590.
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: Conservastive 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.

289/3. G.C. Webber, The British Isles, in Detlef Muhlberger(ed.), The social basis of European Fascist movements, Croom Helm, 1987, 141-5. Fredericks 4. Lewis 66.

289/4. HO 144/20140/117 SB Report May 1934.

289/5 & 290/1-2. Fredericks 4-6. Miles 65. Knickerbocker, 1934. Thurlow, Failure, 71. Lewis 66 & 74.

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.

292/3. Ramsden 336-7.

292/4. Taylor, Beaverbrook, 330. Bourne 112. Koss 971-2.

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

293/1. Stevenson/Cook, p. 224. Benewick, p. 93. Guardian, 4.6.34.

293/2. Miscellaneous papers in Tait Collection, University of Stirling. The two handwritten documents intended for publication in the Edinburgh Free Press published by Frank Maitland, November 1934. Cohen op. cit..

293/3. Miles 107. Benewick 124.

293/4. Tatler 16.5.34. Trzebinski 116-9.

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

294/2. PA/AA Abt. III, Pol. 29/England, 1/59. Akten der Partei-Kanzlei der NSDAP, Microfiche Nr. 101 25556, 1/60. micro 101 25557. AA III R 77175, Pol. 29, 061, 5.6.34. BA R 43 II/1432, Nr 175, Pol. 29, 020, 4.6.34. R32 II/1432, 2.6.34.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN: OLYMPIA

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

295/3 & 296/1. Skidelsky 367-9. Miles 70-1. Stevenson/Cook 257.

296/2. Hastings 97. Guinness 344. Mark Amory, Lord Berners: The Last Eccentric, Chatto & Windus, 1998, 133.

296/3-5 & 297/1. Crowson 4-5, 59-63, 205 & 242. Addison, pp. 198-9. De Courcy 205. Cartlin, Go, 88-91. Skidelsky 369-70.

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

Twenties and Thirties 1919-1940, Hamish Hamilton, 1963, 177.
Wrench 176.
297/3-4 & 298/1-4. Crowson 59-63. Fredericks MSS 292. Wrench
177. Lewis 119. Skidelsky 370. HO 144/20140/29-34 & 2041/366-7.
Cross 113-4. ND 174.
298/5. De Courcy, p. 206.
298/6. Benewick 181. FW 29.6.34.
299/1. Miles 72-3. Fredericks MSS 292.
299/2-3 & 299/5. Martin Pugh, The British Union of Fascists and
the Olympia debate, The Historical Journal, 41, 2, 1998. Jon
Lawrence, Fascist violence and the politics of public order in
inter-war Britain: the Olympia debate revisited, Historical
Research, Vol. 76. No. 192, May 2003. Crowson 59-63. Smart 101.
MP 13.6.34. 538.
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.
300/2. Pugh & Lawrence op. cit. MEPO 2/3073, 'Fascist
demonstration at White City', fos. 5,7. Crowson 63. SD 17.6.34.
HO 144/20142/108 & 144/20141, 296-7. MI5 Report No. 1. June
1934. Scaffardi 68-70. 31. M. Cowling, The Impact of Hitler,
Cambridge University Press, 1975, 17.
300/3. City and East London Observer, 16.6.34. CAB 23/79 (34),
1, 13.6.34.
300/4. HO 144/20142/108.
301/1-3. AA 5849F2/427978-982. VB, 8/9.6.34. AA III R 77175,
Pol. 29, 035-9, 8.6.34; 034, 042-9 & 061 11/12/18.6.34.
Baukamper 230.
301/4. De Courcy 206. N. Mosley 342. Letter, 16.6.34, in
archive, Birmingham University. Coupland, left-wing, op. cit.
302/1-2. Leighton 73. HO 144/20141, 289-300, MI5 Report No. I,
April/June 1934. Andrew 371-2. HO 144/20141, 18.6.34.
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.
303/2-3. Brendon 252-60. Guinness, p. 364.
303/4-5 & 304/1. AA III R 77175, Pol. 29, 056-68, 2.7.34.2
304/2-3. Mosley 337-40. A.K. Chesterton and Joseph Leftwich,
The Tragedy of Anti-Semitism, Robert Anscombe, 1948, 65. Baker
129.
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.
305/3-4. Query, Book No. 2, 1938, 34. N. Mosley 346-7.
Skidelsky 388.
306/1. Lewis 95-6. Thurlow 157.
306/2. Cross 123. Stephen M. Cullen, Political Violence: The
case of the British Union of Fascists, JCH, Vol. 28, 1993.
Skidelsky 393.

306/3. Thurlow 157. B 2.11.34.
306/4. Aigner 118.
307/1-2. HO 141/20141, MI5, 18.6.34. Curry 11 & 110. Cohen op. cit. Leighton 54-5.
307/3. Stevenson/Cook 266-7. York Free Press April/May to September, 1978, cited in Rees, Changing, 198.
307/4. Cohen and Lawrence op. cits.. Skidelsky 385. HO 144/20142/225 & 144/20141, 84, SB report, 27.6.34. MEPOL 2/3073, 5.8.34.
308/1. B 29.6.34 & 6/13/20.7.34. Pugh op. cit. S. Taylor 134. Smart 103-4.
308/2. HO 144/20142/217. Mosley, p. 346. Cudlipp, p. 170. Thurlow, p. 139. Mosley archive Box 8, 2.5.34. Brendon, p. 172.
308/3. T 12 & 20.7.34. Letters in DM 19.7.34. Pugh op. cit. Koss 972.
309/1. AA III R 77175, Pol. 29, 75-7, 25.7.34. Bismarck to FO, 25.7.34, III E 1933. AA III R 77175, Pol. 29, 070, 11.7.34. Peter Aldag, Das Judentum in England, Berlin: Nordland Verlag, 1943, 514.
309/2. TS 27.12.63, Mosley 343. Cudlipp 170. HO 144/20144, 268, MI5 Report No. IV. S. Taylor 313. D. Edwards 78.
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.
310/1. Cross 123. Skidelsky 383. Geoffrey Alderman, The Jewish Community in British Politics, Oxford, 1983, 195. Lees-Milne, Deep, diary 4.12.80.
310/2. Alderman docs. op. cit. Webber 577. HO 144/20142/225. Thurlow 192-3.
310/3-4 & 311/1-2. Holden Reid, Fuller, 132-3, 174-5 & 182-99, & Studies 36 & 183-5, 7 & Impressions of Sir Oswald Mosley 25.8.77. Mosley/Liddle 1977. N. Mosley 351. Obit. T 11.2.66. 12-15 & 68, 173. Trythall 181.
311/3. Mosley 344. Coupland. HO 144/20142/81, SB Report, 18.7.34. Trzebinski 117-8. Fredericks MSS 292, 4.
311/4. Miles 21. Coupland, left-wing, op. cit. Redman 157-60. 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 fascismo 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.

312/2-3. N. Mosley 66, 310 & 340-3. Guerolt paper, N. Mosley archive, Birmingham University. Thurlow 127. KV 2/245/1a. Martland 17. HO 144/21062, 27.11.36.

312/4. HO 144/20142, 113. MI5 Report, No. II. Webber 151.

313/1 & 313/3. Ferris/Bar-Joseph 125-9. Taylor, Ball, 134. Adeney, Nuffield, 130-1.

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.

313/4. Skidelsky, Interests, 244. Martin Blinkhorn, Fascists and Conservatives: The radical right and the establishment in twentieth-century Europe, Unwin Hyman, 1990. Webber, Ideology, 9. Ritshcell 92.

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'.

314/2. Webber 151. Thurlow, Failure, 68-9. Barrett 58. Cross 68.

314/3. O'Keefe 346. Mosley 225. Letter Mosley to Meyers, 14.10.77, 134-5 & 188.

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.