‘This is an original, deeply researched and very readable book by the leading scholar of British fascism. It makes an extremely valuable contribution to our understanding of the British fascist tradition.’

Professor Roger Eatwell, University of Bath, UK

‘By introducing a biographical approach to reveal the diversity of the visions of national rebirth adopted by six British fascists over nearly a century, Graham Macklin puts welcome flesh on the abstract formula and abstruse generalisations that have too often plagued fascist studies in the past, and simultaneously reveals the transnational nature of the fascist project in the minds of its most ardent believers. Hopefully, Macklin’s impressively researched and thoughtful biographical study will inspire a new genre of fascist studies.’

Professor Roger Griffin, Oxford Brookes University, UK

‘*Failed Führers* offers us something remarkable, a synoptic overview of the British far right firmly rooted in the granular detail of narrative biography. A maestro of British archives, Macklin brilliantly illuminates the shady saga of a rogues gallery of fanatics from Arnold Leese and Oswald Mosley to Colin Jordan and Nick Griffin. *Failed Führers* is a must read for anyone concerned about fascism, past, present, … and future?’

Kevin Coogan, author of Dreamer of the Day: Francis Parker Yockey and the Postwar Fascist International

‘This is a readable and well-researched book from one of the leading scholars of British fascism. Dr Macklin’s thesis centres on six meticulous case studies of leading British fascists, usefully setting their stories in a wider international context. With neo-fascism and the authoritarian and exclusionist populist right on the rise across the globe, this is an engaging and timely reminder to keep our eyes on the past, in order to better understand the unstable present.’

Dr David Baker, Warwick University, UK (Retired)

‘With spectacular archival depth, *Failed Führers* convincingly shows how continuities in far right ideologies and movements are constructed and sustained as each generation’s ideologues are shaped by trajectories of influence from key mentors to emergent protégés. A brilliant intervention into understandings of the historical and contemporary extreme right.’

Cynthia Miller-Idriss, American University, USA

‘*Failed Führers* provides an important and timely contribution for historians, social scientists, and the general public by offering a comprehensive account of the historical evolution of the far right in Britain. His account is layered and nuanced reflecting a deep understanding of the topic. Macklin’s manuscript is an important accomplishment and I highly recommend this book for anyone serious about understanding the far right.’

Peter Simi, Chapman University, USA

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Failed Führers

This book provides a comprehensive history of the ideas and ideologues associated with the racial fascist tradition in Britain. It charts the evolution of the British extreme right from its post-war genesis after 1918 to its present-day incarnations, and details the ideological and strategic evolution of British fascism through the prism of its principal leaders and the movements with which they were associated.

Taking a collective biographical approach, the book focuses on the political careers of six principal ideologues and leaders, Arnold Leese (1878–1956); Sir Oswald Mosley (1896–1980); A.K. Chesterton (1899–1973); Colin Jordan (1923–2009); John Tyndall (1934–2005); and Nick Griffin (1959–), in order to study the evolution of the racial ideology of British fascism, from overtly biological conceptions of 'white supremacy' through 'racial nationalism' and latterly to 'cultural' arguments regarding 'ethno-nationalism'.

Drawing on extensive archival research and often obscure primary texts and propaganda as well as the official records of the British government and its security services, this is the definitive historical account of Britain's extreme right and will be essential reading for all students and scholars of race relations, extremism and fascism.

Graham Macklin is Assistant Professor/Postdoctoral Fellow at the Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX) at the University of Oslo, Norway. He has published extensively on extreme right-wing and anti-minority politics in Britain in both the inter-war and post-war periods including *Very Deeply Dyed in the Black: Sir Oswald Mosley and the Resurrection of British Fascism after 1945* (2007), *British National Party: Contemporary Perspectives* (2011) co-edited with Nigel Copsey, *Failed Führers: A History of Britain's Extreme Right* (2020), and *Researching the Far Right: Theory, Method and Practice* (2020) co-edited with Stephen Ashe, Joel Busher and Aaron Winter. Macklin co-edits 'Patterns of Prejudice: Fascism' and the 'Routledge Studies in Fascism and the Far Right' book series.

Routledge Studies in Fascism and the Far Right
Series editors: Nigel Copsey
Teesside University
and
Graham Macklin,
Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX), University of Oslo

This new book series focuses upon fascist, far right and right-wing politics primarily within a historical context but also drawing on insights from other disciplinary perspectives. Its scope also includes radical-right populism, cultural manifestations of the far right and points of convergence and exchange with the mainstream and traditional right.

Titles include:

The Far Right and the Environment
Politics, Discourse and Communication
Edited by Bernhard Forchtner

Vigilantism against Migrant and Minorities
Edited by Tore Bjørgo and Miroslav Mareš

Trumping Democracy
From Ronald Reagan to Alt-Right
Edited by Chip Berlet

A.K. Chesterton and the Evolution of Britain's Extreme Right, 1933–1973
Luke LeCras

Cumulative Extremism
A Comparative Historical Analysis
Alexander J. Carter

CasaPound Italia
Contemporary Extreme-Right Politics
Caterina Froio, Pietro Castelli Gattinara, Giorgia Bulli and Matteo Albanese

The International Alt-Right
Fascism for the 21st Century?
Patrik Hermansson, David Lawrence, Joe Mulhall and Simon Murdoch

Failed Führers
A History of Britain's Extreme Right
Graham Macklin

Failed Führers

A History of Britain's Extreme Right

Graham Macklin

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2020
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2020 Graham Macklin

The right of Graham Macklin to be identified as author of this work has been asserted by him in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Macklin, Graham, author.
Title: Failed führers : a history of Britain's extreme right / Graham Macklin.
Other titles: History of Britain's extreme right /
Description: Abingdon, Oxon ; New York : Routledge, 2020. | Series: Fascism and the far right | Includes bibliographical references and index. |
Identifiers: LCCN 2019052974 | ISBN 9780415627290 (hardback) | ISBN 9780415627306 (paperback) | ISBN 9781315697093 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Fascists–Great Britain–Biography. | Right-wing extremists–Great Britain–Biography. | Right-wing extremists–Great Britain–History–20th century. | Fascism–Great Britain–History–20th century. | Great Britain–Race relations. | Great Britain–Politics and government–20th century.
Classification: LCC HN400.R3 M33 2020 | DDC 320.53/3–dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019052974

ISBN: 9780415627290 (hbk)
ISBN: 9780415627306 (pbk)
ISBN: 9781315697093 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Wearset, Boldon, Tyne and Wear

For Catherine

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Contents

	Acknowledgements	x
	Introduction	1
1	Arnold Leese: The ‘anti-jewish’ camel doctor	22
2	Sir Oswald Mosley: From ‘Britain First’ to ‘Europe-a-Nation’	92
3	A.K. Chesterton: From ‘Fascist Revolutionary’ to ‘Jew-wise’ conspiracy theorist	179
4	Colin Jordan: Dreaming of the Nazi ‘Vanguard’	257
5	John Tyndall: In pursuit of the ‘Anglo-Saxon Reich’	346
6	Nick Griffin: From the ‘Third Position’ to anti-Muslim ‘populism’… and back again	435
	Conclusion	546
	Select bibliography	559
	Index	563

Acknowledgements

This book like almost every other is the product of collective endeavour. Whilst my name appears on the cover, I would not have completed it – indeed, I nearly did not – without the unstinting support and assistance of my family, friends and colleagues all of whom have helped me see the project through from its initial conception to final publication.

First and foremost, I must acknowledge the generous financial support of the Leverhulme Trust, who saw merit in the idea and granted me an Early Career Fellowship which enabled me to conduct much of the initial research underpinning the book. The initial funds provided by the Leverhulme Trust have since been augmented by a much-valued travel scholarship provided by the Foundation for Canadian Studies in the UK, for which I would like to thank its secretary Rick Bastani for providing me with the funds to undertake some invaluable research and experience a memorable trip to Canada.

I have been lucky enough to work alongside and become friends with a good many scholars at the various institutions in which I have worked over the years. Emeritus Professor Colin Holmes, whom I first met as an undergraduate, has given me invaluable long-term support and encouragement. Professor Nigel Copsey has been similarly supportive over the *longue durée*. Administrative happenstance resulted in my sharing an office for several years with Joel Busher, whose keen insight and friendship were immensely beneficial to my scholarship at a point in time when my interest in continuing an academic career was at a low ebb.

I have profited immeasurably from conversations with, and reading the work of, numerous academics, researchers, journalists and activists over the years including Cynthia Miller-Idriss, Hilary Pilkington, Fabian Virchow, Francis Beckett, Roger Griffin, Richard Thurlow, Tony Kushner, Barbara Rosenbaum, Jeff Bale, Martin Langebach, Jan Raabe, Daniel Koehler, Spencer Sunshine, Paul Jackson, Graeme Atkinson, Kim Knott, Matthew Francis, Ben Lee, Steve Woodbridge, Andrea Mammone, Gareth Harris and Donald Holbrook. David Baker, Roger Eatwell, Nigel Copsey and Kevin Coogan provided extremely valuable feedback on the final manuscript, though any mistakes are of course my own.

My former colleagues at Huddersfield University, Shaun McDaid and Professor Paul Thomas, went beyond the call of duty in their personal and professional support. So too did my Teesside colleagues, Ultán Gillen, Linsey Robb and Margaret Hems, who went out of their way to help me more than once. The Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX), at the University of Oslo, has provided me with an invigorating intellectual environment and peerless academic support (as well as politely putting up with me as I mangle the Norwegian language). I am particularly thankful to Tore Bjørgo, Anders Ravik Jupkås, Dagfinn Hagen, Pietro Castelli Gattinara, Jacob Ravndal, Eviane Leidig, Birgitte Haanshuus, Johannes Due Enstad, Cathrine Moe Thorleifsson, Catarina Froio, Lars Erik Bernstein, Astrid

Hauge Rambøl, Nina Høy-Peterson, Iris Beau Segers, Katrine Fangen, Rita Augestad Knudsen, Thomas Hegghammer, Elisabetta Cassina Wolf, Jørgen Axelson, Sofia Lygren, Yngvild Storli and last, but not least, Terje Emberland. Cas Mudde and Duncan McDonnell on their visits to C-REX both gave me timely words of encouragement, which I took to heart.

Archivists are the historian's best friend and this book would undoubtedly be the poorer were it not for their assistance. To my friends and former colleagues in the National Archives at Kew, I owe an ongoing debt. Karen Astwood, secretary of PHANZA was pivotal in helping me gain access to A.N. Field's papers in New Zealand whilst Daniel Jones of the Searchlight archive at the University of Northampton has been similarly helpful tracking down sources. Nor can one ignore the contribution given by a range of others in this regard. Martin Durham, Dan Trilling, Ryan Schaffer, Jess Chandler, Joe Mulhall, Alex Carter, Liam Liburd, Evan Smith and Pablo del Hierro all provided me with references I would never otherwise have found. Guy Walters also provided an extremely timely tip-off about the release of Werner Naumann's MI5 files.

For the historian, unearthing and reconstructing the extremist careers of secretive figures operating furtively and often clandestinely at the political margins of society can resemble an exercise in archaeology, reminiscent of A.J.A. Symons' *The Quest for Corvo*. There is, however, considerably more empirical evidence available lying closer to the surface than one might suppose. This study has benefited from toiling away in public archives on both sides of the Atlantic for several years, but I have also been lucky enough to gain access to several unique collections of private personal papers hitherto untapped by historians. I am very grateful to the late Kevan Bleach for granting me access to his personal archive relating to the British extreme right and for his insight into the personalities of those he knew. James Mason provided me with access to George Lincoln Rockwell's personal papers years before he publicly deposited them at the University of Kansas, where other researchers can now access them too. The willingness of nearly all the activists I approached for an interview, or have corresponded with over the years whilst researching this study, to discuss their recollections with me has also been beneficial to my understanding and I thank them for their time.

My editor at Routledge, Craig Fowlie, told me over drinks one evening that his own boss had once informed him that any editor thanked by an author in the acknowledgements for his/her 'patience' should be sacked. At the risk of costing Craig his job, I have marvelled at his forbearance as deadlines repeatedly came and went with a certain grim inevitability. I also owe Craig a huge debt for his advice, insight and friendship, not just whilst writing this book but on numerous other projects as well. Having taken an inordinate amount of time to deliver a much longer than originally agreed manuscript to him, the following paraphrased quote, often attributed to Blaise Pascal, feels apt by way of an apology: 'If I had more time, I would have written a shorter book.'

I would also like to thank Thérèse Wassily Saba, my copy editor and therefore an unsung hero, whose keen attention to detail in the final stages has helped to iron out some grammatical quirks that otherwise would have gone unnoticed.

I could not have asked for a better group of friends and their contribution has been no less important than that of my academic family and, of course, there is some overlap: Malcolm; Barney and Emily; Owen and Sarah; Christine and Jake; Shaun and Ania; Stevie and Susie; Polly; Alice; Duncan; Piers and Etala; Tom and Maria Laura; Catherine and Ian; Sara and Connor; Christine and Martin. Without their support, I probably would not have finished this book, or in all probability stuck with an academic career. Nowhere is this truer

than the unfailing support and encouragement of my parents Hilary and Roger without whom I would not be where I am now. The same goes for my brothers, Stephen and Brian. This last sentence of the acknowledgements has been the hardest one of the whole book to write because I suddenly realise I have no absolutely idea how to put into words how unbelievably grateful I am to my best friend, Catherine, for putting up with this book (and me) for what must have seemed like an absolute eternity. 'Thank you' doesn't come close …

Introduction

This book details the ideological and strategic evolution of British fascism from its roots in the extreme right-wing and anti-Semitic *demi-monde* in the aftermath of the First World War, through a range of political parties and movements, to its present-day incarnations. While this volume does excavate unexplored areas of the British fascist tradition and draws, in multiple places, upon a raft of previously unseen archival sources, it makes no claims to being a comprehensive history. Instead of adopting the synoptic overview of previous classic historical accounts in the field,[1] the present study traces continuity and change within the British fascist tradition through a collective biographical approach, focusing upon the political careers of six principal ideologues and leaders: Arnold Leese (1878–1956), Sir Oswald Mosley (1896–1980), A.K. Chesterton (1899–1973), Colin Jordan (1923–2009), John Tyndall (1934–2005) and Nick Griffin (1959–).

These six biographical chapters, which can be read individually, or collectively, to illuminate the multifaceted nature of British fascism as it has evolved since the 1920s, pay particularly close attention to the transnational perspective that these individuals took both with regard their ideological visions but also in respect of their political organising too. The first chapter explores the 'Jew-wise' politicking of Arnold Leese – undoubtedly the UK's only self-proclaimed 'anti-Jewish camel doctor' – who led the Imperial Fascist League, a tiny but virulent pro-Nazi grouplet during the inter-war years. Although Leese was always a marginal political figure in the 1930s, his blend of rabid anti-Semitism, Nazi Nordicism and anti-Black racism had an outsized influence upon post-war generations of self-described 'racial nationalists' – a term which will be described in greater detail below. Chapter 2 examines the political career of Sir Oswald Mosley, a man reviled by Leese as a 'Kosher fascist'. Mosley led the British Union of Fascists (BUF), the pre-eminent fascist movement in inter-war Britain, the name of which he changed in 1937 to the British Union of Fascists and National Socialists to better reflect his own growing pro-Nazi stance. As discussed in more detail below, the existing historiography of British fascism has concentrated disproportionately on Mosley and the BUF.[2] This chapter focuses instead largely upon Mosley's post-war career as he transitioned from a straightforward 'Britain First' nationalism to the idea of 'Europe-a-Nation' which represented an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to redefine the parameters of the fascist vision for a post-fascist world.

Chapter 3 investigates the activities of A.K. Chesterton, one of Mosley's most vituperative anti-Jewish propagandists during the 1930s, who developed a career after 1945 as an internationally influential anti-Semitic conspiracy theorist. Chesterton held fast to the 'Britain First' credo of the BUF, carrying its torch forward through to the formation of the National Front in 1966. Chapter 4 surveys the career of the 'neo-Nazi godfather' Colin Jordan who evolved from being a 'Jew-wise' racial nationalist, like his mentor, Arnold

Leese, to formulating a pan-Aryan 'universal' idea of Nazism that rejected the 'narrow' nationalism of the inter-war years altogether. Chapter 5 examines the life of John Tyndall, an ardent national socialist revolutionary who, having split from Jordan, espoused a mélange of racial nationalist ideas derived from Mosley and Chesterton, aimed at promoting a 'British' form of National Socialism. Within the extreme right milieu, Tyndall was one of its more notable political organisers, serving twice as National Front (NF) chairman, before founding the British National Party (BNP) in 1982. Chapter 6 concludes with an examination of the political career of Nick Griffin, a young racial nationalist who cut his teeth in Tyndall's NF, sticking with the group following its collapse in 1979, to become a leading light in its revolutionary nationalist 'political soldier' faction during the 1980s. Griffin established a reputation for himself as an ideological hardliner and voluble Holocaust denier, leading Tyndall to court him to join the BNP, a decision he was to rue. Griffin succeeded Tyndall as BNP leader in 1999, helped 'modernise' the party and embraced anti-Muslim racial 'populism', which helped propel the BNP to become the most successful racial nationalist organisation in British history before it politically imploded in 2010.

Methodology

Historians once regarded the biographical approach as somewhat unfashionable, many harbouring an ambivalent stance towards the genre, at best. Indeed, as one symposium on 'Historians and Biography' observed a decade ago, biography is the profession's 'unloved stepchild', often viewed as a 'lesser form of history' or a 'degraded form of historical writing'. This reasoning rests, in part, upon a common misapprehension that biography interprets the role of the individual in history as being, 'the only intellectual and analytical center of the argument.' This is rarely the case, however. Historians, generally speaking, use biography to explore the wider political, social, cultural and moral universe their subjects occupy and the two interact and illuminate one another.[3] Previous biographies of British fascists, and on Fascism and Nazism more generally, have provided keen insight into the individuals themselves and, arguably, some of the most sophisticated analysis of how the competing power bases of those 'working towards the Führer' ultimately energised the horrors of the Third Reich.[4] Biography serves us here as an analytical prism through which the broader ideological and organisational contours of the British fascist tradition, as it has evolved over the course of several generations, are refracted. This methodological approach has several distinct advantages, not least of which is to address the following lament:

> While scholars studying extreme right movements recently complained how less attention is paid to the ideology of these movements in contrast to the development of classificatory and explanatory models, even less attention is paid to those individuals who subscribe to, at times formulate and promote this ideology.[5]

This study seeks to redress this. In doing so, it also seeks to provide a broader contextual contemplation of the individuals who articulated and disseminated these ideas and the wider political environment in which they did so, whilst also focusing upon the political actions that resulted from those choices. As Sir Richard Evans observed in his magisterial history of the Third Reich, 'academic authors paint a somewhat bloodless, almost abstract picture of the Nazis, as if the theories and debates about them were more important than

the people themselves.' Like Evans, this work, endeavours 'to put individuals back into the picture'[6] in order to give a fuller understanding of those promoting and producing the extreme right ideologies around which groups have mobilised.

Adopting a collective biographical approach – prosopography[7] – also offers a means of reinserting human agency into the broader structural explanations of history. Focusing on the role of these individuals within the broader racial nationalist milieu can help illuminate the broader historical processes which they helped to shape and which shaped them.[8] Historians recognise that people and parties are not simply hostages to fortune, buffeted by impersonal socio-economic 'drivers' without any means of recourse or redress. This is not to dismiss the salience of these factors. They are vital, of course, but so too is the need for a historically grounded approach that embeds individual actors, and the decisions and strategies they enact in pursuit of their political agendas, within this wider, structural context.[9] Karl Marx's oft-repeated aphorism succinctly summarises this interplay between human agency, impersonal structure and the burden of history:

> Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given, and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living.[10]

Structuring the book in this manner, instead of adopting a more straightforward chronological approach to the history of British fascism, has several distinct analytical advantages.[11] Whilst acknowledging the collective biographical approach represents an artificial literary conceit, disaggregating these various ideologues avoids reifying British fascism as a monolithic tradition under a single leadership, since it illuminates the heterodox nature of fascist thought, a plurality erased by presenting fascism or 'right-wing extremism' as a uniform or indeed unitary phenomenon.[12] Highlighting the personal and political cleavages that have proliferated across its fractious and fissiparous history not only provides a sharper appreciation of how, and when, such conflicts have contributed to the political, organisational and tactical evolution of British fascism, but also emphasises that it was never a singular, homogenous social movement in the first place.[13] The prosopographic approach facilitates the elucidation of these nuances.

The collective biographical framework adopted by this study also refocuses our attention on the role of human agency within extreme right movements, something that is writ large within small *groupuscular* organisations. It also highlights that, above and beyond fomenting division – since human agency can also particularly destructive within miniscule political formations – individual activists, and the groups they form, are capable of adapting their ideologies to external circumstance (and, of course, their own personal peccadilloes), all the while remaining faithful to fascism's non-negotiable racial nationalist core. Whilst emphasising the ideological continuity of the milieu, the current work also establishes the central role of these ideologues and their activities in its perpetuation and longevity.[14] Indeed, whilst the book's structure serves to highlight the dynamic trajectories undertaken by these individuals over time and illuminates the broader ideological arc of their personal political development, it also seeks to locate their role in the evolution of the wider movement. This allows for a more detailed examination of the different strategies adopted by extreme right activists and the tensions between the 'mainstreamers' – who focus on legal, non-violent and electoral strategies – and the 'vanguardists' who take an extra-parliamentary approach often involving violence and illegality.[15]

Finally, this collective biographical approach addresses a glaring structural imbalance within the historiography of British fascism itself, which is virtually synonymous with the politics and personality of Oswald Mosley. Whilst understandable, this distorts our understanding of the movement's wider history.[16] Within this historiography, there is also a tendency within the literature towards personification, arguably borne out in the current work too. More to the point, many historians have tended to study the BUF precisely because it was the vehicle upon which Mosley squandered his supposedly considerable political talents: fascism as personal tragedy. This narrative, of wasted intellect squandered on gutter politics, has continued to endure though it obscures as much about British fascism as it reveals. Mosley was, of course, pivotal during the inter-war period but he was not always the most important or influential figure thereafter. Studying the pilot fish can tell us much about the whale and by situating Mosley alongside his political contemporaries, and their successors, – though he and his followers would baulk at such comparison – this book also provides a clearer understanding of Mosley's overall place within the British fascist pantheon.

Moving away from focusing solely upon Mosley, particularly during the inter-war period, also helps us to recalibrate our understanding of British fascism's periodisation. During the 1930s, Mosley's anti-fascist opponents mocked his movement's symbol, the flash and circle – symbolically depicting 'unity in action' – as a 'flash in the pan'.[17] In a wider historical sense, this was true. The BUF lasted a mere eight years: from 1932 to 1940. Yet despite the ultimately ephemeral nature of British fascism during the 'devil's decade', the historiography remains disproportionately weighted towards these eight years. Post-war British fascism has lasted over seventy years and is deserving of more scholarly interrogation.[18]

The current study extends the temporal frame of reference to encompass a full century of British fascism, with the caveat that the chapter on Mosley is weighted towards his post-1945 activities since these are lesser known. Although this study begins in the aftermath of the First World War, a conflict in which Leese, Mosley and Chesterton all served, this is not to imply that British fascism experienced the ideological equivalent of a virgin birth in 1918. There were many pre-war ideological and political tributaries that gradually coalesced into a body of thought that underpinned what became British fascist 'doctrine' during the early 1920s. Adumbrating the contours of British fascism's intellectual antecedents during the Edwardian era – social Darwinism, racism, eugenics, imperialism and jingoistic nationalism to name but a few – is beyond the scope of this study, though it would undoubtedly enhance our understanding of British fascism's domestic roots, which are often obscured by claims that it was little more than a foreign 'import'. That said, it is equally important not to downplay the radicalising effect that the contagious encounter with Italian Fascism and German National Socialism had upon native British fascists either. It is perhaps enough to remark at this juncture that the study of British fascism awaits its own Zeev Sternhell, whose work diligently traces 'proto-fascist' precursors in pre-1914 France.[19]

Having highlighted the analytic advantages of narrating British fascism's history through a biographical frame, it would be remiss not to issue a few caveats. It is hopefully already apparent that this is not a study of Thomas Carlyle's 'great men' bending history to their will, a viewpoint popular, for readily apparent reasons, with the fascists themselves.[20] If anything, it is the complete opposite – a narrative of marginal political actors vainly resisting the broader arc of global history. Nor is the focus upon 'leaders' intended as a definitive statement on the methodological prism through which we should understand British fascism not least because, as Paxton sagely observed of the 1930s: 'The image of

the all-powerful dictator personalizes fascism, and creates the false impression that we can understand it fully by scrutinizing the leader alone.'[21] This observation is no less true regarding the post-war period. Furthermore, privileging the role played by these six leading ideologues risks mythologising the supposed centrality of their 'leadership' and, in doing so, crowding others off the stage, though, in keeping with Evan's injunction, I have endeavoured to locate these individual biographies within their social and political contexts.

In focusing upon these six ideologues, one might rightfully enquire whether there were other figures worthy of inclusion. Whilst the figures here are ideologues rather than intellectuals – a crucial distinction – there a number of elitist and anti-democratic thinkers, particularly Anthony Ludovici, who might have been considered for inclusion were it not for the fact that, despite the similarity of their core ideas, they personally never crossed the Rubicon to embrace fascism. Indeed such 'neo-Tories' – the intellectual counterparts of the Conservative Revolutionaries in Germany – viewed British fascism with elitist disdain, regarding it as distinctly plebeian. Sir Charles Petrie's remarks, after attending Mosley's 1934 Albert Hall meeting, were emblematic of the collective attitude of these neo-Tories: 'I agreed with about half he said, but the whole thing was very cheap and went against the grain with me.'[22] Indeed, despite their own marked sympathies for Nazism and Fascism, not to mention Franco's Spain, many 'neo-Tories' also viewed 'British fascism' as thoroughly 'un-British'.[23] This did not mean that their own contempt for liberal democracy was any less reactionary or that their panaceas were any less 'revolutionary' in intent. Indeed, as Stanley Payne observed 'The radical right … often differed from fascism not by being more moderate, but simply by being more rightist'.[24]

Nor are the 'blood and soil' ruralists like William Sanderson, Viscount Lymington, Rolf Gardiner or Henry Williamson, subjected to in-depth scrutiny, despite their ecological preoccupations being an important tributary to British fascism, largely because they themselves did not lead 'political' organisations of any great note.[25] Perhaps the most obvious omission are the 'race thinkers' Roger Pearson and Robert Gayre – both of whom do feature, albeit only in passing, since neither man led a political movement and, moreover, because their efforts to resurrect 'scientific racism' after 1945 really requires a separate study.[26] Were this a study of the wider far right of British politics, particularly its anti-Muslim fringe, then figures like Stephen Yaxley-Lennon ('Tommy Robinson'), the former leader of the English Defence League (EDL), might conceivably qualify for inclusion but have been excluded from this study on the grounds that, whatever else they might be, they are not racial nationalists.[27]

Whilst consisting of six inter-related and interlocking biographies, the individual is neither the sole unit of analysis nor the interest of this study. The book makes no effort to illuminate the inner recesses of their interior lives or characters, addressing their personal lives only insofar as they have political consequences (or vice versa) or because it reveals something of note about the milieu they inhabit. Those seeking psychological insights will also be disappointed since this is neither a study of the 'authoritarian personality' nor 'charismatic leadership'. With the exception of Mosley,[28] most of these activists were notably absent this vital political ingredient, even though they undoubtedly possessed a measure of 'coterie charisma' necessary to weld together disparate groups of activists into something approaching a coherent political movement.[29]

Whilst this study utilises collective biography to chart the variegated ideological and strategic development of the fascist tradition, 'ideology' itself – defined succinctly as 'a more or less coherent set of ideas that proves the basis for organized political action, whether this is intended to preserve, modify or overthrow the existing system of power'[30] – is not without

contestation. Indeed, scholars have failed to agree amongst themselves about its salience. In one corner, there are those who argue that British fascism was of interest precisely because it possessed a well-developed ideology compared to that of other minor European fascisms.[31] In the other, are those exemplified by solicitor advocate Anthony Julius who disparages British fascists as having

> contributed nothing to the understanding of their times; they included no thinkers or strategists of distinction or even mediocrity; there was nothing original or even engaging in their programmes; they produced nothing of political or cultural value; their newsletters and pamphlets were dreary, somewhat hysterical and most of all just *wrong* about the events they reported.[32]

There is merit in both viewpoints since they are not as contradictory as they first appear, though Julius ignores the essential point that ideas do not have to be 'original' or 'right' and still less of political and cultural 'value' for them to be adopted by, and believed in, by scores of people and *ergo* worthy of study. His comments reflect the wider perception of British fascism as a 'failure' – which, comparatively speaking, it self-evidently was. Space precludes rehashing why British fascism remained the 'ugly duckling'.[33] Suffice to say that even British fascism's own tacticians have understood their political tradition as a failure. 'So for the twenty years following the war', wrote one, looking back upon the past with a grimace, 'nationalism had not much to show for itself, save a few punch ups at Trafalgar Square, the odd riot, several unsuccessful electoral forays and a brace of convictions for sub-revolutionary activity'.[34]

'Ideology' evolves – not in a political vacuum – but in response to a dynamic interplay between ideologues and their followers and external circumstances that condition the choices and decisions they make regarding what points of ideology to emphasise and the strategies to employ to take advantage of perceived political opportunities. Whilst each of the ideologues discussed in the book were the official arbiters of orthodoxy within their respective movements, this is not to suggest that they espoused a finished 'ideology'. Even for these leading luminaries, 'ideology' came into focus only *after* they joined or formed political organisations, and, as these biographical case studies highlight, it continued to evolve thereafter.[35] One also needs to be mindful that fascism's followers and fellow travellers did not imbibe the 'official' ideology espoused by fascist leaders and ideologues without questioning it; there was dissent and disagreement, splits and fragmentation, as well as convergence and agreement. Nor can we take for granted that followers understood ideas and 'ideology' in the same fashion as did ideologues or indeed that it always 'mattered' in the same way, or at the same time, throughout the course of an activist's political career. This is not to imply a disjuncture between 'official' and 'unofficial' ideological interpretations. It is merely to suggest that activists who rallied to the fascist standard might have been attracted less by the finer points of the arcane, esoteric disputes about racial genealogy, Mendelian genetic inheritance or the Indo-European 'origins' of the 'Aryan' race, and more by the blunt, vulgar, racist messaging of fascist propaganda and its violent panaceas.[36] This is not necessarily a startlingly original observation. The 'esoteric' and 'exoteric' nature of fascist ideologies, arising from the 'conflict between ideological purity and the desire for a mass basis,' has long been evident to scholars.[37]

Whilst ideology defines the parameters of the group – and its enemies – 'ideology' in and of itself was not always the reason people joined, or remained active, in such groups. An apocryphal anecdote regarding Charlie Watts, a leading BUF activist, attests to this

point. A young enthusiastic fascist he had recently recruited was once badgering Watts with political questions but was becoming increasing frustrated by Watts' terse responses. Pressed for his thoughts on Mosley's seminal tract, *The Greater Britain* (1932), the philosophical cornerstone of BUF ideology, Watts finally blurted out 'I don't know. I've never read it, I might disagree.'[38] Clearly, 'ideology' was of secondary importance even to some of those at the forefront of fascist movements which can prioritise 'feeling' and 'emotion' above intellect and thought, not to mention physical action over contemplation, though Mosley believed he could synthesise the two as the 'Thought-Deed Man'. Indeed 'ideology' also offers us limited insight into the dynamics of such groups, their social base or indeed their voters, many of whom were by no means 'fascist'.[39]

A fascist minimum?

There have been a number of productive scholarly debates in recent times which have attempted to define 'fascism' as a generic phenomenon but, as these are not the main focus of this book, they will only be discussed briefly here.[40] Amongst the most profitable approaches to defining fascism as a generic, ideal type, was the one pioneered by Roger Griffin who defined it as 'a genus of political ideology whose mythic core in its various permutations is a palingenetic form of populist ultranationalism' though, given the differences between 'populism' and 'fascism' as ideologies, his choice of the word 'populist' as a definitional feature compounded rather than relieved conceptual confusion.[41] That said, Griffin's core point, that the 'palingenetic myth' – a revival of the Greek term 'palingenesis' meaning rebirth of recreation – sat at the heart of fascism has been hugely influential. Roger Eatwell adopted a broadly analogous definition, albeit one which placed more emphasis on economic ideology and less on 'political religion', explaining fascism as an ideology that strives for 'social rebirth in order to forge a holistic-national radical Third Way.'[42] Regardless of their differences, however, both definitions capture the central notion of national rebirth and resurrection at the heart of fascism's nebulous promise.

All revolutionary movements contain within them such millenarian desires, however, what makes fascism distinctive is that 'it projects palingenetic longings onto the *nation*, conceived as an organic or racial entity.'[43] For many scholars, it was the intoxicating ideological synthesis of ultra-nationalism *with* 'palingenesis' that constituted the 'Fascist minimum' – the ideological essence of the phenomenon when shorn of its temporal trappings.[44] Griffin, in particular, argued for this method of philosophical abstraction as a means of identifying fascism as an 'ideal type'. Elaborating an ideal type is not the same as attempting to provide a definitive, *essentialist* statement about what fascism was, or is, in accordance with a 'template' or checklist of qualities since this produces only ossification. Instead, an 'ideal type' allows us to conceive of the liminal, fluid, aspects of fascist ideology – its core myths – which are not temporally bound, thereby allowing for the possibility that fascism does not have to return with the same external features for it to be recognised or understood as 'fascism'.[45]

Diffuse national contexts generate different forms of palingenetic myth since each has its own forms of 'nationalism' and nationalist readings of history, which further complicates the quest for a 'generic' fascism. British fascists, for their part, evolved their own specific understanding of the centrality of 'race' to their own national 'palingenesis' – national rebirth *was* racial rebirth and vice versa. Reflecting upon British fascism's ideological plurality, it is important to note, however, that insofar as racial biological determinism suffused myths of national rebirth, it did not animate everyone equally, in the

same way, or indeed at the same time. Most notably, Mosley stood outside this tradition.[46] Race was also less of an all-consuming obsession for A.K. Chesterton, for whom the 'Menace of the Money Power' was the overarching concern. In terms of the political action that flowed from racial ideology, this was a question of degrees; since 'race' was a point of increasing ideological and political convergence around which all fascist and extreme right-wing groups coalesced from the 1950s onwards albeit underpinned by a conspiratorial anti-Semitism which, to a greater or lesser degree, was shared by all six political actors discussed here.

Post-war fascism?

It should be noted at this juncture that over seventy-five years after the military defeat of Fascism and Nazism historians remain deeply divided about whether 'fascism' continued to exist after 1945. Many historians of inter-war fascist history have refused to concede that fascism had any meaning or relevance beyond its 'epochal' significance. Ernst Nolte's *Der Faschismus in Seiner Epoche* (1963) set the stage, arguing that although a fascist residue had survived 1945, 'it cannot be said to have any real significance as far as the image of the era is concerned unless the term be stripped almost entirely of its traditional connotation.'[47] Fascism generated 'a world-historical moment' but that 'moment' has now 'passed'. Fascism was 'defeated, dead and buried' after 1945.[48] Any post-war recrudescence either was not 'fascism' at all or represented a 'mere coda'.[49]

The 'Age of Fascism' is over, that much is both incontestable and obvious. In Britain, the fascist 'epoch' was over rather sooner than elsewhere. May 1940 constituted the historical caesura – internment was the 'watershed' moment that halted British fascism to five years before National Socialism's own *Götterdämmerung* in 1945. Fascism, so the argument goes, cannot be understood, let alone adequately theorised outside of the unique conjuncture of structural conditions during the inter-war period that rendered it politically and historically significant. Those 'epochal' conditions ceased to exist after 1945. No historian worth his or her salt would argue otherwise. No phenomenon are supra-historical, however. Although post-war fascism lacks the broader economic and existential crisis from which it derived its 'significance' during the inter-war period, this does not mean that post-war variants have ceased to be 'fascism' simply because they now languish at the margins of European societies rather than occupying the central position they once did.

Ironically, there is far less resistance to conceptualising the periodisation of fascism's genesis *backwards* from 1919. Indeed, Sternhell has argued persuasively that: 'Fascism belonged not just to the interwar period but to the whole period of history that began with the modernization of the European continent at the end of the nineteenth century.'[50] If considering the 'roots' of Fascism and Nazism before 1919 is generally accepted, why then does treating fascism's continued survival, evolution and mutation, beyond the defeat of its regimes in 1945, as part of the same historical continuum, meet with disapproval? Jeffrey Bale detects a certain academic myopia in this regard, asserting the 'empirically incontestable observation' that:

> [A]lmost all of those scholars who eventually opted to devote the bulk of their own time and energy to researching neo-fascism had previously spent several years studying historic fascism, whereas most of the leading experts on classical fascism in Europe have spent little or no time studying its postwar (or extra European) variants and manifestations.[51]

Kallis argues for a 'qualified epochal' conception of fascism, acknowledging its significance within a specific, historical context, whilst granting that the 'general ideological current [which] gave birth to inter-war fascism has lingered on after the latter's demise, in the same way that it had predated it, long before the very term "fascism" had acquired any historic meaning.'[52] Less rigid categorisation seems eminently sensible, though doubtless the dispute will endure.

Roberts argues that conceptually stretching 'fascism' to encompass post-war phenomena dilutes its meaning and diminishes its historical importance. This is a valid point but by locking the correct application of the term 'fascism' within its epochal era, one runs the risk of legitimising the strategies of those contemporary organisations and parties who are deliberately decoupling their politics from the moral stigma of 'fascism' as a means of retaining and rehabilitating its central ideas.[53] Symptomatic of this decoupling is the refusal of most fascists to actually self-identify publicly as 'fascist' as they had openly done during the 1930s – though there were of course numerous figures who eschewed the term, notably José Antonio (Spain), Corneliu Codreanu (Romania) and Ferenc Szálasi (Hungary).

Latterly, historians of post-war fascism, frustrated by the *historicism* of some of their colleagues, have also had to contend with another issue: the *presentism* of some of their political science brethren who insist on a similar 'ontological distance' between 'historic' fascism and the contemporary 'populist radical right'.[54] Students of historical fascism and the contemporary extreme right are now, perhaps more than ever, 'increasingly distant from one another'.[55] Tracing the continuity between contemporary 'radical right' parties and fascism is not the focus of this study, suffice to say that not all far right groups or radical right 'populist' parties are 'fascist' for, whilst some like the NF and the BNP are a part of that tradition, others, like UKIP within a British context, were devoid of fascism's historical baggage and, moreover, its 'palingenetic' myth.[56]

This disciplinary disjuncture has led to scholars talking past one another; historians viewing post-war permutations of fascism through the prism of continuity with the inter-war years whilst political scientists, working within shorter time-frames, have adopted various neologisms to classify what they perceive as a quantifiably 'new' phenomenon.[57] 'Of course,' argues Copsey,

> it would be wrong to trace the ideological tradition of the contemporary extreme right only to fascism. But temporally focused on the present-day, political scientists are drawn far too readily to novelty, and pay insufficient attention to ways in which contemporary fascists recalibrate, conceal and supplement their fascism in the 'post-fascist' era … such an approach threatens to consign fascism to a museum.[58]

Recidivists or radicals: 'neo'-fascism?

On 4 July 1941, David Petrie, the Director-General of MI5, mused that although British fascism had been temporarily crippled,

> it is unlikely that it will not again raise its head with, maybe, some considerable difference in its slogans and outward trappings, though little in its essentially dangerous and subversive tendencies. There is a curious continuity in subversive and revolutionary movements and little ever occurs that cannot, somehow or other, be linked up with something that has gone before.[59]

Four years *before* the military destruction of Fascism and Nazism, Petrie's prescient observation anticipated post-war fascism as part of a fluid continuum. In the immediate aftermath of the war, journalists and anti-fascists alike also perceived the recrudescence of fascists and fascism, not as some historical disjuncture, but in terms of its direct connection to the pre-war period. In the British context 'neo-fascist' appeared in print almost immediately. *Fascism Inside England* (1946), authored by Frederic Mullally, an assistant editor of *Tribune*, was perhaps the first book to refer to the 'neo-fascist movement' in his survey of British fascism, written as Mosley's minions re-emerged in London's East End after the war. Mullally adopted the phrase to underwrite the continuity of the tradition rather than its disjuncture, however.[60]

Since then, however, the 'neo' prefix has become shorthand for distinguishing post-war fascism from its inter-war parent. Walter Laqueur accepted the notion of continuity inherent within the term but remarked upon its syntactic imbalance since '*neo* makes it clear that it is not identical with historical fascism, but *fascist* is the stronger part of the definition.' The two periods were nowhere near to being of same order of magnitude he felt compelled to point out, addressing the epochal debate.[61] Not everyone could see profit in utilising such terminology, however. A. James Gregor contemptuously dismisses 'neo-fascism' altogether since he finds it to be devoid of meaning.[62] From a different angle, political scientists have also largely dispensed with the term on the grounds that it no longer accurately described the 'radical' or 'extreme right' populist parties which had abandoned the fascist legacy by the 1980s, it was argued.[63]

Whilst historians and political scientists remain at odds terminologically, albeit for different reasons, few scholars have sought to clarify or elaborate upon what 'neo-fascism' might actually mean or indeed be. For political scientist Roger Karapin 'neo-fascist parties' were those 'which, in the post-war period, have substantially fascist goals and organizing methods.'[64] Whilst numerous parties have indeed continued to adhere to 'fascist goals' none have been able to rely upon the unbridled paramilitary violence characteristic of fascist 'organizing methods' during the 1930s. Roger Griffin has elaborated a more nuanced tripartite typology, subdividing 'post-war fascism' into the following categories: 'nostalgic Fascism/Neo-Nazism' represented by groups seeking to resurrect past movements; 'Mimetic Fascism/Neo-Nazism', that essentially Nazified indigenous traditions; and 'Neo-Fascism', which denoted a substantive modification of past forms. Griffin defines 'neo-fascism' as offering 'something new' with respect to its more ideologically ossified 'nostalgic' and 'mimetic' forms.[65] Stanley Payne found Griffin's taxonomy to be 'lucid and compelling' not to mention 'the only recent general interpretation of fascism in English that also includes a half chapter of analysis of the post-war organisations.' Returning to the question of significance, Payne concluded, however, that it all amounted to little more than a scholarly exercise analogous 'to the classification of obscure Amazonian languages rapidly undergoing extinction' unless of course a 'crisis' of one form or another rendered such doctrines relevant again.[66]

Whilst Griffin's typology is instructive, his definition of 'neo-fascism' is not altogether convincing. It privileges novelty over continuity, resulting from its baseline assumption that 'neo-fascism' was indeed 'offering something new with respect to interwar phenomena'. It is largely for this reason, in relation to the British context, which comprised of various 'nostalgic' and 'mimetic' movements after 1945, that this study eschews the term 'neo-fascism'. By way of self-justification, it is worth briefly exploring the 'new' permutations of post-war fascism that Griffin uses to justify his own ideal-typical subdivision: revolutionary nationalism, crypto-fascism, revisionism and conservative revolution. None

of these permutations were 'new'. The emergence of each simply represented the rediscovery and recycling of previous forms of illiberal revolutionary nationalism sidelined by the rise of Hitler and Mussolini, revisited and repurposed by subsequent generations of activists as they struggled to circumnavigate the stigma and odium now attached to 'fascist' ideas. Efforts to fashion an acceptable, alternative form of 'fascist' politics that could be distanced from the self-corruption of fascism's revolutionary promise through accommodation and compromise, and the moral discredit its genocidal tyranny had wrought, was not simply a reaction to the vacuum created by the horrors of Nazism but an attempt to find a useable historical past. This turn towards 'purity' was already apparent as the fascist regimes decayed under the strain of 'total war' and industrialised killing, however. Indeed, the reversion to first principles reflected in the adoption of supposedly 'left-wing' revolutionary nationalism had actually begun with Mussolini's Salò Republic in September 1943 as the doomed dictator sought to put a 'revolutionary' gloss on his status as the Nazis' puppet in Northern Italy.

Nor was there anything particularly 'new' about another of the archetypal attributes of 'neo-fascism', its promulgation of Holocaust denial and historical 'revisionism' not least because it signalled the ongoing centrality of anti-Semitism to the tradition. Again, this development reflected an already extant trajectory. The Nazis themselves were the prototypical Holocaust deniers. Only a month after Mussolini's foundation of the Salò Republic, the Reichsführer-SS, Heinrich Himmler, stood before a gathering of SS officers in Posen in Nazi-occupied Poland on 4 October. Himmler spoke to his men 'quite frankly' about their role in the 'extermination of the Jewish race,' which for him was 'a page of glory in our history which has never been written and is never to be written.'[67] When the Nazis' efforts to annihilate the Jews proved unsuccessful, they turned to obliterating memory of their crimes, dynamiting the gas chambers, emptying the camps and murdering as many of the surviving inmates as possible through mass shootings and 'death marches' before the Allies liberated the camps, thereby publicly exposing the full extent of the Third Reich's perfidy. Therefore, when British fascists began denying the Holocaust, an extension of their interwar activities whitewashing the brutality of Nazism, their effusions paled into insignificance against the Nazis' own efforts to erase the evidence of their crimes.

Continuity in the British fascist tradition

Continuity rather than change also defines the internationalisation of 'neo-fascist' geopolitics which is often emphasised as a 'new' feature of the post-war period though, ironically, for this to be true the birth of 'neo-fascism' would have to be backdated to 1942 when the Third Reich purposefully began re-orientating its propaganda along a 'Europeanist axis'.[68] 'Total war' exacerbated this centrifugal process but even without it, from 1922 onwards, a dizzying array of international entanglements had already left an indelible mark upon interwar fascism and fascists.[69] Internationalisation was never a uniform process, however. Though Mosley was a key advocate for 'Europe-a-Nation' after 1945, his pan-European convocation created domestic tensions. A new generation of activists rejected his efforts to Europeanise fascist politics, which is not to argue that they rejected transnational activism. Similarly, a kaleidoscopic array of conflicting geopolitical panaceas for achieving racial salvation after 1945 existed too. Chesterton and his acolyte John Tyndall both rejected Mosley's vision of Europe as a 'Third Force', believing that Britain's imperial past offered deliverance. Jordan, meanwhile, rejected 'narrow' nationalism altogether in favour of a pan-Aryan Imperium. In terms of scale, Griffin moved to the other end of the spectrum,

advocating micro-nationalist federation within a 'Europe of a thousand flags' and a 'new alliance' against neo-liberal globalisation with a variety of despotic regimes including, contemporaneously, Putin's Russia and its Syrian satrap. What underpinned and united each of these seemingly irreconcilable visions was a virulent 'Occidentalism' – a profound antipathy to Western, liberal modernity.[70]

Other scholars, writing in the 1990s, have pointed to the development of a 'concrete' anti-black racism after 1945, as the key differential between 'neo-fascism' and 'classic' inter-war fascism.[71] Insofar as British fascism is concerned, racism directed at people of colour, which played a 'minor role' during the inter-war years, certainly became 'much more significant in the revival of the tradition after the Second World War' since mass immigration amplified its importance.[72] Far from demarcating the two periods, the ongoing centrality of race, racism and anti-Semitism, within the racial nationalist tradition reinforced a seamless continuity. Anti-black racism was not the centrepiece of inter-war British fascist propaganda, eclipsed by an all-pervasive anti-Semitism, but it was certainly an ambient presence. Notions of 'whiteness' and by implication 'non-whiteness' which were 'forged in the crucible of the colonies' were clearly manifest in inter-war fascist propaganda.[73] The racialised imperial nostalgia that saturated such groups was, in part, a reflection of activists' personal experience. Mandle's 1966 study of the BUF leadership observed the prevalence of colonial and military backgrounds amongst the party's leaders, causing its author to remark: 'They roamed the empire and the world finding it less profitable then they had hoped, England less congenial than they wanted, each new job a disappointment.'[74]

Biologically sanctified racial essentialism came to (re)define British fascism's public platform in the post-war period. It was, just as it had been during the inter-war years, a fundamentally bio-political concern from which everything else sprang. 'Race' was not radial or contingent to 'palingenesis' or 'social rebirth' – they were one and the same. The solution to racial degeneracy was seen as its antithesis, racial renewal. The idea of race within fascist cosmology therefore differs from the xenophobic 'nativism' and crude racism that its propagandists seek to mobilise. British fascism's 'folkish' nationalism, although hard to commonly delineate since it varied in conception from ideologue to ideologue, is broadly analogous to the Germanic tradition of '*völkisch* nationalism', which played a pivotal role within Nazism. This had its own brand and style of romantic traditions, racial mysticism and nature worship, and similarly defined the 'people' in terms of an ineffable transcendental 'essence'. This 'essence' might be called 'nature', 'cosmos' or 'mythos', noted George Mosse, 'but in each instance it was fused to man's innermost nature, and represented the source of his creativity, the depth of feeling, his individuality, and his unity with other members of the "Volk".'[75]

Similar to the Germanic tradition, British fascist racial nationalism stressed the importance of 'blood' and of 'thinking with the blood', which provided an apparently insoluble bond linking each individual member to a wider *völkisch* community which simultaneously reached backwards into time immemorial and forward into a racially preordained future.[76] Whilst British fascists in the early twentieth century searched for the 'root' source of *völkisch* origins in an Indo-European 'Aryan' past, contemporaneously they searched for it through genetics, highlighting a similar obsession with points of origin in the hope of discovering the pure source of racial identity, undefiled and unsullied by materialistic modernity. This quest for racial purity harked back to a mythical moment in history when man – or more precisely the 'white man' – was not only supposedly racially 'pure' but also lived in a state of grace, where there was a mystical, organic union, of blood and soil and

of man and nature. This atavistic utopia existed before capitalism, industrialisation, urbanisation, globalisation and the ubiquitous rootless cosmopolitan 'Jew' wrought racial ruination.

Structural changes in European societies, resulting from war and economic dislocation, catapulted anti-immigration politicking and anti-black racism to the forefront of fascist propaganda – becoming a new 'mobilizing passion'[77] in Paxton's parlance. It became the lightning rod around which activists reconstructed and resurrected their inter-war arguments about an existential threat to the biological integrity of race and nation. Indeed, both pre- and post-war forms of racist bio-politics united behind an eschatological belief in the preordained role of the white race as the engine of history and progress, which was facing an existential crisis thanks to a Jewish conspiracy aiming at white racial defilement. The overarching change of tone in racist propaganda, from self-confident calls for the maintenance of white supremacy at the beginning of the twentieth century, to increasingly shrill appeals to white victimhood and grievance at the commencement of the next, perhaps also reflected a sense within fascist and extreme right milieus that the imminence of racial apocalypse was moving ever closer.

Further highlighting that British fascist racial ideology was never preserved in aspic, but continued to morph reflexively in response to the political possibilities presented by changing social realities, was its embrace of a broader 'thematic shift'. Increasingly evident from the 1980s onwards was a 'new racism' that articulated 'culturally' defined forms of anti-Muslim prejudice that would come to supersede biological anti-black racism as the fulcrum of party platforms, particularly after 9/11. However, though it predominates in the public outpourings of such parties, it should be noted that this 'new' prejudice has simply been grafted onto a pre-existing racial nationalist framework rather than being truly transformative, making the nature of such 'cultural' arguments rather more transparent.[78]

Roberts' has inveighed upon historians not just to think about what survived as fascism but also 'to be clearer about what might have ended in 1945 – and about the implications of the ending of whatever it was'.[79] The changes in Europe since the war, not least of which was the entrenchment of liberal democracy, not only mitigated against the rise of totalitarian regimes but also against the factors that fuelled its rise and genocidal impulses in the first place. What did survive was fascism's palingenetic myth, which was granted a reprieve thanks to the collapse of European empires, the politicisation of migration and with it the racist and xenophobic sentiments that could be mobilised around the issue. What differed perhaps was the way in which the palingenetic myth manifested itself. No longer was it a brave vision of the future, confidently and openly proselytised. Instead, its anti-Semitic core, indivisible from British fascism's myth of racial rebirth, transmogrified into an 'esoteric' rather than 'exoteric' feature of its propaganda, though it is possible to overstate this.[80]

Paradoxically, race and immigration also cemented biological racism as an immutable centre of gravity insofar as British fascism's political nostrums were concerned. This had consequences. Symptomatic was the year 1968, which was of 'crucial importance' for the political and cultural development of the European extreme right as it engaged with the ideas of the French Nouvelle Droite (New Right) and meta-political struggle.[81] Contemporaneously, British fascists were oblivious to these developments.[82] They had their own '1968': Enoch Powell 'Rivers of Blood' speech. Powell's blood-drenched dystopia might have temporarily boosted British fascism's fortunes, offering its pariah politics a pathway out of the political ghetto, but seen retrospectively, the consequent reinforcement of 'race' only stymied its wider intellectual development. Reliant upon racist, anti-immigration

politicking, both for mobilisation and support, the sophistication and 'quality' of British fascism's vision degenerated. Rather than developing a significant corpus of intellectual thought, something it conspicuously failed to do, British fascism became path dependent, regurgitating what boiled down to derivative, vulgarised versions of Nazi racial philosophy, which both reinforced its mimetic nature and contributed to its ongoing political marginalisation.

Indeed, post-war, with the exception of Mosley, British fascism produced no original thinkers and only belatedly engaged with the comparatively more sophisticated 'ethno-pluralist' arguments of French Nouvelle Droite ideologue Alain de Benoist but even these were a pale pastiche and never became deeply ingrained. This was partly because the tradition's intellectual development remained stunted due to its continued adherence to crude biological racism first articulated by figures like Arnold Leese. Arguably, British fascism's overt racist fulminations, coupled with its unsavoury historical baggage, not only delegitimised its own leaders and organisations but also soiled and stigmatised its own core concern as a political issue. British fascism's fixation with race ironically became counter-productive and highlighted too that there were limits to its ability to evolve beyond its core mobilising myths. The more self-reflective activists understood this. 'Those who talk of ensuring that the BNP remains at heart an ethno-nationalist party merely condemn it to failure,' noted one leading organiser. 'It is an example of breathtaking lack of subtlety and political gaucheness. Such an approach will also lead to ethnic destruction. This is the reality whether anyone likes it or not.'[83]

This all raises a legitimate question regarding the extent to which these avowedly racist movements remained 'fascist'. Mann, for instance, argues that 'the salience of their major issue, immigration, tends to undercut any general *Weltanschauung*, whether fascist or not' though he concludes that such groups 'are not seriously fascist.… It can make life unpleasant for immigrants but is unlikely to generate either fascism or any other totalizing ideology.'[84] As the present study argues, however, even when the voter base of these movements themselves have transcended such a definition, their leaders, who have continued to proselytise a totalising, revolutionary creed of palingenetic ultra-nationalism, have not.

Milieux and *groupuscule*

Whilst biographical in structure and ideological in focus, this study examines political organisation too. Moving beyond static taxonomies of inter-war fascism, which are rarely applicable to fascism's post-war forms, Griffin enjoins us to recognise instead that the two 'basic features' of post-war fascism are a tendency towards 'organizational complexity and ideological heterogeneity' and 'ideological and organizational innovation'.[85] This partly reflects a shift in scale. Mass movements and regimes define inter-war fascism's outer form. Looking through the other end of the telescope, however, post-war fascism with the exception of the NF, which for a brief moment in the 1970s became the fourth largest political party, and the BNP, which for an equally brief period in the 2000s exerted an outsized presence in certain localities, was largely characterised by its antithesis: the *groupuscule*, a political formation which, even when fully developed, 'has only a small, even minute active membership, a negligible following, and does not aspire to become a "player" in mainstream political culture'.[86] The majority of this seething profusion of grouplets are 'far too numerous to mention – and mostly too tiny to be worth mentioning'.[87] The concept of the *groupuscule* also moves us away from reifying the idea, promoted by these groups, that they are in fact rigid, hierarchical movements based upon unquestioned authority and

slavish obedience. Such a misconception obscures the disorganised 'chaotic' reality of extreme right activism, the groups in question often resembling little more than 'transitory' street gangs as opposed to 'organized' entities. As Blee observes, 'chaos' is not simply a description of a group's membership; 'it is central to how many racial extremist groups operate in a liminal status between a strategic movement and a vaguely bounded subcultural network'.[88]

This is no less true of some of those groups operating in a British context, historically and contemporaneously, and the account of these groups that follows, has attempted to make sense of this 'chaos'. Seemingly ephemeral on their own terms, *groupuscules* structurally undergird this seemingly disorganised 'scene' and can – on occasion – coagulate into larger, more important political formations, the establishment of the National Front in 1966 being a case in point. This is important since, as Klandermans and Mayer observe 'Movement organizations are not conjured out of air; they do not build only on an ideological heritage but also on a structural one'.[89] Historically, these 'carriers groups' which transmitted both ideas and activists also served as 'abeyance' structures, performing a vital function for the ongoing diffusion and dissemination of the 'sacred flame' across the chasm of a hostile 'post-fascist' interregnum in which the possibility for 'mass' political action is otherwise extinguished.[90] Indeed, a reversion to *groupuscular* organisation reflected less a conscious choice than a response to the near complete dearth of available opportunities within the UK since 1945, stymied electorally by the first-past-the-post system and culturally by the widely held perception of British fascism as being on the wrong side of national history vis-à-vis the Second World War, which came to identify 'patriotism' with a defence of liberal democratic freedoms.[91]

Groupuscules can and do exhibit an array of organisational forms including micro-parties, leagues and fronts. These organisational forms are all evident throughout this study, each constituting a singular, loosely conceived 'node' operating within a wider political constellation, usefully defined as an 'amorphous, leaderless and centerless, cellular network of political ideology, organization and activism.' Griffin deploys the metaphor of the 'rhizome' to assist in visualising this organisational structure – resembling not so much a single organism (like a tree with a tap-root, branch and canopy) as a 'tangled root-system' (akin to a type of grass or tuber) that displays 'multiple starts and beginnings which intertwine and connect with each other'.[92] Griffin's metaphor finds its functional equivalent in Colin Campbell's sociological concept of the 'cultic milieu'[93] – society's permanent oppositional counter-cultural underground, which provides an invaluable conceptual tool for thinking about the nature of post-war fascism. The 'cultic milieu' functions, Campbell suggests, as an agent of cultural diffusion; cultural innovation; as a cultural gene pool; as an aid to societal adaption; whilst serving also as a negative reference group for cultural orthodoxy; and, finally, as an agent for the renewal of orthodoxy. Within the cultic milieu, ideas are 'fungible' rather than 'fixed' – rather like the amorphous, *groupuscular* carriers articulated by Griffin.[94] Participants within extreme right and 'fascist' milieus, insofar as they continue to adhere to the basic palingenetic premise, have been able to explore, debate and experiment with various strategies, ideas and philosophies, and to reject or assimilate them, either partially or completely. Through this ongoing process of ideological synthesis, a range of perspectives, beliefs and practices, a body of 'rejected' or 'stigmatised knowledge' which, in one way or another, explicitly rejects the legitimacy of liberal democracy, has been transmitted onwards through personal and political networks to ensure that fascism survived.[95]

The concept of the 'cultic milieu', back in vogue since it was first elaborated in the 1970s,[96] also enables us to contextualise post-war fascism in relation to the 'epochal'

significance of its inter-war parent. Here Paxton's 'Five Stages of Fascism' is also useful, since it rejected the static essentialism of previous 'models' in favour of understanding fascism as a cycle of phases and processes through which historic fascist movements passed on their way to becoming regimes, or not. These five stages were: (1) the creation of movements; (2) their rooting in the political system; (3) their seizure of power; (4) the exercise of power; and (5) the long duration, during which the fascist regime choses either radicalisation or entropy. 'Though each stage is a prerequisite for the next, nothing requires a fascist movement to complete all of them, or even to move in only one direction.'[97]

The early history of 'proto-fascism' – stage one, analogous to the cultic milieu in many respects – was littered with myriad 'corpuscles of innovation' that provided alternative options for what fascism could be.[98] Post-war European fascism, returned to this stage after 1945. In Britain, fascism never ascended from 'stage one' in the first place. Regardless of its lack of wider political success, British fascism endured and evolved as a political tradition precisely because its activists could draw succour from their own 'cultic milieu', which provided fertile ground for a complex matrix of *groupuscular* activity.

Prior to 1945, Fascism and Nazism had been viewed by many Europeans as a movement of 'imminent possibility', and as a 'promising alternative' to liberalism and communism partially because 'it was not clear what such an alternative needed to entail.' After 1945, what this 'alternative' entailed was perfectly obvious to everyone. Greatly diminished as a political, cultural and social force due to the burden of having made common cause with Nazism and Fascism, British fascists persisted nonetheless, seeking to reinvent and redefine themselves through the emergence of immigration as a political issue.[99] Whilst British fascism was never an 'imminent possibility' either before or after 1945, it is to the ideologues and activists who struggled to ensure that it at least remained a 'continuing possibility' that we now turn.

Notes

1 Richard Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain: From Oswald Mosley's Blackshirts to the National Front* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998).
2 Robert Benewick, *The Fascist Movement in Britain* (London: Allen Lane, 1972); Stephen Dorril, *Blackshirt: Sir Oswald Mosley and British Fascism* (London: Viking, 2006); Thomas Linehan, *East London for Mosley: The British Union of Fascists in East London and South-West Essex 1933–40* (London: Frank Cass, 1996); Thomas Linehan, *British Fascism, 1918–1939: Parties, Ideology and Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Martin Pugh, *Hurrah for the Blackshirts! Fascists and Fascism in Britain between the Wars* (London: Cape, 2005); and Robert Skidelsky, *Oswald Mosley* (London: Macmillan, 1975).
3 David Nasaw, 'AHR Roundtable: Historians and Biography – Introduction', *American Historical Review*, vol. 114, no. 3, 2009, p. 573.
4 For instance, Ian Kershaw, *Hitler: Hubris, 1889–1936* (London: Penguin, 2001); and Ian Kershaw, *Hitler: Nemesis, 1936–1945* (London: Penguin, 2001).
5 Matthew J. Goodwin, 'The Rise and Faults of the Internalist Perspective in Extreme Right Studies', *Representation*, vol. 42, no. 4, 2006, p. 354.
6 Richard Evans, *The Coming of the Third Reich* (London: Penguin, 2004), pp. xviii–xix.
7 Lawrence Stone, 'Prosopography', *Daedalus*, vol. 100, no. 1, 1971, p. 46 defines it as 'the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives.'
8 Alice Kessler-Harris, 'AHR Roundtable: Why Biography?' *American Historical Review*, vol. 114, no. 3, 2009, pp. 625–630 makes the same point.
9 For broader discussions, see Ian Kershaw, 'Personality and Power', *The Historian*, no. 83, Autumn 2004, pp. 8–19; and Lawrence Goldman, 'History and Biography', *Historical Research*, vol. 89, no. 245, 2016, pp. 399–411.

10 Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852).
11 Clive Webb, *Rabble Rousers: The American Far Right in the Civil Rights Era* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2010); and Caoimhe Nic Dháibhéid, *Terrorist Histories: Individuals and Political Violence since the 19th Century* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017) take a similar approach.
12 Roger Eatwell, 'The Nature of the Right, 2: The Right as a Variety of "Styles of Thought"', in Roger Eatwell and Noël O'Sullivan (eds), *The Nature of the Right: European and American Politics and Political Thought since 1789* (London: Pinter, 1989), pp. 62–76 argues broadly the same point. Eatwell divides the wider 'Right' into five 'styles of thought': the reactionary right; the moderate right; the radical right; the extreme right; and the new right.
13 John F. Morrison, *The Origins and Rise of Dissident Irish Republicanism* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015) highlights a fruitful approach to understanding the role and impact of organisation splits which scholars of the extreme right might take note of.
14 David Art, *Inside Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigrant Parties in Western Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 107 argues that the causal mechanism 'is continuity of personnel rather than continuity of ideology.'
15 Leonard Zeskind, *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2009) explores the tensions between 'mainstreamers' and 'vanguardists' in the United States.
16 The present author is equally guilty of this sin, that is, Graham Macklin, *Very Deeply Dyed in Black: Sir Oswald Mosley and the Political Resurrection of British Fascism after 1945* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007).
17 Nigel Jones, *Mosley* (London: Haus, 2004), p. 113.
18 For an overview, see Craig Fowlie, 'The British Far Right since 1967: A Bibliographic Survey', in Nigel Copsey and Matthew Worley (eds), *Tomorrow Belongs to Us: The British Far Right since 1967* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 224–267; and Graham Macklin, 'The Evolving Historiography of the Extreme Right in Britain', in Jennifer Craig-Norton, Christhard Hoffman and Tony Kushner (eds), *Migrant Britain: Histories and Historiographies: Essays in Honour of Colin Holmes* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 173–192.
19 Useful starting points are provided by Paul Kennedy and Anthony Nicholls (eds), *Nationalist and Racialist Movements in Britain and Germany before 1914* (London: Macmillan, 1981); Barbara Storm Farr, *The Development and Impact of Right-Wing Politics in Britain, 1903–1932* (New York: Garland, 1987); and Dan Stone, *Breeding Superman: Nietzsche, Race and Eugenics in Edwardian Interwar Britain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002).
20 For an early analysis, see J. Salwyn Schapiro, 'Thomas Carlyle, Prophet of Fascism', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 17, no. 2, June 1945, pp. 97–115.
21 Robert O. Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism* (London: Penguin, 2005), p. 9.
22 Bernhard Dietz, *Neo-Tories: The Revolt of British Conservatives against Democracy and Political Modernity (1929–1939)* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), p. 22.
23 Sir Charles Petrie, *Chapters of Life* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1950) maintained, not altogether in jest, that had Mosley dressed his supporters in blue pullovers rather than blackshirts much would have been forgiven him.
24 Stanley Payne, *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), p. 19.
25 There is a large literature on this milieu, much of which remains to be synthesised into our understanding of British fascism's wider context. For an introduction, see Dan Stone, 'The Far Right and the Back-to-the-Land Movement', in Julie V. Gottlieb and Thomas P. Linehan (eds), *The Culture of Fascism: Visions of the Far Right in Britain* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), pp. 182–198; and Mike Tyldesly and Matthew Jeffries (eds), *Rolf Gardiner: Folk, Nature and Culture in Interwar Britain* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010). See also Philip M. Coupland, *Farming, Fascism and Ecology: A Life of Jorian Jenks* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017).
26 Their activities have not escaped scholarly scrutiny altogether, however. See, for instance, William H. Tucker, *The Science and Politics of Racial Research* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994); William H. Tucker, *The Funding of Scientific Racism: Wickliffe Draper and the Pioneer Fund* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2002); and Kevin Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day: Francis Parker Yockey and the Postwar Fascist International* (New York: Autonomedia, 1999). In the British context, see also Bradley W. Hart, *George Pitt-Rivers and the Nazis* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015) for a biography of the eponymous anthropologist.

27 Anti-Muslim and xenophobic mobilisations, though they may mobilise fascist, extreme right and racist activists, are not *a priori* 'fascist' however and are therefore only discussed in passing in this present work. Joel Busher, *The Making of Anti-Muslim Protest: Grassroots activism in the English Defence League* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 20 and 21; and Hilary Pilkington, *Loud and Proud: Passion and Politics in the English Defence League* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), p. 4 support this view.
28 Mosley's heroic image was deliberately marketed by the BUF propaganda machine which purposefully magnified his personal attributes as 'Leader', on which, see Julie Gottlieb, 'The Marketing of Megalomania: Celebrity, Consumption and the Development of Political Technology in the British Union of Fascists', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 41, no. 1, 2006, pp. 35–55.
29 Roger Eatwell, 'The Concept and Theory of Charismatic Leadership', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 7, no. 2, 2006, pp. 141–156.
30 Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 12.
31 This is a view held by both Roger Eatwell and Richard Thurlow in their works on British fascism.
32 Anthony Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Anti-Semitism in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 309. Walter Laqueur, *Fascism: Past, Present and Future* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 119 was similarly scornful in his refusal to study post-war British fascism, 'because it has not been very significant or in anyway original'.
33 Roger Griffin, 'British Fascism: The Ugly Duckling', in Mike Cronin (ed.), *The Failure of British Fascism: The Far Right and the Fight for Political Recognition* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 141–165.
34 *The Patriot*, no. 1, spring 1997.
35 James Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1990), p. 187; and Kathy Blee, *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 27–28 make similar observations.
36 Claudia Koonz, *The Nazi Conscience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003) also makes this point.
37 Michael Billig, *Fascists: A Social Psychological View of the National Front* (London: Academic Press, 1978), p. 124. Erving Goffman's 'Front and Back Regions of Everyday Life [1959]', in Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990), pp. 111–121 was one of the first to theorise such a distinction between 'backstage' and 'frontstage' observing that, 'when one's activity occurs in the presence of other persons, some aspects of the activity are expressively accentuated and other aspects, which might discredit the fostered impression, are supressed.'
38 John Warburton, interview with the author, 21 April 1999.
39 For more on the importance of the emotional dynamics, see Mehr Latif, Kathleen Blee, Matthew DeMichele and Pete Simi, 'How Emotional Dynamics Maintain and Destroy White Supremacist Groups', *Humanity and Society*, vol. 42, no. 4, 2018, pp. 480–501.
40 Roger Griffin, *Fascism* (Cambridge: Polity, 2018) is a good recent summary.
41 For Roger Eatwell, 'Populism and Fascism', in Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo and Pierre Ostiguy (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Populism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 363–383 the core matrices of populism – defined as a 'thin' ideology – are the 'plain people', the 'self-serving elite', and 'rule by popular will', whilst fascism is defined by the 'holistic nation', a 'new man', and a 'third way authoritarian state'.
42 Roger Eatwell, *Fascism: A History* (London: Pimlico, 2003), p. 66.
43 Matthew Feldman, 'The Fascination of Fascism: A Concluding Interview with Roger Griffin', in Matthew Feldman (ed.), *A Fascist Century: Essays by Roger Griffin* (London: Palgrave, 2008), p. 207.
44 Roger Eatwell, 'On Defining the "Fascist Minimum": The Centrality of Ideology', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1996, pp. 303–319.
45 Michael Freeden, 'Political Concepts and Ideological Morphology', *Journal of Political Philosophy*, vol. 2, no. 2, June 1994, pp. 140–165 convincingly demonstrates how ideologies, or at least those that wish to survive as anything other than a cargo cult, are protean and evolutionary, shedding time-bound 'peripheral' and 'adjacent' features, and absorbing new ones, in order to project forwards their 'core' components.

46 Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain* p. 224.
47 Ernst Nolte, *Three Faces of Fascism* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), p. 4.
48 Michael Mann, *Fascists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 370 and 374.
49 For an interesting theoretical overview, see David D. Roberts, *Fascist Interactions: Proposals for a New Approach to Fascism and its Era* (New York: Berghahn, 2016), pp. 257–271.
50 Zeev Sternhell, *Neither Right nor Left: Fascist Ideology in France* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 29. Sternhell's approach is not without its critics, however, see David D. Roberts, 'How not to Think about Fascism and Ideology, Intellectual Antecedents and Historical Meaning', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 35, no. 2, April 2000, pp. 185–211.
51 Jeffrey M. Bale, '(Still) More on Fascist and Neo-Fascist Ideology and "Groupuscularity"', in Roger Griffin, Werner Loh and Andreas Umland (eds), *Fascism Past and Present, West and East: An International Debate on Concepts and Cases in the Comparative Study of the Extreme Right* (Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, 2006), pp. 292–293.
52 Aristotle A. Kallis, 'Studying Inter-War Fascism in Epochal and Diachronic Terms: Ideological Production, Political Experience and the Quest for "Consensus"', *European History Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 1, 2004, p. 36. David D. Roberts, *Fascist Transactions*, p. 271 concedes 'we might find it possible to isolate some specifically fascist residuum transcending the epoch.'
53 Debates about the applicability of the term 'right-wing extremism' are essentially an extension of this conundrum. For Jérôme Jamin, 'Notes on Populism and the Extreme Right', in Andrea Mammone, Emmanuel Godin and Brian Jenkins (eds), *Varieties of Right-Wing Extremism in Europe* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p. 39 labelling a group right-wing extremist, 'means indirectly situating it as part of the extension of fascism and its crimes, morally disqualifying it and excluding it from the democratic political arena.' Interestingly, given Jamin's concerns, Elisabeth Carter, 'Right-Wing Extremism/Radicalism: Reconstructing a Concept', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 23, no. 2, 2018, pp. 157–182 offers a 'minimal' definition of 'right-wing extremism' as 'an ideology that encompasses authoritarianism, anti-democracy and exclusionary and/or holistic nationalism', which is basically consonant with the 'fascist minimum' thereby highlighting an essential continuity between the two concepts. Sam Jackson, 'Non-Normative Political Extremism: Reclaiming a Concept's Analytical Utility', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 31, no. 2, 2019, pp. 244–259 offers a (non-pejorative) analytical framework for understanding 'extremism' as 'purposeful disruptive activity' which aims to 'replace or fundamentally alter the dominant political system.' Context is key to this definition for without it what is 'extreme' about 'extremism' vis-à-vis its stance towards the dominant form of politics cannot be properly understood. Pertinently, Jackson argues, 'we must not assert that racists are extremists and assume our readers will agree. To make this connection, we must describe how the racism of the alleged extremists seeks to disrupt some central features of the political system.' J.M. Berger, *Extremism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2018), p. 170 provides a complementary definition of extremism as 'The belief that an in-group's success or survival can never be separated from the need for hostile action against an out-group.' Illustrating how this 'inseparability' of belief and action encompasses 'white nationalists', Berger observes (p. 45) the belief 'that white people can never be successful until nonwhites are removed from in-group society by means of segregation or extermination. This demand is definitional, non-negotiable and unconditional. To abandon the demand would be to abandon white nationalism.'
54 Nigel Copsey, 'Historians and the Contemporary Far Right: To Bring (or Not to Bring) the Past into the Present', in Stephen Ashe, Joel Busher, Graham Macklin and Arron Winter (eds), *Researching the Far Right* (Routledge: forthcoming 2020).
55 Matthew J. Goodwin, 'Grandpa's Fascism and the New Kids on the Block: Contemporary Approaches to the Dark Side of Europe', *Ethnopolitics*, vol. 6, no. 1, 2007, pp. 145–154.
56 Pietro Ignazi, 'The Extreme Right in Europe: A Survey', in Peter H. Merkl and Leonard Weinberg (eds), *The Revival of Right-Wing Extremism in the Nineties* (London: Frank Cass, 1997), p. 54. Federico Finchelstein, *From Fascism to Populism in History* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2017), pp. xiii and xiv argues that populism and fascism are 'genealogically connected. They belong to the same history' and that populism 'occupied the place of fascism as it became a new "third way" between liberalism and communism.'
57 For examples of such 'terminological chaos', see Cas Mudde, *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 11–12.
58 Nigel Copsey, 'Fascism Studies (and the "Post-Fascist" Era): An Ideal Meeting Ground?', *Fascism*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2012, pp. 55–56. For a further call for academics to 'restate' the link

between the contemporary radical right and historic fascism, see Nigel Copsey, 'The Radical Right and Fascism', in Jens Rydgren (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 105–121.

59 David Petrie, 'Foreword', to *The British Union of Fascists* in TNA KV 4/241.

60 Frederic Mullally, *Fascism Inside England* (London: Claude Morris, 1946), p. 88.

61 Laqueur, *Fascism*, p. 7.

62 A. James Gregor, *The Search for Neofascism: The Use and Abuse of Social Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

63 Elisabeth Carter, *The Extreme Right in Western Europe: Success or Failure* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 21.

64 Roger Karapin, 'Radical-Right and Neo-Fascist Parties in Western Europe', *Comparative Politics*, vol. 30, no. 2, 1998, pp. 213–234.

65 Roger Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1991), pp. 161–171. Roger Eatwell, *Fascism: A History* (London: Vintage, 1996), pp. 284–285 notes similarly that 'recidivist neo-fascists' predominated immediately after 1945 but have largely been replaced by a younger generation of 'radical neo-fascists'.

66 Stanley G. Payne, 'Historic Fascism and Neo-Fascism', *European History Quarterly*, vol. 23, 1993, pp. 69–75. Payne employs neo-fascism, defined along a similar axis to Griffin, in his magisterial tome, *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945* (London: University College London Press, 1995), p. 498.

67 'Translation of a Speech Excerpt in which Himmler Defines "Evacuation" of the Jews as "Extermination", Official Translation from the War Crime Trials of Nazi Leaders Held at Nuernburg', available at https://catalog.archives.gov/id/305266 (accessed 5 January 2017).

68 Jean-Yves Camus and Nicolas Lebourg, *Far-Right Politics in Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press: 2017), p. 38.

69 For a selection of recent scholarship, see Arnd Bauerkämper and Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe (eds), *Fascism without Borders: Transnational Connections between Movements and Regimes in Europe from 1918 to 1945* (New York: Berghahn, 2017).

70 Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism: A Short History of Anti-Westernism* (London: Atlantic Books, 2004).

71 Diethelm Prowe, '"Classic" Fascism and the New Radical Right in Western Europe: Comparisons and Contrasts', *Contemporary European History*, vol. 3, no. 3, 1994, pp. 289–313.

72 Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain*, pp. 58–59.

73 Liam Liburd, 'Beyond the Pale: Whiteness, Masculinity and Empire in the British Union of Fascists, 1932–1940', *Fascism*, vol. 7, no. 2, 2018, pp. 275–296.

74 W.F. Mandle, 'The Leadership of the British Union of Fascists', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 12, no. 3, 1966, pp. 360–383.

75 George Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich* (New York: Schocken, 1981), p. 4.

76 For fascist conceptions of temporality, see Roger Griffin, 'Fixing Solutions: Fascist Temporalities as Remedies for Liquid Modernity', *Journal of Modern European History*, vol. 13, no. 1, 2015, pp. 5–22.

77 Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism*, p. 41.

78 For an overview, see José Pedro Zúquete, 'The European Extreme-Right and Islam: New Directions?', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 13, no. 3, 2008, pp. 321–344. Hans-Georg Betz, 'Against the "Green Totalitarianism": Anti-Islamic Nativism in Contemporary Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe', in C.S. Liang (ed.), *Europe for the Europeans: The Foreign and Security Policy of the Populist Radical Right* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 42 also highlights that since that since 9/11 confrontation with Islam has become the 'central political issue' for all 'radical right' parties. In a similar fashion, Jens Rydgren, 'Is Extreme Right-Wing Populism Contagious? Explaining the Emergence of a New Party Family', *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 44, no. 3, 2005, pp. 413–437 argues that this 'cultural racism' has become the new 'master frame' for the radical right.

79 Roberts, *Fascist Interactions*, p. 257.

80 Michael Billig, *Fascists: A Social Psychological View of the National Front* (London: Academic Press, 1978), pp. 124–126.

81 Andrea Mammone, 'The Transnational Reaction to 1968: Neo-Fascist Fronts and Political Cultures in France and Italy', *Contemporary European History*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2008, pp. 213–236.

82 For its limited impact, see Nigel Copsey, '*Au Revoir* to "Sacred Cows"? Assessing the Impact of the *Nouvelle Droite* in Britain', *Democracy and Security*, vol. 9, no. 3, 2013, pp. 287–303.
83 See Eddy Butler for Britain, March 2012, https://eddybutler.blogspot.com/2012/03/rise-and-fall-of-british-national-party.html (Accessed 5 June 2018).
84 Mann, *Fascists*, p. 370.
85 Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism*, pp. 161–171.
86 Roger Griffin, 'The Incredible Shrinking Ism: The Survival of Fascism in the Post-War Era', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 36, no. 3, 2002, pp. 3–8. Pierre Milza had previously invoked the term 'groupuscule' in his work on French fascism.
87 Martin Blinkhorn, *Fascism and the Right in Europe*, 1919–1945 (Harlow: Pearson, 2000), p. 112.
88 Kathleen M. Blee, 'How the Study of White Supremacism is Helped and Hindered by Social Movement Research', *Mobilization*, vol. 22, no. 1, 2017, p. 5.
89 Bert Klandermans and Nonna Mayer (eds), *Extreme Right Activists in Europe: Through the Looking Glass* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), p. 11.
90 Roger Griffin, 'Interregnum or Endgame? The Radical Right in the "Post-Fascist" Era', *Journal of Politics Ideologies*, vol. 5, no. 2, 2000, pp. 163–178.
91 For the broader debate, see John Ramsden, *Don't Mention the War: The British and the Germans since 1890* (London: Little Brown, 2006). See also Daniele Caramani and Luca Manucci, 'National Past and Populism: The Re-Elaboration of Fascism and its Impact on Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe', *West European Politics*, vol. 6, no. 42, 2019, pp. 1159–1187.
92 Roger Griffin, 'From Slime Mould to Rhizome: An Introduction to the Groupuscular Right', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 37, no. 1, 2003, pp. 27–50. Pedro D. Manrique, Minzhang Zheng, Zhenfeng Cao, Elvira Maria Restrepo and Neil F. Johnson, 'Generalized Gelation Theory Describes Onset of Online Extremist Support', *Physical Review Letters*, 121, 048301, published online 27 July 2018, gives credence to Griffin's 'slime mould' metaphor, suggesting that the growth of online extremist networks is analogous to the formation of gels.
93 Colin Campbell, 'The Cult, the Cultic Milieu and Secularization', *A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain*, no. 5, 1972, pp. 119–136. In 'The Cultic Milieu Revisited' – a lecture given at the University of Leipzig on 12 June 2012 – Campbell questioned the applicability of his concept to the extreme right on the grounds that there was nothing inherently 'cultic' about protest groups that challenge the established order. 'In any case,' he wrote, 'people who are involved in protest groups cannot really be said to be "seekers after truth" for what they crave would appear to be power (or at least influence) rather than meaning.' Whilst this is true, and as Campbell reminds his readers, 'the adjective "cultic" has a religious, or at least spiritual, derivation,' the ideologues discussed herein, perhaps with the exception of Mosley, have all been keen to evangelise and fetishise esoteric beliefs about 'race' not simply in order to validate a particular biologically informed political platform, but also to bestow upon the human genome a sacred, spiritual value from which all higher meaning and purpose is supposedly derived. In this sense, the obsession with racial origins might also be viewed as being akin to a quest for 'truth' that deviates from broader societal norms.
94 Whilst he does not make explicit reference to the concept of the 'cultic milieu', Griffin ('Slime Mould', p. 28) gives a near identical description of extreme right groupuscularity 'as a latent or actual quality of all counter-cultural idioms of anti-systemic thought and activism in the modern age, especially when they are unable to form the nucleus of significant populist movements.'
95 Colin Campbell, 'The Cult, the Cultic Milieu and Secularization'. Michael Barkun, 'Conspiracy Theories as Stigmatized Knowledge', *Diogenes*, 2016, pp. 1–7 is also illuminating in this respect.
96 Campbell's original essay was reprinted in full in Jeffrey Kaplan and Heléne Lööw (eds), *The Cultic Milieu: Oppositional Subcultures in an Age of Globalisation* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002), pp. 12–25, for example.
97 Robert O. Paxton, 'The Five Stages of Fascism', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 70, 1998, pp. 1–23. Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism*, p. 174, which extended his original arguments, implicitly endorsed this approach, conceding that it was 'relatively easy to admit the widespread continuation of Stage One – the founding stage – of radical Right movements with some explicit or implicit link to fascism.' Examples of Stage Two, wherein such movements become rooted in political systems as 'significant players and the bearers of important interests,' is not, however, a status that British groups have come close to attaining to date.
98 Roberts, *Fascist Interactions*, p. 260.
99 *Ibid.*, p. 274.

> I haven't spoken for years & I forget words, as you know, & lose continuity & I have nothing to say that is, nothing at a meeting of Jew-wise people; I believe it might be a complete flop & do more harm than good. So count me out … I did not want to advertise the fact of my disabilities, which include having few teeth to stop the spit flying about.[513]

Not just physical infirmity prevented Leese from addressing such gatherings, however. 'I simply will not be associated in any way with [A.K.] Chesterton,' leader of the League of Empire Loyalists, he told Gittens.[514]

Leese bore Chesterton a good deal of personal animosity. He regarded him as insufficiently anti-Semitic and was equally unable to forgive his past dalliance with Mosley. Leese's personal hopes for the future of 'Jew-wise' politics came to repose in Colin Jordan, a racial nationalist activist then serving as Midland organiser for Chesterton's League, who 'readily absorbed all of his mentor's knowledge and experience'.[515] Leese had first drawn attention to Jordan in *Gothic Ripples* in March 1950, when his young protégé was at the beginning of his political career.[516] Leese did not live to see Jordan's notoriety expand beyond the confines of the 'Jew-wise' milieu, however. He died on 18 January 1956, aged seventy-seven. Following his death, his widow wrote to Gittens, *Gothic Ripples*' new editor, asking him to inform people, and adding 'it was rather sudden at the end, but he has been spared much suffering which I think would have been inevitable had he lived'.[517] Leese was cremated at Brookwood Crematorium near Woking to Wagner's *Tannhäuser Overture* and Elgar's *Chanson de Nuit*. Internationally, his passing was noted by a mere handful of ageing anti-Semites including the Canadian fascist Adrien Arcand, who mourned the passing of 'one of the great specialists of the Jewish problem'.[518] His domestic admirers meanwhile convened a 'Memorial Fund' to publish a joint-life of Leese and Beamish but failed to raise enough money to cover the cost of publication.[519]

As this codicil suggests, Leese was soon forgotten outside the cloistered confines of the extreme right milieu. 'Politically' Leese was never an important figure. Indeed, as one scholar remarked over thirty years ago, more students study Leese's life and ideas for undergraduate degrees every year than were ever members of his party.[520] But herein lay his significance. Leese's vituperative brand of anti-Semitism continues to endure, perpetrators of anti-Semitic acts sometimes explicitly and symbolically invoking his name to invest their own actions with a certain authority.[521] Leese's own writings on the 'blood libel' have assumed their own place in the tradition of folkloric anti-Semitism.[522] *My Irrelevant Defence* and *Jewish Ritual Murder* are periodically reprinted in Britain and abroad and regularly disseminated online, serving as a vital resource for subsequent generations of anti-Semitic activists.[523] Perhaps Leese's greatest contribution, however, was his dogged insistence that 'race' was the 'basis of all politics', which exerted a powerful influence upon a new, younger generation of extreme right-wing activists then emerging onto the political scene, foremost amongst whom was Jordan, who looked to Leese and not Mosley for their intellectual inspiration.

Notes

1 Richard Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain: From Oswald Mosley's Blackshirts to the National Front* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998), p. 47.
2 Arnold Spencer Leese, *Out of Step: Events in the Two Lives of an Anti-Jewish Camel-Doctor* (Hollywood, CA: Sons of Liberty, n.d.), p. 6.
3 Arnold Leese to A.N. Field, 12 May 1952 in 73.148.081, Arthur Nelson Field papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, hereafter Field papers.

4 Leese, *Out of Step*, pp. 1–42.
5 Robert Irwin, *Camel* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010), p. 172. In 'Pages from a Memoir: Computers and Encyclopedias', Richard Bulliet, author of *The Camel and the Wheel* (1990) recalled prophetically:

> I have often reflected upon a lesson of Leese's career that I saw borne out, in lesser degree, in the lives of certain other camel specialists I learned about in my research: *Do not put too much trust in camel scholars when they stray into areas of important human concern.*

6 TNA WO 374/41523.
7 Leese, *Out of Step*, pp. 48–49.
8 A.S. Leese, *Fascism* (London: The National Party [The National Fascisti], 1925).
9 TNA BT 31/32629/198007; TNA J 13/14401 and TNA J 107/115. It was chartered on 27 May 1924 as The British Fascists Limited.
10 James Loughlin, 'Rotha Lintorn-Orman, Ulster and the British Fascists Movement', *Immigrants and Minorities*, vol. 32, no. 1, 2014, pp. 62–89.
11 *The Times*, 13 November 1925. Blakeney became BF president in September 1924. He resigned in April 1926 in protest at Lintorn-Orman's refusal to change the group's name and register it as a non-political organisation as a pre-condition for BF activists being allowed to officially assist the government in countering the 1926 General Strike. Thereafter, Blakeney founded the 'Loyalists', see *The Manchester Guardian*, 28 April 1926.
12 Minute, 28 April 1928 in TNA KV 3/58; and Pierre Dominique [pseud. for Dominique Luccini], *Deux Jours chez Ludendorff* (Paris: Éditions du Siècle, 1924), pp. 104–105.
13 Leese, *Out of Step*, pp. 48–50.
14 *Ibid.*, p. 49.
15 G.C. Webber, 'Intolerance and Discretion: Conservatives and British Fascism, 1918–1926', in Tony Kushner and Kenneth Lunn (eds), *Traditions of Intolerance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), p. 163 states the BF 'borrowed the name, but not much else from Italy.'
16 Report no. 10, TNA KV 3/57/49a.
17 Barbara Storm Farr, *The Development and Impact of Right-Wing Politics in Britain, 1903–1932* (New York: Garland, 1987), p. 57.
18 Leese, *Out of Step*, pp. 48–49. For local context, see Steve Woodbridge, 'Local and Vocal: Arnold Leese and British Fascism in Small-Town Politics', *Socialist History*, no. 41, 2012, pp. 43–59.
19 On 16 July 1925, Leese wrote to *The Patriot* deriding the BF as 'non-political', much to the chagrin of his former colleagues, see *The Fascist Bulletin*, vol. 2, no. 9, 29 August 1925.
20 Extract, 11 May 1925 in TNA KV 3/121/1a; 'National Fascisti', 5 November 1924 in TNA KV 3/57; and The National Fascisti, Scotland House report, circa 1925 in TNA KV 3/121//4a. MI5 reported the NF was founded by Colonel Ralph Bingham as an 'off shoot' operating within the BF before it emerged as a separate entity. However, another MI5 report, states Giles E. Eyre, former joint-editor of *British Fascism*, Philip Devereux and Anthony Howard were the founders. Eyre and Howard were 'Jewish', observed the authorities.
21 Extract, 22 August 1933 in TNA KV 3/121/6b. 'Fascism in Great Britain', 27 April 1934 in TNA KV 3/121/6a notes 'several quite reputable people' supported the group financially including Dowager Viscountess Downe, a friend of Queen Mary, until defalcations and minor swindles broke it up.
22 M.K. [Maxwell Knight] to E.B. Stamp, 16 February 1942 in TNA KV 3/121/14a. TNA WO 372/17/230900 lists his rank as 'Major' in the 13th North Staffordshire Regiment, which supports Knight's assessment. *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 30 July 1936 reports that Rippon-Seymour, who subsequently ran the Ex-Service Men's Publicity Bureau, which aimed to find work for former soldiers, was fined £5 in 1936 for falsely claiming he had been awarded the DSO.
23 Rose Collis, *Colonel Barker's Monstrous Regiment* (London: Virago, 2001).
24 Henry Rippon-Seymour to R.D. Blumenfeld, 6 August 1925 in BLU 1/18/RIP1, R.D. Blumenfeld papers, House of Lords Record Office, London.
25 *Fascist Gazette*, 8 November 1926, quoted in Steven Woodbridge, 'The Nature and Development of the Concept of National Synthesis in British Fascist Ideology, 1920–1940' (Unpublished PhD thesis: Kingston University 1998), p. 266.
26 British Fascists organising secretary letter, n.d. in TNA HO 144/19069.

27 Tom Linehan, *British Fascism, 1918–39: Parties, Ideology and Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 127.
28 Robert Benewick, *The Fascist Movement in Britain*, p. 37.
29 *Ibid.*, pp. 37–38; and Frederic Mullally, *Fascism inside England* (London: Claude Morris, 1946), p. 21.
30 Colin Cross, *The Fascists in Britain* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1961), p. 61.
31 *The Times*, 4 November 1925.
32 Major-General Sir Wyndham Childs, *Episodes and Reflections* (London: Cassell, 1930), pp. 215–216.
33 George E.G. Catlin, 'Fascist Stirrings in Britain', *Current History*, vol. 34, 1934, p. 542.
34 Storm Farr, *The Development and Impact of Right-Wing Politics in Britain, 1903–1932*, p. 57; and 'Fascism in Great Britain', 27 April 1934 in TNA KV 3/121/6a.
35 Storm Farr, *The Development and Impact of Right-Wing Politics in Britain, 1903–1932*, pp. 56–57.
36 A.S. Leese, *Fascism* (London: The National Party [The National Fascisti], 1925).
37 Leese, *Out of Step*, p. 48.
38 Woodbridge, 'The Nature and Development of the Concept of National Synthesis in British fascist ideology, 1920–1940', pp. 266–268. He and Simpson held a public BNF meeting in Oakham in October 1926, with Leese denouncing 'international financiers', see *Grantham Journal*, 16 October 1926.
39 Special Branch report, 9 March 1927 in TNA HO 144/19069.
40 *The Times*, 10 March 1927; and *Daily Mail*, 10 March 1927.
41 Simpson was re-elected for a second term.
42 Leese, *Out of Step*, pp. 44–48.
43 Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain*, p. 57; and Leonard Wise, *Arthur Kitson* (London: Holborn Publishing Company, 1934).
44 Sir Richard Paget wrote to *The Times*, 7 October 1937 that Kitson's advice on the subject of monetary reform 'had a real influence on German monetary policy' claiming that Hitler's pronouncement, three days beforehand, that 'money in itself played no role' in Germany's economic recovery and consequent productivity was 'the essence of Kitson's teaching'.
45 Winifred Leese to Arthur Field, 20 May 1956 in 73.148.081, Field papers.
46 Leese, *Out of Step*, pp. 48–49.
47 *The Times*, 16 August 1921, 17 August 1921 and 18 August 1921. For background, see Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide* (London: Serif, 1996).
48 Leese, *Out of Step*, p. 50.
49 Stephen Eric Bronner, *A Rumour about the Jews* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2000). See also Philippe Burin, *Nazi Anti-Semitism* (New York: New Press, 2004).
50 *The Jewish Peril: Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (London: Britons, 1920).
51 Special Branch report, 22 November 1919 in TNA HO 144/21377.
52 Claudia Koonz, *The Nazi Conscience* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap/Harvard, 2003).
53 Leese, *Out of Step*, p. 50.
54 H.H. Beamish, marginalia on Hugh W. White to H.H. Beamish, 30 November 1935, Hyman papers, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.
55 Arnold Leese to A.N. Field, 20 March 1952 in 73.148.081, Field papers.
56 B.A. Kosmin, 'Colonial Careers for Marginal Fascists: A Portrait of Hamilton Beamish', *Wiener Library Bulletin*, vol. 27, no. 30/31, 1973–1974, pp. 16–23: and also Nick Tozcek, *Haters, Baiters and Would-Be Dictators* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 1–74.
57 Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *The Occult Roots of Nazism: Secret Aryan Cults and Their Influence on Nazi Ideology* (London: Tauris Parke, 2009).
58 D. St Clair Gainer to Sir Eric Phipps, 18 December 1936 in TNA FO 371/20739.
59 *The Hidden Hand or Jewry Ueber Alles*, vol. 4, no. 1, February 1923; and *The Times*, 20 January 1923.
60 Special meeting at 40, Great Ormond Street, on 12 July 1923, Britons archive.
61 Minutes of executive meeting held at the offices on Saturday 15 September 1923, Britons archive.
62 Kurt G.W. Ludecke, *I Knew Hitler* (London: Jarrolds, 1938), p. 201.
63 *British Guardian*, vol. 5, no. 7, July–August 1924.

64 *The Fascist*, vol. 1, no. 13, May 1930.
65 Captain A.E.N. Howard, author of *The Beast Marks Russia* (1938), The Britons' agent in China who lived in Shanghai, addressed IFL meetings on 'The Influence of Jewish Finance in the Middle and Far East'. Britons workers W.H. Waller and Richard T. Cooper regularly contributed to *The Fascist* and addressed IFL meetings, see *The Fascist*, no. 35, April 1932, *The Fascist*, no. 51, August 1933 and *The Fascist*, no. 65, October 1934.
66 Harold Lockwood, Advisory Committee hearing, 29 January 1941 in TNA HO 283/46.
67 Minute, 9 October 1928 in TNA KV 3/58/83.
68 Baillie lived in Brighton resigning from the IFL because of 'ill-health' in June 1930. Sherrard lived in nearby Hove but dropped out after the death of his wife in February 1931, see *The Fascist*, no. 18 November 1930 and *The Fascist*, no. 22, March 1931. What became of Brigadier-General D. Erskine Tulloch is unknown though a Denis R.D.S. Erskine-Tulloch filed for bankruptcy in 1930. He may or may not be the same individual.
69 George E.G. Caitlin, 'Fascist Stirrings in Britain', *Current History*, vol. 39, 1934, p. 542. On 17 April 1934, the IFL headquarters relocated to no. 30 Craven Street, see *The Fascist*, no. 59, April 1934.
70 *The Fascist*, no. 34, March 1932; and *The Fascist*, no. 56, January 1934. James Webb, *The Occult Establishment* (LaSalle, IL: Open Court Publishing, 1976), pp. 106 and 126 highlights the influence of the Guild idea in Britain during the early twentieth century, which was by no means confined to the extreme right. Arthur Penty, one of the ideas' modern progenitors, later joined the fascists.
71 *The Fascist*, vol. 1, no. 1, March 1929. *The Fascist*, vol. 1, no. 7, September 1929 notes CINEF's new headquarters.
72 Miranda B. Hickman (ed.), *One Must Not Go Altogether with the Tide: The Letters of Ezra Pound and Stanley Nott* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2011), especially pp. 289–295. Pound's correspondence with Leese revealed the poets' 'lack of compunction about reaching out to an anti-Semitic fascist steeped in pseudoscientific theories about the racial inferiority of Jews.' It also paralleled his own shift towards a more racially based form of anti-Semitism than had previously been evident in his writings.
73 Ezra Pound to Graham Seton Hutchinson, 21 Maggio [1936] in YCAL MSS 43, Box 23 f. 1027, Ezra Pound papers, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
74 David Bradshaw and James Smith, 'Ezra Pound, James Strachey Barnes ("The Italian Lord Haw-Haw") and Italian Fascism', *The Review of English Studies*, vol. 64, no. 266, 2013, pp. 672–693.
75 Special Branch report, 9 March 1936 in TNA HO 45/24967.
76 Special Branch report, 9 March 1936 in TNA HO 45/24967; and *The Fascist*, no. 116, January 1939. For comments on African distribution, see *The Fascist*, no 57, February 1934.
77 'The British Union of Fascists' (1941), MI5 memorandum, p. 40 in TNA KV 4/241. IFL activist Bert Wilton estimated 500–600 members, see *Fascism in England: 1928–1940* (London: Final Conflict, 1997), p. 8.
78 Special Branch report, 22 January 1934 in TNA MEPO 2/10646/65c and Harold Lockwood, Advisory Committee hearing, 29 January 1941 in TNA HO 283/46.
79 Special Branch report, 9 March 1936 in TNA HO 45/24967.
80 *The Fascist*, no. 67, December 1934.
81 *Fascism or Democracy?* (London: IFL, n.d.), p. 7.
82 Cross, *The Fascists in Britain*, p. 64.
83 *The Fascist*, no. 47, April 1933.
84 *The Fascist*, no. 67, December 1934. Harold Lockwood, Advisory Committee hearing, 29 January 1941 in TNA HO 283/46.
85 Special Branch report, 9 March 1936 in TNA HO 45/24967.
86 The Imperial Fascist League, MI5 report, 8 March 1942 in TNA HO 45/24967. Lieutenant-Colonel O.A. Harker to W. Oliver, 25 June 1940 in TNA KV 2/1365 describes MacDonald as 'an old man who lives abroad, and is not on active service'. Previously a BUF member, MacDonald's principal interest appears to have been Indian policy, writing on the subject for *The Blackshirt*, 12 October 1934 before moving towards the IFL. *The Fascist*, no. 70, March 1935 sold his pamphlet, *India's Financial Troubles*, a collection of papers 'containing much information suppressed by the Government'. MI5 believed MacDonald was a conduit for

correspondence between Mary Stanford, a Right Club activist and Margaret Bothamley, an old associate of Leese living in Germany, who subsequently broadcast for the Nazis. MacDonald moved to the South of France in 1940, see Mary Stanford, Advisory Committee hearing, 15 May 1941 in TNA KV 2/832.

87 Steven Woodbridge, 'Fraudulent Fascism: The Attitude of Early British Fascists towards Mosley and the New Party', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 23, no. 4, December 2009, pp. 493–507.

88 Robert Skidelsky, *Oswald Mosley* (London: Papermac, 1990), pp. 379–380.

89 Matthew Worley, *Oswald Mosley and the New Party* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 159–160.

90 *The Fascist*, no. 41, October 1932.

91 *The Fascist*, no. 42, November 1932.

92 *The Fascist*, no. 36, May 1932.

93 *British Guardian*, vol. 6, no. 10, 13 March 1925.

94 Philip, Viscount Snowdon, *An Autobiography* (London: Ivor Nicolson and Watson, 1934), pp. 876–877, commented on Mosley's 'striking resemblance' to Ferdinand Lassalle, the forefather of the German social democracy. For Leese, this was ample proof that Mosley was Jewish because: 'LASSALLE WAS A JEW'. Ironically, Mosley's future father-in-law, Lord Curzon, former Viceroy of India made a similar observation when Mosley asked for his daughter's hand in marriage in March 1920, noting that Mosley was, 'very young, tall, little black moustache, rather Jewish appearance', see Nigel Jones, *Mosley* (London: Haus, 2004), p. 21.

95 Arnold Leese to Adrien Arcand, 24 May 1950, Adrien Arcand Collection, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Canada, hereafter Arcand papers.

96 Arnold Leese to Major Theodore Rich, 11 December 1955, Leese papers.

97 Mosley's appeal against order of internment, 2 July 1940 in TNA HO 283/13.

98 *The Manchester Guardian*, 3 March 1933.

99 *The Fascist*, no. 54, November 1933. A.N. Field to Sir Herbert Kelliher, 2 April 1935 in 73.148.081, Field papers records that the IFL also abused the BUF as 'Rothschilds Life Guards'.

100 *The Fascist*, no. 95, April 1937.

101 Untitled manuscript, MSS 292/743/12 in Trades Union Congress papers, Modern Records Centre, Warwick University; HO 144/20141/309; and *The Fascist*, no. 55, December 1933. Leese's fellow speakers, J.F. Rushbrook and Brigadier-General Blakeney, were 'seriously injured' during the attack. Blakeney was beaten 'so brutally' that he did not recover until February 1934, see *The Fascist*, no. 57, February 1934. BUF activist, Tony Marino, was bound over for three years and ordered to pay £5 compensation for his part in the fracas, see *The Times*, 27 November 1933 and *The Times*, 4 December 1933. Blakeney later contributed to the BUF publication *Action*, no. 111, 2 April 1938, perhaps having forgiven the assault by its members five years earlier. The IFL may or may not have planned to avenge the insult. G. Flack to Sup. B-CR, 22 February 1934 in TNA HO 144/20158/113 notes that Ian Hope Dundas, BUF chief of staff had contacted police claiming to have information from a former IFL member that the IFL were planning to attack the BUF headquarters that night. Police made the 'necessary arrangements' but nothing appears to have come of such threats, which the police may have regarded as mischief making.

102 'Report on the Fascist Movement in the United Kingdom, excluding Northern Ireland' in TNA KV 3/58.

103 Leese, *Out of Step*, p. 51; and TNA HO 144/20144/229–31.

104 Special Branch report, 12 January 1935 in TNA HO 144/20144.

105 Special Branch report, 26 January 1935 in TNA HO 144/20144; *The Fascist*, no. 74, July 1935; and *The Fascist*, no. 77, October 1935.

106 John Symonds, *The Beast 666: The Life of Aleister Crowley* (London: Pindar Press, 1997) details Fuller's occultism.

107 Stanley J. Passmore to Sir Oswald Mosley, 27 May 1935 in OMN/B/7/4, Oswald Mosley papers, Nicholas Mosley deposit, Birmingham University. This personal antagonism did not prevent Fuller from utilising Leese's pamphlets to support his own contention that Bolshevism was Jewish, see J.F.C. Fuller, *The First of the League Wars: Its Lessons and Omens* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1936), p. 142.

108 *The Fascist*, no. 77, October 1935; and TNA HO 144/20145/281.

109 Special Branch report, 5 March 1935 in TNA HO 144/20144.
110 *The Fascist*, no. 60, May 1934. Wilson later authored *What is the Purpose of Freemasonry?* (Winchester: Privately printed, 1947).
111 *British Fascism*, May 1934.
112 *The Fascist*, no. 61, June 1934.
113 *British Fascism*, no. 4, new series, June 1934.
114 Special Branch report, 18 July 1934 in TNA HO 144/20142.
115 For the protracted winding up of its financial affairs, see TNA TS 17/284.
116 TNA GFM 34/1282; TNA GFM 33/793 serial no. 441391–3; and James J. Barnes and Patience P. Barnes, *Nazis in Pre-War London, 1930–1939: The Fate and Role of German Party Members and British Sympathisers* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2005), p. 25.
117 *The Fascist*, no. 74, July 1935.
118 *The Fascist*, no. 16, September 1930.
119 *The Fascist*, no. 17, October 1930.
120 *The Fascist*, no. 49, June 1933.
121 *The Fascist*, no. 44, January 1933; *The Fascist*, no. 58, March 1934; *The Fascist*, no. 59, April 1934; and *The Fascist*, no. 60, May 1934.
122 *The Fascist*, no. 65, October 1934. Leese exempted Don Mario Colonna, Duke of Rignano, a 'Foreign Associate' of the IFL who died in an aeroplane accident on 9 July 1938. 'He had become race-wise and was an active anti-Jewish worker in Italy, the Aryan cause being referred to by him generally as "the solar tradition",' Leese recorded in *The Fascist*, no. 111, August 1938.
123 John Baker White, *The Big Lie* (London: Evans, 1955), pp. 28–29. Baker had himself been a senior BF figure.
124 *The Fascist*, no. 24, May 1931.
125 *The Fascist*, no. 25, June 1931. MI5 made 'discreet inquiries' into the proceedings, see S7, minute, 5 November 1931 in TNA KV 2/952.
126 Barnes and Barnes, *Nazis in Pre-War London, 1930–1939*, p. 7.
127 'The Imperial Fascist League' in TNA HO 45/24967/105.
128 Gerhard L. Weinberg, *Hitler's Foreign Policy, 1933–1939* (New York: Enigma Books, 2010), pp. 28–30 notes Rosenberg's 1933 visit was a fiasco, greatly reducing his chance of playing a leading role in Nazi diplomacy.
129 TNA KV 3/58/151a. Thost had been invited to, though did not attend, an IFL dinner on 29, his place taken by a Commander Glimpf, see *The Fascist*, no. 50, July 1933.
130 *The Times*, 12 November 1935; and *The Times*, 13 November 1935. *The Times*' diplomatic correspondent, aware of Thost's role as a Nazi 'propagandist', recommended his deportation, see Gordon Martel (ed.), *The Times and Appeasement: The Journals of A.L. Kennedy, 1932–1939*, (Cambridge: Royal Historical Society, 2000), pp. 109–110.
131 *Der Stürmer*, no. 2, January 1940.
132 TNA WO 339/15154.
133 E.B. Stamp, MI5 minute, 27 February 1942 in TNA HO 45/25746.
134 *The Fascist*, no. 55, December 1933.
135 Arnd Bauerkämper, *Die 'Radikale Rechte' in Großbritannien: Nationalistische, antisemitische und fascistische Bewegungen vom späten 19. Jahrhundert bis 1945* (Gottingen: Vandenhoek und Ruprecht, 1991), p. 135. E.B. Stamp, MI5 minute, 27 February 1942 in TNA HO 45/25746 observes that Skeels was expelled from the IFL shortly afterwards principally because Leese objected to his joining C.G. Wodehouse-Temple's United Empire Fascist Party (UEFP), subsequently the United British Party (UBP).
136 *The Fascist*, no. 61, June 1934.
137 *The Times*, 6 August 1934; and *The Fascist*, no. 63, August 1934.
138 Special Branch report, 24 August 1934 in TNA FO 371/17730; and *Daily Herald*, 26 September 1934.
139 David Pryce Jones, *Unity Mitford: A Quest* (London: Book Club Associates, 1977), pp. 123–124. Special Branch report, 2 August 1935 in TNA KV 2/882/91a notes Leese had written to Unity Mitford trying to persuade her to sue the *Jewish Chronicle* after it criticised her contribution to *Der Stürmer* in which she branded the Jews as the 'world enemy' – a sentiment that no doubt endeared her to Leese.

140 Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 289, cols 1461–1462 (14 May 1934).
141 *The Fascist*, no. 104, January 1938.
142 *The Fascist*, no. 102, November 1937; *The Fascist*, no. 75, August 1935; *The Fascist*, no. 77, October 1935; and *The Fascist*, no. 101, October 1937. Harold Lockwood Advisory Committee hearing, 29 January 1941 in TNA HO 283/46 notes German members.
143 *The Fascist*, no. 28, September 1931.
144 *The Fascist*, no. 102, November 1937
145 Harold Lockwood, Leese's chief lieutenant had visited Munich during summer 1931 from where he sent back reports as 'special correspondent' for *The Fascist*. Alan Francis Peake, part of the IFL general headquarters staff, was a linguist with a degree from London University previously employed at Vienna University who worked as a 'tutor-translator' in Germany where, he claimed, he had marched with the Brownshirts. Peake visited Hans-Rolf Hoffmann in Munich in 1936 boasting subsequently, noted an MI5 source, 'that he had interviewed Hitler'. Having returned to England, Peake secured employment as technical translator and editor, a job obtained for him by Seton Henry Fox, a fellow IFL member who worked for the Paper Mills Association. In 1942, Peake married Rose Eacott, of Anglo-Spanish descent, who was closely associated with Falangist circles in London. See MI5 report, 16 June 1942 in TNA HO 45/25571. Another member, Major C. Draper, a regular speaker at IFL meetings on subjects like 'the truth about Hitler' had lived in Germany, see *The Fascist*, no. 47, April 1933 and *The Fascist*, no. 49, June 1933.
146 *The Fascist*, no. 75, August 1935.
147 *The Fascist*, no. 77, October 1935.
148 Benjamin Collins Barrett, Advisory Committee hearing, 17 December 1942 in TNA HO 45/23765.
149 *The Fascist*, no. 54, November 1933.
150 'The Imperial Fascist League' in TNA HO 45/25724.
151 Extract from Munich Consular Report for January 1937 in TNA FO 371/20739.
152 *Ibid*.
153 [illegible signature] to C.J. Norton, 16 March 1937 in TNA FO 371/20739.
154 Report of a meeting held by the Imperial Fascist League, 15 April 1937 in TNA HO 262/6. During the course of his homily to Nazi Germany, Beamish attributed Hitler's success to his having 'named the enemy' and noted that it was hoped that Hitler would be able to call an international conference on the 'Jew question' to which he already had his own solution. 'The IFL know of three remedies to rid the world of the Jews', stated Beamish, '(1) kill them; (2) sterilise them (3) segregate them', presumably in order of preference. Responding to questions, Beamish stated that, as a result of the Bolshevik revolution and the destruction of its intelligentsia by 'the Koshers', Russia was in a state of 'decay' inhabited by 'a mass of animal-like people'. With an eerie prescience, Beamish stated that in five years it would be the job of a great leader, 'Hitler for preference' who would be forced 'to march into Russia' and thence 'to place one half of its Russians into the lethal chamber and the other half into the zoo'.
155 Louis Bondy, *Racketeers of Hatred* (London: Newman Wolsey, 1946), p. 133.
156 Martin Finkenberger, '"Die Judenfrage ist der Prüfstein völkischer Gesinnung": Der "Bund Völkischer Europäer" 1933 bis 1936', in Stefanie Schüler-Springorum (ed.), *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung 26* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2017), pp. 61–89; and Rouven Pons, 'Esoteriker des Klangs. Das Leben des Dresdner Komponisten Roland Bocquet (1878–1945?)', *Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte*, no. 86, 2015, pp. 145–176.
157 *The Fascist*, no. 54, April 1934.
158 Michael Hagemeister, '*The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in Court: The Bern Trials, 1933–1937', in Esther Webman (ed.), *The Global Impact of 'The Protocols of the Elders of Zion'* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 241–253; and Hanno Plass, '*Der Welt-Dienst*: International Anti-Semitic Propaganda', *The Jewish Quarterly*, vol. 103, no. 4, Fall 2013, pp. 503–522, which highlights that from 1941 onwards *Welt-Dienst* was fully integrated into Alfred Rosenberg's 'Office' and thus an 'official' part of the Nazi propaganda apparatus.
159 *Welt-Dienst*, no. 1, 1 December 1933.
160 *Welt-Dienst*, no. 6, 15 February 1934; *Welt-Dienst*, no. 14, 15 June 1934; and *Welt-Dienst*, vol. 2, no. 10, 15 May 1935, the latter issue proclaiming 'We only wish that we too had a Hitler in this country, who would put the Jews where they belong.'

161 Baker White, *The Big Lie*, p. 32.
162 TNA KV 2/2315/132b.
163 Henry Hamilton Beamish to [no name], 28 September 1937 in ACC/3121/E3/141/1, Board of Deputies of British Jews, London Metropolitan Archives, London, hereafter BDBJ papers.
164 George E.G. Caitlin, 'Fascist Stirrings in Britain', *Current History*, vol. 39, 1934, pp. 542–543. Arnd Bauerkämper, 'The Denigration of British Fascism: Traditional Anti-British Stereotypes and Claims of Superiority in Nazi Germany', in Arnd Bauerkämper and Christiane Eisenberg (eds), *Britain as a Model of Modern Society? German Views* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2006), pp. 161–162 notes that the Germany Embassy in London 'eagerly' collected leaflets, pamphlets and other propaganda materials issued by the IFL and The Britons.
165 *The Fascist*, no. 95, April 1937; and Erich Wötzel, *The Imperial Fascist League* (Leipzig: Rohmkopf, 1937). Several regional NSDAP outlets also supported the IFL. *The Fascist*, no. 47, April 1933 recorded *Die Braune Post*, a Düsseldorf-based Nazi weekly, condemned the 'pro-Jewish' policy of the BUF whilst hailing the IFL as 'the vanguard of Fascism in Britain'. Thereafter, stated *The Fascist*, no. 48, May 1933, *Die Braune Post* contained an article on the IFL 'freely quoting from our December number certain words which we wish to be widely known in Germany.' *The Fascist*, no. 101, October 1937 also published a personal telegram of support to Leese from Robert Erben of the Nuremberg Hitlerjugend.
166 Werner Haas, *Europa Will Leben: Die nationalen Erneuerungsbewegungen in Wort und Bild* (Berlin: Batschari Verlag GmbH, 1936), pp. 9 and 120–121; and Heinz Krieger, *England und die Judenfrage in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Moritz Diesterweg, 1938).
167 Wolf Meyer-Christian, *Die englisch–jüdische Allianz: Werden und Wirken der kapitalistischen Weltherrschaft* (Berlin-Leipzig: Nibelungen-Verlag, 1942), pp. 75–76.
168 Peter Aldag, *Das Judentum in England* (Berlin: Nordland Verlag, 1943), p. 437.
169 For details of its activities, see TNA KV 5/7–9.
170 Colin Holmes, *Searching for Lord Haw-Haw: The Political Lives of William Joyce* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p. 149.
171 TNA FO 372/3345; TNA KV 2/2472; and TNA KV 2/2473. Gayre recalls his brief encounter with Krüger, whom he claimed to have rumbled as a 'German intelligence agent', in *Gayre of Gayre and Nigg: An Autobiography* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Impressions, 1987), pp. 57–59. TNA KV 2/884/7a records Mosley admitting to Special Branch in January 1940 that he too had met Krüger, whose anti-Semitic book he regarded as 'a work of scholarship, and he impressed me as being a serious research worker and not at all the kind of person who would act as an agent.' Mosley later elaborated on his contact with Krüger, which had led to the internment of the former BUF candidate Peter Whinfield in late 1939 due to his alleged contacts with German espionage agents (i.e. Krüger). TNA HO 208/13: 'Yes, Krüger came to see me,' Mosley told his interlocutors.

> He was writing a book and he was introduced to me by the Whinfields [Muriel and her husband Lieutenant-Colonel H.C. Whinfield] as a man who was writing a book on anti-Semitism and had spent years in the National Library looking up his facts, and had certainly produced an amazingly interesting work from a student's point of view. He showed me his work once or twice. Now, I understand it is suggested he was a spy or a military agent. I would eat my hat if that man was a spy. He is [a] little professor whom no Military Intelligence in its senses would ever use, and I do not for one moment believe that. I have only seen the fellow once or twice or at Whinfields but I was told the story how [Peter] Whinfield [their son] had been in Switzerland and saw him and got his mother to write to me for advice.

172 TNA FO 372/1174; TNA FO 372/1051; and 'George Pownall', 4 February 1944 in TNA HO 45/25571.
173 D.A. Gunnell to Reg Cohen, copy included in Reg Cohen to J.M. Rich, 17 December 1931 in ACC/3121/B/04/RI/004, BDBJ papers.
174 *The Fascist*, no. 46, March 1933.
175 The Britons, *A List of Books Published and On Sale by the Britons* (April 1932).
176 *The Fascist*, no. 23, April 1932; and *The Fascist*, no. 46, March 1933.
177 Goodrick-Clarke, *The Occult Roots of Nazism*, pp. 123–128 and 149. Reginald H. Phelps, '"Before Hitler Came": Thule Society and Germanen Orden', *Journal of Modern History*,

vol. 35, no. 3, 1963, p. 247 comments that Fritsch was 'probably the most significant figure of German antisemitism before the Nazis, and the chief instigator of the political and conspiratory movement from which the Germanen Orden and Thule grew.'

178 *The Fascist*, no. 23, April 1931.

179 *The Fascist*, no. 53, October 1933.

180 Graham Macklin, 'The Two Lives of John Hooper Harvey', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 42, no. 2, 2008, pp. 167–190.

181 *The Fascist*, no. 44, January 1933.

182 *The Fascist*, no. 45, February 1933; *The Fascist*, no. 46, March 1933; *The Fascist*, no. 47, April 1933; *The Fascist*, no. 48, May 1933; *The Fascist*, no. 49, June 1933; *The Fascist*, no. 50, July 1933; *The Fascist*, no. 53, October 1933; *The Fascist*, no. 54, November 1933; and *The Fascist*, no. 55, December 1933.

183 Tony Ballentine, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (London: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 3 and 49.

184 L.A. Waddell to Myra Story, 23 October 1936 and L.A. Waddell to Myra Story, 31 March 1937 in Myra Story papers, Imperial War Museum, London, hereafter Story papers.

185 L.A. Waddell to A.S. Leese, 24 April 1935 [MS Gen 1691/3/80], A.S. Leese to L.A. Waddell, 5 September 1935 [MS Gen 1691/3/78], A.S. Leese to L. A. Waddell, 14 April 1937 [MS Gen 1691/3/79] and 'Fact versus fiction on the Aryan race' incomplete typescript enclosed with previous letter [MS Gen 1691/3/79a] in Laurence Augustine Waddell papers, Special Collections, Glasgow University. Christine Preston, *The Rise of Man in the Gardens of Sumeria: A Biography of L.A. Waddell* (Brighton: Sussex Academic, 2009) does not touch upon his political support for the IFL.

186 *The Fascist*, no. 78, November 1935.

187 *The Fascist*, no. 114, November 1938. *The Fascist*, no. 49, 1933 also pays testimony to the influence of Waddell's work, which constituted a 'vast revolution in historical knowledge'.

188 John Hooper Harvey, *The Heritage of Britain* (London: Right Review, 1940). Harvey continued lauding Waddell's work, see *The Times*, 5 December 1966.

189 Arnold Leese to Anthony Gittens, 1 June 1954, Leese papers.

190 *The Fascist*, no. 98, July 1937. This desire to reconceive the past as an imagined Aryan idyll made such thinkers analogous to 'Eden's Folk' (Webb, *The Occult Establishment*, p. 135): 'They would return to a Garden of Eden.'

191 *The Fascist*, no. 49, June 1933.

192 John Hooper Harvey to A. Frederickson, 3 January 1936, Story papers.

193 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 44, September 2001.

194 *Identity*, no. 42, March 2004. The longevity of Waddell's appeal is attested to by the recent republication of his work by former BNP ideologue Arthur Kemp, see Ostara Publications, http://ostarapublications.com/aryan-origin-alphabet-disclosing-sumero-phoenician-parentage-letters-ancient-modern/ (accessed 28 November 2015). Both Waddell and Günther's books also proved popular with US groups like the National States Rights Party (NSRP), closely associated with the BNP and the NF, see *The Thunderbolt*, no. 208, August 1976.

195 John Hooper Harvey to Delly, 17 March 1933, Story papers.

196 For an extended discussion, see Geoffrey G. Field, 'Nordic Racism', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 38, no. 3, 1977, pp. 523–540.

197 *The Fascist*, no. 27, August 1931; *The Fascist*, no. 42, November 1932; *The Fascist*, no. 43, December 1932; and *The Fascist*, no. 53, October 1933.

198 Gerwin Strobl, *The Germanic Isle: Nazi Perceptions of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 53.

199 *The Fascist*, no. 101, October 1937; and *The Fascist*, no. 104, January 1938.

200 Hans F.K. Günther, *The Racial Elements of European History* (London: Methuen, 1927). See also Christopher M. Hutton, *Race and the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005).

201 *The Fascist*, no. 53, October 1933.

202 *The Fascist*, no. 76, September 1935. In *Racial Elements*, p. 239, Günther argued that the industrial age had brought about the decline of racial nobility, deskilling artisans and craftsmen, who mingled and crossbred with the racial inferiors to the detriment of Nordic blood. The industrial age 'opened the way for men of even decidedly inferior hereditary capacity to thrive', argued Günther, finding a use for men, 'to whom the proud individuality of the Nordic was foreign, for men to

whom mass-life, life as one of a herd, was not spiritually repugnant, or was even congenial'. These arguments were commonplace within British 'third positionist' groups during the 1980s.

203 *The Fascist*, no. 61, June 1934. The books Lehmann published, personally inscribed to the Führer by their publisher, formed the 'core collection' of Hitler's personal library states Timothy W. Ryback, *Hitler's Personal Library* (London: Vintage, 2010), pp. 109–113.

204 Harvey envisaged a new English translation. Methuen & Co. of London had previously published an English language edition of the book in 1927 translated by the anthropologist G.C. [Gerald Camden] Wheeler, who drew upon the second German edition of the work.

205 Hans F.K. Günther to John Hooper Harvey, 26 October 1933, Story papers.

206 *The Fascist*, no. 44, January 1933. The Nordics also elicited interest from the Nazi Institute for Border and Foreign Studies, who wrote to Harvey in May 1937 requesting details of its programme. In return for a copy of *The Fascist* forwarded by Harvey, he was received a copy of the first in a series of books on eugenics by the Reich Commissioner for National Health Care.

207 'Case Summary', 10 March 1943 in TNA HO 45/25571/84.

208 TNA KV 3/54/85b. The file records that in July 1937 the British Consul-General informed British intelligence that Hoffmann was also acting as Mosley's 'unofficial representative' in Munich. MI5 also observed his closeness to Admiral Sir Barry Domvile's pro-Nazi organisation The Link noting their suspicion that whether Domvile knew it or not the group 'was largely run from Germany, and by Hoffman[n].'

209 For personal details, see *Sunderland Echo and Shipping Gazette*, 2 March 1938. See *The Fascist*, no. 46, March 1933; *The Fascist*, no. 50, July 1933; and *The Fascist*, no. 56, January 1934.

210 Hans-Rolf Hoffmann to John Hooper Harvey, 10 May 1933, Story papers.

211 *The Fascist*, no. 55, December 1933; and *The Fascist*, no. 56, January 1934.

212 TNA HO 45/24967/105.

213 A.S. Leese to H.R. Hoffmann, 13 March 1939 in TNA KV 2/1365.

214 *The Fascist*, no. 57, February 1934.

215 *The Fascist*, no. 58, March 1934.

216 *The Fascist*, no. 60, May 1934.

217 Extract from Munich Consular Report for January 1937 in TNA FO 371/20739.

218 *The Fascist*, no. 64, September 1934; and *The Swastika Symbol: What it Means* (IFL leaflet).

219 For more on Mills, see A. Asbjørn Jøn, '"Skeggøld, Skálmöld, Vindöld, Vergöld": Alexander Rud Mills and the Ásatrú Faith in the New Age', *Australian Religion Studies Review*, vol. 12, no. 1, 1999, pp. 77–83.

220 David Bird, *Nazi Dreamtime: Australian Enthusiasts for Hitler's Germany* (London: Anthem Press, 2014), p. 116.

221 Barbara Winter, *The Australia-First Movement and the Publicist, 1936–1942* (Brisbane: GHB, 2005), pp. 40–41 notes Lockwood was secretary of the 'Anglocyn' group. It seems certain it was the same organisation.

222 *The Fascist*, no. 46, March 1933; and *The Fascist*, no. 49, June 1933. *The Fascist*, no. 123, August 1939 subsequently published a favourable review of Mill's *The Odinist Religion: Overcoming Jewish Christianity*.

223 Fascist activities report, no. 12, 1 June 1940 in D1915/SA19070, National Archives of Australia, Adelaide, Australia. Mills was not alone. Andrew Moore, *The Right Road: A History of Right-Wing Politics in Australia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 48 states that 'a few individuals' established 'small groups' of the IFL and BUF in Australia. *The Fascist*, no. 112, September 1938 also recommended the Sydney-based Australian Unity League 'whose Director [E.J. Jones] has a sound knowledge of the Jew Menace.'

224 *The Fascist*, no. 73, June 1935.

225 Winter, *The Australia-First Movement and the Publicist, 1936–1942*, pp. 40 and 88.

226 Bruce Muirden, *The Puzzled Patriots: The Story of the Australia First Movement* (Carlton, VIC: Melbourne University Press, 1968), p. 76 notes Mills was under surveillance 'because of his earlier interest in Germany and his sympathy with English Fascists.' This was the principal reason for his subsequent internment rather than his involvement with the AFM, which was comparatively slight.

227 Arnold Leese to Anthony Gittens, 10 December 1953, Leese papers. Mills pamphlet, *The Call of Our Ancient Nordic Religion* (1957), was subsequently published by the Northern League,

a pan-Aryan cultural group who disseminated it from their Coventry address, the home of Colin Jordan. Jordan remained enamoured of Mills writings on 'our ancient religion' publishing excerpts in *The National Socialist*, no. 10, summer 1966.

228 *The Fascist*, no. 41, October 1932.

229 *The Fascist*, no. 80, January 1936. The resignations to which Leese referred may have included J.F. Rushbrook, founder of Champions of Christ and Crown, which morphed into the Militant Christian Patriots.

230 Arnold Leese to A.N. Field, 26 September 1945 in 73.148.081, Field papers. Leese subsequently expanded upon his religious views, which were also animated by his feelings towards animals, in *Out of Step*, p. 45:

> I always regarded Christianity as a religion alien to white men's instincts, because it takes no note of man's best friends [animals] who share his hearth. It is in the East where dogs are pariahs. I think it is a pity that Christianity has not been adjusted to the spiritual needs of Nordic men, who do not need to be told not to murder and steal; a white man's religion would begin on a higher plane and teach him to be straight-forward, to be kind to animals, to be courageous, loyal and chivalrous.

231 Arnold Leese to Adrien Arcand, 4 January 1949, Arcand papers.

232 Leese published Cooper's contributions in three compendiums, *The Hidden Hand Revealed … in Black and White* (1934), *More Public Mischief: Our Cartoons 1936–1937* (1938) and *Our Seditious Cartoon Book* (1948).

233 Arnold Leese, *The Legalised Cruelty of Shechita: The Jewish Method of Cattle-Slaughter* (Guildford: The author, 1940). The pamphlet continued to find a readership on the extreme right, *League Review*, no. 22, October 1978.

234 Colin Jordan, 'Notes on Arnold Leese', undated MSS, Leese papers.

235 *The Sunday Times*, 13 April 1947.

236 Colin Holmes, 'The Ritual Murder Accusation in Britain', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 4, no. 3, July 1981, pp. 263–288.

237 James Dell to Major Rich, 19 May 1934, The Britons archive.

238 Leese also utilised the services of H.F. Lucas, who printed material for an array of extreme right-wing groups including The Britons and the BUF. He also printed an English edition of *Mit Hitler in die Macht. Persönliche Erlebnisse mit meinem Führer – With Hitler on the Road to Power* (1934) by Nazi publicity agent Otto Dietrich, which was sold in *The Fascist*.

239 *British Aryan Defence Fund: Second Appeal* (IFL leaflet 1936).

240 Special Branch report, 9 September 1936 in TNA HO 144/21379/85.

241 Special Branch report, 14 August 1936 in TNA HO 45/24967. Martin Pugh, *'Hurrah for the Blackshirts': Fascism and Fascists in Britain Between the Wars* (London: Pimlico, 2006), p. 227 notes that Leese's prosecution left Joyce:

> exulting in the thought that the movement had now entered a new phase of government persecution; the more fascists were arrested the more public sympathy they would win. According to Joyce, the fact that the Jews had manoeuvered the government into this tactic 'showed clearly that Britain is today under a hidden dictatorship far harsher than that in Germany and Italy'.

242 Sir Alfred Denning, *Freedom Under the Law* (London: Stevens & Sons, 1949), pp. 42–43.

243 Special Branch report, 9 December 1936 in TNA HO 144/21379/236.

244 Peter Catterall (ed.), 'Witness Seminar: The Battle of Cable Street Revisited', *Contemporary Record*, vol. 8, no. 1, summer 1994, p. 119.

245 H.W. Wicks, *The Prisoner Speaks* (London: Jarrolds, 1938), pp. 196–206; J.R. Spencer, 'Criminal Libel: The Snuffing of Mr Wicks', *Cambridge Law Journal*, vol. 38, 1979, pp. 60–78; Richard Griffiths, 'Anti-Semitic Obsessions: The Case of H.W. Wicks', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 48, no. 1, 2014, pp. 94–113; and also TNA CRIM 1/812.

246 TNA KV 2/418–422 and TNA CRIM 1/1767.

247 Arnold Leese to Major Theodore Rich, 5 September [incomplete date], Leese papers and Arnold Leese to Major Theodore Rich, 25 January 1952, Leese papers.

248 H.W. Wicks to H.R. Hoffmann, 22 June 1939 in TNA CRIM 1/1767.

249 H.W. Wicks to H.R. Hoffmann, 2 September 1939 in TNA KV 2/421.

250 Leese, *Out of Step*, p. 55. Leese claimed that this stated:

> In order to destroy the prestige of heroism for political crime, we shall send it for trial in the category of thieving, murder, and every abominable and filthy crime. Public opinion will then confuse in its conception this category of crime with the disgrace attaching to every other and will brand it with the same contempt.

251 A.S. Leese to Major [Theodore] Rich, 11 February 1937, photocopy in author's possession.
252 Arnold Leese to George Armstrong, 9 July 1946 in Box 150, folder 27, George W. Armstrong papers, AUT Arlington Special Collections, Arlington, Texas, hereafter Armstrong papers.
253 TNA DPP 2/443.
254 Arnold Leese, *My Irrelevant Defence being Meditations Inside Gaol and Out on Jewish Ritual Murder* (London: IFL, 1938). Leese gleaned his knowledge of the Chorlton case from 'information' provided to him from R. Prys-Thomas, John Morice [who had addressed the IFL on 'Political Murders' on 28 February 1934] and Daniel M.S. Nicol, see R. Prys-Thomas to Arnold Leese, 15 September 1936, Leese papers and Daniel M.S. Nicol to Arnold Leese, 20 September 1936, Leese papers.
255 Arnold Leese to Anthony Gittens, 8 December 1953, Leese papers.
256 John Morell, 'Arnold Leese and the Imperial Fascist League: The Impact of Racial Fascism', in Kenneth Lunn and Richard Thurlow (eds), *British Fascism: Essays on the Radical Right in Inter-War Britain* (London: Croon Helm, 1980), p. 62.
257 TNA CRIM 1/2361. Deemed 'feeble minded', Lenchitsky had a mental age of nine though was certified as 'sane' and thus fit to plead and stand trial. Following his conviction, he was detained under Section 8 of the Mental Deficiency Act, 1913.
258 Arnold Leese to Major Theodore Rich, 13 October 1953; Arnold Leese to Major Theodore Rich, 15 October 1953; and Arnold Leese to Major Theodore Rich, 11 December 1953, Leese papers. There was, of course, no evidence of ritual murder. Leese continued to believe otherwise, writing, 'I think Ritual Murder was vaguely in this chap's mind but he probably never began it … except where did the blood come from', see Arnold Leese to Anthony Gittens, 3 December 1953, Leese papers.
259 See 'The Fallen 1905 to 1958', *The Fallen List*, http://thefallenlist.blogspot.com/2005/11/fallen-1905-to-1958.html (accessed 21 December 2011).
260 Louis Golding, *The Jewish Problem* (London: Penguin, 1938), p. 152.
261 TNA DPP 2/530.
262 Leese, *My Irrelevant Defence*, pp. 15 and 55.
263 David Biale, *Blood and Belief: The Circulation of a Symbol* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007).
264 *The Fascist*, no. 3, May 1929.
265 Arnold Leese to Major Theodore Rich, 11 February [incomplete date but 1930s], Leese papers.
266 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 65, 21 June 1950.
267 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 70, 20 November 1950.
268 Arnold Leese to Major Theodore Rich, 24 October 1953 and Arnold Leese to Major Theodore Rich, 13 May 1954, Leese papers.
269 MI5, source report, 3 January 1945 in TNA KV 2/2315.
270 Arnold Leese, *Race and Politics* (London: IFL, 1934).
271 *The Fascist*, no. 109, June 1938.
272 *The Fascist*, no. 49, June 1933.
273 *The Fascist*, no. 22, March 1931.
274 *The Fascist*, vol. 1, no. 13, May 1930.
275 *The Fascist*, no. 69, February 1935.
276 Ian Kershaw, *Hitler: Nemesis, 1936–1945* (London: Allen Lane, 2000), pp. 320–325.
277 *The Fascist*, no. 69, February 1935.
278 *The Fascist*, no. 86, July 1936.
279 *Jewish Chronicle*, 20 March 1934.
280 *Christmas Greetings and Best Wishes for a Happy New Year from Arnold Leese* in 73.148.081, Field papers.
281 Special Branch report, 9 March 1936 in TNA HO 45/24967.
282 Austin Hudson MP to the Home Secretary, 12 June 1934 in TNA HO 45/24967.

283 IFL, *A Message to Tradesmen* (IFL leaflet) and *300,000 Jews! What a Lie* (IFL leaflet).
284 Special Branch report, 9 May 1935 in TNA HO 144/20144/46.
285 LAC report for the period 26–29 July 1937 in 1658/3/1B/4, Jewish Defence Committee papers, Wiener Library London, hereafter JDC papers.
286 Special Branch report, 9 March 1936 in TNA HO 45/24967.
287 This seems unlikely, though Ridout did suggest to IFL members at a meeting in 1936 that they use 'P.J.' as a greeting, see Special Branch report, 9 December 1936 in TNA HO 144/21379/237.
288 Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain*, p. 50.
289 TNA HO 144/20243; and TNA HO 144/21380/160.
290 Special Branch report, 31 July 1937 in TNA KV 2/2476; and Special Branch report, 3 August 1937 in TNA HO 144/21380/140.
291 *Jewish Chronicle*, 13 August 1937.
292 New Scotland Yard report, October 1937 in TNA HO 144/21380/183.
293 TNA HO 144/20243/188. George Pownall had so deeply imbibed his father's views, observed MI5, that it was doubted he viewed 'social or political questions with the eyes of a normal British subject'. In July 1937, Professor J. Kraugan wrote to Dr Thost asking him to send Pownall a free copy of *Völkischer Beobatcher* on the grounds that his father had performed a 'great' service 'for the anti-Jewish movement' and that his son and daughter, 'were anxious to carry on his work as much as they could'. Pownall resigned from the IFL and joined the BUF on 30 May 1939 following 'certain differences of opinion'. Pownall was interned from 1940 until 2 November 1943. See 'George Pownall', 4 February 1944 in TNA HO 45/25571. Robert Row, a leading Mosleyite, tried to win Pownall over to the Union Movement (UM) after the war. He was unsuccessful. Pownall 'disagrees strongly with the Movement, mainly on the grounds that we are not devoting enough attention to the Jewish Menace, and appears to want to return to the "Axis Standpoint",' Row wrote to a colleague. 'I am afraid that Arnold Leese seems to have got some influence over him; rather a pity I think. So I am afraid we must cross him out', see Robert Row to Robert Saunders, 8 January 1950, C13 Saunders Papers, Sheffield University. Pownall was indeed reconciled with Leese, see Arnold Leese to Tony [Gittens], 28 December 1954, Leese papers.
294 *The Fascist*, no. 101, October 1937.
295 *The Times*, 8 October 1937.
296 *The Fascist*, no. 103, December 1937.
297 *The Fascist*, no. 108, May 1938.
298 Special Branch report, 1 September 1938 in TNA HO 144/21381/69.
299 TNA HO 144/21381/103; and Henry Solomons to Sidney Salomon, 31 August 1939 in 1658/3/1b/6, folder 4, JDC papers. Leese, *Out of Step*, p. 60 notes that by this time the IFL was able to employ two activists 'on a pittance' during this period. Ridout was almost certainly one of them.
300 Arnold Leese to Adolf Hitler, 'September 1938' in TNA KV 2/1367.
301 IFL, *Leese for Peace* (London: IFL leaflet, 1939).
302 The Imperial Fascist League, MI5 report, 8 March 1942 in TNA HO 45/24967.
303 Special Branch report, 19 July 1940 in TNA HO 45/23765.
304 Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 350, col. 1979W (31 July 1939).
305 Leese, *Out of Step*, p. 60.
306 Ronald W. Jones, 'I was a Blackshirt Menace', *The Spectator*, 5 August 1983, p. 11.
307 Arnold Leese, to members and subscribers, 14 September 1939.
308 Harold Lockwood Advisory Committee hearing, 29 January 1941 in TNA HO 283/46. See also E.W.G. Holderness to Mary Adams, 29 February 1940 in TNA HO 262/6.
309 *The Fascist*, no. 111, August 1938. *Weekly Angles*' meagre circulation was further amplified through replication. Richard Rollins, *I Find Treason: The Story of an American Anti-Nazi Agent* (New York: William Morrow, 1941), p. 154 notes *Blackshirt*, organ of the Fascist League of North America, edited by the Italian-American fascist Paolo 'Paul' Castorina, reproduced content 'word for word' from *Weekly Angles*.
310 TNA KV 2/1365/120b.
311 Richard Griffiths, *What Did You Do During the War? The Last Throes of the British Pro-Nazi Right, 1940–45* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), p. 236.
312 TNA HO 144/21381/84.

313 Benjamin Collins Barrett, Advisory Committee hearing, 8 January 1941 in TNA HO 45/23765.
314 *The Fascist*, no. 30, November 1931; *The Fascist*, no. 57, February 1934; and *The Fascist*, no. 78, November 1935. Lindholm reconfigured his group in 1938 as the Svensk Socialistisk Samling (SSS) in an effort to develop a more 'Swedish' form of national socialism. Hans Fredrik Dahl, *Quisling: A Study in Treachery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 138 notes, however, that Lindholm, subsequently moved closer to Mosley whom he and the Danish fascist Frits Clausen invited to a national convention of Nordic parties in Kolding on 17–18 June 1939. Mosley was unable to attend. Iceland was also singled out for attention as was Finland, albeit to a lesser extent. 'Iceland is almost purely Nordic in population', stated *The Fascist*, no. 16, September 1930, 'And Jews find it too cold. Lucky Iceland.' Within a few years, Leese had established 'useful contact' with a group of Icelandic fascists who, having no Jews to physically fight, had to content themselves with the metaphysical fight against the 'Jewish ideas' of Liberalism and Socialism, see *The Fascist*, no. 52, September 1933.
315 Sentenced to death after the war, his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. He died in jail in 1953.
316 The Imperial Fascist League, MI5 report, 8 March 1942 in TNA HO 45/24967; and *The Fascist*, no, 98, July 1937. Leese championed a faction within the NSNAP led by Major Cornelis Jacobus Aart Kruyt. 'Being genuine, the latter's movement is naturally poor and struggling', he claimed.
317 *The Fascist*, no. 63, August 1934.
318 *Ibid*.
319 *The Fascist*, no. 120, May 1939.
320 Special Branch report, 19 June 1939 in TNA HO 144/21382.
321 'William Bird', MI5 report in TNA HO 45/25568. Bird joined the IFL in 1933 and The Link, visiting Germany in 1935, 1936 and 1937. The first trip was under the auspices of the IFL. In 1938 and 1939, Bird played host to a visiting Hitler Youth activist. Fiercely anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi, Bird also sponsored an IFL meeting 'which was only open to privileged members' and was attended by Captain Ramsay MP, leader of the Right Club. Bird was detained under DR 18B on 4 June 1940 and held until 11 April 1941.
322 Extract, 9 October 1944 in TNA KV 2/1365.
323 'The Imperial Fascist League' in 1658/10/29, JDC papers. Eusom was subsequently interned.
324 'Extract' MC5 Daily Report, Private Terminal Mail, 15 January 1940 in TNA HO 262/6.
325 'John Coast' in 1658/9/1/3/4 and 'John Coast' in 1658/10/29, JDC papers; Sidney Salomon to Inspector Keeble, 26 February 1940 in 1658/10/29, JDC papers. During the 1930s, Coast was employed as a secretary to the pro-Nazi racial anthropologist George Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers, who hired him on the recommendation of fellow fascist Henry Williamson, author of *Tarka the Otter* (1927). Coast had worked for Williamson on his Norfolk Farm but their relationship was troubled. Similarly, Coast 'did a host of mischief' whilst working for Pitt-Rivers – not least of which was carrying on a romantic liaison with his mistress – and their association was also brief. Pitt-Rivers regarded Coast as a 'Nazi fanatic' and opined his association with a 'mob' that adhered to 'the more vehement and less responsible type of anti-Semitism', see Bradley W. Hart, *George Pitt-Rivers and the Nazis* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), p. 141. Special Branch report, 4 October 1939 in TNA HO 144/22454 notes Coast's involvement in the Nordic League. Coast also joined the Right Club – he had been to school with one of Captain Ramsay's sons – and was a friend of Anna Wolkoff, supplying her with anti-Semitic 'stickybacks', see Paul Willett's *Rendezvous at the Russia Tea Rooms* (London: Constable, 2015), pp. 152–153. Coast disengaged from extremist politics after the war, however. 'I hear Coast has ratted; was prisoner-of-war in Burma & perhaps that soured him; he chummed up with some Jew & that's that', sneered Leese to Henry Hamilton Beamish, 23 May 1946, Arcand papers. Leese's contempt for Coast did not do justice to the remarkable post-war transformation of his pre-war acolyte, on which, see Griffiths, *What Did You Do During the War?*, pp. 264–273. Captured by the Japanese during the fall of Singapore in 1942 – a horrific ordeal he recalled in *The Railroad of Death* (1946) – Coast subsequently worked as a diplomat in the Far East, becoming a supporter of the Indonesian independence movement, before returning to London. Re-emerging as a cultural impresario, Coast managed artistes like Mario Lanza, Luciano Pavarotti, José Carreras, Jon Vickers and Montserrat Caballé, whilst becoming 'the first man to present Bob Dylan in London and take Ravi Shankar to the West'. He also made films on Balinese culture for the

BBC with David Attenborough, see 'Biography of John Coast (1916–1989)', www.johncoast.org/biography.htm (accessed 24 August 2015). Though only 'briefly and very unsuccessfully' employed by Henry Williamson in 1937, Coast would later help finance the film adaptation of *Tarka the Otter*, see *The Henry Williamson Society*, www.henrywilliamson.co.uk/component/content/article/57-uncategorised/150-tara-the-otter-the-film-and-the-opera (accessed 24 August 2015).

326 Like Coast, Rushbrook also disengaged from extreme right politics after the war. He attended Oriel College, Cambridge, and though suggested by Beamish to take over The Britons from James Dell, dropped out of politics, see 'National Front' in VNST II 1/24, Lord Robert Vansittart papers, Churchill College, Cambridge, hereafter Vansittart papers.

327 The Imperial Fascist League, MI5 report, 8 March 1942 in TNA HO 45/24967.

328 *Ibid*.

329 *Weekly Angles*, no. 116, 20 April 1940.

330 The Imperial Fascist League, MI5 report, 8 March 1942 in TNA HO 45/24967.

331 Elizabeth Berger to Richard Findlay, 30 March 1940 in TNA KV 2/1365 states that if Leese adopted this attitude as official policy 'I suppose I should have to resign and I do want to help them as much as I can in the good work they are doing in other directions.'

332 The Imperial Fascist League, MI5 report, 8 March 1942 in TNA HO 45/24967. In *The Fascist*, no. 16, September 1930, titled 'Our Norwegian Kinsmen', Leese had stated '… it is impossible to regard the Norwegian as alien to us; they are of us, and should be with us'. Leese's prioritising of 'Aryan' Scandinavia over and above Hitler's Germany may have stemmed from personal experience. As Leese recorded in *Out of Step*, p. 64, he and his wife had holidayed several times in Norway and Iceland during the inter-war years but, unlike many IFL members, he had 'never set foot in Germany'.

333 John Hooper Harvey to Arnold Leese, 19 April 1940 in TNA HO 45/25571.

334 Arnold Leese to [Dr] Maude S. de Lande, 14 June 1940 in TNA HO 45/25724. DeLand, was a retired psychiatrist at the Topeka State Hospital, Kansas, and was involved with Kurt Mertig's activities.

335 'Arnold Spencer Leese', 15 March 1944 in TNA HO 45/25571.

336 Arnold Leese to H.H. Beamish, 18 June 1944 in 73.148.040, Field papers. It is unclear if Leese's figures include Aldo Balbuce, an Italian IFL activist who escaped from internment, see *Daily Express*, 17 June 1940.

337 TNA HO 45/25724; and TNA KV 2/1365/8a.

338 Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 361, cols 288–292 (23 May 1940); and 'Home Office file no. 840913 for Arnold Spencer Leese' in TNA KV 2/1365/4a. See also *The Observer*, 26 May 1940.

339 *Manchester Guardian*, 3 June 1940; and *Manchester Guardian*, 10 June 1940. Frank Wheatley was remanded under the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act for having in his possession documents containing information that might be directly or indirectly useful to the enemy, though the charges were subsequently dropped. Wheatley was the secretary of the Unity Band, which 'has much in common with the Nordic League' whose meetings he often attended, see note in 1658/9/3/2/1, JDC papers.

340 TNA HO 45/25724; and TNA KV 2/1365/141a.

341 John Redfern, MI5 minute, 9 April 1941 in TNA KV 2/1365. 'The Imperial Fascist League', in TNA HO 45/25724 notes Boldt and another activist, Eugene J. Smith, a member of William Dudley Pelley's Silver Shirt Legion of America, Inc. – both of whom were regarded as 'agents' of the Fichte-Bund – also corresponded with Leese during 1940, sending him copies of the German-American Bund newspaper *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*. Leese had advertised Fichte-Bund publications in *The Fascist*, no. 76, September 1935 and *The Fascist*, no. 106, March 1938. Leese rekindled his contact with Smith after the war, see TNA KV 3/261/15a. Laura Rosenzweig, *Hollywood's Spies: The Undercover Surveillance of Nazis in Los Angeles* (New York University Press: New York, 2017), p. 83 notes Leese's pre-war correspondence with Ingram Hughes, leader of the American Nationalist Party, an organisation closely tied to the Friends of New Germany which later became the German-American Bund.

342 *The Fascist*, no. 107, April 1938.

343 Mrs Winifred Leese to His Majesty the King, 9 January 1941 in TNA HO 45/25724. See also Windsor Castle, Private Secretary to Mrs Leese, 13 January 1941; and Windsor Castle, Private Secretary to Mrs Leese, 5 March 1941, Leese papers.

344 Arnold Leese to Anthony Gittens, 30 October [n.d.], Leese papers.
345 Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 371, cols 171–172 (23 April 1941).
346 Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 396, col. 61W (18 January 1944); and Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 399, col. 2107W (11 May 1944).
347 TNA HO 45/25571.
348 John Beckett to Col. E. Carroll, 27 April 1944 in TNA HO 283/26.
349 *Gothic Ripples*, 10 November 1945. Leese's obdurate stance inspired later generations of activists, notably Alex Davies, founder of National Action, the first British extreme right group to be banned as a 'terrorist' organisation in December 2016, see 'RA Britannia: Under ZOG Interrogation – RA 010818', *Radio Aryan*, 8 January 2018, www.radioaryan.com/2018/01/ra-britannia-under-zog-interrogation-ra.html (accessed 6 March 2018).
350 S.R. Source report, 16 October 1943 in TNA KV 3/282/1923.
351 *Jewish Chronicle*, 28 December 1945.
352 Arnold Leese to Major Theodore Rich, 5 September [incomplete date], Leese papers.
353 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 1, 22 June 1945.
354 Monthly report on Fascist Activities – October 1946 in TNA KV 2/1366/437c.
355 TNA KV 3/264/12. Not that the lack of interest deterred Leese from sending anti-Semitic literature to Australia, which by 1953 was arriving in 'increasing amounts', see Mrs T. Walter to S. Salomon, 23 January 1953 in 1658/10/44, JDC papers. K.D. Gott, *Voices of Hate: A Study of the Australian League of Rights and its Director Eric D. Butler* (Melbourne: Dissent, 1965), pp. 30–31 notes that Melbourne's Heritage Bookshop, run by Eric D. Butler, leader of the Australian League of Rights, distributed Leese's literature.
356 'Witness-Box' in Leese papers; and Arnold Leese, *Rex versus Leese* (London: Carmac Press, 1951), p. 8.
357 'Fascist Activities: April to May 1946', 7 May 1946 in TNA HO 45/25395.
358 Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 431, col. 123W (5 December 1946). See also comments in TNA HO 45/24968.
359 Arnold Leese, *The Jewish War of Survival*, 2nd edn (Guildford: Arnold Leese, 1947), p. v.
360 *Sunday Pictorial*, 10 March 1946.
361 Gladys Fortune, who typed up Leese's handwritten manuscript, was formerly women's district leader of South Paddington BUF and had been engaged to a German *Luftwaffe* officer, who had fought in the Spanish Civil War. In 1939, she had worked as a 'freelance secretary' for the pro-Nazi racial anthropologist George Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers, the extremity of her views even embarrassing him, see Hart, *George Pitt-Rivers and the Nazis*, pp. 141–145. Fortune was detained on 8 October 1940 as a result of her activities, which included regularly attending Nordic League meetings. See 'Gladys Fortune' in TNA HO 45/25568. For foreign editions of the book, see Home Office Monthly Bulletin, March 1947 and Home Office Monthly Bulletin, August 1946, both in TNA KV 3/52.
362 New York-based anti-Semite Conrad K. Grieb published the American edition. During the late 1930s, Grieb had managed the American Review Bookstore, which was owned and operated by Seward Collins, publisher of the *American Review*. Grieb authored *Uncovering the Forces for War* (1947), published by his own 'Examiner Books' imprint.
363 The South African publisher was Ray Kirch Rudman, leader of Die Boernaise, a group which chiefly recruited amongst Germans in and around Pietermaritzburg, Natal. Rudman had been a Greyshirt leader in Natal and from 1938 was active in the Ossewa Brandwag (OB) until his expulsion in 1942, 'probably because of shady financial dealings' recorded MI5 in TNA KV 2/1362/486b. Rudman's expulsion does not seem to have deterred Leese from continuing to supply anti-Semitic information to the OB, see TNA KV 2/355/205a. Rudman's association with Leese came at a cost. Ray K. Rudman to Mrs Coyle, 16 December 1946, Arcand papers, claims the authorities ordered him to cease and desist in his activities as Leese's agent. Fearing re-internment, the visit caused Rudman considerable alarm because he realised the security of their correspondence network – which consisted of five people – had been compromised. Unperturbed, Henry Hamilton Beamish to Ray K. Rudman, 25 December 1946, Arcand papers, instructs Rudman to 'deal with it' and ensure the book was printed. Arnold Leese to Adrien Arcand, 24 May 1950, Arcand papers, calls Rudman 'a blundering muddler, but brim full of enthusiasm' but whose own anti-Semitic effusions gave Leese 'no particular satisfaction'.

364 Arnold Leese to Mr Morey [pseud. Avendis Derounian], 20 March 1946, Avendis Derounian papers, Mardigian Library, National Association for Armenian Studies and Research, Belmont, Massachusetts, hereafter Derounian papers
365 'Extract', 8 August 1945 in TNA KV 6/4/349a. H.T.V. Mills joined the League, see TNA KV 6/4/431c as did Colin Jordan (Chapter 4).
366 Arnold Leese to Mr Morey, 8 December [no year], Derounian papers.
367 G.F. Green to Adrien Arcand, 30 May 1948, Arcand papers.
368 Arnold Leese to [no addressee], 8 December 1948, Derounian papers.
369 Extract, 11 February 1946, TNA KV 6/4/397b.
370 Home Office Monthly Bulletin, January 1947 in TNA KV 3/52.
371 Home Office Monthly Bulletin, August 1947 in TNA KV 3/52. Berger suffered a breakdown two years later. Admiral Sir Barry Domvile noted in his diary, 5 September 1949, DOM 61, Domvile papers, Greenwich Maritime Museum, London: 'Poor Elizabeth Mills [née Berger] has gone potty and stole three kids whom she brought down to see Jean this morning.' Domvile's wife contacted the police after which the children were returned to their parents 'whilst poor Elizabeth went to hospital. Bertie away; he has been very careless'.
372 Midland bank manager to A.S. Leese, 27 October 1949, Leese papers. Arnold Leese to Adrien Arcand, 23 March 1949, Arcand papers notes 'HHB has left me nearer £6000 than the anticipated £1500.' Arnold Leese to Adrien Arcand, 24 May 1950, Arcand papers, highlights that Leese also received £50 from one Otto Kellerman whom he met in London whilst the former was en route to South Africa after being interned in Germany.
373 Leese, *Out of Step*, p. 73.
374 *National Workers Movement: Twenty-Five Points of Policy* (Suffolk: NWM, 1948).
375 A.F.X. Baron to Arnold Leese, 21 May 1948, Britons archive.
376 Arnold Leese to Adrien Arcand, 24 May 1950, Arcand papers.
377 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 73, 20 March 1951. Major R.M. Manson, The Britons representative in Scotland who was involved with the NWM, won a local council seat in 1949, see Morris Beckman, *The 43 Group* (London: Centreprise, 1992), p. 186.
378 Colin Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876–1939* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979), p. 163.
379 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 7, 30 November 1945. *Jewish Chronicle*, 28 December 1945 noted that Leese regarded renewed pogroms as 'maintaining Polish honour'.
380 Leese, *Jewish War of Survival*, p. 66.
381 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 96, 14 January 1953.
382 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 56, 25 September 1949; and *Gothic Ripples*, no. 121, 2 December 1954.
383 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 109, 10 January 1954.
384 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 22, 15 September 1946
385 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 14, 11 April 1946.
386 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 108, 12 December 1953.
387 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 6, 11 November 1945.
388 *The People's Post*, vol. 2, no. 12, January 1946.
389 Arnold Leese to the Foreign Office, 17 December 1945; and R.N., Foreign Office minute, 31 December 1945 in TNA FO 371/51006.
390 D. Scott-Fox to Arnold Leese, 12 January 1946 in TNA FO 371/51006 and Captain J.L. Morton to Arnold Leese, 14 February 1946, Leese papers. See also *Gothic Ripples*, no. 15, 10 May 1946.
391 British Secretary, International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg to Arnold Leese, 18 July 1946, Leese papers.
392 Portuguese fascist M. Francisco Dos Santos and Dr Walter Schilling, a German living in Buenos Aires, who had formed a Portuguese support committee for French fascist Maurice Bardèche, recently arrested following publication of *Nuremberg ou la terre promise* (1948), asked Leese to send them a copy of *Jewish War of Survival* for re-direction to Bardèche and requested that Leese print statements of support in *Gothic Ripples*, see M. Francisco Dos Santos to Leese, 31 February 1949, Leese papers. Leese duly highlighted Bardèche's case in *Gothic Ripples*, no. 50, 15 April 1949.
393 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 24, 13 October 1946.
394 See Kingsbury Smith, 'The Execution of Nazi War Criminals', *The Nuremberg Trials: Newspaper Accounts*, 16 October 1946, http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/nuremberg/

NurembergNews10_16_46.html (accessed 13 November 2011). Leese's views on Purim can be found in *My Irrelevant Defence*, p. 7. *Gothic Ripples*, no. 26, 27 October 1946 records Leese's refusal to stock *Failure at Nuremberg* (1946) published by the BPP, 'because the Jewishness of the whole trial is only vaguely hinted at.'

395 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 25, 20 October 1946; and *Gothic Ripples*, no. 88, 12 May 1952.

396 Holmes, *Searching for Lord Haw-Haw*, p. 335.

397 Mosley's appeal against order of internment, 2 July 1940 in TNA HO 283/13.

398 *The People's Post*, vol. 2, no. 11, December 1945.

399 Robert Row to Miss Leonora Westwood, 22 January 1948 in TNA KV 2/1228.

400 'Extract', 19 February 1946 in TNA KV 3/226/1a.

401 A.S. Leese to the Home Secretary, 29 December 1945 in TNA HO 45/22405/543. In *Gothic Ripples*, no. 21, 6 September 1946, Leese stated that: 'Whatever William Joyce did, his motive was to get the war stopped before it destroyed civilisation … which it has now done.'

402 Leese, *Out of Step*, p. 70; and Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain*, p. 139.

403 Holmes, *Searching for Lord Haw-Haw*, pp. 175, 262 and 387.

404 TNA CRIM 1/1763; and Julie Gottlieb, *Feminine Fascism* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000), p. 286. The Hamburg-based Falken-Verlag published one of her lectures as *What I saw in Germany* (1935), whilst her pamphlet *An English Point of View About National Socialist Germany* (1937) was advertised by the IFL.

405 Margaret Bothamley to Arnold Leese, 21 March 1946, Leese papers.

406 *The Times*, 28 March 1946. Bothamley's close friend Mary Stanford, a schoolteacher obsessed by occultism, surreptitiously destroyed incriminating items left in her flat following Bothamley's departure for Germany in 1939. Introduced to the IFL in 1934, Stanford was known within it as 'Mary Hope'. MI5 regarded her as 'one of the most extreme national socialists known to us'. Today she might have been regarded as a 'fixated threat', since she had first come to the attention of the security services in August 1932 because her infatuation with the Prince of Wales (Edward VIII) meant that she 'dogged his footsteps' at every step until he departed England following his abdication in 1936. Stanford joined the Right Club in February 1940 and, being peripherally involved in the Tyler Kent affair, was interned under 18B in July 1940. Having been released in September Stanford was rearrested in March 1941, suspected of being an accomplice to Nora Briscoe and Gertrude Hiscox, who were both jailed for five years for stealing sensitive documents from the Ministry of Supply. Stanford was released in October 1944 and, having continued to correspond with Bothamley throughout the war, went to live in her London flat. On 9 November 1945 – the anniversary of Hitler's failed Beerhall *putsch* and Kristallnacht, the Nazis' anti-Semitic pogrom – Stanford founded an 'Aryan-British Forum' in which Leese appears to have had some interest though he had 'washed his hands of it' by the following month, see TNA KV 2/832–833. This was probably because of her occultism of which Leese and others disapproved. Stanford attended lectures by the anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi Dutch-Canadian 'spiritualist' Jacobus Johannes van Ryswyk. Regarded as a charlatan and a rogue by the security services, van Ryswyk's 'New (Constitutional) Order' group attracted IFL activists like Seaton Elliot Fox, who briefly served as its propaganda officer as well as H.T.V. Mills and his partner Elizabeth Berger, who became involved after van Ryswyk's group began cooperating with the British Peoples Party, see TNA 2/1523/201a.

407 TNA KV 2/424; and TNA KV 2/425. *The Fascist*, no. 116, January 1939 lists Grant as the Kensington contact point.

408 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 17, 22 June 1945.

409 Home Office Monthly Bulletin, July 1946 in TNA KV 3/52. For Violet Foss, see TNA HO 45/25571/67.

410 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 21, 6 September 1946.

411 Released from prison, Leese established contact with Emilio Gutiérrez Herrero, secretary-general of the Unión Cívica Nacionalista, a revolutionary national syndicalist group based in Buenos Aires, exchanging anti-Semitic propaganda with him. The Portuguese fascist Francisco Dos Santos put them in touch, see TNA KV 3/47. Argentinian interest in Leese's ideas was reflected in the posthumous publication of *Gentile Folly: The Rothschilds*, which appeared in Spanish translation as *Los Rothschilds* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Nuevo Orden, 1966). Leese was rather more sanguine about the prospects of rekindling contact with the Brazilian Integralist movement, however, see SR 72 Report, 23 September 1945 in TNA 3/261/1a.

412 Report on Fascist Activities, March–April 1947 in TNA KV 3/50. Leese described the trial in *Gothic Ripples*, no. 32, 31 December 1947. Norman Lucas, *Spycatcher: A Biography of Detective Superintendent George Gordon Smith* (London: W.H. Allen, 1973), pp. 40–46, maintained the façade.
413 J. Curry, *The Security Service, 1908–1945: The Official History* (London: HMSO, 1999), p. 312; Nigel West (ed.), *The Guy Liddell Diaries, Vol. II: 1942–1945* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 27, 105, 112, 124, 167 and 219; and Robert Hutton, *Agent Jack: The True Story of MI5's Secret Nazi Hunter* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2018).
414 'P.W.', 17 May 1943 in TNA KV 2/3874.
415 The 'Marita network' offered MI5 several windows into Leese's clandestine activities including Hilda Leech who, MI5 officer Guy Liddell recorded in his diary, had been invited to join the 'inner council' of the IFL indicating she enjoyed Leese's confidence. On Leech, see TNA KV 6/119.
416 Extract, 12 June 1945 in TNA KV/1366/256a.
417 MI5 continued to use another of Marita Perigoe's 'agents' – Eileen Gleave, a former BUF officer for its Harrow-Wembley branch – to monitor Leese after his incarceration. 'Notes of a meeting with S.R. [Eric Roberts] on 20 November 1947 on the prospects of the "5th Column" case' in TNA KV 2/3800/115a records that Gleave's 'Gestapo' controllers 'encouraged' her to maintain contact with the Leese-Gittens group 'if this is not completely broken over the P.O.W. case'. The latter reference might also conceivably refer to Gleave's own court case: in July 1947, she too was arrested for harbouring an escaped POW, Joachim Kirmse, with whom she was romantically involved. Kirmse claimed to be a Wehrmacht corporal but, under questioning at the London Cage, MI5's secret interrogation centre in Kensington Palace Gardens, stated that he was actually a former Gestapo agent and SS officer who had adopted the name 'Kirmse' in order to disguise his connection to 'incidents in which he figured prominently'. He also claimed to have taken part in the Nazi's parachute assault on Crete in 1943 and to have been friends with prominent Nazi leaders like Dr Kurt Weissmann, Baldur von Shirach and 'Eichman', who 'was with the Gestapo in the Middle East.' What MI5 made of his claims is remains unrecorded in TNA KV 2/2677/56a.
418 Home Office Monthly Bulletin, March 1947 in TNA KV 3/52. TNA HO 45/24469 notes with satisfaction that Gittens 'is well known to the comparatively respectable fascists and his prosecution may open the eyes of some supporters of the party'.
419 Report on Fascist Activities, March–April 1947 in TNA KV 3/50.
420 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 102, 20 June 1953. For Head, see Beckett, *Fascist in the Family*, p. 313.
421 Lovell became central London organiser for the NWM run by A.F.X. Baron.
422 Home Office Monthly Bulletin, August 1947 in TNA KV 3/52.
423 The Registrar, Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons to Arnold Leese, 5 March 1948, Leese papers.
424 Arnold Leese to the Registrar, Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons, 6 March 1948, Leese papers.
425 W. Brown, editor *The Veterinary Record* to Arnold Leese, 21 May 1948, Leese papers.
426 Admiral Sir Barry Domvile to Adrien Arcand, 10 December 1950, Arcand papers; and Martin Connolly, *Hitler's Munich Man: The Fall of Admiral Sir Barry Domvile* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2017), pp. 116–117.
427 Arnold Leese, *Rex Versus Leese* (London: Carmac Press, 1951).
428 Leese, *Out of Step*, p. 72.
429 Arnold Leese to Adrien Arcand, 18 January 1949, Arcand papers.
430 Report on Fascist Activities, March–April 1947 in TNA KV 3/50.
431 Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 433, col. 216W (20 February 1947); and Sidney Salomon to Vilgot Hammerling, 25 February 1947 in 1658/9/3/3, JDC papers.
432 Home Office Monthly Bulletin, May 1947 in TNA KV 3/52.
433 *Gotesborgs-Tidningen*, 23 March 1947; and *Dagens Nyheter*, 22 July 1947 in 1658/9/3/3, JDC papers.
434 'Captain R.C. Gordon-Canning', 18 April 1947 in TNA KV 2/878/923a; and Graham Macklin, 'A Fascist "Jihad": Captain Robert Gordon-Canning, British Fascist Anti-Semitism and Islam', *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History*, vol. 15, nos 1–2, summer/autumn 2009, pp. 78–100.

435 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 82, 17 November 1951. Thereafter, Abdullah Tall of Egypt settled the Arab League account with Leese, see Arnold Leese to Anthony Gittens, 3 July 1954, Leese papers. Their relationship appears to have soured earlier, however. Admiral Sir Barry Domvile recorded in his diary on 27 February 1947, DOM 59, Domvile papers, Greenwich Maritime Museum, London: 'Both Bob [Gordon-Canning] and Jock [Ramsay] were very down on Leese.' His relationship with Ramsay certainly recovered. Ramsay frequently visited Leese at Guildford, calling on Domvile on the way home, see, for instance, diary entries, 5 September 1950 and 28 April 1951, DOM 61, Domvile papers.

436 For the familial link, see A.N. Field to Arnold Leese, 3 May 1952 in 73.148.081, Field papers.

437 *The Fascist*, no. 113, October 1938. See also Martin Robin, *Shades of Right: Nativist and Fascist Politics in Canada, 1920–1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), pp. 118–120; and Jean-François Nadeau, *The Canadian Führer: The Life of Adrien Arcand* (Toronto: Lorimer, 2010), p. 272. Leese also regarded Ron Gostick's *Canadian Intelligence Review* as 'a good anti-Jewish newspaper', see *Gothic Ripples*, no. 79, 27 August 1951; and *Gothic Ripples*, no. 110, 1 February 1954.

438 Nadeau, *The Canadian Führer*, pp. 310–311.

439 *The Nation*, 26 March 1938. *MacLean's Magazine*, 14 April 1938 notes Arcand's importation of material from Mosley's BUF. Hugues Théorêt, *The Blue Shirts: Adrien Arcand and Fascist Anti-Semitism in Canada* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2017) further documents this Anglo-Canadian axis.

440 *Free Britain*, no. 165, February 1956.

441 William H. Murray, *Adam and Cain: Symposium of Old Bible History, Sumerian Empire, Importance of Blood of Race, etc* (Boston, MA: Meador Press, 1951).

442 Neil Gabler, *Winchell: Gossip, Power and the Culture of Celebrity* (London: Vintage, 1995), p. 289.

443 'Steps Toward British Union, a World State, and International Strife: Part V', *Congressional Record*, Proceedings and Debates of the 76th Congress, Third Session, 20 August 1940, pp. 13–18. Republican Senator Rufus C. Holman (Oregon) also read H.T. Mills, *Money, Politics and the Future* (1939) in its entirety into the *Congressional Record* on 8 March 1941.

444 Arnold Leese to Major Theodore Rich, 13 May 1953, Leese papers. 'I have a large mailing list in USA,' Leese boasted to 'Charles L. Morey' on 9 February 1948, Derounian papers.

445 Arnold Leese to Major Theodore Rich, 3 June 1954, Leese papers.

446 O. John Rogge, *The Official German Report* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1961), p. 430 remarks upon the defendants' contacts with Leese and Beamish.

447 'Extract', 13 November 1945 in TNA KV 2/1366/296z; TNA KV 3/261; *Gothic Ripples*, no. 87, 17 April 1952; and *Gothic Ripples*, no. 105, 21 September 1953. Robert Edmondson to Arnold Leese, 10 November 1947, Arcand papers thanks Leese for dedicating *Jewish War of Survival* to him and other patriots. The British edition was dedicated to 18B internees.

448 Arnold Leese to A.N. Field, 20 March 1952 in 73.148.081, Field papers.

449 George Armstrong to Leese, 30 April 1946 and Arnold Leese to George Armstrong, 6 April 1946 in Box 150, folder 27, Armstrong papers. The FBI file 100–11349 highlights that Armstrong was also a 'financial backer' of Conde McGinley's anti-Semitic newspaper, *Common Sense*.

450 Arnold Leese to George Armstrong, 6 May 1946 in Box 150, folder 26, Armstrong papers.

451 Arnold Leese to Adrien Arcand on 13 December 1947, Arcand papers.

452 Arnold Leese to George Armstrong, 22 February 1952 in Box 172, folder 2, Armstrong papers.

453 Arnold Leese to Anthony Gittens, 7 October 1953, Leese papers. See also *Gothic Ripples*, no. 48, 21 February 1949; *Gothic Ripples*, no. 70, 20 November 1950; and *Gothic Ripples*, 77, 28 June 1951.

454 *The Cross and The Flag*, vol. 14, no. 2, May 1955; *The Cross and The Flag*, vol. 13, no. 4, July 1954; *The Cross and The Flag*, vol. 13, no. 7, October 1954; *The Cross and The Flag*, vol. 13, no. 9, December 1954; and *The Cross and The Flag*, vol. 13, no. 10, January 1955.

455 *The Cross and The Flag*, vol. 13, no. 7, October 1954. Smith's publication, *English Journal Reveals … Jewish Control of A and H Bombs* had been entirely cribbed from *Gothic Ripples*, 29 June 1954 which, Smith claimed,

> revealed in a careful and documented study the fact that the development and control of the Atom and Hydrogen Bombs has been kept within the authority and intellectual control of Jews. We reproduce herewith a photostatic copy of the journal referred to.

456 Kurt Mertig, FBI file 65–20553–146. It was a two-way traffic. *Gothic Ripples*, no. 90, 8 July 1952 sold copies of *Atom Treason* (1951) by Frank Britton, editor of *The American Nationalist*.
457 Gerald L.K. Smith to Arnold Leese, 29 June 1955, copy available at: http://us10.campaign-archive1.com/?u=0021dba1deec21403fbe2e780&id=7630347f21&e=[UNIQID] (accessed 7 April 2016).
458 *Women's Voice*, 24 April 1947; *Women's Voice*, 22 February 1951; and *Women's Voice*, 27 December 1951.
459 MI5, minute, 1 August 1946 in TNA KV 3/261/16a.
460 Mrs Lyrl Clark van Hyning, FBI file 105–456, p. 150.
461 Arnold Leese to Anthony Gittens, 4 October 1953, Leese papers.
462 Van Hyning's FBI file (105–456) highlights her distribution of his material noting (on p. 135) that, in 1957, The Britons had mailed her a package of fifty copies of Leese's pamphlet *Devilry in the Holy Land*, which the US Postal Service destroyed.
463 Eustace Mullins to Arnold Leese, 18 November 1955, original in author's possession.
464 Marilyn R. Allen, *Alien Minorities and Mongrelization* (Boston, MA: Meador, 1949), pp. 54–56, 75, 209–211, 292 and 372. Allen also directed readers to Leese's other publications noting that they could be obtained from 'Examiner Books' in New York, an outfit run by Conrad Grieb. *Gothic Ripples*, no. 90, 8 July 1952 noted, for the benefit of its American readership, that Allen 'turns out a stream of useful anti-Jewish pamphlets of interest chiefly to Americans, who should apply to her for them'.
465 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 17, 22 June 1946; and *Gothic Ripples*, no. 80, 26 September 1951. Leese's belief that racial violence in the United States was a 'healthy sign' (*Gothic Ripples*, no. 77, 28 June 1951) was made in relation to the recent bombing of a Jewish communal centre in Miami, Florida.
466 Jesse B. Stoner to Arnold Leese, 12 November 1954, original in author's possession; and *Washington Post*, 18 April 2005.
467 *BNP Members Bulletin*, no. 6, March 1961, Box 4, Jewish Chronicle Library collection, Wiener Library.
468 Ridout also sat on the BNP National Council, see *Combat*, no. 21, March–April 1963. He was 'a popular speaker' for the party, see *Nation Revisited*, no. 102, April 2003. He retired to Ilfracombe, Devon, working with Tony Gittens, The Britons chairman, another former IFL activist, who lived nearby.
469 *The Thunderbolt*, no. 69, July 1965. The NSRP newspaper was regularly advertised in *Combat*, the BNP newspaper. *The Thunderbolt*, no. 61, September 1964 also carried the following advertisement: 'Going to Britain? Contact: Box KT/4, 201A Newport Road, Leyton, London, England and meet the British Right Wing' indicating the semblance of a more organised network beyond the exchange of publications.
470 James Graham Cook, *The Segregationists* (New York: Appelton-Century-Crofts, 1962), p. 185.
471 *Personal Newsletter – Were Christian Children Secretly Murdered? NSRP Publishing Rare Book* and *Now Republished by Popular Demand – Jewish Ritual Murder by Arnold S. Leese*, copies in H. Keith Thompson papers, Box 10, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, hereafter Thompson papers, the latter indicating its popularity merited a second edition.
472 Edward Fields to Colin Jordan, 26 June 1963, Rockwell papers; and *The Thunderbolt*, no. 51, May 1963. George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party also bought Leese's books from Colin Jordan's National Socialist Movement, see George Lincoln Rockwell to Martin Webster, 19 January 1964, Rockwell papers. Leese's acolyte Colin Jordan would later help Fields research an article on the idea to banish Jews to Madagascar, a lodestar in this milieu, which was later published in *The Thunderbolt*, no. 328, 10 August 1968.
473 *The Truth at Last*, no. 337, 1989.
474 Dr Edward Fields, letter to the author, 25 April 2002. *Searchlight*, no. 217, July 1993 notes Bass' presence at a 'revisionist seminar' organised by David Irving. Other US organisations also disseminated Leese's writings during this period. *The New Patriot*, a magazine devoted to 'a responsible but penetrating inquiry into every aspect of the Jewish Question', produced by the British expatriate Roger Pearson, offered free copies of Leese's *Gentile Folly: The Rothschilds* with every subscription, see 'The New Patriot. 1965–1967', in The Hall-Hoag Collection, Brown University Library.

475 Susan Cohen, 'In Step with Arnold Leese: The Case of Lady Birdwood', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 28, no. 2, 1994, pp. 61–75; James A. Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1995), p. 280; Martin Durham, *White Rage: The Extreme Right and American Politics* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 47–48; and *Liberty Bell*, vol. 12, no. 1, September 1984. Leese's books have been reprinted by 'Sacred Truth Ministries', a Christian Identity group based in Mountain City, Tennessee. This appeal extended beyond Christian Identity circles. House of Representatives, *Nature and Threat of Violent Anti-America Groups in America: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Crime of the Committee on the Judiciary* (Washington, DC: United States Government, 1996), p. 31, highlights *Ritual Murder* being sold in 1995 at weapons and survival training workshops run by Bo Gritz, a former US Green Beret turned paramilitary leader.

476 For the definitive biography, see Kevin Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day: Francis Parker Yockey and the Postwar Fascist International* (New York: Autonomedia, 1999). For a sympathetic 'in-house' biography, see Kerry Bolton, *Yockey: A Fascist Odyssey* (London: Arktos, 2018).

477 His contention that Spengler hated the Nazis was based upon Friedrich Percyval Reck-Malleczewen, *Diary of a Man in Despair* (New York: Macmillan, 1970), p. 12: 'I knew no one who morning, noon and night and in his dreams so hated them (the Nazis) as Oswald Spengler did.'

478 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 66, 15 July 1950. The Britons unsurprisingly sided with Leese, see *Free Britain*, no. 69, 23 July 1950, which denounced 'Varange' in similar terms. Admiral Sir Barry Domvile told the Canadian fascist leader Adrien Arcand on 24 March 1949:

> Varange paid me a visit and honoured me with Vol. 1 of his book. I did not take to either; my wife, who is a Catholic reported very badly on *Imperium*, which I must own [up] I have never read through.

479 *Frontfighter*, no. 4, August 1950. Anthony Gannon to Keith Stimely, 7 September 1980 in Keith Stimely papers, University of Oregon, subsequently recalled, in less intemperate language:

> For Leese, vertical race was everything; for FYP horizontal race was the deciding issue. Perhaps, Leese was too old and rigid in his thinking to ever be expected to grasp such a new approach to race. After all, he was born in the nineteenth century, which for FYP was, almost, a total disqualification for a true understanding of his thinking.… It puzzles me to observe that FYP is now so widely accepted by vertical race merchants and it occurs to me that they have accepted *Imperium* without having read it, and FYP without ever having known him.

480 *Frontfighter*, no. 4, August 1950.

481 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 98, 12 March 1953.

482 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 95, 12 December 1952.

483 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 90, 8 July 1952; *Gothic Ripples*, no. 98, 12 March 1953; James H. Madole to Arnold Leese, 24 June 1952 and James H. Madole to Arnold Leese, 20 January 1953, originals in author's possession.

484 John M. Lundoff to Arnold Leese, 27 May 1952 and John M. Lundoff to Arnold Leese, 16 June 1952, author's possession.

485 James H. Madole to Arnold Leese, 28 February 1953, Leese papers. Madole stated:

> I have never previously heard of *Imperium* or the European Liberation Front. I inquired of the gentleman who presented us with the article concerning Ulick Varange [Yockey] and was informed that this personage was now residing in the Lebanon. Several other complaints concerning the ELF have come in from England and Spain. I am trying to obtain some of their literature but have not so far succeeded. A fellow called [Peter] Huxley-Blythe has written to us but I did not know of his connections, save that he claims to represent AFX Baron of the Natinform outfit in England.

486 Frederick H. Polzin to Arnold Leese, 18 January 1953, Leese papers; and Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day*, p. 51.

487 Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day*, pp. 478 and 486; Keith Stimely interview with Harold Keith Thompson, 13 March 1986 in Thompson papers: Box 18, folder 15a. See also Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, *Cross Currents* (New York: Doubleday, 1956), pp. 212 and 252, which notes Leese exchanged publications with Weiss.

488 Mana Truhill to Arnold Leese, 25 February 1954, original in author's possession. Truhill's activities as an informant are discussed in Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day*, pp. 423–425 and 443–445. 'Urgent Memorandum: October 25th, 1954', copy in Thompson papers, Box 15, indicates Truhill's double-dealing was common knowledge within the extreme right by the end of 1954.

489 John Roy Carlson [pseud. Arthur Derounian], *The Plotters* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1946), pp. 3–8; and John Roy Carlson, *Undercover* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1943), pp. 30, 148, 192–193 and 205. Maertz was a former Silver Shirt who had been imprisoned on numerous occasions for acts of anti-Semitic vandalism. Arnold Leese to 'Charles L. Morey', 20 March 1946, Derounian papers, expresses sympathy for Maertz's incarceration and expands upon their relationship:

> He was going to print my new book *The Jewish War of Survival* … I hope it is correct when Maertz [*sic*] says that the Pioneer News Service goes on even if he is 'inside'. I am quite sure my new book is a 'best seller' & Maertz [*sic*] has a free hand as to sales & price provided he lets me have 750 free copies in batches of 25 over here to sell. No printer here dare touch it.

490 Elmhurst had edited *The Storm*, organ of the National Socialist Workers Party of America during the 1930s, which in its 'Hauptman Extra' on the Lindbergh Baby Affair in 1935 had quoted from *The Fascist*, highlighting his pre-war familiarity with Leese, see *The Storm*, 1935, copy in Florence Mendheim Collection (AR 25441), box 1, folder 10, Leo Baeck Institute, New York. For his part, Leese had published a review of Elmhurst's pamphlet, *The World Hoax* (1938), in *The Fascist*, no. 109, June 1938. Elmhurst was one of three American delegates to attend the 1937 Erfurt congress. Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn, *Sabotage! The Secret War Against America* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942), pp. 147–148 alleged that Elmhurst's real name was 'Fleischkopf' and that he was 'a Nazi agent active in New York City'. Yockey subsequently accused Elmhurst of working with Leese to denigrate his reputation in the United States, see 'Varange' to Adrien Arcand, 13 November 1950, Arcand papers.

491 Theron L. Caudle to Arnold Leese, 21 March 1946, Leese papers.

492 Arnold Leese to Adrien Arcand, 22 March 1949, Arcand papers.

493 'Varange' to Adrien Arcand, 9 August 1951, Arcand papers.

494 Anthony Gannon to Adrien Arcand, 12 December 1949, Arcand papers.

495 'Varange' to Adrien Arcand, 9 August 1950, Arcand papers.

496 Arnold Leese to Adrien Arcand, 16 August 1950, Arcand papers

497 Adrien Arcand to Arnold Leese, 7 September 1950, Arcand papers.

498 Anthony Gannon to Adrien Arcand, 6 November 1950, Arcand papers. G.L.K. Smith had previously written to Arcand on 25 July warning that: 'A man is roving about who calls himself Ulick Varange. I believe he is either irresponsible or is an agent of the Jew.'

499 'Varange' to Adrien Arcand, 13 November 1950, Arcand papers.

500 Colin Jordan, *Fraudulent Conversion: The Myth of Moscow's Change of Heart* (London: Britons Publishing Company, 1956).

501 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 9, 3 January 1946. Leese also recommended *The Riddle of Prehistoric Britain* (1946) by William Comyns Beaumont, a former staff writer for the *Daily Mail*, which, *Gothic Ripples*, no. 15, 10 May 1946, asserted 'confirms the main researches of the late Prof. L.A. Waddell'. Karl Shaw, *Curing Hiccups with Small Fires* (London: Boxtree, 2009), p. 188 further highlights Beaumont's own peculiar beliefs.

502 Arnold Leese to Henry Hamilton Beamish, 5 July 1945 in 73.148.081, Field papers.

503 Arnold Leese to Henry Hamilton Beamish, 18 June 1944 in 73.148.040, Field papers.

504 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 34, 25 January 1948; and *Gothic Ripples*, no. 45, 9 December 1948.

505 Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain*, p. 227; and *Gothic Ripples*, no. 90, 8 July 1952.

506 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 118, 30 September 1954.

507 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 101, 25 May 1953.

508 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 83, 17 December 1951; *Gothic Ripples*, no. 106, 28 October 1953; *Gothic Ripples*, no. 108, 12 December 1953; and *Gothic Ripples*, no. 116, 29 July 1954. Leese had been making these bridging arguments between anti-black racism and anti-Semitism since the later 1940s, see *Gothic Ripples*, no. 59, 27 December 1949. Whilst admiring South African apartheid, Leese lamented Dr Malan 'knows that the Jew is behind the Nigger agitation', but, 'he is no Hitler to attack the trouble at its root', see *Gothic Ripples*, no. 92, 28 September 1952.

509 *Bridgehead*, no. 1, 1 August 1951. Ridout's post-war career was obscure. 'If you hear rumours about him [Ridout], don't believe them; a deep game is on foot', Leese wrote cryptically to Anthony Gittens on 23 January 1954, Leese papers. Anthony Gittens to A.K. Chesterton, 14 March 1972, Chesterton papers, sheds further light on such activities stating that Ridout (a 'lone wolf' and '… the best infiltrator I know') 'just after the war, single handed he "captured" the whole Tottenham Trades Council and drove out all Communists including the influential [South African Communist] Solly Sachs'. The JDC subsequently discovered that Ridout, 'a well-known member of the Union movement' was working in Hatton Gardens, which had recently experienced a spate of anti-Semitic graffiti, see Sidney Salomon to Chief Superintendent E. Jones, 31 July 1956 in 1658/10/29, JDC papers.
510 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 66, 14 August 1950; and *Gothic Ripples*, no. 76, June 1951.
511 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 90, 8 July 1952.
512 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 115, 29 June 1954.
513 Arnold Leese to Anthony Gittens, 27 May 1954, Leese papers.
514 *Ibid.*
515 George Thayer, *The British Political Fringe: A Profile* (London: Anthony Blond, 1965), p. 16.
516 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 62, 30 March 1950.
517 Winifred Leese to Anthony Gittens, 18 January 1956, Leese papers.
518 *L'Unité Nationale*, vol. 7, nos 3–4, January–February 1956.
519 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 143, 12 March 1957.
520 Michael D. Biddis, 'Migrants, Minorities and Mosleyites', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1, January 1981, p. 112.
521 *The Times*, 18 October 1980 reported the distribution of anti-Semitic leaflets under the imprimatur of 'Arnold Leese Information Service'. It was not an isolated occurrence. In 1999, a letter from the Cats Protection League signed by 'Arnold S. Leese' was circulated to veterinary surgeries in North London claiming that, since Jews were prevented from killing Christian children, they 'are now killing our cats, as a substitute for the innocent human blood they crave'. The CPL, a genuine organisation, thoroughly repudiated the letter, see *Jewish Chronicle*, 1 January 1999. For previous instances, see *Jewish Chronicle*, 23 February 1990; and *Jewish Chronicle*, 18 January 1983. A similar echo can be heard in posts to Stormfront on the subject of 'Ritual Slaughter' by someone using the pseudonym 'Gothic Ripples', see www.stormfront.org/forum/t316942/ (accessed 23 January 2017).
522 For similarities in these libels against the Jewish community as well as the reluctance of the authorities to prosecute, see Susan Cohen, 'In Step with Arnold Leese: The Case of Lady Birdwood', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 28, no. 2, 1994, pp. 61–75.
523 In Britain, a number of Leese's works have been reprinted by 'Stevens Books' and the Historical Review Press, a Sussex-based 'revisionist' printing house, including an anthology of his work, *The Leese Collection: A Selection from the Writings of Arnold Spencer Leese* (Uckfield: Historical Review Press, 2007). Numerous US groups have also reprinted his work.

Six-hundred strong, the porters then marched from Smithfield to Westminster under the banner 'Enoch is Right' – singing songs such as *White Christmas*, *There'll always be an England* and *Ten Little Niggers*. Having delivered a ninety-two-page petition to Powell supporting him, Harmston again addressed his colleagues. 'This is a colour issue', he told those gathered outside the House of Commons, to loud cheers. 'All immigrants should return home even if it means giving them repatriation grants. They are an embarrassment to our society. We are not racialists – but realists.'[539] Reflecting on the angry but essentially transitory nature of the Smithfield porters march, Harmston later recalled:

> [I]f that day I'd said, 'Pick up your cleavers and knives and decapitate Heath and Wilson', they'd have done it. They really would, but they wouldn't have done it next week. It was just that mood of the moment – like the storming of the Bastille I suppose.[540]

What was also notable about this anti-immigration march, which took place in the full glare of the media, was not so much its racism but the absence of any mention of Mosley whatsoever. Jeffrey Hamm later opined that Harmston marched 'not in support of the views of Enoch Powell, as the Press wrongly reported, but of those of his hero Oswald Mosley'.[541] This might have been true of Harmston but not of the majority. Mosley also sought to distance himself from Powell, who 'is saying nine years later what I have always said,' he sententiously told *The Times*. Powell was simply unworthy of his support. Instead, underlining his frustrated, political impotence, Mosley snobbishly sniped at Powell, deriding him as a 'middle class Alf Garnett', whilst lambasting Powellism as 'the last spasm of Little England'.[542]

To add insult to injury, Mosley and the UM were completely eclipsed by the nascent National Front, led by his former minion A.K. Chesterton, which succeeded, where Mosley had failed, in mobilising the wave of populist anti-immigration sentiment unleashed by Powell. If the public heeded his 'pioneer' anti-immigration campaign in 1959, the issue could have been resolved, Mosley claimed. 'The question now arises what can be done in the existing situation', he wrote in 1977, when the NF was ascendant. 'It is clearly impossible to drag 2,000,000 people – with women and children screaming dissent in face of mankind – into ships for transport to countries which will not receive them,' he continued, thereby implicitly rejecting compulsory repatriation, the NF flagship policy. 'Such policies are as bogus as they are belated.'[543] The new generation of racial nationalists, though they acknowledged Mosley's talents, would repudiate such temporising, together with his 'vision splendid' – the cornerstone of Mosley's post-war philosophy.

Notes

1 Hansard, HC Deb. (series 5), vol. 432, col. 2140 (6 June 1946). Shown the correspondence on 9 August 1945, Guy Liddell, the MI5 counter-subversion chief, observed: 'It made it perfectly clear that Mosley was being subsidised to the tune of £60,000 a year', see Liddell Diaries, 9 August 1945 in TNA KV 4/466.

2 TNA FO 371/60738 includes copies of the correspondence. For MI5's extensive investigation, see TNA KV 3/255–258 and TNA 3/53–55.

3 Mosley Publications 'Press Release', 6 June 1946 in TNA KV 3/54/123a.

4 Mosley is already the subject of two full-scale biographies, Stephen Dorril, *Blackshirt: Sir Oswald Mosley and British Fascism* (London: Penguin, 2006); and Robert Skidelsky, *Oswald Mosley* (London: Papermac, 1975). For the most recent survey, see Martin Pugh, *'Hurrah for the Blackshirts': Fascists and Fascism in Britain between the Wars* (London: Pimlico, 2006).

5 Colin Cook, 'A Fascist Memory: Oswald Mosley and the Myth of the Airman', *European Review of History – revue européenne d'Histoire*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1997, pp. 147–162. For Mosley's military records, see TNA WO 339/15781.
6 Matthew Worley, 'Why Fascism? Sir Oswald Mosley and the Conception of the British Union of Fascists', *History*, vol. 96, no. 1, 2010, pp. 68–83.
7 *Ibid*.
8 Harold Nicolson, *Diaries and Letters: 1930–39, Vol. 1* (London: Collins/Fontana, 1969), p. 91.
9 Kenneth Young (ed.), *The Diaries of Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart, Vol. 1: 1915–1938* (London: Macmillan, 1973), p. 125.
10 *Ibid.*, pp. 194 and 196; and Nicolson, *Diaries and Letters*, p. 107.
11 Harold Nicolson and Nigel Nicolson, *The Harold Nicolson Diaries and Letters 1907–1963* (London: Orion, 2004), p. 79.
12 Nicolson, *Diaries and Letters*, p. 105.
13 *The Times*, 13 December 1926.
14 Thomas Linehan, 'The British Union of Fascists as a Totalitarian Movement and Political Religion', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 5, no. 3, 2004, pp. 397–418.
15 Bernhard Dietz, *Neo-Tories: The Revolt of British Conservatives against Democracy and Political Modernity, 1929–1939* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), p. 123.
16 Young, *The Diaries of Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart, Vol. 1: 1915–1938*, p. 227.
17 Salvatore Garau, 'The Internationalisation of Italian Fascism in the Face of German National Socialism, and its Impact on the British Union of Fascists', *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, vol. 15, no. 1, 2014, pp. 45–63.
18 *Blackshirt*, no. 6, 1 May 1933.
19 TNA HO 283/6; and TNA HO 283/10.
20 'The British Union of Fascists' (1941) in TNA KV 4/241. In their report to the Directors of the BUF Trust, the auditors highlighted 'There was no means of verifying the amounts of subscriptions and donations.'
21 TNA HO 45/24891/49.
22 Special Branch report, 23 March 1936 in TNA HO 144/20147/378.
23 Julie Gottlieb, 'The Marketing of Megalomania: Celebrity, Consumption and the Development of Political Technology in the British Union of Fascists', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 41, no. 1, 2006, pp. 35–55.
24 'The British Union of Fascists' (1941) in TNA KV 4/241.
25 *Daily Mail*, 19 July 1934; and Richard Griffiths, *Fellow Travellers of the Right: British Enthusiasts for Nazi Germany, 1933–39* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 163–165.
26 'The Fascist Movement in the United Kingdom, Excluding Northern Ireland – Report no. 2, Developments during June/July 1934' in TNA KV 3/58.
27 G.C. Weber, 'Patterns of Membership and Support for the British Union of Fascists', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 19, no. 4, 1984, p. 577.
28 'The Fascist Movement in the United Kingdom, Excluding Northern Ireland – Report no. 3, Developments during August/September 1934' in TNA KV 3/58.
29 Rome Chancery to Foreign Office, 27 April 1935 in TNA HO 144/20144/55.
30 'The British Union of Fascists' (1941) in TNA KV 4/241.
31 Special Branch report, 4 April 1935 in TNA HO 144/20144/82.
32 Claudia Baloli, 'Anglo-Italian Fascist Solidarity: The Shift from Italophilia to Naziphilia in the BUF', in Julie V. Gottlieb and Thomas P. Linehan (eds), *The Culture of Fascism: Visions of the Far Right in Britain* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), pp. 147–161.
33 Arnd Bauerkämper, 'The Denigration of British Fascism: Traditional Anti-British Stereotypes and Claims of Superiority in Nazi Germany', in Arnd Bauerkämper and Christiane Eisenberg (eds), *Britain as a Model of Modern Society? German Views* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2006), pp. 156–157.
34 Special Branch report 20 March 1935 in TNA HO 144/20144/109; and 'The Fascist Movement in the United Kingdom, Excluding Northern Ireland – Report no. 3, Developments during August/September 1934' in TNA KV 3/58.
35 'The British Union of Fascists' (1941) in TNA KV 4/241.
36 Special Branch report, 3 June 1935 in TNA HO 144/20145/289. It met every Thursday in the 'Leader's Room'.

37 The Research Directory minutes, 23 May 1935 read: '6. Ceremonial. [Robert] Gordon-Canning to obtain information regarding German procedure at mass meetings. 7. Hitler's speech. [Alexander Raven] Thomson to write an article for *Blackshirt*. Thomson to obtain special authoritative English translation of the speech from the German authorities.'
38 Special Branch report, 9 May 1936 in TNA HO 144/20144/46.
39 Major-General J.F.C. Fuller, 'Report on the Organisation of the BUF', October 1934, Mosley papers, Nicholas Mosley deposit, XOMN/B/7/4, Box 8, Birmingham University.
40 Special Branch report, 27 March 1936 in TNA HO 144/20147/297.
41 Dorril, *Blackshirt*, pp. 341–342.
42 'The British Union of Fascists' (1941) in TNA KV 4/241. In TNA CAB 66/35/48, the Home Secretary conceded that rather than having documentary proof, evidence of Nazi funding for the BUF 'depends on the statements of certain members of the British Union who were in a position to know.' This was hardly surprising given the lengths to which Mosley went to obscure the origins of party funds.
43 Observing this 'striking similarity' between the new BUF armband and that of Nazi formations, MI5 recorded further that 'The emblem of the German S.S. is two flashes in a circle, though it is only fair to say that the "flashes" in the German emblem are in the form of an "S" of German script.'
44 'The British Union of Fascists' (1941) in TNA KV 4/241.
45 For more on this theme, Graham Macklin, '"Onward Blackshirts!" Music and the British Union of Fascists', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 47, nos 4–5, 2013, pp. 430–457.
46 For instance, *Action*, no. 58, 27 March 1937.
47 Figures like Clement Bruning, the Ealing district leader, went to work for *Welt-Dienst*, the anti-Semitic network based in Erfurt, as did another activist, D.C. Wace.
48 *Blackshirt*, no. 194, 9 January 1937 advertises Hitler Jugend pen pals for 'British boys'.
49 Daniel Tilles, *British Fascist Anti-Semitism and Jewish Responses, 1932–40* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), p. 89.
50 Skidelsky, *Oswald Mosley*, pp. 291 and 378–380.
51 Tilles, *British Fascist Anti-Semitism and Jewish Responses, 1932–40*, p. 78.
52 *Ibid*., pp. 78–79.
53 *The Fascist Week*, May 1934 announced the exclusion of Jews from the BUF.
54 Geoffrey Alderman, 'Dr. Robert Forgan's Resignation from the British Union of Fascists', *Labour History Review*, vol. 57, no. 1, 1992, pp. 37–41. MI5 recorded, however, that Forgan's embezzlement of a £250 cheque belonging to the BUF had also contributed to his estrangement from Mosley, who had blamed him for the poor financial health of the organisation, observes Dietz, *Neo-Tories*, p. 263.
55 Tilles, *British Fascist Anti-Semitism and Jewish Responses, 1932–40*, p. 80.
56 *Blackshirt*, no. 80, 2 November 1934. Several Dutch fascists including Anton Mussert attended the meeting.
57 Oswald Mosley, *Fascism: 100 Questions Asked and Answered* (London: BUF Publications, 1936), questions 95–98.
58 'The British Union of Fascists' (1941) in TNA KV 4/241.
59 Thomas P. Linehan, *East London for Mosley: The British Union of Fascists in East London and South-West Essex 1933–1940* (London: Frank Cass, 1996).
60 Special Branch report, 23 March 1936 in TNA HO 144/20147/382.
61 *Action*, no. 34, 10 October 1936.
62 TNA KV 2/1363/68a.
63 'The British Union of Fascists' (1941) in TNA KV 4/241.
64 F.B. Aikin-Sneath, 'Interrogation of W.E.D. Allen', 28 February 1942 in TNA KV 3/53/8b.
65 Dorril, *Blackshirt*, p. 445.
66 Martin Pugh, *'Hurrah for the Blackshirts': Fascism and Fascists in Britain Between the Wars* (London: Pimlico, 2006), pp. 227–228.
67 'The Fascist Movement in the United Kingdom, Excluding Northern Ireland – Report no. 4, Developments from August 1936 to November 1936' in TNA KV 3/59.
68 'The Fascist Movement in the United Kingdom, Excluding Northern Ireland – Report no. 5, Developments from November 1936 to May 1937' in TNA KV 3/59. This does not necessarily contradict the figures presented in TNA HO 144/21062/403–407 and TNA HO 144/21281/112–114 that record a *rise* from 15,500 to 16,500 members between November 1936 and December 1938.

69 Dorril, *Blackshirt*, p. 443.
70 Special Branch report, 4 April 1935 in TNA HO 144/20144/82.
71 Dorril, *Blackshirt*, pp. 376–377 and 381.
72 Bauerkämper, 'The Denigration of British Fascism', p. 163.
73 Interview by Mr. Stamp and Mr. Noakes of MI5, 8 April 1942 in TNA KV 3/53.
74 H. von Kotze (ed.), *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler, 1938–1943. Aufzeichnungen des Majors Engel. Schritenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte fur Zeitgeschichte*, no. 29 (Stuttgart 1974), pp. 82 (diary entry, 14 June 1940) and 85 (diary entry, 15 July 1940). Engel was one of Hitler's adjutants.
75 'The British Union of Fascists' (1941) in TNA KV 4/241.
76 'Lady Diana Mosley', 26 June 1940 in TNA KV 2/884/48a.
77 'Interrogation of W.E.D. Allen', 27 February 1942 in TNA KV 3/53/8b. TNA KV 2/1363/20a records:

> At the time when he [Hoare] tried to arrange matters he was told that it was too soon, and before he got into the business again Mosley nipped in and pinched the reward, not that Oliver Hoare of course wanted any money!

TNA HO 45/23741 indicates that Peter Pendleton Eckersley, the former BBC radio engineer involved in the commercial broadcasting scheme, was also aware of the Rothschild negotiations.
78 Weber, 'Patterns of Membership and Support for the British Union of Fascists', p. 577. TNA KV 4/241 gives the considerably lower estimate of 6,600 members in December 1938 rising to 10,922 in August 1939.
79 Dorril, *Blackshirt*, p. 457.
80 *Action*, no. 161, 25 March 1939.
81 'The British Union of Fascists' (1941) in TNA KV 4/241.
82 *Ibid*.
83 *Ibid*.
84 *Ibid*.
85 TNA KV 2/1363/68a.
86 For an illuminating discussion, see Richard Griffiths, 'A Note on Mosley, the "Jewish War" and Conscientious Objection', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 40, no. 4, 2005, pp. 675–688.
87 *Ibid.*; and 'The British Union of Fascists' (1941) in TNA KV 4/241.
88 *Ibid.*
89 *Ibid.*
90 *Ibid.*
91 'The British Union of Fascists' (1941) in TNA KV 4/241.
92 TNA HO 144/21429/102–3.
93 'British Union: Memorandum by the Home Secretary', 14 April 1943 in TNA CAB 66/35/48.
94 Griffiths, 'A Note on Mosley, the "Jewish War" and Conscientious Objection', p. 679.
95 Oswald Mosley, *The British Peace ... and How to Get It* (London: Greater Britain Publications, 1940).
96 TNA KV 2/884/36e.
97 TNA HO 45/24895/3 quoted in Griffiths, 'A Note on Mosley, the "Jewish War" and Conscientious Objection', p. 683.
98 TNA KV 2/884/21a.
99 *Action*, no. 214, 11 April 1940.
100 *Action*, no. 220, 23 May 1940.
101 For studies of this subversive anti-Semitic coterie, see Richard Griffiths, *Patriotism Perverted: Captain Ramsay, the Right Club and British Anti-Semitism, 1939–40* (London: Constable, 1998); and Paul Willetts, *Rendezvous at the Russia Tea Rooms* (London: Constable, 2016).
102 A.W. Brian Simpson, *In the Highest Degree Odious: Detention without Trial in Wartime Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) remains the best study on internment.
103 Richard Thurlow, 'The Evolution of the Mythical British Fifth Column, 1939–46', *Twentieth Century British History*, vol. 10, no. 4, 1999, pp. 477–498. Tim Tate, *Hitler's British Traitors: The Secret History of Spies, Sabateurs and Fifth Columnists* (London: Icon, 2018) offers an alternative interpretation.
104 TNA KV 2/884/36a notes Mosley held an 'exclusive' meeting for NHQ staff on 13 May to discuss plans for carrying on the movement in the event of 'strong Government action'.

105 For an overview, see Adrien Weale, *Renegades: Hitler's Englishmen* (London: Warner Books, 1995); and Sean Murphy, *Letting the Side Down: British Traitors of the Second World War* (Stroud: Sutton, 2003).
106 Graham Macklin, '"Hail Mosley and F' Em All": Martyrdom, Transcendence and the "Myth" of Internment', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2006, pp. 1–23.
107 Oswald Mosley, *The Alternative*, p. 9.
108 Oswald Mosley, *Union of Europe* (Ramsbury: Mosley Publications, 1947).
109 *Europe-a-Nation: Mosley's Speech in East London, 16 October 1948 on The Election of a European Assembly – Let the People Vote* (Ramsbury: Sanctuary Press, 1948).
110 For a detailed history, see Graham Macklin, *Very Deeply Dyed in Black: Sir Oswald Mosley and the Resurrection of British Fascism after 1945* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007). See also Luke LeCras, '"Europe A Nation" or "Common Market Suicide"? Fascism, European Entanglement and the Ideology of Britain's Extreme Right, 1945–75', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 64, no. 3, 2018, pp. 436–449.
111 *Constitution of Union Movement and Guide to Organisation* (1948), p. 5. Section 1(4)(a) of the *British Union Constitution and Rules* (1938) states:

> any Briton at the age of not less than 18 years from whom the Union shall receive an application for membership in such form as may from time to time be provided, signed by him and accompanied by such sum as he shall therein undertake to pay by way of monthly subscription, shall be eligible for membership.

It provided no further indication as to who or what constituted a 'Briton'.
112 See the legal discussion relating to *American Jews Threaten Britain* (Ramsbury: Sanctuary Press, 1949) in TNA LO 2/232, for instance.
113 'Fascism – November 1950' in TNA HO 45/25401.
114 B.G. Atkinson to G.N. Jackson, 29 March 1951 in TNA HO 45/25401.
115 James Loughlin, *Fascism and Constitutional Conflict: The British Extreme-Right and Ulster in the Twentieth Century* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019) provides a thorough analysis of Mosley's stance towards Ireland.
116 Oswald Mosley, *Ireland's Right to Unite when Entering European Union* (London: Sanctuary Press: 1948). Mosley had met the Irish nationalist MP Cahir Healey (South Fermanagh), a founding member of Sinn Féin, in Brixton prison in July 1941 where the latter was interned for fear he sought to collaborate with the Nazis in order to advance the anti-partition cause. Healey and Mosley enjoyed an 'especially close relationship' after 1945, see Christopher Norton, 'The Internment of Cahir Healey MP, Brixton Prison July 1941–December 1942', *Twentieth Century British History*, vol. 18, no. 2, 2007, pp. 170–193. Healey was an occasional contributor to Mosley's post-war journal *The European*, for instance, *The European*, no. 36, February 1956, pp. 21–25 and *The European*, vol. 8, no. 5, January 1957, pp. 282–285.
117 For an overview of this period, see Maurice Walsh, 'Mosley in Ireland', *Dublin Review*, no. 26, spring 2007, http://thedublinreview.com/mosley-in-ireland/ (accessed 6 January 2016).
118 *Union*, no. 158, 10 March 1951.
119 Maurice Walsh, 'Mosley in Ireland'; and TNA IR 59/466 and TNA IR 59/467.
120 Mosley, *The Alternative*, p. 212.
121 *Mosley: Policy and Debate – From the European* (Southend: Euphorion Books, 1954), p. 37.
122 Mark Mazower, *Hitler's Europe: Nazi Rule in Occupied Europe* (London: Penguin, 2008), pp. 116–117.
123 *Europe-a-Nation – Africa: Empire of Europe. Text of Mosley's Speech at Kensington Town Hall, on 18 October 1949* (Ramsbury: Sanctuary Press, 1949).
124 *Mosley: Policy and Debate*, pp. 37–46; and Oswald Mosley, *My Life* (London: Nelson, 1968), pp. 483–485.
125 Oswald Mosley, *Union of Europe* (Ramsbury: Mosley Publications, 1947).
126 *Ibid*.
127 Bob Boothby MP to Oswald Mosley, 23 November 1949 in TNA KV 2/4096/179a.
128 Quoted in Matteo Albanese and Pablo del Hierro, 'A Transnational Network: The Contact between Fascist Elements in Spain and Italy, 1945–1968', *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, vol. 15, no. 1, 2014, p. 89.
129 Macklin, *Very Deeply Dyed in Black*, pp. 77–117 deals with these organisational efforts at length.

130 CIA report, 'Meeting of European Neo-Fascist Parties to be Held in Sweden', 10 April 1951, www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP82-00457R007400040008-2.pdf (accessed 23 January 2020).
131 Phillip Rees, *Biographical Dictionary of the Extreme Right since 1890* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), p. 36.
132 Damir Skenderovic, *The Radical Right in Switzerland: Continuity & Change, 1945–2000* (New York: Berghahn, 2009), pp. 279–280.
133 Jean Yves-Camus and Nicolas Lebourg, *Far-Right Politics in Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2016), p. 73.
134 Damir Skenderovic, *The Radical Right in Switzerland*, pp. 279–280.
135 CIA report, 'Relations with Spain: Appendix' (n.d.), www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP78-00915R000400120005-9.pdf (accessed 23 January 2020).
136 William Buckley Interview, Oswald Mosley: Briton, Fascist, European, www.oswaldmosley.com/william-buckley-interview/ (accessed 4 April 2018).
137 CIA report, '(Prince) Junio Valerio Borghese', 5 June 1963, www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/BORGHESE%2C%20JUNIO%20VALERIO_0022.pdf (accessed 23 January 2020); and Jack Greene and Alessandro Massignani, *The Black Prince and the Sea Devils: The Story of Valerio Borghese and the Elite Units of the Decima MAS* (New York: De Capo, 2008).
138 TNA KV 2/2997/54a.
139 'Obituaries: Leon Degrelle Fascist Leader in Belgium, 87', *New York Times*, 2 April 1994, www.nytimes.com/1994/04/02/obituaries/leon-degrelle-fascist-leader-in-belgium-87.html (accessed 4 April 2017).
140 Mosley established contact with Johannes Bernhardt, a former SS officer and intelligence agent who had been managing director of SOFINDUS, a Nazi-controlled concern established during the Spanish Civil War to supply Franco with war *matériel*. TNA KV 2/2949/8a notes that Raven Thomson's interview with Bernhardt in May 1949, which 'although cordial proved negative'. D. Stewart to Miss K.N. Coates, 5 July 1954 in TNA KV 2/3997 notes that five years later Alf Flockhart, the UM national organiser, visited Spain and met with former SS officer Otto Skorzeny, which was perhaps more fruitful. Skorzeny applied for a visa to meet UM leaders in England. MI5 blocked it. Not everyone trusted Skorzeny either. Falangist officials told Per Engdahl, the Swedish ESB leader, who visited Spain in 1952, that Skorzeny 'was no longer invited to important Fascist gatherings.' This was because they believed him to be 'in close contact with French and American intelligence officers or military attaches, to whom he reports every bit of information on Fascist activities.' See CIA report, 'Otto Skorzeny', 7 November 1952, www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/SKORZENY%2C%20OTTO%20%20%20VOL.%202_0058.pdf (accessed 23 January 2020). For more on Mosley's dealings with Skorzeny, see Guy Walters, *Hunting Evil* (London: Bantam, 2009), pp. 280–282.
141 Hans-Ulrich Rudel, *Stuka Pilot* (London: Euphorion, 1952). Plesse Verlag founded by former SS officer Waldemar Schütz, whose chief political purpose was to rehabilitate the SS, previously published the book as *Trotzdem* (1951). Schütz was prominent in the DRP, later becoming a senior NPD figure.
142 TNA KV 2/4023/278.
143 PUSD to 'R', 12 July 1954 in TNA KV 2/3997/68.
144 TNA 2/3798/89. Mosley and Genoud were in regular contact. Pierre Pean, *L'Extremiste: François Genoud, de Hitler à Carlos* (Paris: Fayard, 1996) notes that they exchanged ninety-three letters between 1950 and 1957.
145 Dorril, *Blackshirt*, p. 603.
146 Walsh, 'Mosley in Ireland'.
147 TNA KV 2/9997/43a.
148 TNA KV 2/4000/126d.
149 *Die Europäische Nationale*, no. 15, 15 January 1951.
150 For an extended discussion, see Kurt P. Tauber, 'German Nationalists and European Union', *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 74, no. 4, 1959, pp. 564–589. Activists also distributed thousands of copies of *Die Rettung des Abendlandes: Die dritte Kraft* to Germans attending the England–Germany football match in 1955, see *Feinde der Demokratie* [*Enemies of Democracy*], vol. 5, no. 3, December 1955–January 1956, p. 35.

151 *Reichsruf*, no. 17, 28 April 1962. Nouvelle Editions Latines later published it in French as *La Nation Europe* (1962).
152 Gerard Braunthal, *Right-Wing Extremism in Contemporary Germany* (London: Palgrave, 2009), p. 118.
153 For further details, see Macklin, *Very Deeply Dyed in Black*, pp. 111–114.
154 Oswald Mosley, *European Socialism* (London: Sanctuary Press, 1951).
155 Oswald Mosley to Alexander Raven Thomson, 25 July 1955 in OMN/B/2/4, Oswald Mosley papers, Nicholas Mosley deposit, Birmingham University. *Six Points of European Socialism* (London: Sanctuary Press, *c*.1957) distilled Mosley's main ideas for public consumption.
156 *The European*, no. 1, March 1953.
157 Oswald Mosley, *European Socialism: A Summary of the Policy and A Reply to Comment and Criticism from Britain, Germany, Italy and America* (London: Sanctuary Press, 1956) and *Mosley: Policy and Debate*, pp. 14–21 and 77–88.
158 John Charnley, *Blackshirts and Roses: An Autobiography* (London: Brockingday Publications, 1990), p. 221.
159 Jewish Defence Committee (JDC) South West London District Committee, minutes, 13 April 1948 in 1658/3/2/14, Jewish Defence Committee papers, Wiener Library, hereafter JDC papers. The UM gained little traction in Brixton early years. Special Branch reports to be found in TNA HO 45/25401 reveal that UM speakers at speaking pitches in Rushcroft Road and Electric Avenue in Brixton during 1949 and 1950 rarely raised an audience in double figures and on one occasion on 6 January 'failed to attract an audience' at all.
160 Report on Meeting in Rushcroft Road, 31 August 1951 in 1658/10/4/4, JDC papers; and *South London Press*, 4 September 1951. Joe Mulhall, 'The Unbroken Thread: British Fascism, its Ideologues and Ideologies, 1939–1969' (Royal Holloway, University of London, PhD thesis, 2016), p. 212.
161 *Union*, no. 195, 8 December 1951; and *Union*, no. 200, 19 January 1952. The UM characterised 'Jewish' crime in a markedly similar manner. *Union*, no. 196, 15 December 1951 claimed that Jews were 'liable to have a very different moral standard towards crimes such as smuggling' because, although they did no harm to an individual, they were to the detriment of the nation to which 'they may feel no strong sense of loyalty towards.' Thus, *Union* argued, all such 'alien races' should be denied British citizenship.
162 *Union*, no. 196, 15 December 1951.
163 Michael Quill, letter to the author, January 2000.
164 *Union*, no. 208, 15 March 1952; and 'Chairman's statement – July 1954', Provincial Liaison Committee, JDC papers, which observes another attack on Lipton and his 'coreligionists'.
165 Fred Bailey, interview with the author, 21 April 1999.
166 John Bean, *Many Shades of Black: Inside Britain's Far Right* (London: Millennium, 1999), p. 83.
167 Lewisham Branch leader Pat Dunigan received 758 votes, Frederick Lewis, a former Bombay Police Officer, received 523 votes, and Michael Ryan 373 votes. 'Chairman's report – April 1952' in Provincial Liaison Committee, minutes, 1952–1959, 1658/1/3/3, JDC papers notes Lewis' own son undermined his campaign, writing to the local press to denounce his father's racist views as 'obnoxious and nonsensical'.
168 There were only 414 West Indians, 55 Pakistanis, 776 Indians and 102 West Africans resident throughout the entire Borough of Lambeth according to the 1951 census, see Shelia Patterson, *Newcomers: The West Indians in London* (London: Centre for Urban Studies and George Allen & Unwin, 1960), p. 53.
169 Jewish Defence Committee, minutes, 10 June 1952 in 1658/1/1/3, JDC papers.
170 *Union*, no. 212, 19 April 1952.
171 Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, pp. 83–84.
172 Special Branch report, 29 November 1950 in TNA KV 2/4017.
173 *Union*, 2 December 1950.
174 MI5, 'Extract', 20 November 1951 in TNA KV 2/4017/433z.
175 MI5, 'Extract', 11 February 1952 in TNA KV 2/4017; and *Union*, 1 March 1952.
176 TNA KV 2/4017/448a.
177 TV KV 2/4018/502b.

178 Trevor Grundy, *Memoir of a Fascist Childhood: A Boy in Mosley's Britain* (London: Heinemann, 1998), p. 96 recalls his father's performance at the 1955 party conference:

> Members had said that too many West Indians were coming into Britain and that there'd be trouble. My father rose and said that the problem wasn't the blacks it was the Jews. Red-faced and with great passion he'd screamed, 'And if you're looking for the first man in Britain to turn on the gas taps, I'm here!' He hit his chest with a clenched fist and waited for applause. It did not come. He sat down, looked around several times and then looked at Mosley. I watched the Leader's face. For a few moments he stared at my father and then Jeffrey Hamm went to him with a bit of paper and announced we'd have a short break. As we moved from our seats, a few old members slapped my father on the back. One said 'Suppose you shouldn't have said that, Sid, but I would too'.

179 Special Branch report, 24 May 1954 in TNA KV 2/4018/485a.
180 TNA KV 2/4018/503a.
181 *This is the Vital Issue – London County Council Elections – Thursday, 31 March 1955* (UM handbill).
182 'Chairman's Statement – April 1955', in 1658/1/3/3, Provincial Liaison Committee, JDC papers.
183 Report 'Thomson and Flockhart', 16 June 1955 in TNA KV 2/4019.
184 Grundy, *Memoir of a Fascist Childhood*, pp. 112–113 notes that a group of East End activists informed Mosley that if Flockhart was ever seen again at UM headquarters, or allowed to join the movement, 'they would all resign'.
185 MI5, 'Extract', 28 June 1957 in TNA KV 2/4019/564a. Mosley remained loyal to his disgraced activist despite the nature of his offences, however. Despite barring him from re-joining UM after his release in October 1958, Mosley granted him several private interviews and assisted him in finding employment.
186 Row was a veteran fascist, active in the BUF from 1934. Interned in 1940, from 1955 onwards he edited *Union* and subsequently *Action*, the latter until November 1992.
187 *Union*, 28 April 1956 and the following issue.
188 The precise role played by fascist activists in the riots remains hard to ascertain because the germane records remain classified. The Board of Deputies of British Jews (BDBJ) noted that UM and other fascist groups used the riots 'to intensify prejudice and ill feeling', which, they feared, could be 'channelled into anti-Semitism'. The BDBJ otherwise had little intelligence on the actual mechanics of fascist activism in the late 1950s because the Jewish Defence Committee had not been functioning 'for some considerable time'. In the wake of the riots, the BDBJ reconstituted its intelligence gathering apparatus, see R. Lieberman to Dr H.J. Stern, 27 November 1958 in 1658/3/3/8, JDC papers.
189 Quoted in Edward Pilkington, *Beyond the Mother Country: West Indians and the Notting Hill White Riots* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1988), p. 100.
190 *Daily Express*, 28 August 1958, quoted in Mulhall, 'The Unbroken Thread', p. 221.
191 Grundy, *Memoir of a Fascist Childhood*, p. 172.
192 *Kensington News*, 5 September 1958, quoted in Edward Pilkington, *Beyond the Mother Country*, p. 118.
193 Special Branch report, 28 May 1959 in TNA HO 344/34. For a report of their trial, see Dan Jacobson, 'After Notting Hill', *Encounter*, vol. 40, no. 6, December 1958, pp. 3–10.
194 *Kensington News*, 10 October 1958 and 24 October 1958; and Hamm, *Action Replay* (London: Howard Baker, 1983), pp. 178–179.
195 *The Coloured Invasion* (London: Sanctuary Press, 1958).
196 John Davis, 'Rents and Race in 1960s London: New Light on Rachmanism', *Twentieth Century British History*, vol. 12, no. 1, 2001, pp. 69–92.
197 *Action*, 31 October 1959; and *Action*, no. 72, 15 March 1961.
198 Benjamin Pogrund, *War of Words: Memoir of a South African Journalist* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2000), pp. 53 and 58.
199 *Wiener Library Bulletin*, vol. 13, nos 1–2, 1959.
200 Mosley, *My Life*, p. 448.
201 Grundy, *Memoir of a Fascist Childhood*, p. 175.
202 Special Branch report, 17 June 1959 in TNA HO 344/34.
203 *West London Observer*, 16 October 1959; and *Kensington News*, 16 October 1959.

204 *North Kensington Leader*, no. 3, December 1958; *North Kensington Leader*, no. 9, July–August 1959; and *North Kensington Leader Supplement*, September 1959.
205 *What the Papers Say – Labour Loves London Blacks* (UM election flyer *c*.1961) declared a subsequent election flyer, whilst *Action*, no. 142, 29 November 1963 simply declared 'Let's Go Black with Labour'.
206 Mosley, *My Life*, pp. 448–450.
207 R.E. Cavendish to Sir Oswald Mosley, 3 October 1959, Oswald Mosley papers/Nicholas Mosley deposit, Box 7, Birmingham University.
208 Grundy, *Memoir of a Fascist Childhood*, p. 176. Nicholas Mosley in *Beyond the Pale*, p. 304 indicates further evidence of Mosley's ambivalent attitude towards violence by his followers.
209 *Ibid*.
210 *Daily Herald*, 21 November 1962.
211 'European' [Oswald Mosley], 'Analysis', *The European*, no. 68, vol. 12, no. 2, October 1958, pp. 67–71.
212 Loughlin, *Fascism and Constitutional Conflict*, pp. 180–181.
213 Grundy, *Memoir of a Fascist Childhood*, p. 177.
214 Mark Olden, *Murder in Notting Hill* (Aylesford: Zero Books, 2011) provides the definitive account of Cochrane's murder. Police files relating to his murder – MEPO 2/9894 – remain closed until 2041.
215 *Action*, 17 October 1959 and *Comrade*, no. 52, November–December 1999, journal of the Friends of Oswald Mosley (FOM), continues to hold the line arguing that 'every cause needs a martyr to exploit and in the murder of the West Indian Kelso Cochrane, in May 1959 an icon was manufactured.' It goes on to state that 'the knife that killed him was probably his own, he liked to carry one.'
216 *The Observer*, 26 April 1959; and *The Observer*, 31 May 1959.
217 Mike Phillips and Trevor Phillips, *Windrush: The Irresistible Rise of Multi-Racial Britain* (London: Harper Collins, 1999), p. 187.
218 *Sunday People*, 24 September 1961.
219 *The People*, 1 October 1961, quoted in Olden, *Murder in Notting Hill*,, p. 72.
220 Olden, *Murder in Notting Hill*, pp. 115–126 and 140–142.
221 *Ibid.*, pp. 53 and 100 notes Bell's reference to Digby and another suspect as 'our mates'.
222 *The Times*, 25 and 27 August 1959; and Hamm, *Action Replay*, pp. 178–179. See also *North Kensington Leader*, no. 8, June 1959; and Jewish Defence Committee, *Current Notes*, August 1959 in 1658/1/1/3, JDC papers.
223 Hamm, *Action Replay*, p. 179.
224 *Action*, no. 56, 24 October 1959. TNA DPP 2/3099 for the trial of Peter Bell and his father, who, together with members of another crime family, were later tried (though acquitted) for the killing of another local gangster in 1960.
225 *Kensington News*, 17 July 1959.
226 D.E. Webb to J.M. Ross, 19 November 1959 in TNA HO 325/9 notes that there were 120 prosecutions for such offences between 1 January and 30 September 1959: 70 were of 'foreign' origin; of which 27 were 'coloured'. The Maltese accounted for 35.
227 *Kensington News*, 28 August 1959.
228 *Ibid.*
229 Mosley, *My Life*, pp. 448–450.
230 Special Branch report, no. 4, 10 November 1959 in TNA HO 325/9.
231 The *Guardian*, 10 September 1959.
232 Dan Jacobson, *The Time of Arrival and Other Essays* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962), pp. 64–68.
233 David Kynaston, *Modernity Britain: 1957–1962* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), p. 350.
234 E.A. Markham, *Against the Grain: A 1950s Memoir* (Leeds: Peepal Tree Press, 2008)
235 Grundy, *Memoir of a Fascist Childhood*, pp. 180 and 189–190. Grundy, a UM youth leader who greatly admired Wilson recalled that Wilson's 'face reflected the horror he felt,' as Mosley uttered the phrase. 'I cringed'.
236 Skidelsky, *Oswald Mosley*, p. 511.
237 Nicholas Mosley, *Beyond the Pale* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1983), p. 303; and Nicholas Mosley, *Efforts at Truth: An Autobiography* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1994), p. 123.

238 The *Guardian*, 29 June 1971. Mosley's journal, *The National European*, no. 1 July 1964, reflected this dichotomy, discussing his grandiose ideas whilst simultaneously advertising *The Thunderbolt*, newspaper of the National States Rights Party (NSRP), a violent racist organisation whose members committed numerous acts of terrorism. *The Thunderbolt*, no. 60, July–August reciprocated, advertising *The National European* alongside ones for *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and other racist publications. *The National European*, no. 4, September 1964 abruptly terminated this relationship, which, the FBI observed, had existed since 1958, see the memo dated 10 October 1958 in Federal Bureau of Investigations file: 100–268487. Thirty years later, former NSRP leader Edward Fields was guest speaker at the 1995 Friends of Oswald Mosley (FOM) dinner. Fields publishes facsimiles of inter-war BUF publications (as well as those of Arnold Leese), *The Truth at Last*, no. 357, n.d.
239 Mosley, *Beyond the Pale*, pp. 306–307.
240 *Ibid.*, p. 307.
241 Nicholas Mosley, *Paradoxes of Peace* (London: Dalkey Archive Press, 2009), p. 68.
242 Mosley, *Beyond the Pale*, p. 308.
243 *Ibid.*
244 The *Guardian Weekend*, 24 January 1998.
245 Mosley, *My Life*, p. 451.
246 *Mosley – Message to Electors* (London: Highgate Press, 1959).
247 Mosley, *My Life*, p. 451.
248 The *Guardian*, 3 October 1959
249 Jeffrey Hamm, *Action Replay*, p. 184.
250 'Notes by O.M. on C.W.'s article in the "Twentieth Century" and letter to him, with much more to follow if Toynbee comes up to scratch' in MS124/1/28, Jeffrey Hamm papers, University of Birmingham, hereafter Hamm papers.
251 Keith Kyle, 'North Kensington', in D.E. Butler and Richard Rose, *The British General Election of 1959* (London: Macmillan, 1960), p. 181.
252 Diana Mosley to Deborah Mitford, 9 October 1959 in Charlotte Mosley (ed.), *The Mitfords: Letters Between Six Sisters* (London: Fourth Estate, 2007), p. 318.
253 The *Guardian*, 5 October 1959.
254 Ian R.G. Spencer, *British Immigration Policy since 1939* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 120.
255 *Action*, no. 55, 17 October 1959.
256 Nicholas Tredell, *The Novels of Colin Wilson* (London: Vision Press, 1982), p. 19.
257 Graham Hough, 'New Novels', *Encounter*, vol. 10, no. 2, February 1958, p. 86.
258 Stuart Holroyd, *Contraries: A Personal Progression* (London: Bodley Head, 1975), pp. 16, 71–73 and 79. The novel *Awake for Mourning* (1958) by Bernard Kops, the East End son of Dutch Jewish immigrants, satirised the group and its elitist philosophy contemporaneously as a prolegomenon to fascism, on which, see 'Teddy Boy Riots & Right-Wing Angry Young Men', *Stewart Home*, www.stewarthomesociety.org/sex/kops.htm (accessed 26 March 2015).
259 Colin Wilson to Oswald Mosley, 2 February 1958 in OMN/B/2/4, Mosley papers.
260 Stuart Holroyd, Diary entry for 10 March 1958, quoted in Craig Fowlie, 'Bill Hopkins – From Angry Young Man to Cultured Thug' (forthcoming).
261 Holroyd, *Contraries*, pp. 144–145.
262 Kenneth Allsop, *The Angry Decade: A Survey of the Cultural Revolt of the Nineteen-Fifties* (Wendover: John Goodchild, 1985), pp. 22 and 148–194.
263 Colin Wilson, 'The Month', *The Twentieth Century*, vol. 166, no. 994, December 1959, pp. 492–498.
264 *Ibid.*
265 *Daily Mirror*, 10 December 1959.
266 *Daily Mirror*, 15 December 1959.
267 *Daily Mirror*, 21 December 1959.
268 Manuscript titled 'Notes by O.M. on C.W.'s article in the "Twentieth Century" and letter to him, with much more to follow if Toynbee comes up to scratch' in MS 124/1/28, Hamm papers.
269 'Notes by O.M. on C.W's further letter of 31/12/1959' in MS 124/1/28, Hamm papers. Wilson and Mosley remained in contact. Having seen Mosley on television in 1971, Wilson wrote to him, full of praise for his performance, asking Mosley to bear in mind 'that I'd always be willing to say nice things about you in similar programmes – if, as I hope, you begin to get more

TV time.' See Colin Wilson to Oswald Mosley, 28 July 1971, OMN/B/2/4, Mosley papers. Deborah Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (London: Penguin, 1994), pp. 119–121 notes Wilson endorsed *Did Six Million Really Die?* (1974) in a review in *Books and Bookmen*. From 1985 onwards, Wilson often contributed to *Lodestar*, a journal edited by Jeffrey Hamm, Mosley's former political secretary.

270 For the minutiae of the case, see TNA LCO 6/3310.

271 Nancy Mitford to Deborah Mitford, 6 April 1960 in Mosley, *The Mitfords*, p. 355.

272 Diana Mosley to Deborah Mitford, 6 April 1960 in Mosley, *The Mitfords*, p. 336.

273 *The Times*, 6 April 1960.

274 Skidelsky, *Oswald Mosley*, p. 476.

275 Richard W. Bukardt jr, *The Spirit of the System: Lamarck and Evolutionary Biology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), pp. 143–185.

276 Oswald Mosley, *The Alternative* (Ramsbury: Mosley Publications, 1947), p. 259.

277 Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain*, p. 225.

278 Skidelsky, *Oswald Mosley*, p. 555.

279 Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain*, p. 225.

280 Alexander Raven Thomson to Austin J. App, 6 January 1950 in The Austin J. App Collection, Box 5, American Heritage Centre, University of Wyoming. App was a German-American national socialist and Holocaust denier who occasionally contributed to *Union*.

281 *The Fascist Week*, 9–15 February 1934.

282 Mosley, *The Alternative*, pp. 256–257.

283 David Redvaldsen, '"Science must be the Basis": Sir Oswald Mosley's Political Parties and their Policies on Health, Science and Scientific Racism 1931–1974', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 30, no. 3, 2016, pp. 368–388.

284 Mosley, *The Alternative*, pp. 257–258. Mosley had had recourse to eugenic arguments during the 1930s arguing in *Fascism: 100 Questions Asked and Answered* (1936) that Fascism offered the 'unfit' the choice between voluntary sterilisation and segregation 'sufficient to prevent the production of unfit children.'

285 A. James Gregor, 'Eisenhower: A Study in American Economy', *The European*, no. 17, July 1954, pp. 7–13.

286 H. Keith Thompson, 'I am an American Fascist – Part Four', *Expose*, December 1954 in 100–370871, H. Keith Thompson FBI file. Thompson stated: 'The officials of Union Movement are honest, hard working organizers, and the movement is steadily gaining supporters in the United States due to its keen insight.'

287 *Union*, no. 331, 1 May 1954.

288 Keith Stimely interview with H. Keith Thompson, 13 March 1986 in H. Keith Thompson papers: Box 18, Hoover Institute, Stanford University, California.

289 A. James Gregor to Robert Row, 13 October 1954 in TNA KV 2/3998.

290 *Ibid.*

291 A. James Gregor to Alexander Raven Thomson, 23 October 1954 in TNA KV 2/3998.

292 *Ibid*. It is unclear if the two men actually met. In 'Copy of letter SF 709/USA/E1/ARTS of 20 October 1954' in TNA KV 2/3999/96a, MI5 note Gregor wrote to Naumann on 19 October 'but received no reply'. He tried again on 8 November: 'In this letter, he merely says that he is shortly leaving for South Germany and has a recommendation from friends in England who are of the opinion that a meeting between Naumann and himself would be of mutual interest.' Alexander Raven Thomson to A. James Gregor, 15 January 1955 in TNA KV 2/3999 records:

> I am glad to hear from you again and to have your present address, so that we can keep in touch with you. I have little to report, except that I have had a letter from Keith Thompson and also from Dr. Naumann, who does not however refer to your visit, presumably for security reasons.

293 Gregor's contributions included: 'Some Problems of Race', *The European*, no. 24, February 1955, pp. 19–25; 'Capitalism and the Law of Markets', *The European*, no. 28, June 1955, pp. 13–26; 'An American Considers European Socialism', *The European*, no. 33, November 1955, pp. 17–24; 'Syndicalism: A Critical History', *The European*, no. 38, April 1956, pp. 10–20; 'Marxism as Philosophy', *The European*, no. 42, August 1956, pp. 11–26; and 'Marxism as a Theory of History', *The European*, no. 45, November 1956, pp. 146–162.

294 A. James Gregor, 'European Socialism' [Letter], *The European*, no. 17, July 1954, pp. 60–62; Oswald Mosley, 'European Socialism' [Letter], *The European*, no. 18, August 1954, pp. 58–59; and A. James Gregor, 'An American Considers European Socialism', *The European*, no. 33, November 1955, pp. 17–24.

295 Diana Mosley letter to the author, 12 January 2001.

296 Skidelsky, *Oswald Mosley*, pp. 493–494.

297 A. James Gregor, 'National Socialism and Race', *The European*, no. 67, July 1958, pp. 273–291. For another attack, see A. James Gregor, 'Nordicism Revisited', *Phylon*, vol. 22, no. 4, 1961, pp. 351–360, which singles out *Northern World*, journal of the Northern League, for its exultation of Günther's 'philosophy of despair' which no longer had any purchase in 'serious' circles.

298 A. James Gregor, Biographies, *Institute for the Study of Academic Racism*, www.ferris.edu/htmls/othersrv/isar/bibliography/gregrbib.htm (accessed 21 August 2018).

299 A. James Gregor, *The Search for Neofascism: The Use and Abuse of Social Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. xi. A. James Gregor, 'Once Again on Roger Griffin and the Study of "Fascism"', in Roger Griffin, Werner Loh and Andreas Umland (eds), *Fascism, Past and Present, East and West: An International Debate on Concepts and Cases in the Comparative Study of the Extreme Right* (Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, 2006), p. 318 highlights his minority view that: 'Long study of the literature of Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists and National Socialists, together with extensive conversations with some of its principal ideologues, convinced me that there was very little Fascism or National Socialism in the BUF.'

300 Idus A. Newby, *Challenge to the Court: Social Scientists and the Defence of Segregation, 1954–1966* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana University Press, 1967), p. 134.

301 *Eugenics Review*, no. 3, October 1960. Despite this announcement, it took another six years for the book to appear. Andrew S. Winston, 'Science in the Service of the Far Right: Henry E. Garrett, the IAAEE, and the Liberty Lobby', *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 54, no. 1, 1998, p. 205.

302 John P. Jackson, Jr, *Science for Segregation: Race, Law, and the Case against Brown v. Board of Education* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), pp. 64–65 and 106–110 notes that prior to helping found the IAAEE in February 1958, Gregor became secretary of the Association for the Preservation of the Freedom of Choice (APFC). This organisation was dedicated to maintaining racially pure neighbourhoods in New York by championing a landlord's right to discriminate against tenants based on ethnicity.

303 *National European*, no. 15, September 1965 featured adverts for *Truth Seeker*.

304 Oren Solomon Harman, *The Man Who Invented the Chromosome: A Life of Cyril Darlington* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 246–247 states that despite agreeing to join its executive committee and later becoming head of the organisation, Darlington was 'uncharacteristically cautious' about his association with the IAAEE. He fretted about its political aims though his concerns were 'quelled' by another member, Corrado Gini, Mussolini's demographer. Friends and family thought he was being 'naïve' whilst professional colleagues steered clear of the group.

305 Skidelsky, *Oswald Mosley*, p. 555.

306 Robert S. Moore, 'Racism in Science', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 9, no. 6, November–December 1975, p. 5.

307 Oswald Mosley, *Mosley: Right or Wrong?* (London: Lion Books, 1961), p. 120. In a similar vein, Diana Mosley observed in *National European*, no. 15, September 1965 that:

> A famous gardener told me recently that in the melon growing district of France a local law forbids the cultivation of cucumbers. No offence meant to cucumbers, which are excellent in their own way, but these plants can cross-pollinate, and in the process the quality of both is lost.

308 TNA HO 144/22846. The case against Mosley, which was heard in November 1945, was dismissed with the caveat that although

> The Bench do not consider that the prosecution has proved the case. They do, however, consider that you should have been further aware of the state in which the pigs were and should have taken earlier steps to see that they were properly fed and better housed.

Mosley's efforts to have the Magistrates publicly retract the remark failed.

309 Mosley, *Mosley – Right or Wrong?*, pp. 118–121.

310 *Ibid*.
311 'Laroche' sent them a (undated) postcard stating: 'Happy New Year for yourself and the Union Movement! – with best regards, Fabrice Laroche.' E.J. Hamm to Fabrice Laroche, 10 June 1966, Hamm papers thanked 'Laroche' for sending copies of *Europe-Action* and requested copies of other publications such as *Cahiers Universitaires*. *National European*, no. 5, October 1964 advertised *Europe-Action*.
312 Mosley, *Mosley – Right or Wrong?*, p. 123. Gayre had changed the spelling of his name from Gair.
313 Gavin Schaffer, *Racial Science and British Society, 1930–1962* (London: Palgrave, 2008), p. 142.
314 *Action*, no. 112, 5 April 1963.
315 I.A. Newby, *Challenge to the Court*, p. 323.
316 Richard Thurlow, 'Racial Populism in England', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 10, no. 4, July–August 1976, p. 31.
317 UM pamphlets like *Colour: The Immigration Crisis – Union Movement Policy Pamphlet no. 4* (London: Venture Press, n.d.) further highlight the use of racial science to lend authority to party policy pronouncements.
318 *Manchester Guardian*, 29 February 1960; *The Times*, 1 March 1960, 24 March 1960 and 9 April 1960. The arrests included West London UM organiser Peter Dawson, who was fined £20 for insulting words and behaviour. Police suspected Dawson of committing several anti-Semitic actions. These included sending a series of abusive letters and late-night phone calls to Jewish MPs and painting 'Juden Raus' ('Jews Get Out') together with five swastikas on the wall of the Notting Hill Gate synagogue (on which, see *Kensington Post*, 8 January 1960). Police also suspected Dawson was responsible for planting a small home-made bomb outside his own headquarters on 10 January 1960 then daubing a Star of David on a nearby wall to incriminate the Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen (AJEX) who were guarding the synagogue he had allegedly recently defaced. Jewish Defence Committee, *Current Notes*, November–December 1959–January 1960 in 1658/3/2/4, JDC papers; and [illegible signature] to Sidney Salomon, 26 January 1959 and Sidney Salomon to Commander E. Jones in 1658/10/29, JDC papers. For more background, see *The Times*, 11 January 1960; The *Sunday People*, 24 September 1961; and 'Who Killed my Brother?', *Steve Silver*, May 2006, http://stevesilver.org.uk/who-killed-my-brother/ (accessed 18 October 2011). Carol Ann Lee, *The Hidden Life of Otto Frank* (London: Viking, 2002), p. 256 notes that 'Peter Dawson' sent anti-Semitic letters to Otto Frank, the father of Anne Frank, who was told his murdered daughter's 'stinking diary is a fake and a phoney'. Though Frank's biographer states this was not the antagonists' real name, it would certainly fit his *modus operandi*.
319 Ruth Winstone (ed.), *Tony Benn: Years of Hope, Diaries, Papers, Letters, 1940–1962* (London: Arrow, 1994), p. 325.
320 Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, pp. 142–143.
321 *The Times*, 14 March 1960; and *Kensington Post*, 18 March 1960.
322 *Manchester Guardian*, 29 February 1960. For instance, on 13 March, Dawson led six UM activists to overturn the platform at a meeting in Queensway Hall, leading to his arrest. When the South African boycott campaign culminated with a rally in Trafalgar Square on 27 March, approximately forty UM and BNP activists clashed with its supporters whilst over 500 boycott supporters converged upon the UM headquarters 'but these were eventually dispersed by police without any serious disorder'.
323 Special Branch, report no. 5, 18 May 1960 in TNA HO 325/9.
324 *Ibid*.; and *Manchester Guardian*, 9 February 1960.
325 Special Branch, report no. 6, 19 December 1960 in TNA HO 325/9.
326 *The Times*, 27 July 1960.
327 *The Times*, 8 June 1960; *Oldham Evening Chronicle*, 10 June 1960; and Sammy Davis Jr, *Yes I Can* (London: Cassell, 1965), pp. 534–537.
328 Peter Dawson … an Open Letter to Eartha Kitt, in 1658/3/2/7, JDC papers. The full text of the letter read:

> We Europeans are opposed mixed marriages [sic], whether they be 'White and Black' or 'Black and White'. We can only look on your recent marriage with disgust. When your male counterpart, Sammy Davis Junior, (the one-eyed-Jewish-negro) insulted the British People by coming to Britain to announce his engagement for an (already married) White woman I

organised a protest. It was a complete success … he cut short his stay … and has since been 'picketed' many times back in the States by other patriotic groups. In view of the reports in our press that you have [*sic*] are 'over here to appear in a London show' I feel that is [*sic*] my duty to warn you that we of the Notting Hill Branch of Mosley's UM will not permit you to perform in Britain without making some form of practical protest. Mosley for a clean show-business.

329 Union Movement to Press Association, 12 August 1960, MS124/1/18, Hamm papers.
330 Robert Row to H. Keith Thompson, 16 September 1960 in H. Keith Thompson papers, Box 16, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.
331 Special Branch, report no. 6, 19 December 1960 in TNA HO 325/9.
332 Robert Row, a leading UM activist, optimistically observed that the discovery of uranium in Bechuanaland would stimulate a 'Second Klondike'. The lure of higher wages would cause black Africans to migrate from South Africa, thereby precluding the use of 'Fascist methods' needed to facilitate a racially pure South African state which appeared to be his preferred preference, see Robert Row, *Proposals for Bechuanaland*, in Oswald Mosley papers, Diana Mosley deposit: Box 18, the University of Birmingham.
333 *Action*, no. 66, November 1960.
334 *Stand by the White Man* (UM leaflet). *Action*, the UM newspaper, carried advertisements during this period for the *South African Observer* – 'the truth about the white man in this great country' – as well as proclaiming: 'Stand by South Africa! Buy South African fruit, tinned goods and wines. South African goods are the very best!'
335 *Action*, no. 72, 15 March 1961.
336 *Ibid*. This conspiratorial view included sports too. *Action*, no. 143, 6 December 1963 featured a letter asking 'Is the sending of West Indian cricket teams and West Indian cricketers to Australia a move to condition the Australian people to receive coloured immigrants?'
337 *Action*, no. 138, 1 November 1963.
338 *The ADL Bulletin*, March 1954.
339 *Action*, no. 68, January 1961.
340 *Action*, no. 70, 15 February 1961.
341 Jeffrey Hamm to all members and supporters of Union Movement in London area, 2 March 1961, copy in authors' possession.
342 *Action*, no. 72, 15 March 1961.
343 *The Times*, 8 March 1961; and *The Times*, 9 May 1961.
344 *The Times*, 15 March 1961; and *The Times*, 22 March 1961.
345 *The Times*, 29 March 1961; and *The Times*, 7 April 1961.
346 *The Times*, 10 May 1961; and *The Times*, 11 May 1961. The judge had previously ruled that Shiffner had no case to answer. *Action*, no. 76, 15 May 1961 notes the expulsions.
347 *Comrade*, no. 46, August–October 1995; and *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 October 1952.
348 Olden, *Murder in Notting Hill*, pp. 73–74.
349 Jeffrey Hamm to all members of the Union Movement in the London area, 14 March 1961, copy in authors' possession.
350 George Doolette who described himself as 'a personal assistant to Sir Oswald Mosley' and William Webster, the former NLP candidate were both sentenced to two months' imprisonment though later freed on appeal, see *The Times*, 16 August 1961.
351 *Action*, no. 76, 15 May 1961 notes the expulsion of P. Bingham as a result.
352 Jewish Defence Committee, *Current Notes*, March–May 1961 in 1658 /1/1/4, JDC papers.
353 Max Mosley, *Formula One and Beyond: The Autobiography* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2015), p. 7.
354 *Action*, no. 78, 1 July 1961.
355 *Daily Mail*, 2 April 2008.
356 The *Guardian*, 26 November 1997; and *Sunday Telegraph*, 26 August 1962.
357 Mosley, *Formula One and Beyond*, pp. 19–20.
358 *The Times*, 5 January 1961; and *The Times*, 26 September 1961.
359 Mosley, *Formula One and Beyond*, pp. 21–23. *Daily Herald*, 19 November 1962 had previously reported that a North Kensington UM activist had joined the TA to become proficient in the use of weapons ready for a right-wing revolution.

360 *The Times*, 23 September 1963; and *Action*, no. 136, 18 October 1963. Diana Mosley to Deborah Mitford, 8 January 1964 in Mosley, *The Mitfords*, p. 408, claimed:

> a man who said he was in 'intelligence' during the war made friends with Max & tried to persuade him to take some ammunition from the TA, purpose not specified; this man told Max that he had been in the paras, & rather impressed him for a time with his boastful stories. The suggestion about ammunition opened Max's eyes and he had no more to do with him. Imagine if Max had been stupid or gullible enough to agree. The man posed as a great friend, asked them to dinner & so on, never off the telephone. Heaven knows who he was working for … Kit did not go for Max's person because the TA officers have been very good to Max & he loves the paras – in any case it wd [sic] be his word against the man's.

361 *Daily Express*, 10 October 1963. Geldard, the UM Surrey organiser who had run the UM bookshop committed suicide shortly afterwards, see *The National European*, no. 2, August 1964; and The *People*, 21 June 1964.

362 Sam Greenhill and Bill Akass, 'Oops! Another Memory Lapse for Max Mosley', The *Daily Mail*, 8 March 2018, www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5479785/amp/What-Max-Mosley-doing-vile-anti-Semitic-rally-1965.htm (accessed 13 March 2018).

363 Mosley, *Formula One and Beyond*, p. 23.

364 Ken Clarke, *Kind of Blue: A Political Memoir* (London: Macmillan, 2016), pp. 25–26. Clarke was not the only future Conservative politician studying at Cambridge to be impressed by Mosley. Peter Temple-Morris, *Across the Floor: A Life in Dissenting Politics* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015), pp. 16–17 recalled of Mosley's previous address to the CUCA in 1960 that Mosley 'retained his gentlemanly ways' after a student threw jelly in his face as he spoke.

> There was no plate, but it was still not very pleasant. It hit Mosley and carried on in small pieces to drench the secretary, sitting behind him. Dabbing his face with his handkerchief Mosley carried on speaking as if nothing had happened. He came to tea with us after the meeting, and discussed personalities and issues as the establishment figure he was and as if he had never left mainstream politics. A formidable performance by any account.

365 Michael Crick, *In Search of Michael Howard* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2005), pp. 71–74.

366 Clarke, *Kind of Blue*, p. 26.

367 Nancy Mitford to Violet Hammersley, 22 August 1960 in Charlotte Mosley (ed.), *Love From Nancy: The Letters of Nancy Mitford* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1993) p. 387.

368 *Action*, no. 67, December 1960. Mosley was to have chaired this meeting of the 'vital forces' of Europe which would have included Filipo Anfuso, Mussolini's former Foreign Minister who was on the executive of the MSI; Giorgio Almirante, another MSI executive member; Pino Romualdi, vice-president of the MSI; Giorgio Lanfré, a member of the MSI central committee and Count Alvise Loridan. There were to be other speakers from Austria and 'leading' European countries.

369 *Action*, no. 68, January 1961.

370 Archie Henderson, 'Pound, Sweden, and the Nobel Prize: An Introduction', in Richard Taylor and Claus Melchior (eds), *Ezra Pound and Europe* (Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1993), p. 164.

371 *Action*, no. 73, 1 April 1961.

372 For a photograph of the three men, see http://pinoromualdi.blogspot.co.uk/ (accessed 4 November 2017).

373 Henderson, 'Pound, Sweden, and the Nobel Prize', p. 164.

374 Oswald Mosley to Robert Saunders, 7 February 1962, Robert Saunders papers, Sheffield University, hereafter Saunders papers.

375 Oswald Mosley to Adolf von Thadden, 9 February 1962, Adolf von Thadden papers, Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Hannover, Germany, hereafter von Thadden papers. Terence O'Reilly, *Hitler's Irishmen* (Cork: Mercier Press, 2008), p. 296 cites an Irish G2 intelligence report dated July 1961 stating that Mosley had reportedly met Skorzeny in the past few months.

376 Richard Pendlebury and Bill Akass, 'No Regrets, Max?', *The Daily Mail*, 28 February 2018, www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5446991/No-regrets-Max-trip-Dachau.html (accessed 2 March 2018).

377 *Action*, no. 91, 15 March 1962. The conference also issued a statement regarding the situation in the South Tyrol, a divisive issue for Austrian and Italian fascists who both laid claim to the

region. Oswald Mosley to Arthur Ehrhardt, 6 February 1962 in MS124/1/5, Hamm papers notes that the Belgian MAC representatives were bringing several Austrian delegates 'who are already prepared to make a declaration that when Europe is made the Tyrol question will no longer exist'. Mosley had told Rudel 'to bring Austrians if he wished'. The conference also issued an oblique notice stating that they had not invited any French delegates because 'we do not intervene in the internal affairs of France, where two parties clash who are both opposed to communism'. This referred to the activities of the OAS. The impetus most probably came from Mosley, who domiciled in France, was anxious not to give the French authorities any excuse to deport him. That said, this stance did not stop Mosley from consorting with MAC leader Jean Thiriart, a notable OAS supporter. Mosley's own activists also breached the injunction. On 18 September 1963, Georges Parisy, an OAS activist on the run from the French authorities was arrested in London with a loaded pistol at the home of a UM activist who was safe-housing him, see *The Times*, 27 September 1963.

378 Oswald Mosley to Robert Saunders, 7 February 1962, Saunders papers.

379 *Ibid*. Mosley was especially keen that foreign translations of his work should appear, believing that they provided a 'sharp and definite' alternative to the European model propounded by figures like Macmillan and Adenauer, see Oswald Mosley to Arthur Ehrhardt, 27 April 1960 in MS124/1/5, Hamm papers.

380 *Action*, no. 148, 1 May 1964.

381 *Action*, no. 92, 15 April 1962.

382 *Daily Mail*, 24 July 1962.

383 Oswald Mosley to Adolf von Thadden, 9 February 1962, von Thadden papers.

384 Oswald Mosley to Jean Thiriart, 26 June 1962 in MS124/1/24, Hamm papers notes that Giovanni Nicola Lanfré had informed Mosley, following an MSI Executive Committee meeting in Rome, that its secretary Arturo Michelini and other leaders 'agreed with all the decisions taken in Venice except the change of name; a point on which accommodation might be reached without difficulty.'

385 Oswald Mosley to Jean Thiriart, 21 July 1962 in MS124/1/24, Hamm papers mentions a forthcoming meeting at the end of the month in Frankfurt with Thiriart and Adolf von Thadden. Mosley conceded that the NPE had come to naught in *Action*, no. 148, 1 May 1964.

386 Mosley, *My Life*, pp. 438–439.

387 *National Vanguard*, no. 117, March–April 1997 quotes the letter.

388 E.J. Hamm to David Clausen, 6 April 1971 in MS124/1/3, Hamm papers.

389 Mosley, *My Life*, p. 440.

390 *Ibid.*, p. 441.

391 Martin Conway, *Collaboration in Belgium: Léon Degrelle and the Rexist Movement* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 72.

392 Rees, *Biographical Dictionary of the Extreme Right since 1890*, p. 388.

393 Kevin Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day: Francis Parker Yockey and the Postwar Fascist International* (New York: Autonomedia, 1999), pp. 541–542; for more details, see Jeffrey M. Bale, *The Darkest Sides of Politics, Vol. 1: Postwar Fascism, Covert Operations and Terrorism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 94–105.

394 Oswald Mosley to Jean Thiriart, 27 November 1962 and 28 November 1962 in MS124/1/24, Hamm papers.

395 *The National European*, no. 2, August 1964. Glaswegian activist W.G. Eaton subsequently translated the book into English as *Europe, an Empire of 400 Million People* (1964). Returning from a JE camping trip in Italy, Eaton wrote to Mosley from Brussels, where he was staying with Thiriart: 'During the trip we had excellent press conferences in Ferrara, Parma and Rome. The enthusiasm of the Italian members is very exciting and hopeful.'

396 Camus and Lebourg, *Far-Right Politics in Europe*, p. 81.

397 *Action*, no. 90, 1 March 1962; and *Action*, no. 144, 13 December 1963. See also Jean Thiriart to Oswald Mosley, 9 May 1963 and Oswald Mosley to Jean Thiriart, 13 May 1963 in MS124/1/24, Hamm papers. *Action*, no. 78, 1 July 1961 notes Dingley 'became interested in politics after seeing an Aldermaston march'. He was a CND 'camp-follower' for two years before hearing Mosley speak in Trafalgar Square in 1960 after which he joined the UM.

398 Oswald Mosley to Jean Thiriart, 1 December 1962 in MS124/1/24, Hamm papers. Thiriart's Italian affiliates included Stefano Mangiante (Genoa), Emilio Gay (Torino), Paolo Molin

(Venezia), Piero Biraghi (Firenze), Andrea Arpaja (Napoli) and the Ordine Nuovo (Rome). Jean Thiriart to Oswald Mosley, 3 December 1962, Hamm papers communicated the addresses of Rutilio Sermonti (Rome) and Dr Carlo Maria Maggi (Milan) though asked that Loredan to deal directly with Bruschi. Patrice Chairoff, *Dossier Neo-Nazisme* (Paris: Éditions Ramsay, 1977), pp. 112–113 notes that Thiriart had rebuked Bruschi for his anti-Semitic activism.

399 Carmelina Anfuso to Oswald Mosley, 23 March 1964 in MS124/1/1, Hamm papers.

400 Giovanni Nicola Lanfré to Oswald Mosley, 6 June 1972 in MS124/1/12, Hamm papers. For Almirante, see Rees, *Biographical Dictionary of the Extreme Right since 1890*, p. 8. Mosley's ideas also found favour with Italian fascist intellectuals like Mario Tedeschi, the editor of *Il Borghese*, who published an Italian translation of his *Il Fascismo Inglese* (1973).

401 Oswald Mosley to Jean Thiriart, 22 February 1963 in MS124/1/24, Hamm papers. Mosley and Thiriart met in Brussels on 13–14 July with Adolf von Thadden and Arthur Ehrhardt. This coincided with a JE network meeting attended by Antonio Mendez Garcia (Madrid), Pierfranco Bruschi (Milan) Joaquin Duarte (Lisbon) and Kurt Kohl (Hannover). Thiriart also intimated that the heads of the Swiss and Dutch JE sections would be there – Tijmon Balk (Groningen) and Roland Gueissaz (Lausanne). This gave Mosley the opportunity to meet the leading figures in Thiriart's network, see Jean Thiriart to Oswald Mosley, 15 June 1963 in MS124/1/24, Hamm papers. Thiriart hosted a second meeting in Brussels on 24–25 August 1963 at which several Italian and German militants joined him and Mosley. 'So the participants will be the same as the conference of Venice,' notes E.J. Hamm to Jean Thiriart, 29 July 1963 in MS124/1/24, Hamm papers. Oswald Mosley to Jean Thiriart, 1 September 1963 in MS124/1/24, Hamm papers highlights that both men met again in Madrid between 12 and 16 September.

402 *Wiener Library Bulletin*, vol. 17, no. 3, July 1963 reported participation from the following MSI youth groups: Raggruppamento Giovanile Studenti e Lavoratoni (Youth Group of Students and Works); Fronte universitario d'azione nazionale (FUAN); Formazioni Nazionale Giovanile (FNG – National Youth Formations); and Associazione Studentesca di Avanguardia Nazionale – Giovane Italia (Student Association of the National Vanguard – Young Italy). Fred Borth, a former Werwolf paramilitary who led the Austrian JE section was also there as were several observers from Per Engdahl's 'National Left'. *Action*, no. 126, 26 July 1963 features Mosley's summary of policy written for Italian and South American university students.

403 *Action*, no. 117, 17 May 1963; *Action*, no. 119, 31 May 1963; *Action*, no. 122, 28 June 1963; and Antonio Lombardo to Oswald Mosley, 12 July 1964 in MS124/1/12, Hamm papers. Andrea Mammone, *Transnational Fascism in France and Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 90–91 highlights that Lombardo became the 'key element' between ON and the French 'Europe-Action' group. He founded the Centro Nazione Europa (Center Nation Europe) in 1966 with which one young Europe-Action militant, Alain de Benoist, 'was about to collaborate', according to its own files. The Centre had hoped to organise a conference in 1968 to which they intended to invite Adolf von Thadden and Mosley.

404 *Action*, no. 148, 1 May 1964. Thiriart and Bruschi had proposed a meeting in Milan in March 1964 but Mosley was unable to attend, see E.J. Hamm to Pierfranco Bruschi, 24 February 1964 in MS 124/1/2, Hamm papers. Bruschi subsequently provided Mosley with a list of 450 names to which the UM sent materials. He also translated and disseminated *The National European* articles to further dissemination Mosley's ideas through the Italian fascist firmament, see E.J. Hamm to Pierfranco Bruschi, 16 June 1964 and Pierfranco Bruschi to E.J. Hamm, 23 June 1964 in MS 124/1/2, Hamm papers. Oswald Mosley to Ernesto Massi, 4 July 1964 in MS124/1/13, Hamm papers highlights the fact that Mosley sought to harvest addresses of sympathetic Italian business and trade union leaders from Massi.

405 Oswald Mosley to Count Alvise Loredan, 9 February 1967 in MS124/1/12, Hamm papers.

406 *Action*, no. 114, 26 April 1963 and *Action*, no. 130, 6 September 1963, the latter featuring a photograph of Thiriart with a group of European militants in which a UM banner is clearly visible.

407 Jean Thiriart to E.J. Hamm, 5 February 1964 in MS124/1/24, Hamm papers issues the invite for the road trip. Jean Thiriart to Oswald Mosley, 21 June 1965 in MS124/1/24, Hamm papers again invites young UM activists to join another Belgian JE trip on 18 July 1965 from Brussels to Naples. Such activities were a regular feature of fascist militancy. Mosley himself arranged with Arthur Ehrhardt, *Nation Europa*'s editor, for several young UM activists to attend a 'European' camp run by Dr Norbert Scharnagl in Villach, southern Austria during summer 1960, see

Oswald Mosley to Arthur Ehrhardt, 16 June 1960 and Arthur Ehrhardt to Oswald Mosley, 20 June 1960 in MS124/1/5, Hamm papers.

408 Jean Thiriart to Oswald Mosley, 13 April 1965 in MS124/1/24, Hamm papers.

409 Oswald Mosley to Jean Thiriart, 13 June 1965 in MS124/1/24, Hamm papers.

410 Oswald Mosley to Jean Thiriart, 7 May 1965 in MS124/1/24, Hamm papers. As Mosley explained on 13 June 1965:

> We have had a very unfortunate experience in our own printing […] it is a very expert matter in which even the most enthusiastic amateur has difficulty. We only had one real printing expert in our party, and he went to jail for 2 years shortly after we had purchased the expensive machinery for him to supervise.

411 [No signature] to Jean Thiriart, 8 July 1966 in MS124/1/24, Hamm papers.

412 Camus and Lebourg, *Far-Right Politics in Europe*, pp. 87–89.

413 Count Alvise Loredan to Oswald Mosley, 11 January 1967 in MS124/1/12, Hamm papers.

414 Mosley, *Beyond the Pale*, p. 309.

415 *Sunday Telegraph*, 20 August 1962.

416 *Manchester Guardian*, 15 August 1962.

417 *The Times*, 31 August 1962; and *The Times*, 1 September 1962. For footage of the UM meeting, see British Pathé, www.britishpathe.com/record.php?id=42474 (accessed 25 October 2011).

418 The *Guardian*, 10 September 1962; and the *Guardian*, 17 September 1962.

419 Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) file: 100–268487.

420 *The Times*, 8 October 1962; and the *Guardian*, 8 October 1962. During the course of the disturbances, fascists smashed the window of the Bethnal Green Labour Party office.

421 *Action*, no. 99, 1 October 1962; and *Action*, no. 115, May 1963. The *Guardian*, 7 January 1963 reported the UM claiming to have seen a large increase in its 'unrevealed membership' including 'businessmen and professional people' and 'non-members who are supporters'. *Action*, no. 116, 10 May 1963 meanwhile reported that the party had expanded from 120 'points of organisation' in November 1960 to 217 in May 1963.

422 *Daily Herald*, 13 May 1963.

423 *The Times*, 13 May 1963; the *Guardian*, 5 June 1963; and *The Times*, 5 June 1963. For an anti-fascist account of this incident, see Unite, *Tony Hall: Trade Unionist, Anti-Racist and Radical Cartoonist* (London: Unite, 2015), pp. 11–17.

424 *Action*, no. 127, 2 August 1963.

425 TNA CRIM 1/4142. Asked if he had anything to add after being charged, Goulding stated: 'Not really. The Labour party are traitors and corrupt.' Goulding had joined the UM after being introduced to a female member, Dorothy Boyd, by Palmer who was also a UM activist as was Curry. Goulding was an associate of Fredrick J. Sheppard, the Shoreditch UM organiser who was a 'cab washer' at the taxi firm the trio used to travel to the *Daily Worker* offices and who held a bag for Goulding, which, whether he knew it or not, contained additional explosives, whilst they bombed the *Daily Worker* offices. Though Palmer claimed to have 'lost interest' in the UM by March 1963, he and Curry attended a UM meeting on Highbury Corner the day after the attack. Later that evening, Palmer met with Sheppard and Frederick Kemp, the north London organiser at the 'European Books' premises at 6 Fieldway Crescent, near Holloway Road, both of whom, according to his subsequent testimony, coached him to deny having seen Goulding or indeed Curry. In his subsequent police statement, Sheppard denied having seen Curry.

426 The *Guardian*, 8 July 1963.

427 For a profile of Harmston, see *Action*, no. 131, 13 September 1963.

428 Special Branch report, 3 July 1963 in TNA KV 2/4020. Flockhart's behind-the-scenes role, aggravated tensions with Jeffrey Hamm, the latter fearing it jeopardised his own position with Mosley. 'In spite of strong feeling by some members against Flockhart's return, many other members would seem to prefer his organizing ability to Hamm's ineptitude,' records and Special Branch report, 24 April 1964 in TNA KV 2/4020.

429 Tony Lambrianou, *Inside the Firm: The Untold Story of the Kray's Reign of Terror* (London: Pan, 2003), p. 46. Lambrianou and his brother served fifteen years apiece for their involvement in the Kray twins' brutal murder of Jack 'The Hat' McVitie in 1967. John Pearson, *The Profession of Violence: The Rise and Fall of the Kray Twins* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p. 249 claims that 'Ronnie [Kray] was offered money to assassinate the Fascist leader, Colin Jordan'

though when and by whom it is not stated. This intersection between the criminal *demi-monde* and extremist politics is underexplored. Lillian Pizzichini, *Dead Man's Wages* (London: Picador, 1992) highlights the interest paid to the UM campaign by her grandfather – 'a long-firm conman and fraudster' – who had been briefly active with the BUF in Harlesden during the 1930s. *East End Underworld: Chapters in the Life of Arthur Harding* (London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1981), the autobiography of an East End crook who graduated from pick-pocketing and 'shoot-flying' to armed robbery and 'protection' and was involved with the race course gang wars in Brighton during the 1930s, was also involved after 1945 with the Mosleyites in Dalston.

430 *Action*, no. 140, 15 November 1963.

431 Ron Nixon, *South Africa's Global Propaganda War* (London: Pluto, 2016), pp. 17–18.

432 *Sunday Express*, 26 January 1962; *South African Sunday Times*, 29 July 1962; *Wiener Library Bulletin*, vol. 18, no. 2, April 1964; Dennis Eisenberg, *The Re-Emergence of Fascism* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1967), pp. 307–308; and Brian Bunting, *The Rise of the South African Reich* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), p. 71.

433 *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 February 1964.

434 Diana Mosley to Deborah Mitford, 2 January 1964 in Mosley, *The Mitfords*, pp. 406, 413 and 428.

435 *Action*, no. 147, 13 March 1964.

436 *Action*, no. 145, 20 December 1963; and *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 February 1964.

437 *Wiener Library Bulletin*, vol. 18, no. 2, April 1964.

438 *Wiener Library Bulletin*, vol. 19, no. 2, April 1965. Mosley met with John Wilkinson, a former BUF district leader who lived in Natal, see *National European*, March 1965. The internal UM publication *Social Justice*, no. 1, May–June 1967 notes that another activist, Frank Mooney, was actively trying to form branches of the organisation in South Africa, particularly in Cape Town.

439 Diana Mosley to Deborah Mitford, 11 February 1965 in Mosley, *The Mitfords*, p. 428.

440 'Sir Oswald Mosley: South African Broadcast' in C377/16 Eric Stoneman collection, British Library Sound Archive.

441 Union Movement press release, 9 April 1965, copy in authors' possession.

442 The *Guardian*, 9 April 1965; and *National European*, May 1965.

443 *Make Mosley Your Man* (UM election handbill, 1966). Mosley had taken time out of his own campaign to support that of Jeffrey Hamm in Handsworth. Hamm polled a mere 1,337 votes (4.1 per cent), on which, see John D. Brewer, *Mosley's Men: The British Union of Fascists in the West Midlands* (Aldershot: Gower, 1984), pp. 133–147.

444 Diana to Deborah, 5 April 1966 in Mosley, *The Mitfords*, pp. 455–456.

445 *Action*, no. 190, 1 March 1975. The Action Party contested several seats in the 1977 Greater London Council (GLC) elections before it too abandoned electoral politics. In 1978, it became the Action Society, concentrating upon publishing. It ceased existence when Hamm died in 1992. In the United States, an American admirer, Hamilton Barrett, founded an 'Action Society' in San Francisco to propagate Mosley's ideals across the Atlantic, see *League Review*, no. 38, June 1982.

446 C. Welch, 'The White Hope in the Black Shirt', *Daily Telegraph*, 2 April 1975, quoted in Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain*, p. 89.

447 The *Observer*, 8 August 1965.

448 The *Observer*, 15 August 1965. Oswald Mosley to Mr Abrahamson, 2 April 1966 in MS124/1/1, Hamm papers records 'the book written by Lady Ravensdale ceased further publication on representation from my solicitors. The statement in question was untrue and my solicitors have so informed the Wiener Library.'

449 Oswald Mosley to William Frankel, 8 June 1966 in MS124/1/6, Hamm papers.

450 William Frankel to Sir Oswald Mosley, 10 June 1966 in MS124/1/6, Hamm papers.

451 Oswald Mosley to William Frankel, 7 July 1966 in MS124/1/6, Hamm papers.

452 *Ibid.*

453 William Frankel to Oswald Mosley, 13 July 1966 in MS124/1/6, Hamm papers.

454 William Frankel to Oswald Mosley, 24 August 1966 in MS124/1/6, Hamm papers; and *Jewish Chronicle*, 21 February 1969.

455 'The Frost Programme: Interview with Oswald Mosley on 15 November 1967', YouTube, www.youtube.com/watch?v=7j5jJ-VYSps (accessed 23 January 2020).

456 Dorril, *Blackshirt*, 637.

457 Diana Mosley to Deborah Mitford, 17 November 1967, in Mosley, *The Mitfords*, p. 501

458 Sir Burke Trend to the Prime Minister, 27 February 1968 in TNA CAB 164/335.
459 [Illegible signature] to D. Gruffydd Jones, 6 March 1968 in TNA PREM 13/2146.
460 Kurt P. Tauber, *Beyond Eagle and Swastika: German Nationalism since 1945, Vol. 1* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1967), p. 619.
461 Patrick Skene Catling, 'David Pryce-Jones Settles Old Scores', *the Spectator*, 2 January 2016, www.spectator.co.uk/2016/01/david-pryce-jones-settles-old-scores/ (accessed 5 January 2016).
462 Diana to Deborah, 18 February 1966, in Mosley, *The Mitfords*, p. 451.
463 TNA FCO 41/101.
464 *The Listener*, 31 October 1968, pp. 576–578.
465 Dorril, *Blackshirt*, p. 638.
466 Mosley, *Love From Nancy*, p. 478.
467 *The Times*, 26 April 1968.
468 Oswald Mosley to Robert Innes-Smith, 13 November 1968 in MS124/1/9, Hamm papers.
469 Gyles Brandreth to Oswald Mosley, 8 July 1969 in MS124/1/2, Hamm papers, for instance. Gyles Brandreth, *Something Sensational to Read on the Train: The Diary of a Lifetime* (London: John Murray, 2009), p. 201 notes Mosley declined the invitation.
470 Cecil King, *The Cecil King Diary: 1965–1970* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1972); and Cecil King, *The Cecil King Diary: 1970–1974* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1975).
471 Hugh Cudlipp, *Walking on the Water* (London: Bodley Head, 1976), p. 395.
472 Mosley, *Formula One and Beyond*, p. 24.
473 Andrew Motion, *17 Carnations: The Windsors, the Nazis and the Cover-Up* (London: Michael O'Mara, 2015), p. 59.
474 D.R. Thorpe (ed.), *Who's In. Who's Out. The Journals of Kenneth Rose* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2018), p. 466. Other members of the Royal Family were less agreeably disposed to Mosley than the Duke. When Rose met with the Queen Mother at Clarence House on 24 April 1979 to discuss King George V, he told her that he never accepted Mosley's claim not to have encouraged either violence or anti-Semitism, 'she taps the table and agrees with considerable vehemence: "He did, he did."' (p. 577).
475 W.F. Deedes, *Brief Lives* (London: Pan, 2004), p. 158.
476 For excerpts, see Oswald Mosley, *Last Words: Broadsheets, 1970–1980* (London: Black House Publishing, 2012).
477 *The Listener*, 31 October 1968, p. 576. Angus McIntyre, 'The Aging Narcissistic Leader: The Case of Sir Oswald Mosley at Mid-Life', *Political Psychology*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1983, pp. 483–499, for instance, speculates that Mosley was driven by a 'narcissistic personality' observable since middle age, leading him to break with democratic politics, but which, as Deedes and others observed, persisted for the remainder of his life.
478 Thorpe, *Who's In. Who's Out*, p. 385.
479 Oswald Mosley to T. Cassidy, 16 November 1971 in MS124/1/3, Hamm papers.
480 Oswald Mosley to Professor David Calleo, 2 March 1972 in MS124/1/3, Hamm papers.
481 Dick Bellamy to the Secretary, The Mosley Secretariat, 1 January 1972 in MS124/1/2, Hamm papers.
482 William F. Buckley Jr. to Oswald Mosley, 7 March 1972 in MS124/1/2, Hamm papers; and *Historical Reprint Series: Firing Line – Buckley/Mosley* (London: Stevens Books, 1976).
483 Skidelsky, *Oswald Mosley*, p. 15 notes the impact that watching Mosley debate Thorpe at Oxford University had upon him personally: 'My interest in him was born at this point.'
484 Oswald Mosley to Jeremy Thorpe, 11 May 1972 and Jeremy Thorpe to Oswald Mosley, 15 May 1972, Hamm papers. Thorpe's personal assistant told *The Times*, 1 October 1971 that 'He [Thorpe] is quite a friend of Sir Oswald personally' but that he would decline an invitation to debate on the same side as him at the Oxford Union later that year on the merits of Common Market membership.
485 *Daily Mail*, 11 October 1972.
486 *The Listener*, 21 September 1972. The contemporaneous view of Mosley's likely role was somewhat different to his own post-war re-imagining. Having lunching with Marshal Pétain, Vice-President of the Council of Ministers, on 4 June 1940, William Bullitt, the US Ambassador to France, recorded Pétain's belief that the British would desert France. Then, 'after a very brief resistance or even without resistance would make a peace of compromise with Hitler, which might even involve a British Government under a British Fascist leader,' see William Bullitt to

the Secretary of State, *Office of the Historian*, 4 June 1940, https://history.state.gov/historical-documents/frus1940v01/d202 (accessed 16 December 2017). On the following day, the French Prime Minister Paul Reynaud told Bullitt 'the British intend to conserve their fleet and air force and their army, and, either before a German attack on England or shortly afterwards, to install eight Fascist[s] trained under Oswald Mosley and accept vassalage to Hitler.' See William Bullitt to the Secretary of State, *Office of the Historian*, 5 June 1940, https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1940v01/d203 (accessed 16 December 2017). Seeking to allay such fears, on 10 June, Winston Churchill, the British prime minister, tried reassuring Joseph Kennedy, the US Ambassador to Britain that 'as long as he lived the British Fleet will not be handed over to the Germans.' Kennedy noted, however, 'it is possible some other government, the Moseley [sic] government for instance, might turn over anything that Hitler wanted in order to save England from destruction,' see Joseph Kennedy to the Secretary of State, *Office of the Historian*, 10 June 1940, https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1940v03/d29 (accessed 16 December 2017).

487 Norman Longmate, *If Britain Had Fallen* (London: BBC, 1975), p. 116.

488 *Ibid.*

489 Mosley regularly travelled to Germany. TNA 2/3400/131a highlights Mosley's September 1955 visit to meet Werner Naumann. He also attended a soirée including Frau von Ribbentrop, wife of the former Nazi Foreign Minister, hanged at Nuremberg as a war criminal; Ribbentrop's adjutant, former SS Obersturmbannfürher Richard Schulze; Karl Heinz Peter, a former Hitler Youth Leader and librarian at the Hitler Youth headquarters; and Professor Benno von Arent who became publicity head of the UFA in 1933. His stepson, Jonathan Guinness, was also there. Such contacts persisted. Oswald Mosley to Arthur Ehrhardt, 21 October 1963 in MS124/1/5, Hamm papers notes a visit to Munich in 1963 and requests that Ehrhardt provide him with:

> a list of other people whom you think it important I should see during that period. At some time I shall go up from Munich to Bonn for the night and can see people if necessary in the Rhineland. But I think most of the people I should see are not very far from Munich. I might possibly go down to Austria as well.

490 Arthur Ehrhardt to Oswald Mosley, 4 December 1968 in MS124/1/5, Hamm papers; and *Nation Europa*, vol. 19, no. 2, February 1969. UM activists also sought to publicise German Nazi efforts. *Action*, no. 139, 8 November 1963 contains the following lament from E.W.P. Veale:

> I myself have been trying to 'place' a book by a former member of the SS who spent the war on the Eastern front in the Northern sector, but so far without success. The book has been published privately in Germany, but banned publicly. Apparently the only part of the Wehrmacht that has any right to self-satisfaction is the Afrika Corps, which can hold a re-union without let or hindrance, whereas a proposed Waffen-SS re-union at Hamelin had to be cancelled.

491 Oswald Mosley, *Weg und Wagnis: Ein Leben für Europa* (Leoni Am Starnberger See: Druffel-Verlag, 1973).

492 Arthur Ehrhardt to Oswald Mosley, 11 December 1962 in MS 124/1/5, Hamm papers.

493 Mark Weber, 'In Memoriam: Mabel Elsabe Narjes', Institute for Historical Review, 12 September 1981, www.ihr.org/jhr/v02/v02p289_Weber.html (accessed 5 November 2014).

494 *The European*, no. 19, September 1954. TNA KV 2/3999/119a and 117a notes Sündermann's sojourn in Britain between 28 April and 9 May 1955. Sündermann stated his intention to visit The Britons Publishing House and the British Museum but before doing so stayed in Eye, Suffolk with Ronald Creasy an avidly pro-Nazi former BUF activist. Creasy introduced Sündermann to Mosley at a 'Friends of Union' dinner in London on 30 April. Ronald Creasy to Alexander Raven Thomson, 2 July 1955 in TNA KV 2/4023 notes Sündermann used his visit as research for *Alter Feind – Was Nun? Wiederbegegnung mit England und Engländern/Old Enemy – What Now? Re-Encounter with England and Englishmen* (1956), which explored whether 'after two world wars it is possible to overcome the Anglo-German hostility.'

495 Helmut Sündermann to Oswald Mosley, 27 September 1965 in MS124/1/21, Hamm papers.

496 Oswald Mosley to Peter Dehoust, 24 March 1972 in MS124/1/4, Hamm papers.

497 Helmut Sündermann to Oswald Mosley, 27 September 1965 in MS124/1/21, Hamm papers; and Oswald Mosley to Shaun Mosley, 19 September 1965 in MS124/1/15, Hamm papers. During

1955, Spring had worked as a courier for the Spanish Travel Bureau, see TNA KV 2/4019/522z. Mosley remained a point of contact for German Nazis interested in South Africa. In December 1963, Mosley had met with Peter Dehoust in Coburg. Hartmut Fröschle, a young *Nation Europa* employee subsequently visited Mosley in Orsay. He later chaired Das Hilfskomitee Südliches Afrika e.V., an initiative in which Dehoust was also active. See Peter Dehoust to Oswald Mosley, 23 March 1964 in MS124/1/4 and Hartmut Fröschle to Oswald Mosley, 23 March 1964 in MS124/1/6, Hamm papers.

498 See the two invitation cards in OMD5/7/7, Oswald Mosley papers, Diana Mosley deposit, Birmingham University. The former Nazi jurist, Dr Erich Stolleis, who sympathised with Mosley's ideals but was unable to attend the meeting, sent Mosley his best wishes and recollections of meeting Unity Mitford in Munich during the 1930s, see Dr Erich Stolleis to Oswald Mosley, 12 October 1973 in MS124/1/21, Hamm papers.

499 Oswald Mosley to Dr Gert Südholt, 17 October 1973 in MS124/1/21, Hamm papers. Patrick Moreau, 'Germany', in Jean-Yves Camus (ed.), *Extremism from the Atlantic to the Urals* (La Tour-d'Aigues: Éditions de l'aube/CERA, 1996), p. 122 notes that instead the GfP went into 'slow and steady decline' after 1975.

500 'Irving's Earlier Activities in Germany, 1978–1981', *The Nizkor Project*, http://nizkor.com/hweb/people/f/funke-hajo/Irving-03.01.shtml (accessed 23 January 2020).

501 Skidelsky, *Oswald Mosley*, p. 520. For an early attempt to understand Mosley, see also Robert Skidelsky, 'The Problem of Mosley – Why a Fascist Failed', *Encounter*, vol. 33, no. 3, September 1969, pp. 77–88.

502 Skidelsky, *Oswald Mosley*, p. 15.

503 Diana Mosley to Deborah Mitford, 8 April 1965 in Mosley, *The Mitfords*, p. 430.

504 Diana Mosley to Deborah Mitford, 31 March 1975 in Mosley, *The Mitfords*, p. 611.

505 For a review of the reviews, see Richard Thurlow, 'The Black Knight: Reactions to a Mosley Biography', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 9, May–June 1975, pp. 15–19.

506 Vernon Bogdanor, 'A Deeply Flawed Hero', *Encounter*, vol. 44, no. 6, 1975, pp. 69–77.

507 *The Spectator*, 4 April 1975, p. 14.

508 Robert Skidelsky, 'Reflections on Mosley and British Fascism', in Kenneth Lunn and Richard C. Thurlow (eds), *British Fascism: Essays on the Radical Right in Inter-War Britain* (London: Croon Helm, 1980), pp. 78–99.

509 Robert Skidelsky, *Interests and Obsessions: Historical Essays* (London: Macmillan, 1993), p. xi.

510 James Lees-Milne, *Through Wood and Dale: Diaries, 1975–1978* (London: John Murray, 1998), p. 172

511 *Financial Times*, 28 August 2009.

512 Diana Mosley to Deborah Mitford, 4 June 1975 in Mosley, *The Mitfords*, p. 612.

513 Hamm, *Action Replay*, p. 213.

514 Marsh & Ferriman to Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 22 June 1976 in MS124/1/18, Hamm papers.

515 *The Spectator*, 6 May 2006, p. 24.

516 Jessica to Deborah, 19 November 1975 in Mosley, *The Mitfords*, pp. 634–635.

517 Skidelsky, *Interests and Obsessions*, p. 217; and Diana Mosley to Deborah Mitford, 18 August 2000 in Mosley, *The Mitfords*, p. 802.

518 Hugh Purcell, 'Oswald Mosley: Memories of an Unrepentant Fascist', *New Statesman*, 22 August 2013, www.newstatesman.com/archive/2013/08/oswald-mosley-memories-unrepentant-fascist (accessed 24 July 2017).

519 *Ibid.*

520 Diana Mosley to Deborah Mitford, 26 November 1981 in Mosley, *The Mitfords*, p. 678.

521 Diana Mosley to Deborah Mitford, 16 March 1982 in Mosley, *The Mitfords*, p. 686.

522 Diana Mosley to Deborah Mitford, 27 March 1982 in Mosley, *The Mitfords*, pp. 697–699.

523 Melissa Benn, 'You're Wicked, You're Insane', the *Guardian*, 4 July 2009, www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2009/jul/04/nicholas-moseley-max-moseley (accessed 4 March 2017).

524 Max Mosley, *Formula One and Beyond*, p. 15; and Diana Mosley to Deborah Mitford, 27 March 1982 in Mosley, *The Mitfords*, pp. 697–699; and Benn, 'You're Wicked, You're Insane'.

525 Richard Thurlow, 'The "Mosley" Papers and the Secret History of British Fascism, 1939–1940', in Tony Kushner and Kenneth Lunn (eds), *Traditions of Intolerance: Historical Perspectives on Fascism and Race Discourse in Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 173–195.

526 ‘“Worst” Historical Britons List’, BBC News, 27 December 2005, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4561624.stm (accessed 31 October 2014).
527 The *Guardian*, 5 June 1964.
528 ‘Alf’ [Flockhart] to Sir Oswald Mosley, 23 April 1961 in TNA KV 2/4020 highlights that Flockhart, the disgraced UM organiser, privately monitored public racial nationalist meetings for Mosley. Having observed their sales drives in Ladbroke Grove, Flockhart proposed attending the BNP 1961 meeting in Trafalgar Square, ‘and will let you have my comments upon speeches, audience and any UM people who may be attending and possibly taking some active part.’
529 Martin Walker, *The National Front* (London: Fontana/Collins, 1977), p. 44.
530 *National Review*, no. 44, winter 1985.
531 *Daily Herald*, 16 June 1959.
532 Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, pp. 163–164.
533 Whilst Tyndall became markedly more sympathetic to Mosley during the course of his career, quite possibly because he believed himself to be a man of similar stature, contemporaneously he was more disparaging. Reviewing Mosley’s autobiography, *My Life*, in *Spearhead*, no. 21, November–December 1968, Tyndall averred that in world affairs ‘he is an internationalist, favouring an even more total integration with Europe than the Government at this stage dares to espouse’ whilst on the question of ‘race’ his views ‘are no stronger than those of many Tories.’ Furthermore, insofar as his recent views made ‘any sense at all’ to Tyndall, he believed that they placed Mosley ‘a good deal near to the Left than to ourselves. That anyone who has read his latest book should consider him some kind of “ally” of ours is quite fantastic.’ He subsequently dismissed Mosley ‘who addresses massed rallies of swans from the balcony of his Temple of Glory chateau’ in *Spearhead*, no. 45, August 1971 on the grounds that the Common Market was ‘not a “White Man’s Club”’. ‘Whatever the “extremism” of Mosley’s past,’ *Spearhead*, no. 68 September 1973 stated, ‘today he stands for a policy that is definitely “in” with the controllers of the media, while the NF policy of British nationalism is equally “out”.’
534 *Spearhead*, no. 147, January 1981.
535 *Spearhead*, no. 191, September 1984.
536 *Spearhead*, no. 33, November 1996. Fields also produced and disseminated a ‘Special Commemorative Edition’ of Mosley’s inter-war newspaper, *Action*, see *Spearhead*, no. 294, August 1993.
537 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 110. The authorities concluded the same thing. A security service report in TNA PREM 13/2315 for the events of 24–25 April notes that ‘with the exception of Harmston’s participation there does not appear to have been any organized political action behind the demonstration.’
538 Camilia Schofield, *Enoch Powell and the Making of Postcolonial Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 244.
539 Schofield, *Enoch Powell and the Making of Postcolonial Britain*, pp. 244–245; and Simon Heffer, *Like the Roman: The Life of Enoch Powell* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1999), p. 463.
540 Robert Sheppard, *Enoch Powell: A Biography* (London: Hutchinson, 1996), p. 355.
541 Hamm, *Action Replay*, p. 180. *Spearhead*, no. 72, October 1972 highlights the prominent role Harmston subsequently played in the anti-immigration agitation at Smithfield Meat Market in August and September 1972 against the Ugandan Asians in which he spoke alongside Martin Webster of the National Front. Again, Mosley went unmentioned.
542 *The Times*, 24 April 1968; and Dorril, *Blackshirt*, p. 639.
543 *The Times*, 24 May 1977.

Nick Griffin's own thinking about global geopolitics also owes a debt to Chesterton's conspiratorial opus. Writing in September 2001, Griffin stated:

> We will either have a nationalist government that recognises the duty of government to protect those things that have no direct economic value – the poor, the sick, the environment, our heritage, our identity and the patrimony of generations yet unborn – or we will become the wage slaves of the new privatised fascism of the global elite, Chesterton's 'New Unhappy Lords'.[552]

Chesterton's influence endures to this day. The 'A.K. Chesterton Trust' published new editions of *The New Unhappy Lords* (2013) and *Facing the Abyss* (2014), each featuring a foreword by the former BNP MEP Andrew Brons. Echoing the *National Democrat* twenty years beforehand, Brons felt Chesterton had been 'ill-advised' to use the term conspiracy 'so frequently and to use it in the singular' because its pejorative overtones invited ridicule. Nonetheless 'Even those of us who are sceptical of much theorising about conspiracies, must take account of extremely incongruous facts that AK brought to our attention.'[553] Whilst his foreword reflected the longevity of the tradition of conspiratorial anti-Semitism embodied by Chesterton, Brons' contribution to *Facing the Abyss*, one of his last duties as an MEP, took issue with Chesterton's views on immigration, noting that 'he seemed to address the issue as though it were merely a symptom of a greater ill'. In a reversal of Chesterton's own position vis-à-vis the BNP in 1967, racial nationalists like Brons now argued that whilst Chesterton viewed immigration as being a tool of the 'international power elites', perceiving their defeat as the necessary corollary to solving the problem, 'the removal of all of the instruments of the power elite tomorrow would still leave a vast problem for us to solve.'[554] Brons comments reflected the extent to which the ideological re-prioritisation of race, immigration and overt anti-Semitism would continue to evolve after Chesterton's death in 1973.

Notes

1 A.K. Chesterton to *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 June 1965, Chesterton papers. Chesterton hoped to meet Mosley in South Africa in March 1966, see A.K. Chesterton to Oswald Mosley, 11 January 1966, Chesterton papers and A.K. Chesterton to Oswald Mosley, 11 January 1966, Hamm papers. He met Mosley again in 1968–1969 shortly after becoming National Front chairman, see A.K. Chesterton to Oswald Mosley, 9 December 1968, Chesterton papers.

2 Special Branch report, 16 July 1946 in TNA KV 2/1349/339a and 322a. Prior to this meeting, Chesterton expressed his utter indifference to Mosley: 'I mean I am quite willing to meet OM and I am quite willing to do what I can to help with the general idea, which can or cannot include him. I don't care a damn.'

3 *Sovereignty*, no. 3, November–December 1946.

4 *London Tidings*, November 1947.

5 *Truth*, 30 March 1951.

6 *Union*, no. 194, 1 December 1951. Mosley's political secretary regarded Chesterton's views as 'an absurdity in a period when there was no longer an Empire,' see E.J. Hamm to H. Ashton, 22 May 1975, Hamm papers. This was ironic given Hamm had sought out Chesterton in 1945 when running the League of British Ex-Servicemen, a development that 'greatly interested' Mosley, see TNA KV 2/890/480dx.

7 David Baker, *Ideology of Obsession: A.K. Chesterton and British Fascism* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2018), p. 198. For a broader survey of Chesterton's life, see Luke LeCras, 'A.K. Chesterton and the Problem of British Fascism, 1915–1973' (Unpublished PhD: Murdoch University, 2017).

8 A.K. Chesterton to Harry Crossley, 21 June 1966, Chesterton papers.

9 A.K. Chesterton to Harry Crossley, 2 June 1967, Chesterton papers.
10 Baker, *Ideology of Obsession*, p. 88.
11 Colin Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876–1939* (London: Arnold, 1979), pp. 70–79.
12 A.K. Chesterton to Harry Crossley, 2 June 1967, Chesterton papers.
13 2/2 Battalion London Regiment 'War Diary' in TNA WO 95/3001. Major W.E. Grey, *The 2nd City of London Regiment (Royal Fusiliers) in the Great War (1914–19)* (London: Regimental Headquarters, 1929), p. 378 records Chesterton's platoon 'came speedily into action, and did splendid work.'
14 *London Gazette*, 30 July 1919; and also TNA WO 372/4/810907.
15 A.K. Chesterton to Harry Crossley, 19 May 1967, Chesterton papers.
16 Lieutenant A.K. Chesterton MC, *How the British Army Marched to Victory* (Stratford-on-Avon: Henley-in-Arden Branch of the British Legion, 1925), p. 1.
17 A.K. Chesterton, *Blame Not My Lute*, unpublished MSS, Chesterton papers.
18 David Baker, 'The Making of a British Fascist: The Case of A.K. Chesterton' (University of Sheffield, unpublished PhD thesis, 1982), p. 55.
19 Keith Breckenridge, 'Fighting for a White South Africa: White Working-Class Racism and the 1922 Rand Revolt', *South African History Journal*, vol. 57, no. 1, 2007, pp. 228–243. Chesterton's role is noted in Norman Herd, *1922: The Revolt on the Rand* (Johannesburg: Blue Crane Books, 1966), pp. 144, 155 and 157.
20 Milton Shain, *The Roots of Antisemitism in South Africa* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1994), pp. 92–92.
21 Luke LeCras, 'A.K. Chesterton and the Problem of British Fascism, 1915–1973', pp. 107–108 records Chesterton writing in *Action*, 3 September 1936: 'The same Red types who bathed the Rand in blood are to be found in Britain. They throng Blackshirt meetings to try to break them up, knowing that on no condition will Fascist power tolerate their foulness.'
22 A.K. Chesterton, *The Immortal Shrine* (London: Stratford-upon-Avon Town Council, n.d.).
23 For a detailed discussion of this theme, see G.D. White, 'Shakespearean Fascist: A.K. Chesterton and the Politics of Cultural Despair', in Angel-Luis Pujante and Ton Hoenselaars (eds), *Four Hundred Years of Shakespeare in Europe* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2003), pp. 89–97.
24 The *Manchester Guardian*, 29 May 1928.
25 Chesterton imbibed the cultural pessimism of German philosopher Oswald Spengler only after joining the BUF, developing his philosophy of cultural nationalism. Chesterton revised this, believing that the British Empire not 'Faustian' culture to be the imperilled geopolitical unit. Unlike Spengler, Chesterton ranked culture in terms of significance with 'Europe' at its zenith.
26 Rex Tremlett to [W.E.D.] Allen, 8 August 1933 in OMN/B/7/2, Oswald Mosley papers, Nicholas Mosley deposit, Birmingham University.
27 'The Fascist Movement in the United Kingdom, Excluding Northern Ireland', Report no. III, Developments during August/September 1934 in TNA KV 3/58.
28 A.K. Chesterton to Alex Smith, 10 March 1970, Chesterton papers.
29 See *Action*, no. 91, 13 November 1937; and *The Blackshirt*, 7 August 1937, for instance.
30 *The Blackshirt*, no. 50, 6–12 April 1934.
31 *The Fascist Week*, no. 27, 11–17 May 1934.
32 A.K. Chesterton to Sir Oswald Mosley, 29 December 1965, Chesterton papers; and A.K. Chesterton, *Oswald Mosley: Portrait of a Leader* (London: Action Press, 1936), p. 125.
33 'I am unable to disclose some private information in my possession about Lord Rothermere's dropping of the Blackshirts,' Chesterton wrote after the war, 'but I do not think you will deny the significance of the fact that, on the day the announcement was made, both the *Daily Mail* and the *Evening News* appeared with leading articles full of fulsome praise of Jewry,' see A.K. Chesterton and Joseph Leftwich, *The Tragedy of Anti-Semitism* (London: Robert Anscombe, 1948), p. 235.
34 Martin Pugh, 'The British Union of Fascists and the Olympia Debate', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 41, no. 2, June 1998, pp. 529–542; 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, pp. 238–237; and Martin Pugh, 'The National Government, the British Union of Fascists and the Olympia Debate', *Historical Research*, vol. 78, no. 200, May 2005, pp. 253–262.

35 Baker, *Ideology of Obsession*, p. 128; and *The Blackshirt*, no. 60, 15 June 1934.
36 Daniel Tilles, *British Fascist Antisemitism and Jewish Responses, 1932–1940* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).
37 Chesterton, *Oswald Mosley*, p. 126.
38 Chesterton and Leftwich, *The Tragedy of Anti-Semitism*, pp. 65–66.
39 Baker, *Ideology of Obsession*, p. 127.
40 A.K. Chesterton, *Creed of a Fascist Revolutionary* (London: BUF Publications, n.d.). Though Chesterton's own revolutionary ardour dissipated, his booklet continued to inspire future generations. Frequently reprinted, most recently it was turned into an audio book by 'Radio Aryan', see www.radioaryan.com/2016/01/aryan-narrations-creed-of-fascist.html (accessed 2 May 2018).
41 TNA KV 2/2474/91a.
42 A.K. Chesterton, *Fascism and the Press* (London: BUF Publications, n.d.).
43 Special Branch report, 17 January 1935 in TNA HO 144/20144; and Thomas P. Linehan, *East London for Mosley* (London: Cass. 1996), p. 6.
44 Colin Cross, *Fascists in Britain* (London: Barrie Rockliff, 1961), pp. 137–138. BUF publications made no mention of the purge. *Blackshirt*, no. 92, 23 January 1935 featured an article from Chesterton emphasising Fascism's disciplined martial spirit and devoted service which stated:

> There is in Fascism no place for the grumbler, the double-crosser, the non-co-operator … Only the man who works in harmony with his unit is the true Fascist, and it is through his devoted service that the Fascist cause shall triumph.

It was followed in the next week by an article arguing that Blackshirts were 'The Samurai of the Modern World' (*Blackshirt*, no. 93, 1 February 1935). The 'reorganisation' of the Leicester branch was noted in *Blackshirt*, no. 94, 8 February 1935.
45 Special Branch report, 11 March 1935 in TNA HO 144/20144.
46 'William Joyce' entry for 3 April 1935 in TNA KV 2/245/1a.
47 Special Branch report, 4 April 1935 in TNA HO 144/20144.
48 *The Blackshirt*, no. 116, 12 July 1935.
49 Richard Reynell Bellamy, *We Marched with Mosley: The Authorised History of the British Union of Fascists* (London: Black House Publishing, 2013), p. 85.
50 Chesterton, *Oswald Mosley*, pp. 164–168. For more on the theme, see Andrew Mitchell, 'Mosley, British Fascism and Religious Imagery: Fascist Hagiography and Political Myth Making', in Clyde Binfield (ed.), *Sainthood Revisioned: Studies in Hagiography and Biography* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), pp. 107–122.
51 A.K. Chesterton, *Mosley, Geschichte und Program des Britischen Fascismus* (Leipzig: Verlag E.A. Seeman, 1937), quoted in Louis Bondy, *Racketeers of Hatred* (London: Newman Wolsey, 1946), p. 144. Mosley claimed that Chesterton personally sold the rights to the biography in Germany, noting that it 'was attractively produced and I gather some 30 copies, or something, were sold in our shop' primarily to German customers, see Mosley's Advisory Committee papers, notes of re-hearing, 22 July 1940 in TNA HO 283/16/71.
52 *The Blackshirt*, no. 145, 31 January 1936.
53 *Action*, no. 91, 13 November 1937; and *Action*, no. 95, 9 December 1937.
54 Francis Beckett, *The Rebel Who Lost His Cause the Tragedy of John Beckett, MP* (London: London House, 1999), p. 136.
55 TNA HO 45/25393/33–34.
56 Margaret Bowie, interview with the author, 31 January 2005.
57 Thomas Linehan, *British Fascism 1918–1939: Parties, Ideology and Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 110–111.
58 J.L. Risdon, *Blackshirt and Smoking Beagles* (Scarborough: Wilfred Books, 2013), pp. 638–639.
59 KV 2/2145/216/28a details Chesterton's clash with Captain U.A. Hick, senior administrator of the London area, and B.D.E. Donovan, the Assistant Director-General, in October 1938 which required Mosley's arbitration as Hick threatened to resign, accusing Chesterton of intriguing against him.
60 The series ran (irregularly) from *Blackshirt*, no. 207, 10 April 1937 to *Blackshirt*, no. 220, 17 July 1937.
61 A.K. Chesterton to J.A.L. Hancock, 17 January 1972, Chesterton papers.

62 Oswald Mosley, *My Life* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1968), p. 302.
63 *Blackshirt*, no. 219, 10 July 1937.
64 A.K. Chesterton to Philip Spranklin, 24 November 1937 in TNA KV 2/621. Spranklin was a close friend of Unity Mitford and wore 'Heinrich Himmler's SS badge for privileged Nazi sympathisers abroad.' Ernest R. Pope, Reuters' Munich correspondent, used Spranklin as a source.

> In return for lucre or liquor, Spranklin would lift the veil of Unity's love life with Hitler, or other goings-on within the walls of inaccessible Nazidom. Young and boastful, Phillip enjoyed proving how close he stood to the Nazi leaders,

Pope recalled in *Munich Playground* (London: W.H. Allen, 1942). Spranklin, who returned from Germany in October 1940, was killed in June 1944 during a German bombing raid together with Denyss Chamberlaine Wace, a former BUF and IFL activist who had worked as a broadcaster for Nazi radio before his repatriation, see *Daily Telegraph*, 30 June 1944; and T.M. Shelford, 6 February 1944 in TNA KV 2/185/1891a.
65 Tilles, *British Fascist Antisemitism and Jewish Responses, 1932–1940*, pp. 46–51.
66 A.K. Chesterton, *The Apotheosis of the Jew: From Ghetto to Park Lane* (London: Abbey Supplies, 1937).
67 *Blackshirt*, no. 94, 8 February 1935.
68 J.D. Dell to A.N. Field, 30 September 1935 in 73.148.055, Field papers.
69 *Blackshirt*, no. 230, 25 September 1937; *Blackshirt*, no. 235, 30 October 1937; and *Blackshirt*, no. 243, 24 December 1937.
70 *Blackshirt*, no. 232, 9 October 1937 ran an advert proclaiming:

> Don't read it at Night. Don't read it if you have a weak heart. *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. In many countries every copy was secretly purchased and destroyed. By whom and why? Read it – and see. 1/3 from the Blackshirt Bookshop.

71 A.K. Chesterton to Alex Smith, 10 March 1970, Chesterton papers.
72 A.K. Chesterton to Revilo P. Oliver, 24 August 1970, Chesterton papers.
73 *Blackshirt*, no. 233, 16 October 1937. D.R. Thorpe, *Selwyn Lloyd* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1989), p. 54 notes that Lloyd and Sidney Silverman defended the man charged with causing Mosley GBH at Manchester Assizes on 7 December 1937.

> Our defence, putting it crudely, was that the brick which our client admittedly threw, was not the one which hit Mosley. It was not a very easy argument to make convincing but we procured a disagreement in the jury at Manchester Assizes, and the prosecution did not pursue the case.

74 A.K. Chesterton to A.G. Findlay, 18 March 1938 in TNA KV 2/1345; and *Action*, no. 110, 26 March 1938.
75 Special Branch report, 24 March 1938 in TNA KV 2/1335/24x.
76 Special Branch report, 24 March 1938 in TNA HO 144/21381/34.
77 Mosley's advisory committee papers, notes of hearing, first day, 2 July 1940 in TNA HO 283/13/65.
78 Special Branch report, 24 March 1938 in TNA HO 144/21281/34. For further details, see Peter Pugh, 'A Political Biography of Alexander Raven Thomson' (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Sheffield, 2002), pp. 174–175.
79 TNA KV 2/1345/28a and TNA KV 2/1348/287a.
80 Special Branch report, 7 April 1938 in TNA HO 144/21381/59.
81 F3/483 report, 3 September 1943 in TNA KV 2/1245/42a.
82 Mosley, *My Life*, p. 342.
83 A.K. Chesterton to Sir Oswald Mosley, 21 November 1968, Chesterton papers.
84 *Ibid.*
85 William Joyce and John Beckett, circular letter, 30 March 1938 in 1658/9/1/3/2, Jewish Defence Committee papers, Wiener Library.
86 Special Branch report, 7 April 1938 in TNA HO 144/21381/59.
87 A.K. Chesterton, *Why I Left Mosley* (London: National Socialist League, 1938). Count Potocki of Montalk, a pretender to the Polish throne, printed the pamphlet under the imprint of his 'Right Review' press.

88 'Arthur K. Chesterton' in TNA KV 2/1346/183a.
89 Baker, *Ideology of Obsession*, pp. 137–138.
90 *Catholic Herald*, 16 December 1938; and *Catholic Herald*, 13 January 1939. Speakers included Sigmund Metz, author of *New Money for New Men* (1938), on Financial Reform under a New Order; C. Howard Jones and Sir Daniel Hall, on Agricultural Production; Dr G.T. Wrench, author of *The Causes of War and Peace* (1926), on Agriculture and the Problem of Nutrition; Anthony M. Ludovici and Odon Per, on the Financing of National Development in Italy (though illness prevented Per from speaking); and T. Balogh, of London University on German Economic Experiments. Glyn Thomas, a Yorkshire-based manufacturer, John Scalon and Ben Greene also took part in the conference which was organised by Theodore Faithfull, an ancestor of the rock singer, Marianne Faithfull.
91 *Catholic Herald*, 3 February 1939.
92 A.K. Chesterton, *Blame Not My Lute*, Chapter 16, p. 1. Bernhard Dietz, *Neo-Tories: The Revolt of British Conservatives against Democracy and Political Modernity, 1929–1939* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), p. 198 notes that Lymington was acutely aware that Hitler's invasion of Czechoslovakia had 'put the [British] friends of Germany into an impossible position.'
93 *Candour*, vol. 11, no. 321, 18 December 1959.
94 Dan Stone, 'The English Mistery, the BUF, and the Dilemmas of British Fascism', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 75, no. 2, June 2003, pp. 336–358.
95 Dorril, *Blackshirt*, p. 417.
96 *Candour*, vol. 11, no. 321, 18 December 1959 records that despite his mockery of the group, Chesterton's attempts to awaken the 'Jew consciousness' amongst its membership had some resonance. Chesterton was persuaded by Collin Brooks, editor of *Truth* and a member of the Mistery, to speak on the 'Final Act of Bretton Woods' at one meeting. Chesterton recorded it was a roaring success. John Greene, subsequently head of the BBC talks department, congratulated Chesterton with the words 'we must do something about this' whilst Roger Gresham Cooke, the Recorder of the Mistery and later a Conservative MP called his speech 'superb'. However, as Chesterton noted sardonically in 1959, if both men were still fighting international finance, 'they manage to keep the noise of the encounter beyond the range of the human ear.'
97 'Extract, 11 April 1946' in TNA KV 2/1349/314 and 337c.
98 The two activists in question were David Esmé Vaughan, 'a degraded and corrupt young man' (E.B. Stamp, MI5 minute, 27 February 1942 in TNA HO 45/25746) who had joined Joyce's NSL and 'Professor' Cecil Serocold Skeels, a Charterhouse schoolmaster, private tutor and IFL activist, regarded as mentally unbalanced if not insane by the authorities. The two men, both of whom had joined Mosley's BU at the outbreak of war, had sought to communicate with Joyce in Berlin. The Nordic League 'was in closer touch with Germany than we imagined,' noted MI5 spymaster Guy Liddell in his diary. He consulted with the Director of Public Prosecutions who felt that 'there should be a case under the Treachery Act.' In the event, however, Skeels was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and interned thereafter whilst Vaughan was committed to a mental hospital, see 14 January 1941 and 19 February 1941, Guy Liddell diaries, vol. 3 in TNA KV 4/187.
99 TNA HO 144/21379/292–3. Publicly hanging Jews was a recurrent motif in the Fascist vernacular. *Blackshirt*, no. 96, 22 February 1935, recorded Chesterton being asked:

> The Nazis once said that Germany would never do any good until they had strung a Jews to everything telegraph pole. Is that your policy in England? He replied (to laughter): 'Certainly not; we have too much respect for the amenities or our countryside.'

100 Richard Griffiths, *Patriotism Perverted: Captain Ramsay, The Right Club and British Anti-Semitism* (London: Constable, 1998), p. 137. For more on this milieu, see Paul Willetts, *Rendezvous at the Russian Tea Rooms* (London: Constable, 2015). Robin Saikia (ed.), *The Red Book: The Membership List of the Right Club – 1939* (London: Foxley, 2010), pp. 88–93, a facsimile of the group's membership ledger, lists Chesterton several times under the categories 'speakers', 'writers' and 'FS' which, Saikia speculates, 'may represent an initial attempt to assemble Staff along military lines.'
101 *British Vigil* (handbill) and 'Arthur Kenneth Chesterton', 14 October 1943 in TNA KV 2/1345/581.
102 A.K. Chesterton, *Blame Not My Lute*, unpublished MSS, Chesterton papers.

103 *Ibid.* Chesterton believed his own mail was scrutinised by the authorities but was equally sanguine about the prospect.

> It is quite impossible to discover whether or not letters have been opened in the post, because the technique is to slit open the bottom of the envelope and re-seal by dipping in a solution. The process was exhibited to me some years ago by a friend of mine in the Secret Service.

A.K. Chesterton to Harold Falconer, 15 June 1973, Chesterton papers.

104 *Candour*, vol. 34, no. 6, June 1982.

105 *Ibid.*

106 Cross, *Fascists in Britain*, pp. 184–185.

107 [John Beckett and Harold Lockwood], *Failure at Nuremberg: An Analysis of Trial, Evidence and Verdict* (London: BPP, 1946), p. 14.

108 G.S. for P.M. Burke, note, 8 July 1943 in TNA KV 2/1345/28a.

109 A.K. Chesterton to W.A. Cathles, 6 March 1944 in TNA KV 2/1346/150c.

110 Geoffrey Dorman to Lord Sempill, 21 November 1941 in TNA KV 2/1335/77a. Special Branch report, 5 April 1940 in TNA KV 2/1335/43a states Dorman was 'rather fond of drink, and further, is strongly suspected of having sadistic tendencies.' After the war, he worked for the *Croydon Times* and later the *Croydon Advertiser* and the *Clapham and Balham Times.*

111 P.M. Burke, MI5 minute, 27 March 1943 in TNA KV 2/1345.

112 Greville Poke to A.K. Chesterton, 14 July 1943, Chesterton papers.

113 A.K. Chesterton to Harry Crossley, 2 June 1967, Chesterton papers; and TNA KV 2/1347/221a.

114 Andrew Sharf, *The British Press and Jews Under Nazi Rule* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 202. Defending the newspaper from accusations that it was sympathetic to Fascism, Lewis Filewood, ' "Fascism" and the Weekly Review: A Response to Gregory Macdonald and Jay P. Corin', *The Chesterton Review*, vol. 3, no. 1 – fall/winter 1976–1977, pp. 21–31 argued that Chesterton 'was not an especially frequent contributor, nor was he representative of the views of the paper. He was merely noticeable because of his name.'

115 *The Times*, 22 September 1951; and *The Times*, 19 April 1977. Pepler was later noted to have addressed the Hampstead Literary Society, which was a front for Mosley's North London activists, see *Hampstead and Highgate Express*, 25 July 1947. In 1947, *Weekly Review* was sold to Kenneth de Courcy, editor of the *Review of World Affairs*, who wanted its paper ration. The two journals promptly merged to become *Review of World Affairs and Weekly Review*, see Home Office Monthly Bulletin, July 1947 in TNA KV 2/52. Following the demise of *Weekly Review*, Pepler and Jebb published another Distributist newsletter, *The Register*, until 1951. Thereafter, the Distributist tradition was upheld by Aidan Mackey who launched his own journal, *The Defendant*, in January 1953, see Aidan Mackey, 'A Distributist Remembers', in Tobias J. Lanz (ed.), *Beyond Capitalism and Socialism: A New Statement of an Old Ideal* (Norfolk, VA: IHS Press, 2008), p. 6. Mackey later numbered amongst A.K. Chesterton's most trusted confidants.

116 TNA KV 2/1347/176a.

117 TNA KV 2/1348/216z notes Joyce later used one of Chesterton's *Weekly Review* articles in his broadcasts.

118 *Daily Worker*, 20 August 1943; *Jewish Chronicle*, 27 August 1943; and also TNA KV 2/1346/92a.

119 [Illegible signature] to Oswald Mosley, 3 February 1945 in OMN/B/2/3 – 5, Oswald Mosley papers/Nicholas Mosley deposit, Birmingham University. TNA KV 2/1345/54b for the apology.

120 M.E. Roberts, MI5 minute, 13 February 1945 in TNA KV 2/889/43a. Former colleagues also declined to get involved. Chesterton's former British Vigil colleague John Clarke-Goldthorpe replied:

> To do as you request would be to take a 90% chance of smashing something I have built up; and would ruin, perhaps irretrievably, my own future and that of my wife & children & I would require a mighty cause indeed for me to risk that. I cannot therefore in any way, undertake to do as you ask,

see John Clarke-Goldthorpe to A.K. Chesterton, 25 September 1943 in TNA KV 2/1345/50a.

121 Peter Davison (ed.), *George Orwell: Two Wasted Years 1943* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1998), pp. 303–304.

122 *Weekly Review*, 9 December 1943. In *The Tribune*, 24 December 1943 Orwell retorted:

> The operative phrase is *any other war*. There are plenty of us who would defend our country, under no matter what government, if it seemed that we were in danger of actual invasion and conquest. But 'any war' is a different matter. How about the Boer War, for instance? There is a neat little bit of historical irony here. Mr AK Chesterton is the nephew of GK Chesterton, who courageously opposed the Boer War, and once remarked that 'My country, right or wrong' was on the same moral level as 'My mother, drunk or sober'.

123 A.K. Chesterton to W.A. Cathles, 6 March 1944 in TNA KV 2/1346/150c.
124 Claire Hirschfield, 'Labouchere, Truth and the Uses of Antisemitism', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, vol. 26, no. 3, fall 1993, pp. 134–142; and Claire Hirschfield, 'The Tenacity of a Tradition: *Truth* and the Jews 1877–1957', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 28, Nos. 3 and 4, 1994, pp. 67–85. For Brooks's own views, see N.J. Crowson (ed.), *Fleet Street, Press Barons and Politics: The Journals of Collin Brooks, 1932–1940* (London: The Royal Historical Society, 1999). Brooks was attuned to *Truth*'s inter-war agenda having authored *Can Chamberlain Save Britain? The Lesson of Munich* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1938).
125 Stephen Koss, *The Rise and Fall on the Political Press in Britain. Vol. 2: The Twentieth Century* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1984), p. 611.
126 Richard Cockett, 'Ball, Chamberlain and *Truth*', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 33, no. 1, 1990, pp. 131–142.
127 A.K. Chesterton to Mary Howarth, 19 July 1968, Chesterton papers.
128 TNA KV 2/1347/235a.
129 'Extract', 7 August 1947 in TNA KV 2/1249/40Ja and KV 2/423. See also David O'Donoghue, *Hitler's Irish Voices: The Story of German Radio's Wartime Irish Service* (Belfast: Beyond the Pale, 1998), pp. 194–206.
130 *Rogues Gallery* in BDBJ C6/9/3/2, JDC papers.
131 *Candour*, vol. 2, no. 5, 26 November 1954.
132 *Candour*, vol. 3, no. 109, 25 November 1955.
133 Hugh McNeile and Rob Black, *The History of the League of Empire Loyalists and Candour* (London: A.K. Chesterton Trust, 2014), p. 16.
134 A.K. Chesterton to C.R.S. Mill, 17 May 1973, Chesterton papers.
135 A.K. Chesterton to Air Vice-Marshall D.C.T. Bennett, 11 April 1973, Chesterton papers.
136 A.K. Chesterton, *Menace of the Money Power: An Analysis of World Government by Finance* (Bristol: Yeoman Press, 1946); and A.K. Chesterton, *Britain's Alternative* (Bristol: Yeoman Press: 1946).
137 Richard Cockett, *Thinking the Unthinkable: Think-Tanks and the Economic Counter-Revolution, 1931–1983* (London: Fontana, 1995), p. 73.
138 Philip Goodhart with Ursula Branston, *The 1922: The Story of the Conservative Backbenchers' Parliamentary Committee* (London: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 105–106; and 'Gracchus', *Your MP* (London: Victor Gollanz, 1944), p. 31.
139 'The National Front: Its Formation and Progress', 6 July 1945, Ivan Greenberg papers, 110/5, Mocatta Library, University College London.
140 TNA KV 2/1349/347a.
141 Joe Mulhall, 'The Unbroken Thread: British Fascism, its Ideologues and Ideologies, 1939–1960' (Unpublished PhD thesis: Royal Holloway, 2016), pp. 109–110.
142 Home Office Monthly Bulletin, January 1948 in KV 3/52.
143 *People's Post*, vol. 6, no. 11, October 1950.
144 Home Office Monthly Bulletin, April 1948 in KV 3/52; and Beckett, *The Rebel Who Lost His Cause the Tragedy of John Beckett, MP*, p. 191. Published by Beckett, *Fleet Street Preview* was edited by John Davenport, who wrote under the pseudonym 'John Agard' until replaced by Henry Newnham, *Truth*'s former editor, who wrote under the pseudonym 'Henry Alexander'.
145 Caius Marcius Coriolanus [pseud. A.K. Chesterton], *No Shelter for Morrison* (London: Dorothy Crisp, 1945).
146 Philip Faulconbridge [pseud. A.K. Chesterton], *Commissars Over Britain* (London: Beaufort Press, 1947).
147 *London Tidings* was published by Beaufort Press – which published *Commissars*. This firm was run by Archibald G. Findlay, former deputy to the BUF Chief-of-Staff Ian Hope Dundas and

Francis B. Lillis, see B.A. Hill to J.A. Drew, 25 September 1947 in TNA KV 2/1349/407a. Chesterton's assumption of the editorial chair coincided with Reed's dissolution of his business partnership with Lillis (*The London Gazette*, 23 May 1947), under which *Tidings: Weekly News-and-Views-Letter*, as it was originally called, began publication in April 1946. For Reed, see Richard Thurlow, 'Anti-Nazi Antisemite: The Case of Douglas Reed', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 19, no. 1, 1984, pp. 23–24.

148 A.K. Chesterton, *Juma The Great* (London: Carroll & Nicholson, 1947), p. 61.

149 A.K. Chesterton to H.B. Isherwood, 12 October 1961, Chesterton papers. In *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1821, 1996), p. 73, Thomas de Quincey noted his drug induced nightmares of 'unimaginable horror' full of 'oriental imagery' as a result of which 'I could sooner live with lunatics, or brute animals,' than Chinese.

150 Hing Shung Mok to A.K. Chesterton, 8 July 1955, Chesterton papers.

151 A.K. Chesterton to John Tyndall, 21 September 1966 in Chesterton papers.

152 *Blackshirt*, 1 May and 26 June 1937, quoted in Baker, *Ideology of Obsession*, p. 146.

153 *The Patriot*, 17 August 1944.

154 Chesterton and Leftwich, *The Tragedy of Anti-Semitism*, p. 150.

155 A.K. Chesterton, 'Belsen and Auschwitz', *Truth*, 11 March 1949.

156 Chesterton and Leftwich, *The Tragedy of Anti-Semitism*, pp. 250–251.

157 *Candour*, vol. 14, no. 391, 21 April 1961.

158 *Candour*, vol. 4, no. 138, 15 June 1956.

159 *Failure at Nuremberg*, p. 15.

160 *Candour*, no. 19, 5 March 1954.

161 'AKC, 3 November 1947' in TNA KV 2/1349/408a.

162 Robert Lynd to A.K. Chesterton, 15 September 1948, Chesterton papers. In a handwritten note attached to the letter, Lynd noted: 'I don't think I dictated that sentence but my secretary has typed it so!'

163 Chesterton regarded Leftwich as 'a man of fearless and independent mind' and had reviewed his book *What Will Happen to the Jews?* (1936) – as 'A.C.' – for *Action*, 30 July 1936.

164 Chesterton and Leftwich, *The Tragedy of Anti-Semitism*, p. 253.

165 James Parkes, 'The Tragedy of Antisemitism', *International Affairs*, vol. 24, no. 4, October 1948, p. 627 made similar criticisms.

166 A.K. Chesterton to Colonel Israel Somen, 11 December 1948 and A.K. Chesterton to Colonel Israel Somen, 5 February 1949 in uncatalogued BDBJ file, JDC papers. Chesterton's friendship was such that he lent Somen his prized Rigby 12-bore shotgun 'as a mark of gratitude and esteem'. This did not prevent Chesterton from savaging Somen in an article in *Truth*, however.

167 Arthur Christiansen to A.K. Chesterton, 26 June 1950, Chesterton papers.

168 Collin Brooks to A.K. Chesterton, 23 February 1953, Chesterton papers.

169 The *Guardian*, 10 August 2004.

170 *Truth Has Been Murdered: An Open Letter to Ronald Staples*: *Supplement to Free Britain*, 8 March 1953.

171 *World Press News*, 27 February 1953.

172 *Birth of a Nation: The British Purpose in Central Africa* (London: London Committee of the United Central Africa Association, 1953), p. 22.

173 Douglas Williams [Colonial Office] to R.P. Bush [Secretariat of Northern Rhodesia], 24 April 1953 in TNA CO 1015/152/48; and Douglas Williams to V. Fox-Strangways [Secretariat of Nyasaland], 24 April 1953 in TNA CO 1015/152/49. Information from Chesterton, in his capacity as the Information Officer to the London Committee, was also included in the Colonial Office Press Intelligence Summary, see TNA CO 1015/152/42; CO 1015/152/46; and CO 1015/152/51.

174 Earl of Portsmouth to A.K. Chesterton, 19 February 1953, Chesterton papers.

175 *The Times*, 23 January 1953; and *The Times*, 18 March 1953.

176 A.K. Chesterton to Sir Oswald Mosley, 17 July 1953, Chesterton papers. A.G. Millar to A.K. Chesterton, 29 April in BBK/B/462, Lord Beaverbrook papers, House of Lords Record Office, hereafter Beaverbrook papers, records Chesterton was contracted from May 1953 until January 1954, employed to 'engage in such work as [Beaverbrook] may designate for you.'

177 *Candour*, vol. 34, no. 6, June 1982.

178 Colin Holmes, *Searching for Lord Haw-Haw: The Political Lives of Williams Joyce* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), pp. 347–349. Mosley's organising secretary Alf Flockhart, who sent the story

to McNab in Spain alleging that Chesterton had been 'dismissed' from *Truth*, was 'finding it very hard of obtain a living,' and thus his article on Joyce 'is a help to him at the expense of William.' McNab forwarded the letter to Chesterton who wrote to Mosley on 17 July 1953 (TNA KV 2/1350/446a) dismissing Flockhart's 'professionally damaging' remarks. 'Perhaps you could restrain this sweet boy as I do not think he would be a particularly bright ornament in a witness box.'

179 *Sunday Times*, 30 March 1969. Living in Jersey in 1940, Jeffrey was required, very much against his will, to surrender his gold to the Treasury under the Defence (Finance) Regulations, demanding reimbursement in £5 notes, see TNA TS 231/1304.

180 *Candour*, vol. 24, no. 534, June 1973.

181 They were: T.V. Holmes, Mrs Mary Clarkson, Miss Alice Raven, Mrs M.A. Jones, Mr and Mrs Marfleet, Mr and Mrs Cuthbert Reavely, Dr Basil Steele, L.R. Padgett, Mr and Mrs Horsfall-Ertz, Lady Elizabeth Freeman, Anthony Gittens, G.G. Gordon, Henry Devereux Gordon and Miss M.G. 'Leslie' Greene.

182 Lady Elizabeth Freeman, Dr Eugene R. Horsfall-Ertz and his wife, Ethel, and Leslie Greene were to sit on the Board of Directors. Chesterton's choice of Horsfall-Ertz, a private tutor, was interesting. Horsfall-Ertz had been detained from 29 June 1940 to 8 December 1944 on account of his association with several German intelligence agents, see TNA HO 283/35 and TNA HO 45/25730. MI5 were particularly interested in his connection to Mrs Mathilde Krafft, the German intelligence paymaster for the MI5 'double agent' SNOW, see Nigel West (ed.), *The Guy Liddell Diaries, Vol. 1: 1939–1942* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 65 and 158; and Nigel West, *The Guy Liddell Diaries, Vol. 2: 1942–1945* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 6 and 112.

183 'Circular letter RE new "News and Views Letter" sent to all who guaranteed finance, 1 July 1953'; 'News letter project report of a private (preliminary) meeting which was held at St. Ermin's Hotel, Caxton Street, SW1 on 30 July 1953' and 'Copy of letter sent to all donors to Candour' all in Chesterton papers.

184 Raven joined the LEL National Council and published several articles in *Candour* before her death in 1956. She had been one of several pro-Nazi 'enthusiasts' who formed 'The Anglo-German Group' in 1935. This group was connected with the Golden Eagle Publishing Company founded by pro-Nazi journalist George Knight whose output included *In Defence of Germany* (1933). Knight, a member of the Anglo-German Fellowship, also contributed to *Germany in the Third Reich* (1939) published by Verlag Moritz Diesterweg. 'The official representatives of the [Nazi] Party here do not treat this group of enthusiasts seriously and state the Party has no need of such dilettante support, in its propaganda or aims,' observed Special Branch. Knight had previously published a single-issue newsletter titled *European Affairs*, distributed 'freely and gratis' in German political circles in Britain by the Nazi's London *Ortsgruppe* as well as being sent to Leese's IFL, see Special Branch report, 17 January 1935 and Special Branch report, 24 April 1935 in TNA FO 371/18868.

185 *Candour*, vol. 18, no. 471, December 1967. Lady Freeman, who compiled the *Traditionalists Anthology*, became an early member of the British National Party Glasgow branch, see *Spearhead*, no. 211, May 1986.

186 *Candour*, no. 20, 12 March 1954. The number of *Candour* subscribers is unclear. The last number featuring on a list of paid-up subscribers for 1955/1956 attached to the minutes of the League Executive Committee meeting, 21 August 1957, Chesterton papers is 7,256. There are by no means that many names on the list, however, and the figure could equally denote a membership number unrelated to its circulation.

187 A.K. Chesterton to H.M. Chief Inspector of Taxes, 8 September 1964, Chesterton papers. See, for instance, Britons, receipt for £100 donation from A.K. Chesterton, 4 June 1954; Britons, receipt for £250 loan from A.K. Chesterton, 4 June 1954, Britons archive; and *Free Britain*, no. 140, January 1954; and *Free Britain*, no. 141, February 1954.

188 Douglas Reed, *Far and Wide* (London: The Non-Fiction Book Club, 1951), p. 308.

189 A.K. Chesterton to Douglas Reed, 25 October 1954, Chesterton papers.

190 Douglas Reed to A.K. Chesterton, 27 November 1954, Chesterton papers; and A.K. Chesterton to Douglas Reed, 2 December 1954, Chesterton papers.

191 Lord Beaverbrook to A.K. Chesterton, 8 December 1953 in BBK/B/462, Beaverbrook papers.

192 *Candour*, no. 10, 1 January 1954. The incident Chesterton alludes to took place after Beaverbrook pointedly asked Chesterton whether he thought him a political success or failure. Without

hesitation, Chesterton replied that Beaverbrook was a 'political failure'. After listening to his reasons, Beaverbrook insisted he write an article on the subject. 'It will be an attack,' warned Chesterton. 'Of course it will be an attack,' replied Beaverbrook. 'Get on and write it.' The article in the *Evening Standard*, 14 September 1953, lambasted Beaverbrook as a 'failure' not because he lacked sincerity, but because his protest was 'feeble', lacking the clarity, conviction and capacity for ruthless invective. Ironically, Mosley complained, writing to Beaverbrook attacking Chesterton as 'one of the few remaining die-hard fascists'. Beaverbrook rebuked Mosley, stating that Chesterton's comments were 'perfectly fair and entirely within the limits of reasonable controversy,' see correspondence in BBK C/254, Beaverbrook papers. Chesterton apparently once asked Beaverbrook why his personal views were not emblazoned across his newspapers for all to read. Beaverbrook answered that '*They* can tear the flesh from off your bones'. Chesterton drew the inference that '*they*' were the Jews. Chesterton parted company with Beaverbrook on far more amicable terms than he had done with Mosley. 'Of the three authentic men of genius I have known, Beaverbrook was one,' he later recorded in *Blame Not My Lute* unpublished MSS, p. 7.

193 A.K. Chesterton to H.M. Chief Inspector of Taxes, 8 September 1964, Chesterton papers.

194 David Motadel, 'The Global Authoritarian Moment and the Revolt against Empire', *American Historical Review*, 2019, pp. 843–877.

195 Luke LeCras, 'A.K. Chesterton and the Problem of British Fascism, 1915–1973', p. 202.

196 *Candour*, no. 21, 19 March 1954.

197 A.K. Chesterton, *Sound the Alarm!* (London: Candour, 1954); A.K. Chesterton, *Stand by the Empire* (London: Candour, 1954); and A.K. Chesterton, *Beware the Money Power* (London: Candour, 1954).

198 Quoted in *Wiener Library Bulletin*, vol. 8, nos 5–6, September–December 1954.

199 John Beckett circular to *People's Post* subscribers, 2 November 1953; *People's Post*, November 1953; *People's Post*, February 1954; and Beckett, *The Rebel Who Lost His Cause the Tragedy of John Beckett, MP*, p. 193.

200 For an 'in-house' account of its activities, see McNeile and Black, *The History of the League of Empire Loyalists and Candour*.

201 Leslie Greene to A.K. Chesterton, 15 July 1944 in TNA KV 2/1347/200a.

202 *Candour*, vol. 70, nos 2 and 3, February–March 1997.

203 A.K. Chesterton to Anthony Gittens, 25 February 1972, Chesterton papers. Graham and Hugh Greene's brother, Herbert, also contributed doggerel verse to *Candour*, notes Francis Beckett, *Fascist in the Family: The Tragedy of John Beckett MP* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 329–330. For more on the family, see Jeremy Lewis, *Shades of Greene: One Generation of an English Family* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2010).

204 *The Defendant*, vol. 3, no. 7, July 1955. Mackey also contributed to The Britons newsletter, that is, *Free Britain*, no. 157, June 1955. He left the League's paid employ after a year but remained an activist and trusted confidant.

205 Clifford became the 'senior' NF representative for Southern England and deputy chairman of the NF directorate. He authored *Alternative to the Common Market* (1970) and died in May 1974 aged 84, see *Candour*, vol. 25, no. 534, May 1974; *Spearhead*, no. 77, July 1974; and A.K. Chesterton to Frank Clifford, 24 April 1967, Chesterton papers. Another BUF member who joined the League's National Council was W.K.A.J. Chambers-Hunter on whom, see Liz Kibblewhite and Andy Rigby, *Fascism in Aberdeen: Street Politics in the 1930s* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen People's Press, 1978).

206 *Candour*, vol. 23, no. 522, May 1972. Stuart Rawnsley 'The Membership of the British Union of Fascists', in Kenneth Lunn and Richard Thurlow (eds), *British Fascism* (London: Croon Helm, 1980), pp. 150–164 observes 'there is much evidence to suggest that the percentage of Catholics in the BUF was higher than in the population as a whole.' For broader discussion, see Tom Villis, *British Catholics & Fascism* (London: Palgrave, 2013).

207 Robert Baden-Powell to Austen Brooks, 12 December 1960; Robert Baden-Powell to Austen Brooks, 19 December 1960; and Austen Brooks to Robert Baden-Powell, 21 December 1960; Austen Brooks to Douglas Bader, 17 April 1961 and Douglas Bader to Austen Brooks, 19 April 1961, Chesterton papers.

208 The League was contemporaneously satirised in film and literature including Alan Boulding's film *I'm Alright Jack* (1959) and Graham Greene's novel *Travels With My Aunt* (1969).

209 *Candour*, vol. 14, nos 388 and 389, 31 March and 7 April 1961.
210 *Candour*, vol. 2, no. 21, 18 March 1955; *The Times Education Supplement*, 10 August 1956; *Reynolds News*, 19 August 1956; *Candour*, vol. 6, no. 167, 4 January 1957; and Hansard, HC Deb. (series 5) vol. 557, col. 1579 (2 August 1956).
211 Auberon Waugh, *Will This Do? The First Fifty Years of Auberon Waugh, an Autobiography* (London: Century, 1991), pp. 54–57; and Alexander Waugh, *Fathers and Sons: The Autobiography of a Family* (London: Headline, 2004), pp. 320–322. Waugh contributed to *Candour*, vol. 2, nos 31 and 32, 27 May and 3 June 1955. His subsequent claims that his LEL membership was confined to his schooldays is slightly confounded by *Candour*, vol. 8, no. 243, 20 June 1958, which printed a glowing tribute to Waugh, after he was seriously wounded on national service in Cyprus, stating that he 'has been since his schooldays a member of the League of Empire Loyalists.'
212 Evelyn Waugh to Auberon Waugh, 14 June 1955 in Mark Emory (ed.), *The Letters of Evelyn Waugh* (London: Phoenix, 1995), p. 442.
213 'Extract, 12 October 1949', in TNA KV 2/1350/438a.
214 *Candour*, vol. 2, no. 18, 25 February 1955.
215 Daniel Leach, *Fugitive Ireland: European Minority Nationalists and Irish Political Asylum, 1937–2008* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), p. 183.
216 *Candour*, vol. 2, no. 22, 25 March 1955.
217 *Candour*, vol. 4, no. 125, 16 March 1956; *Candour*, vol. 4, no. 126, 23 March 1956; and *Candour*, vol. 4, nos 127 and 128, 30 March and 6 April 1956.
218 In January 1963, Greene married Richard von Goetz, a young American LEL supporter whom she had met in Germany in the previous year when visiting Otto Strasser, see *Candour Interim Report*, March 1963. Von Goetz was part of Strasser's circle and his sister, Cecile, another *Candour* contributor, was the Washington correspondent for *Deutsche Arbeit*, an extreme right-wing journal published by Strasser's lawyer, Rudolf Aschenaur. Richard von Goetz had another sister, Barbara, who served as the secretary (and mistress) to George Lincoln Rockwell, leader of the American Nazi Party from 1961 until his death in 1967. Barbara von Goetz had volunteered for the LEL during a visit to London in 1956, see Barbara von Goetz to Colin Jordan, 22 May 1964, George Lincoln Rockwell papers.
219 McNeile and Black, *The History of the League of Empire Loyalists and Candour*, p. 26.
220 A.K. Chesterton to Wing-Commander Michael Young, 15 June 1973, Chesterton papers.
221 A.K. Chesterton, *Britain's Graveyard: Dangers of the Common Market* (London: Candour, 1957).
222 *Candour*, vol. 8, no. 225, 14 February 1957.
223 *Ibid.*
224 Robert F. Dewey Jr, *British National Identity and Opposition to Membership of Europe, 1961–63: The Anti-Marketeers* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), p. 117 highlights that Lord Beaverbrook refused an invitation to speak by the Anti-Common Market Union, which held a series of rallies in the Albert Hall during 1962, because an LEL speaker had also been invited.
225 *League of Empire Loyalists Bulletin*, no. 4, 16 September 1955.
226 A.K. Chesterton to The Editor, *Daily Telegraph*, 5 September 1967, Chesterton papers.
227 *Candour*, vol. 2, no. 18, 25 February 1955. CCO 3/5/88 and CCO 3/5/89, Conservative Central Office papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford, hereafter CCO papers. For more on the Conservative response, see Mark Pitchford, *The Conservative Party and the Extreme Right, 1945–1975* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 56–63 and 78–83.
228 *Candour*, Vol. 34, nos 7 and 8, July–August 1983.
229 Mr Adamson to Sir Fergus Graham, 11 May 1955 in CCO 3/4/75, CCO papers.
230 CCO 3/5/89, CCO papers, highlights the following League members who held dual membership of the Conservative Party: The Earl of Buchan who 'has been a supporter of the MP, Sir Lionel Heald, in the past'; Lady Elizabeth Freeman supported Chichester Conservative Association; Air-Commodore G.S. Oddie, supported Midlothian Conservative Association; Sir Richard Palmer, the former governor of Cyprus was a 'large financial benefactor' to the Keswick Conservative Association whilst his wife was a supporter of the City of Westminster Conservative Association; Lord Ironside was a member of the Central Norfolk Conservative Party Executive Committee; Sir Balfour Hutchison made modest financial contributions to the Eye Conservatives in Suffolk; Joyce Mew, leader of the British Housewives' League (BHL) and an

LEL member, was a member of the Tunbridge Conservative Association; D.S. Fraser-Harris, the LEL Chairman, was a member of the Falmouth Conservative Association and Councillor Joseph Holden, another LEL member, was the vice-president of the Preston Conservative Association; Major-General Richard Hilton was Vice-Chairman of one of the branch committees of the Stratford-upon-Avon Association and, it was noted, 'works hard for the Association and is regarded by the agent as one of his most valued workers.'

231 Confidential memo from Conservative Central Office to Chairman, 5 July 1957 in CCO 3/5/88, CCO papers.

232 *Candour*, vol. 16, no. 436, 2 March 1962.

233 J.G. Darwin, 'The Fear of Falling: British Politics and Imperial Decline Since 1900', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 36, 1986, pp. 27–43.

234 *Candour*, vol. 5, no. 159, 9 November 1956; and *Candour*, vol. 5, no. 160, 16 November 1956.

235 *Candour*, vol. 4, no. 140, 29 June 1956.

236 John Ramsden, *An Appetite for Power: A History of the Conservative Party Since 1830* (London: Harper Collins, 1998), p. 332.

237 Harry Legge-Bourke MP to A.K. Chesterton, 17 March 1953, Chesterton papers.

238 *Candour*, vol. 6, no. 186, 17 May 1957.

239 *Candour*, vol. 6, no. 187, 24 May 1957.

240 A.K. Chesterton to Douglas Reed, 4 June 1954; and Nettie Bonnar to Henry Kerby MP, 2 April 1957, Chesterton papers.

241 TNA HO 45/25400. Peter Wright, *Spycatcher* (New York: Viking, 1987), pp. 67–70 concurs with Mosley.

242 Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 529, cols 2326–2327 (8 July 1954). When Strasser was refused leave to disembark in 1955, Kerby tabled another question, see Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 537, col. 2222 (3 March 1955), raising the matter again in January 1957, see Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 563, cols 92–93W (25 January 1957). In 1957, the Home Office also refused permission for Gottfried Griesmayer, a former member of Martin Bormann's staff who had written speeches for Hitler and his companion Kurt Schenke, to enter the country and visit Chesterton. Chesterton again turned to Kerby, see A.K. Chesterton to Henry Kerby MP, 6 June 1957; Henry Kerby MP to A.K. Chesterton, 12 August 1957; and A.K. Chesterton to Henry Kerby MP, 14 August 1957, Chesterton papers.

243 Brian H. Robertson to Henry Kerby MP, 20 March 1957; Ministry of Health to Henry Kerby MP, 2 April 1957; and A.K. Chesterton to Henry Kerby MP, 14 August 1957, Chesterton papers. Kerby also tabled parliamentary questions to the Ministry of Health relating to sickle-cell anaemia fed to him by another of his constituents, the racial propagandist H.B. Isherwood, see H.B. Isherwood to A.K. Chesterton, 3 June 1969, Chesterton papers. Chesterton's impressions of a meeting with Kerby in the House of Commons are recorded in *Spearhead*, no. 73, February 1973. Chesterton also thought Kerby to be working for British intelligence.

244 A.K. Chesterton to Henry Kerby MP, 5 January 1962, Chesterton papers records Chesterton's anger that, though Kerby would not become a member of the LEL, he had join Edward Martell's National Fellowship.

245 Reginald Dorman-Smith to Sir Stephen Pierssene, 25 October 1956 in CCO 3/5/88, CCO papers; and *Candour*, vol. 5, no. 153, 28 September 1956.

246 The *Guardian*, 18 February 1981.

247 *League of Empire Loyalists Bulletin*, no. 5, 14 October 1955.

248 *General Election, 26 May 1955: Questions for Candidates* in BDBJ C6/2/1/5, JDC papers.

249 *Conservatives! Do You Repudiate Nigel Nicolson?* (LEL handbill, 1955).

250 For the broader context, see Lawrence W. Martin, 'The Bournemouth Affair: Britain's First Primary Election', *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 22, no. 4, 1960, pp. 654–681.

251 *Daily Mail*, 12 February 1957. BDBJ C6/7/2/4, folder 3, JDC papers, lists Friend as having 'extreme views' when a prospective parliamentary candidate for Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1950. His obituary records that he was a 'strong sympathiser' with South Africa and Rhodesia, see *Daily Telegraph*, 12 April 1988.

252 *The Times*, 15 December 1958.

253 *The Times*, 17 December 1958.

254 The *Independent*, 8 December 1990. Friend subsequently became a sponsor of the Conservative Monday Club's Action Fund run by former deputy MI6 director George Kennedy Young.

255 Nigel Nicolson, *Long Life: Memoirs* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997), pp. 168–176; and Geoffrey Lewis, *Lord Hailsham: A Life* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1997), pp. 174–175.
256 John Ramsden, *The Age of Churchill and Eden, 1940–1957* (London: Longman, 1995), pp. 297–298.
257 *Candour*, vol. 13, nos 366 and 367, 28 October and 4 November 1960.
258 Cockett, *Thinking the Unthinkable*, p. 126.
259 CCO 3/5/58, CCO papers. Chesterton noted in *Candour*, vol. 17, no. 446, October 1965 that 'several scores' of LEL members joined Martell's organisation 'with a view to swinging it over to the anti-Common Market cause!' The Minutes of LEL Executive Committee meeting, 21 August 1957, Chesterton papers, records the decision that 'it would be a good idea to try and get an LEL person on the Peoples League Ctte. And felt that Miss Greene would be suitable.'
260 For instances of Greene's NCRT activity, see *Candour*, vol. 6, no. 167, 4 January 1957; *Candour*, vol. 6, nos 172 and 173, 8 and 15 February 1957; *Candour*, vol. 6, no. 180, 8 April 1957; *Candour*, vol. 9, no. 267, 5 December 1958; *Candour*, vol. 8, no. 225, 14 February 1958; and *Candour*, vol. 8, no. 226, 21 February 1958.
261 CCO 3/5/58, CCO papers.
262 Leslie von Goetz, interview with the author, 24 January 2000.
263 *Candour*, vol. 6, no. 191, 21 June 1957.
264 *Candour*, vol. 14, no. 377, 13 January 1961.
265 *The Fascist*, no. 110, July 1938.
266 Arnold Leese to Anthony Gittens, 3 July [n.d.], Leese papers.
267 Arnold Leese to Anthony Gittens, 9 October [n.d.], Leese papers.
268 Arnold Leese to Anthony Gittens, 4 January 1955, Leese papers.
269 Arnold Leese to Anthony Gittens, 9 October [n.d.], Leese papers.
270 A.K. Chesterton to The Editor, *The Rhodesia Herald*, 24 September 1965, Chesterton papers.
271 *Candour*, vol. 7, no. 200, 23 August 1957.
272 *Western Destiny*, vol. 10, no. 5, May 1965 published Chesterton's article 'the trend of decadence', whilst *Western Destiny*, vol. 10, no. 8, October 1965 contains a favourable review of his book *The New Unhappy Lords*. A decade beforehand, in 1958, Chesterton had attended an Edinburgh dinner party with Alistair Harper and Thomas Leonard, two leading Northern League activists, together with the Laird of Muck ('a grand old fellow' who had supported the BUF), Air-Commodore G.S. Oddie (a former BPP activist and Christian Identity adherent), and Dr and Mrs Murray ('pleasant but not a lot of use'). A.K. Chesterton to Rosine de Bounevialle, 22 May 1958, Chesterton papers notes:

> Harper and Leonard (very decent Northern League leaders whom we are trying to win over. We beat them hands down in argument, as they admitted, but did not win them from their mystique. However, I think we shall – even if we have to send you up to shock them into surrender!).

273 A.K. Chesterton to John Bean, 21 November 1967, Chesterton papers.
274 *Spearhead*, no. 25, September 1969.
275 *Candour*, vol. 13, nos 353 and 354, 29 July and 5 August 1960.
276 *Ibid.*
277 *Candour*, vol. 9, no. 254, 5 September 1958.
278 *Spearhead*, no. 25, September 1969.
279 *Candour*, vol. 13, no. 365, 21 October 1960; and *Candour*, vol. 16, no. 439, 23 March 1962.
280 *Candour*, vol. 14, no. 391, 21 April 1961.
281 A.K. Chesterton to Rosine de Bounevialle, 23 September 1958, Chesterton papers.
282 *Candour Interim Report*, April–May 1964.
283 *Candour*, vol. 4, no. 139, 22 June 1956.
284 Keith Robbins, *The Eclipse of a Great Power: Modern Britain, 1870–1992* (London: Longman, 1994), p. 271.
285 *Candour*, vol. 13, nos 353 and 354, 29 July and 5 August 1960 notes that in India the League gained support from Captain K.K. Lalkala MBE.
286 *Candour*, vol. 6, no. 180, 5 April 1957.
287 TNA FCO 141/6622.

288 I.R. Hancock, 'The Capricorn Africa Society in Southern Rhodesia', *Rhodesian History*, vol. 9, 1978, pp. 41–62. For a wider reaction, see Richard Hughes, *Capricorn: David Stirling's Second African Campaign* (London: Radcliffe Press, 2003), pp. 162–163.
289 A.K. Chesterton Trust, *A.K. in Rhodesia – In Defence of the British Empire* (London: CD, n.d.).
290 TNA FCO 411/6622.
291 *The East African Standard*, 13 July 1957.
292 Director of Security and Intelligence to Chief Secretary, Nairobi, 22 November 1957 in TNA FCO 411/6622.
293 A.K. Chesterton to Robin Beauclair, 3 November 1967, Chesterton papers.
294 *Ibid*.
295 *Candour*, vol. 11, no. 321, 18 December 1959.
296 A.K. Chesterton to Colonel G. Wright, 27 December 1959, Chesterton papers.
297 *Candour*, vol. 12, no. 326, 22 January 1960.
298 A.K. Chesterton to H.B. Isherwood, 29 April 1971, Chesterton papers.
299 A.K. Chesterton to H.B. Isherwood, 6 May 1971, Chesterton papers.
300 *Ibid*. The document continues to circulate in extreme right-wing circles fifty years later, reprinted in 2012 in a response to the High Court's decision to allow former Mau Mau detainees who had been tortured to sue the British government, see *Candour*, www.candour.org.uk/#/9-mau-mau-oaths/4550760289 (accessed 19 October 2012).
301 See, for instance, the images in Immigration Studies, *The has not happened here, it happened in Africa in 1960* (handbill, 1960), which also graced the cover of *Spearhead*, no. 32, April 1970.
302 *Spearhead*, no. 28, December 1969. A previous article on Mau Mau in *Spearhead*, no. 26, October 1969 had ended with the simple exhortation 'Britain: Melting Pot or Cooking Pot?'
303 *Candour*, vol. 15, no. 409, 8 and 25 August 1961.
304 *Candour*, vol. 15, no. 422, 17 November 1961; and The *Guardian*, 10 November 1961.
305 *Candour*, vol. 16, no. 435, 22 February 1962.
306 *League of Empire Loyalists Bulletin*, no. 20, 13 March 1958; and Leslie von Goetz, interview with the author, 24 January 2000. Greene subsequently worked as a schoolteacher before retiring in 1984. Thereafter, she and her husband became prominent campaigners for the legalisation of cannabis which sufferers of MS and arthritis state relieves their symptoms. She stood in the 2001 general election for the Legalise Cannabis Alliance in North-East Fife, a decision that would have bemused Chesterton. Until her death in April 2005, she was a 'firm supporter' of the BNP, see *The Scotsman*, 14 May 2001; and *Identity*, no. 55, June 2005.
307 Rosine de Bounevialle to A.K. Chesterton, n.d., Chesterton papers. For a profile, see *Candour*, vol. 3, no. 227, 28 February 1958.
308 *League of Empire Loyalists Bulletin*, no. 21, 11 August 1958, Chesterton papers.
309 *Candour*, vol. 8, no. 236, 2 May 1958; and *Candour*, vol. 14, no. 378, 20 January 1961. Another departure was that of Roger C. Gleaves whom Chesterton expelled. Gleaves subsequently founded the 'Greater Britain Campaign' whose sole activity was a largely ignored meeting in Trafalgar Square staged in order to prevent CND from being able to use the site on that date, *The Times*, 24 April 1962. Gleaves subsequently achieved infamy as a paedophile, see Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 896, cols 2359–2390 (31 July 1975).
310 *Manchester Guardian*, 12 December 1957.
311 The *Guardian*, 26 June 1958.
312 'Peer Raises a Storm', Pathé Newsreel, 12 August 1957, British Pathé, www.britishpathe.com/video/peer-raises-a-storm/query/Symon (accessed 4 September 2013).
313 Harold Macmillan, *Riding the Storm, 1956–1959* (London: Macmillan, 1971), p. 725.
314 A.K. Chesterton to Rosine de Bounevialle, 2 October 1958, Chesterton papers. Chesterton sought redress for activists Donald Griffin and Stanley Hulka, a former Young Communist League member. Griffin, regarded as particularly promising, subsequently left the LEL and sold his story to *The People*, 29 January 1961, much to Chesterton's annoyance.
315 Luke LeCras, 'A.K. Chesterton and the Problem of British Fascism, 1915–1973', p. 207.
316 D.S. Fraser-Harris to A.K. Chesterton, 20 May 1959, Chesterton papers; and *Candour Interim Report*, November 1963. He later reprised the role.
317 *Candour*, vol. 10, no. 275, 30 January 1959 alludes to this development.
318 A.K. Chesterton to Rosine de Bounevialle, 2 January 1958, Chesterton papers. Chesterton despatched de Bounevialle to try and gain a £20,000 donation from Lord Nuffield who had funded

the BUF. There is no evidence to suggest she was successful, see Rosine de Bounevialle to A.K. Chesterton, 15 November 1957 and A.K. Chesterton to Rosine de Bounevialle, 20 December 1957, Chesterton papers.

319 Rosine de Bounevialle to A.K. Chesterton, 15 September 1959, Chesterton papers.

320 A.K. Chesterton to Rosine de Bounevialle, 10 December 1959, Chesterton papers.

321 *The Times*, 8 April 1958.

322 TNA HO 325/149; and *The Times*, 8 April 1958.

323 *Daily Telegraph*, 8 April 1958.

324 *Lobster*, no. 19, p. 11.

325 *The Times*, 5 May 1961.

326 *The Times*, 24 April 1962; and *The Times*, 20 July 1962.

327 A.K. Chesterton, *Tomorrow: A Plan for the British Future* (Croydon: Candour, 1961).

328 *Candour*, vol. 34, no. 9, September 1983.

329 Aidan Mackey to A.K. Chesterton, 1 August 1961, Chesterton papers.

330 'Statement for senior members of the Candour/League movement', Chesterton papers. Aside from Jeffrey, Charles Hill, a wealthy Norfolk-based backer of extreme right causes, and Lady Elizabeth Freeman were the two next largest financial benefactors, see A.K. Chesterton to Lady Elizabeth Freeman, 2 February 1966, Chesterton papers. Reader's subscriptions covered *Candour*'s running costs but Chesterton estimated staffing and overheads were an additional £2,500 a year, see A.K. Chesterton to Robert Bread, 19 January 1970, Chesterton papers.

331 'Special Statement by A.K. Chesterton', Chesterton papers.

332 A.K. Chesterton to Pedro del Valle, 26 April 1962 and A.K. Chesterton to Pedro del Valle, 9 May 1962, Pedro del Valle papers, Special Collections and University Archives, Knight Library, University of Oregon, hereafter del Valle papers. The LEL and the DAC were ideologically symbiotic, on which, see Kevin Coogan, 'The Defenders of the American Constitution and the League of Empire Loyalists: The First Postwar Anglo-American Revolts against the "One World Order"', https://socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/coogan.doc (accessed 15 September 2018).

333 *Million Dollar Appeal to Help British Patriots Fight Communism throughout the World* (LEL handbill, 1963), copy in G.L.K. Smith papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, hereafter, Smith papers. For details of the tour, see *Candour Interim Report*, July 1963.

334 *The Cross and The Flag*, vol. 14, no. 11, February 1956 reprinted 'The New Kuhn, Loeb International', from *Canadian Intelligence Service*, vol. 5, no. 12, December 1955, which in turn was republishing it from *Candour*. Another Canadian author who utilised Chesterton's work was William Guy Carr, a Lancashire-born Canadian naval officer who authored the conspiratorial classics *Pawns in the Game* (1955) and *Red Fog Over America* (1955). Carr presided over the 'Federation of Christian Laymen' in Toronto, which published its own version of Chesterton's *The Menace of World Government*.

335 Gerald L.K. Smith to A.K. Chesterton, 1 May 1963; Gerald L.K. Smith to Austen Brooks, 18 June 1963 and Austen Brooks to G.L.K. Smith, 23 June 1963, Smith papers. For *Candour*, see *Common Sense*, no. 344, 1 June 1960 and *Common Sense*, no. 382, 1 April 1962. Brooks sought out Conde McGinley for a meeting. He was in poor health, however, and it is not clear that the meeting took place. Brooks also tried to arrange a meeting in New York with an unnamed multimillionaire supporter whom Smith believed could be cultivated by the League. Contact between Smith and the LEL endured. They entertained Smith's nephew during a visit to England in 1963 and his secretary, Renata Legant, in the following year.

336 A.K. Chesterton to O.G. Allanson-Winn, 2 May 1973, Chesterton papers.

337 Essig, a close associate of G.L.K. Smith, had been active in the America First Committee and contributed to *Candour*. John Tyndall also favoured her work, see *Spearhead*, no. 3, February 1965.

338 *Austen Brooks: American Mission 1963* (CD – The A.K. Chesterton Trust, 2015) features one such speech, though there are no sleeve notes to reveal where and when on the tour it was recorded.

339 Sean P. Cunningham, 'The Paranoid Style and its Limits: The Power, Influence, and Failure of the Postwar Texas Right', in David O'Donald Cullen and Kyle G. Wilkison (eds), *The Texas Right: The Radical Roots of Lone Star Conservatism* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2014), p. 108; and *The Dan Smoot Report*, vol. 10, no. 28, 13 July 1964. Dan Smoot,

People Along the Way ... The Autobiography of Dan Smoot (Tyler, TX: Tyler Press, 1996), pp. 254–256 records his visit to London in 1964 but gives no details of any political assignations.

340 For Walker, see Clive Webb, *Rabble Rousers: The American Far Right in the Civil Rights Era* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2010), pp. 134–153. Brooks also met General Clyde Watts, the attorney and DAC member who had secured Walker's release from psychiatric hospital, to which he had been committed following the riot, though charges against him were eventually dropped. Robert Welch, leader of the John Birch Society (JBS), had declined to assist Brooks whilst he was touring the United States, 'despite the fact that members of the JBS who arrived with letters of introduction to me were courteously received and entertained,' A.K. Chesterton to Revilo P. Oliver, 6 January 1966, Chesterton papers, recorded testily.

341 In Winnipeg, Brooks stayed with D.J. Mackenzie and Percy Haywood, a friend of Ron Gostick; in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, with L.L. Ball and in Ontario with A.T. Klassen, see Austen Brooks to Gerald L.K. Smith, 2 June 1963 and Austen Brooks to Gerald L.K. Smith, 15 June 1963, Smith papers. Philip de L.D. Passy to Adrien Arcand, 9 February 1963, Arcand papers, appeals to Arcand to introduce Brooks to 'influential citizens' though no further information has come to light regarding his involvement in this leg of Brooks tour.

342 *Candour Interim Report*, July 1963.

343 *Candour*, vol. 34, no. 6, June 1983.

344 A.K. Chesterton to Rosine de Bounevialle, 23 July 1963, Chesterton papers.

345 Alistair Horne, *A Savage War for Peace: Algeria 1954–1962* (New York: New York Review of Books: 2006); Hugo Frey and Christopher Flood, 'Questions of Decolonization and Post-Colonialism in the Ideology of the French Extreme Right', *Journal of European Studies*, vol. 28, no. 1, 1998, pp. 69–88; and Hugo Frey and Christopher Flood, 'Defending the Empire in Retrospect: The Viewpoint of the Extreme Right', in Tony Chafer and a Sackur (eds), *Promoting the Colonial Idea: Propaganda and Visions of Empire in France* (Palgrave: Basingstoke, 2002), pp. 195–211.

346 Guy Vanthemsche, *Belgium and the Congo, 1885–1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 95.

347 *Candour*, vol. 17, no. 447, November 1965.

348 Donal Lowry, 'The Impact of Anti-Communism on White Rhodesian Political Culture, ca. 1920–1980', *Cold War History*, vol. 7, no. 2, May 2007, pp. 169–194.

349 Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 720, cols 349–364 (11 November 1965).

350 A.K. Chesterton to Robin Beauclair, 3 November 1967; and A.K. Chesterton to Robin Beauclair, 21 January 1968, Chesterton papers.

351 McNeile and Black, *The History of the League of Empire Loyalists and Candour*, p. 101.

352 A.K. Chesterton to Dr Ian Anderson, 25 July 1967, Chesterton papers.

353 *Candour*, vol. 8, no. 241, 6 June 1958.

354 In *Spearhead* no. 54, July 1972.

355 *Candour*, vol. 17, no. 452, April 1966. A.K. Chesterton to Philip Burbidge, 14 April 1973, Chesterton papers, notes Chesterton had interviewed Smith on the eve of his becoming prime minister, which was 'cordial without being excessively friendly'.

356 *The Times*, 4 November 1976.

357 Elaine Windrich, 'Rhodesian Censorship: The Role of the Media in the Making of a One-Party State', *African Affairs*, vol. 78, no. 313, October 1979, pp. 523–534; and Gerald Horne, *From the Barrel of a Gun: The United States and the War Against Zimbabwe* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 2001), p. 112.

358 Horne, *From the Barrel of a Gun*, p. 104 notes the role of the CLR in connecting and coordinating a plethora of pro-Rhodesian groups across the world.

359 A.K. Chesterton to Rosine de Bounevialle, 10 February 1966, Chesterton papers. Eric D. Butler, National Director of the Australian League of Rights, who was for a period the LEL contact in Australia, also organised the delivery to Rhodesia from South Africa of a 3,000-gallon tanker, driven by his son Philip, which was officially accepted by the Duke of Montrose in June 1966, see 'The Anzacs Are Here!', *On Target*, vol. 2, no. 22, June 1966, *The Australian League of Rights*, https://alor.org/Storage/OnTarget/Volume2/Vol2No22.htm (accessed 27 January 2004).

360 Rosine de Bounevialle to A.K. Chesterton, 29 November 1965; A.K. Chesterton to Rosine de Bounevialle, 10 February 1966; A.K. Chesterton to Rosine de Bounevialle, 17 February 1966;

A.K. Chesterton to Rosine de Bounevialle, 20 February 1966; A.K. Chesterton to Rosine de Bounevialle, 23 February 1966; *Candour*, vol. 17, no. 455, June 1966; and *Candour*, vol. 17, no. 452, April 1966.

361 TNA CAB 129 (67) 162, 20 October 1967.

362 A.K. Chesterton to Philip Burbidge, 14 April 1966, Chesterton papers.

363 In *Spearhead*, no. 54, July 1972.

364 *Spearhead*, no. 25, September 1969.

365 For further details, see Graham Macklin, 'The British Far Right's South African Connection: A.K. Chesterton, Hendrik van den Bergh, and the South African Intelligence Services', *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 25, no. 6, 2010, pp. 823–842.

366 A.K. Chesterton to Norreen Collyer, 14 December 1965, Chesterton papers.

367 A.K. Chesterton to Lieutenant-Commander G.K. Rylands, 27 May 1964, Chesterton papers. On the following day, Chesterton spoke at a *Volkskongres* (People's Congress) in Pretoria, sponsored by the Inter-Church Anti-Communist Action Committee of the Dutch Reformed Church and presided over by Dr J.D. Vorster, brother of the prime minister, which aimed to rally the forces of Afrikaner nationalism against 'liberalism'. Chesterton hoped to name the real enemy (i.e. 'the Jew') at the gathering. The main speaker was Major Edgar Bundy of the Anti-Communist Church League of America. Two years later, on 17 March 1966, Chesterton was feted with an invitation to address the University of the Witwatersrand Conservative Club. Chairman Carl Albrecht assured Chesterton, who was anxious that his name was not associated with a brawl, that there would be no violence at the meeting, not least because John Vorster 'has weeded all the realy [sic] dangerous elements out of the campus.' To assuage Chesterton's misgivings, Albrecht offered to invite several plainclothes security men as a precaution, see Carl Albrecht to A.K. Chesterton, 16 February 1966 and A.K. Chesterton to Carl Albrecht, 18 February 1966, Chesterton papers.

368 A.K. Chesterton to Austen Brooks, 30 March 1964 and A.K. Chesterton to Frank Clifford, 20 April 1964, Chesterton papers.

369 Martin Walker, *The National Front* (London: Fontana/Collins, 1977), p. 35.

370 *Candour Interim Report*, November 1963.

371 *Candour*, vol. 17, no. 443, July 1965.

372 A.K. Chesterton to Austen Brooks, 30 March 1964, Chesterton papers.

373 For a full account, see Graham Macklin, 'The British Far Right's South African Connection', pp. 823–842.

374 *Candour Interim Report*, no. 14, June–July 1964.

375 A.K. Chesterton to Brigadier Hendrik van den Bergh, 6 July 1965, Chesterton papers.

376 Anthony Gittens to A.K. Chesterton, 22 July 1965, Chesterton papers.

377 Birley paid the fees for two of Mandela's children to attend boarding school whilst he was incarcerated on Robben Island, see T. Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 142.

378 A.K. Chesterton to Major-General Hendrik van den Bergh, 27 May 1966, Chesterton papers.

379 Major-General Hendrik van den Bergh to A.K. Chesterton, 14 June 1966, Chesterton papers.

380 Gordon Winter, *Inside BOSS: South Africa's Secret Police* (London: Allen Lane, 1981), p. 163.

381 A.K. Chesterton to Robin Beauclair, 8 December 1967, Chesterton papers.

382 *Candour*, vol. 16, no. 439, 23 March 1962.

383 A.K. Chesterton to Charles Hill, 30 May 1961, Chesterton papers.

384 A.K. Chesterton to Commander W.I.L. MacEwen, 25 August 1965, Chesterton papers.

385 *Spearhead*, no. 25, September 1969.

386 *Candour*, vol. 184, no. 184, 3 May 1957 indicates Chesterton was working on such a book as early as 1957.

387 *The Times Literary Supplement*, 23 September 1965.

388 A.K. Chesterton to Harry Crossley, 24 April 1967, Chesterton papers made the claim that 'so far from making a penny piece out of the book I am at the present moment £1,100 the poorer because of it.'

389 A.K. Chesterton to H.B. Isherwood, 6 June 1969, Chesterton papers.

390 For a full discussion of the transnational impact of Chesterton's ideas, see Graham Macklin, 'Transatlantic Connections and Conspiracies: A.K. Chesterton and *The New Unhappy Lords*', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 47, no. 2, 2012, pp. 270–290. Chesterton also received

Carto's publications. His name features on the mailing list for Liberty Lobby's *Washington Observer*, see Group Research papers, Box 202, Liberty Lobby Confidential file (Horne Collection), Butler Library, Columbia University, New York.

391 Revilo P. Oliver to A.K. Chesterton, 6 November 1971, Chesterton papers.

392 Marinus F. La Rooji, 'From Colonial Conservative to International Anti-Semite: The Life and Work of Arthur Nelson Field', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 37, no. 2, 2002, pp. 223–239.

393 A.K. Chesterton, *The New Unhappy Lords* (Liss: Candour Publishing Co., 1972), p. 247.

394 A.K. Chesterton to H.L. Fendall, 22 April 1965, Chesterton papers.

395 A.N. Field to A.K. Chesterton, 29 February 1960 in 73.148.049, Field papers.

396 A.K. Chesterton to A.N. Field, 20 December 1960 in 73.148.049, Field papers.

397 Chesterton, *The New Unhappy Lords*, p. 197.

398 *Candour*, no. 1, 30 October 1953.

399 Chesterton, *The New Unhappy Lords*, p. 171.

400 For example, James Perloff, *The Shadows of Power: The Council on Foreign Relations and the American Decline* (Appleton, WI: Western Islands, 1989), pp. 72–73 and 254, which refers to Chesterton as 'the distinguished British author'. Earlier works stressing its importance include Dan Smoot's *Invisible Government* (Dallas, TX: Dan Smoot Report, 1962), which claimed the objective of the CLR was 'to convert America into a socialist state and then make it a unit in a one-world socialist system.'

401 Chip Berlet and Matthew N. Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism in America: Too Close for Comfort* (New York: Guilford Press, 2000), 202. *The New Unhappy Lords* was not the first book to make such claims about the Bilderberg Group. Phyllis Schlafly, *A Choice, Not an Echo* (1964), posited that the Republican Party was secretly controlled by an elite cabal dominated by Bilderberg members who sought to pave the way for global communist conquest, a theory that differed from Chesterton's insofar as he believed Communism and Capitalism served the same Jewish master.

402 A.K. Chesterton to Anthony Gittens, 25 February 1972, Chesterton papers.

403 Chesterton, *The New Unhappy Lords*, p. 201.

404 Liberty Lobby, *Spotlight on the Bilderbergers: Irresponsible Power: Documents from the Archives of the Liberty Lobby* (Washington, DC: Liberty Lobby, n.d.), pp. 4–5, for instance.

405 Chesterton, *The New Unhappy Lords*, p. 53.

406 *Ibid.*, pp. 211–217.

407 A.K. Chesterton, 'Weinberg Replaces Baruch', *American Mercury*, May 1959, pp. 132–137.

408 Chesterton, *The New Unhappy Lords*, p. 156.

409 Brigadier H. van den Bergh to Miss Moyna Traill-Smith, 18 May 1965; and A.K. Chesterton to Brigadier H. van den Bergh, 2 June 1965, Chesterton papers.

410 Major-General Hendrik van den Bergh to A.K. Chesterton, 14 June 1966, Chesterton papers.

411 *Ibid*.

412 *Ibid.*; and Brian Bunting, *The Rise of the South African Reich* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books: 1969) pp. 74–75.

413 Major-General H.J. van den Bergh, 'Sabotage in South Africa', in *Battle for the Mind: Papers Read at the International Symposium on Communism, September 1966, Pretoria* (Potchefstroom: NCCC, 1967), pp. 21–45.

414 *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 September 1966; and *Die Transvaller*, 30 September 1966.

415 Major-General Hendrik van den Bergh to A.K. Chesterton, 9 November 1966, Chesterton papers. Van den Bergh held Chesterton in such high regard that when the latter returned to South Africa in winter 1966, he tried to arrange an appointment for him with South Africa's new Prime Minister, John Vorster. 'I know he would appreciate a chat with you,' he stated. It was not to be, however. Van den Bergh proved too busy to arrange a meeting and Chesterton returned to England in February 1967, though not without van den Bergh's profuse apologies, see Major-General Hendrik van den Bergh to A.K. Chesterton, 2 March 1967, Chesterton papers.

416 *Spearhead*, no. 25, September 1969.

417 A.K. Chesterton to Colonel Philip de L.D. Passy, 9 November 1965, Chesterton papers.

418 *Candour*, vol. 12, no. 348, 24 June 1960.

419 Chesterton and Leftwich, *The Tragedy of Anti-Semitism*, p. 242.

420 *London Tidings*, 6 September 1947.
421 *A.K. Chesterton*, *Learned Elders and the BBC* (London: BPS, 1961). The pamphlet was published by The Britons for whom publishing and re-publishing *The Protocols* was their bread and butter. 'Read The Learned The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion And Judge For Yourself' enjoined the back page of pamphlet.
422 A.K. Chesterton to J.F. Noble, 13 July 1973 and 25 July 1973, Chesterton papers.
423 *Candour*, vol. 7, no. 195, 19 July 1957.
424 A.K. Chesterton to Professor Revilo P. Oliver, 24 August 1970, Chesterton papers. The Britons expressed their concerns about Mullins' reliability as early as 1958, see Anthony Gittens to A.K. Chesterton, 29 September 1958, Britons archive.
425 *Candour*, vol. 21, no. 503, September 1970. Mullins never received a copy of *The New Unhappy Lords* though he remembers it 'was well received here', see Eustace Mullins, letter to the author, 30 May 2008. He felt aggrieved by Chesterton's attack largely because

> a few weeks later Chesterton writes to me asking me to do anything I could to help him collect royalties from [Thomas] Serpico [their shared publisher] … I thought it was *chutzpah* on his part, first he denounces me, then he asks for my help,

quoted in Alexander Baron, *Eustace Clarence Mullins: Anti-Semitic Propagandist or Iconoclast* (London: Infotext, 1993), p. 22.
426 *Candour*, vol. 7, no. 195, 19 July 1957. For the genealogy of the canard, see 'Israel Cohen, A Communist – and his Book that Never Was', *Wiener Library Bulletin*, vol. 19, no. 3, July 1965. *Candour* has continued to quote from the fogery, see *Candour*, vol. 70, no. 8, August 1997.
427 *Candour*, vol. 17, no. 448, December 1965.
428 Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and Its Relation to Modern Anti-Semitism* (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1983).
429 A.K. Chesterton to Professor Revilo P. Oliver, 20 April 1971, Chesterton papers.
430 A.K. Chesterton to Frank Clifford, 16 October 1964, Chesterton papers. Standing as 'Independent Loyalist' candidates Brooks polled 497 votes (1.3 per cent) in Wandsworth, Streatham; de Bounevialle polled 391 votes (0.7 per cent) in Petersfield, whilst Greene polled 629 votes (0.7 per cent) in East Fife.
431 A.K. Chesterton to Frank Clifford, 24 September 1965, Chesterton papers.
432 A.K. Chesterton to Frank Clifford, 7 October 1965, Chesterton papers.
433 Rodney Legg, *Legg Over Dorset* (Wellington: Halsgrove, 2011), pp. 17 and 30.
434 A.K. Chesterton to M.F. Bellasis, 10 May 1966, Chesterton papers; and *Candour*, vol. 17, no. 452, April 1966. One supporter subsequently sent Chesterton 'small packages of uncut gems' as a contribution to funds, see A.K. Chesterton to Aidan Mackey, 13 June 1968, Chesterton papers.
435 Importantly, despite the merger, Chesterton never formally disbanded the League for financial reasons. This became apparent when a supporter, one Edward Gonzalez-Moreno, died bequeathing £1,000 to the LEL and £1,000 to Spanish dictator General Franco, see the *Observer*, 17 November 1968. Chesterton had ensured the League remained a legal entity for just such an eventuality. The NF had expected Gonzalez-Moreno's money to come to them. Chesterton felt, however, that the NF had 'a long way to go before it wins my confidence' and was 'quite determined' it would gain neither this inheritance nor the £3,000 the League still had in its own accounts. The NF was not a 'successor movement,' Chesterton argued, because 'the LEL has never been wound up and I do not propose that it shall be ever wound up,' see A.K. Chesterton to Aidan Mackey, 19 December 1968, Chesterton papers. This fact was raised again in a letter to the *Sunday Times*, 20 April 1969.
436 'National Front Party' in TNA HO 325/8.
437 *Daily Telegraph*, 20 July 2005.
438 John Bean, *Many Shades of Black: Inside Britain's Far Right* (Bloomington, IN: Ostara, 2013), p. 123; and Andrew Fountaine, *The Meaning of an Enemy: Collected Writings from 'Combat' Magazine, 1960 to 1965* (Marston Gate: Ostara, 2012).
439 The *Guardian*, 9 October 1948.
440 The *Guardian*, 17 December 1949.
441 National Front, *NF Objectives*, quoted in *Tribune*, 28 March 1969.
442 'The National Front', signed J.E. Bean to BNP members, 1967.

443 *Candour*, vol. 18, no. 461, February 1967.
444 Rosine de Bounevialle to A.K. Chesterton, 20 March 1967, Chesterton papers.
445 A.K. Chesterton to Rosine de Bounevialle, 3 July 1967, Chesterton papers.
446 *Candour*, no. 478, July 1968.
447 A.K. Chesterton to Robin Beauclair, 3 November 1967, Chesterton papers.
448 A.K. Chesterton to Harry Crossley, 24 April 1967, Chesterton papers notes Brooks confessed to stealing £1,500 'but this is certainly an under-estimate.' A.K. Chesterton to Rosine de Bounevialle, 17 March 1967, Chesterton papers noted that £730 was 'unaccounted for' between September and December 1966 alone.
449 A.K. Chesterton to Harry Crossley, 24 April 1967, Chesterton papers.
450 A.K. Chesterton to W.A. Brooks, 30 August 1967, Chesterton papers.
451 Bill Bryson, *Notes from a Small Island* (London: Black Swan, 1996), p. 92. Bryson was an early journalistic colleague.
452 *Candour*, vol. 36, no. 10, October 1986.
453 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 74.
454 McNeile and Black, *The History of the League of Empire Loyalists and Candour*, pp. 108–109.
455 A.K. Chesterton to Aidan Mackey, 23 September 1968, Chesterton papers.
456 Avril Walters to A.K. Chesterton, 6 January 1967 and A.K. Chesterton to Avril Walters, 10 January 1968, Chesterton papers. Chesterton kept himself apprised of events within Nazi *groupuscules* through Avril Walters, a member of his inner circle who fed him information from inside groups like the NSM. 'BNP, GBM and NSM members are highly interchangeable units,' she noted, 'one often belonging secretly to one or two units other than the one to which he officially belongs.' Avril Walter's husband was reportedly a member of the German NPD which was a step too far for Chesterton who regarded it as an 'absurdity' that an Englishman should belong to a foreign party. G.K. Rylands, the League chairman, felt it explained why Walters was 'starry eyed' about National Socialism, see A.K. Chesterton to G.K. Rylands, 7 June 1968 and G.K. Rylands to A.K. Chesterton, 8 June 1968, Chesterton papers.
457 Derek Talbot Baines to A.K. Chesterton, 26 April 1968, Chesterton papers. Baines also visited the NPD in Munich in October 1967.
458 A.K. Chesterton to Derek Talbot Baines, 2 May 1968, Chesterton papers.
459 *Candour*, vol. 18, no. 469, October 1967.
460 *Candour*, vol. 20, no. 485, February 1969.
461 A.K. Chesterton to Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Gayre, 15 May 1967, Chesterton papers.
462 Legal advice on *Southern News* in TNA DPP 2/4378.
463 For Chesterton's account of the case, see *Not Guilty: An Account of the Historic Race Relations Trial at Lewes Assizes in March 1968* (Chulmleigh: Britons, 1968).
464 A.K. Chesterton to F. Ratcliffe, 17 May 1973, Chesterton papers.
465 *The Times*, 22 September 1997.
466 The *Sunday Times*, 25 February 1968.
467 Fred Lindop, 'Racism and the Working Class: Strikes in Support of Enoch Powell in 1968', *Labour History Review*, vol. 66, no. 1, 2001, pp. 79–100.
468 Simon Heffer, *Like the Roman: The Life of Enoch Powell* (London: Faber & Faber, 2008), pp. 462–467. The notable feature of such letters, notes Amy Whipple, 'Revisiting the "Rivers of Blood" Controversy: Letters to Enoch Powell', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 48, no. 3, 2009, p. 720, was that 'supporters envisioned Powell as the politician they wanted, not the politician that he was' and as such he became a 'blank screen' onto which they projected their own image of 'the leader they wanted, the man they believed that Britain needed.'
469 Stan Taylor, *The National Front in English Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1989), p. 20 notes that migration declined from 60,000 in 1967 to 44,000 in 1969.
470 Donley T. Studlar, 'British Public Opinion, Colour Issues and Enoch Powell: A Longitudinal Analysis', *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 4, no. 3, July 1974, pp. 371–381.
471 *The Times*, 24 April 1968.
472 *Private Eye*, 31 January 1969.
473 *Candour*, vol. 19, no. 476, May 1968.
474 Heffer, *Like the Roman*, p. 465.
475 A.K. Chesterton to Denis Pirie, 9 December 1968, Chesterton papers.
476 *Ibid*.

477 A.K. Chesterton to H.B. Isherwood, 19 May 1969, Chesterton papers. The NF Sub-Directorate for Student Affairs to Enoch Powell, 7 December 1968, Chesterton papers, further indicates the support Powell's anti-immigration stance had amongst younger NF activists.
478 A.K. Chesterton to H.B. Isherwood, 29 May 1969, Chesterton papers.
479 A.K. Chesterton to H.B. Isherwood, 6 June 1969, Chesterton papers.
480 G.R. Hutson to A.K. Chesterton, 9 November 1969, Chesterton papers.
481 Aidan Mackey to A.K. Chesterton, 9 November 1969, Chesterton papers.
482 *The Times*, 24 April 1968.
483 Taylor, *The National Front in English Politics*, p. 21.
484 *Spearhead*, no. 21, November–December 1968.
485 NF National Directorate Minutes, 26 June 1969, Chesterton papers.
486 A.K. Chesterton to H.B. Isherwood, 11 September 1969, Chesterton papers.
487 A.K. Chesterton to Dr Lance Taylor, 13 June 1973, Chesterton papers.
488 A.K. Chesterton to Andrew Fountaine, 29 May 1968; and A.K. Chesterton to G.K. Rylands, 7 June 1968, Chesterton papers.
489 Andrew Fountaine to Area and Branch Organisers, June 1968, Chesterton papers.
490 A.K. Chesterton to Frank Clifford, 15 July 1968, Chesterton papers.
491 A.K. Chesterton to Andrew Fountaine, 19 June 1968, Chesterton papers.
492 *Candour*, no. 481, October 1968.
493 *Spearhead*, no. 21, November–December 1968.
494 *Candour*, vol. 22, no. 492, September 1969.
495 'Fascist and Pro-Fascist Organisations' in TNA HO 325/8.
496 Matthew Goodwin, *New British Fascism: Rise of the British National Party* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), p. 28; and Heffer, *Like the Roman*, pp. 553–565.
497 *Candour*, vol. 21, no. 553, September 1970.
498 A.K. Chesterton to Rosine de Bounevialle, 11 March 1969, Chesterton papers. Martin Walker, *The National Front*, pp. 88–89 highlighted Chesterton's growing approbation at the rowdy tactics employed by some activists after the founding of the party.
499 *National Front Code of Conduct by The National Director* (London: Albion Press, 1969).
500 *Candour*, vol. 21, no. 553, September 1970. *Spearhead*, no. 18, February–March 1968 notes Brown led the newly formed Croydon NF branch.
501 Chesterton was already in receipt of regular reports of the Action Committee's incessant intriguing, for instance, 'Report of NF Sabotage to A.K.C. from Several Sources', Chesterton papers.
502 A.K. Chesterton to Aidan Mackey on 23 October 1970, Chesterton papers.
503 *Candour*, vol. 21, no. 504, November 1970. A.K. Chesterton to Rosine de Bounevialle, 19 November 1970, Chesterton papers for date of resignation.
504 A.K. Chesterton to Rosine de Bounevialle, 20 October 1970 (a), Chesterton papers.
505 *Ibid*.
506 A.K. Chesterton to John Bean, 7 December 1970 and A.K. Chesterton to John O'Brien, 7 December 1970, Chesterton papers.
507 G.K. Rylands to Martin Webster, 12 January 1971, Chesterton papers.
508 John Tyndall to Aidan Mackey, 11 December 1970, Chesterton papers. *Electronic Loose Cannon*, no. 21, 11 October 2007, alleged that Mackey was later suspended from his job as headmaster of a Bedfordshire primary school after *The Sunday People*, 18 January 1976, 'ran a front page story in which he [Mackey] admitted playing "trouser-dropping games" with eleven-year-old boy pupils in the school's changing rooms.' Mackey denied any imputation of 'indecency'. He subsequently established a name for himself as a leading authority on G.K. Chesterton.
509 Aidan Mackey to A.K. Chesterton, 13 December 1970, Chesterton papers.
510 *Spearhead*, no. 39, January 1971.
511 *Spearhead*, no. 41, March 1971.
512 A.K. Chesterton to Aidan Mackey, 15 January 1971, Chesterton papers.
513 *Candour*, vol. 22, no. 509, April 1971; and A.K. Chesterton to John O'Brien, 2 August 1971, Chesterton papers.
514 *Candour*, vol. 22, no. 506, January 1971.
515 *Candour*, vol. 22, no. 511, June 1971.
516 A.K. Chesterton to Rosine de Bounevialle, 19 February 1971, Chesterton papers.

517 *Spearhead*, no. 43, June 1971.
518 A.K. Chesterton to Colin Jordan, 27 August 1971, Chesterton papers.
519 Paul Jackson, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement: Hitler's Echo* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), pp. 169–170.
520 *Candour*, vol. 24, no. 530, February 1973.
521 A.K. Chesterton to A.J. Dickerson, 11 April 1973, Chesterton papers.
522 'Members' Bulletin – From the National Director to all Members', 26 September 1969, Chesterton papers.
523 A.K. Chesterton to Ben Biggs, 25 June 1973, Chesterton papers.
524 A.K. Chesterton to Michael McLaughlin, 2 July 1973, Chesterton papers. Rosine de Bounevialle continued cooperating with Jordan following Chesterton's death, see *Candour*, vol. 25, no. 546, September 1974.
525 A.K. Chesterton to Ben Biggs, 9 July 1973, Chesterton papers.
526 *Spearhead*, no. 103, March 1977.
527 A.K. Chesterton to Frank Clifford, 11 April 1973, Chesterton papers.
528 *Candour*, vol. 22, no. 509, April 1971.
529 John Tyndall to A.K. Chesterton, 6 June 1973 and A.K. Chesterton to John Tyndall, 13 June 1973, Chesterton papers.
530 A.K. Chesterton to Martin Webster, 11 May 1973, Chesterton papers.
531 Many were collected in *Arthur Kenneth Chesterton, MC* (*c*.1973) as a tribute by friends and colleagues.
532 Revilo P. Oliver to A.K. Chesterton, 2 August 1973, Chesterton papers.
533 Revilo P. Oliver to A.K. Chesterton, 8 August 1973, Chesterton papers. 'The main support for dangerous nostrums like Laetrile comes from far-right groups to whose politics of paranoia the fantasy of a miracle cure makes a serviceable addition, along with a belief in UFOs,' noted the writer Susan Sontag who also noted incidentally that the John Birch Society, to which Oliver had once belonged, had distributed a 45-minute film called, '*World Without Cancer* … like a world without subversives', see Susan Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor and AIDS and its Metaphors* (London: Penguin, 2002), p. 70.
534 A.K. Chesterton to Eric Butler, 9 August 1973, Chesterton papers.
535 Unsigned letter to H.B. Isherwood, 29 August 1973, Chesterton papers.
536 *Candour*, vol. 18, no. 469, October 1967.
537 Bill Baillie, 'European Outlook #12, December 2014: Populist Parties', *European Outlook*, 30 November 2014, http://europeanoutlook.blogspot.co.uk/2014/11/european-outlook-12-december-2014.html (accessed 14 January 2015).
538 A.K. Chesterton to Ben Biggs, 25 July 1973, Chesterton papers. Chesterton began training Kevan Bleach, 'who is very well-versed in our general case and highly intelligent,' to take over from him when he died, see A.K. Chesterton to Ivor and Joan Benson, 18 July 1973, Chesterton papers.
539 'De Bounevialle used the cellars at Forest House to store the A.K. Chesterton archives, which have become required reading for today's far-right activists,' noted her obituary in *The Sunday Times*, 16 July 2000.
540 *Candour*, vol. 16, no. 436, 2 March 1962. A.K. Chesterton to D.C. Nesbit, 23 April 1973, Chesterton papers notes:

> Unfortunately this country is in a much sorrier position than it was in 1953 but we can at least claim that there is no single development which we did not foresee and against which we failed to issue warnings. One such warned from the very first was the swamping of our country with peoples of unassimilable stock, while *Candour* was the first journal in the world to point to the dangers of our adherence to the EEC.

541 David G. Robertson, '(Always) Living in the End-Times: The "Rolling Conspiracy" of the Conspiracy Milieu', in Sarah Harvey and Suzanne Newcombe (eds), *Prophecy in the New Millennium: When Prophecies Persist* (Farnham: Ashgate/Inform, 2013), pp. 207–219.
542 *Spearhead*, no. 39, January 1971.
543 *Spearhead*, no. 438, August 2005.
544 Martin Webster interview with the author, 21 July 2009.
545 *Candour*, vol. 34, no. 6, June 1983.

546 *National Front News*, no. 23, June 1980; *New Nation*, no. 1, summer 1980; and *Nationalism Today*, no. 9.
547 British National Party, Books, www.bnp.org.uk/books.html (accessed 30 September 2001).
548 *Identity*, no. 5, January 2001.
549 *British Nationalist*, February 2003.
550 *Identity*, no. 51, January 2005.
551 'YouGov Poll', Channel 4, June 2009, www.channel4.com/news/media/2009/06/day08/yougovpoll_080609.pdf (accessed 19 March 2019). For a more recent survey indicating the prevalence of conspiracy theories within British society, see 'Conspiracy Theories', YouGov: Cambridge Centre, https://d25d2506sfb94s.cloudfront.net/cumulus_uploads/document/5j57dtwlc0/YGC%20Conspiracy%20Theories%20(GB).pdf (accessed 19 March 2019).
552 *Identity*, no. 13, September 2001. Eleven years later glimmers of Chesterton's influence upon Griffin can still be observed, see @NickGriffinBU, Twitter, 12 April 2012, http://twitter.com/nickgriffinmep/statuses/190332973311213568 (accessed 11 April 2012).
553 A.K. Chesterton, *The New Unhappy Lords* (London: A.K. Chesterton Trust, 2013), pp. 13–14.
554 A.K. Chesterton, *Facing the Abyss* (London: A.K. Chesterton Trust, 2014), p. 13.

hatred against Jews whilst active with a small *groupuscule* called the Aryan Strike Force (ASF).[614] In the previous month, another leading ASF activist and his son were jailed for ten years and two years, respectively, for producing a chemical weapon, ricin, preparing for 'acts of terrorism' and possessing terror handbooks.[615]

Jordan's influence continues. The Historical Review Press republished his two 'classic' treatises, *National Socialism: Vanguard of the Future* (2011) and *The National Vanguard: The Way Forward* (2011), perhaps hoping to inspire a new generation of revolutionary racist activists. Both books are freely available on Amazon ensuring that Jordan continues to find readers from beyond the grave. Several individuals associated with National Action, banned as a 'terrorist' group in 2016, appear to have been influenced by his life and ideas.[616] Jordan's ideas will undoubtedly continue to permeate such milieu. However, in seeking to locate Jordan's historical importance within the British fascist tradition, his strategic theorising and preoccupation with the 'vanguard' is perhaps of secondary importance to the negative consequences his actions have had for its wider political progress. 'Colin Jordan appears to me emblematic of so many Nazis since the war', noted the US racial nationalist journal *Instauration*, ruefully. 'They have a sort of death wish. Even their publications give the impression that they are trying to prove something to themselves rather than to be effective.'[617] Though Jordan poured scorn on 'Hollywood Nazis', his own activities had a similarly debilitating effect on public perceptions of the extreme right. They left an indelible stain upon the political career of John Tyndall and the political parties which he led: The National Front and the British National Party.

Notes

1 *British Movement Interviews Colin Jordan* (BM: DVD 2005).
2 *Searchlight*, no. 151, January 1988 profiled Jordan as 'The Godfather'. For a full biography, see Paul Jackson, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement: Hitler's Echo* (London, Bloomsbury, 2017).
3 Stephen Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!': The Life of Colin Jordan* (Heckmondwike: N.S. Press, 2014), pp. 10–11.
4 *Ibid*., p. 9.
5 *Ibid*., p. 23.
6 Martin Ceadel, *Pacifism in Britain, 1914–1945: The Defining of a Faith* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 301.
7 Major W.M. McLellan, 17 November 1944 in TNA KV 2/4386.
8 Miss M.E. Roberts to Captain B.T. Synge, 25 April 1945 in TNA KV 2/4386.
9 Lt. Col. G.M. Konrower, 16 May 1945 in TNA KV 2/4386.
10 Sir Percy Sillitoe to Commander E.R.B. Kemble, 25 September 1946 in TNA KV 2/4386.
11 Captain T. Ronald to Miss Roberts, 17 December 1944 in TNA KV 2/4386.
12 For more details, see Richard Griffiths, *What Did You Do During the War? The Last Throes of the British Pro-Nazi Right, 1940–1945* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 113–121.
13 M.E. Roberts, note, 8 March 1945 in TNA KV 2/4386.
14 MI5 to Major R.H. Evans, War Office, June 1946 in TNA KV 2/4386/109a.
15 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 24.
16 TNA KV 6/4/389a; and Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, pp. 25 and 27.
17 The article was Douglas Warth, 'New Fascist Gang is Probed by Yard Men', *Sunday Pictorial*, 10 March 1946.
18 Colin Jordan to Arnold Leese, 31 August 1946 in TNA KV 2/4386.
19 Colin Jordan, 'Notes on Arnold Leese', undated MSS, Leese papers.
20 *Ibid*.
21 *Free Britain*, no. 165, February 1956.
22 Colin Jordan, 'Notes on Arnold Leese', undated MSS, Leese papers.

23 Stephen Frost notes that through the BPP Jordan met and conversed with Joyce's brother, Quentin, at a gathering at the home of BPP supporter Lady Claire Annesley, see *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 33.
24 Francis Beckett, *Fascist in the Family: The Tragedy of John Beckett MP* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 302–303.
25 Hansard, HL Deb., vol. 123, cols 1–68 (2 June 1942).
26 The Duke of Bedford, *Propaganda for Proper Geese* (Glasgow: Strickland Press, 1942), pp. 16–17.
27 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 107, 12 November 1953.
28 Sidney Salomon to the Reverend James Parkes, 28 May 1943, MS 60/15/86, Reverend James Parkes papers, University of Southampton.
29 MI5 report, 7 December 1941 in TNA HO 45/25570/88.
30 Extract, 11 February 1946, TNA KV 6/4/397b.
31 *Leamington Spa Courier*, 4 July 1947.
32 *People's Post*, October 1948.
33 BDBJ C6/9/3/4, Jewish Defence Committee papers, London, hereafter JDC papers.
34 'Fascist Organisations in the United Kingdom' in TNA KV 3/51; and *People's Post*, vol. 3, no. 6, August 1946.
35 *People's Post*, vol. 5, no. 2, February 1948; and *People's Post*, vol. 5, no. 16, April 1949. Jackson, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement*, pp. 47 and 50 notes Jordan became secretary of a local Distributist Society that month.
36 Jackson, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement*, p. 50.
37 *Ibid*., p. 42.
38 Marjorie Roberts, 27 January 1948 in TNA KV 2/4386.
39 For Rogerson, see *People's Post*, vol. 5, no. 15, March 1949.
40 Sir Percy Sillitoe to Commander E.R.B. Kemble, 23 October 1947 in TNA KV 2/4387.
41 Hansard, HC Deb. (series 5), vol. 459, cols 8–10 (6 December 1948).
42 *Jewish Chronicle*, Collection, Box 4, Wiener Library, London, details the episode.
43 *People's Post*, vol. 5, no. 17, May–June 1949. See also B.G. Atkinson to S.H.E. Burley, 3 August 1949 in TNA HO 45/25401.
44 TNA KV 2/4388/176a.
45 John, Duke of Bedford, *A Silver-Plated Spoon* (London: Reprint Society, 1959), p. 167.
46 *People's Post*, vol. 6, no. 8, May 1950.
47 *British Movement Interviews Colin Jordan* (BM: DVD 2005).
48 Ling, records *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 13 April 1961, had served a seven-year prison sentence for armed robbery. The *Birmingham Post*, 11 July 1956 notes police had arrested Ling on 3 June for daubing 'Export Jews, not Cars' on a local bridge, an incident in which his housemate, Irishman Richard 'Dick' Tynan, the UM Coventry branch organiser, was also involved. Tynan was imprisoned on 24 April 1957 for false pretences regarding the sale of a car and again in 1958 for cattle rustling (*Birmingham Daily Post*, 9 July 1958). Both men had been prominent 'in demanding that a stronger anti-Semitic line be taken by the Union Movement' at its 1955 party conference, see 'Chairman's Statement – October 1956' and Provincial Liaison Committee, minutes, 14 April 1957, in 1658/1/3/3, JDC papers, Wiener Library.
49 Percy Sillitoe (MI5) to J. Barnett (Chief Constable of Leeds), 12 February 1951 in TNA KV 2/4388.
50 Colin Jordan to Adrien Arcand, 6 May 1950, Arcand papers. Domvile had given Jordan Arcand's address. He was a subscriber to *Defence*, see diary entry, 26 April 1950, DOM 61, Domvile papers, Greenwich Maritime Museum, London.
51 *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 18 February 1950; and *Labour Israel*, 21 April 1950.
52 Colin Jordan to Arnold Leese, 10 June 1950 in TNA KV 2/4388.
53 Colin Jordan to Mr Sarnd, 10 October 1951 in BDBJ C6/9/3/4, JDC papers.
54 *Rogues Gallery* BDBJ C6/9/3/2, JDC papers. Thankful of the support, Wright apparently expressed his agreement with the principles of the BNC.
55 Birmingham Chief Constable to Sir Percy Sillitoe, 5 December 1950 in TNA KV 2/4388.
56 *People's Post*, vol. 5, no. 7, July 1948.
57 *People's Post*, vol. 5, no. 13, January 1949. Jordan had previously squabbled with Mosleyite Jeffrey Hamm in the pages of *Varsity* after his own CUNC meeting had fallen through, notes Paul Jackson, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement*, p. 48.

58 TNA KV 2/4388/256b. UM activist Brian Richardson who corresponded with Jordan reported to Lawrence 'Alf' Flockhart, the UM Assistant Secretary, on 9 July 1950, that Jordan's only objection to the UM 'seemed to be a racial one; no mention of "bread and butter" was made.' UM activist Owen 'Jock' Holliwell had previously urged Richardson to accept an invitation to talk to the BNC believing that there was a 'very good chance' that they could win Jordan and his friends over to the Birmingham UM.
59 *Union*, no. 152, 27 January 1951.
60 *Union*, no. 263, 9 May 1953.
61 TNA KV 2/4388/216a.
62 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 38 claims Jordan met Henry Hamilton Beamish at one such event, though this is the sole reference the author has seen to Beamish returning to England after 1945.
63 *Free Britain*, no. 119, 2 December 1951; and *Free Britain*, no. 120, 9 December 1951.
64 Britons Publishing Society, minutes of meeting, 11 February 1950, Britons papers. The Britons also advertised BNC activities in *Free Britain*, no. 162, November 1956.
65 TNA KV 1353/374z; Chief Constable H.P. Hind to Home Office, 28 June 1950 in TNA HO 45/24968. Whilst Horton vanished shortly thereafter he re-emerged in 1968, sending an 'offensive' letter to the Chief Rabbi, see Jewish Defence Committee, Minutes, 3 March 1969 in ACC/3121/C6/1/6, Board of Deputies of British Jews papers, London Metropolitan Archives.
66 *Free Britain*, no. 152, January 1955; and *Free Britain*, no. 156, May 1955, which announced the BNC was opening an office imminently.
67 *Free Britain*, no. 163, December 1955. BNC activists had handed out racist leaflets in support of a bus workers strike in West Bromwich striking against the advent of 'Coloured labour', notes *Free Britain*, no. 154, March 1955. BNC secretary, Donald Tennant, was also the Birmingham UM election agent. He arranged for Oswald Mosley to address a small fifty-strong, invitation only, BNC meeting on 18 January 1956, Mosley's first meeting in Birmingham since the Second World War (*Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 19 January 1956). A local Labour councillor who protested the meeting received an anonymous telephone call condemning him to death on behalf of the 'Nordic Peoples' League' shortly thereafter (*Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 20 January 1956). Mosley was billed to address another BNC meeting two months later (*Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 13 March 1956) ahead of an official UM meeting at Birmingham Town Hall on 28 October 1956. Prior to the event, local BNC activists began a campaign of racist harassment using anonymous telephone calls and anti-black leaflets (*Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 2 October 1956).
68 Colin Jordan to Leslie Greene, 6 June 1955, Chesterton papers. Then, Jordan's own opinions were co-terminus with Chesterton's platform. 'Today, even more so than then, it is the Empire which holds the key to Britain's future,' he had written in *People's Post*, vol. 5, no. 7, July 1948.
69 R.A.J., Birmingham Nationalist Club receipt for £50 from A.K. Chesterton, 21 June 1955, Britons papers.
70 Colin Jordan to Leslie Greene, 12 August 1955, Chesterton papers.
71 Leslie Greene to Colin Jordan, 13 July 1955, Chesterton papers.
72 Leslie Greene to Colin Jordan, 28 September 1955, Chesterton papers.
73 *LEL Bulletin*, no. 6, December 1955.
74 Leslie Greene to Colin Jordan, 11 January 1956, Chesterton papers.
75 *Free Britain*, no. 165, February 1956.
76 Britons Publishing Society to Arnold Leese, 8 September 1954; and Arnold Leese to Anthony Gittens, 23 September 1954, Leese papers.
77 Arnold Leese to Anthony Gittens, 23 September 1954, Leese papers.
78 Colin Jordan, *Fraudulent Conversion: The Myth of Moscow's Change of Heart* (London: Britons Publishing Company, 1956). In the USA, far right activists opposed to Yockey (and some who were not) also sold the book. G.L.K. Smith, leader of the Christian Nationalist Crusade, for instance, cited it as a source in his pamphlet *Jews Change Names*. Edith Essig also advertised it in *Keeping the Record Straight*, 27 January 1956.
79 *Candour*, vol. 3, no. 113 and no. 114, 23 and 30 December 1955.
80 *Oldham Evening Chronicle and Standard*, 28 October 1955. The book proved particularly popular in the United States. Frank L. Britton, a Californian journalist who edited *The American*

Nationalist, told his readership 'you can't afford to miss this sensational new book.… Definitely the best book to come out this year.' Seeking to disseminate this 'fine book' as widely as possible, Britton offered copies to his readership for $3, see Frank L. Britton, *December [1955] – A Crucial Month for the American Nationalist*, copy in H. Keith Thompson papers, Box 10, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University. American Jewish Committee, *Anti-Semitic Activity in the United States: A Report and Appraisal* (New York: AJC, 1954), p. 8 reported suspicions that Britton could distribute expensive pamphlets and books at cut-price because he was 'covertly backed'.

81 A.K. Chesterton to Colin Jordan, 23 February 1956, Chesterton papers.

82 Colin Jordan to Leslie Greene, 1 June 1956, Chesterton papers.

83 Colin Jordan to Leslie Greene, 23 February 1956; Colin Jordan to Leslie Greene, 8 April 1956; and Leslie Greene to Colin Jordan, 10 April 1956, Chesterton papers.

84 John Bean, *Many Shades of Black: Inside Britain's Far Right* (London: New Millennium, 1999), p. 101 recalls addressing a meeting of Coventry's Ukrainian National Committee, an apocryphal choice of name given its use by Ukrainian collaborators in Galicia, who subsequently founded the 14th Waffen-SS Volunteer Division Galizien in April 1943. Bean had not appreciated the nationalist tensions within the Ukrainian community and 'my audience almost came to blows among themselves when I praised the Russian people who had suffered so much under the Communist yoke.' See John Bean's Nationalist Notebooks, 'Ukraine is Not All That it Seems', British National Party, 16 December 2004, www.bnp.org.uk/columnists/notebook2.php?jbId=5 (accessed 21 January 2006). *Daily Telegraph*, 9 April 1956 notes Bean's participation in a march and wreath laying ceremony organised by the Coventry branches of Anglo-Ukrainian Society and the Polish Ex-Service Combatants' Association, and addressed by Malcolm Muggeridge, editor of *Punch*, and the Dowager Lady Hesketh, president of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society and chairwoman of the Daventry Conservative Association. It was after this event that Bean and Jordan met for the first time. Fedir Kowalenko subsequently approached the LEL for financial assistance for a bilingual news-sheet the Ukrainian community produced. Bean contributed an article but little more resulted from the collaboration.

85 Leonard Burt, *Commander Burt of Scotland Yard* (London: Pan Books, 1959), pp. 101–102.

86 *Candour*, vol. 4, no. 131, 27 April 1956; and *Don't Shake Hands with Murder!* (LEL handbill, 1956). Stewart was an early contributor to *Candour* who believed that 'there has never been an equal to the British Empire for good to the whole world.' He also regarded Nesta Webster as 'the greatest authority' on subversion, see *Candour*, vol. 3, nos 92 and 93, 29 July and 5 August 1955. Stewart was formerly a forestry engineer in the Baltic having spent most of his early working life managing an import trading company on the Gold Coast. John F. Stewart to Sir V. Tewson, 2 February 1952, MSS 292/770.2/3, Trades Union Congress papers, Warwick Modern Records Centre, Warwick University, states he was in the 'closest contact' with members of what he termed the 'Ukrainian Resistance and Independence Movement'. For the use of the SLEF by MI6 to recruit the more 'extreme' Ukrainians for its clandestine war with Soviet Russia, see Tom Bower, *The Red Web: MI6 and the KGB Master Coup* (London: Aurum Press, 1989).

87 *Daily Telegraph*, 20 April 1956.

88 *Candour*, vol. 4, no. 130, 20 April 1956; and *Candour*, vol. 4, no. 131, 27 April 1956.

89 Colin Jordan, 'Die Strategie der "Koexistenz"', *Nation Europa*, vol. 6, no. 11, November 1956, pp. 21–23.

90 Colin Jordan to Leslie Greene, 5 May 1956, Chesterton papers. Jordan was also a regular recipient of *The Cross and The Flag*, *Women's Voice*, *Williams Intelligence Summary*, *Closer Up*, *Don Bell Reports*, *American Nationalist*, *Keeping the Record Straight* and *Point*, 'plus odd issues of others'.

91 Colin Jordan to Leslie Greene, 5 May 1956, Chesterton papers.

92 *Free Britain*, no. 166, March 1956.

93 Colin Jordan to Leslie Greene, 8 April 1956, Chesterton papers.

94 Leslie Greene to Colin Jordan, 10 April 1956, Chesterton papers. From their correspondence, it appears that Jordan was amorously pursuing Greene, noting after one meeting 'it is hard if not utterly impossible to like some of your views but very easy to like their advocate,' see Colin Jordan to Leslie Greene, 25 May 1956, Chesterton papers. Jordan was particularly disturbed to

learn that Greene had had Jewish friends, however. He was perhaps only half joking when he wrote,

> if only our dear organising secretary had had six months at a Berlin racial institute pre-war … how much better everything should be, and I should not now be having to cope with the gruelling proposition of liking someone while hating their ideas like poison … anyway I hope we'll still keep good friends even if your Jewish friends want to shoot me and I want to shoot them.

see Colin Jordan to Leslie Greene, 1 June 1956, Chesterton papers. Greene was less than amused by the undertone of anti-Semitic violence implicit in Jordan's letter stating that 'it made me feel positively sick', see Leslie Greene to Colin Jordan, n.d., Chesterton papers.

95 A.K. Chesterton to Colin Jordan, 7 November 1955; Colin Jordan to Leslie Greene, 8 April 1956; and A.K. Chesterton to Colin Jordan, 4 May 1956, Chesterton papers. Known also as 'Peter Green', Greenslade had rechristened his Croydon home 'William Joyce House' from whence he ran an outfit called the 'British Pan German Movement'. 'We cannot find anything on him here,' Sidney Salomon of the JDC recorded, 'but I am told that they are getting quite active in Germany', see Sidney Salomon to Chief Superintendent E. Jones, 11 February 1957 in 1658/10/29, JDC papers, Wiener Library. Greenslade also associated with 'Wolf Cleveland', a pseudonym for Maurice Woolford, whose efforts to provoke racist violence, Chesterton believed, could only discredit the cause of racial nationalism. Woolford was a member of the minute British National Socialist Party (BNSP) founded by former LEL member Peter Erwood, which aimed to foment racial strife in Brixton through posters stating, 'Nigger Labour is Scab Labour'. He was also noted to be hatching plans for arson attacks against Jewish and West Indian property. Woolford formed his own short-lived KKK before continuing to play his 'lone hand' against blacks and Jews, see Christopher Cowling, 'Report on Fascist Organisations', in DCL 42/10, National Council for Civil Liberties papers, Hull University, hereafter NCCL papers. Jordan noted that the dominant feature of Cleveland's organisations 'was its display of whips and interest in flagellation', see *Gothic Ripples Supplement*, no. 9, September 1982.

96 Colin Jordan to Leslie Greene, 25 May 1956, Chesterton papers.

97 Colin Jordan to Leslie Greene, 28 June 1956, Chesterton papers.

98 A.K. Chesterton to Colin Jordan, 7 September 1956, Chesterton papers.

99 Colin Jordan to Leslie Greene, 17 October 1956, Chesterton papers.

100 Colin Jordan to Leslie Greene, 9 March 1957, Chesterton papers. Jordan is listed as the agent for *Northern World* in Willis Carto's *Right*, no. 24, September 1957 and then subsequently in *First National Directory of 'Rightist' Groups, Publications and Some Individuals in the United States (and Some Foreign Countries)*, 3rd edn (San Francisco, CA: Liberty and Property, 1957), p. 27.

101 A.K. Chesterton to Colin Jordan, 31 October 1956, Chesterton papers.

102 Special Branch report, 17 December 1957 in TNA KV 2/4389; and Special Branch reports, 5 September 1960 and 3 August 1963 in TNA KV 2/4390. The latter report notes that after the collapse of the Frei Korps, Jordan was 'rarely seen' in London again until 28 March 1959.

103 Arnold Spencer Leese, Last Will and Testament, 21 December 1949.

104 Special Branch report, 28 May 1959 in TNA HO 344/34.

105 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 39 makes the claim of editorship. He contributed to it until its demise in 1957

106 Britons Publishing Society, minutes of meeting, 16 February 1957, Britons papers.

107 TNA KV 2/4389/255a. The Britons later printed another racist provocation, 'Thomas Johns', *Unfair to Apes* (London: SSPPP, 1961), albeit officially published by a non-existent 'Scientific Socialist Progressive Party' which operated from behind a Notting Hill PO Box. The pamphlet, an act of racist mischief making, enjoined 'negroes' to overcome racial prejudice by procreating 'only' with 'white girls' to create, 'as fast as you can', as many 'coffee-coloured babies' as possible outside the 'out-of-date' concepts of marriage and family. This injunction was bound to be deeply provocative to local white youths who were derided as 'smaller and weaker than you'.

108 There was a mutual recognition. *The White Sentinel*, vol. 7, no. 4, April 1957, mouthpiece of the National Citizens' Protective Association, quoted from an article written by Jordan for *Free Britain*.

109 For a broader context, see Elizabeth Buettner, '"This is Staffordshire not Alabama": Racial Geographies of Commonwealth Immigration in Early 1960s Britain', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 42, no. 4, 2014, pp. 710–740.
110 *Right*, no. 38, November 1958.
111 *Fighting Talk*, no. 9.
112 *Black and White News*, no. 1, 1958; and *The Times*, 10 September 1998.
113 Special Branch report, 5 September 1960 in TNA KV 2/4390 intimates that Jordan was already operating as the 'White Defence Bureau', whilst living in Coventry and that he changed its name once he moved to London on 28 March 1959.
114 *The Five Races of Europe* (1949), authored by George Pile, a leading figure in both The Britons and the LEL, regurgitated Günther's central thesis putting his ideas back into circulation at a time with English translations of his inter-war works were increasingly hard to come by.
115 Colin Jordan to Anthony Gittens, 14 October 1958, Leese papers.
116 Britons Publishing Society to Mrs Leese, 22 January 1959, Leese papers; and Anthony Gittens to Mr Pakenham-Walsh, 22 June 1959, Britons papers.
117 Colin Jordan to Mrs Leese, 4 March 1968, Leese papers.
118 Colin Jordan, 'Notes on Arnold Leese', unpublished MSS, Leese papers.
119 Colin Jordan, letters to the author, 1 November 2001, 22 November 2001 and 12 December 2001.
120 May Winifred Leese, Last Will and Testament, 31 August 1960.
121 *Colin Jordan: A National Socialist Life* (Heckmondwike: Sunwheel Publications, 2009), p. 4.
122 *Gothic Ripples*, nos 33–34, March 1996 notes Bass died in November 1995.
123 *The Blacks are Coming* (WDL handbill, 1959).
124 *West London Observer*, 10 April 1959.
125 Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, pp. 126–127.
126 Extract, 29 May 1958 in TNA KV 2/4389/254.
127 *Daily Mail*, 23 May 1959.
128 *The Times*, 21 March 1959; and Kanyama Chiume, *Autobiography of Kanyama Chiume* (London: Panaf, 1982), p. 120.
129 *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 24 April 1959.
130 *Daily Mail*, 23 May 1959.
131 *The Times*, 25 May 1959; and *Combat*, no. 4, autumn 1959.
132 *Who Killed Kelso Cochrane?* (WDL handbill, 1959), copy in Jewish Chronicle Library Collection, Box 6, Wiener Library, London.
133 *One Way Ticket from Britain* (WDL handbill, 1959); and *Kensington Post*, 12 June 1959.
134 Jackson, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement*, pp. 88–89.
135 'Draft', no date, in TNA HO 325/9
136 *Reynolds News*, 4 June 1959; and *Daily Herald*, 15 June 1959.
137 Martin Walker, *The National Front* (London: Fontana/Collins, 1977), p. 34.
138 *The Times*, 21 September 1959.
139 David Kynaston, *Modernity Britain: 1957–1962* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), p. 358.
140 *The Times*, 6 October; and *The Times*, 21 October 1959.
141 *Citizens' Council*, vol. 1, no. 5, 1956, quoted in Mulhall, 'The Unbroken Thread: British Fascism, its Ideologues and Ideologies, 1939–1960', p. 242.
142 Earnest Sevier Cox to William Stephenson, 10 January 1957; and William Stephenson to Colin Jordan, 15 February 1957, Box 12, Ernest Sevier Cox papers, Duke University, hereafter Cox papers.
143 Colin Jordan to Colonel Cox, 7 April 1957, Box 12, Cox papers.
144 The Northern League, Circular letter no. 4, January 1959; *The Northlander*, vol. 2, no. 1, March 1959; and *The Nationalist*, no. 4, March 1960.
145 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, pp. 55 and 58–60. Earnest Sevier Cox to Colin Jordan, n.d. [1959], Box 13, Cox papers, notes Cox's visit to England and desire to meet with Jordan.
146 Special Branch report, 17 June 1959 in TNA HO 344/34.
147 Jordan remained involved with the Northern League. The *Jewish Chronicle*, 3 December 1971 reported his presence at a meeting of the group in Brighton in 1971, during which its three German guests, Fred Ehlert, Horst Bongers and a Mr Braun, were injured in a mêlée with anti-fascists who attacked the meeting.

148 Howard J. Ehrlich, 'The Swastika Epidemic of 1959–1960: Anti-Semitism and Community Characteristics', *Social Problems*, vol. 9, no. 3, winter 1962, pp. 264–272 examines such incidences in the United States. John Barron, *KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1974), pp. 173–174 and 319 claims KBG General Ivan Agayants arranged for 'faked' swastikas to appear on Jewish property in the Federal Republic to discredit West Germany, though the supposition he 'conceived' the entire 'swastika operation' is overblown. Oleg Kalugin, *Spymaster: My Thirty-Two Years in Intelligence and Espionage against the West* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), p. 54 also notes the KGB's 'active measures campaign' to foment racial hatred in the USA during the 1960s to discredit democracy.
149 *Jewish Chronicle*, 8 January 1960.
150 Special Branch report, 5 September 1960 in TNA KV 2/4390.
151 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, pp. 47–48.
152 Extract, 17 January 1960 in TNA KV 2/4389/273.
153 Special Branch report, 20 January 1960 in TNA KV 2/4389. Police estimated total WDL membership at 100 but recorded that this figure included 'lapsed members and members who have transferred to other right wing organisations, including the N.L.P.'
154 Constitution of the British National Party (1960) and 'British National Party – For Race and Nation' in TNA DPP 2/3331.
155 Jackson, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement*, p. 96.
156 *Combat*, no. 13, August–October 1961. For analysis of these articles, see Jackson, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement*, pp. 92–95.
157 *Your Child's Future: Civilisation or Jungle Law?* (BNP leaflet, n.d.)
158 Special Branch report, 28 February 1960 released following FOI request.
159 Special Branch report, no. 5, 18 May 1960 in TNA HO 325/9.
160 *Sunday Mercury*, 20 March 1960; and *Daily Herald*, 30 May 1960.
161 *The Times*, 30 May 1960.
162 Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 626, cols 1184–1194 (12 July 1960).
163 *The Times*, 13 July 1960; and *The Times*, 30 July 1960.
164 *The Times*, 2 September 1960. The next BNP action was an attack on a CND meeting in London during which activists threw fireworks at the speakers including Labour MP Arthur Greenwood, see *The Times*, 1 November 1960.
165 Assistant Chief Constable of Staffordshire to MI5, 12 December 1961 in TNA KV 2/4390 highlights Jordan's association with Davidson and his younger brother.
166 The *Observer*, 1 July 1962.
167 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 71.
168 *The Northern European*, no. 3, October–November 1960.
169 Special Branch report, 13 April 1960 in TNA KV 2/4390. In Denmark, Jordan maintained contact with Sven Salicath, leader of the Danmarks Nationalsocialistiske Arbejderparti (DNSAP – Danish National Socialist Workers Party). In Sweden, he met with veteran Swedish fascist Per Engdahl, maintaining a 'general liaison' with the remnants of his ESB network thereafter, see Colin Jordan to Bengt Olov Ljunberg, 6 May 1960 in Per Engdahl papers, National Archives, Stockholm. In *Gothic Ripples*, no. 43, May 2001 Jordan highlights his meeting with Göran A. Oredsson, leader of the Nordiska Rikspartei (NRP – Nordic Reich Party) who became a key contact. His German contacts during this period are unknown though Jordan visited Hannover following his Scandinavian sojourn. Le Nouvel ordre européen invited him to their conference in Karlsruhe scheduled for mid-April. It is unknown if he attended.
170 *BNP: The First Year 1960* (BNP: Combat Press, 1960), p. 5.
171 *The Northern European*, no. 3, October–November 1960.
172 *The Northern European*, no. 2, August–September 1960. Van Tienen had joined the SS in 1940, aged eighteen, winning the Iron Cross (First Class) and distinguishing himself as one of the few 'volunteer officers who were allowed to command German units'. Shortly after his release, having served five years, van Tienen founded the Boekhandel Europa bookshop. In 1952, he became leader of the Dutch section of the ESB contributing to its journal *Nation Europa*. The authorities promptly banned the Dutch ESB and van Tienen with fellow leader Dr Jan Wolthius were imprisoned, though their sentences were later quashed. Thereafter, van Tienen concentrated on the publishing activities of the Boekhandel Europa and his newsletter *Social Weekblad*.

173 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 61.
174 *The Northern European*, no. 9, November–December 1961.
175 George Pile, a Britons activist, edited the book, which featured an introduction from Air Commodore G.S. Oddie, a Christian Identity adherent who had been involved with the British People's Party (BPP).
176 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 11, July 1984. *A.V. Schaerffenberg, Nazi Questions and Answers* (2008) available at: www.nazi-lauck-nsdapao.com/nazi.htm (accessed 17 February 2014) intimates that Hess was one of the reasons for Jordan's subsequent conscientious objection:

> The plight of Rudolf Hess stirred deep reconsideration in the soul of Colin Jordan, so much so the young RAF man told his superiors that he could no longer support Churchill's war in good faith and agreed with Hess that hostilities should be brought to a swift end through a negotiated settlement.

177 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, pp. 61–62 and 82–83.
178 *Liberty Bell*, June 1979; and *Gothic Ripples*, no. 42, March 2002.
179 *Combat*, no. 14, November–December 1961.
180 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 61.
181 Thomas Dörfler and Andreas Kläner, 'Rudolf Hess as a "Martyr for Germany": The Reinterpretation of Historical Figures in Nationalist Discourse', in Jan Herman Brinks, Stella Rock and Edward Timms (eds), *Nationalist Myths and Modern Media: Contested Identities in the Age of Globalisation* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2006), pp. 139–153. For an evocation in contemporary Nazi subcultures, see Ryan Shaffer, 'From Outcast to Martyr: The Memory of Rudolf Hess in Skinhead Culture', *JEX: Journal EXIT-Deutschland*, no. 3, 2014, pp. 111–124. New generations of activists have used his experience to re-imagine their own tribulations. 'I am now the closest to the treatment Rudolf Hess, my hero and role model, got,' wrote jailed Holocaust denier Ernst Zündel, *Setting the Record Straight: Letters from Cell #7* (Pigeon Forge, TN: Soaring Eagles Gallery, 2004), p. 36.
182 A.H. Le Tissier, 'Spandau Allied Prison – Card from Colin Jordan', 22 December 1983 in TNA FCO 161/3.
183 *Spearhead*, no. 213, July 1986. *Liberty Bell*, vol. 13, no. 12, August 1986; and *The New Order*, no. 67, March–April 1987 reprinted it for an American audience. Martin Webster argued in *Spearhead*, no. 114, February 1978 that Hess and the NF faced the same adversary.

> Let us remember that the same forces which sought to hang Hess, which secured his imprisonment, and which now rejoice in his perpetual torture – the forces of Communism and Zionism – are the same forces which have brought about the Race Relations Laws whose sole purpose is to put into jails those who dare to speak out against their wickedness.

184 Jackson, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement*, p. 200.
185 *New Gothic Ripples*, 15 May 2013, http://newgothicripples.wordpress.com/2013/05/15/justice-liberty-interview/ (accessed 21 March 2014).
186 TNA FCO 50/16–22; and Dominic Casciani, 'British Sympathy for Jailed Nazi', BBC News, 28 September 2007, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/7017191.stm (accessed 21 March 2014).
187 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 2, March 1980.
188 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, pp. 288–289. Jordan almost certainly knew of Kühnen's illness. Rumours had circulated within the milieu 'as early as his prison term that ended in 1988,' states Michael Schmidt, *The New Reich: Penetrating the Secrets of Today's Neo-Nazi Networks* (London: Hutchinson, 1993), p. 19.
189 The *Independent*, 20 November 1993; and *Sunday Sun*, 21 November 1993. Two BNP members, Bill Owen and Thomas Graham, made possible the memorial. Owen, who died in 1993, bequeathing the BNP £20,000, provided the finances. Graham arranged for its physical construction. Graham was an old consort of both Jordan and Leese who had praised his 'thorough knowledge of race' in *Gothic Ripples*, no. 36, 20 March 1948. Graham was deported from Canada in 1948 following a conviction for seditious libel having circulated a document titled 'Canadians Awake – Boycott All Jews – Down with Jewmocracy'. Thereafter, Graham was active in A.F.X. Baron's NWM. In 1960, he was again distributing literature that regurgitated the 'blood libel' myth. See *Wiener Library Bulletin*, no. 4, May 1948; 'Fascist Activities: May–June 1948' in TNA KV 3/51; and BDBJ C6/10/5, JDC papers.

190 *The Times*, 19 November 1993; and *Gothic Ripples*, no. 45, March 2002.
191 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 301. Jordan later published and circulated his personal information, see *Communist Capitalists – Blood Brothers in Crime* (Harrogate: Gothic Ripples, 1993); and *Rudolf Hess Memorial at Eaglesham – Levelling the Livingston Lie* (Harrogate: Gothic Ripples, 1993). *Combat 18*, no. 3, [*c*.1993] also circulated Anwar's personal details, which appeared after several pages of bomb-making instructions and exhortations to kill.
192 Rachel McCallion, 'Who is Aamer Anwar, the Human Rights Lawyer Running for Glasgow Rector?', *The Tab – Glasgow*, 15 March 2017, http://thetab.com/uk/glasgow/2017/03/15/aamer-anwar-human-rights-lawyer-running-glasgow-rector-15069 (accessed 21 March 2017).
193 Colin Jordan, *The Uprising* (Milwaukee, WI: NS Publications, 2004), p. 47 contains the following passage:

> The cocky Asian, who had got away with his despicable desecration to the acclaim of *Stop-light* [*Searchlight*], was discovered one morning in a grievous condition at the base of a disused warehouse near to Glasgow. Apparently he had taken off at a high level without the benefit of a parachute, adorned with a placard reading 'Remember Rudolf Hess!' Though he survived as a permanent cripple, he certainly never forgot the message and the circumstances of his wingless flight, his permanently disordered brain causing him at intervals to exclaim mournfully 'Remember Rudolf Hess!'

194 Special Branch report, 28 March 1961 in TNA MEPO 2/10139. The instigator was one Frank Bennett, a fascist activist who held 'Third Reich' parties at his flat in Onslow Gardens, South Kensington, which regularly attracted groups of approximately twenty fascists. Those involved in the kidnapping 'would consist of volunteers who have proved their mettle by desecrating Jewish synagogues'. Bennett had fallen out with fellow fascist Sidney Proud who informed the authorities of the plot. The film-makers Kevin Brownlow and Andrew Mollo had attended an earlier party held in October 1960. They subsequently cast Bennett as a Nazi ideologue in their film *It Happened Here* (1964) giving him and two others the opportunity to expound their philosophy in a discussion with the lead actors to give the scene the ring of authenticity. The controversial scene was cut due to pressure and only restored when the film was re-released in 2006, see Kevin Brownlow, *How It Happened Here* (Portishead: UKAPress, 2005), pp. 122–124, 153–154 and 164.
195 Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, p. 150.
196 *The Times*, 18 April 1961; and *The Times*, 2 May 1961.
197 *The Northern European*, no. 3, October–November 1960.
198 *Combat*, no. 11, March–April 1961; and *Combat*, no. 12, May–July 1961.
199 *The Eichmann Trial – 'Combat' Supplement*.
200 On 8–9 July 1961, Jordan also attended a 2,000-strong 'European Youth Meeting' in Lippoldsberg, Germany, staged in connection with the 19th Dichtertreffen ('Meeting of Poets'), organised by *völkisch* author Hans Grimm, see 'Extract from MI6 report re an international Fascist Meeting in Germany', 14 September 1961 in TNA KV 2/4390/298a.
201 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, pp. 61 and 78; and Kurt P. Tauber, *Beyond Eagle and Swastika: German Nationalism Since 1945, Vol. 1* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1967), p. 621. UM ideologue Alexander Raven Thomson had originally published Veale's first book pseudonymously as 'A Jurist', *Advance to Barbarism* (London: Thomson and Smith, 1948).
202 Tauber, *Beyond Eagle and Swastika*, p. 621. F.J.P. Veale, *Verschleierte Kriegsverbrechen* (Wiesbaden: Verlag Karl Heinz Priester, 1959). Karl Heinz Priester, the publisher was a leading figure in the European Social Movement and was involved with Mosley. He subsequently published a second edition of Veale's first book as *Der Barbarei entgegen* (Wiesbaden: Verlag Karl Heinz Priester, 1962) too.
203 *The Thunderbolt*, no. 25, January 1961.
204 These were Hans Rehnvaal and Kurt Ake Zakrisson (Nordiska Rikspartiet), Tenerani Franco (Avanguardia Nazionale Giovanile), Erik Johnson (Danmarks National-Socialistiske Arbejder Parti), Robert Ketels (Belgian NER member), Ingo Mengel and Wolfgang Seil (Bund Vaterladischer Jugend), Savitri Devi (French NER member), Horst Nolte (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Nationaler Kreise), Gerhard Raisin (German NER member), Winifred Schneider (New European Order – Germany) and Horst Strauss (Kameradschaftsring Nationaler Jungendverbande), Robert Lyons and A.C. Hayden (National States Rights Party). The transnational solidarity such

events were designed to inoculate was evident in the NSRP delegates. Lyons, NSRP Pennsylvania branch chairman, returned:

> with the knowledge that we his comrades in Britain in Europe are spiritually with the American people in their struggle against the enforcement of integration with American Negroes just as much as we are with our kinsmen in South Africa and Rhodesia,

proclaimed *Combat*, no. 12, May–July 1961.

205 *The Times*, 26 May 1961.

206 TNA CRIM 1/3973.

207 Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *Hitler's Priestess: Savitri Devi, the Hindu-Aryan Myth and Neo-Nazism* (New York: New York University Press, 1998). See also Arthur Versluis, 'Savitri Devi, Miguel Serrano, and the Global Phenomenon of Esoteric Hitlerism', in Henrik Bogdan and Gordan Djurdjevic (eds), *Occultism in a Global Perspective* (Durham: Acumen, 2013), pp. 121–134.

208 Jordan sold Savitri Devi's works through *The Northern European*, no. 5, January–February 1961. *Combat*, no. 13, August–October 1961, the BNP newspaper, also sold *Defiance* (1951), *Gold in the Furnace* (1952), *Pilgrimage* (1958) and *The Lightning and the Sun* (1958), listing them under 'National Socialism'.

209 Robert A. Pois, *National Socialism and the Religion of Nature* (Beckenham: Croon Helm, 1986).

210 *NSM Bulletin*, February 1966.

211 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 41, August 2000.

212 'The Role of the SP Man' in TNA CRIM 1/3973; BNP *Member's Bulletin*, no. 6, March 1961; and Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 87.

213 'Spearhead membership application form' and 'The Spearhead of the British National Party: Provisional Basic Structure' in TNA CRIM 1/3973. To be eligible to join Spearhead BNP members had to fulfil the following criterion:

> (i) Age 16–45 (ii) Predominantly Nordic type (iii) tolerably good appearance (iv) sensible (v) keen (vi) able-bodied and reasonably robust (vii) basic understanding of racial nationalism (viii) an active member of the BNP for not less than 3 months, satisfactorily (ix) accepted by the Commander of the Spearhead by personal interview.

They were expected to devote 12 hours a week to the making the formation 'a vanguard of idealism and core of strength in the service of the Party.'

214 'The Role of the SP Man' in TNA CRIM 1/3973.

215 DC Thomas, police statement in TNA CRIM 1/3973.

216 *Combat*, no. 14, November–December 1961. Also present in the hall 'were one young lady from the League of Empire Loyalists and six Union Movement members who also put up a courageous fight against the Communist stewards.'

217 'Extract from Special Branch report re Annual General Meeting of the British National Party (Fascist Org), 1 February 1962 in TNA KV 2/4390.

218 *Combat*, no. 16, March–April 1962.

219 'Statement by Andrew Fountaine, BNP president' in Searchlight papers, Southampton University; and Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 93. Though Fountaine and Bean objected to Jordan's Nazi proclivities, the BNP still harboured many activists whose political sympathies were similarly inclined. The BNP Ilford and West Essex organiser was the lorry driver and former military policeman Ron W. Tear who, presumably with Bean's sanction, sold inter-war IFL literature to *Combat*'s readership through its 'BNP Readers Service' – copy in author's possession. Furthermore, Tear, who was married to a German woman, kept a 'Nazi shrine' in his Ilford home where he entertained the German Nazi leader Wolfgang Kerstein, see Walker, *The National Front*, pp. 121–122. Tear became a leading light in the NF during its early years.

220 French groups like Jeune Nation had also adopted the Celtic Cross as a symbol during the 1950s, see Jacques Delarue, 'The Radical Right in France', *Wiener Library Bulletin*, vol. 21, no. 2, spring 1967. For a broader discussion, see Andrew Fergus Wilson, 'From Apocalyptic Paranoia to the Mythic Nation: Political Extremity and Myths of Origin in the Neo-Fascist Milieu', in Marion Gibson, Shelley Trower and Garry Tregidga (eds), *Mysticism, Myth and Celtic Identity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp. 199–215.

221 *BNP Special Members' Bulletin – From the National Organiser*, 15 February 1962.
222 DC Dennis Courtman, police statement and DC Alexander Tilling, police statement in TNA CRIM 1/3973.
223 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 142. *The People*, 18 November 1962 subsequently ran an exposé after the trial naming Nicols as their source. Nicols revealed encountering puerile political stunts like their 'I Love Bacon' week, which entailed inviting the Board of Deputies to a 'Jewish Bacon BBQ' at Princedale Road, or simply mailing of rashers of bacon to prominent Jewish MP's like Sidney Silverman and Sir Barnett Janner (i.e. *National Jewish Bacon Week* [NSM handbill] in BDBJ C6/9/2/1, JDC papers). To ingratiate himself, Nicols volunteered to plant a dummy bomb at the Astoria Cinema, Charing Cross, prior to the premier of the film *Exodus* though he tipped off the manager. Despite the plot's failure, his credibility increased, enabling him to gain greater access to its activities. Nicols' recalled helping train the Spearhead group: 'It was the most satisfying job I had in Jordan's service. I used it as an excuse to plant my boot or fist on every member of the gang.' Jordan subsequently entrusted Nicols with the 'security' for George Lincoln Rockwell's visit to the NSM camp.
224 Jackson, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement*, p. 135.
225 *The National Socialist*, no. 1, June 1962.
226 Colin Jordan, *Why I am a National Socialist ... And Why You Should Be Too* (NSM handbill, 1962).
227 *The National Socialist*, no. 7, 1964. Jordan himself was, unsurprisingly, a Wagner devotee. In 1977, Frau Winifred Wagner gave an interview during which she stated 'If Adolf Hitler came through that door today, I would be just as pleased as ever to see him.' Jordan wrote to congratulate her. 'Among my treasured possessions is the reply she sent me to my message of congratulations on that occasion,' he recalled in *Gothic Ripples*, no. 3, June 1980. Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 278 records that her reply read: 'It was very kind of you to understand my loyal sentiments for Adolf Hitler – and I thank you very much indeed for expressing your attitude towards my documentation of our friendship!'
228 Lawrence Hanley, police statement in TNA CRIM 1/3973.
229 Spearhead circular, 28 May 1962 in TNA CRIM 1/3973.
230 Jeffrey Hamm, *The Evil Good Men Do: A Study in Decline* (London: Sanctuary Press, 1988), p. 184.
231 Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain*, p. 240.
232 Detective Inspector Bert Wickstead to [no name], 12 November 1965 in TNA MEPO 2/10502.
233 John Tyndall, *The Eleventh Hour: A Call for British Rebirth* (London: Albion Press, 1988), p. 188.
234 Detective-Inspector William Edward Sullivan, witness statement, p. 23 in TNA ASSI 26/416. 'Brief for Tuesday', 22 November 1966 in TNA KV 2/4392/465a gives a slightly different figure of 235 NSM members and 250 subscribers to its magazine and book club.
235 Jordan originally applied to the Ministry of Works for permission to hold a meeting in Trafalgar Square on 4 April, giving 17 or 24 June as his preferred dates. Neither date was available. The Ministry of Works consulted the Metropolitan Police who raised no objection (though they later admitted they did not know the anti-Semitic nature of the demonstration). They therefore granted 1 July to the NSM; see Colin Jordan to Ministry of Works, 4 April 1962; and L.J. Greenaway to John Tyndall, 18 April 1962 in TNA WORK 20/357.
236 CC (62) 39, 31 May 1962 in TNA CAB 128/36/39. The Attorney-General found no legal reason to ban the meeting, a stance supported by the Home Office. 'If you disallow this mtg.,' noted Home Secretary Rab Butler, 'you will have to launch a general policy for suppressing anti-Semitic speeches etc,' records CC. 39 (62) in TNA CAB 195/21/5.
237 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 8 July 1962, George Lincoln Rockwell papers, private collection. These papers have since been deposited at the University of Kansas.
238 Transcript of speeches of Colin Jordan and John Tyndall, NSM rally, 1 July 1962 in NCCL papers.
239 *The National Socialist*, no. 1, June 1962.
240 *The Times*, 2 July 1962. Martin Webster, a nineteen-year-old LEL member, was photographed helping the NSM in defending the plinth, leading to his expulsion from the League. 'In a sense, therefore, that expulsion left me with no political home to go to, so I became involved with the National Socialist Movement,' he recalled in *Spearhead*, no. 114, February 1978.

241 Between 1959 and 1961, there were twenty-four fascist meetings in Trafalgar Square, see *Current Anti-Semitic Activities Abroad*, p. 5, http://collections.americanjewisharchives.org/ms/ms0603/ms0603.049.003.pdf (accessed 12 August 2017).
242 The *Guardian*, 30 July 1962.
243 Statement issued to the press by Sir Oswald Mosley, 14 August 1962, Hamm papers. This row spilt out into international networks. Jean Thiriart, a Belgian fascist closely associated with Mosley during this period (see Chapter 2) counselled an urgent response to the conflation by the European media of Mosley and Jordan's politics, see Jean Thiriart to Union Movement, 9 August 1962, Hamm papers.
244 *National European*, August 1965.
245 *Candour Interim Report*, October 1962.
246 *The Times*, 19 July 1962.
247 *The Times*, 3 July 1962.
248 The *Guardian*, 5 July 1962; and *The Times*, 5 July 1962. Jordan had previously commented on educational matters in *Combat*, writing that 'Racial nationalists will replace democrats as teachers. Authority and discipline will replace the present laxity which fosters widespread juvenile delinquency.'
249 See Media Archive for Central England, www.macearchive.org/Media.html?Title=4 (accessed 8 October 2007).
250 *The Times*, 19 July 1962.
251 Colin Jordan, *Britain Reborn: The Will and Purpose of the National Socialist Movement* (1962).
252 This was not a new development. 'Extract', 17 July 1962 in TNA KV 2/4390/318a highlights Jordan was previously in touch with a UAR Consul called Izzat on the same subject. He had also previously met the UAR representative in Amsterdam in November 1961. 'They agreed to co-operate. The possibility of the sending of an agent to Israel was discussed,' noted MI5. This was not the first time Jordan's anti-Semitism had led him to try and forge alliances with the Muslim world. In January 1956, Jordan accompanied Peter Ling and Austen Brooks who spoke from the platform of the Conference of the Palestine Day Committee of the Arab Student League in Holborn Hall. See Colin Jordan to Leslie Greene, 13 January 1956, Chesterton papers. Jordan's campaign on behalf of Adolf Eichmann in 1961 had also won him plaudits from figures such as Cevat Rifat Atilhan, a Turkish anti-Semite who had introduced *The Protocols* into Turkey in 1934 and who was an old contact of The Britons, see Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 73. Later in the decade, Jordan was also in contact with Ibrahim Abaza who sold copies of *The Protocols* outside Regents Park Mosque, see *Searchlight*, no. 121, July 1985.
253 John Tyndall to Col. Shazly, 20 July 1962; and 'Proposals for Co-Operation with the United Arab Republic' in TNA CRIM 1/3973. In August 1962, MI5 noted (TNA KV2/4390/232y and 232z) that John Muhammad Webster (the former British fascist John Alban Webster who had converted to Islam) had stated that Jordan had support in Cairo 'indirectly and also directly' and that he had seen 'Jordan's papers' in the possession of 'Muhammad Ali', the Director of Information.
254 Quoted in Lord Janner to James Callaghan, 1 April 1974 in TNA FCO 93/414.
255 TNA FCO 93/411 to 414.
256 *The Bugler*, no. 1, July–August 1962. The BNY initially had two units, one in Leicestershire led by Wilmer and another in Glasgow led by Arthur Smith. This had expanded to six in the following year, see *The Bugler*, no. 3, November 1962–February 1963. The BNY subsequently relocated its headquarters from Syston, Leicestershire to Wallasey, Cheshire, see *The Bugler*, no. 5, November 1963.
257 *Sunday Telegraph*, 25 November 1962.
258 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 10 June 1963, Rockwell papers.
259 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 3 August 1963, Rockwell papers.
260 Admiral Sir Barry Domvile to Anthony Gittens, 19 April 1965, Britons archive.
261 A.K. Chesterton to Revilo P. Oliver, Chesterton papers.
262 *The Bugler*, no. 1, July–August 1962; and no. 4, March–May 1963. FBI file 105–12114–1A records contact between the BNY and the WYC.
263 NSM *Member's Bulletin*, October 1965, Rockwell papers; and *Sunday Telegraph*, 30 May 1965.

264 *Wiener Library Bulletin*, vol. 20, no. 1, winter 1965–1966. The BNP youth wing founded in 1962 was also called the National Youth League. Lance Stewart led it, see BNP *Members' Bulletin*, no. 9, July 1962. He later ran the 'Intelligence Unit' for Nick Griffin's BNP, see *Searchlight*, no. 391, January 2008.

265 *Candour*, vol. 17, no. 456, August 1966. Wilmer subsequently founded the Leicester NF branch before relocating to South Africa in 1969, where he continued to fund-raise for the group, see Ray Hill with Andrew Bell, *The Other Face of Terror: Inside Europe's Neo-Nazi Network* (London: Grafton Books, 1988), pp. 36 and 256. He became national director of the 'Save Rhodesia Campaign' (*Spearhead*, no. 110, October 1977) and subsequently the 'little-known' South Africa First Campaign, which allied itself to Dr Andries Treurnicht after his expulsion from the ruling National Party, see *The Times*, 22 March 1982. Wilmer's activities led to his deportation in 1983, see the *Guardian*, 17 April 1983. He returned in 1989, leading the Natal Freedom Campaign against the 'Communist' African National Congress, see *The Independent*, 2 November 1993.

266 *The Times*, 2 August 1962. Groups that had previously collaborated with Jordan's NER such as the NSRP remained aligned to the BNP. The NSRP newspaper, *The Thunderbolt*, no. 48, January 1963 told its readers that the BNP was 'similar' to the NSRP 'in many ways and is the closest political movement overseas that resembles the NSRP.' Furthermore, although the NSRP, 'firmly believes in no alliances with foreign organisations because we are American Nationalists … we must compliment these men on the fine job they are doing in England for the White Race.' *The Thunderbolt*, no. 63, December–January 1965 went further stating the BNP was 'our sister organisation' and that 'their views on race are the same as ours'. *The Thunderbolt*, no. 69, July 1965 meanwhile featured an endorsement from P.J. Ridout, the BNP treasurer. The NSRP also had links to the Northern League network, see FBI file 62–105/97-X.

267 Angelo del Boca and Mario Giovana, *Fascism Today: A World Survey* (London: Heinemann, 1970), pp. 87–89 and 208–209. For Savitri Devi's recollections, see R.G. Fowler (ed.), *And Time Rolls On: The Savitri Devi Interviews* (San Francisco, CA: Counter Currents, 2012), pp. 96–103.

268 Rockwell had previously explored the possibility of coming to England in 1961. A.G. Lake to T.C. Baker, 17 August 1962 in TNA FCO 168/869 notes his approach to the British Consul in New York about applying for a visa. He was informed that, as an American citizen, he did not require one but that the right of leave to land was vested in the Immigration Officer. Realising that this would not be granted Rockwell (temporarily) abandoned his plans.

269 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 110.

270 *The Times*, 2 August 1962. For Rockwell's account of the meeting, see *The Stormtrooper*, no. 3, November 1962.

271 DI Herbert Trull, police statement in TNA CRIM 1/3973.

272 *The Times*, 7 August 1962.

273 Frederick J. Simonelli, 'The World Union of National Socialists and Postwar Transatlantic Nazi Revival', in Jeffrey Kaplan and Tore Bjørgo (eds), *Nation and Race: The Developing Euro-American Racist Subculture* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1998), p. 36.

274 Jack Baker to A.D. Massel, 18 December 1961 in 1658/9/3/1, JDC papers, observes ANP activists distributing 'Liberate Hess' flyers in Washington, DC as part of a coordinated NER activity.

275 *The Cotswold Agreements* (Arlington, VA: WUNS, 1962).

276 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 29 July 1964, Rockwell papers. Jeffrey Kaplan and Leonard Weinberg, *The Emergence of a Euro-American Radical Right* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, 1998), p. 43 highlights some of the transnational tensions within the milieu. Notably, NRP leader Göran A. Oredsson, who had worked closely with Jordan in the NER network refused to join WUNS because he was unable to accept that the United States should be its headquarters. Not everyone felt likewise. *The Stormtrooper*, vol. 3, no. 2, March–August 1964 announced that Adolf Eichmann's son, Horst, had joined the network through its Argentina affiliate.

277 *The Rockwell Report*, no. 21, 15 August 1962.

278 The *People*, 12 August 1962.

279 'Obituary: Beryl Cheetham', *NS Outlook*, July 2015, www.bmsunwheel.blogspot.co.uk/2015/07/into-july-2015.html (accessed 27 July 2015). A former Merseyside UM activist, Cheetham moved to Germany when her relationship with Ling broke down, living with a German extreme

right-wing activist. There, she continued her political activities 'alongside veteran German NS activists'. She maintained contact with Jordan and 'established a network of political contacts across Europe and in the USA.' She was a close friend of Savitri Devi.

280 *The Times*, 9 August 1962.

281 George Lincoln Rockwell to Colin Jordan, 15 August 1962, Rockwell papers.

282 Three Special Branch teams simultaneously raided the homes of Denis and Eric Pirie in South London where they lived with their grandmother, Ian Roland Kerr-Ritchie who lived with his mother, and the YMCA hostel where Tyndall lived with his father. *Searchlight*, no. 398, August 2008, alleges sympathetic police sources forewarned Peter Ling and Pat Webb, giving them time to bury an NSM arms cache prior to being raided.

283 'World Union of National Socialists (W.U.N.S.)', MI6 memo, 5 November 1963 in TNA KV 2/4390/378a notes that German police also searched Zimmerman's home, and that of the other activist who had been at the NSM headquarters, a man called 'Kirchstein'. This was quite possibly Wolfgang Kirchstein of Bamberg, Germany, who founded an 'International Viking Movement' in the following year which was aligned to WUNS, see 'Nationalist Youth', *Wiener Library Bulletin*, vol. 20, no. 1, winter 1965–1966, p. 32.

284 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 40.

285 *Daily Telegraph and Morning Post*, 28 August 1962.

286 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 73. Bertha Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 22 December 1962, Rockwell papers, blamed the anti-fascist infiltrator John Nicols for the weedkiller – an assertion at odds with Webster's admission. The NSM expelled Nicols in August following a 'court martial'. Police subsequently arrested him leaving the NSM headquarters with a sheaf of stolen documents, which he confessed he intended to photograph and offer to a newspaper before returning them to the NSM by registered post. He was also carrying an air pistol, which he claimed to have retrieved from the building. The jury believed Nicols that he was going to return the documents, acquitting him of larceny, and also that he had retrieved the pistol *from* the property, rather than taking it *with* him, thereby acquitting him of 'having an offensive weapon in a public place'. For further details of the case, see The *Birmingham Post*, 6 March 1963; and *The Birmingham Post*, 7 March 1963.

287 'Soldiers of the Ring' in TNA CRIM 1/3973.

288 Glen B. Infield, *Skorzeny: Hitler's Commando* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1981); Otto Skorzeny, *Skorzeny's Special Missions* (Aylesbury: Panther, 1959); and Charles Whiting, *Skorzeny: The Most Dangerous Man in Europe* (London: Leo Cooper, 1998).

289 'Strategic methods to be adopted by Special Service Personnel of the Ring during Operations' in TNA CRIM 1/3973.

290 *The Times*, 21 August 1962; and *The Times*, 5 September 1962.

291 'Statement of offence' in TNA CRIM 1/3973. The word 'equipped' was later removed from the indictment.

292 Montague Wimborne, police statement in TNA CRIM 1/3973.

293 Vernon Clancey, police statement in TNA CRIM 1/3973; and *The Times*, 29 August 1962.

294 *The Times*, 12 October 1962.

295 NSM, *Emergency Bulletin from HQ*, 17 October 1962.

296 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 1 September 1962; and George Lincoln Rockwell to Colin Jordan, 3 September 1962, Rockwell papers.

297 George Lincoln Rockwell to Bruno Ludtke, 26 September 1962, Rockwell papers.

298 *Ibid*.

299 Frederick J. Simonelli, *American Fuerher: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999), pp. 118–120.

300 *The Stormtrooper*, vol. 2, no. 1, January–February 1963.

301 *The Stormtrooper*, vol. 2, no. 2, March–April 1963.

302 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 25 August 1962, Rockwell papers. For Slatter, see *The People*, 10 February 1963; and A.M. Rosenthal and Arthur Gelb, *One More Victim: The Life and Death of a Jewish Nazi* (New York: New American Library, 1967), p. 140. Slatter was almost certainly the clandestine channel through which Jordan arranged Rockwell's presence at the August 1962 NSM camp. Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 18 July 1962, Rockwell papers, states 'I would like to say that I hope very much that the project concerning yourself which has been discussed with you through M.S. in London will prove possible.' Ironically,

given his Nazi politics, Slatter was a jazz aficionado, helping to record sessions for jazz trumpeter Kid Thomas Valentine amongst others. In his memoir, Mick Burns (ed.), *Walking with Legends: Barry Martyn's New Orleans Jazz Odyssey* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2007), pp. 23–24, the English jazz drummer Barry Martyn recalled meeting Slatter in New Orleans noting that:

> In later years I visited him in Chelsea London, and he had pictures of Adolf Hitler on the walls. In fact, he even answered the door dressed as a storm trooper – black riding pants, boots, and all that. It was weird: you'd be talking about Kid Thomas, and he'd suddenly switch the conversation to solving the Jewish problem. It seems impossible that you could like a man who held views like that, but he was really a very nice guy. Strangely, in music he was absolutely not a racist, and all the New Orleans musicians really liked him … Eventually Mike Slatter had to leave England because of his fascist connections, and I think he moved to Spain.

303 For the discussions, see C. (62) 156, 18 October 1962 in TNA CAB 129/111.
304 For the decisions, see C. (63) 70, 26 April 1963 in TNA CAB 129/113.
305 For correspondence, see TNA WORK 20/358.
306 Harold Macmillan, minute, 2 May 1963 in TNA PREM 11/4287.
307 Subsequent requests for meetings on 29 September and 27 October 1963 were also turned down on grounds of 'public inconvenience'. Furious, Jordan wrote to the Ministry of Works that the decision was 'due not so much to your Government's concern for "public inconvenience" as its fear of the National Socialist exposure of the present democratic system with its Jewish control and Coloured immigration,' see Colin Jordan to The Minister of Public Buildings and Works, 1 October 1963 in TNA WORK 20/359. TNA HO 325/61, a currently closed file, indicates that this ban persisted with the BM being refused permission to hold a meeting in Trafalgar Square in September 1971 'on basis of group leader's previous abuse of political speech'.
308 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 10 June 1963, Rockwell papers; and Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 151.
309 Special Branch report, 3 August 1963 in TNA KV 2/4390; and *National Socialist*, no. 4, May 1963.
310 Denis Pirie to George Lincoln Rockwell, n.d., Rockwell papers.
311 Colin Jordan to Harold Macmillan, 13 June 1963 in TNA PREM 11/4462.
312 Roger Hollis to T.J. Bligh, 17 June 1963 in TNA PREM 11/4462.
313 TNA PREM 11/4462; and Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 680, col. 1045 (9 July 1963).
314 *The National Socialist*, vol. 1, no. 5, August 1963.
315 C.1., 'Note for File', 31 October 1963 in TNA KV 2/4097/225a. The MI5 files on Boothby (e.g. TNA KV 2/4097) give credence to some of Vassall's claims.
316 *Ibid.*
317 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 131; and Walker, *The National Front*, p. 172.
318 John Tyndall to George Lincoln Rockwell, 11 March 1962; Bertha Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 22 December 1962; John Tyndall to George Lincoln Rockwell, 23 April 1963; John Tyndall to George Lincoln Rockwell, 30 March 1963; Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 10 June 1963 and Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 18 June 1963 and Colin Jordan to Martin Webster, 2 January 1965, Rockwell papers.
319 Denis Pirie to George Lincoln Rockwell, 25 March 1963; Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 10 June 1963; Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 28 June 1963; Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 24 July 1963; George Lincoln Rockwell to Colin Jordan, 29 July 1963, Rockwell papers. Roland Ritchie had form. In May 1954, police arrested him and his father for stealing £400 worth of books and oil paintings from Shelia MacDonald Lochhead, daughter of former Labour Prime Minister Ramsay McDonald. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Declared bankrupt whilst imprisoned, he began using the surname 'Kerr-Ritchie' in 1956. He joined Jordan's WDL and then the BNP for whom he acted as 'research officer'. John Bean (*Many Shades of Black*, pp. 155–156) derided Kerr-Ritchie's contribution to 'the cause', which consisted of a huge tome titled *Facts the Jews Fear*.

> It had no chapters, less than twenty paragraphs, and the average length of a sentence was 500 words. I don't think the Jewish Board of Deputies lost much sleep worrying over its impact. I never met anybody who had progressed beyond page three: It was unreadable.

This did not stop Bean from advertising his three pamphlets 'Evil is their End: The Jews in Our Midst', 'The Jewish Peril: White Resurgence in Germany, 1933–1939' and 'The Jewish War of Revenge, 1939–1945' in the pages of *Combat*.

320 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 24 July 1963, Rockwell papers.

321 *Daily Mail*, 26 March 1963; *Poole and Dorset Herald*, 27 March 1963; *Western Mail*, 26 March 1963; *Daily Mail*, 25 March 1963; *Bournemouth Evening Echo*, 25 March 1963; and *Newcastle Evening Journal*, 26 March 1963. Prior to these reports, on 21 March, the offices of the *Jewish Chronicle* newspaper in Holborn, central London, were also bombed. 'The blast shattered glass doors, smashed holes in the marble facing on the walls and roof of the entrance walls, as well as windows of cars in the street nearby,' see 'London's "Jewish Chronicle" Building Bombed: Police Investigating', *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, 22 March 1963, www.jta.org/1963/03/22/archive/londons-jewish-chronicle-building-bombed-police-investigating (accessed 21 February 2014).

322 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, n.d., Rockwell papers. *Searchlight*, no. 318, December 2001 states that Ling was later caught in bed with a twelve-year-old girl at the Diksmuide festival in Belgium. *Gothic Ripples*, no. 19, February 1988 notes that Ling, 'a life-long National Socialist', died on 16 October 1987.

323 G-A. Amaudruz to Roger Cowley, 16 July 1963 in SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/003, Searchlight archive, University of Northampton. Kerr-Ritchie, who later married an Egyptian woman, subsequently took an 'active role' in the 're-founding' of a WUNS affiliate in the United Kingdom prior to his death in November 1982, see *NS Bulletin*, no. 292, December 1982.

324 Debbault had broken with WUNS by July 1965 having argued with its French representative, Yves Jeanne regarding the FOE and the extension of its 'authority' over Belgium's French-speaking Walloon region over which the Belgian section had hitherto had control, see Colin Jordan to Rudiger van Sande, 29 July 1965, Rockwell papers. In 1966, Jeanne founded the Cercle National et Socialiste Européen (CNSE) and disassociated from WUNS, see Colin Jordan to Yves Jeanne, 1 August 1966, Rockwell papers. The French authorities banned the CNSE in October 1966, see Joseph Algarzy, *L'extrême-droite en France de 1965 à 1984* (Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan, 1989), pp. 39–41. *WUNS Bulletin*, no. 5, 3rd Quarter 1966 notes CNSE was independent of WUNS 'but friendly disposed towards it'.

325 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, pp. 63 and 150. For the photograph, see *The Stormtrooper*, vol. 2, no. 4, July–August 1963. *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, 31 July 1963 recorded the arrest of three West German Nazis noting furthermore that 'there may be a connection between the three and an unidentified British subject believed responsible for the distribution of Nazi posters in Frankfurt, Munich and Freiburg during the latter part of June and all of July.' This was undoubtedly Jordan.

326 *The Times*, 10 July 1963 reported that these leaflets fixed to Jewish buildings in Berlin and Frankfurt.

327 L. Thompson to MI5, 11 July 1963 in TNA KV 2/4390. When Jordan returned, police searched his car and found *Der Mythus der 20 Jahrhunderts* by Alfred Rosenberg; *Unser Liederbruch Leder – der Hitler Jugend*; *Pilgrimage* and two copies of *Gold in the Furnace* by Savitri Devi; *Mein Kampf*; and two packets each containing 200 leaflets in German published by the NSM.

328 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 19 June [sic] 1963; Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 20 July 1963; Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 24 July 1963; Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 27 August 1963, Rockwell papers; *The National Socialist*, no. 6, 1963; and *The National Socialist*, no. 7, 1964. ANP literature also circulated in Britain. In one instance, someone posted it to a nine-year old girl who had advertised in the *Jewish Chronicle* for a pen friend. Clearly contravening Section 6 of the Race Relations Act, the Director of Public Prosecutions was unable to prosecute, the sender being unidentifiable, see TNA LO 2/418.

329 Terry Cooper, *Death by Dior* (London: Dynasty Press, 2013), pp. 118–132 alleges Dior was introduced to Nazism by a former lover, Swedish diplomat Ragnar Kumlin.

330 *Daily Express*, 4 October 1963.

331 *Birmingham Evening Mail*, 5 October 1963; and *Daily Telegraph*, 4 October 1963.

332 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 23 September 1962; and Bertha Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 22 December 1962, Rockwell papers.

333 Françoise Dior to George Lincoln Rockwell, 29 August 1963, Rockwell papers.

334 Colin Jordan to Captain Koehl, 22 June 1964, Rockwell papers. See also Simonelli, *American Fuehrer*, pp. 93–94. Jordan's initial attempts to organise in France had a 'false start' after he tried working with Jean-Claude Monet, editor of *Le Viking* who ran the French Organisation of the Swastika. In *National Socialist*, no. 7, 1964 Jordan later denounced Monet's Parti Prolétarian National-Socialiste (Proletarian National Socialist Party), which was attempting to found its own 'World Assembly of National Socialists' as a 'political perversion'. For the wider political context, see Jean-Yves Camus, 'Nostalgia and Political Impotence: Neo-Nazi and Extreme Right Movements in France, 1944–64', in E.J. Arnold (ed.), *The Development of the Radical Right in France* (London: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 195–216.
335 John Tyndall to George Lincoln Rockwell, 13 May 1963, Rockwell papers.
336 Cooper, *Death by Dior*, pp. 80–81 notes 'the first thing she [Dior] did after their marriage was to apply for, and obtain, British nationality which she kept for the rest of her life.'
337 *Sunday Mirror*, 29 September 1963.
338 Rockwell was outraged by the protests, complaining to The Queen, see George Lincoln Rockwell to The Queen, 6 October 1963, copy in Jewish Chronicle Library Collection, Wiener Library, London.
339 *Ancient Viking Blood Rite Revived: The Colin Jordan Wedding* (Stormtrooper brochure, 1962). A photograph of their wedding adorned the front cover of *The Stormtrooper*, vol. 2, no. 5, September–November 1963.
340 *Daily Sketch*, 8 October 1963.
341 Savitri Devi, *And Time Rolls On*, p. 104, observed that Dior found it difficult 'to live up to the austerity of a real National Socialist.… She tries to live up to it. At least she tried.' Savitri Devi told Rockwell that Dior's 'religious approach' to Nazism made her by far the more ideologically committed than Jordan!

> Her husband is a sincere, efficient, and valuable fighter no doubt, but *she* has the religious approach (if I am not mistaken) and she is the one who, far from wishing to be loved first, *wants* her husband to put the Idea before her – and who herself puts the idea before him, by all means. That ideological one-pointedness (*in spite of* a personal life entirely *different* from mine) is precisely what I like in her.

See 'Savitri Devi's Correspondence with George Lincoln Rockwell, Part 4', edited by R.G. Fowler, *The Savitri Devi Archive*, www.savitridevi.org/rockwell_correspondence_4.html (accessed 13 January 2011). Jordan also observed this trait, albeit filtered through a misogynistic lens. 'My wife is a wonderful woman in many ways, and politically a great personality,' he wrote to Rockwell on 31 October 1964,

> but the great trouble is that she is in fact far too political to seem to want to and be able to – so far – provide a real home. Her tremendous keenness – in some ways too intense – rather blinds her to the personal life of marriage.

342 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 153.
343 Françoise Dior to Colin Jordan, 25 December 1963 in TNA KV 2/4391. Dior told the *Daily Telegraph*, 8 January 1964, 'I reproach him [Jordan] notably with wanting to withdraw to the countryside in Yorkshire from where he claims he can direct his movement which I deny, as London is the arena of British political battles.'
344 *Daily Express*, 7 January 1964.
345 *Daily Mirror*, 8 January 1964.
346 *Daily Mirror*, 23 January 1964.
347 *Daily Mail*, 9 January 1964.
348 Françoise Dior to Colin Jordan, 12 January 1964 in TNA KV 2/4391.
349 Françoise Dior to Colin Jordan, 14 January 1964 in TNA KV 2/4391.
350 George Thayer, *The British Political Fringe* (London: Anthony Blond, 1965), p. 27.
351 *The National Socialist*, no. 7, 1964.
352 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 9 March 1964, Rockwell papers.
353 Cooper, *Death by Dior*, p. 160.
354 Martin Webster to Colin Jordan, 'Friday' [November–December 1963] in TNA KV 2/4391.
355 Jackson, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement*, p. 126.
356 John Tyndall to Colin Jordan, 21 April 1964 in TNA KV 2/4391.

357 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 27 April 1964; and Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 29 July 1964, Rockwell papers.
358 John Tyndall to Colin Jordan, 30 April 1964 in TNA KV 2/4391.
359 *Daily Mirror*, 13 May 1964, quoted in Walker, *The National Front*, p. 47.
360 Special Branch report, 22 May 1964 in TNA KV 2/4392. Jordan alleged that the plot against him was hatched at the home of Dr William J. Mitchell, a former BUF activist cashiered from the Army in 1943 for his indiscreetly proclaimed fascist sympathies. When Dior left England, she gave her British address as William's surgery in New Cross, south London, see Special Branch report, 29 April 1966 in TNA KV 2/4392/456a. Mitchell later became active in the National Front, as did his son.
361 John Tyndall to Colin Jordan, 13 May 1964 in TNA KV 2/4391. Tyndall sent a copy to Mrs Leese too.
362 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 29 July 1964, Rockwell papers.
363 George Lincoln Rockwell to Colin Jordan, 3 August 1964, Rockwell papers.
364 George Lincoln Rockwell to Colin Jordan, 1 January 1965, Rockwell papers. The dossier – subsequently stolen from Jordan by the 62 Group – is located in SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/005, Searchlight archive.
365 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 160.
366 Savitri Devi to John Tyndall, 6 February 1965, Rockwell papers.
367 Colin Jordan to Savitri Devi, 26 February 1965, Rockwell papers.
368 George Lincoln Rockwell to All National Commanders and All National Socialists, 9 January 1965, Rockwell papers. He later apologised to Jordan for his prevarication, see George Lincoln Rockwell to Colin Jordan, 17 July 1965, Rockwell papers.
369 Special Branch report, 23 November 1964 in TNA KV 2/4391. Jackson, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement*, p. 128 notes that only the Coventry NSM branch followed Jordan.
370 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 18 December 1964, Rockwell papers.
371 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 7 July 1964; Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 26 December 1964; and Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 26 December 1964, Rockwell papers.
372 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 132. Jordan believed that outside actors were manipulating the split. He claimed to have 'growing evidence that this whole affair was fostered by a certain element in the background, acting in conjunction with a man in their midst who definitely appears to be a spy and agent provocateur.' He accused Diana Hughes, a former member who had sided with Tyndall, of tipping off both the press and the 62 Group about his ongoing contretemps with Dior.
373 Special Branch report, 5 August 1964 in TNA KV 2/4392; and *The National Socialist*, no. 8, January–March 1965. Three NSM activists, Gordon Callow, Keith Polley and Gerald Lawman, staged an anti-Semitic picket outside the Regent Street Headquarters of Rolls Razor Ltd, which had manufactured washing machine components until going into receivership, singling out the firm because its owner, John Bloom, was Jewish. Parading outside the building wearing swastika armbands and holding aloft banners – both supplied by Jordan – which proclaimed 'Boycott Bloom and Jewish Business' the trio were arrested following a confrontation with 'a gang of Jews'. Oswald Mosley owned £790 of deferred shares in Rolls Razor, which would hardly have diminished Jordan's antipathy towards him, had he known, see Oswald Mosley papers, Nicholas Mosley deposit, Box 12.
374 *Sunday Telegraph*, 9 August 1964 notes that during the police raid several letters from Jordan to the Jeanne and another defendant were uncovered together with 'anti-Semitic pamphlets thought to have been inspired from Britain but printed in France.' Whilst the French police were largely dismissive of Jeanne's group, a Sûreté official stated that the Ministry of the Interior were considering permanently banning Jordan from entering the country as a result. In Rheims, the police discovered two pistols and a quantity of plastic explosives built up by Jesus Monsegur, a Spanish Nazi involved with the group who 'admitted under questioning that he intended using them in raids on cafes and other meeting places of coloured people in Rheims.' Whilst Jordan had nothing to do with this, the police noted Dior's role as an intermediary with the group.
375 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 18 December 1964, Rockwell papers.
376 Michael Hartley-Brewer, 'Smethwick', in Nicholas Deakin (ed.), *Colour and the British Electorate 1964: Six Case Studies* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1965), pp. 77–105; and Paul Foot, *Immigration and Race in British Politics* (London: Penguin, 1965).

377 Peter Griffiths, *A Question of Colour* (London: Leslie Frewin, 1966), pp. 171–172.
378 Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 701, col. 71 (3 November 1964).
379 *Daily Telegraph*, 27 November 2013.
380 Edward Heath, *The Course of My Life: The Autobiography of Edward Heath* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1998), p. 455.
381 Dennis Dean, 'The Race Relations Policy of the First Wilson Government', *Twentieth Century British History*, vol. 11, no. 3, 2000, pp. 259–283.
382 *The Coventry Express*, 23 October 1964.
383 *Stratford Express*, 4 December 1964; and *The National European*, no. 8, February 1965. See also Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, pp. 172–173; and *Combat*, no. 30, February 1965.
384 Denis Healey, *The Time of My Life* (London: Michael Joseph, 1989), p. 297. The Army subsequently dismissed Hughes, see Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 706, col. 826 (15 February 1965).
385 *Leyton Express*, 8 January 1965; and *The National Socialist*, no. 9, April–June 1965.
386 *Birmingham Evening Mail and Despatch*, 22 January 1965.
387 Harold Wilson to Patrick Gordon Walker, 25 January 1965 in GNWR I 1/26, Patrick Gordon Walker papers, Churchill College, Cambridge.
388 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 19 February 1965, Rockwell papers.
389 Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 712, cols 1652–1654 (20 May 1965) records that, whilst police proceeded against eighteen fascists in 1964, they prosecuted twelve in the first quarter of 1965 alone. Further information on the activities of such individuals are in TNA MEPO 2/9729. This contains a dossier of letters obtained from NSM activist Gordon Williams whose home was burgled, police suspected, by a 62 Group activist who then sent the incriminating documents, anonymously, to Reginald Freeson MP (Willesden, East), who edited the newspaper *Searchlight*, a forerunner of the anti-fascist magazine of the same name, which was founded in 1975.
390 *Birmingham Evening Mail and Despatch*, 8 January 1965.
391 *Daily Worker*, 18 January 1965. Kenneth Spivey, a 62 Group activist who infiltrated the NSM in January 1965 identified the arsonists as Hugh Hughes and Michael Trowbridge, acting at Dior's behest, a belief with which the Metropolitan Police concurred, though they did not have enough evidence to charge either man. The 62 Group relayed this information to the Labour MP Reginald Freeson who kept the pressure up by asking a question in the House of Commons. Acting on Spivey's information, the police questioned all those believed to have been involved in the arson attack including Jordan, though they failed to come to any definite conclusion. In fact, the police believed that Jordan had rumbled Spivey 'and that he gave him enough scope to know what he was doing, and then told him to leave.' See TNA MEPO 2/9727.
392 *The National Socialist*, no. 9, April–June 1965.
393 The *Guardian*, 18 January 1965.
394 Cooper, *Death by Dior*, p. 68.
395 *Evening Standard*, 16 August 1967; and *Evening Standard*, 7 September 1967. Police believed that a fire at a Talmudical College in Stoke Newington on 10 November 1964, which resulting in the death of a young Jewish student, was unconnected finding 'no evidence of incendiarism'. The coroner returned a verdict of 'accidental death', see Det. Ch. Supt. W. Brereton to Mr Holden, 19 July 1965 in TNA MEPO 2/9729. The four synagogue arsonists were Williams Evans, Raymond Hemsworth, Colin Rainbird and David Thorne, the latter subsequently resurfacing as the 'overseas liaison officer' for the League of St George, see *League Review*, no. 38, June 1982. Their actions appear to have been an open secret within the NSM. Cooper, *Death by Dior*, p. 68 notes Thorne and Evans attached newspaper clippings of the fire that destroyed Brondesbury synagogue to the walls of the NSM offices 'I had taken no notice at the time and in any case the clippings were gone the following week.'
396 On 9 July 1965, police arrested Aubrey Cadogan after he broke into the Palmers Green and Southgate District Synagogue. He was unconnected to the NSM arson gangs but at his home, police discovered 'considerable quantities' of Nazi literature, including a book titled 'Hitler Was Right'. Cadogan, the former managing director of a Jewish-owned tailoring firm, reportedly told police that his mother was Jewish. He was jailed for five years. See TNA CRIM 1/4419. DPP 2/4012 remains closed.
397 The *Guardian*, 9 February 1966. For full details of the trial, see TNA CRIM 1/4469 and TNA DPP 2/4078–4080. The six arsonists, Paul Dukes, Graham Chant, Colin Rainbird (again), Hugh Hughes, Malcolm Sparks and Alex Gordon were all sentenced to between three and five years'

imprisonment. Dukes received six months, presumably a quid pro quo for cooperating. Following his release from prison, Sparks joined the 4th Battalion, Green Jackets, Territorial and Army Volunteer Reserve (TAVR). However, having failed to disclose his previous convictions, he was dismissed, see Hansard, HC Deb. (series 5), vol. 793, col. 214 (10 December 1966).

398 *The Times*, 16 February 1966.

399 Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 756, cols 615–616 (14 December 1967).

400 Cooper, *Death by Dior*, p. 86.

401 Graham Macklin and Craig Fowlie, 'The Fascist who would be King: Count Geoffrey Potocki of Montalk', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 53, no. 2, 2019, pp. 152–177.

402 *Ibid*.

403 *Ibid.*

404 *Ibid*.

405 Adrian Weale, *Renegades: Hitler's Englishmen* (London: Warner, 1994); and *Searchlight*, no. 313, July 2001.

406 *Searchlight*, no. 256, October 1996; *Searchlight*, no. 313, July 2001; and Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, pp. 299–300. The Press Complaints Commission dismissed Jordan's subsequent complaint because he filed it outside the permissible time limit, Independent Press Standards Organisation, email to author, 10 June 2015.

407 *Sunday Mirror*, 20 June 1965. Newey, the Birmingham NSM leader, was a former BNP activist who had unsuccessfully stood for a seat on its national council in 1962, see *Combat*, no. 21, March–April 1963.

408 Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 714, cols 240–247 (15 June 1965).

409 TNA DPP 2/4009; and *Sunday Express*, 21 June 1965. NSM activists Patrick and Michael Webb were the two most notable members. Patrick Webb, the Coventry NSM leader had a string of criminal convictions for breaking and entering, theft, disorderly conduct, and larceny and affray for a gang fight in Coventry in July 1961 during which a youth had been stabbed. He and his brother both received twelve months' imprisonment. Only weeks before the cross burning, on 24 March 1965, he was fined for using threatening, abusive and insulting words or behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace and for malicious damage. In 1949, aged sixteen, he had been arraigned before Rugby Juvenile Court 'as being beyond parental control following an assault on his mother with a knife.' The police also had 'reliable information' that the brothers were dabbling with the use of explosives in their racist campaign. Bernado O'Reilly, *Undertones: Anti-Fascism and the Far-Right in Ireland 1945–2012* (Dublin: AFA Ireland, 2012), pp. 15–16 notes Webb's subsequent involvement with the National Socialist Irish Workers Party. *Searchlight*, no. 398, August 2008 states that Webb killed a black youth in a bomb attack in the 1970s. Another member, William Duncan, had three convictions for indecently assaulting children, in 1955 and 1957. He was imprisoned for three months for a third assault in 1960. Prior to this, on 20 April 1945, he served three months 'for larceny in a dwelling house and for unlawful possession of a firearm'.

410 The *Guardian*, 19 June 1965.

411 Special Branch report, 22 September 1965 in TNA KV 2/4392.

412 *Brighton and Hove Gazette*, 15 October 1965.

413 *Evening Standard*, 16 October 1965.

414 *The Times*, 26 November 1965.

415 The *Guardian*, 11 November 1965.

416 *Daily Telegraph*, 16 November 1965.

417 TNA 2/4392/452b.

418 Special Branch report, 29 April 1966 in TNA KV 2/4392/456a.

419 Françoise Dior to Colin Jordan, n.d. but 1966 in TNA KV 2/4392.

420 *The Times*, 28 October 1967.

421 *Blood & Honour*, no. 30.

422 Cooper, *Death by Dior*, pp. 96–98. Patrice Chairoff, *Dossier Neo-Nazisme* (Paris: Éditions Ramsay, 1977), p. 31 describes 'André Tochou' as Dior's 'ex-secrétaire très particulier'. Whilst Dior was no longer involved with NSM, WUNS' *Eastern Hemisphere Bulletin*, no. 8, January 1967 records the group protesting her arrest, and sending a letter to President Charles De Gaulle demanding her release.

423 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 46.

424 TNA CRIM 1/4749.

425 Bert Wickstead, *Gangbuster: Tales of the Old Grey Fox* (London: Futura, 1985), p. 61. Three months later, two men, posing as police officers, kidnapped Cooper and interrogated him for two days about the fascist movement. Enquires by the Dagenham police revealed that Cooper's house had been under surveillance for several days prior to the kidnapping by members of the 62 Group. Scotland Yard questioned several activists but released them without charge because Cooper failed to identify them as his kidnappers, see Special Branch report, 25 March 1969 in TNA HO 325/55. On 10 April 1968, Cooper was arrested on the Strand bearing a letter of introduction to the military attachés of Rhodesia House, South Africa House, the Portuguese Consulate and the Spanish Embassy, which stated:

> May I introduce myself as the private secretary to Madame Françoise Jordan of the National Socialist Movement, England. In this letter I am representing the West African Travel Agency Ltd. Within the next two or three weeks the directors of this company expect to be in possession of various documents taken from an African Embassy [the Democratic Republic of the Congo] which may be of importance to you concerning your state.

Police found Cooper in possession of documents, as well as a rubber truncheon and faked identity cards. These revealed his own involvement in a conspiracy to kidnap the Congolese Ambassador by men disguised as police detectives. His motive, Cooper told the court, was that the Congolese Embassy in London 'is the headquarters for organising most of the Communist funds for the activities in the Congo'. In a statement to police, Cooper claimed 'a man he met in a public house in Belgravia' promised him £5,000 if he stole papers from the Embassy. Cooper received a two-year suspended sentence after being found guilty on all five counts, see *Evening Standard*, 1 August 1968; and *The Times*, 2 August 1968. *Searchlight*, no. 120, June 1985 alleged Cooper had offered his services to the British Mercenary Force run by the self-styled 'Major' Douglas Lord, a former sergeant major active in the Congo who had acted as a bodyguard to former Premier Moïse Tshombe. Following her release, Dior and Cooper briefly relocated to Jersey (where she attempted suicide) and thence to Normandy, where Savitri Devi visited them again – 'my heart sank into my boots' recalled Cooper. On a subsequent visit, she stayed for six months until finally persuaded to visit Yves Jeanne in Nantes. The couple separated after a decade. In his autobiography, Cooper alleged that Dior later developed a taste for Satanism and began a lesbian affair with her own daughter whom she later induced to commit suicide! She was financially ruined following a bad investment in a Parisian nightclub before marrying her third husband, Count Hubert de Mirleau. Cooper also claimed (pp. 135–264) that he occasionally performed 'little jobs' for the Renseignements généraux (RG – General Intelligence), the intelligence service of the French police. He was also involved with the Front de Libération de la Bretagne (FLB – Breton Liberation Front), a militant Breton separatist group engaged in a terrorist campaign against the French state and the more cerebral Mouvement Normand (MN – Norman Movement). In June 1981, Cooper was arrested and tried for possessing a firearm and explosives – 'which I had made for the FLB' – receiving a two-year suspended sentence, subsequently avoiding jail for a multimillion-franc bank fraud after his sentence was rendered inapplicable due to a legal technicality. He was also an associate of Claude Cornilleau, leader of the extreme right-wing Parti nationaliste français et européen (PNFE – French European National Party), which developed links with John Tyndall's BNP. Dior also remained involved with extreme right-wing politics, subsequently helping to bankroll Martin Webster's short-lived 'One Nation' group, which was founded on the premise of racial nationalism, 'the idea that a nation is based on heredity.' Another former NSM member involved in One Nation was Denis Pirie then employed as an export market research advisor for the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI). The DTI subsequently conducted an enquiry though Pirie – who dismissed his Nazi past as 'a bit silly' – was cleared and allowed to keep his job, *The Times*, 16 April 1985; and *The Times*, 17 April 1985. Dior was also a member of the Paris Association of the Conservative Party, see *The Times*, 20 February 1984.

426 For Pierce's contribution to physics, see E. Brun, J.J. Kraushaar, W.L. Pierce and Wm. J. Veigele, 'Nuclear Magnetic Dipole Moment of Ca41', *Physical Review Letters*, vol. 9, no. 4, 1962; and E. Brun, R.J. Mahler, H. Mahon and W.L. Pierce, 'Electrically Induced Nuclear Quadrupole Spin Transitions in a GaAs', *Physical Review*, vol. 129, no. 5, 1963.

427 George Lincoln Rockwell to Colin Jordan, 19 January 1964, Rockwell papers. *The Stormtrooper*, vol. 2, no. 5, September–October 1964 announced the forthcoming publication of *National Socialist World* but it took a further two years to appear.
428 Jackson, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement*, p. 146.
429 *National Socialist World*, no. 1, spring 1966.
430 TNA ASSI 26/416; and TNA LCO 2/411. Jordan was not alone in falling foul of the new legislation. NSM member Vincent Morris followed him behind bars in July 1967. Another teenage NSM activist, Malcolm Lowes, protested Jordan's conviction by setting fire to a timber yard in Poole, Dorset, on 4 February 1967 for which he was jailed for three years. He had been released from prison for another offence on the previous day.
431 J.C.C. Jordan to R.H.S. Crossman, 9 May 1967 in MSS.154/3/COV/1/163, Richard Crossman papers, Modern Records Centre, Warwick University, hereafter Crossman papers.
432 R.H.S. Crossman, 'International Commentary', 4 July 1962 in MSS.154/4/BR/9/163, Crossman papers.
433 Roy Jenkins to R.H.S. Crossman, 17 July 1967; and R.H.S. Crossman to J.C.C. Jordan, 31 July 1967 in MSS.154/3/COV/1/161 and 165, Crossman papers.
434 Bertha Jordan to R.H.S. Crossman, 16 August 1967 in MSS.154/3/COV/1/160, Crossman papers.
435 William H. Schmaltz, *Hate: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1999), p. 325.
436 F.I.A., 22 September 1967 in TNA KV 2/4392.
437 Chief Superintendent A. Cunningham to MI5, 4 August 1967 in TNA KV 2/4392; and Jackson, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement*, p. 141.
438 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 77; and Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, pp. 217–218.
439 *British Patriot*, no. 39, November 1975. The BM subsequently published its own edition of Leese's *Jewish Ritual Murder: My Irrelevant Defence – Meditations Inside Gaol and Out* (Clwyd: BP Publications, 1980) as well as its own edition of *The Protocols of the Meetings of the Learned Elders of Zion* (Shotton: BP Publications, 1978).
440 Colin Jordan to William Pierce, 14 July 1968 in SCH/01/Res/BRI/23/002, Searchlight archive.
441 Dave Hann, *Physical Resistance: Or, One Hundred Years of Anti-Fascism* (London: Zero Books, 2012), p. 231.
442 Short, a student at Queen's College, Cambridge, received a suspended sentence and was expelled from the NF in June 1969. *Combat* [no date] indicates Short subsequently became branch secretary of London BM. He subsequently left the BM to join the National Democratic Freedom Movement run by the BM's former Leeds organiser, Eddy Morrison, after he split from the group in 1973. In the following year, Short infiltrated the Croydon North West Branch of the Liberal Party, becoming an executive committee member. He was present for the meeting at which the party voted to become the SDP Liberal Alliance, voting for the name change. He stood as its candidate for Rylands Ward, Croydon. *Daily Mirror*, 30 April 1982 and the *Guardian*, 30 April 1982 exposed him, forcing his resignation. Short was also an occultist. Jordan derided his claim that he possessed the gift of 'automatic writing' whereby occult forces would guide his hand in revelation.

> Joseph Short's thesis is that the fountain-head of National Socialism was occult power, a concoction he has in common with the paper-back portrayers of Hitler and his early circle as a bunch of star-gazing devil worshippers. Such playboys of the bizarre we can well do without,

Jordan argued in *Gothic Ripples*, no. 9, September 1982.
443 *Current Notes*, December 1969 in ACC/3121/C6/1/2, London Metropolitan Archives, London.
444 Colin Jordan to A.K. Chesterton, 10 July 1968; A.K. Chesterton to Colin Jordan, 15 July 1969; and Colin Jordan to A.K. Chesterton, 16 July 1969, Chesterton papers.
445 A.K. Chesterton to Colin Jordan, 5 August 1969, Chesterton papers.
446 A.K. Chesterton to Colin Jordan, 30 September 1969, Chesterton papers. When Alan Marney, Tunbridge Wells NF organiser, breached this agreement by publicly expelling a member for fraternising with the 'pro-Nazi' BM, Chesterton admonished him. He also apologised to Jordan for this 'unfortunate' incident, stating that the individual in question was expelled for an entirely different reason, see A.K. Chesterton to Colin Jordan, 7 September 1970, Chesterton papers.

447 For their trial, see TNA CRIM 1/4996. They were both jailed for six months, suspended for eighteen months
448 JDC, Minutes, 30 September 1968 in ACC/3121/C6/1/1, LMA papers, London.
449 Daniel Jones and Paul Jackson, 'The National Socialist Group: A Case Study in the *Groupuscular* Right', in Nigel Copsey and Matthew Worley (eds), *'Tomorrow Belongs to Us': The British Far Right since 1967* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 27–47.
450 *WUNS Bulletin*, no. 10, 4th Quarter 1967 notes Courtney had assumed management of the NSM offices.
451 Colin Jordan to David Courtney, 22 June 1968 in SCH/01/Res/BRI/23/001, Searchlight archive records: 'I am glad that you will shortly join British Movement yourself, and your group – which of course has my sympathy and agreement – will have the best possible relations with us.'
452 A.K. Chesterton to Colin Jordan, 5 May 1969, Chesterton papers. Colin Jordan to Martin Webster, 30 May 1969, Chesterton papers concedes that he did attend two 'private' meetings in London in September 1968 and February 1969 at which NSG members were present. Jordan told Chesterton that that the NSG was 'entirely apart' from the BM and that he had 'no part whatsoever' in its foundation of direction, see Colin Jordan to A.K. Chesterton, 14 December 1968, Chesterton papers. Concerned by its activities, Chesterton arranged for Webster to have the group infiltrated and, on his instruction, to meet its leaders. NF activists Desmond Smith and Donald Mudie, who had joined the NSG, were suspended. Webster reported the NSG to the police in April 1969, see *Searchlight*, no. 88, October 1982. Tyndall's supposed membership of the NSG was raised at the NF Directorate meeting on 9 May but the 'proof' – a membership card – was a forgery circulated to cause dissention by either rivals or anti-fascists. Indeed, *Spearhead*, no. 23, April–May 1969 had already reported that Tyndall's passport stolen together with other documents during a break-in at the 'Nationalist Centre'.
453 *WUNS Bulletin*, no. 13, 3rd Quarter 1968. Colin Jordan to A.K. Chesterton, 17 May 1969; Colin Jordan to Martin Webster, 17 May 1969; and Colin Jordan to A.K. Chesterton, 29 May 1969, Chesterton papers.
454 *Searchlight*, no. 35, May 1978; *Searchlight*, no. 69, March 1981; and *Searchlight*, no. 78, December 1981.
455 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, pp. 221 and 226–227.
456 *The Times*, 24 April 1968.
457 *British Tidings*, no. 10, May/June/July 1969; and *Powell was Right* (BM leaflet, 1969).
458 *The Times*, 23 December 1971.
459 *Ladywood Parliamentary By-Election – British Movement Candidate Colin Jordan* (BM election leaflet, 1969). R.A. Duffen stood as a BM candidate in Ladywood ward in the May 1969 local elections to test the water.
460 Ray Hill with Andrew Bell, *The Other Face of Terror: Inside Europe's Neo-Nazi Network* (London: Grafton Books, 1988), p. 39.
461 The BM subsequently stood several candidates in the May 1970 local elections, including Arthur Shorthouse (Aston, Birmingham) and Thomas Tatlow (St Michael's, Coventry).
462 *British Tidings*, no. 10, May/June/July 1969; and Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 233.
463 'Fascists', 8 August 1969 in TNA HO 325/8.
464 *Nationalist Solidarity in '70* (BM leaflet, 1970).
465 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 232.
466 A.K. Chesterton to Colin Jordan, 30 April 1970, Chesterton papers.
467 A.K. Chesterton to Colin Jordan, 23 May 1970, Chesterton papers. John Tyndall, *The Eleventh Hour*, p. 204 notes that Jordan and the BM 'had to be left out of the reckoning for the time being'.
468 Jackson, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement*, p. 164.
469 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 251.
470 Colin Jordan to A.K. Chesterton, 23 June 1970, Chesterton papers; and *Colin Jordan – British Movement Candidate for Aston* (BM 1970) in SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/005, Searchlight archive.
471 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 134.
472 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, pp. 246–247.
473 John Tyndall to *The Liverpool Newsletter*, 5 March 1973, copy in author's possession.
474 Colin Jordan, *White Power for Britain* (Coventry: British Movement, 1971). For the launch of the 'White Power' campaign, see *British News*, no. 1, April 1971; and *British News*, no. 2, May 1971. See also Jackson, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement*, p. 164.

475 George Lincoln Rockwell, *White Power* (n.p., 1983), especially pp. 462–466.
476 Simonelli, *American Fuehrer*, pp. 96–106.
477 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 252.
478 *Liverpool Daily Post*, 2 December 1974.
479 *British Tidings*, February 1975 announced Jordan's resignation as National Chairman and his cessation of political activity.
480 The *Sun*, 17 May 1975.
481 *British Patriot*, no. 39, November 1975.
482 Labour Research Department, *The National Front Investigated* (London: LRD, 1978), p. 26.
483 Mike Walsh McLaughlin, *The Rise of the Sunwheel* (Createspace: 2016), pp. 3–6. See also 'Patrick McLaughlin', *ALBA!*, *Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives*, www.alba-valb.org/volunteers/patrick-mclaughlin (accessed 7 June 2016).
484 TNA DPP 2/6179 notes the Director of Public Prosecutions considered preferring further charges against McLaughlin for inciting racial hatred in July 1976.
485 Jackson, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement*, p. 178.
486 *The Times*, 8 June 1976; and *The Times*, 16 June 1976.
487 The *Guardian*, 16 June 1976; Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, pp. 274–275 and 279; *White Power Report*, February 1978; and *Liberty Bell*, June 1979.
488 'British Movement: Support for Michael McLaughlin Terminated', in James N. Mason papers, Box 14, folder 33, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, hereafter Mason papers, and also Colin Jordan, 'More Mendacity from Michael McLaughlin – The Big Lie in "British Tidings"', 1 March 1979 in SCH/01/Res/BRI/23/001, Searchlight archive. The split between Jordan and McLaughlin also affected international networks. The American Nazi propagandist Gerhard Lauck, head of the NSDAP-AO, sided with McLaughlin leading Jordan to demand he be stricken from Lauck's mailing list. Jordan was also critical of NSRP leader Edward Fields and British anti-Semite Lady Jane Birdwood, reported *The Liberty Bell*, June 1979.
489 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 2, March 1980.
490 For an array of accusations against Jordan, see Mike Walsh McLaughlin, *The Rise of the Sunwheel*, pp. 19–29. For a rebuttal by former Yorkshire BM organiser Eddy Morrison, see *Heritage and Destiny*, no. 77, March–April 2017.
491 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 6, June 1981; and *Gothic Ripples*, no. 9, September 1982.
492 *The Liberty Bell*, January 1979. The BM proscribed the NF in September 1976 as 'an affront to real nationalism', though it made little difference in practice, see *British Tidings*, no. 55, September 1976.
493 Colin Jordan, 'A Case of Indecent Exposure by the Mini-Messiah from Merseyside – Colin Jordan Skewers Michael McLaughlin's Package of Lies', 1 March 1979.
494 TNA CAB 128/70, CC (81), 5th Conclusions, 5 February 1981. Keith Tompson, *Under Siege: Racial Violence in Britain Today* (London: Penguin, 1988), p. 171.
495 Ray Hill, *The Other Face of Terror*, pp. 116–147. Gerry Gable, the editor of *Searchlight*, subsequently claimed in *Jewish Chronicle*, 22 April 2009:

> Many years later I had a long phone conversation with him [Jordan] about the way he had been forced out of British Movement by his rival Michael McLaughlin. Despite all the threats over the years and our work in getting him and his followers sent to prison, he was prepared to talk to me about a 'common enemy'.

496 Mike Walsh McLaughlin, *The Rise of the Sunwheel*, p. 67.
497 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 263.
498 'Patheley Brige' was first mentioned in 1130, see 'Pateley Bridge', *The Yorkshire Dales*, www.yorkshire-dales.com/pateley-bridge.html (accessed 9 October 2007).
499 Colin Jordan, 'Notes on Arnold Leese', undated MSS, Leese papers.
500 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 1, December 1979.
501 *Liberty Bell*, vol. 7, no. 5, 1980.
502 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 4, October 1980. NS Publications of Cicero, Illinois, published an extended version in *The National Socialist*, no. 3, n.d.
503 *Ibid.*
504 *Ibid.*
505 *League Review*, vol. 1, no. 25, n.d.

506 Colin Jordan, *National Socialism: World Creed for the 1980s* (Thorgarth: Gothic Ripples, 1981), which had originally appeared in the *WUNS Journal*, winter 1981 as 'National Socialism: Our World Creed in the 1980s'.
507 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 9, September 1982.
508 *Χρυσή αυγή*, May–June 1981.
509 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 46, December 2002.
510 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, pp. 127 and 281; *Gothic Ripples*, no. 3, June 1980; and http://members.odinsrage.com/ravenfjord/CJ.htm (accessed 6 January 2004).
511 For an extended discussion of this idea, see Raphael Gross, '"Loyalty" in National Socialism: A Contribution to the Moral History of the National Socialist Period', *History of European Ideas*, vol. 33, 2007, pp. 488–503.
512 Colin Jordan, *National Socialism: Vanguard of the Future – Selected Writings of Colin Jordan* (Aalborg: Nordland Forlag, 1993) pp. 75–101.
513 *Gothic Ripples*, November 1981.
514 The *Guardian*, 12 August 1981; and *Yorkshire Post*, 1 May 2009.
515 *Spearhead*, no. 176, June 1983. Peterborough BM organiser, Peter Gallagher, had attempted to stand in the 1983 general election as 'Labour' but his nomination papers were invalid, see detailed 1983 election list in 'England Boroughs', www.election.demon.co.uk/1983EB2.html (accessed 12 February 2014).
516 *Spearhead*, no. 177, July 1983
517 *Spearhead*, no. 178, August 1983.
518 *National Review*, no. 45, April 1986.
519 Gothic Ripples Booklist, February 1986, Mason papers, Box 14, folder 35.
520 *National Review*, no. 47, 1987.
521 Elizabeth Wheaton, *Codename Greenkill: The 1979 Greensboro Killings* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1987) covers Covington's role.
522 *Liberty Bell*, vol. 14, no. 5, January 1987; and *Liberty Bell*, vol. 14, no. 7, March 1987 reprinted Covington's 'Circular Letter No. B-5 – 15 January 1987' in which his critique had originally appeared. *Liberty Bell*, vol. 15, no. 1, September 1987 featured a further response from Covington in which he elaborated upon his own criticisms.

> I think I might better have said the *formal, open party* is dead as an option, and in this I agree with Colin Jordan, although I disagree with him about the necessity of working with (I say working *on*) the White population as a whole. What is needed is a vehicle that *functions* like an organization, yet is *not* an organization, by which I mean a group that works politically to bring about actual change, and yet has nothing for the enemy infiltrators to worm their way into…

523 Goodrick-Clarke, *Hitler's Priestess*, p. 224.
524 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 329.
525 Jackson, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement*, p. 206.
526 'Our Commander Koehl: A Living Link', *The New Order* www.theneworder.org/commentary/alivinglink.htm (accessed 6 July 2012). Florentine S. Rost van Tonningen exemplified the idea of this 'living link' with the past. Her unrepentant autobiography, *Triumph and Tragedy: Some Personal Remembrances of Dutch and European History in the 20th Century* (Netherlands: Consortium De Levensboom, 2000), p. 217 ended with the following message:

> Finally, from the bottom of my heart I would like to thank our *Führer*, his followers and the German people for having fought on to the bitter end, despite all the suffering they had to endure at the hands of the enemy. And to our younger generation I would like to wish both courage and faith in our people, helping them to tie together the torn thread and strengthen it for a sound and healthy Europe and Aryan world.

Broadsword, no. 13 [no date] highlighted the British Movement's own links with 'the "Grand Old Lady" of Dutch and European National Socialism' who 'has visited Britain to attend British Movement events and BM activists have visited her home and campaign office in Holland.'
527 *NS Bulletin: Official Newsletter of the New Order*, no. 333, May–August 1986. See also 'In Memoriam: John Colin Campbell Jordan', *The New Order*, www.theneworder.org/news/heroism/090410jordan.htm (accessed 6 July 2012).

528 *NS Bulletin: Official Newsletter of the New Order – Special Centennial Issue*, 1989.

529 Having already sold copies of the article through the pages of *White Power Report*, vol. 1, no. 7, 20 April 1977, *Liberty Bell*, vol. 16, no. 8, 20 April 1989 republished it in its entirety. Jordan was delighted. His effusive letter, thanking its editor, George Dietz, for this 'superb' collection, featured in *Liberty Bell*, no. 12, August 1989. Jordan believed this issue was 'something to treasure permanently as a magnificent commemoration' regarding it as:

> an additional personal pleasure to discover that you had found my old article 'National Socialism: A Philosophical Appraisal' worthy of inclusion in this monumental issue ... It was kind of you to preface the reproduction in the centenary issue with the too complimentary remarks concerning myself, and the wording of one of my centenary stickers.

Dietz was clearly enamoured with Jordan's article. He reprinted it again in *Liberty Bell*, vol. 21, no. 10 June 1994. Having been unable to include it in the April 1989 centenary edition, Dietz also reprinted Jordan's essay 'Hitler was Right' in *Liberty Bell*, vol. 17, no. 8, April 1990. Matt Koehl's magazine, *The New Order*, no. 81, January–August 1989 also disseminated Jordan's writings. They were also recycled by, for instance, *The Torch: The National Voice of Christian Identity*, no. 120, January 1984, mouthpiece of The Church of Jesus Christ in Bass, Arkansas, and *Aryan Workers Front*, vol. 1, no. 1, *c*.1989–1990 operating from DeKalb, Texas (which published excerpts from Jordan's 'A Great Idea National Socialism Then and Now').

530 For a broader analysis, see George Michael, 'Blueprints and Fantasies: A Review and Analysis of Extremist Fiction', *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, no. 33, 2010, pp. 149–170.

531 Colin Jordan, *A Train of Thought* (Thorgarth: Gothic Ripples, 1989).

532 George Michael, *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism in the USA* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003), pp. 117–118 notes William Pierce employed the same technique in *The Hunter*.

533 Colin Jordan, *Merrie England – 2,000* (Thorgarth: Gothic Ripples, 1993). See also Paul Jackson, 'British Neo-Nazi Fiction: Colin Jordan's *Merrie England – 2000* and *The Uprising*', in Nigel Copsey and John E. Richardson (eds), *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), pp. 86–108. *Merrie England – 2000* was, surprisingly, reviewed and sold in the 'New Right' journal *The Scorpion*, no. 17, spring 1995 whose editor, Michael Walker, lamented that Jordan's admiration of Hitler 'puts him beyond the pale for many who would do well to listen to what he has to say here regardless of what they think of the late German chancellor.' Walker's stance alarmed the French Nouvelle Droite ideologue Alain de Benoist who chided:

> The question of knowing to what extent a platform should be offered to extreme individuals or groups is *not* a matter of respectability, but rather, as I see it, a question of knowing what positions one wishes to affirm. If you decide to publish Mr. (Colin) Jordan elucubrations that is up to you but it should be done on condition that you clearly distance yourself from him or you run the risk of not being taken seriously as a platform for debate…

(Correspondence reproduced in *Liberty Bell*, vol. 22, no. 7, March 1995). The row rumbled on. 'Third Way' leader Patrick Harrington wrote criticising Walker's (unapologetic) promotion of Jordan in *The Scorpion*, no. 18, spring 1997, eliciting a reply from Jordan in *The Scorpion*, no. 19, spring 1998 castigating his 'exoneration' of Jewry, which 'results either from an ignorance of the realities of power and influence in the present world or else a contemptible cowardice. Personally I diagnose his [Harrington's] affliction as chronic cold feet.'

534 *Jewish Telegraph*, 10 April 1993.

535 The *Guardian*, 24 March 1994; and *Yorkshire Post*, 12 August 1998.

536 The initial print run was 5,000, see *Northern Echo*, 29 March 1993. To facilitate further sales, *Merrie England – 2000* also appeared on the Internet, then still a relatively new means of communication, see *Gothic Ripples*, no. 35, December 1996. *Liberty Bell*, vol. 24, no. 7, March 1997 advertised the URL for an American audience.

537 Colin Jordan, *National Socialism: Vanguard of the Future – Selected Writings of Colin Jordan* (Aalborg: Nordland Forlag, 1993). See also *Gothic Ripples*, http://gothicripples.wordpress.com/ (accessed 13 November 2011).

538 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 293; and *NS Worldview*, no. 2, summer 1995, p. 106. *Spearhead*, no. 217, March 1987 notes that Jordan regularly kept the BNP apprised of Zündel's legal travails.

539 The series began in *Gothic Ripples*, no. 27, September 1994 and ended in *Gothic Ripples*, no. 39, April 1999.
540 For example, Richard Butler, leader of Aryan Nations, began reprinting excerpts of 'The Way Ahead' in *Aryan Nations Newsletter*, no. 84.
541 *Liberty Bell*, vol. 22, no. 9, January 1995. George Dietz reprinted the series in full in *Liberty Bell*, that is, *Liberty Bell*, vol. 22, no. 9, May 1995; *Liberty Bell*, vol. 24, no. 7, March 1997; and *Liberty Bell*, vol. 25, no. 9, May 1998.
542 Colin Jordan, *The Uprising* (Milwaukee, WI: NS Publications, 2004).
543 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 42, January 2001 outlines Jordan's failed effort to have Straw charged under the Genocide Act (1969)
544 'Colin Jordan, 'The Two Sides of Jack Straw's Jewish Justice', *Skrewdriver.org*, www.skrewdriver.org/jordan.html (accessed 13 November 2011); and Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 306. In 2009, Jordan issued a summons under the Police (Property) Act 1897 against the Chief Constable of Yorkshire for the return of 8,831 items which he alleged had not been returned to him following the collapse of the case against him in 2001. He was also in the process of taking legal action against the anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight* for defamation when he died. For further details, see *Heritage and Destiny*, no. 35, January–March 2009.
545 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 307. Jordan's printer, Anthony Hancock, was acquitted of two charges of aiding and abetting Jordan to publish or distribute material which was threatening, abusive or insulting and intended or likely to stir up racial hatred in September 2002. Though BNP chairman Nick Griffin was silent on Jordan's prosecution, which irked Jordan considerably, he did defend Hancock in *Identity*, no. 56, July 2005 noting that his prosecution was an attempt 'to intimidate not just him but every other printer in the country, into refusing to handle Politically incorrect material.'
546 Wallace Wears, an International Third Position activist who had worked on its 'French farming project' financed its publication. Wears died on 10 September 1997 having been baptised into the Catholic faith at Rosine de Bounevialle's Hampshire home during the previous summer, see *Final Conflict*, no. 16, autumn 1997; and *Candour*, vol. 70, nos 9, 10 and 11, September, October and November 1997.
547 *Heritage and Destiny*, no. 18, October–December 2004 reviewed and advertised *The Uprising*. Jordan wrote to *Heritage and Destiny*, no. 20, April–June 2005 praising the magazine for fulfilling 'a vital function in sustaining the supremacy of racial loyalty above party politics and petty manoeuvres.'
548 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 46, December 2002. Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 315 notes that Pierce's National Alliance made Jordan an honorary member in 2006.
549 'Andrew MacDonald', *The Turner Diaries* (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books, 1978). For further analysis, see Renee Brodie, 'The Aryan New Era: Apocalyptic Realizations in the Turner Diaries', *Journal of American Culture*, vol. 21, no. 3, fall 1998, pp. 13–22; and Brad Whitsel, 'The Turner Diaries and Cosmotheism: William Pierce's Theology of Revolution', *Novo Religio*, vol. 1, no. 2, April 1998, pp. 183–197. For an analysis of the book's ongoing influence, see J.M. Berger, *The Turner Legacy: The Storied Origins and Enduring Impact of White Nationalism's Deadly Bible* (ICCT Research Paper – September 2016), https://icct.nl/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/ICCT-Berger-The-Turner-Legacy-September2016–2.pdf (accessed 1 October 2016).
550 Lou Michel and Dan Herbeck, *American Terrorist: Timothy McVeigh and the Oklahoma City Bombing* (New York: Harper Collins, 2001), pp. 39, 88, 167 and 228–229. *The Turner Diaries* profoundly influenced McVeigh. He had originally considered bombing the J. Edgar Hoover FBI Building in Washington, DC like Earl Turner, the eponymous hero of *The Turner Diaries*. In the days before the bombing, McVeigh also left several cryptic messages for Richard Coffman, a National Alliance activist, in the hope the group might help him secure refuge in the aftermath of his impending attack. In the event, McVeigh failed to connect with the NA, however.
551 Jo Thomas, 'Behind a Book that Inspired McVeigh', *New York Times*, 9 June 2001, www.nytimes.com/2001/06/09/us/behind-a-book-that-inspired-mcveigh.html (accessed 9 December 2016).
552 *National Alliance Bulletin*, October 1998.
553 The *Guardian*, 3 April 2000.
554 Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood: Inside America's Racist Underground* (New York: Free Press, 1989); Thomas Martinez and John Guinther, *Brotherhood of Murder*

(New York: Pocket Books, 1990); and Stephen Singular, *Talked to Death: The Murder of Alan Berg and the Rise of the Neo-Nazis* (New York: Berkley Books, 1989). More recently, see Kathleen Belew, *Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018). For the broader context, see James William Gibson, *Warrior Dreams: Paramilitary Culture in Post-Vietnam America* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1994).

555 *Heritage and Destiny*, no. 18, October–December 2004. Jordan denied reading Pierce's novels though 'Gothic Ripples Booklist, February 1986', Box 14, folder 33, Mason papers, highlights he had stocked and sold copies.

556 *The Scorpion*, no. 24, spring 2005.

557 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, pp. 285–86. *Gothic Ripples*, nos 22–23, April 1990 solicited donations for Matthews' widow.

558 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 24, December 1990 urged readers to send cards to the following members of The Order: Gary Yarborough, David Lane, Bruce Pierce, Richard Scutari, Randy Duey and Richard Kemp. 'Their fight was yours! Show Solidarity!'

559 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 41, August 2000.

560 Magnus Söderman and Henrik Holappa, *Unbroken Warrior: The Richard Scutari Letters* (Stockholm: Nationellt Motstand Förlag, 2011), pp. 29, 31 and 34.

561 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 41, August 2000.

562 George Michael, 'David Lane and the Fourteen Words', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 10, no. 1, March 2009, pp. 43–61.

563 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 41, August 2000.

564 *Focus Fourteen*, no. 709; and see Colin Jordan, 'Smashing the Peace Stone', *W.o.t.a.n*, www.allfatherwotan.org/smashingthepeacestone.html (accessed 13 November 2011).

565 See Colin Jordan, 'Dealers in Flotsam and Jetsam', *W.o.t.a.n*, http://allfatherwotan.org/dealersfj.html (accessed 13 November 2011). For Jordan's influence on Lane's thinking, see *W.o.t.a.n*, http://allfatherwotan.org/strategy.html (accessed 13 November 2011).

566 *Deceived, Damned and Defiant: The Revolutionary Writings of David Lane* (St Maries, ID: Fourteen Words Press, 1999), pp. xvii–xxii. His introduction also appeared online at *W.o.t.a.n*, http://allfatherwotan.org/jordanintro.html (accessed 13 November 2011). Jordan is also mentioned in passing in Ron McVan's *Voice of our Forefathers – An Aryan Manifesto* (No publishing details: 2010), p. 2. McVan worked with Katja Lane, David Lane's wife, on the 14 Words Press and Wotansvolk, a politico-religious grouping espousing a brand of Aryan pagan mysticism.

567 *Spearhead*, no. 372, February 2000.

568 Colin Jordan, ' "The Demon of Diabaig" writes from Thor Nook', *Heretical.com*, www.heretical.com/British/diabaig.html (accessed 13 November 2011). See also *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 13 March 2002. Jordan satirised and fictionalised this experience for *Spearhead*, no. 401, July 2002.

569 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 48, October 2004.

570 Jackson, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement*, p. 239. Jordan had previously been in contact with Albert Szabó who in April 1993 had co-founded the 'Hungarist Movement' – the name an obvious reference to the Arrow Cross – after returning to Hungary, following a seven-year sojourn in Australia.

571 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, pp. 333–334.

572 John Colin Campbell Jordan, Last Will and Testament, 11 March 2008. *Gothic Ripples – Yuletide Supplement*, 2005 notes she fled Hungary in 1956 with her first husband whom had been active in the anti-Soviet uprising.

573 *Liberty Bell*, vol. 24, no. 9, May 1997; *Gothic Ripples*, no. 26, March 1997; and *Gothic Ripples*, no. 38, March 1998.

574 *Gothic Ripples – Yuletide Supplement*, 2005. Nor did Jordan tire of expressing his disgust to senior BNP officials. 'Amongst my postbag was a scathing letter from Colin Jordon [sic],' recorded deputy BNP chairman Simon Darby in January 2008.

> According to him I am a sell out for stating that we have Jewish members in the BNP. At first I am a little wounded but then accept that criticism from someone with a sixty-year track record of abject failure is not such a bad thing,

see Simon Darby blog, http://simondarby.blogspot.com/ (accessed 17 January 2008).

575 *National Vanguard*, no. 118, September–October 2002; *National Vanguard*, no. 119, January–February 2003; and *National Vanguard*, no. 120, May–June 2003. Tyndall was not immune from criticism on this score. Jordan had previously attacked the BNP in *Liberty Bell*, vol. 24, no. 9, May 1997 for their claim that they only opposed Jews 'on grounds of what they do' and not because of their 'Jewishness', which echoed Mosley. Jordan was appalled. 'This is a rejection of the racial standpoint basic to National Socialism which holds that it is because of what they are that Jews do what they do, being by nature injurious to our race and nation.'

576 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 325.

577 See http://members.odinsrage.com/ravenfjord/CJ.htm (accessed 6 January 2004).

578 See 'The Great Idea: National Socialism, Part 1', *Northland Forum*, 9 March 2015, http://northlandforum.blogspot.co.uk/2015/03/the-great-idea-national-socialism-part-1.html (accessed 22 April 2017).

579 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 265. *Broadsword*, no. 8 features a letter from Jordan congratulating the BM on their new journal. 'It is obvious that this represents an upgrading of your output of literature which I applaud.'

580 *Colin Jordan: A National Socialist Life* (Heckmondwike: Sunwheel Publications, 2009). See also *British Movement: 40 Years of National Socialist Struggle, 1968–2008* (Heckmondwike: Sunwheel Publications, 2008). For contact, see *Broadsword*, no. 27, 2004; and *Broadsword*, no. 28, n.d. The BM also produced a DVD interview *British Movement Interviews Colin Jordan* (2005). See also Colin Jordan, *Defiant and Unrepentant* (Mad Dogs and Englishmen: CD, 2009); and *National Socialism in Britain: A History* (Mad Dogs and Englishmen: DVD, 2009), the latter dedicated to Jordan's memory. For Jordan's continued veneration at party functions, see 'British Movement News and Views Round-Up', April 2015, http://bmsunwheel.blogspot.co.uk/2015/05/april-2015-ns-struggle-continues.html (accessed 22 July 2015); and 'British Movement News and Views Round-Up', July 2014, http://bmsunwheel.blogspot.co.uk/2014/08/july-2014-british-movement-news-and.html (accessed 22 July 2015).

581 *Blood & Honour*, no. 14 highlighted his arrests in 1998–1999. *Blood & Honour*, no. 15 encouraged activists to buy 'thought crime' stickers from Jordan. *Blood & Honour*, no. 16 urged activists to send donations. *Blood & Honour*, no. 31 reviewed *The Uprising* and urged readers to 'Support Colin Jordan' Britain's 'leading NS activist'. *Blood & Honour*, no. 36 revered Jordan as a 'Veteran National Socialist, Patriarch of post-war resistance in Britain'.

582 *Blood & Honour*, no. 30.

583 *Blood & Honour*, no. 42.

584 *Gothic Ripples*, nos 22–23, April 1990.

585 Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism and the Politics of Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), p. 42 makes this observation.

586 *Sunwheel: British Movement National Members Bulletin*, no. 35, spring 1995; and British Movement – *A Message to the West Midlands from Sunwheel*, n.d. See also *A statement regarding the split between the British National Socialist Movement and its former Bradford Group*, n.d.

587 *Searchlight*, no. 223, January 1994; *Searchlight*, no. 231, September 1994; and *Searchlight*, no. 274, April 1998. See also *Life Rune Books – Catalogue no. 10*, April 1998 advertised Jordan's *Vanguard of the Future* alongside other Nazi and 'neo-Nazi' works, particularly those emanating from the National Alliance, and the US Army manual, *Hand-To-Hand Combat FM21–150*, which was described as 'essential reading'. Ian Glaser, *The Day the Country Died: A History of Anarcho-Punk, 1980–1984* (London: Cherry Red Books, 2006), pp. 120–127 contains a long interview with Cato who maintains he had remained racist throughout his anarcho-punk period. For more on Cato, see Morbid Symptoms, 'Admit You're Shit', *Who Makes the Nazis*, 30 October 2010, www.whomakesthenazis.com/2010/10/admit-youre-shit.html (accessed 19 March 2019).

588 *The Order*, no. 7, autumn 1993.

589 *The Oak*, no. 7, autumn 1993.

590 *Ibid.*

591 *Ibid.*

592 *Thor-Would*, no. 4, December 1994. *The Order*, no. 11, 1995 argued that personal revolution was a prerequisite of racial revolution. Therefore,

> we ask each and every nationalist to in the words of Colin Jordan, purge his mind of all attachment to the existing state and system and society abstracting himself to the utmost from the group of this alien world so as to be in total rebellion against its decadence.

593 *The Order*, no. 4, circa October 1993, for example. Nick Lowles, *White Riot: The Violent Story of Combat 18* (Bury: Milo, 2001), pp. 45–46 further highlights these influences.
594 *Europe Awake*, no. 10.
595 *The National Socialist*, no. 2, 1996.
596 *Europe Awake*, no. 4, July–August 1994; *Europe Awake*, no. 5; and *Europe Awake*, no. 7, January–February 1995.
597 *Blood and Honour Magazine*, 1996.
598 See Covington's obituary for Jordan, http://downwithjugears.blogspot.co.uk/2009/04/in-memoriam-colin-jordan-1923–2009.html (accessed 12 February 2014). Covington had helped found the National Socialist White People's Party of America whose journal, *Plexus*, regularly referenced Jordan's writings. For instance, *Plexus*, no. 13, January 1994 advertised Jordan's *National Socialism: Vanguard of the Future* alongside James Mason's *Siege*. *Plexus*, no. 25, February 1995 published 'Some Thoughts from Colin Jordan' taken from *National Socialism World Creed for the 1990s*.
599 Harold A. Covington, *The March Up Country* (Reedy, WV: Liberty Bell, 1987), p. vi; and Lowles, *White Riot*, pp. 27–35 for the book's influence, which is also evident in *Spearhead*, no. 236, October 1988. Covington had visited Tyndall at his home in 1981. 'I certainly found him to be intelligent, though there was something about the man's personality that told me I should be on my guard,' Tyndall recalled in *Spearhead*, no. 319, December 1995. Covington had a small British audience. *Liberty Bell*, vol. 14, no. 7, March 1987 notes Covington's mailing list had 400 addresses though only four were in the United Kingdom. During early 1987, Covington informed subscribers that mail would reach him at 'Box 123, Douglas, Isle of Man, British Isles'.
600 See Colin Jordan, 'The Way Ahead', www.resist.com/ColinJordan/Jordan-TheWayAhead-0.html (accessed 12 February 2014). Martin Kerr, a former ANP activist who edited *White Power* also mourned Jordan's passing, recounting, as part of his tribute, a visit he had paid to Jordan in 2003, see *Heritage and Destiny*, no. 37, July–September 2009.
601 David Myatt, *Myngath: Some Recollections of a Wyrdful and Extremist Life* (May 2013), http://davidmyatt.files.wordpress.com/2013/04/david-myatt-myngath.pdf (accessed 21 May 2013). *Memoirs of a Street Soldier* by Eddy Morrison, who founded Leeds BM in October 1970, also touches upon Myatt's political activism during this era, see http://memoirsofastreetsoldier.blogspot.co.uk/ (accessed 21 May 2013). Morrison later claimed to have expelled Myatt because of his 'black magic rantings', see *Nationalist Week*, no. 19 – online bulletin of the Spearhead Group, www.bpp.org.uk/nw19.html (accessed 30 June 2016).
602 See http://members.odinsrage.com/ravenfjord/CJ.htm (accessed 6 January 2004). *Gothic Ripples*, no 38, March 1998 had previously advertised *Column 88*.
603 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 37, December 1997.
604 Graeme McLagan and Nick Lowles, *Mr Evil: The Secret Life of Racist Bomber and Killer David Copeland* (London: Blake Publishing, 2000).
605 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 41, August 2000.
606 Maxime Brunerie to the NSM, 22 July 1999 in SCH/01/Res/BRI/21/01, Searchlight archive.
607 *Searchlight*, no. 326, August 2002. Seeking to take credit for Brunerie's actions, C18 put out a mischievous statement claiming that 14 July was:

> a reminder that C18 and its supporters are willing and able to act in any European country. We do not target people because of their racial origins but we will continue to target the Global Capitalists and their allies who use the race issue for their own ends. Our enemies are on both the left and right of the political spectrum. We have nothing further to say on this matter – actions speak louder than words.

See www.skrewdriver.net/indexb.html (accessed 13 November 2011).
608 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 37, December 1997.
609 See www.rvfonline.com/articlefiles2/colinjordanmemory.htm (accessed 13 November 2011).
610 See www.bpp.org.uk/colinjordanrip.html (accessed 13 November 2011).
611 See www.bpp.org.uk/colinjordan.html (accessed 13 November 2011).
612 *Searchlight*, no. 396, June 2008; and The *Guardian*, 13 April 2009. Jordan sent a message of support to the BPP 'Senior White Nationalists Forum' on 24 March 2007, see www.bpp.org.uk/cj.html (accessed 13 November 2011).

613 See http://nationalsocialist.net/ (accessed 13 November 2011). The BPP reprinted the original Cotswolds Declaration as part of this initiative, see www.bpp.org.uk/cots.html (accessed 13 November 2011).

614 'Sad News – Colin Jordan Died!', *VNN Forum*, 10 April 2009, www.vnnforum.com/showthread.php?t=92153 (accessed 4 October 2012).

615 'County Durham Terror Plot Father and Son are Jailed', BBC News, 14 May 2010, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/wear/8682132.stm (accessed 4 October 2012).

616 Colin Jordan, *The National Vanguard: The Way Forward* (Uckfield: HRP, 2011); and Colin Jordan, *National Socialism: Vanguard of the Future* (Uckfield: HRP, 2011). Seeking to propagate Jordan's legacy, BM leader Stephen Frost, addressed National Action (NA) on the imperatives of National Socialism and the '14 words' at a meeting on 9 August 2014, see YouTube, www.youtube.com/watch?v=7SFXnWyL2fI (accessed 11 December 2016). Ben Raymond, one of NA's founders, has publicly attested to Jordan's influence and praised his 'enormous courage', see http://national-action.info/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Resistance-Interview.pdf (accessed 23 March 2015). Jordan's book, *National Socialism: Vanguard of the Future* was 'essential reading' for London NA activists, see https://nationalactionlondon.files.wordpress.com/2015/06/colin-jordan-national-socialism-vanguard-of-the-future.pdf (accessed 11 December 2016). Radio Aryan, aligned with NA, has also turned *The Uprising* into an audio book, see 'Aryan Narrations: The Uprising by Colin Jordan', *Radio Albion*, March 2016, www.radioaryan.com/2016/03/aryan-narrations-uprising-by-colin.html (accessed 26 March 2016). Jordan's novel, *The Uprising*, was also available from the Siege Culture website which promoted the work of James Mason, a former activist in Rockwell's ANP who went on to exert a pivotal influence on a violent US *groupuscule* called Atomwaffen Division, which was closely allied with National Action. Highlighting the continuity and durability of this transatlantic extreme right milieu, Jordan and Mason had been in contact with one another since at least 1977. In *Siege*, August 1983, Mason had praised Jordan's work as that of 'Old Fighter' which, whilst considered 'old style and contradictory' compared to *Siege*, was nonetheless, 'important enough to merit this mention'. Colin Jordan to James Mason, 12 October 1983, Box 35, folder 33, Mason papers, thanked Mason for sending him a copy of *Siege* 'and for the kind mention made it of myself and my booklet.' The BM blogsite subsequently reproduced material from Mason's website (siegeculture.com) for a new generation of activists, see 'NSM: The Cotswold Camp 1962', *Northland Forum*, 22 November 2017, http://northlandforum.blogspot.no/2017/11/nsm-cotswold-camp-colour-archive-images.html (accessed 22 November 2017).

617 *Instauration*, vol. 3, no. 5, April 1978.

Activists from almost every group outside the BNP gathered to commemorate and memorialise Tyndall's life, and those of other recently deceased activists.[649] In the spirit of 'unity', old adversaries now delivered homilies. Andrew Brons, the BNP MEP, eulogised Tyndall at one such meeting, having previously denounced 'Conservative "Nationalists"' like Tyndall as 'political illiterates'.[650] As well as glossing over old divides, these 'John Tyndall Memorial Meetings' afford veteran racial nationalists, many of whom knew Tyndall personally, the opportunity to meet with the leaders of newer youth-orientated 'street' organisations like National Action, a small but vociferous national socialist group banned as a 'terrorist' organisation in December 2016. 'John Tyndall's political legacy lives on even in a generation that was still at primary school when he died,' noted the organisers.[651] In this sense, Tyndall – idealised and beatified – has transmogrified into a cipher for the continued persistence of an increasingly marginalised political tradition. Speaking at one such event, Peter Rushton, assistant editor of *Heritage & Destiny*, asserted that: 'the future belonged to radical nationalism, because our ideas are based on nature, while liberalism is anti-nature … We nationalists following in the tradition of John Tyndall assert our racially based, nature-based alternative to the establishments [*sic*] melting-pot dystopia.'[652]

Notes

1 The *Guardian*, 20 July 2005.
2 Richard Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain: From Oswald Mosley's Blackshirts to the National Front* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998), p. 259.
3 Martin Walker, *The National Front* (London: Fontana/Collins, 1977), p. 9 estimated that the party's stable membership was roughly 12,000.
4 Kate Taylor, 'The Rise of the 1970s National Front', *Searchlight*, no. 314, August 2001, p. 19.
5 *Spearhead*, no. 189, July 1984. The writings of François Duprat, one of the founding members of the Front National in 1972, reflect contemporary French interest, see 'La percée politique du Nationalisme en Grande-Bretagne', *Défence de l'Occident*, vol. 149, 1977, pp. 57–65. Duprat's own journal, *Cahiers européens*, provided French militants with regular updates on the NF.
6 John Bean, *Many Shades of Black: Inside Britain's Far Right* (Bloomington, IN: Ostara, 2013), p. 238.
7 Nigel Fielding, *The National Front* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), p. 22.
8 Simon Schama, *A History of Britain* (London: Bodley Head, 2009), p. 240.
9 John Tyndall, *The Eleventh Hour: A Call for British Rebirth* (London: Albion Press, 1988), pp. 7–8.
10 Douglas R. Holmes, *Integral Europe: Fast-Capitalism, Multiculturalism, Neofascism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 150.
11 *Spearhead*, no. 39, January 1971.
12 Holmes, *Integral Europe*, p. 150.
13 *Spearhead*, no. 43, June 1971.
14 'Tyndall the Communist?', www.tyndallexposed.com/commie.htm (accessed 20 March 2005).
15 Tyndall, *The Eleventh Hour*, pp. 48–49.
16 *Spearhead*, no. 350, April 1998.
17 Tyndall, *The Eleventh Hour*, p. 16.
18 *Ibid*., pp. 49–50 and 96.
19 John Tyndall, 'Do We Need Jewish Candidates: John Tyndall Addresses a Vexed Issue', *Spearhead*, www.spearhead.co.uk/0405-jt4.html (accessed 5 June 2015).
20 A.K. Chesterton to John Tyndall, 5 April 1957, Chesterton papers. In *Spearhead*, no. 39, January 1971, Tyndall recorded that he and Chesterton had first met in 1956.
21 *Candour*, vol. 6, nos 189 and 190, 7 and 14 June 1957.
22 *Candour*, vol. 7, no. 196, 26 July 1957; *Candour*, vol. 8, no. 229, 14 March 1958; *Candour*, vol. 8, no. 231, 28 March 1958; and *Candour*, vol. 8, nos 232 and 233, 4 and 11 April 1958.
23 *Candour*, vol. 3, no. 109, 25 November 1955.

24 Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, pp. 100, 105 and 119. The League is viewed as a 'training ground' for a post-war generation of militants with the implicit assumption that this is where they met. However, Colin Jordan had left the League in October 1956, resigning finally in April 1957, whilst Martin Webster only joined in 1960. Tyndall never mentioned meeting either man whilst he was active in the League, though he may have.
25 Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, p. 116.
26 *Identity*, no. 57, August 2005.
27 *Spearhead*, no. 417, November 2003; and *Identity*, no. 57, August 2005.
28 *Candour Supplement*, 25 April 1958; and Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, p. 108.
29 A.K. Chesterton to John Tyndall, 2 September 1966, Chesterton papers. O.G. Allanson-Winn, a South African friend of Chesterton's subsequently told Tyndall 'he said you were the best he had met,' see *Spearhead*, no. 146, December 1980.
30 John Tyndall to A.K. Chesterton, 5 September 1966, Chesterton papers. Tyndall was also greatly influenced by another of Chesterton's colleagues, Ivor Benson, the South African author of numerous anti-Semitic works including *The Zionist Factor*, of whom Tyndall wrote in *Spearhead*, no. 289, March 1993: 'I would say that after the death of A.K. Chesterton, who he knew well, Ivor Benson provided more guidance to me in the quest for enlightenment on national and international issues than any other single person.' Benson was not the only former Rhodesian official with whom Tyndall was acquainted. *Spearhead* regularly published articles by Noel Hunt (*Spearhead*, no. 309, November 1994), who had retired from the Rhodesian government in 1975 with the rank of Deputy Secretary at the Ministry of Internal Affairs.
31 *Spearhead*, no. 168, October 1982. Canterbury BNP leader Derek Whiting was a former LEL activist.
32 Tyndall, *The Eleventh Hour*, p. 182.
33 *East End Advertiser*, 30 May 1958. Its local branch was run by Joe Warren, who operated out of the Carpenter's Arms on Cheshire Street, Bethnal Green, holding meetings in the street as well as in nearby St Matthews Row.
34 Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, p. 122 and 125–126.
35 *The Times*, 12 December 1958.
36 *The Times*, 7 March 1959.
37 The *Guardian*, 27 September 1997 states that Tyndall was his election agent.
38 *The Times*, 22 September 1997.
39 The *Guardian*, 9 March 1959; and the *Guardian*, 11 March 1959.
40 Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, p. 124.
41 *Combat*, no. 3, April–June 1959.
42 *The Manchester Guardian*, 25 May 1959.
43 Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, p. 128.
44 'Report of NLP meeting, Trafalgar Square, 6 September 1959' in 1658/9/2/2, Jewish Defence Committee (JDC) papers, Wiener Library, London, hereafter JDC papers.
45 *North St. Pancras Election News – Webster Says 'Britons First'* (London: Clair Press, 1959).
46 *The Times*, 18 September 1958.
47 *The Times*, 30 September 1959; *The Times*, 16 October 1959; *Combat*, no. 5, January–March 1960; and Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, p. 136.
48 Thomas Wright to 'Dear Sir', 3 November 1959 in Labour Research Department archive, Box 2/D/2, London Metropolitan University, London.
49 *The Times*, 25 September 1958.
50 Webster's campaign was such that his brewery gave him notice to quit his pub during the campaign. He later defected to Mosley's UM, see *The Times*, 23 September 1958.
51 Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, pp. 138 and 140–141.
52 *Ibid.*, p. 141
53 *Ibid*.
54 Tyndall, *The Eleventh Hour*, pp. 181–182; and Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, pp. 143–144.
55 Tyndall, *The Eleventh Hour*, pp. 183–194.
56 John Tyndall, *The Authoritarian State: It's Meaning and Function* (London: British National Party, 1961). Gary Rex Lauck, leader of the NSDAP-AO published an American edition under the imprint of his 'Westrope Social Alliance Press' in 1973. *NS Report*, no. 62, July–August 1985, the NSDAP-AO publication, was still selling copies.

57 Tyndall, *The Authoritarian State.*
58 *Greyshirt*, no. 1, January 1962.
59 Spearhead circular, 4 December 1961 in TNA CRIM 1/3973.
60 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 35.
61 *Ibid.*
62 Tyndall, *The Eleventh Hour*, p. 185.
63 The *Guardian*, 19 June 1962.
64 *The National Socialist*, vol. 1, no. 5, August 1963.
65 *The National Socialist*, no. 7, 1964.
66 *Daily Express*, 5 September 1962.
67 Spearhead Trial, The Press Association Special Reporting Service, 2 October to 15 October 1962, copy in Wiener Library London.
68 *Ibid*.
69 John Tyndall to George Lincoln Rockwell, 11 March 1962, Rockwell papers.
70 *Ibid.*
71 *The Times*, 25 October 1962.
72 *Daily Worker*, 24 October 1962. Veale had also acted for the NSM, see F.J.P. Veale to Martin Webster, 14 November 1962 in SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/002, Searchlight archive.
73 *Viking Books: Literature for Patriots of all Nations – Catalogue, 1964*.
74 John Tyndall to George Lincoln Rockwell, 11 March 1962, Rockwell papers.
75 Denis Pirie to George Lincoln Rockwell, 25 March 1963, Rockwell papers. His younger brother, Eric, was also an NSM activist, see *Nation Revisited*, July 2013, http://nationrevisited.blogspot.co.uk/2013/07/nation-revisited-106.html.
76 John Tyndall to George Lincoln Rockwell, 13 May 1963, Rockwell papers.
77 George Lincoln Rockwell to John Tyndall, 31 May 1963, Rockwell papers.
78 George Lincoln Rockwell to John Tyndall, 28 April 1963, Rockwell papers.
79 George Lincoln Rockwell to Colin Jordan, 2 May 1964, Rockwell papers.
80 George Thayer, *The British Political Fringe: A Profile* (London: Anthony Blond, 1965), p. 28.
81 *Ibid*., p. 31.
82 John Tyndall to George Lincoln Rockwell, 8 January, 1964, Rockwell papers
83 The *Guardian*, 8 February 1964; and The *Guardian*, 22 October 1974.
84 *Daily Express*, 16 September 1964.
85 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 25 May 1964; Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 1 June 1964; Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 7 July 1964; Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 26 December 1964; and Colin Jordan to Martin Webster, 2 January 1965, Rockwell papers.
86 *Ibid.*
87 *Searchlight*, no. 38, August 1978, quoting Tyndall's correspondence with Karl Allen, a former ANP activist.
88 Tyndall, *The Eleventh Hour*, p. 198.
89 *Spearhead*, December 1964.
90 *Official Programme of the Greater Britain Movement* (London: GBM, n.d.).
91 *Spearhead*, no. 1, August–September 1964.
92 *Spearhead*, no. 2, December 1964.
93 *Spearhead*, no. 4, February 1965.
94 BBC, *Lost Race* (1999).
95 *Spearhead*, no. 4, February 1965.
96 Martin Webster, CV.
97 Terry Cooper, *Death by Dior* (London: Dynasty Press, 2013), pp. 51 and 61.
98 *Ibid*., p. 51.
99 Tyndall, *The Eleventh Hour*, pp. 198–202.
100 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 47.
101 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 25 May 1964; and Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 26 December 1964, Rockwell papers. See also *Spearhead*, April 1965.
102 *Morning Advertiser*, 17 December 1964.
103 *The Times*, 15 July 1966. The action was taken against the individual who took out the lease, GBM activist Paul Trevelyan, a former Swaziland police inspector and former LEL activist,

whose wife, Valerie, worked with Tyndall producing *Spearhead*, see *Sunday Telegraph*, 16 May 1965.

104 John Tyndall to Mrs Winifred Leese, 30 April 1966 in SCH/01/Res/BRI/23/002, Searchlight archive.

105 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 72.

106 *Spearhead*, no. 13, November–December 1966.

107 TNA MEPO 2/10633; and *Spearhead*, December 1964.

108 Kenyatta's Nation Union party issued an angry statement demanding an apology from Foreign and Commonwealth secretary Duncan Sandys whilst Martin Shikuku, general secretary of the opposition Democratic Union, demanded the expulsion of Sir Geoffrey de Freitas, the British High Commissioner. Irate African students stormed the British Embassy in Bulgaria, whilst in Kenya itself angry crowds gathered outside the British High Commission in Nairobi. In Bomet, 200 miles from the capital 'Kipsigis tribesmen blew war horns and yelled their hatred of the League of Empire Loyalists' at a meeting called by Daniel Moi MP in the mistaken belief that the LEL was again responsible for the outrage. The meeting subsequently passed a resolution,

> calling on the Government to check all Europeans in Kenya to uncover any supporters of the League. Unless this was done, Mr Moi said, 'every white skin' would be assumed to be a support of the league and thus an enemy of the country.

The Kenya Plantation and Agricultural Workers' Union warned British farmers in Kenya to 'pack up and go'. Anger only abated when Kenyatta returned to Kenya and, addressing a mass rally in Nairobi, asked that the incident be forgotten. See *The Times*, 17 July 1964; *The Times*, 21 July 1964; and *The Times*, 27 July 1964.

109 TNA MEPO 2/10633; *Spearhead*, no. 2, December 1964; and Martin Webster, CV. Jordan told George Lincoln Rockwell that Webster was considering moving to South Africa, see Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 26 December 1964, George Lincoln Rockwell papers.

110 *The Times*, 5 October 1964.

111 *Daily Express*, 14 August 1965.

112 *Spearhead*, no. 302, April 1994.

113 *The Times*, 25 October 1965; and *Daily Express*, 25 October 1965.

114 *The Spectator*, 24 December 1965.

115 Brad Whitsel, 'Ideological Mutation and Millennial Belief in the American Neo-Nazi Movement', *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 24, no. 2, 2001, pp. 89–106 notes similar developments in North America.

116 Thayer, *The British Political Fringe*, p. 31.

117 *Stratford Express*, 20 August 1965; and *Ilford Pictorial*, 19 August 1965.

118 *Spearhead*, no. 8, July 1965.

119 Tyndall, *The Eleventh Hour*, p. 112.

120 *Viking Books – Literature for Patriots of All Nations* (London: Albion Press, November 1964).

121 Frequent *Spearhead* contributors included Peter Peel, a prominent 'revisionist' living in Reseda, California, who had joined the IFL as a teenager, and Oliver Gilbert, who also active in the Nordic League. Interned during the Second World War, MI5 suspected Gilbert was in the pay of German intelligence. The IFL continued to fascinate. *Spearhead*, no. 262, December 1990 contained the following advert: 'Are there any surviving pre-war members of the old IFL still around? Contact would be welcomed. State branch and branch leader's name when replying, and give your telephone number. Reply to Box 88, Spearhead'.

122 *The Times*, 22 March 1966; *The Times*, 30 March 1966; and *The Times*, 14 April 1966. His co-accused included Ralph Richardson, Leslie Hylands, Gordon Brown, John Hammond, Carole Dunnett, Paul Trevelyan and David Rowley.

123 *The Times*, 30 June 1966. The case against two defendants was dismissed whilst another, Ralph Richardson, claimed in court to have only joined the GBM to gather evidence for the police.

124 *The Times*, 18 November 1966.

125 A.K. Chesterton to Avril Walters, 12 June 1966, Chesterton papers.

126 A.K. Chesterton to John Tyndall, 2 May 1963 in SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/001, Searchlight archive.

127 *Spearhead*, no. 12, July 1966.

128 John Tyndall to A.K. Chesterton, 29 August 1966; and A.K. Chesterton to John Tyndall, 2 September 1966, Chesterton papers.

129 John Tyndall to A.K. Chesterton, 5 September 1966; A.K. Chesterton to John Tyndall, 7 September 1966; John Tyndall to A.K. Chesterton, 11 September 1966; A.K. Chesterton to John Tyndall, 13 September 1966; and John Tyndall to A.K. Chesterton, 17 September 1966, Chesterton papers.
130 A.K. Chesterton to John Tyndall, 21 September 1966, Chesterton papers.
131 John Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, pp. 183–184 and 205. Bean and Tyndall were soon exchanging articles for each other's publications, over and above the objections of Andrew Fountaine. Bean subsequently moved *Combat*'s publishing offices into 'The Nationalist Centre', which also housed *Spearhead*.
132 Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, p. 184
133 *Searchlight*, no. 38, August 1978, quoting Tyndall's correspondence with William Pierce. When the letters emerged during a *World in Action* documentary broadcast in July, Tyndall was dismissive of their veracity. 'I do not keep files of all correspondence going back that far nor is my memory so good that I can recall it,' he wrote in *Spearhead*, no. 120, August 1978. 'I therefore do not know whether the letters were forged or just stolen … However, if the idea was to point out that this was the way I was thinking in the 1960s, my reply is: so what?' Sidestepping the question of intent indicated by his letter to Pierce, Tyndall claimed simply that the letters were irrelevant because he had changed his opinion.
134 Tyndall to Jordan, 20 March 1967 in SCH/01/Res/BRI/23/002, Searchlight archive.
135 *Searchlight*, no. 38, August 1978, quoting Tyndall's correspondence with William Pierce.
136 *Spearhead*, no. 139, May 1980.
137 A.K. Chesterton to Denis Pirie, 24 November 1967; and A.K. Chesterton to Denis Pirie, 27 November 1967, Chesterton papers. The NF Director of Information Michael Passmore was a case in point. Passmore, a former GBM activist, had been making an annual pilgrimage to Germany since 1958 and had established contact with the Bund Heimattreuer Jugend (BHJ) to whom he had disseminated illegal propaganda materials, including stickers bearing a portrait of Hitler with the words 'He was right'. Passmore also visited Gudrun Burwitz, Himmler's daughter, in Munich before his arrest by the German authorities, which led to him being jailed for a year in August 1965, see *The Times*, 30 March 1965; *The Times*, 9 August 1965; and *Der Spiegel*, 34, 1965. Tyndall claimed Passmore's 'demeanour' at the trial 'was a credit to the movement', see *Spearhead*, no. 9, February–March 1966.
138 A.K. Chesterton to John Bean, 29 October 1967, Chesterton papers.
139 John Tyndall, *Six Principles of British Nationalism* (London: Nationalist Centre, 1967), pp. 1–29.
140 *Candour*, vol. 28, no. 467, August 1967; and *Spearhead*, no. 16, September 1967.
141 A.K. Chesterton to John Tyndall, 29 October 1967, Chesterton papers.
142 *Combat*, no. 42, November–December 1967.
143 Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, pp. 183–184.
144 *Spearhead*, no. 103, March 1977.
145 Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, pp. 203–204.
146 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 87. Thereafter, Legg immersed himself in the campaign to return the 'lost' Dorset hamlet of Tyneham, see Patrick Wright, *The Village That Died for England* (London: Faber & Faber, 2002), pp. 304–310.
147 A.K. Chesterton to Colin Jordan, 23 May 1970, Chesterton papers.
148 Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, p. 189.
149 *Spearhead*, January 1969, quoted in Walker, *The National Front*, p. 116.
150 Meeting of the Leadership Council of the National Front, Minutes, 27 February 1969, Chesterton papers.
151 Walker, *The National Front*, pp. 115–116.
152 TNA LO 2/470.
153 NF Directorate meeting, Minutes, 12 April 1969, Chesterton papers.
154 *Candour*, vol. 20, no. 492, September 1969.
155 A.K. Chesterton to Rosine de Bounevialle, 6 September 1969, Chesterton papers.
156 'Members' Bulletin – From the National Director to all Members', 26 September 1969, Chesterton papers.
157 A.K. Chesterton to Martin Webster, 1970, Chesterton papers.
158 FBI file, 'White Extremist Organisations: Part II National States Rights Party'.

159 *The Thunderbolt*, no. 61, September 1964.
160 *The Thunderbolt*, September 1961; and *Spearhead*, no. 4, February 1965.
161 *The Thunderbolt*, no. 93, September 1967.
162 *Spearhead*, no. 25, September 1969.
163 Hampton Sides, *Hellhound on his Trail* (London: Penguin, 2011), p. 418. Following the killing, Ray's brother, Jerry, a 'personal bodyguard' to NSRP leader J.B. Stoner, was 'guest of honour' at its convention in Jacksonville, Florida, on 7–8 June 1969. 'All three Ray brothers are true conservative patriots and your editors willingly vouch for them,' stated *The Thunderbolt*, no. 116, August 1969. Jerry contributed an article to *The Thunderbolt*, no. 157, February 1973 titled 'Ray Brothers Persecuted Over Martin Luther King Case'. He was also 'guest of honour' at the 1973 NSRP Chicago rally, see *The Thunderbolt*, no. 161, June 1973.
164 *New York Times*, 28 June 1968; and *Spartanburg Herald*, 28 June 1968. Tyndall was not the only British activist involved in this nexus. Sidney Carthew, a merchant seaman involved with Liverpool BNP during the 1960s, also became involved in the campaign to have King's killer acquitted, though he did not come forward until 1995. Ray's defence hinged upon his claim to have been set up by a mysterious arms dealer called 'Raoul/Raul' who was never traced. Ray's defence lawyer, William Pepper, drew upon Carthew's testimony that he too had met 'Raoul/Raul' in Montreal's Neptune bar, frequented by British sailors, in a bid to corroborate his client's claims that he was an innocent 'patsy', see William F. Pepper, *An Act of State* (London: Verso, 2008); *Orders to Kill* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1995); and *The Plot to Kill King* (New York: Skyhorse, 2016). The Department of Justice were dismissive of Carthew's testimony, see 'Footnotes', U.S. Department of Justice, 6 August 2015, www.justice.gov/crt/footnotes (accessed 7 August 2016). Carthew later joined Tyndall's BNP, becoming his Yorkshire Regional Organiser, and standing as a regular election candidate in Halifax. Five years after his death in 2003, Halifax BNP instituted an annual trophy for activism in the name of their 'venerated colleague', see 'Richard Edmonds tells Yorkshire Meeting of BNP London's Success', *BNP News*, 14 November 2008, http://bnp.org.uk/2008/11/richard-edmonds-tells-yorkshire-meeting-of-bnp-london's-success/ (accessed 9 March 2009).
165 FBI file, 'White Extremist Organisations: Part II National States Rights Party'; and *The Thunderbolt*, no. 122, February 1970. Jerry Pope, the NSRP Kentucky organiser had already visited the NF, see *The Thunderbolt*, no. 116, March 1969.
166 *The Thunderbolt*, no. 192, July 1975; and *The Thunderbolt*, no. 219, July 1977. Fields and his San Francisco organiser Ray Reimer visited the NF again in July 1977. 'The NF people showed their deep appreciation for the support the NSRP has given them,' recorded Fields. 'We simply recognise that the NF has the leadership that has enabled a new movement to capture the spirit of a nation.' Tyndall granted Reimer a filmed interview, described as 'an inspiring message to the American people'. Fields hoped to provide screenings of the interview to readers of *The Thunderbolt*, 'and let this movie give you the real feeling of the new wave of White Racism which is sweeping England and may well save that nation in this its [sic] truly darkest hour.'
167 *The Thunderbolt*, no. 208, August 1976.
168 *New York Times*, 29 April 2005. Stoner was released in 1986 having served a mere one-third of his sentence.
169 Dan T. Carter, *The Politics of Rage* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), p. 165.
170 See 'Savitri Devi's Correspondence with George Lincoln Rockwell, Part 4', edited by R.G. Fowler, *The Savitri Devi Archive*, www.savitridevi.org/rockwell_correspondence_4.html (accessed 13 January 2011).
171 *Spearhead*, no. 20, September–October 1968; and Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *Hitler's Priestess: Savitri, the Hindu-Aryan Myth, and Neo-Nazism* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), p. 208.
172 *Spearhead*, no. 28, December 1969.
173 *Spearhead*, no. 29, January 1970.
174 *The Times*, 24 April 1968.
175 *Spearhead*, no. 19, May–June 1968.
176 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 121.
177 *Spearhead*, no. 35, August 1970.

178 *Tribune*, 28 March 1969 reported that the BDL was 'closely linked' with the Midlands section of the Racial Preservation Society (RPS) with whom it issued a 'joint news-letter', which was sent to Conservative MPs and activists, urging them to withhold donations from the Conservative Party until Powell was reinstated to the Shadow Cabinet. O'Brien also served as an Executive Committee member of the National Democratic Party (NDP), a small right-wing party led by David Brown, who was also prominent in the RPS.
179 *British Tidings*, no. 32, April–May 1972; and *Combat*, no. 13, July 1972.
180 *Candour*, vol. 12, no. 509, April 1971.
181 John O'Brien to Aidan Mackey, 12 December 1970, Chesterton papers.
182 Stan Taylor, *The National Front in English Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1989), pp. 22–23. See also Paul Ward with Graham Hellawell and Sally Lloyd, 'Witness Seminar: Anti-Fascism in 1970s Huddersfield', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 20, no. 1, March 2006, pp. 119–133.
183 John O'Brien to Frank Clifford, 5 November 1971, Chesterton papers.
184 *Spearhead*, no. 135, January 1980.
185 *Spearhead*, no. 38, December 1970.
186 *Spearhead*, no. 89, November 1975.
187 *Spearhead*, no. 47, October 1971.
188 *Spearhead*, December 1964.
189 *Spearhead*, no. 40, February 1971.
190 *The Listener*, 28 December 1972.
191 Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, p. 213.
192 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 134; and Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 244.
193 *Spearhead*, no. 89, November 1975. O'Brien departed with approximately fifty NF members, noted Nigel Fielding, *The National Front*, p. 25. He formed his own National Independence Party but it soon faded from view, as did he for the remainder of the decade.
194 *Spearhead*, no. 89, November 1975.
195 *Spearhead*, no. 183, January 1984.
196 For opinion poll figures, see Goodwin, *New British Fascism*, p. 28.
197 *Spearhead*, no. 49, January–February 1972.
198 Francis Wheen, *Strange Days Indeed: The Golden Age of Paranoia* (London: Fourth Estate, 2010), p. 233.
199 *Daily Mail*, 13 September 1975.
200 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 134.
201 *Ibid*., p. 133.
202 *Ibid*., p. 134.
203 *Spearhead*, no. 57, October 1972.
204 *NF Urgent Activities Bulletin*, 4 September 1972.
205 *Spearhead*, no. 56, September 1972; and Walker, *The National Front*, pp. 135–136 and 166 for the figures.
206 *Spearhead*, no. 57, October 1972 claimed its Head Office received 100 enquiries a day, peaking at 150 in one day alone. Even on 'slack days', the NF claimed enquiries numbered at least fifty. 'These enquiries are being largely converted into enlisted members as fast as literature can be sent out and branches can contact the enquirers concerned.' By 20 September, the NF claimed to have enrolled 250 new members. Walker, *The National Front*, pp. 135–136, 139 reports that the NF had gained 800 new recruits in the last four months of 1972.
207 Kate Taylor, 'The Rise of the 1970s National Front', *Searchlight*, no. 314, August 2001, p. 19; and Stan Taylor, *The National Front in English Politics*, p. 24 gives a slightly lower figure of 14,000 members by 1973.
208 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 140 observed:

> A permanent staff of this size involved a minimum annual expenditure of £10,000 on salaries alone, without counting the costs of three regional offices. Since Tyndall and Webster were already receiving a small income from *Spearhead* (which still depended on annual appeals for its solvency), the £20,000 for which Tyndall appealed was clearly going to have to be an annual subsidy.

209 Simon Heffer, *Like the Roman: The Life of Enoch Powell* (London: Faber & Faber, 2008), pp. 667–668.

210 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 142.
211 Stan Taylor, *The National Front in English Politics*, p. 25.
212 *Britain First*, no. 32, September 1975.
213 Goodwin, *New British Fascism*, pp. 28–29.
214 Mark Pitchford, *The Conservative Party and the Extreme Right, 1945–1975* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 148 and 216.
215 Robert Copping, *The Story of the Monday Club: The First Decade* (London: The Monday Club, 1971).
216 *Spearhead*, no. 31, March 1970. In *Spearhead*, no. 46, September 1971, Martin Webster argued that this 'internationalist' stance resulted from the conspiratorial machinations of Conservative Central Office. 'The brief of the infiltrators was simple: water down the Club's policies; prevent genuine patriots from rocking the Tory Party boat; turn the Monday Club into a harmless safety-valve for the Tory Right Wing.'
217 *Spearhead*, no. 40, February 1971. Martin Webster elaborated upon these differences in a letter to the *Sunday Telegraph*, 1 April 1973.

> While we are able to absorb ex-Monday Club members who come to accept our policies on economics and finance we have no wish to endanger the unity of our movement by taking in people whose 19th century views on free enterprise oblige them to condone 20th century monopoly capitalism and international usury.

218 *Evening Argus*, 16 March 1971. Hancock was a leading RPS activist who had attended the Brighton Northern League meeting in 1971. He was active in the 'Sussex Forum', which had several NF activists on its committee. Hancock became a major publisher of racist and anti-Semitic literature.
219 *Daily Telegraph*, 10 March 1971.
220 *Daily Mirror*, 15 March 1971.
221 *The Times*, 6 November 1971. Geoffrey Barber, a Kensington councillor, chaired it. There were three MPs on the committee – Ronald Bell, John Stokes and Harold Soref ('all have reputations as hard-liners on immigration') – who were joined by G.K. Young, Richard Ritchie, an LSE student, and Gerald Howarth whose mother, Mary, was a prominent anti-immigration campaigner and NF member (on which, see *Searchlight*, no. 31, January 1978; and *Searchlight*, no. s397, July 2008).
222 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 127.
223 The *Sunday Times*, 10 December 1972.
224 Text of a letter from the Prime Minister to the Chairman of the Monday Club Mr. Jonathan Guinness, 20 September 1972 in CCO 20/43/6, Conservative Central Office papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford University, hereafter CCO papers.
225 'Report by A Sub-Committee of the Executive Council set up to Enquire into: The Organisation and Structure of the Monday Club and to make Recommendations', February 1973, p. 7 in DPW/40/13, Sir Patrick Wall papers, Brynmor Jones Library, Hull University, hereafter Wall papers.
226 *Daily Telegraph*, 31 May 1973. Opponents sometimes used Guinness' familial ties and pro-European views to defame him as a 'Mosleyite'. Few went quite so far as Sir Wolstan Dixie, however. A prominent Monday Club member in the Market Bosworth Conservative Association – which Guinness chaired. Dixie was asked to resign after publicly maligning Guinness as 'a henchman of Sir Oswald Mosley', see *Leicester Mercury*, 21 April 1970.
227 'Note of a meeting with Jonathan Guinness', 14 January 1973 in CCO 20/43/6, CCO papers.
228 *Spearhead*, no. 60, January 1973; and Monday Club, 'Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Council held on Monday', 29 January 1973 in DPW/40/13, Wall papers. The membership of the branch secretary, Mrs Gillian Gould, was terminated on 6 February 1973. She subsequently stood as an NF candidate (Norwich North) in the February 1974 general election.
229 Pitchford, *The Conservative Party and the Extreme Right, 1945–1975*, p. 204.
230 *The Spectator*, 31 March 1973, for instance, speculated that the Club's intense and increasingly myopic focus on immigration would prove its 'undoing' as it detracted from its economic philosophy and other policy platforms.
231 Sam Swerling to Patrick Wall MP, 10 August 1973 in DPW/40/13, Wall papers. Swerling was a member of the Monday Club Executive Council who edited *Monday News* (1972–1973) and was Vice-Chairman of the St Marylebone Conservative Association (1971–1973).

232 *Sunday Telegraph*, 29 April 1973. *The Times*, 30 April 1973 recorded that there were thirty-five MPs in June 1970; reduced to twenty-two over the 'last few months'.
233 *Sunday Telegraph*, 29 April 1973.
234 *Daily Telegraph*, 27 March 1973.
235 The *Sunday Times*, 22 April 1973.
236 Leslie Wooler, a former activist in Oswald Mosley's Union Movement (UM) was responsible for vetting the files. Wooler had joined the UM in 1960, having served in the Merchant Navy and a Royal Air Force regiment. He quickly rose to become the party's Woolwich organiser and served as a 'bodyguard' to Mosley. Wooler was also involved in Mosley's international activities. *Action*, no. 134, 4 October 1963 listed him as the UM contact for 'enquires on Spain', whilst [Unsigned] to Jean Thiriart, 9 February 1963 in MS124/1/24, Hamm papers, recommended Wooler as a potential contact for Belgian fascist Jean Thiriart who was then looking to organise a London office for his Jeune Europe group. 'Wooler is a good man,' noted the letter.

> He has for some time past been an efficient branch leader and has now been promoted to be area leader [South East London]. He is a very good worker for our Movement, and you many have full confidence in him.

Wooler apparently left the UM in spring 1964. During his time in the UM, Wooler had also gathered intelligence for the anti-fascist 62 Group. Thereafter, he was briefly associated with the League of Empire Loyalists, see, *Candour Interim Report*, September 1964. The identity of the MC official who authorised the vetting of the membership list is unknown. Guinness, his predecessor and Lieutenant-Commander Michael Woolrych, the Club's Director, all denied any knowledge. *Britain First*, no. 34, November–December 1975 later named Ian Greig, the Club's membership secretary until 1969, as the individual responsible. Martin Webster, who had identified Wooler as a 62 Group source in *Spearhead*, no. 56, September 1972, speculated in *Spearhead*, no. 64, May 1973 that Wooler had drawn upon NF files stolen from the party's Head Office three years previously, cross-referencing these with the Monday Club membership list, to identify NF members within the Club. If Webster's assertion is correct – that outdated information was being utilised – this could explain why so few NF members were identified. Also, Wooler may not have had access to branch membership files. These were not vetted by the MC head office and following the 'Wooler Affair', the Essex MC, a group noted for its NF sympathies, refused to tender their membership lists to head office, see *Daily Telegraph*, 21 May 1973. *Spearhead*, no. 95, June–July 1976 subsequently alleged that Wooler was a source of some of the 'gossip' appearing in the anonymously authored pamphlet, *The Monday Club – A Danger to Democracy*. Wooler's authorship of *Guide to Extremism in Britain* (1973), which appeared under the imprimatur of the 'Circle for Democratic Studies' and which he co-wrote with Julian Radcliffe, is rather more certain. Wooler was later involved in a range of other 'anti-communist' concerns, including the pro-Saigon Vietnamese Ad Hoc Committee, which he ran from his home. *CounterSpy*, vol. 3, no. 2, December 1976 subsequently claimed that Wooler, 'who 'infiltrated pro-Palestinian organisations in the sixties', was recruited by the former Chilean Embassy press attaché Jorge Navarrete to gather intelligence on the Chile Solidarity offices which opposed the Chilean Junta.
237 *Daily Telegraph*, 30 April 1973.
238 *Daily Telegraph*, 2 May 1973. Thereafter, Young addressed the remnants of the dissolved West Middlesex Monday Club. Fewer than twenty people attended the meeting during which Young accused Guinness of 'obtuseness' with regards immigration and warned that 'the unwarranted and unwanted intrusion of incompatible races and cultures' was 'now threatening to tear apart the very fabric of our society as it has evolved over a thousand years.' Shortly afterwards, Young was named as 'honorary president' of the West Midlands Action Group. 'The group was annoyed they were called NF supporters, so they formed this group,' Young told the press. 'They're a rather decent crowd', see the *Guardian*, 12 June 1973; and *Willesden and Brent Chronicle*, 22 June 1973. Young subsequently stood as the Conservative Candidate in Brent East in the February 1974 general election, polling 13,441 votes (31.5 per cent). His election agent was David Lazarus, a London businessman who chaired the Brent Conservative Association, who the *New Statesman*, 6 April 1973, reported had 'emerged as the front man for a group of millionaires backing Enoch Powell.' Lazarus had been an LEL activist before joining the NF in 1968, see *Candour*, vol. 17, no. 448, December 1965. Young later formed Tory Action.

239 *Spearhead*, no. 62, March 1973.
240 *New Statesman*, 2 March 1973.
241 The *Observer*, 24 June 1973 highlights the vote was eleven to eight.
242 *Daily Telegraph*, 2 May 1973. One of Guinness' opponents on Executive Committee was Beryl 'Bee' Carthew, the Meetings Secretary who was also Secretary of the Monday Club Immigration Group and was active in the HINC. She was expelled in July. Carthew simultaneously ran the Powellite Association, which 'set the seal on Powell's personality cult within the Conservative Party, and acted, with his arm's-length co-operation, as a guerrilla movement among Conservative activists for Powell's ideas.' The group faltered, however, after Carthew's flat was burgled in October 1972 with members' details being stolen. 'Some of the material was published later in the anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight*, and Powellite's organisers drew their own conclusions about who had been responsible,' observed Simon Heffer, *Like the Roman*, pp. 652–653. Carthew subsequently became the Kingston and Richmond NF organiser, see *The Times*, 8 July 1976.
243 *Spearhead*, no. 64, May 1973. Less hyperbolically, Webster cogitated, in *Spearhead*, no. 67, August 1973, upon the necessity of recruiting disillusioned Conservative activists whose skill-sets could enhance their forthcoming general election campaign.
244 Painter was active in the Monday Club, speaking at its HINC meetings, but resigned from the Conservative Party in early July because he 'could no longer defend Tory policy on immigration.' His decision was also influenced by Enoch Powell's refusal to endorse the official Conservative Candidate at West Bromwich, see the *Guardian*, 9 July 1973; and *Daily Telegraph*, 11 July 1973.
245 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 146.
246 *Spearhead*, no. 57, October 1972 states former NSM activist Denis Pirie led the NFSA initially.
247 *Spark*, no. 1, Summer Term 1973.
248 *Spearhead*, no. 75, May 1974 argued that the NF work through existing trade unions, 'to promote NF doctrines, seek the election of NF members to office and combat the left.' This strategy built on the 1972 NF AGM which voted down a proposal to found a distinct NF trade union 'but strongly supported plans for an NF trade union group which would be active within existing unions,' see *Spearhead*, no. 58, November 1972.
249 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 159 notes that the NF tried and failed to negotiate 'official working alliances' with the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) in the wake of the strike. Indeed, an NF 'anti-IRA' march in September 1974 paid testimony to NF frustration in this regard. The Ulster Loyalist Albert Bridge Accordion Band accompanied the march. The subsequent rally was addressed by Bob Marno, leader of the Orange Volunteers who was also active in the Loyalist Association of Workers; George Green, head of the B-Specials Association; and Councillor Brooks of Castlereagh City Council; whilst Webster read out a letter of solidarity from the Rev. Robert Bradford, a prominent Unionist politician who supported the NF (and was murdered by the IRA in 1981). Coverage of the event in *British First*, no. 24, October 1974 highlighted tension with the UDA, which had declined to support the activity. The NF claimed the UDA was a 'Communist infiltrated' organisation controlled by 'Andrew Terry' [sic – Tyrie] 'who has been praised as a "radical" in *Socialist Worker*, the paper of the International Socialists.' Simultaneously, Tyndall, who had met Tyrie during a visit to Belfast earlier that year (*The Times*, 3 August 1974), issued an edict published in *NF Members' Bulletin*, October–November 1974 forbidding involvement with Loyalist paramilitary organisations, 'no matter how patriotic its intentions may be', under pain of expulsion. For their part, the UDA disparaged the NF as a 'neo-Nazi movement' and prohibited its own members from attending NF marches. Jim Cusack and Henry McDonald, *UVF* (Dublin: Poolbeg, 1997), p. 217 note that the Ulster Volunteer Force publication, *Combat*, had shown greater sympathy towards the NF earlier in that year.
250 *Spearhead*, September–October 1974, cited in Walker, *The National Front*, p. 155.
251 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 148.
252 Tyndall, *The Eleventh Hour*, p. 224.
253 Walker, *The National Front*, pp. 144–145. 'What is it that touches off a chord in the instincts of the people to whom we seek to appeal?' Tyndall had mused.

> It can often be the most simple and primitive thing. Rather than a speech or article, it may just be a flag; it may be a marching column; it may be the sound of a drum; it may be a

> banner or it may be just the impression on the crowd. None of these things contain in themselves one single argument, one single piece of logic … They are recognised as being among the things that appeal to the hidden forces of the human soul.

254 Thomas Linehan, 'Cultures of Space: Spatialising the National Front', in Nigel Copsey and John E. Richardson (eds), *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), pp. 49–67; and Fabian Virchow, 'Performance, Emotion, and Ideology: On the Creation of "Collectives of Emotion" and Worldview in the Contemporary German Far Right', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, vol. 36, no. 2, 2007, pp. 147–164.
255 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 145.
256 *The Listener*, 28 December 1972.
257 *Spearhead*, no. 103, March 1977.
258 'Interview with Richard Edmonds', *Counter-Currents*, Radio Podcast No. 125, April 2015, www.counter-currents.com/2015/04/interview-with-richard-edmonds/ (accessed 7 May 2015).
259 *Spearhead*, no. 103, March 1977.
260 'National Front', 7 February 1978 in PREM 16/2084.
261 Stan Taylor, *The National Front in English Politics*, p. 29.
262 The old West Bromwich constituency was divided into West Bromwich East and West Bromwich West. In the latter, the NF candidate polled 3107 votes (7.8 per cent).
263 Stan Taylor, *The National Front in English Politics*, p. 31.
264 *The Patriot*, no. 1, winter 1997.
265 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 163.
266 *Ibid*., p. 9.
267 M.J. Le Lohne, 'The National Front and the General Elections of 1974', *New Community*, vol. 5, no. 3, autumn 1976, pp. 292–301; and for an analysis of the vote, see C.T. Husbands, 'The National Front: A Response to Crisis?' *New Society*, 15 May 1975, pp. 403–405.
268 The *Guardian*, 12 October 1974.
269 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 149. Whilst portrayed as primarily an ideological split, Richard Thurlow, 'Authoritarians and Populists on the English Far Right', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 10, no. 2, March–April 1976, p. 19 highlights numerous other social, cultural and political cleavages, latent within many local groups. These included divisions between 'middle class intellectuals' and 'working class workers' and 'between the political and social functions of the movement' all of which were exacerbated by 'regional differences' in the movement's class structure and the attendant 'personal loyalties' emanating from them.
270 *National Front Members' Bulletin*, January–February 1976.
271 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 151.
272 *Britain First*, no. 27, March–April 1975.
273 Ironically, despite their complaining about Tyndall's ideological antecedents, the 'populist' faction would include NSM activist Peter Holland and GBM backer Gordon Brown, who both subsequently backed the *putsch* against Tyndall. Walker, *The National Front*, p. 177 also intimates tactical disagreements fuelled the split, particularly over the formation of 'defence groups' to counter anti-fascist violence which, by the November 1974 Remembrance Day parade, had coalesced into an 'Honour Guard'. Webster's contention that the time was ripe 'to turn and smash our enemies into a pulp' apparently helped confirm the 'populists' in their belief that they needed to be rid of Tyndall and Webster altogether.
274 *Spearhead*, no. 74, September–October 1974 stated:

> [T]his journal is not a doctrinaire supporter of parliamentary government as an end in itself; it is a supporter of good government that operates in the national interest … The survival, and the national recovery, of Britain stands as top priority over all. We will support whatever political methods are necessary to attain that end, although we admit to a marked preference to democratic methods so long as such methods can be found which will work.

275 For biographical details, see *John Kingsley Read: A Profile of the National Front's Latest Chairman – November 1974* (Birmingham: A.F. and R. Publications, 1974); and *Britain First*, no. 25, December 1974.
276 *NF Members' Bulletin*, October–November 1974; and Walker, *The National Front*, p. 176.
277 *Britain First*, no. 25, December 1974.

278 Quoted in *Private Eye*, 7 January 1975.
279 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 179.
280 *Private Eye*, 7 January 1975.
281 *NF Members' Bulletin*, March 1975; and *Britain First*, no. 25, December 1974.
282 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 177.
283 *Ibid.*, pp. 180–181. *Spearhead*, no. 125, January 1979 outlines Tyndall's case against even participating in the European Parliament elections: 'We are in business to fight the collaborators, not to join them; to wage war on Treason, not to enter into the chambers of Treason,' Tyndall declared.
284 Tyndall, *The Eleventh Hour*, pp. 221–223.
285 Stan Taylor, *The National Front in English Politics*, p. 83.
286 *Spearhead*, no. 84, May 1975 contains Tyndall's constitutional critique.
287 Walker, *The National Front*, p. 183.
288 *Ibid*., pp. 185–186.
289 *Britain First*, no. 32, September 1975; and *Britain First*, no. 33, October 1975, which also announced the proscription of Column 88, another overtly Nazi grouplet. *Spearhead*, no. 132, October 1979 explained the League's proscription resulted from its 'clear desire to infiltrate and take over the NF.' Trevor Malcolm Smith was forced to resign from the NF Directorate and its Executive Committee following an article in *Searchlight*, no. 35, May 1978 exposing his attendance at a League meeting on 21 April. Former US Klan organiser James Warner had been the main speaker, see NF Directorate meeting, Minutes, 27 May 1978 in MS 321/1, Patrick Harrington papers, Modern Records Centre, Warwick University, hereafter Harrington papers.
290 *Spearhead*, no. 87, September 1975.
291 *Britain First*, no. 34, November–December 1975.
292 *Spearhead*, no. 89, November 1975.
293 *Britain First,* no. 34, November–December 1975. Ironically, *Britain First* had earlier been criticised by some NF activists not for its 'left-wing' content but because it was perceived to bear an (unwanted) visual similarity to *Socialist Worker*, newspaper of the International Socialists, see *Britain First*, no. 26, February–March 1975.
294 *Britain First*, no. 34, November–December 1975.
295 *Spearhead*, no. 90, December 1975–January 1976.
296 For the Tyndall faction's version of events, see *Spearhead*, no. 90, December 1975–January 1976.
297 *Spearhead*, no. 92, March 1976.
298 *Spearhead*, no. 132, October 1979.
299 Walker, *The National Front*, pp. 191. Other sources give a lesser figure. Stan Taylor, *The National Front in English Politics*, pp. 44 and 102 states that the NP took 2,000 members, one-fifth of the total membership, leaving the NF with approximately 7,000 members. Nigel Fielding, *The National Front*, p. 39 similarly affirms the NP had 2,000 members but puts 'hardcore' NF membership at 4,000 as of September 1976. This was not necessarily representative of its 'activist' base, however. Martin Webster claimed that only 187 people attended the NP Inaugural AGM, see *Spearhead*, no. 92, March 1976.
300 *Spearhead*, no. 91, February 1976.
301 *Ibid*.
302 *The Times*, 2 July 1976.
303 *Britain First*, no. 38, June 1976; and *Britain First*, no. 42, November 1976. Read was elected in St Thomas' ward with 1,106 votes (41.6 per cent) whilst Frankham was elected in St Jude's ward with 1588 votes (39.7 per cent). Their colleague, Robert Horman, chairman of Blackburn NP, missed out being elected by twelve votes having received 1,435 votes (36 per cent). In the ensuing by-election on 16 September 1976, Horman failed to reclaim the seat, gaining 767 votes (21.5 per cent), which signalled a significant drop in the party's support.
304 *The Times*, 2 July 1976. The NP contained numerous hard-line figures whose politics hardly differed from Tyndall's. Robin Beauclaire, an RPS activist was a leading figure in the Holocaust denial milieu. He was also one of Read's 'personal financial patrons'. Read too was involved in publishing such literature. Ray Hill with Andrew Bell, *The Other Face of Terror: Inside Europe's Neo-Nazi Network* (London: Grafton, 1988), p. 235 claims Read designed the cover art for the British edition of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* by Arthur Butz, a leading

American Holocaust denier. David McCalden, the NP 'Activities Organiser' subsequently emigrated to the United States where he became one of the founders of the Institute for Historical Review.

305 TNA DPP 2/6168–69.

306 *NF Members' Bulletin*, September 1976; and NF Directorate minutes, 27 February 1977, MSS 321/1, Modern Records Centre, Warwick University, hereafter, MRC papers. See also *Spearhead*, no. 100, December 1976.

307 *Britain First*, no. 41, October 1976.

308 *Britain First*, no. 42, November 1976 records Roy Painter's heart attack, which surely undermined some of the party's momentum.

309 *Spearhead*, no. 103, March 1977.

310 *Spearhead*, no. 91, February 1976. Described by Tyndall as 'one of the most outstandingly talented younger men to emerge in the party in recent years,' Verrall remained editor of *Spearhead* until January 1980. Verrall was a London University graduate and from 1976 onwards the NF administration officer. He sat on its National Directorate and Executive Council. From 1980, he was Acting Deputy Chairman. Like many within the NF, Verrall owed his 'fullest understanding' of politics to A.K. Chesterton.

311 The response to such literature was not uniform. Ironically, despite receiving a favourable review in *Spearhead*, no. 95, June–July 1976, the NF officially refused to stock Arthur Butz's, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* after Martin Webster objected that the party was not set up to defend 'German nationalism', see NF Directorate meeting, Minutes, 30 July 1976, Harrington papers.

312 *Spearhead*, no. 97, September 1976. Emphasis in the original.

313 *Spearhead*, no. 92, March 1976.

314 *Spearhead*, no. 94, May 1976.

315 *National Front Members' Bulletin*, April–May 1976.

316 Stan Taylor, *The National Front in English Politics*, p. 47. NF Directorate meeting, Minutes, 26 February 1976, Harrington papers, highlights that the NF had its administrative headquarters in Leicester, the largest branch outside London, a fact that it deliberately obscured, pointedly referring to its Teddington offices as its 'headquarters'.

317 For an account of this phenomenon, see Christopher T. Husbands, *Racial Exclusionism and the City: The Urban Support of the National Front* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983). For a longitudinal analysis, see Christopher T. Husbands, 'East End Racism, 1900–1980: Geographical Continuities in Vigilantist and Extreme Right-Wing Political Behavior', *The London Journal*, vol. 8, no. 2, 1982, pp. 88–104.

318 *Spearhead*, no. 96, August 1976. Nigel Fielding, *The National Front*, p. 39 states membership stood at 12,500 in July 1976.

319 *NF Members' Bulletin*, July–August 1976.

320 *Spearhead*, no. 103, March 1977. These branches and groups were controlled by a series of twenty-one regional councils who reported vertically to the National Directorate as well as horizontally to NF regional election agents and *ergo* its National Elections Department.

321 Tyndall, *The Eleventh Hour*, p. 224.

322 *Spearhead*, no. 183, January 1984. Based on a newspaper report, Nigel Fielding, *The National Front*, p. 39 gives a dramatically lower figure of 5500 members 'in late 1979'.

323 *NF Members' Bulletin*, February 1977; and *Spearhead*, no. 194, December 1984. *Spearhead*, no. 98, October 1976 noted that of the 33,000 copies of issue four of the newspaper 4,000 were sold in the East End whilst a further 6,000 were sold 'door-to-door' by Leicester NF activists.

324 Roy Jenkins, *A Life at the Centre* (London: Macmillan, 1991), p. 429.

325 *NF Organiser's Bulletin*, 20 September 1976.

326 *Britain First*, no. 34, November–December 1975.

327 Stan Taylor, *The National Front in English Politics*, p. 93.

328 *Spearhead*, no. 106, June 1977. Tyndall's grandiose aim was to 'reform the present multiracial Commonwealth into an exclusive, closely-knit association of White States' which could 'maintain close and friendly relations with White South Africa.' Highlighting the party's 'world-wide impact', many racial nationalist grouplets began identifying themselves with its growing profile. Tyndall appears to have genuinely believed that such groups would form the nucleus for 'the full establishment of the National Front over that part of the world which previously formed the

British Empire and today remains under the control of White, mainly Anglo-Celtic peoples.' To this end, he was 'closely involved' (*Spearhead*, no. 113, January 1978) in negotiations to form a network of 'affiliate' branches from 1977 onwards. The New Zealand NF was (re)-formed in March 1977 under the chairmanship of David Crawford, a group having originally been founded from the remnants of the New Zealand League of Empire Loyalists a decade earlier. *Spearhead*, no. 111, November 1977 highlighted the formation of the 'National Front of Canada' under Ontario's Hal Thompson. Slower progress was made in Africa. Tyndall announced in *Spearhead*, no. 94, May 1976 that he had been invited to visit NF supporters in South Africa and Rhodesia in 1976, though this visit never materialised, on which, see TNA FO 371/188128; and FCO 45/2406. *Britain First*, no. 20, May–June 1974 reported the formation of an NF group in Johannesburg by Michael Childs, whilst *Britain First*, no. 30, July 1975 noted the formation of a South African group under Dave Habbitts. It was not until mid-1978, however, that the 'National Front Association of South Africa', chaired by Jack Noble, was officially formed (*Spearhead*, no. 118, June 1978). Tyndall was refused a visa to South Africa to address the NFSA, which had jointly organised meetings with the Herstigte Nasionale Party (*Spearhead*, no. 127, March 1979). The National Front of Australia was also formed in June 1978, chaired initially by Rosemary Sisson, on which, see Evan Smith, 'Exporting Fascism across the Commonwealth: The Case of the National Front of Australia', in Nigel Copsey and Matthew Worley (eds),*'Tomorrow Belongs to Us': The British Far Right since 1967* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 69–89.

329 *Spearhead*, no. 111, November 1977.

330 The *Sunday Times*, 17 October 1976.

331 Mark Steel, *Reasons to be Cheerful: From Punk to New Labour through the Eyes of a Dedicated Troublemaker* (London: Schribner, 2002), p. 36.

332 *Spearhead*, no. 102, February 1977.

333 Christopher T. Husbands, 'The National Front Becalmed?', *Wiener Library Bulletin*, vol. 30, NS nos 43/44, 1977, pp. 74–79.

334 *Spearhead*, no. 106, June 1977.

335 Joseph Pearce, *Race with the Devil: My Journey from Racial Hatred to Rational Love* (Charlotte, NC: Saint Benedict Press, 2013), pp. 54–55.

336 Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* (London, 1991), p. 120 also highlights this evolving tactic.

337 John Tyndall to James Callaghan, 18 August 1977 in TNA PREM 16/2084.

338 NF Directorate Meeting, Minutes, 29 July 1977, Harrington papers.

339 NF Directorate Meeting, Minutes, 28 August 1978, Harrington papers.

340 Regarding an NF march in June 1968, see Ricky Tomlinson, *Ricky* (London: Time Warner, 2003), p. 86.

341 *Spearhead*, no. 129, July 1979.

342 Pearce, *Race with the Devil*, p. 59.

343 Sean Birchall, *Beating the Fascists: The Untold Story of Anti-Fascist Action* (London: Freedom Books, 2010), p. 40.

344 *Spearhead*, no. 111, November 1977.

345 For the internal discussion, see NF Directorate Meeting, Minutes, 24 September 1977, Harrington papers.

346 *Spearhead*, no. 110, October 1977.

347 NF Directorate Meeting, Minutes, 9 October 1977, Harrington papers.

348 NF Directorate Meeting, Minutes, 30 October 1977, Harrington papers.

349 *Spearhead*, no. 111, November 1977. Her father, Charles Parker, a former soldier who lost an arm in service, was the Surrey and Sussex NF regional organiser. He was a regular NF election candidate. *Spearhead*, no. 98, October 1976 applauded the 'sterling work' he and his wife, Violet, had done on behalf of the party in both the Midlands and the South of England.

350 *Spearhead*, no. 118, June 1978.

351 Sir David McNee, *McNee's Law* (London: Collins, 1983), p. 99. These events had future ramifications for the policing of marches. Discussing the Public Order Act in 1985, Merlyn Rees MP told the House of Commons: 'In 1978, in a small way, we began to reassess the public order legislation in the light of the marches problem at the time,' see Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 79, cols 506–521 (16 May 1985).

352 *The Times*, 17 April 1978. Martin Webster was arrested and charged with obstruction. He was found guilty and fined £60 with costs and order to pay £30 towards his legal aid, see *The Times*, 29 June 1978.
353 *Spearhead*, no. 117, May 1978.
354 NF Directorate meeting, Minutes, 14 May 1978, Harrington papers.
355 *Spearhead*, no. 117, May 1978.
356 NF Directorate Meeting, Minutes, 29 July 1978, Harrington papers.
357 *Spearhead*, no. 126, February 1979. Such pronouncements were ironic given NF Directorate concerns about NF members turning up to party activities wearing combat fatigues, see NF Directorate Meeting, Minutes, 3 December 1977, Harrington papers.
358 NF National Directorate Meeting, Minutes, 28 October 1978, Harrington papers.
359 John Tyndall to Martin Webster, 31 July 1978, quoted in *Searchlight*, no. 50, August 1979.
360 NF Directorate Meeting, Minutes, 28 January 1978, Harrington papers.
361 NF Directorate Meeting, Minutes, 30 December 1978, Harrington papers.
362 NF Directorate Meeting, Minutes, 24 February 1979, Harrington papers.
363 Christopher T. Husbands, 'The Decline of the National Front: The Elections of 3 May 1979', *Wiener Library Bulletin*, vol. 32, new series, nos 49–50, 1979, pp. 60–66.
364 *Spearhead*, no. 139, May 1980.
365 Roger Eatwell, 'The Extreme Right in Britain: The Long Road to "Modernisation"', in Roger Eatwell and Cas Mudde (eds), *Western Democracies and the New Extreme Right Challenge* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 64.
366 Barry Troyna, 'The Media and the Electoral Decline of the National Front', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 14, no. 3, July 1980, pp. 25–31; and Barry Troyna, 'Reporting the National Front: British Values Observed', in Charles Husband (ed.), *'Race' in Britain: Continuity and Change* (London: Hutchinson, 1982), pp. 259–278.
367 NF National Directorate Meeting, Minutes, 14–15 January 1978, Harrington papers.
368 Granada TV transcript, 27 January 1978 [embargoed until 30 January 1978], Thatcher archive, Churchill Archive Centre, Churchill College, Cambridge.
369 *The Times*, 29 October 2014. Nick Griffin, Tyndall's successor as BNP chairman later dismissed the Thatcher effect as a 'myth' claiming instead, in *Identity*, no. 21, June 2002, that the NF was defeated simply because it lacked 'a politically mature strategy, organisation and image.'
370 John Campbell, *Margaret Thatcher: Vol. 1, The Grocer's Daughter* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2000), pp. 400–445.
371 *Spearhead*, no. 126, February 1979.
372 *Spearhead*, no. 128 May–June 1979.
373 *Spearhead*, no. 126, February 1979; *Spearhead*, no. 128 May–June 1979; and *Spearhead*, no. 129, July 1979 for Webster's further response.
374 *Spearhead*, no. 139, May 1980.
375 *The Thunderbolt*, no. 243, July 1979; and *Spearhead*, no. 130, August 1979. *Spearhead*, no. 161, March 1982 notes that Fields tried to visit Britain in 1981 but was banned by the Home Office.
376 NF Directorate meeting, Minutes, 25 March 1978, Harrington papers. The FBI monitored Tyndall but deemed his visit irrelevant to 'current domestic security interests. Accordingly, no active investigation is to be conducted based on information set forth in the enclosed [redacted],' see FBI file DocID: 32683822, released in response to FOIA enquiry, 4 November 2016.
377 *Instauration*, vol. 2, no. 6, May 1977.
378 *Instauration*, vol. 3, no. 11, October 1978.
379 *Instauration*, vol. 4, no. 4, April 1979.
380 *Ibid*.
381 Reed Massengill, *Portrait of a Racist* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1994), p. 234.
382 *Citizens Informer*, vol. 11, no. 4, July–August 1979.
383 The Southern National Party also republished Tyndall's Memphis speech, selling cassette tapes of it in *The Southern National Newsletter*, vol. 2, no. 1, fall 1979; Leonard Zeskind, *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009), p. 419.
384 *The Spotlight*, 19 June 1978.
385 *Instauration*, vol. 4, no. 11, October 1979.

386 *Spearhead*, no. 130, August 1979.
387 *Independent on Sunday*, 2 March 1997.
388 *National Vanguard*, March 1979; and *National Alliance Bulletin*, July 1979. For a photo of Brady selling the newspaper, see *National Vanguard*, no. 73, December 1979. Brady contributed an article on the 'red' takeover of British schools shortly after his own dismissal as a teacher to *National Vanguard*, no. 76, May 1980.
389 *Spearhead*, no. 130, August 1979.
390 The *Western Guardian*, vol. 1, no. 2, May–June 1980.
391 *Ibid.*
392 There was also an ambient ideological imperative. John Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, p. 221 lamented that *National Front News*, which Webster edited, 'seemed to concentrate on racialist abuse of coloured immigrants.' The authorities were also concerned. Webster was prosecuted on two counts of inciting racial hatred in November 1979, receiving a fine and two concurrent six-month jail sentences, see *Spearhead*, no. 131, September 1979; and *Spearhead*, no. 133, November 1979. Webster's case file – TNA DPP 2/6674 – remains closed until 2064.
393 NF Directorate Meeting, Minutes, 29 July 1979, Harrington papers notes the Executive Council voted to suspend Fountaine by five votes to one for committing an 'act prejudicial to the security of the NF', namely, 'communicating such matters outside the party' with regards Webster's 'unratified' suspension.
394 *Spearhead*, no. 132, October 1979.
395 *Spearhead*, no. 134, December 1979. Kavanagh was the Islington NF treasurer and sat on the NF Finance Committee, see *Spearhead*, no. 102, February 1977. Webster objected to Kavanagh's 'populism' in cavilling from mentioning 'Zionist Jewry' lest it bring further opposition, see *Spearhead*, no. 131, September 1979.
396 *Spearhead*, no. 122, October 1978. *Daily Mail*, 20 August 1977 notes the closure of the NF's previous premises in Teddington headquarters in 1977 for breaching planning laws. Their eviction was not entirely unconnected with the violence in Lewisham earlier in that month.
397 *National Front Members' Bulletin – Supplement*, January–February 1980.
398 *Time Out*, 11–17 January 1980 provides a snapshot of the ongoing intrigue during the planning inquiry, which the Fountaine-Kavanagh faction evidently hoped, would dislodge Tyndall for them. The inquiry also heard graphic evidence about NF activities from Simon Read, an anarchist infiltrator, from August 1978 onwards. *New Society*, 3 January 1980 records Read telling the inquiry:

> The ground floor [of Excalibur House] consists of a 'security box', which is a tiny room by the front door.… Stacked in the corner, under the window, there was a pile of weapons, including wooden clubs and iron bars. A wooden pickaxe handle had something written on it in ballpoint pen. I think it said 'Jew beater'.

399 See *American Renaissance*, vol. 19, no. 8, August 2008, www.amren.com/ar/2008/08/index.html (accessed 21 April 2015). Thereafter, the NF moved into a building in Streatham, South London.
400 *Spearhead*, no. 133, November 1979.
401 *Spearhead*, no. 136, February 1980.
402 Tyndall stated in *Spearhead*, no. 140, June 1980 that Webster's sexuality was not the sole issue. 'On the public level, Tyndall recorded,

> I was compelled repeatedly to choke with shame and embarrassment at the humiliation brought upon the party by his filthy language, bizarre gestures and frequently total loss of personal control. Internally, his presence became more and more intolerable – undermining discipline, reducing working relationships to a shambles and creating an atmosphere of rancor and poison through the nationwide network of regions, branches and departments.

403 Martin Webster, CV.
404 *Spearhead*, no. 140, June 1980.
405 *Spearhead*, no. 135, January 1980; *Spearhead*, no. 136, February 1980; and *The Times*, 1 March 1980.
406 *Spearhead*, no. 135, January 1980.
407 *Spearhead*, no. 300, February 1994.

408 *The Times*, 22 January 1980.
409 *Spearhead*, no. 134, December 1979 claimed NFCM support was concentrated in Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire but was scant elsewhere. Tyndall took to deriding the group simply as the 'Con-Movement'. *Spearhead*, no. 159, January 1982 states that Fountaine resigned from his own movement in late 1981 after failing to convince members to changed its name to the 'National Conservative Party'.
410 *The Times*, 7 December 1979. Beyond clashing personalities, Fountaine also disagreed with Tyndall on policies and tactics. The NFCM journal, *Excalibur*, no. 5, May 1980, argued that 'the cruder forms of racism must be publicly eschewed', whilst Fountaine also accused Tyndall of transforming the NF into 'a street organisation fighting Pakistanis and communists', when instead 'we should have stopped marching two and a half years ago.' Fountaine was not, however, averse to marching but simply believed 'you should only march when you are able to put 10,000 well-dressed troops on the streets, conducting themselves like Englishmen.'
411 Stan Taylor, *The National Front in English Politics*, p. 91.
412 *Spearhead*, no. 135, January 1980; *Spearhead*, no. 136, February 1980; and *The Times*, 1 March 1980.
413 *Spearhead*, no. 140, June 1980; and *Spearhead*, no. 141, July 1980.
414 *Instauration*, vol. 6, no. 5, April 1981.
415 *Spearhead*, no. 144, October 1980.
416 *Nationalism Today*, no. 17, 1983; and *Loose Cannon*, no. 1, September 1999.
417 *Spearhead*, no. 145, November 1980 notes Parker was appointed NNF branch liaison officer to rebuild Tyndall's network of support, especially in the West Midlands where he had political links. *New Frontier*, no. 4, May 1981 highlights Parker's role as NNF national organiser.
418 *Spearhead*, no. 135, January 1980; and *Spearhead*, no. 141, July 1980. O'Brien regularly contributed to *Candour* until his death on 21 September 1982, see *Candour*, vol. 33, nos 11 and 12, November–December 1982; and *Spearhead*, no. 171, January 1983.
419 *Spearhead*, no. 164, June 1982.
420 *Spearhead*, no. 151, May 1981.
421 *Spearhead*, no. 171, January 1983. This stance gained support from a professional Judo instructor in Norfolk called Eric Pleasants, a former BUF activist who had conducted PT exercises for the British Free Corps (BFC), a Waffen-SS unit comprised of British renegades. He witnessed the firebombing of Dresden and been captured and imprisoned in a Soviet labour camp in the Arctic Circle for seven years before being repatriated to England in 1953. See Eddie Chapman, *I Killed to Live: The Story of Eric Pleasants Professional Strong-Man* (London: Cassell, 1957) and his posthumous autobiography, Eric Pleasants, *Hitler's Bastard Through Hell and Back in Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2003).
422 *Spearhead*, no. 151, May 1981.
423 *Spearhead*, no. 154, August 1981. Tyndall also founded a youth group – the 'Young Nationalists' – which was headed by Kevin Randall, one of the few YNF activists to follow Tyndall out of the NF, see *New Frontier*, no. 1, January–February 1981; and *Spearhead*, no. 149, March 1981. Randall became deputy editor of the NNF newspaper, *New Frontier*. In August 1984, Tyndall announced that the new editor of its newspaper, *Young Nationalist* would be 'Tony Wells' – Tony Lecomber.
424 *Spearhead*, no. 135, January 1980. Tyndall's diagnosis of Britain's industrial decline lent heavily upon 'The Pride and Fall' tetralogy by economic historian Corelli Barnett. Longer term, Tyndall's Spenglerian pessimism was also informed by a (racial) reading of summary of Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. 'I could not help being struck by the similarities between this great writer's descriptions of that long past tragedy and the evidence I saw with my own eyes all around me,' see Tyndall, *The Eleventh Hour*, p. 42.
425 *Spearhead*, no. 197, March 1985.
426 *Ibid.*
427 *Spearhead*, no. 154, August 1981. Many League activists subsequently supported Tyndall's BNP, see *Spearhead*, no. 167, September 1982. League publications, *League Review* and *National Review*, were regularly advertised in *Spearhead* thereafter.
428 *Spearhead* no. 146, December 1980; and *Spearhead*, no. 151, May 1981.
429 *Spearhead*, no. 153, July 1981.
430 *Spearhead*, no. 157, November 1981.

431 *Spearhead*, no. 367, September 1999. *Spearhead*, no. 145, November 1980 records that Tyndall was more successful in legal action taken against the magazine's typesetters who were aligned with Fountaine/Kavanagh.
432 *Spearhead*, no. 164, June 1982.
433 Tyndall's in-laws also stood as BNP candidates. Charles Parker gained 632 votes (1.3 per cent) in Walsall South, his wife, Violet, polling 295 votes (0.6 per cent) in Wakefield.
434 *Spearhead*, no. 200, June 1985.
435 *Spearhead*, no. 189, July 1984; and *Spearhead*, no. 190, August 1984.
436 *Spearhead*, no. 159, January 1982, which also advertised *National Socialism: World Creed for the 1980s*.
437 *Spearhead*, no. 188, June 1984.
438 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 281.
439 *Spearhead*, no. 149, March 1981.
440 *National Review*, no. 41, June 1983.
441 *Spearhead*, no. 178, August 1983.
442 *Spearhead*, no. 177, July 1983. Tyndall dismissed Brons' claims that he was impeding 'unity' in *Spearhead*, no. 200, June 1985 stating that Brons and his colleagues:

> worked with me in the 1970s in a united movement and not only he but most of the others failed to raise any of the issues of 'ideological' disagreement that they now erect as barriers to the necessary and the inevitable.

443 *Spearhead*, no. 183, January 1984.
444 For a full overview of these years, see Nigel Copsey, *Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party and the Quest of Legitimacy* (London: Palgrave 2008), pp. 28–49.
445 Ray Hill with Andrew Bell, *The Other Face of Terror*, pp. 286–290.
446 *Spearhead*, no. 186, April 1984. Curiously, Hill wrote to Tyndall (*Spearhead*, no. 188, June 1984), objecting to being called a 'traitor' and disputing he had committed 'treason'. He also added 'that I was not disloyal to you – and you know it! I made no attempt to embarrass you, either politically or personally.' Needless to say, Tyndall took an alternate view.
447 John Morse and John Tyndall, 'Indictment', released in response to an FOI request. Three case files – TNA DPP 2/9340–42 – remain closed until 2062. Three issues of *British Nationalist* were involved, namely, its October 1984, May 1985 and July–August 1985 editions. By Tyndall's own admission, 'certain races were referred to in terms of superiority and inferiority' in the editorial of the May 1985 edition, which, he surmised, was the principal reason for Morse's prosecution, see *Spearhead*, no. 214, December 1986.
448 John Tyndall 'Indictment', released in response to an FOI request. The charges that Tyndall faced separately related to three issues of *Spearhead*: a Special Supplement to *British Nationalist*, and three BNP leaflets *If Only We Were Black*, *Middle Class Awakenings* and *Maternity Wing*. He and Morse were not alone; nine other BNP activists were charged at around this time with offences relating to the incitement of racial hatred, see *Spearhead*, no. 208, February 1986.
449 Transcript of Appeal Court Judgement, heard at the Royal Courts of Justice, 20 October 1986, released in response to FOI request.
450 *Spearhead*, no. 214, December 1986.
451 *Spearhead*, no. 236, October 1988.
452 *The Times*, 30 August 1977.
453 Susan Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor and AIDS and its Metaphors* (London: Penguin, 2002), p. 69.
454 Tyndall, *The Eleventh Hour*, p. 131.
455 *Ibid.*, p. 140.
456 *Ibid.*, p. 139.
457 *Ibid.*, pp. 132–137. Oliver had been a member of the 'Advisory Board' of William Pierce's National Youth Alliance. Oliver regularly wrote for *Liberty Bell*, an extreme right-wing publication edited by George P. Dietz who regularly reprinted articles from *Spearhead*. Possibly Oliver had put Tyndall in touch with Dietz. *Liberty Bell*, vol. 11, no. 3, December 1983 featured a letter from Tyndall informing Dietz of his recent receipt of a copy of *Liberty Bell* from a friend, 'and am much impressed by its contents.'
458 The serialisation began in *Spearhead*, no. 179, September 1983. *Spearhead*, no. 270, August 1991 pays tribute to Brown's influence upon Tyndall.

459 On Ludovici, see Dan Stone, *Breeding Superman: Nietzsche, Race and Eugenics in Edwardian and Interwar Britain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), pp. 33–61. *Spearhead*, no. 321, November 1995 reprinted Ludovici's article 'On Feminine Influence in Politics'. *The Specious Origins of Liberalism* (1967) was originally published by The Britons, the anti-Semitic publishing house. It comprised a collection of articles that Ludovici had originally contributed to Brown's newspaper, *The South African Observer*, between March 1961 and January 1963 with additions from a series titled 'The Importance of Racial Integrity', published in the journal some years earlier, see www.anthonymludovici.com/so_pre.htm (accessed 1 April 2010).

460 Yockey had also loomed large in Tyndall's article 'Away from Liberalism – Towards Leadership', *Spearhead*, no. 103, March 1977.

461 *Spearhead*, no. 295, September 1995. Nor, incidentally, did Tyndall agree with Yockey's supranational conceptualisation of 'Europe'. Instead, Tyndall argued that if geography were the basis for replacing 'national' loyalty then surely transcending this with a 'greater loyalty' to the 'White Race', whose territory was no longer synonymous with 'Europe', was more appropriate, see *Spearhead*, no. 166, August 1982.

462 Hans-Georg Betz and Carol Johnson, 'Against the Current – Stemming the Tide: The Nostalgic Ideology of the Contemporary Radical Populist Right', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 9, no. 3, 2004, pp. 311–327 makes a similar point.

463 The *Guardian*, 28 November 1986. Lecomber was convicted of making ten grenades, seven detonators, two petrol bombs and a bomb in a biscuit tin.

464 *Daily Telegraph*, 3 February 1987; and *Spearhead*, no. 330, August 1996. Edmonds was a schoolteacher at Tulse Hill School, Lambeth, where over half of the 1,700 pupils were black, when he joined the NF and stood as a candidate in the 1974 general election. There were calls for his dismissal, though the local authority declined to intervene, see *The Times*, 30 August 1974; and *The Times*, 31 August 1974. Edmonds resigned his post in 1975, subsequently penning an article for *Spearhead*, no. 85, July 1975 titled 'Anarchy at Tulse Hill'. Edmonds became Lambeth NF chairman and was elected to the party's National Directorate, see *Spearhead*, no. 87, September 1975. When Tyndall resigned in 1980, so did Edmonds, initially taking on the role as Lewisham BNP organiser, see *Spearhead*, no. 173, March 1983.

465 *Heritage and Destiny*, no. 36, April–June 2009.

466 The two candidates were Alf Waite who polled 184 votes (0.4 per cent) in Ravensbourne, and Mike Easter, who polled 369 votes (0.6 per cent) in Tonbridge and Malling.

467 *Spearhead*, no. 222, August 1987. *Spearhead*, no. 179, September 1983 notes that failure of a previous endeavour to persuade the NF and BM to amalgamate with the BNP.

468 *Spearhead*, no. 352, February 1990.

469 *Spearhead*, no. 242, April 1989.

470 For a fuller exploration of this theme, see Graham Macklin, 'Transnational Networking on the Far Right: The Case of Britain and Germany', *West European Politics*, vol. 36, no. 1, 2013, pp. 176–198.

471 *Time Out*, 23–29 January 1986.

472 *Spearhead*, no. 224, October 1987. The same issue contained an advertisement for titles like *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, *Did Six Million Really Die?*, *The Six Million Reconsidered* and *The Zundel Trial and Free Speech*

473 *'Holocaust' News*, no. 1, 1982.

474 *Spearhead*, no. 230, April 1988; and *Sunday Times*, 6 March 1988. The Centre for Historical Review (CHR), which printed and published *'Holocaust' News* had been formed in 1982 by 'Richard Harwood' according to *National Front News*, no. 40, May 1982, but now appeared to exist in name only. Edmonds refused to disclose the source of the publications' funding, stating only that the CHR 'had Palestinian sympathisers' as well as links to the Institute of Historical Review in California, which had received money from Saudi Arabian supporters. Edmonds lost his job at Cable & Wireless Ltd following the *Sunday Times*' exposé. TNA DPP 2/7808 highlights the Director of Public Prosecution declined to prosecute the publication in 1982.

475 *Spearhead*, no. 402, August 2002.

476 Kenan Malik, *From Fatwa to Jihad: The Rushdie Affair and its Legacy* (London: Atlantic Books, 2009).

477 *Spearhead*, no. 242, April 1989.

478 *Instauration*, vol. 14, no. 2, January 1989.

479 Glyn Ford [Rapporteur], *Report drawn up on behalf of the Committee of Inquiry in Racism and Xenophobia* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1991), p. 39.
480 Fred Naylor, *Dewsbury: The School Above the Pub* (London: Claridge Press, 1989).
481 *Patriot*, no. 2, winter 1997.
482 *Spearhead*, no. 249, November 1989; and *Spearhead*, no. 250, December 1989.
483 *Britain Nationalist*, no. 107, February 1991.
484 *Spearhead*, no. 265, March 1991; and *Spearhead*, no. 266, April 1991.
485 *The Populist Observer*, no. 52, May 1990.
486 *The Populist Observer*, no. 53–54, June–July 1990; and *Spearhead*, no. 257, July 1990.
487 For speaking engagements, see *Spearhead*, no. 267, May 1991. *Forward*, 7 June 1991, states Liberty Lobby activists had lobbied the US government for the past year to get Tyndall's travel ban overturned.
488 Leonard Zeskind, *Blood and Politics*, pp. 252–257 provides an account of the tour.
489 Prior to the meeting, Tyndall published a letter from Burke in *Spearhead*, no. 252, February 1990 stating 'I have been a subscriber to *Spearhead* for many years, and have read some of the most powerful articles ever published at any time or place in our English speech…'
490 Frederick J. Simonelli, *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999), p. 26.
491 *Spearhead*, no. 269, July 1991; and *Truth at Last*, no. 350, 1991.
492 *Spearhead*, no. 307, September 1994.
493 *Spearhead*, no. 269, July 1991. Tyndall's US tour begat a reciprocal visit from four American extreme right-wing lawyers in 1992. Kirk Lyons, David Holloway, Sam Dickson and Martin O'Toole as part of a European-wide tour to promote CAUSE – billed as 'America's only pro-White law firm' – but which was simply Lyon's 'Patriot's Defence Foundation' under a new name. Lyons addressed a Glasgow BNP meeting on 27 June and another in West Yorkshire on the following day. He and Dickson were both billed to address a BNP meeting in London on 4 July organised by 'an *ad-hoc* committee of British historical revisionists, which the BNP will be supporting'. Both men were clearly impressed with the BNP. Dickson returned to England on 24 October 1992 as guest of honour at its annual party rally whilst Lyons was feted with the honour in the following year, see *Spearhead*, no. 281, July 1992. For Lyons, see 'In the Lyons Den', *Intelligence Report*, no. 99, summer 2000.
494 *Instauration*, vol. 16, no. 9, August 1991.
495 *Instauration*, vol. 16, no 10, September 1991.
496 *Instauration*, vol. 18, no. 1, December 1992. *Instauration*, vol. 17, no. 11, October 1992 had previously lamented that whilst Europe had figures like Jean-Marie Le Pen, Jorg Haider and Tyndall, 'we are represented by a variety of Hollywood Nazis, hooded Joe Sixpacks and other well-meaning, but frankly uninspiring "spokesmen".'
497 *British Nationalist*, no. 138, December 1993.
498 *Spearhead*, no. 291, May 1993.
499 *Spearhead*, no. 245, July 1989 highlighted beginnings of the BNP campaign.
500 *Spearhead*, no. 281, July 1992, p. 9.
501 Nick Lowles, *White Riot: The Violent Story of Combat 18* (London: Milo, 2014), p. 13.
502 Nigel Copsey, 'Contemporary Fascism in the Local Arena: The British National Party and "Rights for Whites"', in Mike Cronin (ed.), *The Failure of British Fascism: The Far Right and the Fight for Political Recognition* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 118–140.
503 *Spearhead*, no. 296, October 1993.
504 Lowles, *White Riot*, p. 37.
505 *Guardian*, 20 February 1993.
506 The *Evening Standard*, 17 September 1993.
507 The *Observer*, 19 September 1993.
508 The *Mirror*, 18 September 1993.
509 The *Guardian*, 21 September 1993. *Searchlight*, no. 219, September 1993 records Edmonds' appointment as British representative of the Le Nouvel ordre européen (NOE – New European Order), a transnational national socialist group operated from Lausanne, Switzerland, by Gaston Armand 'Guy' Amaudruz, which had had its heyday in the early 1950s but which was, by this juncture, reportedly largely moribund.

510 *Spearhead*, no. 300, February 1994.
511 *Spearhead*, no. 298, December 1993.
512 The *Guardian*, 18 June 1994. Whilst on remand, Edmonds and Tyndall were fined £100 apiece for displaying racist recruitment posters, see *Independent*, 6 October 1993.
513 *Spearhead*, no. 305, July 1994.
514 'Mr Major's Joint Doorstep Interview with Prime Minister Keating', 17 September 1993, www.johnmajor.co.uk/page1090.html (accessed 4 May 2015).
515 *Spearhead*, no. 296, October 1993. It raised £3,547, records *Spearhead*, no. 300, February 1994.
516 'The Police have a Poor Record in the Fight Against Fascism', The *Guardian*, 21 March 2010, www.theguardian.com/theobserver/libertycentral/2010/mar/21/police-demonstrations-fascism-racism (accessed 8 September 2018).
517 For an anti-fascist critique, see Colin B. West [pseud.], *Ready Welling and Able: Reflections on the Events at Welling (16.10.93)* (London: Pentagon Press, 1994). For a view from a former undercover police officer, see Rob Evans and Paul Lewis, *Undercover: The True Story of Britain's Secret Police* (London: Guardian/Faber & Faber, 2013). *Spearhead*, no. 330, August 1996 notes the eventual closure of the bookshop.
518 *Instauration*, vol. 18, no. 12, November 1993.
519 Three years later, Irving denied any knowledge whatsoever of the BNP: 'I am not familiar with their programme or policies, so cannot judge if they are "Nazi" or not,' though he conceded that Focal Point Publications had supplied them with books. That said, Irving clearly knew who Tyndall was, since he stated 'I hold this gentleman at arm's length.' Irving also noted that:

> When *Churchill's War vol. 1* was presented at a press conference aboard HMS Belfast in November 1987, Mr Tyndall was observed to be present: he had not been invited, and I conducted an internal inquiry as to how he came to be there.

(It turned out that one of the guests had invited him, without my authorisation), see David Irving, 'About the Author: A Biographical Letter', 11 August 1996, www.fpp.co.uk/docs/Irving/Julius110896.html (accessed 20 September 2017).
520 Faci told *The Order*, no. 3, n.d. that he had been an NF member in 1976.
521 *British Nationalist*, no. 138, December 1993.
522 *Spearhead*, no. 299, January 1994.
523 *Spearhead*, no. 300, February 1994; and *Spearhead*, no. 301, March 1994.
524 *Spearhead*, no. 311, January 1995.
525 Birchall, *Beating the Fascists*, p. 355.
526 Sean Birchall, *Beating the Fascists*, p. 355. See also Nigel Copsey, 'From Direct Action to Community Action: The Changing Dynamics of Anti-Fascist Opposition', in Nigel Copsey and Graham Macklin (eds), *British National Party: Contemporary Perspectives* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 123–141.
527 *Spearhead*, no. 304, June 1994.
528 *Spearhead*, no. 305, July 1994.
529 *Spearhead*, no. 302, April 1994.
530 *Spearhead*, no. 310, December 1994.
531 Goodwin, *New British Fascism*, p. 47.
532 *British Nationalist*, no. 147, September 1994. The murder of fifteen-year-old Richard Everitt in an unprovoked attack by a Bangladeshi gang in Somers Town, King's Cross, on 13 August 1994 was a case in point. The BNP attempted to exploit his killing for political gain contemporaneously and continue to do so. Twenty years later, however, the BNP refers to his killers not as 'Asian' but 'Muslim' to fit the requirements of its virulent anti-Islam platform, see 'Remembering Richard Everitt', *Civil Liberty*, 11 December 2011, www.civilliberty.org.uk/2011/12/10/remembering-richard-everitt/ (accessed 23 January 2020).
533 *British Nationalist*, no. 160, September 1995; *British Nationalist*, no. 172, October 1996; and *British Nationalist*, no. 174, December 1996.
534 Lowles, *White Riot*, p. 25.
535 *The Order*, no. 1, n.d.
536 *The Order*, no. 2, n.d.
537 *Thor-Would*, no. 8, n.d. *British Oi*, no. 27 stated *Thor-Would* was 'the best zine if you want a laugh a John Tyndalls [sic] expense.'

538 *Spearhead*, no. 299, January 1994.
539 Quoted in *Fighting Talk*, no. 16, March 1997.
540 *The Order*, no. 4, circa October 1993.
541 *BNP Organisers' Bulletin*, 14 December 1993.
542 *Putsch*, no. 7, circa December 1993.
543 Lowles, *White Riot*, p. 151.
544 *Spearhead*, no. 351, May 1998.
545 John Tyndall to John Cato, 31 January 1994 in SCH/01/Res/BRI/TMP/010, Searchlight archive, University of Northampton.
546 *The Order*, no number or date ['Hail Victory' cover].
547 *Spearhead*, no. 311, January 1995.
548 *Putsch*, no. 30, November 1995.
549 *Putsch*, no. 4, August 1993; *Putsch*, no date/number circa January 1995; and *Putsch*, no. 30, November 1995.
550 *International Redwatch*, issue 1.
551 Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, pp. 296–297.
552 John Tyndall, 'Doing the Enemy's Work', *Spearhead*, no. 319, September 1995.
553 *Ibid*.
554 *Ibid.*
555 *Spearhead*, no. 320, October 1995.
556 *The Order,* November 1995.
557 *Spearhead* had regularly reprinted Pierce's articles as well as advertising his publications *Attack* and *National Vanguard*. Tyndall also advertised *Lincoln Rockwell: A National Socialist Life*, an homage written by Pierce, see *Spearhead*, no. 259, September 1990. 'Life Rune Books' advertisements in *Spearhead*, no. 270, August 1991 and *Spearhead*, no. 272, October 1991 offered for sale *The Turner Diaries*, *Hunter* and *Serpent's Walk*, by Randolph D. Calverhall, a racist science fiction novel published by NA, as well as Michael Hoffman's *A Candidate for the Order*, which had a similar pedigree. The admiration was mutual. *Spearhead*, no. 246, August 1989 contained a letter from Kevin Strom, a leading NA activist, stating that *Spearhead* was 'one of the best' magazines he read. Throughout its history, *Spearhead* also featured advertisements for a range of other US publications including *Instauration*, *The Nationalist*, *Calling Our Nation*, *American Renaissance* and *The Truth at Last*, edited by Tyndall's friend Edward Fields, which was listed as an 'allied publication'. When Fields retired from active politics in 2008, he handed *The Truth at Last* subscription lists to *The David Duke Report*, mouthpiece of former Ku Klux Klan leader, David Duke, see *Intelligence Report*, no. 132, winter 2008. Fields later joined the National Alliance, see www.nationalvanguard.org:80/story.php?id=668 (accessed 11 October 2003).
558 Lowles, *White Riot*, p. 353.
559 *British Nationalist*, no. 162, December 1995; and *Spearhead*, no. 322, December 1995. *The Order*, no. 14 blamed BNP members for the lack of respect. Mark Cotterill, 'Heritage and Destiny Interviews Will Williams', *National Vanguard*, 30 December 2014, http://nationalvanguard.org/2014/12/heritage-and-destiny-interviews-will-williams/ (accessed 21 June 2016) states that BNP activist Peter Rushton and the NA's future leader Will Williams facilitated the visit.
560 For C18's bemused reaction, see *Putsch*, no. 31, December 1995.
561 *Spearhead*, no. 315, May 1995.
562 'A Great Man Passes On: Buckley and Tyndall pay Tribute to Dr. W.L. Pierce', *Spearhead*, www.spearhead.com/0209-ib.html (accessed 24 January 2012).
563 *Spearhead*, www.spearhead.co.uk/0507-jt3.html (accessed 22 September 2016).
564 The *Independent*, 2 March 1997.
565 *National Alliance Bulletin*, March 1996 reproduces the letter.
566 'A Great Man Passes On', *Spearhead*.
567 Quoted in *Fighting Talk*, no. 16, March 1997.
568 Sargent was jailed for life in January 1998.
569 *Spearhead*, no. 33, December 1996. Music at BNP meetings was 'not to "entertain" those present; it is to induce in them a mood most conducive to emotional receptiveness to the party's message,' stated *Spreading the Word: British National Party Handbook on Propaganda* (Welling: BNP, n.d.), p. 57. Thus, whilst personally discomforted by 'white resistance' music, Tyndall allowed BNP publications to advertise events by B&H, many of which were organised

in conjunction with local BNP units. Some of Tyndall's disdain for skinhead aficionados of white power music was misogynistic. *Spearhead*, no. 194, December 1984 featured a photo of female NF skinheads. 'That party, it seems, is as proud of its unfeminine women as it is of its unmasculine "males". What need have the media to portray nationalists as ill-behaved and repulsive freaks when some nationalist propagandists do it for them?'

570 John Tyndall, 'The Problem is Mr Griffin: It is Not Policies Which Divide the BNP, Says John Tyndall', *Spearhead*, www.spearhead.co.uk/0310-jt2.html (accessed 30 June 2016).

571 *Spearhead*, no. 335, January 1997.

572 *Spearhead*, no. 323, January 1996.

573 *Spearhead*, no. 366, August 1999. It is often forgotten that the 'modernising' faction were equally 'hard-line'. During 1997, Lecomber attempted to recruit Terry Blackham, the former NF National Activities organiser, then recently released from prison after being caught with several guns and a grenade launcher in his car that he had attempted to convey to Loyalist paramilitaries in Northern Ireland. Tony Lecomber to Terry Blackham, 11 October 1997 in MSS 412/BNP/3/1, Wayne Ashcroft papers, written with Tyndall's sanction, dismissed his serious criminal conviction stating:

> As you know both our party leader John Tyndall and myself have got criminal records sustained in the course of pursuing (or on the fringes of) political action. Neither of us can cast any stones in that direction! I can tell you Terry that your political record is well known in BNP circles. You are a good activist. You are loyal, brave, committed and a credit to your family and your race. If you should ever decide that you wanted to cross to the BNP, there would be no problem with that, and that goes for anyone else too. You would make a welcome addition to our list of Organisers, and you could also make a useful contribution to our stewarding group, maybe even as a senior steward. Also, you may know that we have a good London instant response activity team …

574 *Spearhead*, no. 335, January 1997.

575 *Britain Reborn: A Programme for a New Century: Election Manifesto, May 1997* (Welling: BNP, 1997), pp. 42–46.

576 *Spearhead*, no. 336, February 1997.

577 'BNP Election Broadcast 1997', YouTube, www.youtube.com/watch?v=bsSCCUIE0rQ (accessed 25 August 2016).

578 Poplar and Canning Town was a new constituency formed in part of the old Bow and Popular constituency where Tyndall had stood previously in 1992. Due to a combination of demographic churn and boundary changes, the BNP's three 'best wards' Beckton, Millwall and Custom House and Silver (based on BNP performance in the 1994 metropolitan council elections when its candidates polled 33, 28 and 27 per cent respectively) were now grouped into one parliamentary constituency, see *British Nationalist*, no. 178, April 1997 for the BNP analysis.

579 *Spearhead*, no. 340, June 1997.

580 *Spearhead*, no. 335, January 1997.

581 This was relative of course. Jeff Wilkerson of the American First Party, Inc. looked to the BNP being able to stand fifty-four candidates as 'proof of what can be done if one and all take this work seriously and put their shoulder to the wheel,' see *America First Party Newsletter*, vol. 2, no. 17, 1997.

582 It was perhaps no coincidence that Tyndall released a new edition of his autobiography, *The Eleventh Hour* (Welling: Albion Press, 1998) in which he thanked both Griffin and Lecomber 'who have rendered invaluable help to me in the preparation of this book.' By the time it was advertised to the BNP membership (*Spearhead*, no. 363, May 1999), Tyndall probably had a less generous attitude towards both men.

583 *Spearhead*, no. 351, May 1998.

584 *Identity*, no. 27, December 2002.

585 Tyndall set out his stall in *We've Come a Long Way – Don't Let's Ruin It!* and *Lies from Griffin & Co.*, 17 September 1999.

586 www.tyndallexposed.com (accessed 29 March 2005). The website highlighted the case of Ken Francis, the Newham BNP organiser whose partner was an Ecuadorian.

587 *British Nationalist*, no. 207, October 1999. Those who resigned included Richard Edmonds (National Organiser and South East London Regional Organiser); Iain Wilson (Dewsbury

Organiser); Keith Axon (West Birmingham Organiser); John Morse (Mid-South Regional Organiser and editor of *British Nationalist* until June 1998) and Ian Dell (Chief Steward). *British Nationalist* was dismissive, stating that in the case of Axon, Morse and Wilson 'their performances were so poor that it is felt that they have jumped before they were pushed'. *Searchlight*, no. 292, October 1999 notes Paul Ballard, Griffin's 1998 co-defendant, supported Tyndall.

588 'Interview with Richard Edmonds', *Counter-Currents*.

589 *Spearhead*, no. 411, May 2003; and Stephan Braun and Daniel Hörsch (eds), *Rechte Netzwerk: eine Gefahr* (Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag, 2004), pp. 110–111. *Preußische Allgemeine Zeitung*, 29 July 2002 reported that Edmonds viewed his work as 'Wiedergutmachung' ('reparation') for the Allied bombing of Germany during the Second World War.

590 *Spearhead*, no. 368, October 1999.

591 See www.tyndallexposed.com/sink.htm (accessed 14 March 2005); and *Spearhead*, no. 372, February 2000. The claims related to a behest left personally to Tyndall to promote the party and/or *Spearhead* by a member called John Lawson who died in 1991.

592 *Spearhead*, no. 373, March 2000.

593 *Spearhead*, no. 385, March 2001.

594 'Tyndall and "Modernisation"', www.tyndallexposed.com/modern.htm (accessed 14 March 2005).

595 *Spearhead*, no. 392, October 2001.

596 Branches in Clitheroe, Lancashire and Hillingdon, West London were a case in point.

597 *Spearhead*, no. 407, January 2003.

598 *Identity*, no. 34, July 2003.

599 'Sacked!', *Spearhead*, www.spearhead.co.uk/0309-jt2.html (accessed 30 June 2016).

600 *British Nationalist: British National Party Members' Bulletin*, July 2003; and Tyndall, 'The Problem is Mr Griffin'.

601 'Tyndall's 2003 Expulsion', www.tyndallexposed.com/expel2003.htm (accessed 14 March 2005) reproduces the correspondence.

602 *Voice of Freedom*, no. 42, September 2003.

603 Tyndall, 'The Problem is Mr Griffin'.

604 'Onslaught of the BNP Wreckers', *Spearhead*, www.spearhead.com/0412-jt2.html (accessed 30 June 2016).

605 The *Guardian*, 20 July 2005.

606 'A Salute to John Tyndall 14/7/1934–18/7/200, 19 July 2005:, https://davidduke.com/johntyndall-1471934-1872005/ (accessed 24 January 2012). Tyndall had a long association with Duke. He had offered videotapes of Duke's Louisiana Senate campaign (*Spearhead*, no. 269, July 1991), publishing reports of its progress (*Spearhead*, no. 245, July 1989) written by his old friend, Edward Fields. *Spearhead*, no. 276, February 1992 highlights Tyndall accepted £500 from a Duke supporter towards the BNP 1992 general election campaign. Ironically, however, Tyndall's NF had ignored Duke when he visited Britain in March 1978, due to the Klan's deleterious image rather than its racism. 'Had Mr. Duke come to Britain as the representative of an American equivalent of the National Front … then I am sure I and other NF officials would have been interested to meet him,' stated Martin Webster in *Spearhead*, no. 115, March 1978. 'But the KKK connection made that quite impossible.' *Spearhead*, no. 116, April 1978 was even more forthright in dismissing the KKK as 'another foreign import we can do without'. Duke whatever his 'sincerity' has 'nothing at all to contribute to the cause of the White Man in Britain and he would have done better not to come.' Not all NF activists felt so constrained. David Duke, *My Awakening: A Path to Racial Understanding* (Covington, LA: Free Speech Press, 2000), pp. 591–597 notes that he was honoured by a cross-burning ceremony at the Warwickshire farm of NF/RPS activist Robin Beauclaire. Duke was deported shortly afterwards and refused leave to re-enter Britain, see Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 946, cols 108–110W (14 March 1978); and Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 947, col. 470W (13 April 1978). Nor was Duke alone. In the following month, William Wilkinson, Imperial Wizard of the Invisible Empire of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, despite having been banned from entering Britain by the Home Secretary in February, also succeeded in illegally entering Britain but was deported upon arrival, see Hansard, HC Deb., vol. 947, cols 156–156W (6 April 1978).

607 *International European American Unity and Leadership Conference, 2004: Disk 2* (Mandeville, LA: David Duke Report, 2004). Fellow speakers included David Duke, Sam Dickson, Edward

Fields, Kevin Strom, Bob Whitaker, Germar Rudolf, Paul Fromm, Don Black, Willis Carto, Edgar Steele, David Pringle, Howie Farrell and Kenny Knight.

608 'Hear the Historic and Inspiring 2004 EURO Conference MP3s!', 15 September 2008, https://davidduke.com/hear-the-historic-and-inspiring-2004-euro-conference-mp3s-scroll-down/ (accessed 24 January 2012).

609 'Tyndall in America', *Spearhead*, www.spearhead.com/0407-jt2.html (accessed 24 January 2012).

610 *Heritage and Destiny*, no. 18, January–March 2005.

611 *Heritage and Destiny*, no. 22, October–December 2005.

612 'Tyndall and Combat 18', www.tyndallexposed.com/c18.htm (accessed 27 February 2005). One of the SSG's organisers was Leeds activist Eddy Morrison whom Tyndall had denounced as an 'inveterate disrupter' in an article titled 'The Wanderings and Posturings of the Pathetic Mr Morrison', *Spearhead*, no. 174, April 1983. Tyndall announced Morrison's re-admittance to the BNP in *Spearhead*, no. 243, May 1989.

613 Nationalist Week, no. 7, 12 July 2004, www.bpp.org.uk/nw7.html (accessed 30 June 2016).

614 'New Labour's Soviet Republic', *Spearhead*, www.spearhead.com/0501-jt2.html (accessed 24 January 2012).

615 Nationalist Week, no. 14, 29 August 2004, www.bpp.org.uk/nw14.html (accessed 30 June 2016).

616 George Michael, *The Enemy of My Enemy: The Alarming Convergence of Militant Islam and the Extreme Right* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2006), p. 276.

617 *Spearhead*, no. 427, September 2004.

618 Shortly before Tyndall's hearing, *British Nationalist: British National Party Members' Bulletin*, November 2004 informed the membership of an alteration in the party constitution. Section 6, titled 'Discipline', had a new subsection inserted reading:

> Once the constitutionally defined internal disciplinary mechanisms of the party as outlined in this Section are exhausted in regard to the disciplinary procedures and proceedings, then the decision of the disciplinary tribunal is final and binding on the member concerned. As such, members (including those who have been disciplined or expelled) *legally affirm and agree that they will not seek any external legal (or non-legal) review of any disciplinary tribunal decision or its procedures* [author's emphasis]. They also agree and affirm that they will accept the decision of any disciplinary tribunal as final and binding.

Tyndall, rightly, interpreted this as a 'blatantly obvious' attempt to prevent him from seeking legal redress if the December disciplinary hearing ended in his expulsion, see 'Onslaught of the BNP Wreckers', *Spearhead*, www.spearhead.com/0412-jt2.html (accessed 30 June 2016).

619 'Expelled: Yet Again!', *Spearhead*, www.spearhead.co.uk/0501-jt1.html (accessed 26 August 2016). One such charge was that Tyndall had published advertisements for *The Turner Diaries* by William Pierce and *The Uprising* by Colin Jordan in the February 2004 issue of *Spearhead*, thereby 'causing the BNP to be associated with "Nazism" and "terrorism".' This was not an isolated instance, of course. Tyndall had reprinted articles from *Gothic Ripples* in *Spearhead* and often carried advertisements for cassettes of Jordan's speeches and books throughout the intervening decades, see, for example, *Spearhead*, no. 182, December 1983; *Spearhead*, no. 192, October 1984; and *Spearhead*, no. 303, May 1994. He had also rekindled his personal relationship with his former colleague. 'Whenever the opportunity arose, Colin and John Tyndall would meet socially, usually over a meal whenever 'JT' was travelling to meetings in Yorkshire,' records Frost, *'Twaz a Good Fight!'*, p. 299. Tyndall found the accusation of associating the party with terrorism 'utterly comic' since Lecomber himself had been jailed in 1986 following the accidental detonation of a home-made bomb whilst he sat in his car, see www.rwb.org.uk/JTrepsonse.html (accessed 8 February 2005). Tyndall might also have highlighted that *Spearhead* had advertised *Gothic Ripples* and *National Socialism: Vanguard of the Future* whilst Griffin himself was assistant editor, see *Spearhead*, no. 331, September 1996 and *Spearhead*, 334, December 1996. Lecomber's objectivity was further questioned when Tyndall received an email Lecomber had originally sent to Martin Webster outlining his 'personal loathing and contempt' for Tyndall whom, he believed, 'has cost us 20–25 years', see 'Expelled: Yet Again!', *Spearhead*, www.spearhead.com/0501-jt1.html (accessed 24 January 2012). For Tyndall's statement on his expulsion, see Nationalist Week, no. 27, 5 December 2004, www.bpp.org.uk/nw27.html (accessed 30 June 2016).

620 *British Nationalist: British National Party Members' Bulletin*, May 2005.
621 'Death of Valerie Tyndall', 25 June 2011, http://efp.org.uk/death-of-valerie-tyndall/ (accessed 30 June 2016).
622 Nationalist Week, no. 21, 18 October 2004, www.bpp.org.uk/nw21.html (accessed 30 June 2016); and *Heritage and Destiny*, no. 22, October–December 2005.
623 *Spearhead*, no. 434, April 2005.
624 *Spearhead*, no. 436, June 2005.
625 *Heritage and Destiny*, no. 22, October–December 2005.
626 *Spearhead*, no. 438, August 2005.
627 Nationalist Week, no. 58, 25 July 2005, www.bpp.org.uk/nw58.html (accessed 30 June 2016).
628 See www.nationalist.net/memorialdemo.html (accessed 1 August 2005).
629 Supporters maintain an online archive of Tyndall's key writings at *Spearhead*, www.spearhead.co.uk/index.html#directory (accessed 30 June 2016).
630 *Heritage & Destiny*, no. 22, October–December 2005.
631 'Obituary: John Tyndall', 19 July 2005, www.bnp.org.uk/news_detail.php?newsId=402 (accessed 20 July 2005).
632 *Identity*, no. 57, August 2005. *Voice of Freedom*, no. 63, August 2005 was more generous but still criticised his brand of racial nationalism as outmoded; what might have appealed politically during the 1970s had, by the time of his death, become 'a very personal philosophy to John Tyndall'.
633 *Identity*, no. 59, October 2005.
634 'Obituary: John Tyndall, 19 July 2005', www.bnp.org.uk/news_detail.php?newsId=402 (accessed 20 July 2005). They reiterated this claim on the first anniversary of his death, see British National Party, www.bnp.org.uk/news_detail-3481.php (accessed 18 July 2006).
635 *Gothic Ripples: Yuletide Supplement*, 2005.
636 *Blood & Honour*, no. 32.
637 *National Vanguard*, September–October 2005.
638 *Nation Europa*, vol. 55, no. 9, September 2005.
639 *The Times*, 20 July 2005.
640 'Death of Valerie Tyndall', 25 June 2011, http://efp.org.uk/death-of-valerie-tyndall/ (accessed 16 May 2012).
641 See 'Nick Griffin, "Catching Up"', *Chairman's blog*, 11 August 2007, http://chairmans-column.blogspot.co.uk/2007/08/first-my-sincere-apologies-for-long-gap.html (accessed 12 August 2007).
642 'Friends of JT Memorial Meeting', *Spearhead*, www.spearhead.com/0906meeting.html (accessed 30 August 2016). Edmonds own views had not moderated. On 1 March 2010, he was part of a group of British activists waiting outside Mannheim prison to greet Canadian-German Holocaust denier Ernst Zündel, who was released after serving a seven-year sentence.
643 See Eddy Butler's blog, July 2010, http://eddybutler.blogspot.com/2010/07/statement-from richard-edmonds.html (accessed 1 August 2010).
644 See www.democracyforum.co.uk/bnp/80513-organisers-bulletin-disciplinary-procedures-2.html (accessed 20 August 2010).
645 See 'Obituary: Valerie Tyndall', www.bnp.org.uk/news/obituary-—-valerie-tyndall (accessed 30 June 2016). Valerie Tyndall died shortly before she was due to address the newly reformed Brighton and Hove BNP branch. She was afforded a more generous tribute on the party website than that afforded to her late husband. Ironically, it was penned by Griffin.
646 See www.bnpreform2011.co.uk/?p=1960 (accessed 1 December 2011).
647 Edmonds subsequently supported Andrew Brons' initiatives to forge 'unity' between various disparate groups now outside the BNP, see 'Nationalist Veteran Richard Edmonds Endorses Unity Drive', 6 January 2012, http://bnpideas.com/?p=3507 (accessed 1 December 2011).
648 See http://efp.org.uk/category/events-news/ (accessed 30 August 2016).
649 *Tenth Annual John Tyndall Memorial Meeting* (Heritage and Destiny: Preston 2015 – DVD). Groups attending in recent years include A.K. Chesterton Trust, Blood & Honour, British Movement, British Democratic Party, British National Party, Church of the Creator, Heretical Press, National Action, National Front, New British Union, Northern Patriotic Front and Telling Films.
650 *The Chairman's Bulletin*, no. 1, spring 1984. Similarly, other groups have organised their own events that elide real personal and political tensions within their movement's history. Since

2011, Yorkshire British Movement has held its own annual 'Colin Jordan & John Tyndall Memorial Meeting' to honour their respective memories. See http://bmsunwheel.blogspot.co.uk/2013/07/remembering-colin-jordan-and-john.html (accessed 30 August 2016); and http://bmsunwheel.blogspot.co.uk/2015/09/into-september-new-month-with-new.html (accessed 30 August 2016) for example.

651 'Record Attendance at John Tyndall Memorial Meeting', http://efp.org.uk/record-attendance-at-john-tyndall-memorial/ (accessed 30 August 2016).

652 See http://efp.org.uk/category/events-news/ (accessed 30 August 2016).

'vanquished' Bolshevism in the East, Griffin argued that '[t]he same will happen in the West, in the Long War against not just the Islamist plague, but also to destroy the liberal virus that unleashed it.'[838]

The ebb and flow of Griffin's seemingly ideological inconsistent and often contradictory political career represents something of a conundrum compared to the other ideologues scrutinised in this volume. After he became BNP chair in 1999 and began adumbrating a 'national populism' stance, former colleagues were puzzled.

> He has been a conservative, a revolutionary nationalist, a radical National Socialist, a Third Positionist, a friend of the 'boot boys' and the skinhead scene, a man committed to respectable politics and electioneering, a 'moderniser'. Which is he in reality?[839]

asked the ITP, which Griffin had helped found. 'Perhaps he has been all these quite sincerely – in which case his judgement is abysmal; or perhaps he has been none of them sincerely – which speaks for itself!'[840] Tyndall's long-term ally, John Morse, deposed as editor of *British Nationalist* in 1999, had been equally dismissive. 'Nick's words seem to be whatever flavoured chewing gum for the ears that he calculates his audience of the moment might prefer,' he wrote. 'It's all done for effect.'[841] Griffin's critics undoubtedly feel vindicated. Twenty years later, Griffin turned volte-face again, jettisoning 'modernisation' in order to re-embrace third position politics, albeit the religious fundamentalist variant that he had previously denounced. If nothing else, such shifts signal that the 'national populist' strategy, which won the BNP unprecedented support, was little more than a ruse, a thin veneer behind which stood Griffin's ongoing commitment to the racial nationalist and fascist politics of his youth.

The collapse of the BNP and his own unceremonious dismissal from the party led Griffin to abandon thoughts of engaging in electoral activity to achieve racial nationalist goals. Even being an MEP, a position he had long coveted, brought him to the realisation, he claimed in retrospect, that he was simply a 'totally powerless fig leaf' because real power lay with the European Commission. 'It's a complete farce,' he opined.[842] In several recent racially apocalyptic jeremiads, Griffin has proclaimed that there was 'no point' in doing politics anymore, 'it's too late'.[843] Demographic change in Europe had been 'so catastrophic that there is no possible political solution.'[844] Since 'our people' have stubbornly refused to 'wake up' and vote for racial nationalist panaceas 'they'll be woken up with pain, and plenty of it.' Only then, argued Griffin, will they begin to 'fight back' and reclaim Europe from the Muslim 'invasion' – 'Reconquista 2.0'.[845] The annihilation of his domestic political prospects did not deter Griffin. 'My firm belief,' he wrote about himself in 2018, 'is that Nick Griffin's long-term influence will not be anything I've already done, but what comes next.'[846] Whilst it is unlikely that he will again ever enjoy the political prominence he attained between 2001 and 2010, as Griffin's recent proselytising against 'Anglo-Zionists' in the Middle East suggests, he clearly continues to envision a role for himself within the racial nationalist milieu.

Notes

1 'BNP: Nick Griffin Victory Speech in Manchester', YouTube, 15 June 2009, www.youtube.com/watch?v=GPKDMjfrIr4 (accessed 25 May 2015).

2 Srdja Trifkovic, 'Nick Griffin's Long March', *American Renaissance*, 14 June 2006, reprinted from *Chronicles Magazine*, 8 June 2006, www.amren.com/news/2006/06/nick_griffins_l/ (accessed 16 March 2017).

3 Not to mention an annual income of nearly £2 million by 2009 (up from £80,000 in 2001), a dozen full-time, paid staff and a membership of approximately 12,500.
4 Robert Ford and Matthew Goodwin, *Revolt on the Right: Explaining Support for the Radical Right in Britain* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014); and Matthew Goodwin and Caitlin Milazzo, *UKIP: Inside the Campaign to Redraw the Map of British Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
5 'Nick Griffin Expelled from BNP Membership', www.bnp.org.uk/news/national/nick-griffin-expelled-bnp-membership (accessed 1 October 2014).
6 Matthew Goodwin, 'Nick Griffin Supports the Golden Dawn in Athens as the BNP Falls Apart', the *Spectator*, 10 January 2014, http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/coffeehouse/2014/01/nick-griffin-supports-the-golden-dawn-in-athens-as-his-party-collapses/ (accessed 11 January 2014).
7 *Daily Mail*, 24 October 2009.
8 *Daily Mail*, 29 April 2006.
9 The *Observer*, 1 September 2002.
10 See the interview with Nick Griffin, 'High Profile: Far from Right?', *Third Way*, 24 May 2004, https://thirdway.hymnsam.co.uk/editions/archive/high-profile/far-from-right.aspx (accessed 21 February 2012).
11 On this theme, see John W.P. Veugelers, 'Dissenting Families and Social Movement Abeyance: The Transmission of Neo-Fascist Frames in Post-War Italy', *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 62, no. 2, 2011, pp. 241–261.
12 *Daily Mail*, 25 October 2009. @NickGriffinBU, Twitter, 9 November 2014, https://twitter.com/nickjgriffinbnp/status/531521587024265219 (accessed 9 November 2014).
13 *Daily Mail*, 25 October 2009. The interviewer Dominic Carmen had been researching a biography of Griffin which Griffin disputed here, see 'The Times Sinks to Gutter Level with "Devil's Brew" of Deliberate Lies and Incompetent Research', 14 June 2009, http://bnp.org.uk/2009/06/the-times-sinks-to-gutter-level-with-"devil's-brew"-of-deliberate-lies-and-incompetent-research (accessed 10 October 2009); and 'Professional Liar Dominic Carmen Slanders Nick Griffin', 22 October 2009, https//britishnationalpartynews.blogspot.com/2009/10/professional-liar-dominic-carmen (accessed 21 October 2009). Griffin subsequently complained to the Press Complaints Commission about another article, this time in the *Daily Mail*, which agreed to remove the disputed claim – that Griffin had an admiration for Hitler – from the online version of the article and to note Griffin's position for the future, on which, see www.pcc.org.uk/cases/adjudicated.html?article=NjMxNA==&type= (accessed 10 October 2009).
14 *Daily Mail*, 25 October 2009.
15 *Ibid*.
16 *Instauration*, vol. 10, no. 8, July 1985.
17 *Moving On, Moving Up* (Ilford: Nick Griffin election campaign, 1999).
18 'Obituary: Bill Fitt, the Man Who Introduced Nick Griffin to Nationalism', 1 June 2010, www.bnp.org.uk/?q=news/obituary-bill-fitt-man-who-introduced-nick-griffin-nationalism (accessed 1 June 2010). Fitt, a founding member of Norwich NF (*Spearhead*, no. 92, March 1976), remained in the party, sitting on its Directorate until 1998 when the branch disbanded and merged into the BNP (*British Nationalist*, no. 202, April 1999). Griffin addressed the inaugural meeting of Norwich BNP in March 1999. Thereafter, Fitt served as Norfolk BNP organiser until 2002. He died in 2010.
19 John Q. Publius, 'Racial Profiles: Nick Griffin', *Republic Standard*, 14 October 2018, https://republicstandard.com/racial-profiles-nick-griffin/ (accessed 18 October 2018). On Britton, who also edited *American Nationalist*, see FBI file 105–22921–7.
20 *Western Mail*, 25 August 2001.
21 Martin Webster, interview with the author, 21 July 2009.
22 *Electronic Loose Cannon*, no. 20, 13 June. Williams sold badges emblazoned with 'National Front' or 'Race and Nation' c/o Griffin's family home, see *Spearhead*, no. 111, November 1977.
23 *Spearhead*, no. 110, October 1977. *National Front News*, no. 12, March 1978 reported 'Red thugs' had attacked Edgar Griffin as he returned from an NF meeting at Ipswich Town Hall on 4 February 1978.
24 *The Mirror*, 24 August 2001. The Conservative Party expelled Griffin for answering the BNP hotline at his home usually manned by his wife, Jean, the party's Enquiries Secretary. Vice-chairman of the Montgomeryshire Conservative Association, Edgar Griffin had also become a

vice-president in Ian Duncan Smith's Conservative Party leadership campaign. Ironically, Jean Griffin had stood against Smith in the 2001 general election earlier that year having previously contested Enfield North for the BNP in 1997.

25 *Patriot*, no. 4, spring 1999.
26 *Spearhead*, no. 103, March 1977.
27 *Spearhead*, no. 106, June 1977.
28 Ryan Shaffer, *Music, Youth and International Links in Post-War British Fascism* (London: Palgrave, 2017), p. 69.
29 *Spearhead*, no. 108, August 1977; and *National Front News*, no. 11, December 1977. Andrew Brons proposed the motion to form the YNF at the NF AGM in October 1977, which also saw a Constitutional amendment lowering the minimum age limit for joining the NF from sixteen to fourteen.
30 Nick Griffin to John Cosier, 17 October 1997 in MSS 412/WA/3/1, Wayne Ashcroft papers, Modern Records Centre, Warwick University, hereafter Ashcroft papers.
31 *National Front News*, no. 10, August 1977.
32 NF Directorate, minutes, 3 December 1977, MSS 321/1, Harrington papers.
33 *Bulldog*, no. 5, n.d. notes the YNF Secretariat consisted of Andrew Fountaine (chairman); Joe Pearce (National Activities organiser); Kevin Randall (press officer); Tim White and Roger Denny (Administrative staff); Dave Goddard, Steve Smith, Bill Wright, Nick Griffin and Nick Wakeling (Regional Representatives).
34 Joseph Pearce, *Race with the Devil: My Journey from Racial Hatred to Rational Love* (Charlotte, NC: Saint Benedict Press, 2013), pp. 61–62.
35 *Spearhead*, no. 115, March 1978.
36 *Bulldog*, no. 5, n.d.
37 For an overview, see John Pollard, 'Skinhead Culture: The Ideologies, Mythologies, Religions and Conspiracy Theories of Racist Skinheads', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 50, nos 4–5, 2016, pp. 398–319.
38 Paul Wilkinson, *The New Fascists* (London: Pan Books, 1983), p. 201.
39 Pearce, *Race with the Devil*, p. 63.
40 Colin Ward and 'Chubby' Chris Henderson, *Who Wants It?* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2001), p. 71. Griffin claimed that Leeds NF sold 700 copies of *Bulldog* every issue, see *Nationalism Today*, no. 25.
41 John E. Richardson, *British Fascism: A Discourse – Historical Analysis* (Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, 2017), p. 279.
42 *Spearhead*, no. 111, November 1977; *The True Facts About Race* (YNF leaflet); and George Marshall, *Spirit of '69: A Skinhead Bible* (Dunoon: STP, 1994), p. 134.
43 NF Directorate Meeting, Minutes, 30 October 1977, Harrington papers.
44 Stan Taylor, *The National Front in English Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1989), p. 142; and *Spearhead*, no. 113, January 1978.
45 M. Harrop, J. England and C.T. Husbands, 'The Bases of National Front Support', *Political Studies*, vol. 28, 1980, p. 278; Michael Billig and Raymond Cochrane, 'The National Front and Youth', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 15, no. 4, October 1981, pp. 9–10; and Michael Billig and Raymond Cochrane, 'Adolescent Support for the National Front: A Test of Three Models of Political Extremism', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1982, pp. 86–94.
46 *Combat*, no. 2, May 1978.
47 *The Nazi Threat in Norwich* (Norwich: Norwich ANL, 1979).
48 *Anglian News*, no. 7, August 1978.
49 *Anglian News*, no. 10, December 1978; and *Anglian News*, 13, September–October 1979.
50 *Spearhead*, no. 122, October 1978; and *Spearhead*, no. 129, July 1979 highlights YNF football competitions, that the YNF organised its own sporting activities including a five-a-side football tournament – the 'John Tyndall Shield' – which was won by Hackney YNF. *Spearhead*, no. 129, July 1979 notes that thirty teams were involved in the tournament in the following year.
51 *Bulldog*, no. 6, n.d.
52 *Bulldog*, no. 14; *Bulldog*, no. 15; and *Spearhead*, no. 130, August 1979.
53 *Spearhead*, no. 114, February 1978; *Spearhead*, no. 117, May 1978; and *National Front News*, no. 15, September 1978.
54 *Spearhead*, no. 130, August 1979.

55 *National Front News*, no. 20, March 1980.
56 Pearce, *Race with the Devil*, pp. 82–90.
57 *Nationalism Today*, no. 31, n.d.
58 *Keith Allen meets Nick Griffin*, Channel 4 documentary, 5 March 2012.
59 *Bulldog*, no. 6, March 1978. He had no sympathy for left-wing students. When German student leader Rudi Dutschke died from an epileptic seizure in 1979, the result of injuries received during a botched assassination attempt by an extreme right student in 1968, Griffin mocked his passing in *Spearhead*, no. 135, January 1980.
60 Daniel Trilling, *Bloody Nasty People: The Rise of Britain's Far Right* (London: Verso, 2012), p. 41.
61 Kenneth Leech, *Brick Lane 1978: The Events and Their Significance* (London: Stepney Books, 1994); and *Brick Lane 1978: The Case for Defence* (London: Tower Hamlets Trades Council/ Hackney Legal Action Group, 1979).
62 *Spearhead*, no. 124, December 1978.
63 *Spearhead*, no. 126, February 1979. His proposal was seconded by the new YNF chairman, Philip Gegan, who succeeded Andrew Fountaine (*Bulldog*, no. 10, November 1978). Gegan was 'regional agent for East Anglia' NF and worked with Anthony Reed-Herbert, organiser of the NF Leicester branch, for the Leicestershire-based solicitors Reed-Herbert, Gegan & Co., who frequently defended NF members in court.
64 *Spearhead*, no. 120, August 1978; and *Bulldog*, no. 10, November 1978. *Frontpage*, no. 1. This incorporated *Rite Up*, the journal of the Cambridge University NF group, which had run to three issues – one a year since 1974.
65 *Nationalism Today*, no. 46, July 1989 complained that both the YNF students' organisation and the NF trade union group ran in parallel to the party's geographical unit of organisation, which had priority. The result was that such initiatives, being outside the branch structure, were treated as a sideline and 'marginalised'.
66 *Bulldog*, no. 10, November 1978.
67 *Spearhead*, no. 129, July 1979.
68 *Spearhead*, no. 121, September 1978.
69 *Spearhead*, no. 130, August 1979; and *Instauration*, vol. 4, no. 4, April 1979. *Identity*, no. 11, July 2001 reviewed *Dispossessed Majority* (1972) indicating the continued appeal of its arguments for the BNP.
70 Mitch Berbrier, 'Impression Management for the Thinking Racist: A Case Study of Intellectualization as Stigma Transformation in Contemporary White Supremacist Discourse', *Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 40, no. 3, 1999, pp. 411–433.
71 *Spearhead*, no. 134, December 1979.
72 For list of party positions, see *National Front Members' Bulletin*, August–September 1974.
73 A.H.W. Brons to Mrs. Jordan, 15 June 1965 in SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/001, Searchlight archive.
74 *The Times*, 1 March 1980.
75 *New Nation*, no. 1, summer 1980; and *Spearhead*, no. 136, February 1980. *National Front News*, no. 20, March 1980 records that while the NF had 'sound analysis' of issues like race and immigration, 'it had not yet developed and articulated the broad philosophical basis on which the ideology of British Nationalism rests.'
76 *National Front Members' Bulletin*, July 1980. This was not simply a reaction to the fateful 1979 general election. Brons had been pursuing such an agenda since 1976 when he was appointed by the NF Directorate as the NF Education Officer in which capacity, recorded *Spearhead*, no. 97, September 1976, he was responsible 'for the promotion of political education and training courses for members, particularly prospective candidates and local party leaders.'
77 *Nationalism Today*, no. 3.
78 *Nationalism Today*, no. 26.
79 Tyndall was not averse to Distributism or the idea of workers' cooperatives per se but argued in *Spearhead*, no. 184, February 1984 that ideological refinement played a secondary role to the 'immediate questions concerned with the advancement of the political power and influence of the Nationalist movement itself.' Eddy Butler, a Tower Hamlets BNP activist, implied in *Spearhead*, no. 214, December 1986 that the basic principles of Distributism (that property should be more widely shared out with a great number of small businesses) were already enshrined in *Beyond Capitalism and Socialism* and the 1979 NF general election manifesto, both of which Tyndall had been largely responsible for writing.

80 *Nationalism Today*, no. 45 interviewed Father Brocard Sewell, a Carmelite friar and Distributist who had worked on *G.K.'s Weekly*, providing a living link to this tradition. Sewell, who edited *Aylesford Review*, admired Mosley and was one of the select few to attend his burial in Paris in 1980.
81 Julia Stapleton, 'The Limits of Pro-Fascism and Anti-Fascism: G.K. Chesterton and Arthur Bryant', in Nigel Copsey and Andrzej Olechnowicz, *Varieties of Anti-Fascism: Britain in the Interwar Period* (London: Palgrave, 2010), pp. 224–244.
82 *Nationalism Today*, no. 19.
83 *New Nation*, no. 2, autumn 1980; and *National Front News*, no. 37, December 1981.
84 *We are the National Front* (London: Newport Fotos, 1981).
85 *Spearhead*, no. 357, November 1998.
86 'Breaking News! Police Investigating Nick Griffin over Twitter Comment', 3 October 2012, www.bnp.org.uk/news/national/breaking-news-police-investigating-nick-griffin-over-twitter-comment (accessed 17 September 2013).
87 *National Front News*, no. 23, June 1980.
88 *New Nation*, no. 3, autumn 1982.
89 Dawkins' fiercely refuted the NF interpretation of his work, see Frank Miele, 'Darwin's Dangerous Discipline: An Interview with Richard Dawkins', *Skeptic*, vol. 3, no. 4, 1995, pp. 80–85, http://scepsis.net/eng/articles/id_3.php (accessed 31 January 2018).
90 Pearce, *Race with the Devil*, pp. 80–81.
91 New Nation, no. 1, summer 1980. Griffin's commentary was accompanied by a quotation from William Gayley Simpson's *Which Way Western Man?* (1978), dubbed the 'survival manual of the white race':

> The everlasting truth about race is that breed is everything. Or, to put it more in terms of the scientist, the gene pool of our race is its supreme treasure … And the first right under heaven, the right before which every other right must give way, is that our race should fight – with its every and uttermost resource – to keep its gene pool holy, unsullied and inviolable'.

92 *New Nation*, no. 1, summer 1980.
93 Pearce, *Race with the Devil*, p. 74.
94 *Spearhead*, no. 132, October 1979 records Wakeling's election to the NF Directorate. Shaffer, *Music, Youth and International Links in Post-War British Fascism*, p. 84.
95 *Nationalism Today*, no. 2.
96 *Nationalism Today*, no. 1, March 1980.
97 *Nationalism Today*, no. 5.
98 Griffin acknowledged the transition in *Identity*, no. 19, April 2002.
99 *Nationalism Today*, no. 2. In *Nationalism Today*, no. 13 Griffin asked why the Communists had also

> wallowed in the blood, not only of their 'class enemies', but also of the workers they claim to admire.… One reason is obvious. From Marx, Engels, Trotsky (Bronstein), Bela Kuhn in Hungary and Rosa Luxemburg in Germany, right up to Tony Cliff (Ygael Gluckstein) and the rest of his family running the SWP in Britain today, the most fanatical Communist leaders have been Jews. Imbued as they are with messianic urges and an age-old contempt for Gentiles, this is not surprising.

100 *Nationalism Today*, no. 1, March 1980; and *Nationalism Today*, no. 2.
101 *Nationalism Today*, no. 8.
102 *Nationalism Today*, no. 10.
103 *Spearhead*, no. 128, May 1979. Tyndall later attacked Webster's 'working class' strategy as 'infantile leftism' in *Spearhead*, no. 146, December 1980.
104 *New Nation*, no. 2, autumn 1980.
105 *Nationalism Today*, no. 18. Canadian 'left-nationalist' John Jewell also influenced Griffin's thought in this regard, as did some of the figures associated with the National Party.
106 Knights Templar International, January 2018, https://knightstemplarinternational.com/2018/01/white-sharia-ultimate-treason-important-audio-talk-2/ (accessed 10 March 2018).
107 Peter D. Stachura, *Gregor Strasser and the Rise of Nazism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015).

108 David Baker, 'A.K. Chesterton, the Strasser Brothers and the Politics of the National Front', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 19, no. 3, 1985, pp. 23–33; and 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, pp. 38–61.
109 *Yesterday & Tomorrow: Roots of National-Revolution* (London: Rising Press, 1983). Authors included the Strasser brothers; Nazi economist Gottfried Feder; the Nazis' original Twenty-Five point and agrarian programmes; writings by the British socialists Robert Blatchford and William Morris; Catholic author G.K. Chesterton; and the revolutionary syndicalism of BUF ideologue Alexander Raven Thomson.
110 *Spearhead*, no. 161, March 1982.
111 *Nationalism Today*, no. 12; and *Nationalism Today*, no. 18.
112 *National Review*, no. 41, June 1983.
113 *Spearhead*, no. 180, October 1983.
114 *Spearhead*, no. 193, November 1984.
115 *Spearhead*, no. 206, December 1985.
116 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 7, November 1981.
117 Arnold Leese to Anthony Gittens, 29 October [n.d.], Leese papers.
118 *Gothic Ripples*, no. 108, 12 September 1953.
119 *Nationalism Today*, no. 23.
120 *National Front News*, no. 62, January 1985, for instance.
121 *Nationalism Today*, no. 22.
122 *Nationalism Today*, no. 24, September 1984; and *Nationalism Today*, no. 38, April 1986.
123 *Nationalism Today*, no. 11.
124 *Nationalism Today*, no. 39, 1986. Schumacher's influence endured. *Voice of Freedom*, no. 74, the BNP newspaper, listed him as one of 'those who inspire our ideology' and recorded that *Small is Beautiful* presented readers with 'that third choice, neither Capitalist nor Communist, which is at the heart of modern British Nationalist economic thought.'
125 *Nationalism Today*, no. 26.
126 *Nationalism Today*, no. 14.
127 *Nationalism Today*, no. 4.
128 *Nationalism Today*, no. 5.
129 The *Mail on Sunday*, 21 July 1985. Serena Depisa, another Italian militant, lived with the group before being arrested and imprisoned whilst fighting deportation to Italy. In September 1982, police also arrested Luciano Petrone, a bank robber wanted for murdering two policemen, who was secretly living in London with his English girlfriend. He was extradited to Italy to serve a long jail sentence. Ray Hill with Andrew Bell, *The Other Face of Terror: Inside Europe's Neo-Nazi Network* (London: Grafton, 1988), pp. 190–193 highlights Petrone's closeness to the London NAR group.
130 Richard Drake, *The Revolutionary Mystique and Terrorism in Contemporary Italy* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989), p. 115.
131 CIA, *Terrorism Review*, 26 May 1983 available at www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP84–00893R000100170001–2.pdf (accessed 23 January 2017).
132 *Nationalism Today*, no. 46.
133 Larry O'Hara, 'Notes from the Underground: British Fascism, 1974–92. Part 2', *Lobster*, no. 24, December 1992.
134 *Nationalism Today*, no. 47, 1987.
135 For the NF position, see *National Front News*, no. 28, November–December 1980.
136 Nick Griffin interview, *The Lost Race*, BBC 2, 24 March 1999.
137 Pearce, *Race with the Devil*, p. 114.
138 *Voice of St. George*, no. 17, n.d.
139 TNA HO 306/269, the files relating to the Italian extradition request for Roberto Fiore, Marcello di Angelis, Stefano Tiraboschi and Massimo Morsello, remain classified.
140 The *Guardian*, 29 February 2009.
141 *Nationalism Today*, no. 46.
142 For broader context, see Anna Cento Bull, *Italian Neofascism: The Strategy of Tension and the Politics of Nonreconciliation* (New York: Berghahn, 2007).

143 *Nationalism Today*, no. 34. *Nationalism Today*, no. 63, February 1985 blamed the bombing on the Italian security services, alleging they had orchestrated it to deflect public attention from the P2 Masonic scandal, 'an organization to which many top secret servicemen belonged.'
144 *Nationalism Today*, no. 40.
145 *Nationalism Today*, no. 18.
146 *Nationalism Today*, no. 33, September 1985. 'Terrorism? – No Thanks', declared *National Front News*, no. 68, July 1985. Its condemnation was ambiguous, however:

> If *all* avenues for political expression are closed, direct action against tyrants is the right and duty of an oppressed nation, but there can never be justification for *indiscriminate* [my emphasis] bombing and terror – whether on the scale of Coventry and Dresden, or Bologna railway station.

For the time being, however, 'there is wide scope for legal and peaceful activity.'
147 *Nationalism Today*, no. 47, 1987.
148 *Nationalism Today*, no. 40, 1986.
149 Drake, *The Revolutionary Mystique*; and Paul Furlong, *Social and Political Thought of Julius Evola* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011).
150 *Rising*, no. 1, 1982.
151 *Rising* no. 2, 1982.
152 *Rising*, no. 3, 1983 and no. 4, 1983. *Rising*, no. 5, summer 1985 suggested imminent publication. Troy Southgate, email to the author, 27 February 2013 suggests the *Rising* group only had access to a 'partial translation' of *The Aryan Doctrine of Fight and Victory.*
153 Tradition and Revolution forum, http://traditionandrevolution.freeforums.org/the-influence-of-baron-evola-in-the-english-speaking-world-t3228.html (accessed 18 November 2009). Evola's ideas were also discussed contemporaneously in *The Scorpion*, no. 6, winter/spring 1984; *The Scorpion*, no. 7, summer 1984; *The Scorpion*, no. 8, spring 1985; and *The Scorpion*, spring 1986, for instance.
154 Jonathan Bowden, *Collected Works, vol. 4* (London: Avant-Garde Publishing, 1995), p. 358.
155 *Nationalism Today*, no. 42; and *Rising*, no. 4, 1983, which promised a translation and critique of Freda's book. In 2001, three fascist militants were jailed, though later acquitted, for the bombing. The *Guardian*, 2 July 2001 recorded that the court in this new trial appeared to recognise that Freda and another fascist, Giovanni Ventura, who had previously been tried and acquitted for the bombing, 'were parties to the plot'. They could not be tried a second time for the same offence, however.
156 *Nationalism Today*, no. 26; and *Nationalism Today*, no. 40.
157 Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, *For My Legionaries* [*The Iron Guard*] (Madrid: Editura 'Libertatea', 1976).
158 Radu Ioanid, 'The Sacralised politics of the Romanian Iron Guard', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 5, no. 3, 2004, pp. 419–453.
159 Stephen Fischer-Galati, 'Codreanu, Romanian National Traditions and Charisma', in António Costa Pinto, Roger Eatwell and Stein Ugelvik Larsen (eds), *Charisma and Fascism in Interwar Europe* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), pp. 107–113.
160 Eugen Weber, 'Romania', in Hans Rogger and Eugen Weber (eds), *The European Right: A Historical Profile* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1965), pp. 524, 527 and 570. Michael Mann, *Fascists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 269 similarly observes the Iron Guard 'resembled a church'.
161 Raffaello Pantucci, *'We Love Death as You Love Life': Britain's Suburban Terrorists* (London: Hurst, 2015).
162 This narrative of sacrifice and martyrdom was reinforced through sales of Dumitru Bacu's *The Anti-Humans* (Englewood, CO: Soldiers of the Cross, 1971), detailing the suffering and privation experienced by Romanians imprisoned by the Soviets after the Second World War.
163 Franco Ferraresi, *Threats to Democracy: The Radical Right in Italy after the War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 168.
164 *Legion* (Rising Press/Nationalist Books, n.d.).
165 Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, *The Nest Leader's Manual* (Madrid: Editura 'Libertatea', 1987), p. viv.
166 *New Nation*, no. 7, summer 1985. *Liberty Bell*, vol. 13, no. 4, December 1985 reprinted the interview for an American audience. It is also online, a testimony to its continued inspiration:

'Jianu Dianieleau gives an Insight into the Pre-War Rumanian Nationalist Movement', *Iron Guard*, http://miscarea.net/iron-guard.html (accessed 24 February 2016).

167 'Romania', *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum', www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005472_Romania (accessed 21 April 2015).

168 TNA FO 950/266; and TNA FO 950/97.

169 *Rising*, no. 4, 1983.

170 *Nationalism Today*, no. 18.

171 *Candour*, vol. 35, nos 2 and 3, February–March 1984.

172 *Candour*, vol. 45, nos 9, 10 and11, September, October and November 1993.

173 Pearce, *Race with the Devil*, p. 114. De Bounevialle later placed her property in trust. Fiore was one trustee. NF activist Colin Todd, *Candour*'s current editor, was another. De Bounevialle became actively involved in the ITP towards the end of her life and was 'proud to help a cause which she saw as true to her beliefs and which brought a new, younger generation to Forest House.' When she died in 1999, ITP activists, including Fiore, provided 'a phalanx of smartly presented coffin bearers to take her to the graveside,' see *Candour*, vol. 73, no. 1, July 2000; and *Voice of St. George*, no. 20, n.d. [2000].

174 *Heritage and Destiny*, no. 1, spring 1980.

175 *The Scorpion*, no. 4, spring 1983; and Michael Walker, Podcast No. 210, *Counter-Currents Publishing*, January 2018, www.counter-currents.com/2018/01/counter-currents-radio-weekly-interview-with-michael-walker/ (accessed 20 March 2018).

176 *The Scorpion*, no. 9, autumn 1986.

177 For criticism of Italy's MSI and Spain's Fuerza Nueva as 'reactionary', see *Nationalism Today*, no. 13.

178 'French "New Right" Philosopher Alain de Benoist on America', *French Dissidents*, 20 February 2012, http://frenchdissidents.wordpress.com/2012/02/20/french-new-right-philosopher-alain-de-benoist-on-america-2/ (accessed 9 April 2014).

179 Tamir Bar-On, *Where have all the Fascists Gone?* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 142 and 144.

180 Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism and the Politics of Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), pp. 68–70. *The Scorpion*, no. 6, winter–spring 1984 featured an introduction to Evola's life and work by 'Mario Aprile'. *Searchlight*, no. 110, August 1984 suggests this was Fiore's pseudonym.

181 Michael Walker, Podcast No. 210, *Counter-Currents Publishing*, January 2018, www.counter-currents.com/2018/01/counter-currents-radio-weekly-interview-with-michael-walker/ (accessed 20 March 2018); and also Nigel Copsey, '*Au Revoir* to "Sacred Cows"? Assessing the Impact of the *Nouvelle Droite* in Britain', *Democracy and Security*, vol. 9, no. 3, 2013, pp. 287–303.

182 *Identity*, no. 53, March 2005.

183 *Searchlight*, no. 99, September 1983.

184 *Nationalism Today*, no. 22. The Heritage Group was an adjunct to the NF Nationalist Education Group, founded in March 1985 by NF activist Eddy Butler, see *National Front News*, no. 66, May 1985; *Nationalism Today*, no. 31, July 1985; and *Nationalism Today*, no. 36, February 1986. After a Heritage Group visit to Bosworth Field, where Richard III died in August 1485, Griffin penned a defence of the monarch. 'The blackening of this brave man's name by artists, playwrights and historians goes to show that the 20th century is not the only one to have been duped by a propaganda hoax.'

185 Pearce, *Race with the Devil*, p. 73.

186 Brady was previously an NF member but joined the NP during the 1976 split.

187 *NA Bulletin*, May 1980; *NA Bulletin*, June 1980; and *NA Bulletin*, September 1980.

188 *NA Bulletin,* October 1980.

189 *Nationalism Today*, no. 4; *Nationalism Today*, no. 5; and *Nationalism Today*, no. 7.

190 *Nationalism Today*, no. 4.

191 *National Front News*, no. 28, November–December 1980.

192 *National Front News*, no. 34, July 1981.

193 *Nationalism Today*, no. 17.

194 The *Croydon Patriot*, no. 1, September 1981. During this period, racist literature circulated in Sutton and Croydon bearing the imprint of the 'White Defence Force', see *The Times*, 23 September 1981.

195 The *Guardian*, 10 October 1981.

196 *National Front News*, no. 36, October 1981.
197 *National Front Members' Bulletin*, autumn 1983; and *National Front News*, no. 51, November 1983. See also Thomas Linehan, 'Cultures of Space: Spatialising the National Front', in Nigel Copsey and John E. Richardson (eds), *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), pp. 49–67.
198 *National Front News*, no. 37, December 1981. An NFCM candidate polled 111 votes (0.3 per cent) splitting Griffin's potential vote.
199 *National Front News*, no. 24, July 1980; and *National Front News*, no. 32, May 1981.
200 Pearce, *Race with the Devil*, p. 63.
201 *NF Members' Bulletin*, spring 1982. During one protest, Martin Webster led a group of NF activists in barracking the Home Secretary, William Whitelaw, about Pearce. One activist threw a smoke bomb towards Whitelaw. Webster received a one-month jail sentence, suspended for two years with £500 costs, see *The Times*, 20 October 1982. He appealed but the court increased his sentence to three months, suspended for one year, with £1,250 costs in addition to the original £500, see *The Times*, 19 February 1983.
202 *Nationalism Today*, no. 8, 1982.
203 'Helping to Keep our Feet on the Ground', *Martin Wingfield blog*, 8 April 2009, http://martinwingfield.blogspot.com/2009/04/i.html (accessed 1 June 2015).
204 Joe Pearce, *Fight for Freedom* (Croydon: Nationalist Books, 1984), pp. 3–5.
205 *Nationalism Today*, no. 11.
206 *Nationalism Today*, no. 15.
207 *Nationalism Today*, no. 11.
208 *Nationalism Today*, no. 15 – 'Victory to Palestine! Israel – The Hate State' supplement.
209 *Nationalism Today*, no. 10.
210 *Nationalism Today*, no. 12.
211 *Nationalism Today*, no. 17. Other authors were Ian Anderson, Martin Webster, Philip Gegan and Joe Pearce.
212 National Front, *Let Britain Live* (London: National Front, 1983).
213 Thomas Finnegan, the Conservative Party candidate (Stockton South) in the 1983 general election had previously stood as an NF candidate in both 1974 general elections but left in the following year after becoming 'disillusioned'. His past associations exposed, Finnegan publicly denounced the 'totally wrong-minded and repugnant' policies of the NF, see 'Statement made by Mr. Finnegan, Stockton South, 25 May 1983' in THCR 2/7/3/40 f41, Thatcher MSS, Churchill Archive Centre, Churchill College, Cambridge. Margaret Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years* (London: Harper Collins, 1993), p. 296 dismissed the episode as a 'peripheral embarrassment' to the party.
214 *National Front News*, no. 48, July 1983. The BNP stood fifty-four candidates who averaged 0.5 per cent.
215 Martin Webster, memo to Andrew Brons, 26 September 1983 in NF Directorate correspondence, MSS 321/3, Patrick Harrington papers, Modern Records Centre, Warwick University.
216 *Spearhead*, no. 183, January 1984.
217 *National Front News*, no. 53, February 1984.
218 Richard Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998), p. 260.
219 Cabinet Interdepartmental Group on Subversion in Public Life, 21 August 1985 in TNA CAB 301/485.
220 *NF Organisers' Bulletin*, no. 20, 2 November 1984. *Heritage and Destiny*, no. 34, October–December 2008 stated that Directorate member Roger Denny heckled Webster with the words 'this is the National Front, not the Gay Front' at the NF EGM, which confirmed his expulsion and that of his partner, Martin Salt.
221 The *Mail on Sunday*, 21 July 1985.
222 *Time Out*, 23–29 January 1986.
223 *Ibid*.
224 'Derek Holland Interview with Swedish Radio', YouTube, www.youtube.com/watch?v=VAoztg8KxaE (accessed 1 February 2018).
225 *Liberty Bell*, vol. 13, no. 3, November 1985 published it in full. *The Political Soldier* has been translated into numerous languages, most recently Polish *Polityczny Żołnierz* (1999); Swedish *Den Politiske Soldaten* (2015); and French *Le Soldat politique* (2016). It was also the central

text for *Winds of Change: Notes for the Reconquista* (Brussels: AFP, 2016), pp. 45–70, a collection of extreme right-wing essays simultaneously translated into German as *Zeiten des Wandels: Beiträge zur Reconquista* (2017).

226 *Nationalism Today*, no. 26. Holland used the same words about the Iron Guard in *Rising* no. 5.
227 *Ibid.*
228 *Nationalism Today*, no. 32, August 1985.
229 *Nationalism Today*, no. 24, September 1984. 'The Political Soldier', in *Nationalism Today*, no. 26, February 1986 also lauded Graham Gilmore, a Hammersmith and Fulham NF activist who fought against African 'communist' insurgents in Rhodesia and South Africa.
230 Otto Skorzeny, *My Commando Operations* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer, 1995), p. 37.
231 *The Times*, 4 March 1981.
232 Sir David McNee, *McNee's Law* (London: Collins, 1983), p. 99.
233 *Nationalism Today*, no. 5. Not everyone agreed, see *Nationalism Today*, no. 10.
234 *Sussex Front*, no. 14, January 1982.
235 *Nationalism Today*, no. 9, April 1982.
236 *Nationalism Today*, no. 20.
237 Matthew Worley, 'Shot by Both Sides: Punk, Politics and the End of "Consensus"', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 26, no. 3, 2012, pp. 233–354; and Matthew Worley, 'Oi! Oi! Oi!: Class, Locality and British Punk', *Twentieth Century British History*, vol. 24, no. 4, 2013, pp. 606–636.
238 Matthew Worley and Nigel Copsey, 'White Youth: The Far Right, Punk and British Youth Culture, 1977–87', *JOMEC Journal*, no. 9, 2016, p. 42.
239 *Nationalism Today*, no. 20.
240 *Bulldog*, no. 33, May 1983; and *National Front News*, no. 47, May 1983.
241 *Skrewdriver Songbook* (A-Press: BSJ, 1997) contains its lyrics.
242 Shaffer, *Music, Youth and International Links in Post-War British Fascism*, p. 89.
243 Paul London, *Ian Stuart: Nazi Rock Star* (Göteborg: Midgård, 2002), p. 52.
244 *The Chairman's Bulletin*, no. 1, spring 1984; *National Front News*, no. 64, March 1985; and *National Front News*, no. 65, April 1985.
245 For a transcript and commentary upon video footage of the renovation, which attacks Griffin's apparently cavalier attitude towards health and safety, particularly with regards removing asbestos from the property, see [Martin Webster], *Nick Griffin's 'Community Centre Project'* (2005).
246 *Skrewdriver – Live in Suffolk, England, 1984: Classic British RAC, Vol. 4* (DVD: NS88); and *National Front News*, no. 61, November 1984. The Belfast skinhead band, Offensive Weapon, were also on the bill. Johnny Adair, who had previously 'helped' organise the NF march through Belfast in September 1983, was the frontman. Adair was fined for his involvement in 'heavy fighting' after a Skrewdriver gig in London a few months later. 'Infatuated' with the racist skinhead movement, Adair travelled to London to watch Skrewdriver play several times. He subsequently achieved infamy as leader of the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF), the Loyalist paramilitary group, which, together with the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) was responsible for murdering over 250 Catholics. Adair became the first person in Northern Ireland to be convicted of 'directing terrorism', see Johnny Adair, *Mad Dog* (London: John Blake, 2009), pp. 21–22; and David Lister and Hugh Jordan, *Mad Dog: The Rise and Fall of Johnny Adair and 'C Company'* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2003), pp. 26–32.
247 Skrewdriver, *Blood & Honour* (Rock-O-Rama: RCD 105 1985).
248 *White Noise*, no. 1. Shaffer, *Music, Youth and International Links in Post-War British Fascism*, p. 117 notes, at its peak, *White Noise*'s circulation reached 5,000.
249 *Nationalism Today*, no. 9, April 1982.
250 *National Front News*, no. 60, October 1984; and *No to Cruise! No to CND!* (1984).
251 *The Scorpion*, no. 7, summer 1984.
252 *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 1 May 1984; and *NF Members' Bulletin*, June 1984.
253 *Instauration*, vol. 10, no. 8, July 1985.
254 Griffin assisted Brons editing *New Nation* from Issue 5 (spring 1984). He assumed editorship from Issue 7 (summer 1985). The publication folded shortly afterwards.
255 *The Times*, 11 April 1985. *National Front News*, no. 20, March 1980 contains a short profile of Anderson.
256 *Instauration*, vol. 10, no. 8, July 1985.

257 *Ibid.*
258 *Nationalism Today*, no. 29, no date but 1985.
259 *The Rune*, no. 12, 1996.
260 *Nationalism Today*, no. 31, July 1985. *The Crusader*, no. 18, January 1977 had announced Metzger's appointment as the California organiser or 'Grand Titan' for David Duke's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. James Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1995), pp. 188–190 notes that although Metzger had respect for the NF, he also claimed, 'they're too wrapped up in the Queen. That Queen worship stuff. I've told those people they've got to become working-class revolutionary types and damn the Queen just like the left does, but do it from an honest position.'
261 *League Review*, no. 36, December 1981; and *National Review*, no. 44, winter 1985.
262 Shaffer, *Music, Youth and International Links in Post-War British Fascism*, 133. *Searchlight*, no. 165, March 1989 states Hoy was on the production team for *The Scorpion*. Hoy, described as a freelance photojournalist and contributor to the *Washington Star*, had previously authored a chapter for Robert W. Whitaker (ed.), *The New Right Papers* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1982), pp. 84–103. *Searchlight*, no. 178, April 1990 described him as the NF's 'man in the USA'. His work also graced the pages of *The Spotlight*, organ of Willis Carto's Liberty Lobby, as a photo-essay introducing British skinhead culture to the US extreme right. *Advocate Bulletin*, vol. 2, no. 3, March 1988 notes Hoy's involvement with the David Duke Campaign.
263 *NA Bulletin*, February 1985; and *NA Bulletin*, March 1985.
264 *Our Plan for a New America: Objectives of the National Democratic Front* and *White Revolution: The Only Solution* in FBI file 100A-RH-12274. The NDF supported the White Patriot Party (WPP), a paramilitary group that emerged from the Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in 1985. The two organisations enjoyed 'close ties', noted the FBI. *Searchlight*, no. 265, January 1997 states Griffin had 'dealings' with WPP leader (Frazier) Glenn Miller who rebranded his organisation as the Southern National Front (SNF) in October 1986. When SNF folded in the following year, the NDF absorbed its membership. A vituperative anti-Semite, Miller murdered three people he believed to be Jewish – they were not – in Kansas in April 2014. He received a death sentence.
265 Shaffer, *Music, Youth and International Links in Post-War British Fascism*, p. 133.
266 *Instauration*, vol. 10, no. 8, July 1985.
267 *Nationalism Today*, no. 30, June 1985; and *Nationalism Today*, no. 31, July 1985. For Gallo's account of his 'inspirational trip', see *The Nationalist*, vol. 2, no. 1, January 1986. See also *Searchlight*, no. 122, August 1985.
268 *The Nationalist*, vol. 2, no. 2, February 1986; and *The Nationalist*, vol. 2, no. 4, May 1986. See also *Ideas for the Future: An Interview with Derek Holland of the National Front* (Arlington, VA: Friends of the Movement, 1987). Malone began editing *Third Way* after visiting the NF in 1987. The 'political soldiers' later broke with Gallo, *Nationalism Today*, no. 44, denounced him as a 'militarist'. Tyndall subsequently reprinted an article from Gallo's journal *The Nationalist* in *Spearhead*, no. 241, March 1989 further highlighting the breach.
269 *Instauration*, vol. 10, no. 8, July 1985.
270 *National Front News*, no. 68, July 1985 contained a notice of congratulations. *Nationalism Today*, no. 7 lists her as a 'contributor'. *Nationalism Today*, no. 33, September 1985 contains 'Women in the Front', in which she argued that female activists needed to increase their involvement. 'Surely a WHITE future is worth it??' she asked. She later contributed to *The Patriot*, no. 4, spring 1999 urging 'a more caring face for the BNP' as part of the push to have her husband elected BNP chairman.
271 Pearce, *Race with the Devil*, p. 76.
272 'Griffin: My "Armed Gang" Mate Roberto Fiore – BNP Leader', Dominic Carman YouTube channel, 31 January 2010, www.youtube.com/user/dominiccarman67#p/u/5/si8O3zVk5M8 (accessed 31 January 2010).
273 Les Back, 'Guess Who's Coming to Dinner? Investigating Whiteness in the Gray Zone', in Vron Ware and Les Back (eds), *Out of Whiteness: Colour, Politics and Culture* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 55.
274 *New Nation*, no. 1, summer 1980.
275 *Nationalism Today*, no. 30, June 1985. This was not an isolated occurrence. *Nationalism Today*, no. 7, regaled readers with an anti-Semitic parody of Holocaust survivor testimony through a

review of a fictitious book called *Even the Dead Were Killed* whilst *Nationalism Today*, no. 8, mocked *The Diary of Anne Frank* in another crude anti-Semitic spoof titled *The Diary of Rebecca Iceberg.* Later issues of *Nationalism Today*, no. 38, April 1986 also advertised *The Six Million Reconsidered*, *Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?* and *The Hoax of the 20th Century.*

276 *Nationalism Today*, no. 32. This appears was part of an increasing trend towards prosecution. *Time Out*, 23–29 January 1986 stated eighteen 'nationalists' had been charged under Section 5A of the Race Relations Act.

277 *NF Members' Bulletin*, summer 1985; and *National Front News*, no. 69 August 1985.

278 *New Nation*, no. 4, autumn 1983. NF hostility to the state was reflecting in the prohibition against its activists talking to the police 'except to co-operate when arranging specific public Party activities', whilst Special Branch, Griffin observed in *Nationalism Today*, no. 27, March 1985, 'is, and will remain, one of the deadliest enemies of the National Front.' Griffin rejected terrorism as an option, however, arguing in *Nationalism Today*, no. 33 that: 'Such enormous powers of surveillance and control on the part of the State push dissident activity inexorably in one direction and one direction alone: legitimate political activity.'

279 *New Nation*, no. 4, autumn 1983. *Nationalism Today*, no. 5 lists South London NF activist Jim Sneath as MPLDAF organiser and Bill Neary as treasurer. *Nationalism Today*, no. 17 claims it had raised £1,000.

280 *NF Members' Bulletin*, no. 4, 1985. *Nationalism Today*, no. 28, April 1985 records that *Marching On with the National Front: For Albert Marriner and the Future of Britain* (1985) was not just a 'memorial' for the Tower Hamlets NF activist, who had died in May 1983, several days after apparently being struck on the head with a brick at a Tottenham NF meeting; it was also 'a source of funds for the Association'. *Nationalism Today*, no. 41 (*c*.1987) listed seven 'political prisoners'.

281 *National Front News*, no. 72, November 1985. Wingfield joined the NF in 1975, becoming a party functionary in 1977. He edited *Sussex Front*, a regional NF publication from 1979 before taking over as editor of *National Front News* and becoming a full-time party worker in 1983, following Webster's dismissal.

282 *Nationalism Today*, no. 39, 1986.

283 Griffin and Holland ran 'Gandalf Graphics' (its name an homage to J.R.R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* trilogy), a typesetting and page make-up company. Gandalf Graphics received a grant of £4,000 by the Manpower Services Commission, a government scheme to assist small businesses. This breached its guidelines, forbidding political involvement by recipients, see the *Guardian*, 17 October 1985 and the *Guardian*, 8 July 1986. 'East Suffolk Press', which produced *National Front News*, *Nationalism Today* and *New Dawn*, operated from nearby Halesworth.

284 *NF Members' Bulletin*, summer 1985.

285 *NF Members' Bulletin*, no. 4, 1985; *Nationalism Today*, no. 32; and *Nationalism Today*, no. 36.

286 *Nationalism Today*, no. 39, 1986.

287 Channel 4 Television, *Dispatches: The Disciples of Chaos* (1988).

288 *National Front News*, no. 72, November 1985.

289 *National Front News*, no. 71, October 1985. The case file TNA DPP 2/7144 is closed until 2066.

290 *Nationalism Today*, no. 41, September 1987.

291 Shaffer, *Music, Youth and International Links in Post-War British Fascism*, p. 104.

292 *New Dawn* also promoted several 'futurist' bands, Final Sound and Above the Ruins – the latter a conscious nod towards Julius Evola – which, *New Dawn* noted, 'are trying to do something different within the Nationalist Music scene. They deserve to be supported.'

293 *National Front News*, no. 74, January 1986.

294 *Nationalism Today*, no. 37, March 1986.

295 Joe Pearce, *Skrewdriver: The First Ten Years – The Way It's Got to Be* (London: Skrewdriver Services, 1987).

296 For the definitive overview, see James Loughlin, *Fascism and Constitutional Conflict: The British Extreme-Right and Ulster in the Twentieth Century* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019).

297 *Nationalism Today*, no. 37.

298 *Nationalism Today*, no. 16.

299 Steve Bruce, *The Red Hand: Protestant Paramilitaries in Northern Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 153. Henry McDonald and Jim Cusack, *UDA: Inside the Heart of*

Loyalist Terror (London: Penguin, 2004), pp. 109–110 and 167–172 states the UDA met with fascists largely for the purpose of obtaining guns and money, but opposed their racist politics. '[Andy] Tyrie and the rest of the UDA leadership were implacably opposed to the political standpoint of the fascists,' they note. 'On one occasion when the National Front sent a delegation to Belfast, Tyrie detailed Louis Scott, a Shankill Road UDA man of mixed-race parentage to meet them.' Jim Cusack and Henry McDonald, *UVF* (Dublin: Poolbeg, 1997), pp. 217–220 observes that in 1980 the UVF, seeking weapons, held discussions with the Belgian Vlaamse Militanten Orde (VMO – Flemish Militants Order), which, ironically, had previously supported Irish Republicanism. The VMO offered guns and explosives in return for the UVF attacking Jewish targets. The UVF leadership declined. Personal relationships between individual NF militants and Loyalist terrorists existed, however, for example, Tony Simms, *Match Day: Ulster Loyalism and the British Far-Right* (No publisher: 2016).

300 Christopher Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm: The Authorized History of MI5* (London: Penguin, 2010), p. 738. For further detail, see Frank Portinari, *Left-Right-Loyalist* (London: No publisher, 2016).

301 *Bulldog*, no. 39, 1984.

302 Martin Durham, 'The British Extreme Right and Northern Ireland', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 26, no. 2, June 2012, pp. 195–211; and James W. McAuley, 'Ulster Loyalism and Extreme Right Wing Politics' in Max Taylor, P.M. Currie and Donald Holbrook (eds), *Extreme Right-Wing Political Violence and Terrorism* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 85–103. Shaun McDaid, *Template for Peace, Northern Ireland, 1972–75* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 10–11 notes that elements within the 1970s Ulster Vanguard movement countenanced an independent Ulster, as indeed did some within the UVF and UDA but it was never a widely held aspiration.

303 *National Front News*, no. 73, December 1985.

304 *National Front News*, no. 75.

305 See 'Behind the Smear', British National Party, www.bnp.net/cook1.html (accessed 3 May 1998).

306 Christopher Farrington, *Ulster Unionism and the Peace Process in Northern Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006).

307 *Nationalism Today*, no. 37, March 1986.

308 See 'Behind the Smear', British National Party. *Identity*, no. 13, September 2001 records that McLorie subsequently became Ulster BNP organiser.

309 *New Dawn*, no. 3.

310 The *Guardian*, 14 March 1986 reported the jailing of two leaders of a Glaswegian UVF cell who ran a 'gun kitty' into which members paid money to buy firearms for Loyalist terrorists. NF supporter David Seawright was one of five men charged with conspiracy, though in his case the charge was 'not proven'. *An Introduction to the National Front* (Worthing: NF, 1988), p. 20 subsequently listed Seawright, as 'organising the National Front in Scotland'. His brother, DUP politician George Seawright, a member of the Ulster Assembly and Belfast Council, also supported the NF, giving an interview to *Nationalism Today*, no. 18. The NF welcomed his support though, as James Loughlin, *Fascism and Constitutional Conflict*, p. 250 notes, sought to distance themselves from his violent sectarianism. Irish Republicans murdered George Seawright in 1987. The UVF admitted he was a member in 2006, see '"Burn Catholics" Man was in UVF', BBC News, 23 August 2006, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/northern_ireland/5279276.stm (accessed 10 May 2015). Extreme right support endured. *True Brit*, no. 5, December 1997 memorialised Seawright on its cover – 'The Fight Goes On' – on the tenth anniversary of his murder.

311 'Behind the Smear', British National Party. *Today*, 15 July 1986 reproduced in *Searchlight*, no. 134, August 1986.

312 *Nationalism Today*, no. 37. In *National Front News*, no. 92, 1 July 1987 Griffin subsequently explained that the political soldiers had invested themselves in campaigning for an independent Ulster because:

> If one of the British nations can be wrested from the grip of the American/Zionist/Capitalist axis, then the liberation of the rest will not be far behind. And when Britain awakes, Europe's long drugged sleep will be at an end. Ulster is where it will begin.

For a further insight, see *A Nation in Struggle: A Photo-Study* (Cardiff: Cardiff NF, 1987).

313 'Behind the Smear', British National Party; and *Nationalism Today Subscribers' Bulletin*, April 1986.
314 *Nationalism Today*, no. 39.
315 David Kerr, 'The History of the National Front in Ulster', *Civil Liberty,* www.civilliberty.org.uk/resources/nf_ulster.html (accessed 23 April 2015). *Heritage and Destiny*, no. 35, January–March 2009 makes the point about the evolution of UDA politics.
316 *Searchlight*, no. 141, March 1987; and *Searchlight*, no. 142, April 1987.
317 Loughlin, *Fascism and Constitutional Conflict*, p. 276.
318 *Nationalism Today*, no. 22.
319 Yann Fouéré, *Towards a Federal Europe: Nations or States?* (Swansea: Christopher Davies, 1980). Many of these Breton autonomists, from whom the NF derived their ideas on regional nationalism, had collaborated with the Vichy regime during the Second World War. Fouéré, who fled trial in March 1946 and was subsequently sentenced *in absentia* to a life term in prison for his collaborationist activities, lived in exile in Wales and Ireland, on which, see Daniel Leach, *Fugitive Ireland: European Minority Nationalists and Irish Political Asylum, 1937–2008* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), pp. 81–88.
320 Richard Lawson reviewed the book in *The Scorpion*, no. 9, spring 1986. *The Scorpion*, no. 12, winter 1988–1989 was devoted to the theme 'For Europe of a Hundred Flags'. This also became the title of the third Scorpion/IONA conference on 24 October 1988, which Fouéré attended.
321 National Front, 1984 Annual General Meeting – 'list of motions'.
322 *Nationalism Today*, no. 35, November–December 1985 and Richard Wyn Jones, *The Fascist Party in Wales? Plaid Cymru, Welsh Nationalism and the Accusation of Fascism* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), pp. 28–29, 42–43, 46 and 87.
323 *The Times*, 29 March 1989.
324 Alberto Spektorowski, 'Ethnoregionalism: The Intellectual New Right and the Lega Nord', *Global Review of Ethnopolitics*, vol. 2, no. 3, 2003, pp. 55–70 makes a similar point.
325 The *Guardian*, 3 August 2009. Griffin's stance represented an evolution in the view expressed eight years previously in *Identity*, no. 5, January 2001 that 'there can never be such a thing as "Black British" '.
326 *Spearhead*, no. 269, July 1991. Liverpool BNP chairman, David Collingwood, sent Ulster NF an abusive letter, reprinted in *Ulster Nation*, no. 3 [no. date], stating:

> Do you really believe in loving niggers and arabs your [sic] going to obtain power. If your [*sic*] got any sense what so ever you'll become a proper Ulsterman, instead of mixing with the crap in London ie 'Holland' and 'Pat Harrington', both communist. Take my tip go back to glue sniffing.

Ulster Nation dismissed the BNP as 'a reactionary band of Hitlerites, race-haters and imperialists.'
327 *Spearhead*, no. 274, December 1991. For a broader discussion, see David Irwin, '"Dire Deeds Awake, Dark is it Eastward": Citizenship and Devolution, and the British National Party', in John Wilson and Karyn Stapleton (eds), *Devolution and Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 173–182.
328 'Behind the Smear', British National Party.
329 The *Guardian*, 23 March 1986.
330 For more detail on the split, see Larry O'Hara, 'The 1986 National Front Split', *Lobster*, no. 29, July 1995.
331 *NF Organisers' Bulletin*, 9 May 1986 cited in Lawrence Michael O'Hara, 'Creating Political Soldiers: The National Front, 1986–1990' (Unpublished PhD thesis), p. 229.
332 'Softly … Softly, it's Shahid Malik', Martin Wingfield, 12 May 2009, http://martinwingfield.blogspot.co.uk/2009/05/softly-softly-its-shahid-malik.html (accessed 26 May 2015).
333 Pearce became disillusioned, dropping out of the NF and converting to Catholicism. Reinventing himself 'Joseph' Pearce, he moved to the United States, becoming a lecturer at Ave Maria University, writing several biographies of notable Catholic literary figures including Chesterton and Belloc. His 'mentor' in the conversion process had been Aidan Mackey, a former devotee of A.K. Chesterton and a leading authority on his second cousin, G.K. Chesterton, of whom Pearce wrote a biography, which skated over his anti-Semitism. He co-edited another book, *In Defence of Sanity: The Best Essays of G.K. Chesterton* (2011) with, amongst others, Mackey.

334 [Nick Griffin], *Attempted Murder: The State/Reactionary Plot against the NF* (Norwich: N.T. Press, 1986). Though he didn't believe it invalidated his portrayal of the division, Griffin later conceded that what was missing from the pamphlet, 'was an understanding of the contributing damage done by bad leadership decisions and attitudes on the "radical" side – not least my own. Equally unknown were the extremely manipulative nature and dishonesty of at least one of my allies,' see 'Behind the Smear', British National Party.

335 See 'Helping to Keep our Feet on the Ground', Martin Wingfield, 8 April 2009, http://martinwingfield.blogspot.com/2009/04/i.html (accessed 12 September 2011). Budden's racist effusions were particularly noxious. *Sussex Front*, no. 24, November 1983, edited by Wingfield, saw Budden attacking slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King as the 'reverend sootball' murdered by a 'pest exterminator'. He went on to lambast 'liberals' for accepting 'black savages in clerical collars whose negrified version of Christianity is diluted with obscene ritual and whose translation of Christ's message is, "Suffer little children to come unto me – I'm feeling peckish."' Griffin's objection to Budden proved transitory, however. When Budden fell out with Ian Anderson in 1996 and stopped writing for *The Flag*, he offered to write for *Spearhead* and *British Nationalist*, 'and will be taken up on this', noted Nick Griffin to Wayne Ashcroft, November–December 1996 in MSS 412/WA/3/1, Ashcroft papers.

336 Pearce, *Race with the Devil*, p. 188.

337 *'Attempted Murder' – Absolute Insanity – NFSG Newsletter* (1986).

338 *Vanguard*, no. 1, August 1986; Joe Pearce, *Nationalist Doctrine* (London: Freedom Books, 1987); and Steve Brady, *The Roots of the British: A Study of the Origins and Development of the British People* (Worthing: NF, 1990). *Vanguard*, no. 7, April 1987 reasserted the 'scientific' position on race.

339 *Vanguard*, no. 1, August 1986; and *Vanguard*, no. 15, January 1988.

340 *Vanguard*, no. 4, December 1986; and *Vanguard*, no. 6, February 1987.

341 *Spearhead*, no. 214, December 1986. This echoed an earlier, mocking critique of NF 'ruralism' in *Spearhead*, no. 190, August 1984, which conjured:

> the image of NF skinheads skipping down our country lanes each with a shovel under one arm and a copy of 'Skrewdriver's' latest record under the other, whilst happily chewing a piece of straw (a pleasant change from sniffing glue, don't you think?).

342 Butler joined the Hackney and Tower Hamlets BNP branch, formed in spring 1984, see *Spearhead*, no. 187, May 1984.

343 Roger Eatwell, 'The Esoteric Ideology of the National Front in the 1980s', in Mike Cronin (ed.), *The Failure of British Fascism: The Far Right and the Fight for Political Recognition* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), p. 102.

344 See 'Meeting by the Lake', Martin Wingfield, 12 December 2008, http://martinwingfield.blogspot.co.uk/2008/12/meeting-by-lake.html (accessed 12 December 2008).

345 *Nationalism Today*, no. 40.

346 *Ibid*.

347 *National Front News*, no. 78; and *National Front News*, no. 79. Two decades later, Griffin performed a U-turn arguing that to preserve as much British independence as possible 'we are probably better off allowing U.S. bases in Britain to stay, for as long as the United States agrees not to interfere in our political affairs,' see Srdja Trifkovic, 'Nick Griffin's Long March'.

348 For anti-fascist accounts of the day, see Sean Birchall, *Beating the Fascists: The Untold Story of Anti-Fascist Action* (London: Freedom Press, 2010), pp. 117–120; and K. Bullstreet, *Bash the Fash: Anti-Fascist Recollections, 1984–1993* (London: KSL, 2001), pp. 8–10.

349 *Red Action*, no. 26, September 1986.

350 *Vanguard*, no. 15, January 1988.

351 *Jewish Chronicle*, 5 June 1987.

352 The NFSG also declined to field any candidates though one, Paul Kingston, stood unofficially in Bristol East where he polled just 286 votes (0.6 per cent). The other two were BNP candidates.

353 Troy Southgate, *Nazis, Fascists, or Neither? Ideological Credentials of the British Far Right, 1987–1994* (Shamley Green: Palingensis Project: 2010), p. 44.

354 Matthew Collins, *Hate: My Life in the British Far Right* (London: Biteback, 2011), pp. 73–77.

355 *Nationalism Today*, no. 42. *Nationalism Today*, no. 30, June 1985 was the last issue to list editorial staff. Thereafter, *Nationalism Today* only listed 'Keiron Richards' as editor.

356 *Nationalism Today*, no. 46, July 1989. The *Disciples of Chaos* documentary claimed the NF 'cadre' was only 120-strong.
357 *White Noise*, no. 2, 1986; and *The Rune*, no. 12, 1996.
358 *Nationalism Today*, no. 40.
359 Bill Buford, *Among the Thugs* (London: Mandain, 1992), pp. 131–159. *Nationalism Today*, no. 1, March 1980 had advertised the 'Front Roadshow' for those inclined to hire an NF DJ for a party. Griffin's address was the point of contact.
360 *White Noise*, no. 3, 1987 notes this was the first of two proposed RAC festivals that summer. The second took place in Sweden in June.
361 *White Noise*, no. 4, 1987.
362 London, *Ian Stuart*, p. 75; and Shaffer, *Music, Youth and International Links in Post-War British Fascism*, p. 119. Metzger's *WAR*, vol. 3, no. 4, 1984 was already selling 'White Noise' cassettes.
363 White Noise Club originally operated from NF headquarters and shared the same 'BCM Noise' mailing address as 'Skrewdriver Services', see *White Noise*, no. 1, 1986 and *White Noise*, no. 3, 1987.
364 *Disciples of Chaos*, Despatches documentary, 5 October 1988.
365 *Diamond in the Dust: The Ian Stuart Biography*, states:

> Totally disgusted with the way Harrington, Griffin and Holland had gone about things with their gross dishonesty, Ian handed his letter of resignation to White Noise magazine and the National Front, with most of the other White rock bands following him.

366 Paul Jackson, 'White Warriors and Blood & Honour Magazine', 16 October 2016, https://paulnicholasjackson.wordpress.com/2016/10/16/white-warriors-and-blood-honour-magazine/ (accessed 18 October 2016).
367 *National Front News*, no. 100, January 1988.
368 *Blood & Honour*, no. 7.
369 *Welsh Leak*, no. 1, n.d. Shaffer, *Music, Youth and International Links in Post-War British Fascism*, p. 130 notes the NF disbanded WNC in February 1989.
370 *Keith Allen meets Nick Griffin*, Channel 4 documentary, 5 March 2012.
371 @ NickGriffinBU , Twitter, 25 September 2018, https://twitter.com/NickGriffinBU/status/1044508313780662273 (accessed 25 September 2018).
372 *Ideas for the Future: An Interview with Derek Holland of the National Front* (Arlington, VA: Friends of the Movement, 1987).
373 *Nationalism Today*, no. 35, November–December 1985.
374 *Nationalism Today*, no. 29, May 1985.
375 *Nationalism Today*, no. 37, March 1986.
376 Bean, *Many Shades of Black*, p. 169; and *Spearhead*, no. 48, December 1971.
377 *Nationalism Today*, no. 39.
378 *Nationalism Today*, no. 44; and *Nationalism Today*, no. 46. Mattias Gardell, *In the Name of Elijah Muhammad: Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press: 1997), p. 277 highlights that NDF leader Gary Gallo also contributed to the NOI newspaper, *Final Call* (March 1990), and had promised that his group, 'will divide the US into completely independent nations based on race.'
379 *Nationalism Today*, no. 43, April 1988. Patrick Harrington also remained in touch with these groups. Akkebala attended the October 1990 conference of his Third Way group, a small racial separatist *groupuscule* founded after the dissolution of the 'official' NF. *Third Way*, no. 4 October 1990 featured an interview with Akkebala, whilst *Third Way*, no. 7, May 1991 published a glowing review of *Black Man: Pathway to Freedom* by 'Comrade Osiris'. *Third Way*, no. 2, n.d.; *Third Way*, no. 3, August 1990; and *Third Way* no. 11, March 1992 also contained overviews of the music of Public Enemy, the politics of Malcolm X (in an article that stated he died in 'mysterious circumstances' rather than at the hands of NOI gunmen) and Black Nationalist philosophy.
380 *National Front News*, no. 102, February 1988. Anger was formerly deputy leader in Gary Gallo's NDF.
381 *Heritage and Destiny*, no. 37, July–September 2009 intimates that these alliances cost Griffin the support of several Greater Manchester area organisers.

382 *Ideas for the Future* (Arlington, VA: Friends of the Movement, 1987).
383 *National Front News*, no .93, August 1987.
384 *National Front News*, no. 27, October 1980. *National Front News*, no. 23, June 1980 notes that the party had held a march in London on 15 June under the banner 'Kick Iranian & Libyan Loonies Out of Britain!'
385 *Nationalism Today*, no. 21. One activist recalled of this period:

> I'd thought for a while that things were getting weird. But Brons and Anderson were a safe pair of hands. Then, it felt like suddenly, things went totally off the rails. We were being asked to prayer for foreign 'martyrs', to give a fuck about Palestinians and Iranians. The ayatollah and stuff like that. It was really weird – quite dark, actually. You had to check on your way out of some meetings that it had been a National Front meeting and not a Workers Revolutionary Party meeting or something like that. But at the same time, I suppose, it made us almost electric … different. Frightening? But mainly bloody weird, I suppose. They wanted us to still go out and fight in the streets, but to martyr ourselves while doing it. For someone off a council estate in Forest Gate who had never read a book in his life, not even when in prison, it was also quite exciting.

See Matthew Collins, 'The National Front at 50: Part II – Hope Not Hate Magazine', *Hope Not Hate*, 15 December 2015, www.hopenothate.org.uk/2017/12/15/national-front-50-part-ii-hope-not-hate-magazine/ (accessed 30 January 2018).
386 *Nationalism Today*, no. 30, June 1985.
387 *Nationalism Today*, no. 28, April 1985.
388 *Nationalism Today*, no. 31, July 1985.
389 *Mother Jones*, vol. 12, no. 4, May 1987, p. 45. This was not entirely new either. Mosley had once postulated that the Viet Cong were the archetypal 'Thought-Deed Man'.
390 Compare *Kayhan International*, 6 February 1988 with *National Front News*, nos 82 to 84, for example.
391 *Nationalism Today*, no. 43.
392 *Nationalism Today*, no. 39.
393 *National Front News*, no. 94, August 1987.
394 *National Front News*, 1 March 1988.
395 *Searchlight*, no. 157, July 1988; and 'Political Soldiers and the New Man: Part Two', CST, 27 April 2010, https://cst.org.uk/news/blog/2010/04/27/political-soldiers-and-the-new-man-part-two (accessed 23 November 2015).
396 CST, 'Political Soldiers and the New Man: Part Two'.
397 'Political Soldiers and the New Man: Part One', CST, 26 April 2010, https://cst.org.uk/news/blog/2010/04/26/political-soldiers-and-the-new-man-part-one (accessed 23 November 2015).
398 *Time Out*, 2–8 August 1984. *Searchlight*, no. 109, July 1984 reproduces part of a letter making such claims.
399 Conveniently forgetting this period in extreme right history, Griffin's BNP laid a wreath in her memory thirty years later, see 'Remembering Yvonne', 22 April 2014, www.bnp.org.uk/news/regional/remembering-yvonne (accessed 29 April 2015).
400 David Blundy and Andrew Lycett, *Qaddafi and the Libyan Revolution* (Boston, MA: Little Brown & Co., 1987).
401 Muammar Al Qathafi, *The Green Book* (Malaysia: World Center for Researches and Studies of the Green Book: n.d.)
402 *Nationalism Today*, no. 41; and for an earlier supportive article, see *Nationalism Today*, no. 24, September 1984.
403 *Nationalism Today*, no. 39.
404 *Ibid.*
405 *National Front News*, no. 111.
406 'We've Been Here Before: John Tyndall Compares his Expulsion with Past Events', *Spearhead*, no date, www.spearhead.co.uk/0310-jt1.html (accessed 29 April 2015); and *Spearhead*, no. 211, May 1986. The NF had evinced an interest in Libyan affairs as early as 1975, noting the formation of a Committee for the Prohibition of Usury. 'Could this move herald the beginning of another debt free monetary system outside the control of International Finance? Developments will be watched with interest,' noted *Britain First*, no. 31, August 1975.

407 'Four Jailed for Berlin Disco Bombing', BBC News, 13 November 2001, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/1653575.stm (accessed 29 April 2015).
408 *Nationalism Today*, no. 44. *Searchlight*, no. 165, 1989 stated that the political soldiers appear to have made contact with Libya in January 1987 after writing to Robert Pash, a former leader of the Aryan Nations in Australia who had converted to Islam, and who maintained links with the regime.
409 *National Front News*, no. 111.
410 *Nationalism Today*, no. 44.
411 *National Front News*, no. 111.
412 Griffin currently maintains that the CIA or Mossad were responsible for the Lockerbie attack: '#Neocon #fakenews media used the #Lockerbie tragedy as excuse for the disastrous against Libya. Now cynically recycling it as causus belli against #Iran. Truth is it was probably CIA or Mossad asset all along. #notinmyname', see @NickGriffinBU, Twitter, 30 September 2018, https://twitter.com/NickGriffinBU/status/1046318456440786944 (accessed 30 September 2018).
413 'The 38-Year Connection Between Irish Republicans and Gaddafi', BBC News, 23 February 2011, www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-12539372 (accessed 29 April 2015).
414 *Vanguard*, no. 11, August 1987. Harrington's refusal to condemn the IRA as 'terrorist' in the television documentary *Disciples of Chaos* (1988) probably did not endear him to fellow right-wing extremists.
415 Nick Griffin interview, *The Lost Race*, BBC 2, 24 March 1999. His hopes were not outlandish. Libya had funded the Toronto-based Nationalist Party of Canada, see Warren Kinsella, *Web of Hate: Inside Canada's Far Right Network* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1994), p. 55.
416 Iain Dale, *Talking Politics: Political Conversations with Iain Dale* (London: Biteback, 2010), p. 219. No reader ever checked out the copy deposited at Isleworth Library.
417 *Vanguard*, no. 14, November–December 1987. As *Vanguard*, no. 22, September 1988 warned:

> Europe must realize that the biggest threat to its survival doesn't come from the white Russians to the East or from the mainly white Americans to the West. It comes from the rising brown tide of Islam to the South.

418 *Vanguard*, no. 15, January 1988.
419 *Spearhead*, no. 336, February 1997.
420 Martin Penrose, 'Why the US Needs Something Like the BNP: Interview with Nick Griffin', *Counter-Currents Publishing*, 15 January 2011, www.counter-currents.com/2011/01/interview-with-nick-griffin/ (accessed 23 April 2015).
421 'Interview: Judaism, Culture and the Gentile World: A Conversation with Rabbi Mayer Schiller', *The Jewish Review*, vol. 3, no. 5, April 1990, www.thejewishreview.org/articles/?id=182 (accessed 23 April 2015).
422 Griffin highlighted his continued contact with Rabbi Schiller who, he stated, donated £200 to the BNP in 2001, see *Spearhead*, no. 398, April 2002.
423 *Final Conflict*, no. 11, autumn 1996 reported the ITP's subsequent efforts to found another far right commune in the derelict hamlet of Los Pedriches, 60 miles from Valencia, Spain. They envisaged it as the first of several all white communes across Europe. Fiore financed the project to the tune of £12,000 according to *The Newcastle Journal*, 12 August 2000.
424 Dave Gobell to Nick Griffin, November 1989, quoted in O'Hara, 'Creating Political Soldiers', p. 277.
425 *Jewish Chronicle*, 13 October 1989.
426 Nick Griffin interview, *The Lost Race*, BBC 2, 24 March 1999.
427 O'Hara, 'Creating Political Soldiers', p. 243.
428 Community Security Trust, 'Nick Griffin Describing his Religion as "Eco-Pagan"', YouTube, 26 April 2010, www.youtube.com/watch?v=kx5fErVb4Sw (accessed 4 September 2011).
429 The ITP were not alone. *National Socialist Witness*, no. 6, 14 December 1990 reprinted Colin Jordan's letter to Saddam Hussein on 3 November, in which he decried the campaign of vilification against him by 'the same sickly brood as of 50 years or so who then clamoured to engage us in war against Hitler to our catastrophic detriment for the benefit of the Jews.' Dismissive of the British hostages Hussein held, Jordan wrote: 'What most of all needs emphasis is that the

British and American nations in general are being in effect made permanent hostages of Israel by the subservient policy of its ruling adherents in both countries.'

430 Southgate, *Nazis, Fascists, or Neither?*, p. 88; and Shaffer, *Music, Youth and International Links in Post-War British Fascism*, p. 182. Southgate states the ITP did obtain funds but that Afzal promptly absconded with them.

431 Southgate, *Nazis, Fascists, or Neither?*, p. 88.

432 *Sunday Telegraph*, 3 February 1991.

433 Christopher T. Husbands, *Racial Exclusionism and the City: The Urban Support of the National Front* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983).

434 *The Rune*, no. 6, n.d.

435 Alexander Raven Thomson, *The Coming Corporatist State* (London: BUF Publications, 1935), p. 48.

436 The *Observer*, 1 September 2002.

437 *Identity*, no. 40, January 2004.

438 *Nationalism Today*, no. 45, April 1989.

439 *The Stormer*, no. 7, October 2004.

440 Southgate, *Nazis, Fascists, or Neither?*, p. 79.

441 Penrose, 'Why the US Needs Something Like the BNP'.

442 *Ibid*. The ITP split again in 1992, see Graham Macklin, 'Co-Opting the Counter-Culture: Troy Southgate and the National Revolutionary Faction', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 39, no. 3, September 2005, pp. 301–326.

443 'Griffin: I was a Cult Member', Dominic Carman YouTube channel, 15 April 2010, www.youtube.com/watch?v=ohLMemktE18 (accessed 19 April 2010).

444 Nick Griffin to Wayne Ashcroft, 14 January 1996 in MSS 412/WA/3/1, Ashcroft papers, stated:

> I'm not surprised that [John] McAuley [the NF chairman] found Roberto Fiore a nutter. The ITP has moved so far away from what was intended when it was first formed that it is now little more than a Catholic front group. A recent poster of theirs read 'Fornication and Drugs Will Destroy the World'. Even if one believed this, the idea of risking activists' necks and cash to put something so utterly valueless for recruiting purposes is absurd.

445 *The Times*, 10 April 1999.

446 *Spearhead*, no. 357, November 1998.

447 *Ibid.*

448 *Daily Mail*, 29 April 2006.

449 'Griffin's Dad: Our Son Destroyed Us', Dominic Carman YouTube Channel, 20 April 2010, www.youtube.com/watch?v=qZ9mJq-prNA (accessed 4 September 2011).

450 *London Gazette*, 23 June 1994, p. 9112.

451 *Spearhead*, no. 367, September 1999.

452 'Chairman's 2010 Summer School Address', 23 August 2010, http://bnptv.org.uk/2010/08/chairmans-2010-summer-school-address/ (accessed 25 August 2010); and 'Griffin: BNP Bradford Would-Be Bomber is Useful', Dominic Carman YouTube channel, 12 February 2010, www.youtube.com/user/dominiccarman67#p/a/u/0/GnLSdWRzrOA (accessed 22 April 2010).

453 'Top Tory Accused of "Expenses Irregularities"', 11 February 2012, www.bnp.org.uk/news/regional/top-tory-accused-expenses-irregularities (accessed 13 February 2012).

454 Quoted in *Searchlight*, no. 264, June 1997.

455 *Spearhead*, no. 274, December 1991. See 'BNP Mrs Griffin: No Sex for Years, Says Wife of BNP Leader', Dominic Carman YouTube channel, 19 January 2010, www.youtube.com/watch?v=lHIDXCwlFqw (accessed 28 January 2010) in which Griffin discusses the incident.

456 *This Man is the World's Leading Expert on Gas Chambers* ... (London: Academics for Free Speech, 1991).

457 Fred Leuchter, *The Leuchter Report: The First Forensic Examination of Auschwitz* (London: Focal Point, 1989).

458 Irving published an advance copy of the book's new introduction, written in January 1989, in *The Journal of Historical Review*, vol. 10, no. 4, winter 1990, pp. 389–416, organ of the Institute of Historical Review, the major engine of Holocaust denial.

459 Richard Evans, 'David Irving, Hitler and Holocaust Denial', www.hdot.org/evans/ (accessed 23 February 2018).

460 *The Irving Judgement: Mr. David Irving v. Penguin Books and Professor Deborah Lipstadt* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), pp. 318–319; and Richard J. Evans, *Telling Lies About Hitler: The Holocaust, History and the David Irving Trial* (London: Verso, 2002).
461 *The Rune*, no. 8.
462 *Spearhead*, no. 265, March 1991; and *Spearhead*, no. 267, May 1991.
463 Matthew Goodwin, 'In Search of the Winning Formula: Nick Griffin and the "Modernization" of the British National Party', in Roger Eatwell and Matthew Goodwin (eds), *The New Extremism in 21st Century Britain* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), p. 175.
464 'B&H Responds: Rock Against Griffinism', *Final Conflict*, 9 January 2008, http://finalconflict-blog.blogspot.com/2008/1/b-responds-rock-against-griffinism.html (accessed 27 March 2012); and *National Vanguard*, www.natvan.com/cgi-bin/audio.cgi?year=1994 (accessed 27 March 2012). 'Jim' is most likely Scottish BNP activist Jim White who worked as an excise officer in London before returning to Scotland, see *Searchlight*, no. 207, September 1992. Griffin was certainly aware of the ADV broadcasts. *The Rune*, no. 9, advertised Life Rune Books, run by John Cato, the NA-UK organiser, from whom, it noted, British radio listeners could obtain its radio frequencies.
465 *Spearhead*, no. 331, September 1996.
466 'B&H Responds: Rock Against Griffinism', *Final Conflict*, 9 January 2008. Griffin was close to Cartwright and his colleagues. In August 1996, he addressed a BNP meeting in Govan, Glasgow alongside Cartwright, until recently the Scottish B&H organiser, see *Spearhead*, no. 331, September 1996. *Highlander*, no. 1, 1996 observed:

> When the meeting was concluded a White Power social followed.… A large selection of NS/Racialist literature and CD's were distributed. The evening was brought to a boisterous end with a highly enjoyable rendition of 'Ye Olde Finklestein Song' (sometimes known as 'Perish Judah') and an equally as passionate 'Tomorrow Belongs To Me'.

Cartwright stated that Griffin was photographed Sieg Heiling at this event but did not produce it. *Highlander*, no. 3, 1997 voiced its support for Griffin during *The Rune* trial. Griffin continued cooperating with the group, helping the BNP Highlands and Islands group, run by Kenny Smith, produce anti-abortion leaflets, see *British Nationalist*, no. 193, July 1998.
467 *Spearhead*, no. 280, June 1992; and *The Rune*, no. 1. Croydon BNP was founded in June 1992.
468 Ballard was the son of Croydon NF activist Margaret Ballard, active on Griffin's behalf during his 1981 election campaign in Croydon. Ballard was a former British Movement activist. When he stood for election in Croydon's Waddon ward in May 1986, *Croydon Property News*, 1 May 1986, described Ballard 'as a private tutor in Croydon. Has a degree in Geology, was Treasurer of Croydon group for four years. Interested in improving local transport.' *Croydon Advertiser*, 2 May 1986 noted Ballard 'was a town planning assistant but now manages his own educational agency.' He had been active thereafter in the BNP as well as on the fringes of C18 and, according to *Searchlight*, no. 214, April 1993, was active with the 'Surrey Border Front', a small racist *groupuscule*.
469 *The Rune*, no. 3; *The Rune*, no. 4; *The Rune*, no. 5; and *The Rune*, no. 7.
470 *The Rune*, no. 5.
471 Nick Griffin, police interview, 12 December 1996, released under FOI.
472 *The Rune*, no. 11, 1995. The Odal Rune subsequently became the emblem of the Young BNP, see www.youngbnp.com/The%20Odal%20Rune.htm (accessed 3 February 2003).
473 *Identity*, no. 56, July 2005.
474 *The Rune*, no. 6, n.d.
475 *The Rune*, no. 10, 1995.
476 *The Rune*, no. 12, 1996; *The Fable of the Ducks and the Hens: A Dramatic Saga of Intrigue, Propaganda & Subversion* (Uckfield: Media Concept, 1996); and G.L. Rockwell, *The Fable of the Ducks and the Hens* (London: Stevens Books, n.d.). Colin Jordan had also published an own edition of *The Fable* in 1988.
477 *The Rune*, no. 11, 1995.
478 Publius, 'Racial Profiles'.
479 TNA HO 45/25568/43 and 47.
480 *The Rune*, no. 12, 1996.
481 *Daily Mail*, 25 October 2009.

482 'Circumstances will Play into British National Party's Hands', 12 February 2011, http://bnptv.org.uk/2011/02/circumstances-will-play-into-british-national-party's-hands/ (accessed 27 February 2012).
483 *The Rune*, no. 7.
484 *The Rune*, no. 12, 1996 contains a thank you letter from 'Darren' on behalf of BHS.
485 British Hammerskins, 'Who We Are and What We Stand For', www.hammerskins.co.uk/who.htm (accessed 23 September 2001).
486 Arno Michaelis, Fritt Ord, Oslo, Norway, 17 September 2018. Michaelis was the group's vocalist.
487 *The Rune*, no. 11, 1995; and *The Rune*, no. 12, 1996.
488 *Nationalism Today*, no. 29.
489 Nick Griffin, Record of Taped Interview, 12 December 1996, p. 3, released under FOI. The following year *British Nationalist*, no. 183, September 1997 records Griffin stated that 'everything the *party* did was geared to the 14 words' [author's emphasis]. *British Nationalist*, no. 188, February 1998 began advertising Fourteen Words (UK) the official distributors of 'videos and other items' from its American parent, the Fourteen Words Press: 'Watch videos of the late Robert Matthews and other former members of "The Order", including dramatic footage of their final confrontation with the "Feds".' Coventry BNP organiser, Mark Payne, who ran Fourteen Words (UK) later changed his name to 'Matthews' in homage states *Searchlight*, no. 301, July 2000.
490 *The Rune*, no. 5, n.d.; and *The Rune*, no. 12, 1996.
491 Nick Griffin 'The Domino Effect' in *Deceived, Damned and Defiant: The Revolutionary Writings of David Lane* (St Maries, ID: Fourteen Words Press, 1999), pp. 335–343.
492 Penrose, 'Why the US Needs Something Like the BNP'.
493 *British Nationalist*, no. 176, February 1997.
494 *The Rune*, no. 11, 1995.
495 *Spearhead*, no. 317, July 1995. On Bermondsey, see Collins, *Hate*, pp. 251–260; and Birchall, *Beating the Fascists*, pp. 244–248.
496 'Reconciliation', *Eddy Butler blog*, 20 March 2011, http://eddybutler.blogspot.com/2011/03/reconciliation.html (accessed 21 March 2011).
497 *Spearhead*, no. 417, November 2003.
498 *Spearhead*, no. 407, January 2003.
499 Nick Griffin to John Tyndall, 14 November 1994 quoted in *The Griffin File: Spotlight on an Erratic Record* (Leeds: Imperium Press, n.d.).
500 *The Rune*, no. 5, praised Jordan as an 'indefatigable patriot' whilst claiming his racist satire, *Merrie England 2,000*, was 'destined to become a classic'. Jordan praised Griffin's pamphlet *Who Are the Mindbenders?* as 'truly outstanding'.
501 Nick Griffin to Colin Jordan, 22 July 1995, quoted in *The Griffin File.*
502 *The Rune*, no. 9. Even after becoming *Spearhead*'s editor, Griffin published adverts for Jordan's *National Socialism: Vanguard of the Future* (1993), see *Spearhead*, no. 331, September 1996; and *Spearhead*, no. 334, December 1996.
503 Nick Lowles, *White Riot: The Violent Story of Combat 18* (London: Milo, 2001), p. 188. For Valerie Tyndall's advice, see 'Death of Valerie Tyndall', 25 June 2011, http://efp.org.uk/death-of-valerie-tyndall/ (accessed 30 June 2016); and John Tyndall, 'The Problem is Mr Griffin: It is Not Policies Which Divide the BNP, Says John Tyndall', *Spearhead*, www.spearhead.co.uk/0310-jt2.html (accessed 30 June 2016).
504 *British Nationalist*, no. 160, October 1995.
505 *The Rune*, no. 11, 1995; and *The Rune*, no. 12, 1996. *The Rune* also advertised *The Oak*, mouthpiece of the NA-UK.
506 *National Vanguard*, no. 115, November–December 1995; and *National Vanguard*, no. 116, August–September 1996. *Identity*, no. 31, April 2003, *Identity*, no. 32, May 2003; and *Identity*, no. 38, November 2003, subsequently reprinted these articles, highlighting their continued validity for Griffin.
507 *Identity*, no. 23, August 2002.
508 *Spearhead*, no. 352, June 1998.
509 Under Griffin's editorship, *Spearhead* published advertisements for numerous racist and anti-Semitic publishers including: Sons of Liberty books; Life Rune Books (advertising a new edition of *White Power* by George Lincoln Rockwell); and *The Barnes Review*, an American

Holocaust denial journal, edited by Willis Carto. It also advertised *Nature's Eternal Religion* and *The White Man's Bible*, authored by the late Ben Klassen, founder of the Church of the Creator, see *Spearhead*, no. 349, March 1998; *Spearhead*, no. 350, April 1998; *Spearhead*, no. 357, November 1998; and *Spearhead*, no. 358, December 1998.

510 *Spearhead*, no. 366, August 1999.

511 Nick Griffin to Wayne Ashcroft, n.d. (annotated 1997 'Post Cook Report') in MSS 412/WA/3/1, Ashcroft papers.

512 Penrose, 'Why the US Needs Something Like the BNP'.

513 *Spearhead*, no. 323, January 1996; and *Spearhead*, no. 326, April 1996.

514 *Spearhead*, no. 324, February 1996.

515 *Spearhead*, no. 325, March 1996.

516 *Ibid*.

517 *Spearhead*, no. 330, August 1996.

518 *Spearhead*, no. 333, November 1996; and *Spearhead*, no. 336, February 1997.

519 *The Rune*, no. 12, 1996.

520 Lowles, *White Riot*, p. 198.

521 *Carlisle Two Defence Fund Bulletin*, cited in *Searchlight*, no. 299, May 2000.

522 *The Rune*, no. 11, 1995 and *The Rune*, no. 12, 1996 in which Griffin clashed with Michael A. Hoffman II, editor of *Independent History and Research Newsletter* who defended Irving.

523 *Spearhead*, no. 324, February 1996. *The Rune*, no. 8, had also asserted that 'the contemporary conduct of European political affairs is intimately bound into a complex of ideas, justified by the legend of the Holocaust.'

524 *The Rune*, no. 8, n.d.; and *The Rune*, no. 11, 1995.

525 *Spearhead*, no. 402, August 2002.

526 Graham Macklin, 'Transnational Networking on the Far Right: The Case of Britain and Germany', *West European Politics*, vol. 36, no. 1, 2013, pp. 176–198.

527 *The Rune*, no. 12, 1996; and *Spearhead*, no. 360, August 1996.

528 Nicholas John Griffin, indictment, released under FOI.

529 *Searchlight*, no. 264, June 1997. 'Mr Carlisle changed his surname before entering politics,' sneered *Spearhead*, no. 335, January 1997, 'he had previously rejoiced in the name of Alex Fallick, and his family come from much further away from Wales than the Scottish border.'

530 WPC Carol Kendall, Witness statement, 12 December 1997, released under FOI.

531 *Spearhead*, no. 335, January 1997. Griffin wore this as a badge of honour, repeating the boast in his contribution to an anthology of Lane's writings, see Nick Griffin 'The Domino Effect', p. 343. *Spearhead*, no. 339, May 1997, edited by Griffin, reprinted an article from Lane's 14 Words Press (publishing its contact details as well) whilst referring to Lane as a 'political prisoner'. He published a further article authored by Lane in *Spearhead*, no. 340, June 1997.

532 *Spearhead*, no. 335, January 1997.

533 *Spearhead*, no. 323, January 1996.

534 *Spearhead*, no. 327, May 1996.

535 Mark Deavin, 'Harold Macmillan and the Origins of the 1961 British Application to Join the EEC' (London School of Economics: Unpublished PhD thesis, 1996), pp. 13 and 28 contain numerous conspiratorial allusions. *Searchlight*, no. 264, June 1997, quotes *The Grand Plan: The Origins of Non-White Immigration*, a document Deavin handed to *The Cook Report*, stating explicitly that the drive for 'World Government' was 'Jewish in origin and Zionist in motivation.' David Irving's Focal Point subsequently advertised Deavin's book, *Macmillan's Hidden Agenda* (1998) but it never appeared, see 'The New Book by Mark Deavin: Macmillan's Hidden Agenda', *Focal Point*, summer 1998, www.fpp.co.uk/Authors/Deavin.html (accessed 5 February 2018).

536 *British Nationalist*, no. 176, February 1997; and *Spearhead*, no. 336, February 1997.

537 *Spearhead*, no. 346, December 1997. Long after he had supposedly disavowed anti-Semitism, Griffin wrote in *Identity*, no. 53, March 2005, 'it is indeed true that certain minority groups do punch far above their weight when it comes to influence within the media … which liberal propagandists still berate for pointing out in my now out-of-print survey *The Mind-Benders*.'

538 [Nick Griffin], *Who are the Mind-Benders?* (Welling: BNP, 1997); and *The Rune*, no. 12, 1996.

539 Wayne Ashcroft to Nick Griffin, 19 July 1995 in MSS 412/WA/3/1, Ashcroft papers. In *The Rune*, no. 11, 1995, Griffin quoted several excerpts from *Mein Kampf* in support of his assertion

that the BNP should not join with other groups but should absorb them by demonstrating the success of their own techniques.

540 Nick Griffin to Wayne Ashcroft, 1997 ('Post Cook Report'); and Nick Griffin to Wayne Ashcroft, n.d. (late 1997) in MSS 412/WA/3/1, Ashcroft papers.

541 'New Year Message & 1997 Review from Party Chairman John McAuley' in MSS 412/HQ/3/1/25(i), Ashcroft papers; and *NF Members' Bulletin*, n.d. (late 1994). John Tyndall to Wayne Ashcroft, 5 May 1998 in MSS 412/WA/3/1, Ashcroft papers suggested that, despite the failure of the merger, Ashcroft might wish to continue efforts aimed at 'unifying all nationalist elements' under the BNP umbrella as well as assisting Griffin in his task as Director of Publicity for the BNP.

542 For Cartwright's co-authorship, see 'B&H Responds: Rock Against Griffinism', *Final Conflict*, 9 January 2008.

543 Nick Griffin to Wayne Ashcroft, 8 July 1998 in MSS 412/WA/3/1, Ashcroft papers. Griffin advertised 'Radio White Europe' as a 'discussion document' in *Spearhead*, no. 338, April 1997.

544 *Searchlight*, no. 264, June 1997.

545 *Searchlight*, no. 264, June 1997. Roger Cook, *More Dangerous Ground* (Brighton: Book Guild, 2007), p. 372 refers to the broadcast cursorily in contrast to Griffin's lengthier responses 'The Cooked Report' and 'Behind the Smear' at British National Party, www.bnp.net/cooked.html; and 'Behind the Smear', British National Party.

546 'Regulator Archives', *Ofcom*, 24 June 2010, www.ofcom.org.uk/static/archive/bsc/pdfs/bulletin/bulletin12.pdf (accessed 3 June 2015).

547 *British Nationalist*, no. 183, September 1997; and *British Nationalist*, no. 186, December 1997.

548 *British Nationalist*, no. 185, November 1997; and *Spearhead*, no. 359, January 1999.

549 *British Nationalist*, no. 188, February 1998; and *British Nationalist*, no. 193, July 1998. The Countryside Alliance repudiated BNP support, see *Spearhead*, no. 368, October 1999.

550 *British Nationalist*, no. 185, November 1997.

551 *British Nationalist*, no. 188, February 1998.

552 *Nick Griffin – Police Interview: The Tyrannical Defence of the Impossible. Race Laws + 'Holocaust' = Persecution* (Welling: Carlisle Two Defence Fund Cassette Tape, 1997).

553 *New! Britain's Thought Police in Action!: Unique Cassette Tape* (Uckfield: Historical Review Press, 1997).

554 *British Nationalist*, no. 186, December 1997. Two genuine FN observers attended the initial hearing.

555 *British Nationalist*, no. 187, January 1998.

556 *Ibid*. *Spearhead*, no. 344, October 1997 highlights a £40 donation to Griffin's defence fund from a French reader of *Spearhead*, Jean-Louis Pesteil.

557 *Spearhead*, no. 342, August 1997.

558 'Good Morning from the Zundelsite', 31 August 1997, www.webcom.com/ezundel/english/zgrams/zg1997/zg9708/970831.html (accessed 17 December 1997). Zündel later listed Griffin amongst this 'Victims of Zion', see www.zundelsite.org/archive/victims/victims_of_zion.html (accessed 27 May 2015). Michael A. Hoffman II's *Hoffman Wire*, 23 November 1997 praised Griffin as a pioneer of 'online radical revisionism', see 'The Hoffman Wire', 23 November 1997, https://groups.google.com/forum/?hl=en#!msg/soc.culture.usa/K5mtomFqsYY/XpF2VvkdoV0J (accessed 27 May 2015).

559 *British Nationalist*, no. 187, January 1998; and *Come one, Come all! The Grand Heresy Trial* (Welshpool: Publicity for Freedom, 1998).

560 *Searchlight*, no. 264, June 1997.

561 *Croydon Advertiser*, 8 May 1998.

562 *The Order*, no. 7, n.d. Less effusively, *Putsch*, no. 30, November 1995 noted Griffin's reappearance on the political scene, 'stirring up trouble everywhere he goes, West Yorkshire in particular.'

563 'B&H Responds: Rock Against Griffinism', *Final Conflict*.

564 *Ibid*.

565 *Spearhead*, no. 350, April 1998.

566 *British Nationalist*, no. 187, January 1998; and *Spearhead*, no. 347, January 1998.

567 *British Nationalist*, no. 172, October 1996. Smith had recently organised a demonstration with Archie O'Brien, a Bermudian-born Rastafarian petitioning the Home Office for financial assistance to emigrate to Ghana.

568 *British Nationalist*, no. 191, May 1998.
569 *Ibid*.
570 *Spearhead*, no. 356, October 1998. Griffin raised some funds to pay off his fine by selling far right music. *British Nationalist*, no. 197, November 1998 advertised for sale two albums by 'patriotic balladeer' Carl Klang, a Christian Identity adherent based in Oregon. Cheques were payable to Griffin's 'Publicity for Freedom' fund. He also sold a sampler tape of Klang's works, with his own commentary, see *Spearhead*, no. 350, April 1998.
571 *Spearhead*, no. 339, May 1997 stated that material for the 'long delayed' Issue 13 was 'still in the hands of the police, who refuse to return it.' The Libertarian Alliance published a critique of the proceedings: David Botsford, 'The British State versus Freedom of Expression: The Case of R. v. Griffin', *Legal Notes*, no. 29, 1998.
572 *Spearhead*, no. 335, January 1997.
573 Eddy Butler, September 2011, http://eddybutler.blogspot.com/2011/09/i-hear-you-knocking-but-you-cant-come.html (accessed 14 September 2011).
574 *Spearhead*, no. 357, November 1998.
575 *Ibid*.
576 *Spearhead*, no. 358, December 1998. For Bean's contribution to BNP modernisation, see Graham Macklin, 'Modernizing the Past for the Future', in Nigel Copsey and Graham Macklin (eds), *British National Party: Contemporary Perspectives* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 19–37.
577 *British Nationalist*, no. 198, December 1998.
578 Matthew Goodwin, *New British Fascism: Rise of the British National Party* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), p. 66.
579 *Spearhead*, no. 417, November 2003.
580 *Spearhead*, no. 117, August 1999.
581 *Patriot*, no. 4, spring 1999.
582 *Ibid*. Mark Deavin had outlined the idea in *Spearhead*, no. 351, May 1998.
583 One *Daily Express* opinion poll in 1997 indicated that 9 per cent of Britons wanted the chance to vote for an FN in Britain with a further 17 per cent saying they would consider it.
584 Steve Bastow, 'The Ideological Mobility of Front National Discourse', *Essex Papers in Politics and Government*, 10 (October 1998), pp. 1–25; and *Identity*, no. 1, January–February 2000.
585 Penrose, 'Why the US Needs Something Like the BNP'. Exactly when Griffin and his colleagues read the book is not clear. In 'Behind the Smear', British National Party, Griffin states that: 'several months *before* [my emphasis] the approach by the phoney "FN", a close study of several books about the genuine French party convinced me that its approach was, *mutatis mutandis*, largely applicable to Britain.' *The Patriot*, no. 4, spring 1999 reviewed it, but only four years after its publication.
586 *Spearhead*, no. 337, March 1997. Griffin's newfound enthusiasm for the FN contrasted sharply with the marked hostility he had displayed for the FN during his 'national revolutionary' phase. Then, *Nationalism Today* had denounced the FN as a 'reactionary, right wing Tory organization', preferring instead the 'real' French nationalism of the Mouvement Nationaliste Révolutionnaire (MNR – National Revolutionary Movement) founded in 1979 by Jean-Gilles Malliarakis, who similarly disparaged Le Pen as insufficiently radical. Griffin was particularly taken with the Groupe d'union et de défense (GUD), an extreme right-wing militant group notable for fighting violent battles with left-wing opponents on university campuses. He wrote in *Nationalism Today*, no. 17:

> The real significance of such relatively short-loved mass movements is that while they themselves fade away, they give political education to all the participants and provide new recruits to the hardcore elite of dedicated activists who form the backbone of any worthwhile organisation.

587 Nigel Copsey, *Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party and the Quest of Legitimacy* (London: Palgrave 2008), p. 109.
588 *Spearhead*, no. 337, March 1997. Before his death, Ludovici gave a copy of his unpublished autobiography, *Confessions of an Anti-Feminist* to his Suffolk neighbour, former BUF activist Ronald Creasy. He passed the book to Griffin 'who in turn lent it to people he knew were keen on publishing it.' It finally appeared in 2018, see John V. Day (ed.), *The Confessions of an*

Anti-Feminist: The Autobiography of Anthony M. Ludovici (San Francisco, CA: Counter-Currents, 2018), p. iv.

589 *Spearhead*, no. 341, July 1997.

590 *Ibid*.

591 See Germar Rudolf, 'Fleeing from England', http://germarrudolf.com/persecution/germars-persecution/fleeing-from-england/ (accessed 1 June 2015). Rudolf recalled:

> I actually had a nice stay at Griffin's house. We spoke a lot about his family and personal fate, the ethnic and language situation in Wales, and of course about Holocaust revisionism and censorship in England. It was there that I learned about his leading role in the BNP and that he was about to challenge the leader of the party.

592 'BNP Griffin: They Dare not Prosecute Me – Dominic Carman Interview', Dominic Carman YouTube channel, 3 November 2009, www.youtube.com/watch?v=R9KZ4qokJrs (accessed 3 November 2009).

593 'The Nailbomber', Panorama, BBC 1, http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/audio_video/programmes/panorama/transcripts/transcript_30_06_00.txt (accessed 25 August 2016).

594 *Spearhead*, no. 344, October 1997.

595 *Daily Mirror*, 25 May 1999.

596 Nick Ryan, *Homeland* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2003), p. 271.

597 *British Nationalist*, no. 203, May 1999.

598 *Spearhead*, no. 364, June 1999.

599 See the interview with Nick Griffin, 'High Profile: Far from Right?', *Third Way*, 24 May 2004, https://thirdway.hymnsam.co.uk/editions/archive/high-profile/far-from-right.aspx (accessed 1 March 2012).

600 *Spearhead*, no. 364, June 1999.

601 *Loose Cannon*, no. 1, September 1999.

602 *Sunday Times*, 5 September 1999; and for a stance on homosexuality, see *Identity*, no. 39, December 2003.

603 'Membership Lists', www.tyndallexposed.com/member.htm (accessed 3 March 2005) claimed Tyndall allowed the BNP mailing list to facilitate distribution of Webster's newsletter, *Loose Cannon*, to the party's membership.

604 *British Nationalist*, no. 207, October 1999.

605 *Ibid*.

606 *Patriot*, no. 5, summer 1999.

607 *British Nationalist* [membership bulletin], October 1999.

608 *British Nationalist*, no. 207, October 1999.

609 Copsey, *Contemporary British Fascism*.

610 Copsey, *Contemporary British Fascism*, pp. 108–109 notes Griffin appropriated the idea of party 'circles' or satellite organisations from the FN but *Nationalism Today*, no. 46, July 1989 highlights the Apristas as its source. The two are not mutually exclusive, however.

611 'Italian Roberto Fiore of "Forza Nuova Party"', 29 August 2009, http://bnptv.org.uk/2009/08/italian-roberto-fiore-of-the-forza-nuova-party/ (accessed 31 July 2015).

612 *Corriere della Sera*, 21 March 2008.

613 Lowles, *White Riot*, pp. 320–321.

614 *Identity*, no 7, March 2001; and *Identity*, no. 10, June 2001.

615 The *Guardian*, 30 May 2001.

616 Mark Cotterill, interview with the author, 16 July 2009. For an overview, see Ryan Shaffer, 'Foreign Friends and British Fascism: Understanding the American Friends of the British National Party', *Contemporary British History* (2019), https://doi.org/10.1080/13619462.2019.1636651.

617 *Heritage and Destiny*, no. 8, May–June 2001.

618 The 16.02 per cent polled by Martin Webster in West Bromwich in 1973 was a parliamentary by-election not a general election, nor was there a Liberal candidate.

619 *Identity*, no. 11, July 2001. The magazine's book review that month was, tellingly, Wilmot Robertson's 1972 'classic' *The Dispossessed Majority.*

620 *Identity*, no. 16, December 2001.

621 'The Federal Prosecution of David Duke', www.bnp.org.uk/articles/davidduke_battle.htm (accessed 24 December 2002).

622 *Identity*, no. 16, December 2001.
623 *Identity*, no. 14, October 2001; and *Identity*, no. 16, December 2001.
624 *Identity*, no. 15, November 2001.
625 *The Truth about Islam* (BNP leaflet, 2001).
626 *Identity*, no. 16, December 2001.
627 George Michael, *The Enemy of My Enemy: The Alarming Convergence of Militant Islam and the Extreme Right* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2006), p. 277.
628 *Identity*, no. 16, December 2001. *Identity*, no. 17, March 2002 reported that total income from membership renewals that month 'was a whopping 89% up on the same time a year ago', which it claimed reflected 'high morale' amongst its existing membership and growing 'soft' support.
629 *Identity*, no. 15, November 2001.
630 *Identity*, no. 15, November 2001; and *Identity*, no. 19, April 2002. For an overview, see George Michael, *The Enemy of My Enemy*.
631 *Identity*, no. 19, April 2002.
632 *Identity*, no. 64, March 2006.
633 *American Renaissance Conference 2002* (VHS cassette, 2002).
634 'July Activities: BNP Chairman gives Presentation to Britain's Radio Bosses', July 2002, http://bnp.org.uk/activities/2002_jul1.htm (accessed 3 July 2002).
635 For a superlative overview of the party's local politics, see James Rhodes, 'The Political Breakthrough of the BNP: The Case of Burnley', *British Politics*, vol. 4, no. 1, 2009, pp. 22–46; James Rhodes, 'The Banal National Party: The Routine Nature of Legitimacy', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 43, no. 2, 2009, pp. 142–160; and James Rhodes, 'White Backlash, "Unfairness" and Justifications of British National Party (BNP) Support', *Ethnicities*, vol. 10, no. 1, 2001, pp. 77–99.
636 *Identity*, no. 22, June 2002. For a further rejection of the 'Nazi' label, see 'Why the Swastika Appeals to Many Young Britons', www.bnp.org.uk/articles/appeal_swastika.htm (accessed 6 June 2004).
637 *Identity*, no. 34, July 2003.
638 John Bean, *Many Shades of Black: Inside Britain's Far Right* (Bloomington, IN: Ostara, 2013), p. v.
639 *Identity*, no. 20, May 2002.
640 In the 2008 local elections, the BNP made further gains in Stoke, ending the contest with nine local councillors and continuing the pattern of localised breakthrough.
641 Benjamin Bowyer, 'Local Context and the Extreme Right Support in England: The British National Party in the 2002 and 2003 Local Elections', *Electoral Studies*, vol. 27, no. 4, 2008, pp. 611–620.
642 Robert Ford and Matthew J. Goodwin, 'Angry White Men: Individual and Contextual Predictors of Support for the British National Party', *Political Studies*, vol. 58, 2010, pp. 1–25.
643 *Identity*, no. 35, August 2003.
644 *Identity*, no. 29, February 2003.
645 *Identity*, no. 26, November 2002.
646 *Identity*, no. 64, March 2006.
647 *Voice of Freedom*, no. 31, October 2002.
648 *Identity*, no. 38, November 2003.
649 *Voice of Freedom*, August 2004.
650 Despite publicly eschewing anti-Semitism, in 2006, the BNP 'cultural' website IONA featured 'Hugh of Lincoln', an anti-Semitic folk song. This song commemorates the 'ritual murder' of a young boy whose body was discovered in the well of a local Jew in 1255, who subsequently 'confessed' that he had been crucified by several prominent local Jews. Based on this 'testimony', eighteen Jews hanged, see www.project-iona.co.uk/article.php?iona_id=238 (accessed 15 March 2006).
651 *Identity*, no. 32, May 2003; and *Rebuilding British Democracy: British National Party General Election 2005 Manifesto* (London: BNP, 2005), p. 52.
652 *Identity*, no. 66, May 2006.
653 *Identity*, no. 42, March 2004.
654 *The Rune*, no. 11, 1995.
655 *Identity*, no. 32, May 2003; and *Identity*, no. 33, June 2003.

656 Joe Owens, *Action! From Race War to Door Wars* (Lulu, 2007), pp. 261–266. Griffin branded the incident a 'Zimbabwe-style disgrace' and blamed the police, see *Identity*, no. 56, July 2005.
657 'A Day to Make History', 9 June 2004, www.bnp.org.uk/news/2004_june/news_june19.htm (accessed 20 June 2004).
658 Peter John, Helen Margetts, David Rowland and Stuart Weir, *The BNP: The Roots of its Appeal* (Colchester: Democratic Audit/Human Rights Centre, University of Essex, 2006), p. 8.
659 *Identity*, no. 45, July 2004.
660 'Debates', European Parliament, 4 February 2013, www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+CRE+20130204+ITEM-017+DOC+XML+V0//EN&language=en&query=INTERV&detail=1–078–000 (accessed 10 April 2017).
661 Steven Morris and Martin Wainwright, 'BNP Leader Held by Police over Racist Remarks', the *Guardian*, 15 December 2002, www.theguardian.com/uk/2004/dec/15/race.thefarright (accessed 10 April 2017).
662 *Identity*, no. 49, November 2004.
663 *Identity*, no. 50, December 2004; and *Identity*, no. 52, February 2005.
664 *European American Conference 2005* (DVD: David Duke Report, 2005).
665 Shamim Miah, 'The Groomers and the Question of Race', *Identity Papers*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2015, pp. 54–65 highlights that the widespread racialised 'cultural' narrative provided an 'entry point' for the BNP.
666 Matthew Taylor, 'Mother Out to Seize Stronghold of "Unforgivable" BNP', the *Guardian*, 23 March 2006, www.theguardian.com/politics/2006/mar/23/uk.localgovernment (accessed 25 March 2006_.
667 Rose Capdevila and Jane E.M. Callaghan, '"It's not Racist. It's Common Sense." A Critical Analysis of Political Discourse Around Asylum and Immigration in the UK', *Journal of Applied Community & Applied Social Psychology*, no. 18, 2008, pp. 1–16.
668 *Identity*, no. 57, August 2005; and *Identity*, no. 58, September 2005.
669 *Identity*, no. 57, August 2005. One of those for whom such rhetoric resonated with, Robert Cottage, a Lancashire BNP activist who was jailed for stockpiling explosive chemicals and ball bearings in 2007 in preparation for the coming 'civil war'.
670 Nick Griffin, 'Blackpool, Oxford and a Studio and Visit', *Chairman's Column*, 3 December 2007, http://chairmans-column.blogspot.com/ (accessed 1 July 2009).
671 *Identity*, no. 57, August 2005.
672 'BNP Campaign Uses Bus Bomb Photo', BBC News, 12 July 2005, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/4674675.stm (accessed 1 July 2009); and *Islamic Terror, Labour Failure* (BNP leaflet, 2005).
673 *Which Do You Find Offensive?* (BNP leaflet, 2005); and 'BNP Handing Out Prophet Leaflets', *This is Lancashire*, www.thisislancashire.co.uk/news/701062.BNP_handing_out_Prophet_leaflets/ (accessed 3 August 2015). Local Muslim men attacked BNP activists distributing the leaflets in Nelson, Lancashire, leaving one with a broken arm.
674 *Identity*, no. 58, September 2005; and *Identity*, no. 59, October 2005.
675 *Identity*, no. 35, August 2003; and *Identity*, no. 38, November 2003.
676 *Identity*, no. 51, January 2005.
677 'BNP Language & Concepts Discipline Manual' (BNP Policy Research), www.bnp.org.uk/organisers/store/general_guides/language_discipline.pdf (accessed on 12 January 2009).
678 For more on this theme, see Graham Macklin '"Teaching the Truth to the Hardcore": The Public and Private Presentation of BNP Ideology', in Matthew Feldman and Paul Jackson (eds), *Doublespeak: The Framing of the Far Right since 1945* (Hannover: ibidem-Verlag, 2014).
679 *Identity*, no. 53, March 2005.
680 *Evening Standard*, 26 March 2004.
681 John Tyndall, 'Do We Need Jewish Candidates: John Tyndall Addresses a Vexed Issue', *Spearhead*, www.spearhead.co.uk/0405-jt4.html (accessed 1 June 2015).
682 *European American Conference 2005* (DVD: David Duke Report 2005).
683 'BNP FAQs: Countering the Smears', www.bnp.org.uk/articles/countering_smears.html (accessed 12 March 2007).
684 *Lincolnshire Echo*, 15 March 2007.
685 'Matthew Bell: The IoS Diary', *The Independent*, 3 May 2010, www.independent.co.uk/voices/commentators/matthew-bell-the-iiosi-diary-1224213.html (accessed 10 March 2010).

686 'The British National Party Goes Straight: [Nick Griffin] Interview by Robert Locke', *Think-Israel*, September–25 October 2005, www.think-israel.org/locke.bnp.html (accessed 25 November 2014). For a further rejection of 'Judeo-obsessivism' – though *not* anti-Semitism, see *Identity*, no. 66, May 2006.
687 *Identity*, no. 17, March 2002. *Identity*, no. 33, June 2003 contained a long review of *Race, Genetics and Society: On the Scientific and Social Policy Implications of Racial Differences* (2002) by Professor Glayde Whitney.
688 *Identity*, no. 30, March 2003.
689 Andreas Fahrmeir, *Citizenship: The Rise and Fall of a Modern Concept* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).
690 *Identity*, no. 30, March 2003; and *Identity*, no. 5, January 2001.
691 See BNP online shop 'Excalibur', http://excalibur.bnp.org.uk/acatalog/What_s_New.html (accessed 23 November 2005).
692 *Identity*, no. 30, March 2003.
693 *Ibid.*
694 *Identity*, no. 39, December 2003.
695 *Voice of Freedom*, February 2003.
696 *Identity*, no. 30, March 2003.
697 Lee Barnes, 'Ethno-Nationalism and the Political Struggle', 21 November 2005, www.bnp.org.uk/columnists/brimstone2.php?leeId=67 (accessed 23 November 2005).
698 See 'Racial or Ethno Nationalism?', *Storm Front*, 21 November 2005, www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php?t=248740 (accessed 23 November 2005).
699 Srdja Trifkovic, 'Nick Griffin's Long March'.
700 *Identity*, no. 30, March 2003.
701 Sasha Williams and Ian Law, 'Legitimising Racism: An Exploration of the Challenges Posed by the Use of Indigeneity Discourses by the Far Right', *Sociological Research Online*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2, www.socresonline.org.uk/17/2/2.html (accessed 12 August 2012).
702 Arthur Kemp, *Four Flags: The Indigenous People of Britain* (Deeside: Excalibur Books, 2010).
703 'Cockneys Become First Victims of the Immigration Invasion Genocide', 2 July 2010, www.bnp.org.uk/news/cockneys-become-first-victims-immigration-invasion-genocide (accessed 7 November 2011).
704 Marleen Gambel and Roland Sturm, 'Extremism in Großbritannien', in Eckhard Jesse and Tom Thieme (eds), *Extremismus in den EU-Staaten* (Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2011), p. 172.
705 Goodwin, *New British Fascism*, pp. 39, 158–159 and 164–166.
706 Arthur Kemp, *Victory or Violence: The Story of the AWB of South Africa* (Burlington, VA: Ostara, 2008), p. 160.
707 For Kemp's version of events, see Arthur Kemp, *The Lie of Apartheid and Other True Stories from Southern Africa* (Burlington, VA: Ostara, 2009), pp. 79–102.
708 Arthur Kemp, *March of the Titans: A History of the White Race* (Burlington, VA, Ostara: 2006), pp. 541–544.
709 *Identity*, no. 13, September 2001; and *Identity*, no. 71, October 2006.
710 *Identity*, no. 55, June 2005. In August 2007, Griffin announced Kemp's role in 'ideological training' for voting members, stating that 'Arthur is a highly skilled and very welcome addition to our central team.' See Nick Griffin, 'Catching Up', *Chairman's Column*, 11 August 2007, http://chairmans-column.blogspot.com/2007/08/first-my-sincere-apologies-for-long-gap.html (accessed 11 August 2007). Griffin appointed Kemp as editor of the BNP website, see 'Chairman's Blog: Another Prediction Comes True', 15 December 2007, www.bnp.org.uk/2007/12/another-prediction-comes-true/ (accessed 15 December 2007).
711 Arthur Kemp and Nick Griffin, *Folk and Nation: Underpinning the Ethnostate* (2008).
712 *Identity*, no. 62, January 2006.
713 Shaffer, 'Foreign Friends and British Fascism', p. 275; and *Identity*, no. 63, February 2006.
714 The *Guardian*, 3 February 2006.
715 '"Victory for Freedom" Claims BNP', BBC News, 10 November 2006, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/bradford/6137986.stm (accessed 15 November 2006). For CPS comment on the acquittal, see Crown Prosecution Service, www.cps.gov.uk/news/latest_news/165_06/ (accessed 15 November 2006).

716 'Free Speech 2: The Party Starts', 2 November 2006, http://bnptv.org.uk/2006/11/free-speech-2-the-party-starts/ (accessed 15 November 2006).
717 Michael Collins, *The Likes of Us: A Biography of the White Working Class* (London: Granta, 2004), p. 173.
718 Jon Cruddas and Jonathan Rutherford, 'Labour Must Fashion a New Patriotism', The *Guardian*, 1 July 2011, www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/jul/01/labour-patriotism-immigration-identity (accessed 11 September 2018).
719 Jeremy Seabrook, *What Went Wrong? Working People and the Ideas of the Labour Movement* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1978), p. 157.
720 *Chronicles Magazine*, www.chroniclesmagazine.org/cgi-bin/newsviews.cgi/Old%20Europe?Nick_Griffin_… (accessed 14 June 2006).
721 *Voice of Freedom*, no. 76, 2006.
722 *Redbridge Patriot*, Winter 2008.
723 Peter Hoskin, 'How the BNP are Campaigning', *The Spectator*, 12 May 2009, http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2009/05/how-the-bnp-are-campaigning/ (accessed 21 August 2016).
724 On this theme, see Stuart Wilks-Heeg, 'The Canary in a Coalmine? Explaining the Emergence of the British National Party in English Local Politics', *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 62, no. 3, 2009, pp. 377–398.
725 British National Party, www.bnp.org.uk/?p=389 (accessed 3 January 2008). Griffin had long since argued that B&H no longer added anything of value to the BNP. In *Identity*, no. 17, March 2002, he stated that the 'white power' scene was 'fossilised' and insular, failing to appeal to 'the huge potential youth audience produced by the radicalising effect of the 2001-and-after race riots.' *Blood & Honour* magazine had been generally positive towards the party, however.
726 For details of the contribution B&H activists to the BNP *after* Griffin became chairman, see 'B&H Responds: Rock Against Griffinism', *Final Conflict*, 9 January 2008.
727 'The BNP: Anti-Asylum Protest, Racist Sect or Power-Winning Movement?', www.bnp.org.uk/articles/race_reality.htm (accessed 21 February 2006). The BNP legal officer defined the '14 words' as the party's 'strategic goal' as late as 2007, see Barnes, 'Ethno-Nationalism and the Political Struggle'.
728 Joel Busher, 'Why Even Misleading Identity Claims Matter: The Evolution of the English Defence League', *Political Studies*, published online 25 September 2017.
729 'PM's Speech at Munich Security Conference', 5 February 2011, *Prime Minister's Office, 10 Downing Street*, www.number10.gov.uk/news/speeches-and-transcripts/2011/02/pms-speech-at-munich-security-conference-60293 (accessed 10 February 2011).
730 'Cameron's "War on Multiculturalism" Speech: Another Milestone in the "Griffinisation" of British Politics', 5 February 2011, www.bnp.org.uk/news/cameron's-'war-multiculturalism'-speech-—-another-milestone-'griffinisation'-british-politics (accessed 5 June 2015).
731 'Proud and Prejudiced', Channel 4 documentary, www.channel4.com/programmes/proud-and-prejudiced (accessed 29 February 2012).
732 For an explanation of why the BNP lifted the proscription, see www.bnp.org.uk/news/national/opportunity-to-be-seized-why-we-have-lifted-proscription–english-defence-league (accessed 1 March 2012); and Nick Griffin, *English Defence League? Neo-Cons, Ultra-Zionists and The Useful Idiots* (2012). Nick Griffin, *Alt-Right? Not Right!* (2017) reflects his antipathy towards another emerging milieu whose leading lights he attacked as a 'gay mafia'.
733 'A Deadly Threat and the Way Ahead', 9 July 2014, www.bnp.org.uk/news/national/deadly-threat-and-way-ahead. Griffin went so far as to conspiratorially claim in January 2013 that US 'Neocons' (i.e. Jews) had tried to 'bribe' him to just attack Islam, see 'Neocons Tried to Bribe Nick Griffin's BNP to Ignore Jewish Power & Only Attack Islam', *Renegade Tribune*, 21 January 2016, www.renegadetribune.com/neocons-tried-bribe-nick-griffins-bnp-ignore-jewish-power-attack-islam/ (accessed 11 March 2018).
734 Tommy Robinson, *Enemy of the State* (Plymouth: The Press News Ltd, 2015), p. 76.
735 *The Times*, 24 June 2009.
736 '"Sink Immigrants" Boats – Griffin', BBC News, 8 July 2009, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/8141069.stm (accessed 10 April 2017).
737 BNP email bulletin, 21 October 2009.
738 The *Independent*, 23 October 2009.

739 *Daily Mail*, 23 October 2009.

740 Nigel Copsey and Graham Macklin, 'THE MEDIA = LIES, LIES, LIES! The BNP and the Media in Contemporary Britain', in Nigel Copsey and Graham Macklin (eds), *British National Party: Contemporary Perspectives* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 81–103; and Paul Bull and Anne-Marie Simon-Vandenbergen, 'Equivocation and Doublespeak in Far Right-Wing Discourse: An Analysis of Nick Griffin's Performance on BBC's Question Time', *Text & Talk*, vol. 34, no. 1, 2014, pp. 1–22.

741 Carl Packman, 'Nick Griffin Not Alone in QT Audience', *Liberal Conspiracy*, 30 October 2009, www.liberalconspiracy.org/2009/10/30/nick-griffin-not-alone-in-qt-audience/ (accessed 13 November 2009).

742 BBC, Question Time, 22 October 2009, available at: www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episode/b00nft24/Question_Time_22_10_2009/ (accessed 13 November 2009).

743 'BNP leader Nick Griffin is … A Disgrace to Humanity' (*Daily Express*, 23 October 2009); 'Bigot at Bay' (*Daily Mail*, 23 October 2009); 'Griffin uses BBC to Attack Islam and Defend the Ku Klux Klan' (*Daily Telegraph*, 23 October 2009); 'I'm the Most Loathed Man in Britain (We Couldn't Have Put It Better, Mr Griffin' (*Sun*, 23 October 2009); 'BNP Chief Griffin is a Nutter … Even Wife Puts the Boot in' (*Daily Star*, 23 October 2009); 'Rat Run – BNP Bigot Scuttles Away After Humiliation on TV' (*Daily Mirror*, 23 October 2009); 'Question Time for BNP Leader. His Answer: "I am not a Nazi"' (*Guardian*, 23 October 2009); and 'The BBC gave him the Oxygen of Publicity. He Choked' (*Independent*, 23 October 2009).

744 Peter Kellner, 'The BNP Brand Remains Badly Tainted', *YouGov*, 16 May 2011, https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/articles-reports/2011/05/16/bnp-brand-remains-badly-tainted; and Robert Ford and Matthew Goodwin, 'What's the Difference Between BNP and UKIP Voters?', the *Guardian*, 14 April 2014, www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/14/bnp-ukip-voters-politics-immigration (accessed 19 March 2019).

745 Hélène Mulholland and agencies, 'Griffin: Unfair that Question Time was Filmed in "Ethnically Cleansed" London', the *Guardian*, 23 October 2019, www.theguardian.com/politics/2009/oct/23/bnp-nick-griffin-question-time (accessed 10 April 2017).

746 'Who's Afraid of the BNP?', presented by Kenan Malik, BBC, http://news.bbc.co.uk/nol/shared/spl/hi/programmes/analysis/transcripts/28_09_09.txt (accessed 10 April 2017).

747 For the full extent of the changes, compare *Constitution of The British National Party* (12th edn, February 2010) with the previous edition published in August 2009.

748 'BNP Votes to Ditch Whites-Only Membership Rule', BBC News, 14 February 2010, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/8514736.stm (accessed 10 April 2017).

749 Caroline Davies, 'Nick Griffin says Times Journalist's Ejection Shows BNP has Not Gone Soft', the *Guardian*, 15 February 2015, www.theguardian.com/politics/2010/feb/15/nick-griffin-bnp-not-going-soft (accessed 10 April 2017).

750 *Identity*, no. 46, August 2004.

751 In April 2010, the BNP welcomed the Reverend James Gitau, a Kenyan preacher affiliated to the Pentecostal United Holy Church of America. Gitau had campaigned with Nick Griffin in Barking and Dagenham. However, he had left the BNP after less than a month claiming it was still 'too racist' though their refusal to stand him as a candidate in Croydon may also have played a role in his defection, see Kirsty Whalley, 'BNP "Too Racist" for Black Vicar', *Sutton and Croydon Guardian*, 28 April 2010, www.croydonguardian.co.uk/news/8123879.BNP__too_racist__for_black_vicar/ (accessed 10 April 2017).

752 Tim Black, 'The Fall of Britain's Far-Right Party', *EU Observer*, 13 March 2014, http://euobserver.com/eu-elections/123438 (accessed 10 April 2017).

753 'BNP Unveils Its 2010 Campaign Issues: Afghanistan, Immigration and the Global Warming Conspiracy', 7 April 2010, http://bnp.org.uk/2010/04/bnp-unveils-its-2010-campaign-issues-afghanistan-immigration-and-the-global-warming-conspiracy (accessed 1 May 2010).

754 the *Barking and Dagenham Sentinel*, no. 1, 2010. The BNP excised the offending phrase from pdf copies of the newspaper circulated online.

755 'The Highly Irregular Lifestyle of Patrick Harrington', *Eddy Butler blog*, 8 March 2011, http://eddybutler.blogspot.co.uk/2011/03/highly-irregular-lifestyle-of-patrick.html (accessed 7 November 2011).

756 Prior to the poll, Griffin had also embroiled the BNP in a costly financial settlement with Anglo-Dutch multinational Unilever after breaching its copyright during an election broadcast, see Christopher Wadlow, 'The Marmite Election', *Journal of Intellectual Property Law and Practice*, vol. 6, no. 12, 2011, pp. 868–879.
757 The *Guardian*, 13 March 2010.
758 *Ibid.*
759 Russell Myers and Lee Sorrell, 'Nick Griffin: Barking's just like Central Nairobi', *the People*, 25 April 2010, www.people.co.uk/news/tm_headline=nick-griffin-barking-s-just-like-central-nairobi%26method=full%26objectid=22210082%26siteid=93463-name_page.html (accessed 7 July 2012).
760 'Nick Griffin Talking About Barking & the Rest London After the Elections', 8 May 2010, YouTube, www.youtube.com/watch?v=fr0LmLz0jXk (accessed 7 November 2011).
761 'General Election 2010 Analysis by BNP Leader Nick Griffin', 9 May 2010, http://bnp.org.uk/news/general-election-2010-analysis-bnp-leader-nick-griffin (accessed 10 May 2010).
762 Nigel Copsey, 'Sustaining a Mortal Blow? The British National Party and the 2010 General and Local Elections', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 46, no. 1, 2012, pp. 16–39.
763 João Carvalho, 'The End of a Strategic Opening? The BNP's Window of Opportunity in the 2000s and its Closure in the 2010s', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 49, no. 3, 2015, pp. 271–293.
764 'UPDATED WITH AUDIO AND VIDEO: BNP Conference Plans Way Forward as Nick Griffin Announces Intention to Step Down in 2013', www.bnp.org.uk/news/updated-audio-and-video-bnp-conference-plans-way-forward-nick-griffin-announces-intention-step- (accessed 22 September 2015).
765 A pliant Griffin loyalist also stood, presumably to make the contest appear less hostile to Griffin.
766 'Former Stoke-on-Trent BNP Man Criticises Party', BBC News, 21 March 2010, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/staffordshire/8579023.stm (accessed 8 August 2010).
767 See newsletter of SGSS (Gurdwara Sri Guru Singh Sabha), www.sgss.org/newsletter/documents/joint_statement.pdf (accessed 3 September 2012).
768 'Nick Griffin was Right on Grooming – and on Who Does It', 24 May 2012, www.bnp.org.uk/news/national/nick-griffin-was-right-grooming-–-and-who-does-it (accessed 30 May 2012).
769 'How the Far Right Almost Wrecked £2m Trial of Rochdale Sex Grooming Gang', *Manchester Evening News*, 9 May 2010, www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/how-the-far-right-almost-wrecked-2m-687969 (accessed 13 September 2018).
770 The *Sun*, 29 February 2012.
771 Siobhan Fenton, 'Paige Chivers Murder: Neo-Nazi Paedophile Robert Ewing Found Guilty of Murdering School Girl', the *Independent*, 11 July 2015, www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/paige-chivers-murder-neo-nazi-paedophile-robert-ewing-found-guilty-of-murdering-school-girl-10382489.html (accessed 13 September 2018).
772 Daniel de Simone, 'The Neo-Nazi Paedophile who Plotted to Kill', BBC News, 2 April 2019, www.bbc.com/news/stories-44798649 (accessed 2 April 2019).
773 @NickGriffinBU, Twitter, 25 September 2014, https://twitter.com/nickjgriffinbnp/status/515082231413743616 (accessed 13 September 2018).
774 'Hitting Back at the Rotten Establishment', http://campaigns.bnp.org.uk/s/1/bbqi/ejQgOhW/691xr (accessed 21 November 2012).
775 Matthew Goodwin, 'Forever a False Dawn? Explaining the Electoral Collapse of the British National Party (BNP)', *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 67, no. 4, 2014, pp. 887–906.
776 'Local Government Facts and Figures: England', *LGiU*, www.lgiu.org.uk/local-government-facts-and-figures/ (accessed 10 April 2017).
777 *Leadership Election 2011: Andrew Brons' Election Address* (2011); and *Party Overview: A Report on the Mismanagement of the BNP* (2011).
778 'BNP Conference: I'm in Charge Says Nick Griffin', BBC News, 29 October 2011, www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-15499611 (accessed 10 April 2017).
779 For Brons' statement, see http://andrewbrons.eu/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=628:statement-from-andrew-brons-mep (accessed 16 October 2012).
780 Ruby Kitchen, 'MEP Andrew Brons to Stand Down at Election', *Harrogate Advertiser*, 3 April 2014,www.harrogateadvertiser.co.uk/news/local/mep-andrew-brons-to-stand-down-at-election-1–6538148 (accessed 10 April 2017).

781 Nick Griffin, *What Lies Behind the English Defence League? Neo-Cons, Ultra-Zionists and Their Useful Idiots*, 23 May 2013, www.bnp.org.uk/sites/default/files/what_lies_behind_the_english_defence_league.r2.pdf (accessed 5 June 2015).
782 Andrew Brons, 'National Politics: Where Do We Go from Here?', YouTube, 23 May 2015, www.youtube.com/watch?v=FKSiDjQ9VWg (accessed 5 June 2015).
783 'It Isn't all Greek to Me', *Eddy Butler's Blog*, July 2011, http://eddybutler.blogspot.com/2011/07/it-isnt-all-greek-to-me.html (accessed 7 November 2011).
784 'BNP Chief Leads Mr Monkey Protest at Town Hall', the *Shields Gazette*, www.shieldsgazette.com/news/local-news/bnp_chief_leads_mr_monkey_protest_at_town_hall_1_3527662 (accessed 10 April 2017).
785 'Those who Cannot Remember the Past are Condemned to Repeat it (Part 2)', *Eddy Butler's Blog*, 14 April 2011, http://eddybutler.blogspot.com/2011/04/those-who-cannot-remember-past-are.html (accessed 7 November 2011).
786 'Every Fishing Line is the Beginning of a New Race', *Eddy Butler's Blog*, July 2011, http://eddybutler.blogspot.com/2011/07/every-finish-line-is-beginning-of-new.html (accessed 7 November 2011).
787 Andrew Brons, 'Reports of My Resignation Have Been Greatly Exaggerated', 8 February 2012, http://bnpideas.com/?p=3621 (accessed 17 February 2012).
788 Matthew Collins, 'The State of Hate in 2013', *Hope Not Hate*, 21 January 2014, www.hopenothate.org.uk/blog/insider/article/3368/the-state-of-hate-in-2013 (accessed 23 February 2014); and *Identity*, no. 28, January 2003.
789 'BNP's Nick Griffin Declared Bankrupt', BBC News, 3 January 2014, www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-25590155
790 British Nationalists EU Speech, 'White Genocide & Zionist Supremacists', YouTube, www.youtube.com/watch?v=AabxIT1GGYU.
791 Griffin had tweeted on prior to the trial: '#Edl #Infidels #Casuals #EVF #SEA etc all welcome at Lee Rigby trial demo. Old Bailey, 18th Nov. 9 a.m. onwards. #protectourtroops #BNP #BVG,' @NickGriffinBU , Twitter, 12 November 2013, https://twitter.com/NickGriffinBU/status/400300074187915264 (accessed 12 November 2013).
792 For the appeal, see www.bnp.org.uk/news/national/22nd-may-judgement-day.
793 *Identity*, no. 55, June 2005.
794 See www.demotix.com/photo/4766977/nick-griffin-bolton-oppose-new-mosques-farnworth (accessed 21 January 2015).
795 Graham Macklin, ' "There's a vital lesson here. Let's sure we learn it": transnational mobilisation and the impact of Greece's Golden Dawn upon extreme right-wing activism in Britain', in Nigel Copsey and Matthew Worley (eds), *Tomorrow Belongs To Us: The British Far Right since 1967* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 185–207.
796 'BNP Leadership: A Personal Statement by Nick Griffin', 21 July 2014, www.bnp.org.uk/news/national/bnp-leadership-—-personal-statement-nick-griffin (accessed 21 February 2014).
797 'Nick Griffin Expelled from BNP Membership', 1 October 2014, www.bnp.org.uk/news/national/nick-griffin-expelled-bnp-membership (accessed 2 October 2014).
798 Graham Stewart, *Bang! A History of Britain in the 1980s* (London: Atlantic, 2013), p. 428.
799 @NickGriffinBU, Twitter, https://twitter.com/NickGriffinBU (accessed 10 April 2017).
800 For an overview of APF politics, see Ryan Shaffer, 'Pan-European Thought in British Fascism: The International Third Position and the Alliance for Peace and Freedom', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 52, no. 1, 2018, pp. 78–99.
801 Publius, 'Racial Profiles'.
802 Anton Shekhovstov, *Russia and the Western Far Right: Tango Noir* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).
803 See Nick Griffin's VK page, https://vk.com/nickgriffin (accessed 1 February 2018).
804 'Russian Elections "Much Fairer Than Britain's": Initial Verdict from Nick Griffin', 9 December 2011, https://bnp.org.uk/news/national/russian-elections-"much-fairer-britain's"-—-initial-verdict-nick-griffin (accessed 15 December 2011).
805 For the remarks, see 'For Those Who Cannot Speak!', www.bnp.org.uk/news/national/those-who-cannot-speak-video (accessed 18 December 2013). Tellingly, this was the title of a famous piece of Holocaust denial literature published by British Movement leader Michael McLaughlin in 1979.

806 Dominic Kennedy, 'Russia's Role in Fostering Extremism Under Scrutiny', *The Times*, 6 February 2017, www.thetimes.co.uk/article/russia-s-role-in-fostering-extremism-under-scrutiny-5ckh2qpgh (accessed 10 March 2018).

807 Alan Cullison, 'Far-Right Flocks to Russia to Berate the West', *Wall Street Journal*, 23 March 2015, www.wsj.com/articles/far-right-flocks-to-russia-to-berate-the-west-1427059613 (accessed 10 March 2018). In line with this appeal to traditionalist 'Christian' values in Russia, and elsewhere, the AFP published, *The Attack on the Family and the European Fightback* (Brussels: AFP, 2016) excoriating feminism, abortion and homosexuality. 'We have it translated into Russian already but need advice on advertising on VK and Odnoklassniki. If you can help please message me. Thank you,' Griffin posted on his VK page in September 2016, see https://vk.com/nickgriffin?w=wall292118168_234%2Fall (accessed 10 March 2018).

808 Publius, 'Racial Profiles'.

809 'Polish Fascists are Joining with Pro-Russian Right-Wing Extremists', *Anton Shekhovtsov's Blog*, 6 June 2014, http://anton-shekhovtsov.blogspot.no/2014/06/polish-fascists-are-joining-pro-russian.html (accessed 10 March 2018) provides an incomplete list of the delegation: Bartosz Bekier, leader of Falanga (Poland); Frank Creyelman and Filip Dewinter, leading figures in Vlaams Belang (Belgium); Roberto Fiore, leader of Forza Nuova (Italy); Luc Michel, leader of the Parti Communautaire National-Européen and founder of the Eurasian Observatory for Democracy & Elections (Belgium); and Mateusz Piskorski, of Samooborona (Poland).

810 Götz Nordbruch, *Nazism in Syria and Lebanon: The Ambivalence of the German Option, 1933–1945* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 117–120.

811 Ryan Shaffer, 'Pan-European Thought in British Fascism', p. 299.

812 @NickGriffinBU, Twitter, 9 June 2013, https://twitter.com/NickGriffinBU/status/343829470530113537 (accessed 10 March 2018).

813 @NickGriffinBU, Twitter, 9 June 2013, https://twitter.com/NickGriffinBU/status/343832151290167296 (accessed 10 March 2018).

814 'Shocking: Carnage in Syria', YouTube, 16 June 2013, www.youtube.com/watch?v=IBKwig2blkQ (accessed 10 March 2018).

815 'Jihad Attack on Police Station', YouTube, 14 June 2013, www.youtube.com/watch?v=bEbqN5czb9s (accessed 10 March 2018).

816 'Exclusive: Interview with a Suicide Bomber', YouTube, 19 June 2013, www.youtube.com/watch?v=xOYjCyAjnKY (accessed 10 March 2018).

817 '"Syrians Want to go on Living in Secular, Tolerant State"', *RT*, 12 June 2013, www.rt.com/op-edge/syria-secular-us-weapons-581/ (accessed 10 March 2018).

818 '"A State Under Attack, Not a State in Crisis"', *Syria Times*, 12 June 2013, http://syriatimes.sy/index.php/editorials/opinion/5939-a-state-under-attack-not-a-state-in-crisis (accessed 10 March 2018).

819 @NickGriffinBU, Twitter, 6 April 2017, https://twitter.com/NickGriffinBU/status/849896285830361089; and @NickGriffinBU, Twitter, 9 April 2017, https://twitter.com/NickGriffinBU/status/851010710675095552 (accessed 10 March 2018). In a similar vein, Griffin dismissed accusations that Putin was behind the attempted murder of a Russian defector and his daughter in Salisbury in March 2018 using a nerve agent as 'fake news' and a 'false flag', see @NickGriffinBU, Twitter, 14 March 2018, https://twitter.com/NickGriffinBU/status/973876248345743360 (accessed 23 March 2018).

820 Jasper Jackson, 'RT Sanctioned by Ofcom over Series of Misleading and Biased Articles', the *Guardian*, 21 September 2015, www.theguardian.com/media/2015/sep/21/rt-sanctioned-over-series-of-misleading-articles-by-media-watchdog (accessed 10 March 2018).

821 @NickGriffinBU, Twitter, 1 December 2014, https://twitter.com/nickgriffinbu/status/539475874501115904 (accessed 10 March 2018).

822 Brian Wheeler, 'BNP's Nick Griffin Claims He "Influenced" Syria Vote', BBC News, 4 September 2013, www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-23942041 (accessed 10 March 2018).

823 @NickGriffinBU, Twitter, 30 November 2014, https://twitter.com/NickGriffinBU/status/538984327573688321 (accessed 10 March 2018).

824 @NickGriffinBU, Twitter, 29 November 2014, https://twitter.com/NickGriffinBU/status/538796559899832320 (accessed 10 March 2018).

825 @NickGriffinBU, Twitter, 30 November 2014, https://twitter.com/NickGriffinBU/status/539096081636659201 (accessed 10 March 2018).

826 'Alliance of Peace and Freedom Delegation: Europe Must Take Syria's Side and Fight Terrorism', *Syria Times*, 6 June 2015, http://syriatimes.sy/index.php/news/local/18192-alliance-of-peace-and-freedom-delegation-europe-must-take-syria-s-side-and-fight-terrorism; and 'Lebanon Michel Aoun Elected President Fiore Great Hope for the Entire Middle East', *APF*, October 2016, https://apfeurope.com/2016/10/lebanon-michel-aoun-elected-president-fiore-great-hope-for-the-entire-middle-east/ (accessed 10 March 2018); and Publius, 'Racial Profiles'.
827 Publius, 'Racial Profiles'. Griffin also highlighted that the AFP maintained 'good relations' with the Syrian Social Nationalist Party, see Nahed al-Husaini, 'VT Damascus: Interview with UK Activist, Nick Griffin', *Veterans Today*, 19 November 2018, www.veteranstoday.com/2018/11/19/vt-damascus-interview-with-uk-activist-nick-griffin/ (accessed 20 November 2018).
828 'Hizbullah Official in Beirut Receives Visiting Far-Right "Alliance for Freedom and Peace" Party Members from UK, Italy, Belgium, Germany, and Croatia – Who Express Support for Hizbullah's Fight Against Israel', *Middle East Media Research Institute*, 19 March 2019, www.memri.org/reports/hizbullah-official-beirut-receives-visiting-far-right-alliance-freedom-and-peace-party (accessed 19 March 2019).
829 @NickGriffinBU, Twitter, 18 March 2019, https://twitter.com/NickGriffinBU/status/1107771388331520000 (accessed 18 March 2019).
830 Marcus Dysch, 'BNP Leader Out of Love with Israel', *Jewish Chronicle*, 13 June 2013, www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/bnp-leader-out-of-love-with-israel-1.45841 (accessed 10 March 2018).
831 'Syria: Stepping Stone to Russia', YouTube, 30 June 2013, www.youtube.com/watch?v=lHtMzrnTI6Y (accessed 10 March 2018).
832 See @NickGriffinBU, Twitter, 13 September 2015, https://twitter.com/nickgriffinbu/status/643023911005868032 (accessed 10 March 2018).
833 Nick Griffin, 'Bolshevik Revolution: Myth and Reality', *APF*, 7 November 2017, https://apfeurope.com/2017/11/bolshevik-revolution-myth-and-reality/ (accessed 10 March 2018).
834 During 2018, for instance, he promoted the work of Germar Rudolf and praised the then recently deceased French Holocaust denier Robert Faurisson as 'undoubtedly one of the bravest men I have ever met.' See @NickGriffinBU, Twitter, 22 September 2018, https://twitter.com/NickGriffinBU/status/1043414397597696000; and @NickGriffinBU, Twitter, 22 October 2018, https://twitter.com/NickGriffinBU/status/1054288858639228928 (accessed 19 March 2019).
835 Publius, 'Racial Profiles'.
836 LBC Radio, www.lbc.co.uk/ex-bnp-leader-im-emigrating-to-eastern-europe-122816; and Josh Barrie, 'Far-Right British Nationalist Nick Griffin says He Now Wants to Emigrate to, Er, Eastern Europe', *Indy100*, 9 January 2016, www.indy100.com/article/farright-british-nationalist-nick-griffin-says-he-now-wants-to-emigrate-to-er-eastern-europe–bkMP9b9TM3l (accessed 10 March 2018).
837 @NickGriffinBU, Twitter, 26 May 2017, https://twitter.com/NickGriffinBU/status/868093230822412288 (accessed 10 March 2018).
838 For Griffin's remarks, see Knights Templar International, January 2018, https://knightstemplarinternational.com/2018/01/white-sharia-ultimate-treason-important-audio-talk-2/ (accessed 7 March 2018).
839 'Nick Griffin: Right-Wing Chameleon', BBC News, 29 June 2001, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/1412785.stm (accessed 25 August 2016).
840 *Ibid.*
841 *Spearhead*, no. 118, September 1999.
842 Adam Smith, 'Nationalism in the Shadow of Empire: Nick Griffin', *Myth of the 20th Century*, 12 September 2018, https://myth20c.wordpress.com/2018/09/12/nationalism-in-the-shadow-of-empire-nick-griffin/ (accessed 19 September 2018).
843 *Ibid*.
844 Publius, 'Racial Profiles'.
845 Smith, 'Nationalism in the Shadow of Empire: Nick Griffin'.
846 Publius, 'Racial Profiles'.

Notes

1 Stanley Payne, *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945* (London: UCL Press, 1996), pp. 303–305.
2 W.D. Rubinstein, *A History of the Jews in the English Speaking World: Great Britain* (London: Macmillan, 1996), p. 314.
3 Richard Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998), p. x.
4 Julie V. Gottlieb, *Feminine Fascism: Women in Britain's Fascist Movement, 1923–1945* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000), p. 2.
5 Vernon Bogdanor, 'Review of *The Failure of British Fascism: The Far Right and the Fight for Political Recognition* by Mike Cronin', *History*, vol. 83, no. 270, April 1998, p. 380.
6 These include Thomas Linehan, *British Fascism, 1918–1939: Parties, Ideology and Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), which gives a cultural reading of the inter-war period, and Julie V. Gottlieb and Thomas P. Linehan, *The Culture of Fascism: Visions of the Far Right in Britain* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004); Nigel Copsey and John E. Richardson (eds), *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015). For a broader study exploring the shifting representation of Nazism in contemporary culture, see Gavriel D. Rosenfeld, *Hi Hitler! How the Nazi Past is being Normalised in Contemporary Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
7 Roger Eatwell, 'Ideology, Propaganda, Violence and the Rise of Fascism', in António Costa Pinto (ed.), *Rethinking the Nature of Fascism: Comparative Perspectives* (London: Palgrave, 2011), pp. 165–185. For a nuanced discussion of the application of cultural analysis to British fascism, see John E. Richardson, 'British Fascism, Fascist Culture, British Culture', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 53, no. 3, 2019, pp. 236–252.
8 Enoch Powell, *Joseph Chamberlain* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), p. 151.
9 Tony Kushner, 'The Fascist as "Other"? Racism and Neo-Nazism in Contemporary Britain', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 28, no. 1, 1994, pp. 27–45.
10 For a snapshot of the current state of fragmentation, see Nick Lowles (ed.), *State of Hate 2019: People vs. the Elite?* (London: Hope Not Hate, 2019).
11 Jeanne Hanna and Joel Busher, 'UKIP and the UK's Radical Right: A Tale of Movement Party Success?', in Manuela Caiani and Ondřej Císař (eds), *Radical Right Movement Parties in Europe* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), pp. 46–62.
12 Betty A. Dobratz and Lisa K. Waldner, 'Repertoires of Contention: White Separatist Views on the Use of Violence and Leaderless Resistance', *Mobilization*, vol. 17, no. 1, 2012, pp. 49–66.
13 Graham Macklin, '"Only Bullets will Stop Us!" – The Banning of National Action in Britain', *Perspectives on Terrorism*, vol. 12, no. 6, December 2018, pp. 104–122. See also Matthew Collins and Robbie Mullen, *Nazi Terrorist: The Story of National Action* (London: Hope Not Hate, 2019).
14 For an overview, see Graham Macklin, 'The Evolution of Extreme Right Terrorism and Efforts to Counter It in the United Kingdom', *CTC Sentinel: Combating Terrorism Center at West Point*, vol. 12, no. 1, January 2019, pp. 15–20.
15 Lasse Lindekilde, Stefan Malthaner and Francis O'Connor, 'Peripheral and Embedded: Relational Patterns of Lone-Actor Terrorist Radicalization', *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict*, vol. 12, no. 1, 2019, pp. 20–41.
16 Andrew Fergus Wilson, 'The Bitter End: Apocalypse and Conspiracy in White Nationalist Responses to the Islamic State Attacks in Paris', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 51, no. 5, 2017, p. 430.
17 Leon Festinger, Henry W. Riecken and Stanley Schachter, *When Prophecy Fails* (London: Pinter and Martin, 2008).
18 Fabian Virchow, 'Post-Fascist Right-Wing Social Movements', in Stefan Berger and Holger Nehring (eds), *The History of Social Movements in Global Perspective: A Survey* (London: Palgrave, 2017), pp. 619–646; and Pietro Castelli Gattinara and Andrea L.P. Pirro, 'The Far Right as Social Movement', *European Societies*, vol. 21, no. 4, 2019, pp. 447–462. The idea of the 'movement-party' – which contest elections whilst also mobilising around 'contentious issues' is analogous though seemingly utilised to understand groups at a slightly higher level of organisational development than those *groupuscules* under discussion here – many of which do not take part in elections. For more on this concept, see Manuela Caiani and Ondřej Císař (eds), *Radical Right Movement Parties in Europe* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019).
19 Rogers Brubaker, 'Between Nationalism and Civilisationism: The European Populist Moment in Comparative Perspective', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 40, no. 8, 2017, pp. 1191–1226.

20 For an introduction, see José Pedro Zúquete, *The Identitarians: The Movement against Globalism and Islam in Europe* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2018).
21 José Pedro Zúquete, 'The European Extreme-Right and Islam: New Directions?' *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 13, no. 3, 2008, pp. 321–344.
22 Kristina Bakkær Simonsen and Bart Bonikowski, 'Is Civic Nationalism Necessarily Inclusive? Conceptions of Nationhood and Anti-Muslim Attitudes in Europe', *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 59, no. 1, February 2020, pp. 114–136. If civic nationalism also encompasses groups like the Scottish Nationalist Party or the centre-left elements of the Catalan independence movement for example, then 'civic nationalism' becomes a very broad category which is not entirely consonant with the more exclusionary interpretation placed upon it here.
23 Nigel Farage, 'I've had Enough of People Insinuating that UKIP is Racist: It's Simply not True', *The Independent*, 16 April 2015, www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/i-ve-had-enough-of-people-insinuating-that-ukip-is-racist-its-simply-not-true-10182747.html (accessed 1 May 2019).
24 'Proud and Prejudiced', Channel 4 documentary, www.channel4.com/programmes/proud-and-prejudiced (accessed 29 February 2012).
25 Nick Griffin, *English Defence League? Neo-Cons, Ultra-Zionists and The Useful Idiots* (2012).
26 Robert Ford, 'Is Racial Prejudice Declining in Britain?', *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 59, no. 4, 2008, pp. 609–636.
27 Lauren McLaren, Anja Neundorf and Ian Paterson, 'Anti-Immigration Attitudes are Disappearing Among Younger Generations in Britain', *The Conversation*, 5 July 2019, https://theconversation.com/anti-immigration-attitudes-are-disappearing-among-younger-generations-in-britain-119856 (accessed 5 July 2019).
28 Zygmunt Bauman, 'The Migration Panic and Its (Mis)uses', *Social Europe*, 17 December 2015, www.socialeurope.eu/2015/12/migration-panic-misuses/ (accessed 20 February 2019).
29 Will Dahlgreen, 'Brits less Accepting of Syrian Refugees in the Wake of Paris Attacks', *YouGov*, 18 November 2015, https://yougov.co.uk/news/2015/11/18/brits-less-accepting-syrian-refugees-wake-paris-at/ (accessed 20 February 2019).
30 "Anti-Refugee Attacks Rise Four-Fold in Germany, *DW*, 9 December 2015, www.dw.com/en/anti-refugee-attacks-rise-four-fold-in-germany/a-18907776 (accessed 20 February 2019).
31 Jenny Hill, 'German Politician's Murder Raises Spectre of Far-Right Attacks', BBC News, 23 June 2019, www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-48716944 (accessed 19 June 2019).
32 Useful introductions to the expanding literature on the digital dimension to 'Alt right' include: George Hawley, *Making Sense of the Alt-Right* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017); George Hawley, *The Alt-Right: What Everyone Needs to Know* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 106–126; Angela Nagle, *Kill All Normies: Online Culture Wars from 4chan and Tumblr to Trump and the Alt-Right* (London: Zero Books, 2017); David Newert, *Alt America: The Rise of the Radical Right in the Age of Trump* (London: Verso, 2017); and Mike Wendling, *Alt-Right: From 4chan to the White House* (London: Pluto Press, 2018).
33 Thomas Zeithoff, 'How Social Media is Changing Conflict', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 61, no. 9, 2017, pp. 1970–1991.
34 Derek O'Callaghan, Derek Greene, Maura Conway, Joe Carthy and Pádraig Cunningham, 'Down the (White) Rabbit Hole: The Extreme Right and Online Recommender Systems', *Social Science Computer Review*, vol. 33, no. 4, 2015, pp. 259–478.
35 Elizabeth Dubois and Grant Blank, 'The Echo Chamber is Overstated: The Moderating Effect of Political Interest and Diverse Media', *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 21, no. 5, 2018, pp. 729–745.
36 Jacob N. Shapiro, *The Terrorist's Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013). For more on why 'extreme' political groups often do not carry out as much violence as they are clearly capable of, see Joel Busher, Donald Holbrook and Graham Macklin, 'The Internal Brakes on Violent Escalation: A Typology', *Behavioural Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2019, pp. 3–25.
37 'At Free Tommy Robinson Demonstration', *Hope Not Hate*, 9 June 2018, www.hopenothate.org.uk/2018/06/09/big-numbers-violence-free-tommy-robinson-demonstration/ (accessed 1 May 2019).
38 Jamie Bartlett, *Radicals: Outsiders Changing the World* (London: Windmill, 2017), pp. 51–96.
39 Joel Busher, Gareth Harris and Graham Macklin, 'Chicken Suits And Other Aspects of Situated Credibility Contests: Explaining Local Trajectories of Anti-Minority Activism', *Social Movement Studies*, vol. 18, no. 2, 2019, pp. 193–214.

40 Zak Doffman, 'Facebook Responds to U.K. Regulation and Banns Far Right Groups EDL, BNP and Britain First', *Forbes*, 18 April 2019, www.forbes.com/sites/zakdoffman/2019/04/18/facebook-permanently-bans-u-k-far-right-including-bnp-edl-nick-griffin-and-paul-golding/; and Oliver Darcy, 'Louis Farrakhan, Alex Jones and Other "Dangerous" Voices Banned by Facebook and Instagram', CNN Business, 3 May 2019, https://edition.cnn.com/2019/05/02/tech/facebook-ban-louis-farrakhan-infowars-alex-jones-milo-laura-loomer/index.html (accessed 2 May 2019).

41 Matthew Weaver, 'Hate Crime Surge Linked to Brexit and 2017 Terrorist Attacks', the *Guardian*, 16 October 2018, www.theguardian.com/society/2018/oct/16/hate-crime-brexit-terrorist-attacks-england-wales (accessed 1 May 2019).

42 Home Office, *Hate Crime, England and Wales, 2017/2018 – Statistical Bulletin 20/18*, 16 October 2018, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/748598/hate-crime-1718-hosb2018.pdf.

43 Brendan Cox, *Jo Cox: More in Common* (London: Two Roads, 2017).

44 Home Office, *Operation of Police Powers under the Terrorism Act 200 and Subsequent Legislation: Arrests, Outcomes, and Stop and Search, Great Britain, Financial Year Ending March 2018* (14 June 2018), p. 13, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/716000/police-powers-terrorism-mar2018-hosb0918.pdf (accessed 1 May 2019).

45 'Neil Basu Leads Prevent Conversation at ICT Summit', *Counter Terrorism Policing*, 9 September 2019, www.counterterrorism.police.uk/neil-basu-leads-prevent-conversation-at-ict-summit/ (accessed 9 September 2019).

46 Mattha Busby, 'UK has not "Woken Up" to the Far-Right Threat, Says Ex-Counter-Terror Chief', the *Guardian*, 18 August 2018, www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/aug/18/former-counter-terrorism-chief-says-uk-has-not-woken-up-to-far-right-threat (accessed 1 May 2019).

47 Craig J.J. McCann, *The Prevent Strategy and Right-Wing Extremism: A Case Study of the English Defence League* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019) for an overview. Statistics for the year to March 2018, the latest for which there are figures, record 7,318 Prevent referrals. 1,321 (18 per cent) of these related to right-wing extremism, a 36 per cent increase compared to the 2016/2017 period during which Islamist referrals decreased 14 per cent. The number of panel discussions regarding right-wing extremism taking place under the Channel programme, the part of Prevent focused upon providing support at an 'early stage' to those at risk of being drawn into terrorism also increased 58 per cent from 271 individuals in 2015/2016 to 472 in 2016/2017. 174 (44 per cent) of these individuals subsequently received specialist support from Channel, representing a 40 per cent increase on the previous year's figures. For the first time, a similar number of individuals have received Channel support for concerns relating to Islamist and right-wing extremism, see Home Office, *Individuals referred to and supported through the Prevent Programme, April 2017 to March 2018*, pp. 13–16, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/763254/individuals-referred-supported-prevent-programme-apr2017-mar2018-hosb3118.pdf (accessed 1 May 2019).

48 Vikram Dodd, 'MI5 to Take Over in Fight Against Rise of UK Rightwing Extremism', the *Guardian*, 28 October 2018, www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/oct/28/mi5-lead-battle-against-uk-rightwing-extremists-police-action (accessed 1 May 2019).

49 Vikram Dodd, 'Far Right may Exploit Brexit Tensions, Says UK Counter-Terrorism Chief', the *Guardian*, 23 January 2019, www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/jan/23/no-deal-brexit-incredibly-damaging-security-says-uk-counter-terror-head-neil-basu (accessed 1 May 2019).

50 'Threats to MPs at "Unprecedented" Levels, Says Met Chief', BBC News, 8 May 2019, www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-48205408 (accessed 8 May 2019).

51 'England Local Elections 2019', BBC News, www.bbc.com/news/topics/ceeqy0e9894t/england-local-elections-2019 (accessed 1 May 2019).

Select bibliography

The following section provides an overview of the archival collections consulted during the research for this study followed by a very short, select bibliography listing only some of the most important secondary works consulted.

The study drew upon a plethora of other sources too. Details of these are located in the footnotes.

Primary sources

Wayne Ashcroft papers, Modern Records Centre, Warwick University.
The Austin J. App Collection, American Heritage Centre, University of Wyoming, United States.
Adrien Arcand Collection, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Canada.
George W. Armstrong papers, AUT Arlington Special Collections, Arlington, Texas, United States.
Henry Hamilton Beamish papers – private collection.
Lord Beaverbrook papers, House of Lords Record Office, London.
R.D. Blumenfeld papers, House of Lords Record Office, London.
Board of Deputies of British Jews papers, London Metropolitan Archives, London.
Britons archive – private collection.
A.K. Chesterton papers – private collection.
A.K. Chesterton papers, University of Bath Library, University of Bath.
Conservative Central Office papers, The Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Ernest Sevier Cox papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, United States.
Richard Crossman papers, Modern Records Centre, Warwick University.
Avendis Derounian papers, Mardigian Library, National Association for Armenian Studies and Research, Belmont, Massachusetts, United States.
Admiral Sir Barry Domvile papers, Greenwich Maritime Museum, London.
Per Engdahl papers, National Archives, Stockholm, Sweden.
Jeffrey Hamm papers, Cadbury Research Library, Special Collections, University of Birmingham, Birmingham.
Patrick Harrington papers, Modern Records Centre, Warwick University.
Hyman papers, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.
Jewish Chronicle Library Collection, Wiener Library, London.
Jewish Defence Committee papers, Wiener Library, London.
Arnold Leese papers – private collection.
Arthur Nelson Field papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.
National Council for Civil Liberties papers, Hull University History Centre, Hull University Archives, Hull University.
Oswald Mosley papers, Cadbury Research Library, Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

Reverend James Parkes papers, Special Collections, University of Southampton.
Ezra Pound papers, Beinecke Library, Yale University, United States.
George Lincoln Rockwell papers, James M. Mason Collection, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, United States.
Robert Saunders papers, The University Library, Special Collections, The University of Sheffield.
Searchlight archive, University of Northampton Archive, University of Northampton.
G.L.K. Smith papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, United States.
Keith Stimely papers, Special Collections and University Archives, Knight Library, University of Oregon, Oregon, United States.
Eric Stoneman collection, British Library Sound Archive, The British Library, London.
Myra Story papers, Imperial War Museum, London.
Adolf von Thadden papers, Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Hannover, Germany.
Margaret Thatcher papers, Churchill Archive Centre, Churchill College, Cambridge.
The National Archives, Kew, London.
H. Keith Thompson papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, California, United States.
Trades Union Congress papers, Modern Records Centre, Warwick University.
Pedro del Valle papers, Special Collections and University Archives, Knight Library, University of Oregon, Oregon, United States.
Lord Robert Vansittart papers, Churchill Archive Centre, Churchill College, Cambridge.
Laurence Augustine Waddell papers, Special Collections, Glasgow University.
Patrick Wall papers, Hull University History Centre, Hull University Archives, Hull University.

Secondary literature – Books

Baker, David, *Ideology of Obsession: A.K. Chesterton and British Fascism.* London: I.B. Tauris, 2018.
Bar-On, Tamir, *Where have all the Fascists Gone?* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.
Beckett, Francis, *Fascist in the Family: The Tragedy of John Beckett MP.* Abingdon: Routledge, 2017.
Benewick, Robert, *The Fascist Movement in Britain.* London: Allen Lane, 1972.
Busher, Joel, *The Making of Anti-Muslim Protest: Grassroots Activism in the English Defence League.* Abingdon: Routledge, 2016.
Copsey, Nigel, *Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party and the Quest for Legitimacy.* London: Palgrave, 2008.
Copsey, Nigel and Macklin, Graham (eds), *British National Party: Contemporary Perspectives.* Abingdon: Routledge, 2011.
Copsey, Nigel and Richardson, John E. (eds), *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism.* Abingdon: Routledge, 2015.
Copsey, Nigel and Worley, Matthew (eds), *Tomorrow Belongs to Us: The British Far Right since 1967.* Abingdon: Routledge, 2018.
Coogan, Kevin, *Dreamer of the Day: Francis Parker Yockey and the Postwar Fascist International.* New York: Autonomedia, 1999.
Cronin, Mike (ed.), *The Failure of British Fascism: The Far Right and the Fight for Political Recognition.* London: Macmillan, 1996.
Cross, Colin, *The Fascists in Britain.* London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1961.
Dietz, Bernhard, *Neo-Tories: The Revolt of British Conservatives against Democracy and Political Modernity, 1929–1939.* London: Bloomsbury, 2018.
Dorril, Stephen, *Blackshirt: Sir Oswald Mosley and British Fascism.* London: Viking, 2006.
Fielding, Nigel, *The National Front.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.
Ford, Robert and Goodwin, Matthew, *Revolt on the Right: Explaining Support for the Radical Right in Britain.* Abingdon: Routledge, 2014.

Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas, *Hitler's Priestess: Savitri Devi, the Hindu-Aryan Myth and Neo-Nazism.* New York: New York University Press, 1998.

Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas, *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism and the Politics of Identity.* New York: New York University Press, 2002.

Goodwin, Matthew, *New British Fascism: Rise of the British National Party.* Abingdon: Routledge, 2011.

Gottlieb, Julie V. and Linehan, Thomas P., *The Culture of Fascism: Visions of the Far Right in Britain.* London: I.B. Tauris, 2004.

Griffin, Roger, *The Nature of Fascism.* Abingdon: Routledge, 1991.

Griffiths, Richard, *Fellow Travelers of the Right: British Enthusiasts for Nazi Germany, 1933–39.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Griffiths, Richard, *Patriotism Perverted: Captain Ramsay, the Right Club and British Anti-Semitism, 1939–40.* London: Constable, 1998.

Griffiths, Richard, *What Did You Do During the War? The Last Throes of the British pro-Nazi Right, 1940–45.* Abingdon: Routledge, 2017.

Holmes, Colin, *Searching for Lord Haw-Haw: The Political Lives of William Joyce.* Abingdon: Routledge, 2016.

Husbands, Christopher T., *Racial Exclusionism and the City: The Urban Support of the National Front.* London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983.

Jackson, Paul, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement: Hitler's Echo.* London: Bloomsbury, 2017.

Kaplan, Jeffrey and Lööw, Heléne (eds), *The Cultic Milieu: Oppositional Subcultures in an Age of Globalisation.* Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002.

Linehan, Thomas, *East London for Mosley: The British Union of Fascists in East London and South-West Essex 1933–40.* London: Frank Cass, 1996.

Linehan, Thomas, *British Fascism, 1918–1939: Parties, Ideology and Culture* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.

Loughlin, James, *Fascism and Constitutional Conflict: The British Extreme-Right and Ulster in the Twentieth Century.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019.

Lowles, Nick, *White Riot: The Violent Story of Combat 18.* Bury: Milo, 2014.

Lunn, Kenneth and Thurlow, Richard (eds), *British Fascism: Essays on the Radical Right in Inter-War Britain.* London: Croon Helm, 1980.

McLagan, Graeme and Lowles, Nick, *Mr Evil: The Secret Life of Racist Bomber and Killer David Copeland.* London: Blake Publishing, 2000.

Macklin, Graham, *Very Deeply Dyed in Black: Sir Oswald Mosley and the Resurrection of British Fascism after 1945.* London: I.B. Tauris, 2007.

Paxton, Robert O., *The Anatomy of Fascism.* London: Penguin, 2005.

Pilkington, Hilary, *Loud and Proud: Passion and Politics in the English Defence League.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.

Pitchford, Mark, *The Conservative Party and the Extreme Right, 1945–1975.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011.

Pugh, Martin, *Hurrah for the Blackshirts! Fascists and Fascism in Britain Between the Wars.* London: Cape, 2005.

Roberts, David D., *Fascist Interactions: Proposals for a New Approach to Fascism and its Era.* New York: Berghahn, 2016.

Shaffer, Ryan, *Music, Youth and International Links in Post-War British Fascism.* London: Palgrave, 2017.

Simonelli, Frederick J., *American Fuerher: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party.* Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

Simpson, A.W. Brian, *In the Highest Degree Odious: Detention without Trial in Wartime Britain.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Skidelsky, Robert, *Oswald Mosley.* London: Macmillan, 1975.

Tauber, Kurt P., *Beyond Eagle and Swastika: German Nationalism since 1945, Vol. 1.* Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1967.

Taylor, Stan, *The National Front in English Politics*. London: Macmillan, 1989.

Thurlow, Richard, *Fascism in Britain: From Oswald Mosley's Blackshirts to the National Front.* London: I.B. Tauris, 1998.

Tilles, Daniel, *British Fascist Anti-Semitism and Jewish Responses, 1932–40.* London: Bloomsbury, 2015.

Walker, Martin, *The National Front.* London: Fontana/Collins, 1977.

Willetts, Paul, *Rendezvous at the Russian Tea Rooms: The Spyhunter, the Fashion Designer & the Man From Moscow* London: Constable, 2016.