

Chapter 4: The National Socialist Movement

Between 1962 and 1968, Colin Jordan was the self-styled 'Leader' of the National Socialist Movement, an openly Nazi groupuscule. Considering its size and limited resources, as well as its overt extremism, this was an organisation that developed an impressive impact. It was able to gain a considerable degree of media coverage, especially in its first few years. Building on Jordan's earlier transnationalism, it was closely linked to other groups in Europe and America too. The movement was at the centre of the establishment of the World Union of National Socialists, a global neo-Nazi network that was run by both Jordan and his friend, George Lincoln Rockwell, the leader of the American Nazi Party. It was also central to the development of several other, important British fascists too, including John Tyndall and Martin Webster, who by the 1970s were figures operating at the heart of the National Front, as well as figures such as Andrew Brons, who later became a British National Party MEP in 2009. Typically for an extremist organisation, arguments, splits and fissures also defined the history of the groupuscule too. These included the formation of the breakaway group led by Tyndall, The Greater Britain Movement; on-going tensions between Jordan and his high-profile wife, Françoise Dior; and growing antagonism from a new wave of anti-fascists, which grew largely in response to the open and highly provocative National Socialist politics of Jordan's movement. During this time, Jordan's activism destroyed any hopes he had of living a normal life. At the beginning of 1962, he was still able to work as a schoolteacher, but by 1968, after two periods in jail and with his name and image indelibly attached to an array of newspaper stories, such respectability was no longer an option for him.

This chapter will survey Jordan in his heyday as an activist, examining the campaigns, material, internal organisation and international activities that developed during the lifetime of the National Socialist Movement. It will begin with a survey of the first nine months of the group, from its formation in April 1962 to the end of that year.

National Socialist Movement in 1962: the first nine months

On the 20 April 1962, Hitler's birthday, Colin Jordan became the formally designated 'Leader' of the National Socialist Movement. His application form, completed that day, listed his skills as 'public speaking, political journalism, political organising'. It also

confirmed he wanted to be a 'Member', paying two months fees in advance. He summarised his reasons for joining on the document as follows: 'from an initially general concern for race and nation and opposition to the Jew I came to realise that only National Socialism can break the power of the Jew and protect our race and nation'.¹ He gave a speech at the new movement's headquarters, 74 Princedale Road, boasting of how the movement would help to unite National Socialists in Europe, especially the *Nordiska Rikspartiet*, the Danish National Socialist Workers' Party, the *Borenasie* in South Africa, and George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party, as well as sympathisers in Germany for whom National Socialism was illegal. Though marginalised, he foresaw 'today there is a new stirring', and declared that his new movement would 'strive by our propaganda of word and deed' to create in Britain 'a beacon of the National Socialist faith' that would allow sympathisers across the globe to say that 'the light which Hitler lit is burning'. At the meeting, a cake decorated with a swastika was eaten, and the American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell was telephoned too. Rockwell wished the British Nazis led by Jordan good luck in their new venture, and ended the call with three 'Hearty "Seig Heils"'.²

Jordan's extremist splinter group from the British National Party took with it the Spearhead organisation too. A gymnasium for the elite force within the new group was established in the basement of the Princedale Road headquarters. At the foundation of the new movement, the group announced that it would hold meetings at Earls Court tube station every fortnight, while the elite unit Spearhead would be active twice weekly, with regular training exercises, camps and lectures to offer ideological instruction. In its first month, activists campaigned during local elections with posters, leaflets and stickers urging people not to vote, as the political mainstream represented 'more blacks, more Jewish exploitation'.³ What became the final edition of *The Northern European* also heralded the formation of the new movement, here also blaming some of the divisions found in the British National Party that had caused the split on the infiltration by members of Mosley's Union Movement. The British National Party's main failure, apparently, was its decision to mask its true political identity, hampering its development. Members who joined had 'interpreted the disguise as the substance', and worked to purge the British National Party of its true cause. In contrast, the National Socialist Movement would be a more honest expression of the core aims of the British National

¹ Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/008.

² Colin Jordan, 'April 20th 1962', *The National Socialist*, no. 1 June 1962, p. 6.

³ 'NSM Activity Gathers Way', *The National Socialist*, no. 1 June 1962, p. 3.

Party, and, this article stressed, would work for unity within ‘the Nordic, the European and the White Man which is an essential implication of National Socialism’. Other British fascist groups all represented a narrow ‘democratic nationalism’, while the National Socialist Movement offered the only true racial nationalism in Britain. As such, it took over the British National Party’s place in the Northern European Ring too.⁴

Despite its elevated aspirations, before 1 July 1962, the National Socialist Movement attracted very limited publicity. However, one lengthy report by the *Guardian* offered perspective on one of the group’s early meetings. It described how 25 people sat in the upper meeting room of Princedale Road, ‘Arnold Leese House’ as it had been called since 1958. They listened to a talk by a nervous speaker, Mr Anderson, on the topic of the ‘Hitler Youth movement’. The audience was a mixed crowd too. According to the newspaper, some young women were present, as well as ‘an earnest middle-aged women’ who was taking extensive notes. There were also men dressed in the Spearhead uniform, who sat beneath a photograph of Hitler that was set ‘in a cheap blue frame’. Later on, another speaker claimed the group needed to ‘stamp out all this rock ‘n’ roll, these Jew wailings from the heart of Africa’. Some open discussion then veered onto themes of ‘racial hygiene’, and the need to introduce ‘race certificates’ in the future. John Tyndall was interviewed and described to the reporter the elitist principles of the organisation. He stated that those ‘who follow Jordan’, such as himself, were ‘concerned only with the five per cent – the best ... to be trained as leaders’, and that ‘[we] are not after an elusive mass following. That will come later.’ Tyndall also described the revolutionary aims for the new movement, stating that it wanted to see the ‘whole democratic regime come crashing down’. He claimed the National Socialist Movement was non-violent too, yet undercutting this the *Guardian* report commented on a telephone call Tyndall took, asking for a contact to provide the movement with ‘a few tough lads for our meeting on July 1 ... the Jews and the Commies will be there and there will be trouble’.⁵ The meeting in question would prove a watershed moment for the group. Unlike previous meetings by the British National Party and Mosley’s Union Movement in Trafalgar Square, the impact of an openly Nazi movement addressing the British public in such a prominent site led to front-page headlines, and sparked national debate over free speech.

⁴ ‘British National Party Reorganised. Creation of the National Socialist Movement’, *The Northern European*, no. 10 January – June 1962, p. 1.

⁵ ‘Gentle Discourse on the Hitler Youth. A Visit to the Chosen Band’, *Guardian*, 19 June 1962, p. 3.

Photos of what became a notorious rally on 1 July 1962 show the square decked out with the Sunwheel logo, and the banner 'Free Britain from Jewish Control'. The event ended in chaos. 'The Battle of Trafalgar-Square' was the headline in the *Daily Mirror*, describing how the first significant public meeting organised by the National Socialist Movement attracted a large crowd of opponents, who ended up pelting Jordan and other organisers with rotten eggs and tomatoes.⁶ A more detailed report in *The Times* described how, for two hours, around 2,000 protestors with banners including the slogans 'Down With Fascism' and 'Remember Belsen' challenged what was really a handful of National Socialist Movement sympathisers. A police cordon helped Jordan, Tyndall and Denis Pirie deliver their speeches, which were based on to the rally's anti-Semitic theme. After several interruptions the neo-Nazis finally left the stage, and the National Socialist Movement leaders tried to reach a van and a Land Rover parked nearby. However, they were rushed by the crowd of protestors, and were only protected by someone waving one of the movement's flags. Their flag was then set on fire by a protestor. The police allowed the leaders' vehicles to leave, with National Socialist Movement members giving a Hitler salute as they fled. As others left, Jordan was stranded and so the police then escorted him to the nearest London Underground station, where he too was able to escape.⁷ The *Guardian's* reporting denounced both Jordan and the protestors, describing a scene marked by 'shouts of "Nazi scum" or "Jordan to the gallows," the faces contorted with hate, the clenched fists, and the screams of girls were almost as unpleasant as the speeches themselves'.⁸

The affair was of a large enough scale to require a political response. In Parliament, the Conservative Home Secretary, Richard Butler, was asked to justify why the rally was allowed to take place, while demands were made from figures such as longstanding campaigner for a stronger line on discriminatory speech, Fenner Brockway, to amend the Public Order Act.⁹ In his statement to the Commons, Butler deplored the rally and also clarified that, as far as he was concerned, the National Socialist Movement was a group of fewer than 100 members. (Around this time, the *Guardian* reported that membership was actually as low as 35 people.¹⁰) Butler also stressed that permission had been granted for the demonstration, as Jordan had twice spoken at small rallies in

⁶ 'The Battle of Trafalgar-square', *Daily Mirror*, 2 July 1962, p. 1.

⁷ '20 Arrested in Clashes', *The Times*, 2 July 1962, p. 12.

⁸ 'First Public Meeting of "Nazis" Ends in Violence', *Guardian*, 2 July 1962, p. 1.

⁹ *Hansard*, HC Deb 26 July 1962', http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1962/jul/26/business-of-the-house#S5CV0663P0_19620726_HOC_228.

¹⁰ 'Bringing them Down to Size', *Guardian*, 3 July 1962, p. 8.

Trafalgar Square, on similar topics, and these events had not led to the scale of violence that had unfolded on 1 July 1962. The police also reported that, of the 2,000 to around 5,000 protestors, only about 400 were organised opponents. Emanuelle Shinwell objected to the fact that, of the 20 people arrested, all were those opposing the rally, a point also stressed by another Labour MP, George Brown. Sir Henry d'Avigdor-Goldsmid also argued that the point that Trafalgar Square was a symbol of free speech, yet allowing figures such as Jordan to speak there, with police protection, would send out a very confusing message to the wider world. Nevertheless, Butler felt that procedures had been followed correctly, and stressed that Trafalgar Square was a place for political meetings, and praised the police handling of the incident.¹¹ Moreover, he stressed the Government may in future take a 'stricter line' when dealing with such events,¹² and that the speakers at the event, including Jordan, were being investigated.¹³ Later in July, Jordan and Tyndall were summoned under the Public Order Act to appear at Bow Street on 20 August, based on their speeches.¹⁴

The National Socialist Movement subsequently released text of Jordan's speech as a pamphlet. It came complete with an introduction presenting Jordan as the victim of state suppression, when in fact the police had tried to ensure he could continue despite anti-fascist protests. Examining this text helps explain why the event was seen as so provocative, though none of his arguments were new. Jordan's address began by describing Britain as a country led by a 'Jewish shadow-government' that had initiated 'the Coloured Invasion of our country'. He argued that Jewish-owned businesses sought to employ black people over whites to further this aim. He also claimed the National Socialist Movement was not opposed to black people *per se*, just the presence of black people in Britain. As he put it: 'We believe in a square deal for you in lands of your own, where you can live your own way of life', also stating that Jewish people 'want to see the mongrelisation of your race as much as ours. The Jews are your enemies as much as ours.' The speech also discussed the Second World War, again claiming it was fought in the interests of Jews, and that, despite their best efforts to destroy National Socialism, Hitler's politics was returning once again.¹⁵ Coming less than twenty years after the end of the Second World War, it is perhaps not that surprising that people were shocked by

¹¹ *Hansard*, 'HC Deb 03 July 1962', <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1962/jul/03/national-socialist-movement-meeting>.

¹² 'Police May in Future Take "Stricter Line"', *Guardian*, 4 July 1962, p. 2.

¹³ "'Nazi' Rally Prosecutions Considered', *The Times*, 4 July 1962, p. 12.

¹⁴ 'Mr Colin Jordan Summoned', *Guardian*, 19 July 1962, p. 3.

¹⁵ Colin Jordan, 'The Speech The Jews Rioted Over' (London: Phoenix Publications, n.d.).

such brazen and open Nazism. The *Observer* ran a feature on the day of the clashes titled 'Fascism in Britain', highlighting the rally, and opposition to it too, had been raised both in the Cabinet and in the House of Commons. The feature described the National Socialist Movement as 'the most bigoted and impetuous of three fascist or semi-fascist organisations currently seeking popular support'. Its account focused on Jordan's views on teaching in particular, and stressed that he believed 'racial nationalist teachers would replace democratic ones', if the National Socialist Movement were in power. This was a prescient issue, as the immediate issue that arose from the high profile episode in Trafalgar Square for Jordan was whether he should remain in his post as an English and Maths teacher at Stoke Secondary Modern Boys' School.¹⁶

On 4 July, Jordan was suspended from his teaching post on full pay by Coventry's school government sub-committee, which had received a number of letters from concerned parents. Jordan told newspapers that was 'not happy' to be described as a Nazi, 'but it is a cross you have to bear. It is a term of abuse ... I am no Jew baiter. The Jews have a country of their own and should be confined to it.'¹⁷ In a somewhat tautological announcement, a spokesman for the National Socialist Movement told the *Daily Express* that 'Obviously Colin Jordan is the victim of victimisation'.¹⁸ His suspension sparked further national debate on the right to teach whilst holding political views akin to Hitler's. The *Observer* commented that 'he is in favour of racial purity and, by implication at least, Hitler's policy of Genocide. The presence of a teacher who is known by his class to hold racist views is bound to make the position of Jewish or coloured children difficult.'¹⁹ The *New Statesman* though was more supportive, stressing that it was 'not that local people feel sympathetic towards Mr. Jordan. It is rather a belief that the authorities may have succumbed too hastily to outside pressures', which could in the end 'play into the hands of fanatics like Jordan'.²⁰ Ralf Schoenman, active in the anti-war direct action group the Committee of the 100, also generously stressed the idea of freedom involved 'a willingness to tolerate the ideas of those whom we despise'.²¹ Jordan was a member of the National Union of Teachers too, and sought its support. This put the NUT in a difficult position. As one of its statements put it, 'The N.U.T is on record as being completely opposed to any doctrine of racial discrimination in education. It also

¹⁶ Mark Arnold-Foster, 'Fascism in Britain' *Observer*, 1 July 1962, p. 3.

¹⁷ 'Mr Jordan is Suspended', *Guardian*, 5 July 1962, p. 1.

¹⁸ "'Nazi' Leader Barred', *Daily Express*, 5 July 1962, p. 7.

¹⁹ 'Comment', *Observer*, 8 July 1962, p. 8.

²⁰ 'Playing Fair by a Fascist', *New Statesman*, 13 July 1962, pp. 40 – 1.

²¹ 'Letters to the Editor', *Guardian*, 9 August 1962, p. 6.

has a long record of struggle to safeguard the right of teachers to take part in political activity and civic affairs in their own time.²² Undoubtedly, the NUT was in a difficult position, yet on the 19 July, when the school's governors recommended Jordan's dismissal, he described himself as 'quite satisfied with the case put by my union official'.²³

Jordan was also interviewed by Bob Gillman on Midlands News regarding his future, and here he stressed that the violence in Trafalgar square was caused by 'a gang of 150 Jews and Communists who went there with one intention', and 'that of breaking up the meeting'. He talked of other clearly politicised teachers working while wearing a ban the bomb badge, arguing this position was just extreme as his own set of views. On the issue of Jewish children, he explained that he believed they should move to Israel as soon as possible, and clarified that if he had a child being taught by a Jewish teacher he would do everything he could 'to remove him from the clutches of the Jew', and would not mind if parents of Jewish children did likewise to their children if they were taught by him. The interview closed with a brief discussion on his wartime record fighting against Nazi Germany, and here he clarified that his political views 'began to crystallise' during the war, and he now believed the 'last war was a mistake from the British point of view'.²⁴

Politicians continued to comment on Jordan too. Labour MP Richard March felt compelled to set out the distinction between fascist and other political viewpoints, such as Conservatism, Liberalism and Communism, as follows: 'Fascists ... hold as a fundamental belief that Jews and coloured children are innately inferior to others – and to force a Jewish or coloured parent to place his child in the care of persons holding this belief is carrying liberalism to a doctrinaire extreme'.²⁵ The pressure gave Coventry's local authorities little choice but to get rid of Jordan, and he was dismissed from his post on 29 August. A similar fate met others too. At around the same time Ian Kerr-Richie, the Research Officer for the National Socialist Movement, also lost his job with the Automobile Association.²⁶ In September, Jordan launched an appeal, again with the support of the NUT, and also wrote to the Lord Mayor of Coventry, though this was not successful.²⁷ The Lord Mayor had been subject to threatening telephone calls in July

²² 'Mr. Jordan's Right to N.U.T. Help', *The Times*, 11 July 1962, p. 6.

²³ 'Dismissal of Mr. Colin Jordan Recommended', *The Times*, 20 July 1962, p. 8.

²⁴ Available at: <http://www.macearchive.org/Archive/Title/midlands-news-05071962-colin-jordan-interview/MediaEntry/4.html>.

²⁵ 'Letters to the Editor', *Guardian*, 22 July 1962, p. 9.

²⁶ 'Mr. Jordan to Loose Job', *The Times*, 30 August 1962, p. 7.

²⁷ 'Mr. Jordan Appeals to Lord Mayor', *The Times*, 18 September 1962, p. 6.

relating to the case, which was unlikely to have endeared him to Jordan's cause.²⁸ A year later, Jordan was finally expelled from the NUT itself, for 'conduct detrimental to the interests and honour of the teaching profession and the union', in the words of an official statement from the union.²⁹ The expulsion followed a more detailed examination of Jordan's ideas for the future of teaching, if his organisation were to gain power.³⁰

By this time, Jordan had hit the headlines for other reasons too, including for running a neo-Nazi summer camp where, among other guests, prominent American neo-Nazi leader George Lincoln Rockwell helped secure more sensational press attention. Goodrich-Clark highlights that, at this time, the National Socialist Movement was seeking publicity to attract new members, while Rockwell was 'probably the most notorious neo-Nazi on the world scene'.³¹ Competing with a British National Party camp held on the 4 and 5 August, on land owned by Fontaine, Jordan's own summer camp opened on 4 August.³² Again, the event was formally organised by the Northern European Ring, which had advertised the camp in *The Northern European*. Campers were charged £1, and an additional 9/- for food per day, and were expected to bring sleeping bags, cutlery, and a torch too. The organisers themselves provided tents. Attendees were also warned not to wear political uniforms in public, highlighting an awareness of the 1936 Public Order Act among the organisers. Delegates were invited to bring small flags with them, and were told they could also make speeches during the event, in English, if they liked.³³

A confidential note for campers confirmed that Jordan was the Camp Organiser, and that Tyndall as his deputy. Peter Ling and Dennis Pirie were Duty Officers, while a Beryl Cheetham was the Camp Caterer, and Martin Webster was her deputy. Campers were instructed to rendezvous at Cheltenham Coach Station, on the evening of the 3 August, where they would meet a 'man wearing a sunwheel symbol conspicuously', who would take them to the secret location of the camp, a private wood at Guiting Power in Gloucestershire. On arrival, the Duty Officer would meet them, collect any fees due, and assign them a tent. A sample programme listed the order of activities for each day:

²⁸ 'Telephone Threats to Lord Mayor', *The Times*, 27 July 1962, p. 6.

²⁹ 'NUT Expels Mr. Jordan', *The Times*, 9 September 1963, p. 6.

³⁰ 'NUT Expels Jordan', *Observer*, 8 September, 1963, p. 13.

³¹ Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *Hitler's Priestesses: Savitri Devi, the Hindu-Aryan Myth, and Neo-Nazism* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), p. 199.

³² 'Mr Jordan's Secret Camp', *Guardian*, 3 August 1962, p. 1.

³³ 'Northern European Ring 1962 European Camp', *The Northern European*, no. 10 January – June 1962, p. 2.

0730 Reveille
0740-0745 Physical Training
0830 – 0900 Breakfast
0925 Camp Inspection
0930 Hoisting of flag
0930 – 1030 Meeting
1045 Mid-morning tea/coffee
1045 – 1300 Free time
1300 – 1330 Lunch
1400 – 1500 Meeting
1500 – 1830 Excursion
1600 Mid afternoon tea/coffee for those in camp
1900 – 1930 Supper
1930 – 2130 Free time
2100 Lowering of flag
2130 – 2300 Camp Fire (tea/coffee during)
2330 Lights out

‘Free time’ would be filled with voluntary games and sport, and the physical training was optional for all except Spearhead members. The meetings, described as ‘a corporate camp activity’, were not optional, while other duties for campers included contributing to collecting firewood, helping the Camp Caterer and her Deputy, and keeping the tents orderly. The circular also stated that the camp would have a ‘small attendance’ because of ‘special reasons’, but this should not detract from ‘the most vital item of all – the spirit of comradeship’.³⁴

Campers were instructed not to deal with the press, though there was much press interest given the heightened interest in the National Socialist Movement after the Trafalgar Square demonstration. Ahead of the camp, reports had suggested that the National Socialist Movement was also trying to arrange a conference for 15 to 17 August, on the theme ‘National Socialism: The World Movement of the White Man’, to be followed by another rally at Trafalgar Square on the 19 August. Jordan was hoping that around thirty figures from American and Europe would attend, including Lincoln Rockwell. In response, the Home Secretary announced a ban on anyone coming to

³⁴ London, The National Archives, PRO CRIM 1/3973.

Britain to attend such an event.³⁵ This was far from successful, as Rockwell, among others, was able to come to the camp. However the planned conference and rally at Trafalgar Square did not happen. Rockwell entered Britain on 29 July, via the Republic of Ireland, at a time when there were many American tourists beginning and ending their trips to Europe at Shannon airport, and was able to slip into Britain with no further checks on his passport. After being smuggled into the camp by Jordan, the American Nazi Party leader stayed for two days, despite the Home Secretary's order that Rockwell would not be able to attend the event. He became a minor tabloid media celebrity in the process. Jordan was keen to milk this situation not only for publicity, but also for funds. He offered photographs of Rockwell at the camp to the press, and claimed to have received over £100 for the sale of images. He offered an interview with Rockwell for £500. Given its detailed coverage of Rockwell, the *Guardian* suggested that the *Daily Mirror* had actually paid Jordan the money, though the paper's editor, Lee Howard, refused to comment.³⁶ The newspapers also reported that overall around 32 people were at the camp in its first weekend, though this number dwindled thereafter. Moreover, the camp was unable to carry out its scheduled activities, due to the heightened attention from outsiders. As a formalised, paramilitary event, the event was a failure. However, as a profile generating exercise for Jordan, it was much more successful. The headlines continued when, on 7 August, around 100 protestors, led by a local publican brandishing a shotgun, Walter Morley, attacked the camp. 'Nazi Camp Stormed', blasted the *Daily Mail* in a report that also noted that a swastika flag was fired at while fights broke out, and police with dogs were required to calm the scene. The authorities advised Jordan to terminate the camp. 'This is not a defeat', Jordan told the press, and stressed that he would not give away the location of Rockwell, though he knew his whereabouts.³⁷

As already noted, the *Daily Mirror* gave the affair a great deal of attention. Ahead of the camp, it had reported on the Home Secretary's decision with the headline 'Britain Bans Nazis from Abroad',³⁸ complete with a sinister picture of Jordan. The paper ran a story a few days later claiming Jordan was requesting a police guard to protect the camp from a planned attack by locals, which also noted that the British National Party's rival camp had itself attracted a similar number, 35 people.³⁹ The following day, Rockwell's appearance was headline news, complete with the *Mirror's* 'exclusive' picture of Rockwell

³⁵ 'Home Office Ban Entry of Nazi Delegates', *The Times*, 2 August 1962, p. 10.

³⁶ 'Mr Rockwell Ordered to be Deported', *Guardian*, August 8 1962, p. 1.

³⁷ 'Nazi Camp Stormed', *Daily Mail*, 8 August 1962, p. 1.

³⁸ 'Britain Bans Nazis From Abroad', *Daily Mirror*, 2 August 1962, p. 1.

³⁹ 'Nazi Campers Appeal For Police Guard', *Daily Mirror*, 6 August 1962, p. 5.

shaking hands with Jordan in front of a swastika flag.⁴⁰ The camp was on the front page again the following day, in a report on the event's final hours.⁴¹ Then, on the 9 August, the paper ran the headline 'Rockwell Surrenders to the Mirror', where Rockwell claimed the result of the camp was to have created 'the machinery which will put the wheels of a highly organised machine into operation'.⁴² Inside, William Conner's Cassandra column condemned the Home Secretary's seemingly lenient line, and stressed that Jordan and Rockwell, as well as the other 'fuehrers' must 'no longer be allowed to preach their dirty doctrines'.⁴³ On 10 August, the *Mirror* again defended itself from the accusation by the *Guardian* that it had helped contribute to National Socialist Movement funds. While not denying this in so many words, it stressed the claim was: 'too damn silly to discuss. You can laugh that one off in your spare time'. It also highlighted that its extensive reporting of Rockwell's visit meant that they were able to prove his presence, and so ensure that the Home Secretary deported him. It concluded that figures like Jordan and Rockwell would be 'ruthlessly – and noisily – exposed' by the paper.⁴⁴ Harold Sebag-Moniefiore, speaking at the London County Council, was critical of such publicity, claiming it represented 'the lowest form of journalism'.⁴⁵

A higher profile for the National Socialist Movement was leading to greater attention from the police too. On 10 August, Special Branch acquired a warrant and searched the National Socialist Movement's premises on Princedale Road. Jordan told the press that the movement 'do not blame the police ... We expect this kind of thing'.⁴⁶ As well as raiding the London headquarters, Jordan's home in Coventry was also searched at this time, and the police were interested in evidence relating to developing a quasi-military organisation, banned by the 1936 Public Order Act. Jordan complained to the Home Office, in a letter stating the raid would 'only strengthen our resolve' to liberate 'our country from Jewish control'.⁴⁷ Following the searches, Jordan was summoned to appear at Bow Street on 27 August, along with Tyndall, Kerr-Richie and Pirie. Spearhead had been deemed to breach the Public Order Act. Focusing on the case

⁴⁰ 'How a Top Nazi Beat the Ban', *Daily Mirror*, 7 August 1962, p. 1.

⁴¹ 'Village Army Routs Nazi Camp', *Daily Mirror*, 8 August 1962, p. 1.

⁴² 'Rockwell Surrenders to the Mirror', *Daily Mirror*, 9 August 1962, p. 1.

⁴³ 'Cassandra', *Daily Mirror*, 9 August 1962, p. 6.

⁴⁴ 'See no Evil, Hear No Evil', *Daily Mirror*, 10 August 1962, p. 2.

⁴⁵ 'LCC Want New Laws to End Racial Violence', *Guardian*, 11 August 1962, p. 2.

⁴⁶ 'National Socialist H.Q. Searched', *The Times*, 11 August 1962, p. 6.

⁴⁷ 'Raid Complain by Fascists', *Guardian*, 12 August 1962, p. 3.

and its sensational details, the *Jewish Chronicle* reported on the portraits of leading Nazis being removed from the premises, a topic that would crop up in the trial.⁴⁸

Before this case could be heard, however, Jordan and Tyndall were in court on 20 August relating to their Trafalgar Square speeches. The court was attended by supporters, wearing swastika armbands, as well as opponents, who were wearing yellow stars. Jordan and Tyndall wore suits with discreet sunwheel badges on their lapels. In the opinion of the magistrate, Jordan tried to use his time in the dock like a public meeting, and he convicted both Jordan and Tyndall, sentencing them to two months and six weeks in prison respectively. Both appealed, and were released on bail of £100.⁴⁹ Two anti-fascists of the period, Harry Kaufman and Harold Bindy, were fined 5s for using insulting words and behaviour outside the court. Bindy added, 'I am an ex-serviceman and was infuriated when I saw people wearing swastikas'.⁵⁰ The appeal for this case was held at the beginning of September, and here the Chairman of the London Sessions Appeal Committee overturned Jordan's conviction, describing his speech at Trafalgar Square as 'very, very near the borderline but ... just fails to step over the edge'. At the hearing, Jordan insisted that he was innocent of the charges, as he did not promote violence, that he did not say anything that could be deemed insulting, and also, when asked about why people might find his comment on Jews offensive, added that the idea that six million Jewish people were killed by the Nazis 'is a fabrication'. Tyndall's appeal was not overturned, although his six-week sentence was reduced to a fine of £10.⁵¹

This case overlapped with the beginning of the Spearhead case. On 27 and 28 August, Jordan also with Tyndall, Kerr-Richie and Pirie found themselves in Bow Street Magistrates Court, which decided they had a case to answer under the Public Order Act. In particular, revelations at this hearing included police finding a tin of weed killer at Princedale Road marked 'Jew Killer', and adorned with the instruction 'place a few crystals in a sealed room full of Jews'. Jordan also confirmed to police that he knew that, with the addition of further chemicals, the weed killer could be used as an explosive. Seven tins of the weed killer, totalling 12 lb., were discovered by the police. A further revelation was a letter to Colonel Shazley of the United Arab Republic, written by Tyndall. The letter sought £15,000 of funding for the National Socialist Movement, and included plans to develop an offshore radio transmitter. This was in return for the National Socialist

⁴⁸ 'Police Search Nazi Headquarters', *Jewish Chronicle*, 17 August 1962, p. 8.

⁴⁹ 'Prison Sentences for Jordan and Tyndall', 21 August 1962, p. 3.

⁵⁰ '5s. Fine For Shouts', *The Times*, 22 August 1962, p. 6.

⁵¹ 'Jordan Wins Appeal', *Guardian*, 5 September, p. 4.

Movement helping the United Arab Republic disseminate its own propaganda in Britain.⁵² Also, another seized letter showed that Tyndall had tried to secure SS style uniforms, as well as swords and daggers, from a supplier.⁵³ The trial eventually began on 2 October, and was recorded in some depth by the Press Association's Special Reporting Service.⁵⁴ The group were charged with four offences, two based around Spearhead actually being organised and trained, or organised and equipped, to use or display physical force, and two further, lesser charges that there was 'reasonable apprehension' that Spearhead was being used in this manner.

The trial lasted 13 days, with Jordan and the other defendants carrying out their own defences. At the beginning of the trial, Tyndall objected to one of the jury members, who was black, and a request for a replacement was granted. Press interest included lengthy reports by the *Jewish Chronicle*, which understandably took a detailed interest in the case. Its first report focused on the plans to develop an anti-Jewish radio station, as well as highlighting how the prosecution set out the portraits of Nazi leaders seized as evidence, including the painting of Streicher that Spearhead literature had described as 'a must for your drawing-room'.⁵⁵ Several witnesses described various activities by Spearhead. These included Olive Smith of Dorking, whose earlier witness testimony has described seeing 'about 10 or 12 men near my cottage ... dashing in and out of the undergrowth, if they had been children they would have been playing soldiers or cowboys + Indians or something but they were grown men so they weren't'. She also described this Spearhead field exercise involving a jeep, with Jordan himself dressed in the Spearhead uniform of a grey shirt, dark tie, and navy blue trousers tucked into boots.⁵⁶ Smith's accounts had already been portrayed in the press too, for example the *Daily Mirror* ran the headline 'Nazis "Played in the Bushes like Children"', in August.⁵⁷ Such testimony, drawing out the absurd, helped set the tone for the trial. Her account suggested she was not fearful of these activities, rather that she found them ridiculous, a theme Jordan and others actually drew out in their questioning of such witnesses, in order to suggest there was nothing threatening about Spearhead's activities.

⁵² 'Weedkiller Canisters "At Jordan's HQ"', *Guardian*, 28 August 1962, p. 3.

⁵³ 'Jordan Gives Booing Crowd Nazi Salute', *Guardian*, 29 August 1962, p. 3.

⁵⁴ The Wiener Library has a microfilm of this c. 110 page document, listed on their catalogue as 'Jordan and "Speedhead" trial at the Old Bailey, October 2-15, 1962', (Press Association Special Reporting Service: London, 1962).

⁵⁵ 'Radio Station Plan by British Nazis', *Jewish Chronicle*, 2 October 1962, p. 10.

⁵⁶ London, The National Archives, PRO CRIM 1/3973.

⁵⁷ 'Nazis "Played in the Bushes Like Children"', *Daily Mirror*, 28 August 1962, p. 3.

Another notable witness to Spearhead's paramilitary activities was a police sergeant, David Pemble, who, along with two other plain clothed officers passed themselves off as merely passers by, when they went to investigate activities at a disused school in Culverstone on 4 August 1961. Of the 18 Spearhead members present, many were in variants of the group's uniform, and were performing military drills. As they arrived, Pemble and his colleagues were greeted by several Spearhead men holding iron bars. Another Police witness, Detective Inspector Charles William Tull told the court of his impression of the Northern European Ring camp of August 1962, noting features such as the ceremony based around the sunwheel flag in the morning. When he described what he estimated to be around 30 – 40 campers, he said around a dozen wore uniforms of some type, while seven carried a 'long dagger-type sheath knife'.

Other witnesses spoke about how the National Socialist Movement had become a press story since the Trafalgar Square demonstration. For example, a photographer was questioned, Lawrence Hanley, who went to the National Socialist Movement headquarters on 4 July with the consent of both Tyndall and Jordan to photograph a typical evening event, and whose photos were later used by the police investigation. Jordan attempted to suggest in his questioning that Hanley was employed by a Jewish-owned media organisation, and that the magazine in which the photos eventually appeared in, *Today*, which ran a critical story on the National Socialist Movement on 4 August 1962, was politically biased in favour of a Jewish conspiracy. As at many other points during the trial, here the judge had to reign in Jordan's questioning, as it was clearly becoming irrelevant. Jordan was also able to cross-examine a Special Branch officer, Chief Detective Inspector George Williams, who also described how the number of photographs of Hitler found on the premises 'was an indication that the defendants worshiped in private the same person they eulogised in public'. The trial focused on other material clearly revealing the group's neo-Nazi sympathies, including its literature, such as the *Greyshirt*, which openly called for the emulation of the spirit of the Nazi movement. Jordan objected to the term 'worshiped', yet Williams stressed walls in the HQ were 'plastered' with images of Hitler, and so felt the term was accurate. John Bean was called as a witness too, and he claimed that the National Socialist Movement was 'a complete imitation of National Socialist Germany, both in its ideological training and in its conduct and behaviour'.⁵⁸ At another point, Jordan tried to subpoena Sir Barnett Janner MP, the President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews. When the judge

⁵⁸ 'Nazis to Appeal Against Gaol Sentences', *Jewish Chronicle*, 19 October 1962, p. 9.

asked for clarification for the subpoena, Jordan claimed that there had been ‘an attempt to frame Mr. Tyndall and other defendants’, over the procurement of the weed killer. He seemed to have wanted to accuse Janner of plotting to incriminate Tyndall somehow, though there was no link between Janner and the weed killer, which had been sold to Tyndall by a local shop. When Jordan took to the witness box, he returned to the theme, and again alleged that ‘there had been a Jewish design to thwart justice and “in common parlance to frame the defendants”’.⁵⁹

Despite such efforts to claim a conspiracy against the defendants, the trial ended badly for Jordan and his co-accused. The four were in the end convicted of the lesser two offences, of training and equipping Spearhead members in a manner that could arouse ‘reasonable apprehension’ of the unit being used for displaying physical force to promote a political objective. They were found not guilty of actually training and equipping Spearhead in this manner, leading the judge to stress the conviction was based on ‘considerably less serious’ offences that it could have been, though still deemed the offenses as serious. He also stressed that the evidence linked to the weed killer was not enough to prove the group was intent on using the substance to make bombs, as suggested by the prosecution. Moreover, though their political views were deemed distasteful, the judge also concluded that they had not advocated violence against Jews, merely promoted the idea of deportation. This was a point that Jordan had made himself in his closing address, and throughout the trial too. He had stressed that Spearhead, though animated by National Socialist principles, was also conceived in a way that would not breach the Public Order Act. Though this may have been his intention, in the end this was not the conclusion of the jury. The four were all given prison sentences, Tyndall, Kerr-Richie and Pirie were given only three months each, while Jordan was given nine months. On the 18 October, Jordan and Tyndall lodged appeals, though when these were heard on 9 November, the original convictions were upheld. Indeed, the judges here felt that the issue of setting a deterrent sentence was important, and questioned whether the sentences had been long enough. Jordan also requested to appeal to the House of Lords, but was informed this would not be possible.⁶⁰

From Jail to Fragmentation

⁵⁹ ‘Colin Jordan Requests for an Investigation’, *Guardian*, 11 October 1962, p. 6.

⁶⁰ ‘National Socialists’ Appeals Fail’, *Guardian*, 10 November 1962, p. 9.

In October 1962, Martin Webster issued a statement to National Socialist Movement members. He explained that their leaders were showing belief in the ‘final destiny and triumph of National Socialism’, that ‘we must not allow their sacrifices to be in vain’, and likened them to ‘14 year old Hitler youth boys’ who fought the Russians in Berlin. He also highlighted that the Leader, Jordan, had set up an emergency committee before the trial, while he was talking on the role of HQ Manager.⁶¹ Jordan too addressed National Socialist Movement followers in a letter written in Wormwood Scrubs. He stressed ‘the spiritual victory is ours’ and that with the ‘triumph of the will’ would come ‘the physical victory of tomorrow’.⁶² Despite such heroics, the year began with more bad news. On 1 January 1963, Jordan was given permission by the Home Office to attend a meeting of the NUT’s professional conduct committee,⁶³ yet this formalised a transition from a figure to be defended to a figure to be distanced from by the NUT. The beginning of 1963 continued with various other formal decisions not going Jordan’s way. In March, the police successfully appealed the quashing of his conviction for his Trafalgar Square speech. The judge this time, Lord Parker, stressed that the speech was likely to have caused a breach of the peace after all, and emphasised that, in his opinion, it would provoke beyond endurance ‘not only a Jew but a coloured man and quite a number of people in this country that were told they were merely tools of the Jews’.⁶⁴ Not wishing to let the matter rest, in April Jordan was able to take the case to the House of Lords, where he made a personal appearance, though in the end this final appeal failed too.⁶⁵ These appeals by Jordan were significant too; delaying a Government decision to revise legislation to prevent speeches such as those he delivered.⁶⁶ At the end of May, the Home Secretary, Henry Brooke announced a Bill to strengthen both the 1936 Public Order Act and the 1908 Public Meeting Act.⁶⁷ Although the National Socialist Movement was a tiny organisation, its impact within its first year was significant enough to be causing a reinterpretation of the law, helping to shape stronger legislation that would only hamper its cause.

In May, the National Socialist Movement issued new leaflets, to mark the twenty-second anniversary of Hess’s flight to Britain. It called for his release, while its internal

⁶¹ Martin Webster, *Emergency Bulletin From National H.Q.*, 17 October 1962.

⁶² Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/011.

⁶³ ‘Jordan to Face his Union’, *Daily Express*, 1 January 1963, p. 5.

⁶⁴ ‘Police Win Colin Jordan Appeal’, *Guardian*, 20 March 1962, p. 1.

⁶⁵ ‘Appeal by Jordan Fails’, *Guardian*, 24 April 1962, p. 5.

⁶⁶ ‘Decision on Race Incitement Soon’, *The Times*, 26 April 1963, p. 8.

⁶⁷ *Hansard*, ‘HC Deb 30 May 1963’,

http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1963/may/30/public-order#S5CV0678P0_19630530_HOC_267.

bulleting called for members to protest against the fact that Jordan had been given an extra month in prison.⁶⁸ The National Socialist Movement was also planning for the release of its leader at this time. The May 1963 edition of the sporadic publication of the National Socialist Movement, the *National Socialist*, featured a front-page article called 'From Jail to Victory'. Here, the suffering of the Leader and the others were described as counterproductive. Indeed, their travails were helping the movement generate 'a new type of man, as remote from the eunuch race of parliamentary babblers as fire is from water. We call him – the REVOLUTIONARY FRONTFIGHTER'. This new man combined loyalty, conviction and 'iron will'. Through this new man it stressed the 'revolution will be peaceful', and would win through 'the strength of a holy idea ... faith in the National Socialist future'.⁶⁹ Next to this rousing text was a large picture of Adolf Hitler, with the banner headline 'His Spirit Lives On'. Elsewhere, the publication combined features of previous magazines that Jordan had helped produce too, such as a News Comment section that echoed *Free Britain's* Newsview column. As well as ideological essays and articles, the paper advertised the role of what by this time was being called the Phoenix Bookshop, run from the Princedale Road premises, as well as Phoenix Records which offered 'DISKS AND TAPE RECORDINGS FROM THE GERMAN NAZI ERA HOURS OF SPEECHES AND GLORIOUS MARCHING MUSIC IMMENSE HISTORICAL VALUE'.⁷⁰

On 29 May, Tyndall issued a letter on paper headed 'National Socialist Movement Party Order', telling members to 'report for duty' at the gates of Wormwood Scrubs, to greet Jordan upon his release.⁷¹ A National Socialist Movement bulletin also noted there would be a small reception at Princedale Road for a select few, stating a larger event had been planned but the movement could not secure a room booking.⁷² The National Socialist Movement had sought to mark the occasion with a meeting at a town hall, alongside a more high profile event in Trafalgar Square. Yet ever since the National Socialist Movement rally on 1 July 1962, the extreme right group had not been able to hold meetings at Trafalgar Square. Mosley had been able to hold a rally there on 22 July 1962, which also ended in a riot, helping to cement a stricter line on such groups using the location for events. The British National Party was turned down on 2 September 1962, and the Union Movement on 23 September 1962. Roland Kerr-Richie,

⁶⁸ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, 8 May 1963, p. 1.

⁶⁹ 'From Jail to Victory', *The National Socialist*, vol. 1 no. 4 May 1963, p. 1.

⁷⁰ *The National Socialist*, vol. 1 no. 4 May 1963, p. 3.

⁷¹ Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/011.

⁷² *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, 29 May 1963, p. 1.

writing in the capacity of ‘Chairman of the Council of the National Socialist Movement’, wrote to the Ministry of Public Works to formally request permission on 19 February 1963 for its use by the National Socialist Movement, though was kept waiting until the end of April for a decision. In the intervening weeks, the Minister, Geoffrey Rippon, received letters from the Board of Deputies of British Jews, the Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women, the Anglo-Jewish Association, the League of Jewish Women, and the Political Committee of the London Co-operative Society, all protesting against the proposed rally. Once the meeting had been formally refused, Rippon then received a stiff letter from Jordan’s mother, claiming the state was ‘encouraging hooligan behaviours at public meetings’, though referring to anti-fascist protestors not to the offensive material delivered by the neo-Nazi speakers such as her son.⁷³

A similar story greeted the National Socialist Movement’s other attempts to find more low-key venues to mark Jordan’s release too. The group booked Luton town hall for 11 May 1963, and when questioned over the suitability of this the town clerk commented to the press that they were not aware of the purpose of the event at the time of the booking, yet also initially suggested all would go well, declaring ‘We are still supposed to have free speech in this country’. Despite this even-handed approach, Alderman Jack Couldwell of the area stressed he would do all he could to stop the booking,⁷⁴ and a petition of a few hundred opponents soon developed to oppose the event.⁷⁵ Later that month, another venue was sought, at Portsmouth Guildhall, yet permission was denied.⁷⁶ The National Socialist Movement tried Bradford civic hall in June, and again were turned down.⁷⁷ An internal bulleting shows the movement sought a room for its annual conference, which it wanted to hold on 15 June too, but again was hampered in its efforts. Elsewhere, the bulletin did advertise a trip to Stonehenge, which seems to have been more successful.⁷⁸

Jordan reflected on these travails, and the future of his organisation, in an interview with his local paper the *Coventry Express* in June 1963. As well as complaining that local authorities were suppressing public National Socialist Movement meetings, he told the reporter, Frank Branston, that his time in prison had only hardened his political views, and made him more determined. He commented on the future of Spearhead,

⁷³ London, The National Archives, PRO WORK 20/358.

⁷⁴ ‘Town Protests Against Party Meeting’, *Guardian*, 26 April 1962, p. 3.

⁷⁵ ‘Protest Over Colin Jordan’, *Observer*, 28 April 1963, p. 7.

⁷⁶ ‘Meeting Ban’, *Daily Express*, May 25 1963, p. 9.

⁷⁷ ‘National Socialists Refused Hall’, *Guardian*, 8 June 1963, p. 2.

⁷⁸ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, 29 May 1963, p. 2.

noting the name would no longer be used, and the section would probably being rebranded as a Propaganda Division. Its role would change too, and become focused on delivering leaflets and other material. After leaving the National Socialist Movement, Tyndall himself went on to use the name Spearhead for a long-running journal. Questioned over the potential tightening up of the Public Order Act in the wake of his conviction under it, Jordan stated that the National Socialist Movement would continue as before, although stressing clearly ‘we will operate up to the limit of the law’. On the issue of his future employment, he told Branston that, since he had been sacked, he intended to devote himself full time to his political activities.⁷⁹

The National Socialist Movement developed a more detailed set of policies around this time too, initially drawn up in a typed document that was issued from the Princedale Road headquarters. This early text reiterated the theme of freeing Britain from alleged Jewish domination, and promoted the idea of denying citizenship to anyone who was not Aryan. It set out the policy of deporting such people too. The document gave further detail on other themes too. In terms of a future the government, the movement proposed a one-party state, to be led by the National Socialist Movement Leader, and so Britain’s plural, democratic system would be replaced with Jordan’s personal rule. The British aristocracy was derided as ‘largely-decadent’ too, and so it would be superseded by ‘a new one, based strictly on racial quality ... and service to National Socialism.’ The House of Lords would be replaced with a ‘consultative council of the new aristocracy’, however, the monarchy itself would be retained. The new, authoritarian state would, somehow, preserve the right to freedom of expression, so long as this was not ‘positively harmful to the vital interests of our race and nation’. In terms of defence policy, the National Socialist Movement would institute conscription to enlarge the British Army once in power too. It would maintain spending on nuclear weapons, but would sever links with America, which was deemed a country controlling the British armed forces through the ‘Jewish money-power of Wall Street’. The general policy statement went into some further depth regarding the future of socialism too. The Communist Party would be banned, but it stressed that National Socialists did draw on the left. The statement proposed a ‘folk socialism’ that regulated private enterprise for the good of the nation would be developed, while a form of corporate state structure was proposed for industry, which would become a ‘corporate partnership of management, workers, and the state on behalf of the nation as a whole’. Once again, a guild system was described as a desirable

⁷⁹ Frank Branston, ‘The Man in the Dark’, *Coventry Express*, 7 June 1963, p. 2.

replacement for existing trade unions. Farming was idealised too, symbolising ‘a wholesome national community based on blood and soil’. All religions that did not ‘fundamentally conflict with the racial and national ideals of National Socialism’ would be allowed too. Again the idea of revolutionising schooling was set out. Schools would be radically reconfigured, and a new youth movement created, in order to foster a new generation that supported National Socialism. In terms of the legacy of empire, it proposed that Britain withdraw from the Commonwealth and establish a new association of only ‘the White Dominions, and other British areas of White settlement’. For Africa in general, it stressed the need for black and white people to be separated into racially demarcated states, to preserve racial and cultural differences. The document concluded with a typically fascist vision of heralding a new order, and described National Socialism as a revolution to overthrow Communism and democracy.⁸⁰

This twelve-point programme was subsequently developed into a printed leaflet, titled *Britain Reborn: The Will and Purpose of the National Socialist Movement*, written by Jordan. This more detailed statement began with two paragraphs describing Britain’s descent into the ‘twilight of decadence’ while ‘the grip of Jewish domination tightens’. The only solution was National Socialism, heralded as a ‘revolutionary new-life force’. The leaflet also set out a two-stage political strategy for gaining power. Firstly, there was a short-term aim of developing a new ‘task force’ for the struggle ahead. Because of the ‘apathy of the bulk of the population’, it argued the movement would remain small until ‘this indoctrination has been counteracted by mass-enlightenment’. This enlightenment process would be spurred on ‘when the Democratic system breaks down’, sparking a crisis when ‘the National Socialist Revolution commends itself to the British people’. In other words, without a political and cultural crisis, the groupuscule knew it had no realistic chance of achieving power, its leader was well aware of this fact. It also claimed that the cause was a ‘way of life’, and so ‘the struggle for National Socialist regeneration has also to be conducted in all spheres, not merely the political; and hence a movement, not merely a party, is required’.⁸¹ With this latter point, the movement stressed that while political power was unlikely, it was vital to keep a culture of National Socialism alive.

Attempts at garnering publicity by campaigning around sensational topics continued too. Jordan tried to capitalise on his time in prison by publicly writing to Harold Macmillan, to offer the Prime Minister information on the high profile case of

⁸⁰ Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/011.

⁸¹ Colin Jordan, *Britain Reborn: The Will and Purpose of the National Socialist Movement* (London: The National Socialist Movement, n.d.).

the spy John Vassell, who Jordan had met while in Wormwood Scrubs. Vassall had been convicted of spying for the Soviet Union the year before, and Jordan claimed to have much more information to offer of what he described as a 'shocking picture of a still operative homosexual network of corruption, involving Members of Parliament, high civil servants and even intelligence officers themselves'.⁸² On 9 July, Macmillan confirmed to the House of Commons that Jordan had been interviewed following his claims, and clarified that in the end nothing new came to light, but added 'while I do not think that one can take allegations made to a fellow prisoner by a convicted spy as necessarily true, I have thought it right to see that any ones not already dealt with should be passed to Lord Denning',⁸³ who was compiling report into the Profumo Affair and related issues, such as the Vassal case. Jordan wrote a lengthy article on the case in an edition of the *National Socialist* too, again claiming he alone was aware of the scope of 'a network of homosexual politicians, high civil servants, and others of grave power and prominence, gravely endangering our security'. His homophobic comments stressed that such a network symbolised a deep-seated decadence at the heart of the democratic system, and that it was the same force that had created a false, negative image of Nazi Germany. Linking his spin on the Vassel case to the more general theme of Jewish conspiracy, Jordan claimed it was these forces that were 'completely deceiving the public', stopping them from recognising that 'in Germany in the 1920's as a revolt of the German people against the same decadence, filth and corruption of Weimar democracy, and which, under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, fought its way to victory in 1933, and accomplished the great clean-up that followed'.⁸⁴ In the same edition, also edited by Jordan, an editorial statement decried a world that by the early 1960s was becoming increasingly marked by effeminate men and masculine women, once more claiming this was a sign of 'the decaying order of the day ... of which Spengler so truly wrote'.⁸⁵

Internal bulletins by September 1963 paint a picture of the movement starting to grow in stature too. It called for more volunteers for the National Headquarters, to deal with increased mail, and also noted that the National Socialist Movement was becoming more active in Liverpool, with a group there achieving good sales of its newspaper, while in Northampton a new group was formed, and activity in Coventry was encouraging too. A notice on the supply of leaflets also reveals how the National Socialist Movement

⁸² "Disclosure by Vassal" in Prison Talks', *Guardian*, 14 June 1963, p. 2.

⁸³ *Hansard*, 'HC Deb 09 July 1963', <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1963/jul/09/colin-jordan-representations>.

⁸⁴ Colin Jordan, 'Behind the Democratic Curtain', *The National Socialist*, vol. 1 no. 5 May 1963, p. 2.

⁸⁵ 'The Era of the Queer', *The National Socialist*, vol. 1 no. 5 May 1963, p. 2.

funded some of its activities. Members were issued a rationed number of leaflets, and if they wanted to distribute more than they needed to purchase them at £1 for 1000 leaflets.⁸⁶ National Socialist Movement swastika badges were also charged for, priced 7/6d each, though they were only available to those who had served a six-month period of probation.⁸⁷

With some signs of success, Jordan's media profile was boosted once again towards the end of the year. While Jordan had been in prison, the National Socialist Movement drew the attention of Nazi sympathizer Françoise Dior, a friend of another Nazi sympathiser, Savitri Devi, who herself had attended the 1962 summer camp and later joined the National Socialist Movement on 9 November 1962.⁸⁸ Dior was the niece of the fashion designer Christian Dior. Her attraction to Nazism developed during the German occupation, and so, after first being drawn to the National Socialist Movement in the summer of 1962, in the spring of 1963 she rekindled this Anglo-French connection, after the release of Kerr-Richie, Pirie and Tyndall. She was even engaged to Tyndall for around a month in June 1963, a story that received some press attention.⁸⁹ However, after meeting Jordan after his release she chose to marry him instead. Jordan was reported to have proposed in September, during a flight to Britain. Due to Dior's limited visa, this allowed the couple a month to plan their wedding. A memo was sent to Tyndall, Pirie and Webster also apologised for delays in preparing a new edition of the *National Socialist*, blaming the high level of media attention, including from international publications such as *Paris Match* that was ran a four-page feature. His relationship with Dior took priority over the running of the movement. The memo also stressed the importance of getting press coverage on the day of the wedding, and so Kerr-Richie, Pirie and Tyndall were instructed that 'the best show we can manage is desirable for publicity's sake'. Jordan ordered that as many supporters as possible needed to attend the ceremony in Coventry, and asked for all London members of the movement to attend the second ceremony at Princedale Road. He was not worried if they could not all fit in. Aware of the press attention, he stated 'Even if it means the place will be overcrowded it will be better than the press seeing just a handful going to and from the premises'.⁹⁰ For Jordan, his wedding was a media opportunity not to be missed.

⁸⁶ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, 14 September 1963, pp. 1 – 2.

⁸⁷ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, 28 September 1963, p. 1.

⁸⁸ Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/006.

⁸⁹ 'Dior Bride for British Nazi', *People*, 2 June 1963.

⁹⁰ Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/23/003.

A brief notice appeared in *The Times* at the end of September to announce the wedding.⁹¹ Dior's mother rejected the marriage, stating 'I would not allow that man Colin Jordan into my home. We want to have as little to do with this sad affair'.⁹² The wedding took place over two days, on the 5 October the pair were legally married at a civil ceremony in Coventry, and then on the 6 October, a ceremony took place at the National Socialist Movement headquarters in London. This involved a ritual based on a variation on a Nordic custom of the pair cutting their ring fingers with a dagger and mingling their blood by touching fingers, before letting a 'united' drop fall on an open copy of *Mein Kampf*. The pair then gave a Nazi salute and there was a toast of mead, all beneath a portrait of Adolf Hitler. The table itself was decked out with a swastika, and the pair's rings were later inscribed with swastikas too – thought they told the press this had already happened. Well-briefed press reports commented that, as they performed the ceremony, Jordan had said 'the mingling of our blood makes us true man and wife', adding also that the civil wedding was 'merely a formality to satisfy the civil authorities'.⁹³ The invite to the second event, sent by Pirie, had stressed that guests were forbidden from talking to the press, and that 'the Leader has forbidden the presence of the press on the premises during the ceremony and the reception'. Despite this, the media was kept up to speed, and articles were able to report on details such as the singing of the Horst Wessel Lied, comment on Jordan's speech, and note the liberal outbreaks of Seig Heil salutes. A National Socialist Movement bulletin also highlighted the symbolism of this ceremony, which 'brought home to all present one of the primary aims of our movement; to secure a return of our folk to true British traditions'.⁹⁴ Four images of the ceremony were reprinted in the *National Socialist*, alongside a statement saying how the marriage 'symbolised the spirit and purpose of the World Union of National Socialists', bringing together activists from Britain and France.⁹⁵ For the truly dedicated, elsewhere in the edition, there was an advertisement for copies of these photographs, sold at 2/6d each.

The month ended on a sourer note for Jordan, as he went to Coventry labour exchange to collect £3 unemployment benefit.⁹⁶ Despite this setback, the National

⁹¹ 'News in Brief', *The Times*, 30 September 1963, p. 8.

⁹² 'Dior Family Shuts Door on Today's Bride', *Daily Express*, 4 October 1965.

⁹³ 'Grin and Dagger Toast', *Daily Express*, 7 October 1963, p. 4

⁹⁴ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin* 12 October 1963 pp. 1 – 2. Usually these bulletins were issued by the National Secretary, Tyndall, however the edition congratulating Jordan's marriage to Dior was signed as 'Issued on Behalf of the National Secretary.'

⁹⁵ 'Colin Jordan Weds', 'Behind the Democratic Curtain', *The National Socialist*, no. 6, p. 2.

⁹⁶ 'Jobless Jordan', *Daily Express*, October 25, p. 8.

Socialist Movement itself was itself growing, though still very small-scale. A competition among the various sections of the organisation to sell copies of edition five of the *National Socialist* reported sales in a November internal bulletin. The results are worth listing, to give an indication of the size and geographical spread of the National Socialist Movement by this time:

London A	745
London B	378
Liverpool	200
London C	100
Coventry	40
Monmouth	30
York	25
Middlesbrough	21
Nottingham	20
Doncaster	15
Tyneside	15

Webster was leader of the winning London section, and was awarded a ‘sales shield’ to mark this achievement. The growth in Liverpool was also noted, and the section was deemed the most important outside London, as reflected in the sales figures.⁹⁷

Yet the National Socialist Movement was itself becoming disunited by the end of 1963. One of its core activists, Kerr-Richie, was expelled for disobeying orders and ‘factionalism’. The breakaway group was deemed to be operating outside the law too, and so members were told that lending any support to the breakaway faction would lead to instant dismissal from the National Socialist Movement.⁹⁸ Another internal bulletin described how the growing regional sections would be engaged with. Often, such reports showed that Tyndall, not Jordan, was making personal visits to the North of England. In November, regional National Socialist Movement leaders were told to secure the use of a tape recorder as messages ‘in National Socialist instruction, both ideological and organisational’ would be made available by the movement to be played to regional units.⁹⁹ The final bulleting of the year reported on the National Socialist Movement’s

⁹⁷ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, 2 November 1963, p. 1.

⁹⁸ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, 2 November 1963, p. 1.

⁹⁹ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, 16 November 1963, p. 2.

‘Yuletide Dinner’ event, which was ‘well attended’, though Jordan himself had not been able to appear in person. Rather he sent his regards via a tape recording, played to the guests. A further recording, of Rockwell, was played too, where he offered his own ‘inspiring Yuletide message from the American Nazi Party’.¹⁰⁰

Aside from such hit and miss leadership, members were encouraged to engage with the cultural side of the movement. One article in the *National Socialist* not only advertised Jordan’s book, *Fraudulent Conversion*, which was put at the top of the list of books for purchase, but also highlighted the wide selection of volumes written ‘by independent authors, dealing with the world’s problems in a manner in which National Socialists are at least broadly in agreement’, made available to members of the movement.¹⁰¹ The next edition of the *National Socialist* had another feature on the Phoenix Bookshop, which focused on the ‘ever growing range of Phoenix tapes’. Since it appeared in an earlier edition ‘demand has multiplied many times over’. Recordings could be acquired via the bookshop, and speeches by Hitler on sale included his last broadcast on 30 January 1945, as well as a complete version of his address to the Reichstag on 6 September 1939. Speeches by Goebbels and Himmler were also available, as were two volumes of ‘Songs of the Brownshirts’.¹⁰²

Other articles in editions of the *National Socialist* highlight the cultural dynamics of the group in other ways. Extracts from *Mein Kampf* as well as from Mussolini were reprinted, alongside an article on Arnold Leese House, illustrated with photos of Jordan and others at the notorious premises. Again, these were available for purchase. In this edition of the *National Socialist*, Jordan contributed a lengthy article on Holocaust denial. He reprised many of his arguments used in the Eichmann Supplement of *Combat*, for example repeating his claim that, if witness testimony was to be believed, Auschwitz much have killed 17,000,000 Jews – more than were in Europe at the time – an assertion used as a mode of discrediting the historical record. He also suggested that the figure of 6,000,000 killed by the Nazis needed to be radically revised, downward, as this did not take into account emigration of Jews from Europe. His figure suggested that actually around 300,000 Jews had been killed during the war by Germany, though probably most with good reason. He also used this figure to compare the treatment of Jewish people favourably with the number of German civilians killed, presenting Germans not Jews as the victims of the Second World War. In other words, the text was another classic piece

¹⁰⁰ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, 28 December 1963, p. 1.

¹⁰¹ ‘Phoenix Bookshop’, *The National Socialist*, no. 6, p. 6.

¹⁰² ‘Phoenix Bookshop’, *The National Socialist*, no. 7, p. 6.

of Holocaust denial literature, playing games with numbers, and arguing that the war was one where many civilians lost their lives, and Jewish civilian deaths should not be singled out in any way.¹⁰³

While developing an alternate subculture of National Socialism in this manner, the beginning of 1964 became marred by public revelations of Jordan's dysfunctional marriage. . Jordan's private life was being aired very publically and this dealt another blow to the National Socialist Movement 'You're no Leader, says Francoise', was the subheading to a headline in the *Daily Mirror* that ran 'Nazi Told: "Marriage is Over"'. The *Daily Mirror's* report quoted Dior herself commenting on Jordan as follows: 'I thought I was marrying a leader and a hero ... Instead I found I had married a middle-class nobody'. The reporter, Aubrey Thomas, had met with Dior in France. At the time, she was very keen to conduct the end of the marriage through the press. Jordan publically dismissed the revelations as a joke,¹⁰⁴ while the next day the paper ran another front-page headline: 'Please – I Love You says Fuhrer', in which he was quoted as begging Dior to 'please please please come home'. Dior was quoted again too, stating she sought a divorce, and added that though she still admired Hitler, she did not like the manner in which Jordan's National Socialist Movement was being run.¹⁰⁵ A couple of days later, it was reported that Jordan had travelled to Paris, and on his return told the press that the marriage was placed under undue strain, as they had been repeatedly refused suitable housing by landlords who were prejudiced against their political views.¹⁰⁶

Tensions between Jordan and Dior were mirrored by the on-going strains with others at the top of the National Socialist Movement. Even for those inside the bubble it was clear that Jordan's relationship with Dior was harming the profile of the movement as being the vanguard origination of racial nationalism. Jordan issued an internal note blaming the poor publicity on a 'sinister character known variously as "Bernard" and "Klingel-Schmidt"', a mysterious figure he also described as someone 'who purports to possess occult powers'. Allegations based on the influence of this mystery man were not entirely to blame. While Jordan stressed that the personal issues between himself and Dior had been resolved, it was not justifiable to ventilate these issues in public, thus she needed to be punished for 'supplying the positively harmful propaganda to the enemy press'. As such, her membership was suspended for two months from 14 February

¹⁰³ 'The Great Lie of 6,000,000', *The National Socialist*, no. 7, p. 3.

¹⁰⁴ Aubrey Thomas, 'Nazi Told: "Marriage is Over"', *Daily Mirror*, 7 January 1964, p. 1.

¹⁰⁵ Ray Hill, 'Please – I Love You, Says Jordan', *Daily Mirror*, 8 January 1964, p. 1.

¹⁰⁶ 'Nazi Jordan Blames the Landlords', *Daily Mirror*, 11 January 1964, p. 7.

1964.¹⁰⁷ Jordan and Dior later patched up their relationship, yet the impact had been devastating.

Contrasting with newspaper headlines, National Socialist Movement bulletins tried valiantly to suggest the movement was continuing to gain momentum in early 1964. In January, London members mounted a sticker campaign to develop once again the free Hess message, provoking media enquiries. Meanwhile, a bulletin reported excitedly that a Welsh member, David Smith, had been shot at walking home at night, after an appearance in court where he was fined £15 for painting swastikas on a wall. Such incidents were talked up within the movement. Elsewhere Section-Leaders were instructed to root out inactive members, while full members were reminded of their duty to wear their swastika badges at all times when actively campaigning for the National Socialist Movement. From February, internal bulletins became monthly, and were sent to all members. In principle, it had been stated that the *National Socialist* newspaper was supposed to be the main publication of the groupuscule, yet the National Socialist Movement found it impossible to regularise the delivery of this journal for its members. As a solution, it converted its two-page bulletin into a monthly activity report for this purpose instead.¹⁰⁸ Though there was on-going interest in its activities, the movement was clearly struggling by early 1964.

The National Socialist Movement held its annual conference on the 4 April, in a secret London location. A bulletin described how fully paid up members needed to go the Princedale Road headquarters on 4 April, and from there would be given instructions on how to get to the event. The morning session was billed as dominated by a talk from Tyndall, the National Secretary, followed by an afternoon of speeches including one by the Leader. Time was also given over for discussion. Later in the month, on 20 April the National Socialist Movement advertised a dinner celebrating the birthday of Adolf Hitler, priced at £1.¹⁰⁹ Externally, members could believe that all was going well. However, internally, the movement had already broken apart.

In particular, by the beginning of 1964, the relationship between Jordan and Tyndall was unravelling. On 14 January, Jordan wrote to Tyndall suggesting he resign as Leader, stressing 'I feel that the ridicule of having been denounced as unfit to lead and unreliable as a National Socialist by my wife is something which I cannot surmount and

¹⁰⁷ Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/011.

¹⁰⁸ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, February 1964, p. 1.

¹⁰⁹ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, March 1964, pp. 1 – 2.

which it is wrong to handicap the organisation with'.¹¹⁰ Tyndall wrote to Jordan in reply. He acknowledged that the press coverage regarding Dior was a setback, but also assured Jordan that he backed him, due to his strong leadership abilities. He also stressed that Jordan needed to 'employ these abilities in the same way as they were employed during the period of our greatest successes in 1962'.¹¹¹ Tensions had been building since the Dior headlines, and on the 27 February Jordan issued a note to 'Senior H.Q. Officers' claiming his authority was not being recognised, and that factionalism would not be tolerated. As a measure to introduce greater respect, he ordered that senior officers should refer to each other as "Mr ----" and not by first names', at least when in the presence of other members. He also clarified that his office was out of bounds unless he authorised access.¹¹² Members and the wider public became aware of a fundamental split on 12 and 13 May, when contrasting press reports announced that Jordan and then Tyndall had been expelled from the group. According to one of the reports, Tyndall argued Jordan had been expelled because of 'his woeful neglect of his duty as leader of the movement and undignified conduct in public detrimental to the good image of National Socialism'.¹¹³ Internal literature, meanwhile, gives more insight into the breakup.

One document shows that Tyndall, Pirie and Webster, along with two others, Peter Holland and Michael Passmore, issued a lengthy statement setting out their reasons for wanting to expel Jordan from the movement. Curiously, the document highlighted that the National Socialist Movement lacked any constitutional process for formally changing Leaders. Indeed, the Leader principle suggested that this should not be possible. This had led Tyndall and others to act in a more dynamic manner, in their bid to overthrow Jordan. They listed various reasons for wanting him gone, including neglecting his leadership duties ever since being released in May 1963. He was rarely to be found at the HQ and carried out very limited activities, apart from editing two editions of *National Socialist*, which were both late. They also felt he put leisure interests before work in a way that was alienating hard working activists. They also felt that he sought personal publicity, which was detrimental to the movement. Finally, they thought that his handling of press coverage of his marital difficulties in January 1964 had shown him to be a figure that lacked decisive leadership skills. The Tyndall faction had tried to persuade Jordan to step down ahead of the April conference to, but Jordan

¹¹⁰ Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/24/001.

¹¹¹ Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/006.

¹¹² Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/006.

¹¹³ 'Mr Tyndall Insists: "It is Colin Jordan Who Is Expelled"', *Guardian*, 13 May 1964, p. 5.

refused. As his suspicions grew, at the end of April Jordan had the locks changed at the National Headquarters, effectively locking out the core leadership beneath him. Yet already suspecting that Jordan was about to change the locks, Tyndall's faction had already removed various items from Princedale Road, including its membership details.

The statement issued expelling Jordan proposed initially that Tyndall and his faction would now take over and lead the National Socialist Movement.¹¹⁴ Meanwhile, in another document, Tyndall set out the future of the National Socialist Movement under his leadership. He would take it in a new direction, and his style of National Socialism would stress more clearly 'the salvation of Britain', and the movement would be 'a 200% British movement' too. Jordan, Tyndall felt, had become too obsessed with the German past, and also was 'completely dilettantic'. Dismissing Jordan as a part timer, he felt that a 'mighty political and social revolution cannot be engaged in as a mere diversion from the sweet pleasures of a comfortable suburban life'.¹¹⁵ Such details amount to a devastating attack on Jordan as a serious figure, and came from someone who had previously shown him great loyalty.

Jordan was not going to be easily removed in this way, and stood his ground. On 11 May he wrote to Tyndall and formally dismissed him from the post of National Secretary.¹¹⁶ In May, Jordan issued his own National Socialist Movement internal bulletin telling his side of the story. Here, Tyndall's previous relationship with Dior, and subsequent jealousy, was highlighted as the central factor driving him to attempt to expel Jordan. He also accused Tyndall's group of spreading lies about his character, and of making offensive telephone calls to Dior too. The bulletin described the move by Tyndall as a 'sordid little rebellion against the constitutional leadership of this Movement'. The statement concluded by saying that new staff were being appointed to replace the defectors led by Tyndall, and that the headquarters was now keeping its usual opening hours of 19.00 to 22.00 from Monday to Friday and 14.00 to 22.00 on Saturdays.¹¹⁷ On 1 June, Jordan also wrote to Winifred Leese, saying that he had been in contact with the police regarding Tyndall removing items from Princedale Road. Though the police considered the theft of index cards and other items a civil matter, they did press charges as Tyndall also was alleged to have taken £40. He also appealed to Winifred Leese to supply him with extra copies of Arnold Leese's books, as the

¹¹⁴ Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/011.

¹¹⁵ Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/011.

¹¹⁶ Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/006.

¹¹⁷ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, May 1964, pp. 1 – 2.

bookshop was out of stock and she had spare copies in her garage. Tyndall had tried to contact Winifred Leese himself, though she remained firmly loyal to Jordan.¹¹⁸ The case of the £40 came to a conclusion in September. At the trial, Tyndall and Jordan met once again, while Bertha Jordan explained to the court that she had given her son the money as he was on the dole. Tyndall admitted taking files and equipment from the office, but not the money. The court acquitted him.¹¹⁹

Before this, June also saw Jordan and Tyndall both issue internal bulletins on National Socialist Movement headed paper, but with different addresses listed as its Headquarters. Jordan's bulletin described the need for a revival of the movement now Tyndall had left, and reported on a new application to hold a rally at Trafalgar Square, a meeting in Coventry, and a tour by Jordan of the provincial groups too. It concluded by claiming Tyndall's alternate headquarters for the breakaway faction, now based in Battersea, was causing a public nuisance, and that a new van that the faction had bought had derived the nickname the 'gas chamber' by local residence.¹²⁰ Tyndall's faction's bulletin attacked Jordan's attempts to revitalise the National Socialist Movement, claiming his tour of the provinces was 'comical to those for the last year have been imploring him to give some attention to these groups – only to be told ... it was a job for an subordinate official'.¹²¹ In July, Tyndall issued his final bulletin on National Socialist Movement headed paper, and announced that, in order to distinguish his organisation from Jordan's National Socialist Movement the movement he now led would be called the Greater Britain Movement, but continued there 'would be no change of ideology. The Greater Britain Movement will uphold, and preach, pure National Socialism'. It also printed a list of the active groups and sections, indicating how many had aligned themselves with his breakaway faction. These give both an indication of the lack of overall support for Jordan, and the geographical spread of support for the National Socialist Movement by 1964:

London	(Group).....	Mr Tyndall
Manchester	(Section).....	Mr Tyndall
Liverpool	(“).....	Mr Tyndall
Coventry	(“).....	Mr Jordan

¹¹⁸ Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/010.

¹¹⁹ 'Führer's Rival in £40 Clash', *Daily Mirror*, 16 September 1964, p. 15.

¹²⁰ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, June 1964, pp. 1 – 2.

¹²¹ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, June 1964, pp. 1 – 2.

York	(“)Mr Tyndall
Leeds	(“)Mr Tyndall
South Wales	(“)Mr Tyndall
Northampton	(“)uncommitted as yet
Luton	(“)Mr Tyndall
Southampton	(“)Mr Tyndall
Scotland	(“)Mr Tyndall

As such, Tyndall claimed to have secured the majority of the National Socialist Movement support, even if he had lost the title.¹²²

Life After Tyndall

Undeterred, Jordan’s rump section of the National Socialist Movement groupuscule sought new issues to campaign around. In the summer of 1964 it mounted a campaign against John Bloom, a businessman famous for selling washing machines at reduced prices. For the National Socialist Movement, Bloom was deemed a typical corrupt Jewish businessman, and so in July National Socialist Movement its activists mounted a demonstration outside the premises of one of Bloom’s companies, Rolls Razors, which was going into liquidation at the time.¹²³ The demonstrations amounted to a dozen people wearing swastika armbands carrying placards with slogans such as ‘Boycott Bloom and Jewish Business’, and distributing the *National Socialist*. Despite its small scale, three National Socialist Movement activists, Gordon Callow, Keith Polley and Gerald Lawman, were arrested and later found guilty of insulting behaviour. Loyal to their Leader, the latter two had stressed to the court that Jordan had instructed them to behave in an orderly manner.¹²⁴ The Bloom protest was intended to turn around the dwindling presence of the National Socialist Movement in London, as Tyndall’s breakaway Greater Britain Movement had drained the National Socialist Movement of much of its London support base. Other activities by the movement at this time included painting swastikas, a tactic it had deployed earlier, when two National Socialist Movement members, Patrick O’Conner and Rodney Rogers, were fined for painting

¹²² *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, July 1964, pp. 1 – 2.

¹²³ ‘Mr. Bloom Back in London’, *The Times*, 20 July 1964, p. 10.

¹²⁴ ‘“Nazi” Shout Outside Rolls Premises’, *Guardian*, 6 August 1964, p. 2.

swastikas and anti-Jewish slogans on City of London buildings.¹²⁵ At the end of the year, four more activists, Robert Relf, George Newey, John Richards and James Bradley, were found guilty of painting racist slogans, including swastikas, in Warwick, and were fined £175 each. An internal National Socialist Movement bulletin noted the high fines were an example of how the state now wanted to force through its policy silencing those who spoke against 'Coloured immigration and mongrelisation' adding, 'this racial treason'.¹²⁶ Relf was on the path of becoming another Jordan loyalist, also active in the British Movement in the 1970s.

National Socialist Movement messages were also deployed during the October 1964 General Election, where a number of interventions by the groupuscule gained press attention. In North Kensington, National Socialist Movement stickers were regularly put on lampposts, bearing both a swastika and the slogan: 'Don't Vote – a vote for Tory, Labour or Liberal is a vote for more Blacks!'¹²⁷ Also in this vein, one of the standout moments in the 1964 General Election was in the Smethwick constituency, which saw Labour's Patrick Gordon Walker defeated by the Conservative Peter Griffiths. The Conservative's campaign had tacitly endorsed the slogan that developed at this time 'If you want a nigger for a neighbour, vote Labour'. This was a message akin to the National Socialist Movement's rhetoric, though unlikely to have been coined by the group.¹²⁸ For Jordan, Walker was another important figure to target, and the group was active in the area. The campaigning in Smethwick became charged, and opposition to immigration was a theme widely exploited by the mainstream parties, while Griffiths's campaign ultimately best captured the mood. In the wake of Griffiths's victory, Jordan sought to claim some of the credit for Walker's defeat too, suggesting the National Socialist Movement's own sticker and poster campaign against Walker in the constituency had been significant, and added on the notorious slogan of the campaign 'These were not produced by us nationally, but I believe some of our local people have produced them'.¹²⁹ In another interview, he claimed the turn away from Labour's pro-immigration candidate represented a 'limited victory' for his movement.¹³⁰ He also claimed that the groupuscule had developed a new Birmingham branch in the wake of the heightened tensions during the Smethwick campaign.

¹²⁵ 'Swastika Painters are Caught', *Daily Express*, June 6 1963, p. 10.

¹²⁶ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, December 1964, p. 1.

¹²⁷ 'Labels Bear Sign of Swastika', *The Times*, 10 October 1964, p. 6.

¹²⁸ In a documentary for Channel 4 broadcast in 2014, 'Britain's Racist Election', the daughter of Griffiths's campaign manager, Cressida Dickens, claimed she coined the notorious slogan, aged nine.

¹²⁹ 'Jordan Talks of Smethwick Poster Campaign', *Birmingham Mail*, 22 October 1964, p. 11.

¹³⁰ 'Jordan's Boast', *Coventry Express*, 23 October 1964, p. 7.

Moreover, by attacking Walker, Jordan had found a high profile target that would allow him to gain much-needed press coverage. When Walker, who Harold Wilson appointed Foreign Secretary despite the defeat, decided to contest the January 1965 Leyton by-election, following the elevation to life peerage of Labour MP Reginald Sorensen, he thought that he would be walking into a safe Labour seat. This was not the case, though Walker did eventually become the Leyton MP in the 1966 General Election. However, the 1965 by-election again saw a swing to the Conservative candidate, Ronald Buxton. Other groupuscules, such as the British National Party and the Union Movement, also mounted campaigns, capitalising on the theme of opposition to immigration, yet in Leyton Jordan's National Socialist Movement were able to become much more prominent, compared with their campaign in Smethwick. In November 1964, Jordan challenged Walker to a public debate over the issue of immigration. Exploiting the notorious slogan of the Smethwick campaign, he announced the National Socialist Movement would be 'conducting a campaign against you ... on the theme of "a vote for Gordon Walker is a vote for a Negro as a neighbour"', adding he hoped for 'a similar success ... to our intervention in Smethwick'.¹³¹ An internal bulletin appealed for the help of members, and stated the aspiration was to put a leaflet issued by the National Socialist Movement in every letterbox in the constituency.¹³² There were efforts to limit Jordan's campaign too. For example, he was refused the booking of a hall for a public meeting by the Leyton town clerk, Derek Osborne, who reached the decision after consulting with a council committee.¹³³ Preparing itself for the coming election, December also saw the National Socialist Movement hold its annual Yuletide Dinner, reportedly attended by around 30 people, including the leaders of its Birmingham and Coventry branches. It also advertised a 'philosophical talk' by Jordan on the theme of 'Nietzsche's Zarathustra', at the end of January, by which time the group was expecting to have impacted on Walker's chances of winning in Leyton.¹³⁴

By the beginning of January, Jordan had hit the headlines for disrupting Walker during several meetings. This campaign began on 4 January, when Jordan interrupted a press conference at the Labour Party headquarters, which had already been graffitied with National Socialist Movement branded swastikas. Jordan declared 'you are a

¹³¹ 'Smethwick Voters "Disenchanted"', *The Times*, 26 November 1964, p. 8.

¹³² *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, December 1964, p. 1.

¹³³ 'Foreign Office Sets Up Shop in Leyton Town Hall', *Guardian*, 31 December 1962, p. 3.

¹³⁴ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, January 1965, p. 1.

disgusting race traitor’, and caused a disturbance that lasted for a few minutes.¹³⁵ Walker, bemused, commented afterwards that he had not met Jordan before, and thought he was ‘an unpleasant chap’.¹³⁶ The *Daily Mirror* also covered the story and described the commotion, while Jordan confirmed in an interview with the paper afterwards ‘we are campaigning against Walker specifically as we did in Smethwick’.¹³⁷ A couple of days later, Jordan was on the front page of the *Daily Mirror* again, with the headline “Nazi” Riot At Town Hall’. Reports described how Jordan and other National Socialist Movement members contributed to several fights and scuffles at a meeting also attended by Secretary of Defence, Denis Healey. As Jordan tried to mount the platform, shouting ‘Go back to Smethwick’ and ‘keep Britain white’,¹³⁸ a flour bomb was thrown and then Jordan himself was pushed off the stage by both Healey and Walker. The scene was another where Jordan was able to place himself at the centre of the action. Later, Walker reflected on the incident and claimed that the meeting was much worse than his travails in Smethwick, as there were more people coming from outside the constituency to create trouble.¹³⁹ Jordan’s media stunts continued and on 12 January. The *Guardian*’s Tony Geraghty described how Jordan produced, on the day of the deadline for nominations, what was described by the paper as ‘a mock candidate ... with blackened face who wore a transvestite garb intended to convey West Indian costume’, while Jordan completed the stunt by addressing the public with this ‘candidate’ on the steps of the town hall.¹⁴⁰ On the 16 January, two National Socialist Movement activists were charged with using insulting behaviour at the town hall for carrying a placard with the message ‘We immigrants are voting for Gordon Walker’, and distributing the group’s literature. One of the defendants gave Jordan a Nazi salute when he appeared in court.¹⁴¹ On the eve of the poll, another of Walker’s meetings was interrupted, where again Jordan led a protest that became more clearly violent. Jordan was set upon as soon as he began to disrupt the event, and was ejected with a bleeding nose, pictures of this were reproduced in the following day’s papers.¹⁴² Also, an explosive device was thrown during the disruption, though police were unable to identify who had done so.¹⁴³ Later Robert Relf claimed to

¹³⁵ Tony Geraghty, ‘Colin Jordan Enters Leyton Campaign Briefly’, *Guardian*, 5 January 1965, p. 2.

¹³⁶ ‘Mr. Gordon Walker Called “Traitor”’, *The Times*, 5 January 1965, p. 6.

¹³⁷ ‘Nazi Calls Gordon Walker a Race Traitor’, *Daily Mirror*, 5 January 1965, p. 5.

¹³⁸ “Nazi Riot at Town Hall”, *Daily Mirror*, 8 January 1965, p. 1.

¹³⁹ ‘Foreign Secretary in Scuffle on Platform’, *Guardian*, 8 January 1964, p. 1.

¹⁴⁰ Tony Geraghty, ‘Mr Jordan Produces a “Mock” Candidate’, *Guardian*, 12 January 1965, p. 3.

¹⁴¹ ‘Youth in Court Gives Fascist Salute’, *Guardian*, 19 January 1965, p. 13.

¹⁴² ‘Jordan Punch Up’, *Daily Express*, 21 January 1965 p. 7; ‘Poll Meeting Bomb’, *Daily Mirror*, 21 January 1965, p. 1 and 5.

¹⁴³ ‘Exploding Firework Thrown at Mr. G. Walker’s Meeting’, *The Times*, 21 January 1965, p. 12.

have thrown the device.¹⁴⁴ In all, Jordan's loyal band was able to generate a significant level of disruption, and raise the profile of the National Socialist Movement in the process.

The Leyton campaign had ended with Jordan once more in the headlines, and the National Socialist Movement being commented on by leading politicians. There were other ways the group hit the headlines too. Adding to the media sensationalism surrounding Jordan at this time, his wife, Françoise, had been in the news again in January after a Jewish taxi driver, Wolf Busell, was fined £3 for using insulting behaviour. She hailed his cab in Notting Hill, and when he recognised who she was, jumped out of the cab and shouted to passers by 'she is Colin Jordan's Wife, a Stinking Nazi', before snatching her swastika necklace and throwing it into the road. Reportedly, she responded by saying 'If you are a Jew, what are you doing out of the ovens'. Labour MP Ben Parkin called for her to be deported.¹⁴⁵ Wolf received several threats, and even had his home set on fire, and he subsequently decided to move to Israel. Commenting on the affair, Jordan himself stated he was 'not sorry to hear that this man has left Britain', yet also argued the National Socialist Movement 'had nothing to do with the threatening calls or alleged fire attempt'.¹⁴⁶ Shortly afterwards Françoise was rehabilitated by the group after the indiscretions of the previous year, and appointed Office Manager for the Headquarters.

The groupuscule was trying to reassert itself by 1965, yet was also clearly under-resourced. A bulletin from this time appealed for donations, claiming the movement needed £1000 to be 'independent and self-contained in respect to all kinds of printing', while a further £500 would allow it to buy a 'reliable propaganda vehicle', complete with microphone. It asked for members to pass on details of any potential benefactors outside the National Socialist Movement who might be able to help raise such funds.¹⁴⁷ On 15 and 16 May, the group put on a weekend of activities, including a lecture by Jordan on the pragmatic theme of selling National Socialist Movement literature. This also featured a 'gramophone recital' of Wagner's opera *The Valkyrie*, hosted by Dior, followed the next day by an afternoon conference on the state of the movement, and a lecture by Dior in the evening on Nietzsche's philosophy. It also registered some new growth in London,

¹⁴⁴ 'I Threw That Flash "Bomb" at Leyton', *Daily Mirror*, 22 January 1965, p. 5.

¹⁴⁵ 'Deport Jordan's Nazi Wife, Says MP', *Daily Mirror*, 15 January 1965, p. 4.

¹⁴⁶ 'Smuggled Away', *Daily Express*, 5 February 1965, p. 6.

¹⁴⁷ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, March 1965, pp. 1 – 2.

announcing a new group for South Woodford.¹⁴⁸ Though clearly a smaller concern following Tyndall's departure, the National Socialist Movement continued in its struggle to develop both political campaign and a National Socialist inspired community too.

The group's attempt to engage with cultural issues was also developed in the January – March issue of its sporadic publication, the *National Socialist*. Strikingly, the cover featured a picture of a young, white girl stood in front of a swastika, clearly presenting her as a flawless example of the Aryan ideal. The article accompanying the image claimed she was 'richly expressive' of the cause and 'the future of our race'. Inside, there was an extract from Jordan's speech at the 1964 National Socialist Movement conference, just before the split, calling for members to be proud of their heritage in National Socialism, and to hold together. The speech was quite uncompromising when describing the need to be hostile towards 'the old order' too, and stressed 'only a revolutionary movement imbued with the spirit of uncompromising and unrelenting militant hostility to the old order ... has a chance of bringing about the new order which is essential'.¹⁴⁹ Yet small print at the bottom of the page stressed, somewhat contrastingly, that the publication only sought to 'encourage the public to seek by lawful means alone the legislative reform of the present system', a message that seemed to ring hollow when compared to speeches such as Jordan's reproduced in the newspaper.

Elsewhere, the edition featured a history of the Nazi's own martyr Horst Wessel, and a discussion on the theme of 'Yuletide'. The former was an indication of the embrace of Nazi cultural reference points, while latter revealed a growing level of criticism of Christianity by Jordan. Readers were told that Christmas was a Christian celebration, though one imposed on the older Nordic custom of marking midwinter, or Yule. The essay went on to argue various Christmas customs were really rooted in a Nordic heritage, and the movement's ideals of racial nationalism sought to recover them from abuse by Christianity, deemed a faith created by Jews. From bringing in trees to trees to Father Christmas himself, the piece sought to reconnect readers with their true pagan roots and customs.¹⁵⁰ Next to this essay was a reproduction of William Henry Longfellow's poem The Challenge of Thor. In the following edition of the *National Socialist*, the same back page column printed an article called 'The Days of the Gods', explaining how the days of the week derived their names from pre-Christian, Anglo-

¹⁴⁸ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, April 1965, pp. 1 – 2.

¹⁴⁹ Colin Jordan, 'The Necessity of National Socialism', *The National Socialist*, no. 8 January – March 1965, p. 2.

¹⁵⁰ 'Yuletide', *The National Socialist*, no. 8 January - March 1965, p. 8.

Saxon and Viking roots. There was also an essay here titled ‘The British Swastika’, which claimed the symbol was actually a part of an ancient British cultural heritage.¹⁵¹ Such discussions, endorsed by Jordan, again highlight the concern with developing an alternate culture within the National Socialist Movement, a feature that marked the group throughout its lifetime.

Despite this cultivation of a cultic milieu for the initiated, it was campaigns that garnered attention, and the momentum, that kept the group going. Jordan was discussed in Parliament again in May, during heated debates over the introduction of the 1965 Race Relations Act. Peter Thorneycroft MP explained in his critical contribution to the Bill’s second reading that existing legislation had proved effective in prosecuting Jordan, and so tougher measures that may restrict free speech should not be introduced. He also argued the real issue needed was to restrict immigration, not introduce tougher legislation to prosecute those who criticise it. Former Home Secretary Henry Brooke also stressed that the tightening up of legislation under the previous Conservative government had restricted the ‘tiny Fascist groups’ which he felt would ‘wither unless they can get what they want most of all – and that is prominent Press publicity’. He added that they ‘find publicity too hardly bought now that the penalty can be a fine of £500 and 12 months imprisonment.’¹⁵²

Unsurprisingly, Jordan sought to integrate himself into these discussions on legislation in which he featured, by writing a letter to a number of MPs. This claimed the ‘coloured invasion’ and ‘Jewish domination’ of Britain was being tolerated and encouraged by Parliament, ‘and the race relations bill designed to facilitate these constitute an act of treason against the British nation.’ His letter also concluded by stating that the National Socialist Movement would bring to trial those it deemed responsible if it gained power. Included with the letter was a leaflet bearing a swastika too.¹⁵³ The Committee of Privileges, a body already familiar to Jordan, dealt with the affair. The Committee of Privileges confirmed that the letter had attempted to influence MPs by improper means, but also considered the likelihood of anyone taking the threat seriously so improbable that the best course of action was to ignore the threat. Afterwards, the National Socialist Movement issued a statement stressing that it would circulate literature ‘denouncing this treason at Westminster, and demanding that the

¹⁵¹ *The National Socialist*, no. 9 April - June 1965, p. 8.

¹⁵² *Hansard*, ‘HC Deb 03 May 1965’ <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1965/may/03/race-relations-bill>.

¹⁵³ ‘Swastika Leaflet Warning Goes to M.P.s’, *Daily Express*, May 21 1965, p. 7.

racial traitors be brought to trial'.¹⁵⁴ An internal bulletin reported on the letter too, as well as the response from parliament, and noted that the National Socialist Movement had confirmed the creation of a new leaflet, 'Treason at Westminster', as well as a sticker, 'Stop Soskice', a reference to Frank Soskice, Wilson's short-lived first Home Secretary.¹⁵⁵

National Socialist Movement internal bulletins lapsed until September 1965. The first one of the autumn did report on some activity over the summer months. It denounced the formation of a Birmingham branch of the Ku Klux Klan. Among its leaders was George Newey, a former National Socialist Movement leader for Birmingham. Again, the emergence of this short-lived outfit typifies the groupuscular culture of such extremism. The breakaway group had gained some wider media attention. The *Daily Express* noted on the development that 'militant former leaders of the Jordan party in the Midlands are determined to get their Klan branch recognised by the American Klan'.¹⁵⁶ Distancing himself from this connection, Jordan described them as the 'Ku Klux Clowns', and quoted a Coventry National Socialist Movement leader who admitted to having a short association with the group, before he came to realise they were a 'thoroughly unsavoury and childish bunch of petty hooligans ... primarily concerned to win some cheap notoriety'. Despite this breakaway developing, the September bulletin commented on some signs of further growth for the National Socialist Movement. It noted the formation of a new Branch in Liverpool as well as a new group in Stoke-On-Trent that aspired to eventually become a formal Branch of the movement. It also commented positively on a local paper, the *Evening Sentinel*, which featured an article on the distribution of National Socialist Movement leaflets to shoppers in Stoke and Hanley. Other areas of activity recorded here were Newcastle, Woodford, Tooting, Liverpool and Glasgow. Finally, the bulletin promised that the next edition of the *National Socialist* newspaper would include a special feature on 'The Coloured Invasion of Britain', which would 'undoubtedly make an impact'. This proved a prescient assertion, though not for the reasons though by Jordan at the time of writing.¹⁵⁷ A subsequent bulletin also reported that the feature would also be issued as a special pamphlet.¹⁵⁸ This pamphlet would become one of the more significant pieces written by Jordan.

¹⁵⁴ "Ludicrous Retreat on Privilege", *The Times*, 2 June 1965, p. 12.

¹⁵⁵ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, May 1965, p. 1.

¹⁵⁶ Jack Hill, 'At The Rally of the Ku Klux Klan', *Daily Express*, 14 June 1965, p. 5.

¹⁵⁷ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, September 1965, pp. 1 – 2.

¹⁵⁸ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, October 1965, p. 1.

The tactics of disrupting mainstream political debate to gain publicity continued in the autumn of 1965 too, especially during party conference season. For example, on 29 September at the Labour Party conference, Jordan mounted a one-man demonstration during the debate over the White Paper 'Immigration from the Commonwealth', which had proposed limits to the influx immigrants. Jordan managed to penetrate several layers of security at the conference, though stewards soon dealt with the intruder. Again, this stunt helped secure Jordan some media coverage, for example the *Daily Express* featured Jordan's efforts in a boxed out section with its own headline 'Jordan Thrown Out'.¹⁵⁹ He targeted other high profile events too. A week earlier he had disrupted a press conference for Jamaica's leader of the Opposition, Norman Manley Q.C., at the Royal Commonwealth Society. Jordan harangued Manley, telling him that he should have not been allowed into the country and that all people from the West Indies should return, causing Manley to walk out. Jordan then attempted to hold his own press conference, where he stressed the on National Socialist Movement would make Britain a white country again, and would put policies in place to achieve this when they seized power, which he estimated would be in about ten years' time.¹⁶⁰

In October, Jordan also tried to force his way into a meeting between the Prime Minister and Ian Smith, the Prime Minister of Rhodesia, at 10 Downing Street. Pushing past a police line, he waved a placard with the slogan 'Award for treachery for the betrayal of our white kinfolk in Rhodesia', claiming it was a gift for Wilson.¹⁶¹ Once more Jordan found himself in court, and though initially given a three-month sentence this was quashed in November.¹⁶² His arrest on this occasion did not stop him interrupting the Conservative Party conference either, on 17 October. In the final session, he seized the platform briefly, and repeatedly shouted 'The British National Socialist Movement says: "Support Rhodesia"'.¹⁶³ Jordan returned to this line of protesting again on 15 November, when he was ejected from public gallery in the House of Commons. He interrupted a debate regarding the imposition of economic sanctions on Rhodesia. 'Don't impose sanctions on white people', Jordan shouted, adding 'Wilson is betraying the interests of our race in Britain by coloured immigration'.¹⁶⁴ An internal bulletin set out the position more clearly, 'Loyalty to our race is our supreme allegiances', Jordan stated, and added,

¹⁵⁹ 'Immigration Attack Voted Down', *Daily Express*, 30 September 1965, p. 8.

¹⁶⁰ 'Race Outburst Hold-Up for Mr. Manley', *The Times*, 21 September 1965, p. 9.

¹⁶¹ 'Three Month Sentence on Jordan', *Guardian*, 2 November 1965, p. 5.

¹⁶² 'Sentence on Jordan was "Excessive"', *Guardian*, 26 November 1965, p. 9.

¹⁶³ 'Standing Ovation for Mr. Heath', *The Times*, 18 October 1965, p. 6.

¹⁶⁴ 'Warnings to Smith's Friends Here', *Daily Express*, 16 November 1965, p. 1.

‘We say that Rhodesia belongs to the Whites who took this territory of jungle and made it into a civilised state. It is theirs by right pioneer occupation and development’. As well as highlighting Jordan’s various interventions in support of Ian Smith, the bulletin stressed the group had developed a leaflet on the topic, which its activists would issue outside Rhodesia House in London.

Another marker of Jordan’s elevated profile was a flurry of interest from student publications at this time. He was even invited to speak at Southampton University on 26 October, and an internal bulletin quoted the *Southern Evening Echo*, which reported that he spoke for over an hour to an audience of around 600 students.¹⁶⁵ In January 1966 he was invited to speak at the Oxford Union, though this event was subsequently cancelled as the organisers felt that the event would only end up being wrecked by opponents. Meanwhile, at this time *Solem*, the magazine of Manchester University, reproduced lengthy extracts from Jordan’s 1962 Trafalgar Square speech.¹⁶⁶ The first ever edition of *Gibbet*, the magazine of the University of Warwick featured a lengthy interview with Jordan conducted by Frank Butler, who began the piece by explaining that he was Jewish, though was no longer practising his faith. In the interview, Jordan set out many of his familiar themes regarding racial nationalism, his desire to deport all ‘Jews, negroes and other representatives of non-European races’, but was motivated by a love for ‘our own people’, rather than ‘blind hatred’. His views on violence were also developed. He described the National Socialist Movement as a militant movement, though not one that advocated violence, apart from in self-defence. He also stated the movement would achieve political power though ‘legal, parliamentary means, not by violent revolution’.¹⁶⁷

Manchester Metropolitan University’s newspaper, *Independent*, was another that published an interview with Jordan, in May 1966. The shorter piece described firstly the sinister setting of the interview, which took place in a room decked out in red banners bearing swastikas, all of which contrasted with ‘the Fuehrer’ who was described as ‘a pleasant suburban character in flannels – and typically Anglican’. Jordan was also presented as someone who ‘commanded respect’, and had a ‘sophisticated way of arguing’, which made him ‘far more alarming’. Jordan commented positively on Hitler, describing him as someone who had only made some small mistakes, and stressed that, if he were in power, he would do exactly as Hitler had done. The interviewer, Bill Jameson,

¹⁶⁵ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, December 1965, p. 6.

¹⁶⁶ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, January 1966, p. 1.

¹⁶⁷ Frank Butler and Alan Pulverness, ‘Personality Interview’, *Gibbet*, Vol. 1, No. 1, November 1965, pp. 20 – 21.

noted that he visibly shuddered, involuntarily, at this point.¹⁶⁸ This interest among university magazines stretched to Wales too, and the *Courier*, the magazine of Aberystwyth University also featured an interview, by Martin Williams, the publication's Assistant Editor. Jordan set out his ideas for Wales, which included greater devolution of powers, and stressed that people should be proud to be Welsh too. The interview concluded with more detail on his thoughts on teaching, for him an important means of fostering national pride, he stressed.¹⁶⁹

Yet perhaps the most improbable, as well as most unguarded and extreme, of these interviews by such magazines came in the form of an interview in the *Bedales Chronicle*, the magazine of Bedales School, which at the time featured Gyles Brandreth as its Business Manager. The opening lines allowed Jordan to set out some of his Holocaust denial themes, such as stating he believed 'Auschwitz, jack-booted monsters bullying people in the streets, the killing of 6 million Jews; these are colossal fabrications accepted without question by a gullible public'. The interview also featured Jordan promoting eugenics, especially for 'the inferior and subnormal elements of our race', and also stressed that, without white people, 'the Negro ... was cultureless'. Jordan referenced his History degree from Cambridge when he pointedly assert that the ancient civilisations of the Incas and Sumerian civilisations were initially ruled by white men, adding 'I can assure you that the Egyptian Pharaohs were Aryan'. He went on to describe the racial qualities that marked out Jewish people, lacking in the 'fair play, steadfastness, integrity and boldness of spirit' of the Nordic race. 'Jews often possess a high degree of cunning', he added, and were 'racially alien', and should move to Israel. Meanwhile, he also described Wilson as a 'race traitor' when asked to comment on the issue of Rhodesia; set out his opposition to democracy, to be replaced by an elite cadre representing 'the will of the people'; and concluded by suggesting his vision would lead to a flourishing of culture, a new Elizabethan age. As for the Beatles, they were mere 'American pseudo-culture'. Finally, when asked about his own sense of faith, Jordan claimed he was religious, but not Christian, clarifying that 'National Socialism is itself a faith'.¹⁷⁰ By this time, then, the Nazi political religion seems to be fully formed as an alternate belief system for Jordan.

The theme of faith was discussed internally too. A final edition of the *National Socialist* was released in the summer of 1966, around a year after the previous edition. It

¹⁶⁸ 'My Hopes for Fascism', *Independent*, 10 May 1966, p. 4.

¹⁶⁹ 'Mr. Colin Jordan', *Courier*, 19 October 1965, p. 5.

¹⁷⁰ 'Colin Jordan, leader of the National Socialist Movement, talks to the Levinson Brothers', *Bedales Chronicle*, Vol. 50, No. 2, Spring 1966, pp. 8 – 11.

took the form of a booklet, rather than a newspaper. Jordan contributed a signed essay, 'Why I am A National Socialist', which was itself quite general and added nothing new. This was later reproduced as leaflet, and Jordan referred to it later in life too. Extracts from *Mein Kampf* were reproduced too, and again there was an essay on Nordic gods too. The latter discussion was more forceful on a now clear antagonistic attitude towards Christianity. It set out how the National Socialist Movement had become open to the idea that pre-Christian faith had been ruthlessly destroyed by the spread of Christianity, a faith that was the creation of Jews such as St Paul, it stressed. Accompanying this feature was a continuation of the theme that the swastika was in wide usage in Britain before it had been demonised as a consequence of the Nazis, and so it was legitimate for it to be recovered for the British.¹⁷¹ Other articles also set out the groupuscule's position on its key campaigns of this period, criticising Wilson's policy regarding Rhodesia, and opposition to the 1965 Race Relations Act.

There were other media outlets also interested in exploring Jordan in some depth, which engaged with the potential consequences of this new legislation. He was also interviewed for a feature in an edition of *New Society* in 1965. Here, the journalist and academic Colin Cross interviewed him as part of a wider survey of 'Britain's Racialists', which also focused attention on Mosley's Union Movement and Bean's British National Party, though notably not Tyndall's Greater Britain Movement. As was clear from his comments elsewhere, Cross stressed that Jordan would 'behave like an autocrat' if he were in power, which Jordan again claimed was achievable within ten years. Cross and stated that Jordan represented 'the most considerable personality to appear on the ... neo-Fascist scene' since Mosley, and commended him on his skills as an organiser, as well as his ability to use the media to garner publicity. Though Cross was clearly not endorsing Jordan, other adjectives used to describe him included 'lucid' and 'ambitious', and he highlighted how Jordan's control over the Princedale Road property by Winifred Leese, who would leave it to him in her will, was Jordan's trump card in remaining relevant through a series of splits that typified the racial nationalist movement in the country. Cross's article also focused on Jordan's anti-Semitism, and clarified that Jordan considered a person Jewish if they had just one Jewish grandparent. Cross's piece then finished with a discussion on the relevance of the new legislation for the racial nationalist political fringe. Cross concluded that in many ways the extremists had nothing to worry about as 'Sir Oswald Mosley, Bean, and even Jordan, will go out of their way to put

¹⁷¹ *The National Socialist*, no. 10 Summer 1966, p. 10 – 11.

qualifying clauses in their speeches to the effect that non-Europeans should not be the objects of hatred'. If the upcoming new legislation became law, Cross concluded, it would have the effect of toning down some street corner speeches, but would not make such groups illegal.¹⁷² However, at this time a string of arson attacks on synagogues suggested the need to take a tougher line against the influence of such material.

Synagogue Attacks and Jail

The National Socialist Movement was dealt a heavy blow at the end of 1965, despite Jordan's profile-raising stunts. Though never prosecuted or convicted of involvement, Jordan certainly found himself under suspicion of helping to organise arson attacks on synagogues. Indicating a degree of licence towards attacking Jewish targets emanating from the National Socialist Movement, other members of the National Socialist Movement were convicted of offences too. At this time a number of attacks on synagogues were being reported. For example, in the summer of 1965, a man who claimed to be Jewish by birth, Aubrey Desmond Cadogan, was sentenced to five years for such an attack. He had driven to Palmers Green and Southgate District Synagogue in London at 1.30 am on 9 July, where he, with a female accomplice, threw petrol through a can of petrol into the building before setting it alight. When police had searched his office and flat, they found a quantity of anti-Semitic material, including articles related to Jordan.¹⁷³ More closely connected to Jordan was the case of six National Socialist Movement members, Paul Dukes, Graham Chant, Malcolm Sparks, Alex Gordon, Colin Rainbird and Hugh Hughes, all linked to the South Woodford branch of the movement, who were charged with setting fire to two synagogues on 31 July, Ilford District Synagogue and Lea Bridge Road Synagogue. At the Magistrates Court hearing in November, it was revealed that Jordan had stated at one National Socialist Movement meeting that setting fire to synagogues was a 'good idea', but 'he could not give official backing to the scheme'.¹⁷⁴ The case finally came to a close in early 1966, when on 16 February all apart from Alex Gordon were convicted of setting fire to the synagogues. Gordon was only found guilty of being concerned with the attack on Lea Bridge Road Synagogue. Jordan's own involvement was never proved as being anything more than indirect. Yet recognising the licence Jordan's movement gave to such actions, Mr Justice

¹⁷² Colin Cross, 'Britain's Racialists', *New Society*, 3 June 1965, p. 9 – 12.

¹⁷³ '5 Years for Fire in Synagogue', *The Times*, 24 November 1965, p. 15.

¹⁷⁴ 'Synagogue Fires: Six Remanded', *The Times*, 23 November 1965, p. 13.

Phillimore's closing statement commented the radicalising role played by the National Socialist Movement, stating:

I have no doubt that in doing these acts you have been led into this by the indoctrination you received in this pernicious movement [the NSM]. I am quite satisfied that the people in charge of this movement inculcated not only hatred of the Jews and coloured people but encouraged active steps against them.¹⁷⁵

Jordan's response to the case was documented through an internal bulletin, where he stressed that he distanced the National Socialist Movement from the actions of these activists, who he claimed were already people he deemed 'former' members before the attacks took place. He also suggested that Dukes was acting on behalf of anti-fascists, and claimed the case was part of an effort to 'defame and incriminate the NSM'. The bulletin even stressed that '[q]uasi military formations, weapons and explosives, and plots of violence are no part of the business of this organisation ... we require our Members and Supporters to have nothing to do with them'. He concluded by declaring the aim of the groupuscule at this point was merely to form a task force to promote the cause, and that it was not going to be participating in elections or trying to develop a mass base at this stage in its development.¹⁷⁶

In April 1966, a further court hearing dealt with four more people who had been influenced by the National Socialist Movement, and who carried out such attacks. This hearing dealt with fires that had been started at seven London synagogues in 1965. All were remorseful, according to the police, and had now rejected their former anti-Semitism. Nevertheless, here too the judge felt it necessary to acknowledge the licencing effect of the National Socialist Movement, stating 'Your minds seem to have been ensnared by a philosophy that permits, and may even encourage, the burning down of places that are holy and venerated by others'. He added, the defendants were 'used by unscrupulous people to further their own evil designs, and one does not know whether to pity or blame you'.¹⁷⁷ The issue was raised in the House of Commons too, on 27 May in a debate on the Race Relations Act. Here, Sir Barnett Janner highlighted that anti-Semitic publications akin to *Der Stürmer* were being circulated in Britain, to which Under

¹⁷⁵ 'Synagogue Fires: Six Gaoled', *The Times*, 16 February 1966, p. 15.

¹⁷⁶ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, February 1966, pp. 1 – 2.

¹⁷⁷ "'Penitents' To Be Set Free Tomorrow', *The Times*, 6 April 1966, p. 5.

Secretary of State for the Home Office, Maurice Foley, responded with reference to Jordan and his wife, Dior, specifically. He also noted that the Director of Public Prosecutions had recognised the suggestion that those carrying out arson attacks had been incited by others, but stressed there was ‘insufficient evidence to take proceedings against Mr. Jordan’. The role of Jordan’s wife in particular was becoming recognised too, and he added, ‘Mrs. Jordan is believed to be in France and there is at present insufficient evidence to justify an application for her extradition. If and when she returns to this country, she may be interviewed by the police.’¹⁷⁸

Françoise Dior had given evidence at the trial of for the attacks on the Ilford and Lea Road synagogues, describing the fires as ‘catastrophic for the movement, adding that her ‘husband is dead against any kind of criminal activity. It is the worst kind of propaganda for the movement.’¹⁷⁹ Yet she was facing other problems by this time. Following a French crackdown on extreme right activity, she had been sentenced to four months in prison in 1966 for distributing subversive material. She was released in February 1967, and then appeared to vanish. In July, she turned up living in a council house in Dagenham, owned by the family of former National Socialist Movement member Terrance Cooper. The pair had both been expelled from the movement by this point.¹⁸⁰ She was questioned by police in July 1967 and in August, she was remanded in custody in London, charged with inciting members of the National Socialist Movement to set fire to synagogues, as well as conspiring with two others to set fire to one synagogue. In January 1968, she was then convicted of conspiring to set fire to synagogues, and given an eighteen month jail sentence.¹⁸¹ By this point, Jordan had divorced his wife, on grounds of her adultery with Cooper.¹⁸²

Though establishing the link between Dior and the fires took several years, to help move on from such violent expressions of anti-Semitism, Jordan announced in a 1966 internal bulletin the two campaigns for the National Socialist Movement: to promote a new pamphlet, *The Coloured Invasion*, and to continue campaigning on the issue of Rhodesia.¹⁸³ *The Coloured Invasion* was a document he had hyped earlier, and became a very significant pamphlet. As such, it is worth assessing in detail. Its theme was familiar, and reiterated a message that Jordan had developed since writing for *Free Britain* and

¹⁷⁸ Hansard, ‘HC Deb 27 May 1966’, http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1966/may/27/race-relations-act#S5CV0729P0_19660527_HOC_81.

¹⁷⁹ ‘Fires “Catastrophic for the Movement”’, *The Times*, 11 February 1966, p. 6.

¹⁸⁰ ‘Vanished Mrs. Colin Jordan in Council House’, *Daily Express*, 5 July 1967, p. 4.

¹⁸¹ ‘Nazi Salute as Mrs Jordan is Sentenced’, *Guardian*, 18 January 1968, p. 3.

¹⁸² ‘Colin Jordan is Granted Decree’, *Guardian*, 28 October 1967, p. 5.

¹⁸³ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, March 1966, pp. 1 – 2.

producing *Black and White News*. It demonised black migrants as people bringing disease to the country and destroying white British culture. The document included some quite threatening passages too, such as when commenting on ‘White victims’ of crime committed by black people. It suggested that the public was turning to the National Socialist Movement to help them, and continued: ‘often a visit by members [of the National Socialist Movement] to the Blacks concerned has proved an effective deterrent; adding: ‘The real solution, for this semi-savagery is to evict the semi-savages from our land.’ Allegations in *The Coloured Invasion* pamphlet included typical tropes, such as higher rates of criminality among black migrants, an added burden being placed on the taxpayer, and the threat of racial mixing leading to the spread of disease, such as greater rates of sickle cell anaemia. Some further themes were added in too, to heighten the rhetoric. The text claimed the National Socialist Movement had written to the National Blood Transfusion Service, who had confirmed that all donated blood was treated the same. Based on this, it asked its readers: ‘Did you know that the blood of Coloured people is being systematically injected into the veins of Britons?’ It also cited an article published in the pseudo-scientific and racist academic journal, *Mankind Quarterly*, to back up an assertion that, ‘in transfusion, blood should not come from a person of another race’. The propaganda pamphlet then concluded by asserting once more the groupuscule’s main policy of deportation of everyone who was not white, and also appealed for money to continue its crusade.¹⁸⁴ This document was important, as it would eventually lead to Jordan himself spending more time in prison.

As well as developing new literature, 1966 saw more stunts to garner publicity. An internal bulletin from June told members of yet another attempted application to mount a demonstration at Trafalgar Square, on 10 July, and encouraged activists to write to their MP, their local papers, and to the Minister of Public Buildings and Work and the Home Secretary directly to protest.¹⁸⁵ In June, Robert Relf also climbed Coventry Cathedral’s spire and delivered a speech supporting Rhodesia, which led to a fine. Relf also called for the National Socialist Movement to be allowed to use Trafalgar Square during this protest.¹⁸⁶ Jordan congratulated Relf outside the court.¹⁸⁷ The new cathedral was targeted again by the groupuscule in August, when slogans including ‘Release Hess’

¹⁸⁴ Colin Jordan, *The Coloured Invasion* (London: Phoenix Press, 1966).

¹⁸⁵ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, June 1966, p. 1.

¹⁸⁶ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, July 1966, p. 1.

¹⁸⁷ ‘News in Brief’, *The Times*, 14 June 1966, p. 11.

and 'Support Rhodesia' were painted on the building, alongside the letters 'NSM'.¹⁸⁸ Damage was estimated at £200. The theme of solidarity with Rhodesia was repeated in September, when Jordan arranged for the Zambian flag to be removed from a pole located in Parliament Square. This was a protest against Zambia's stance on Rhodesia, as well as 'condemnation of Mr. Wilson's economic warfare against Rhodesia'.¹⁸⁹ A leaflet was also produced on this theme, claiming Wilson's 'economic war' on Rhodesia would cost Britain £60,000,000 in lost trade, and called for an immediate end to economic sanctions.¹⁹⁰

Overtly racist campaigning continued too. In the summer, swastikas were painted on Ryton-on-Dunsmore police training centre, alongside the slogan 'No black police'. The protest was trying to highlight that one of Britain's first West Indian policemen, Ralph Ramadhar, originally from Trinidad, would begin training at this centre in September. Jordan commented to the press that he could not disclose whether 'the people responsible had orders from me', but claimed 'desperate times call for desperate measures. We are completely opposed to the idea of coloured police'.¹⁹¹ He also wrote to Ramadhar himself, arguing the 'introduction of a coloured policeman in Britain is not in the true interests of the white British people to whom this land rightly belongs'.¹⁹² Despite such extreme activity, in November, Jordan also made a television appearance, on a Tyne-Tees Television programme discussing the rise of the National Democratic Party in Germany. Treated by the show as an expert on the extreme right, this was an editorial decision that was swiftly questioned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.¹⁹³

While these activities all brought the movement publicity, the actions of the movement were being scrutinised, especially the inflammatory pamphlet *The Coloured Invasion*. In November, Jordan and Peter Pollard, aged 19, were arrested under the new Race Relations Act of 1965 for distributing 'insulting written matter likely and intended to stir up hatred against a section of the public distinguished by colour or race'.¹⁹⁴ The actual charge related to an incident earlier in the year, when a caretaker for a synagogue in Catharine Street, Plymouth, noticed anti-Jewish slogans on the doors of the synagogue. He saw Pollard leaving with a suitcase, and called the police. In December, Plymouth Magistrates Court sent Jordan and Pollard for trial. Jordan was also charged

¹⁸⁸ "Nazi" Paintpot Raid on New Cathedral', *Daily Mirror*, 22 August 1966, p. 10.

¹⁸⁹ 'Zambia Seeking Action at U.N.', *The Times*, 14 September 1966, p. 7.

¹⁹⁰ Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/011.

¹⁹¹ 'Swastikas and Slogans on Police Building', *Guardian*, 1 August 1966, p. 1.

¹⁹² 'Don't Join Police, Jordan Warns West Indian', *Daily Mirror*, 5 August 1966, p. 4.

¹⁹³ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, December 1966, p. 1.

¹⁹⁴ 'Jordan in Racial Conspiracy Case', *Guardian*, 9 December 1966, p. 5.

with conspiring with others to distributing such material in London, and Pollard was also charged with publishing such material in Plymouth. The pair were granted bail.¹⁹⁵ In particular, the charge relating to Jordan was for inciting Pollard to disseminate the pamphlet *The Coloured Invasion*.¹⁹⁶

Before the trial, Jordan even mounted a new campaign, designed to draw media attention. Beginning on 6 January 1967, he tried to apply for an arrest warrant for Harold Wilson at Bow Street Magistrates' Court, but was turned down. He then went to Downing Street to attempt a citizen's arrest, but was told by police that the Prime Minister was not home. Jordan had explained his actions in a press statement that set out how the warrant for Wilson's arrest was based on his interpretation of the Treason Act of 1351, and the Treason-Felony Act of 1848. He singled out Wilson for 'Levying economic warfare against our white British kinsfolk in Rhodesia', for 'aiding and abetting a foreign authority, the United Nations', as well as allowing 'the invasion of her Majesty's realm by great numbers of coloured persons of alien race'.¹⁹⁷ National Socialist Movement leaflets were also developed that set out these points, and called for Wilson to 'BE BOUGHT TO TRIAL!'.¹⁹⁸ On 15 January, the group targeted a Conservative Party rally being held at Trafalgar Square, urging negotiations with Smith's Rhodesia. A meteorological balloon attached to a nine-foot banner with the slogan 'White Rhodesia', and adorned with a swastika as well as the 'NSM' initials, was released at the event, and leaflets were also disseminated.¹⁹⁹ As well as this activity, the movement also announced a meeting at Caxton Hall in London for 28 January, where it was hoped that Jordan would outline the campaign strategy for the coming year. An internal bulleting stressed 'every single Member and Supporter who can possibly attend is urged to do so'.²⁰⁰ In a subsequent bulletin also urged followers to bring along sympathetic friends too, part of a drive to enlarge the movement. Moreover, recognising the threat facing the Leader, if Jordan was sentenced to a prison term, another speaker was promised.

The trial itself had some echoes of the Spearhead Trial. Jordan quite freely admitted his political beliefs, but denied they led to criminal activity. He conducted his own defence too, but here rejected a show of solidarity with his co-accused. He argued that Pollard had been responsible for the attack on the synagogue, as well as a public

¹⁹⁵ 'Colin Jordan Sent for Trial', *The Times*, 10 December 1966, p. 8.

¹⁹⁶ 'Race Hatred Pamphlets', *Daily Telegraph*, 26 January 1967, p. 10

¹⁹⁷ 'Attempt to Arrest Wilson', *Guardian*, 7 January 1967, p. 3.

¹⁹⁸ Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/011.

¹⁹⁹ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, February 1967, p. 2.

²⁰⁰ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, December 1966, p. 2.

house, in Plymouth, against his own orders.²⁰¹ The claim was not convincing, and on the 25 January Jordan was sentenced to 18 months in prison, while Pollard was given three years on probation.²⁰² This was a devastating blow for the organisation, and it never recovered from its Leader's imprisonment. Initially a loyal member, John Knight took over the role of issuing of National Socialist Movement's internal bulletins. The first of these reiterated Jordan's position that the case was entirely the fault of Pollard. As Knight put it, Pollard had 'carried out a campaign of personal hate in absolute contravention of our clearly stated rulings, and with the admitted intention of securing his discharge from the Royal Navy'.²⁰³ The meeting promised for the 28 January went ahead, though not at Caxton Hall as its manager telegraphed Knight at late notice to cancel the booking. Knight hastily re-arranged a meeting at Princedale Road instead.²⁰⁴

As ever, Jordan sought to fight against his conviction. After his initial appeal was tuned down in March, he developed an intriguing, though flawed legal strategy. With the help of Knight, he attempted to apply for a writ of habeas corpus. Knight tried to represent the case at the Royal Courts of Justice on 12 May 1967, on the grounds that Jordan's conviction under the Race Relations Act curtailed his right to free speech. The argument was dismissed on the grounds that, as Parliament in Britain was supreme, the courts had no power to undermine the validity of Acts such as the one under which Jordan had been prosecuted, and the plea was refused.²⁰⁵ Knight also issued a petition, and wrote to various members of 'the British "Right wing"' appealing for signatures, while again decrying the 1965 Race Relations Act.²⁰⁶ Interestingly, both Pirie and Tyndall signed the petition,²⁰⁷ while Tyndall's magazine, *Spearhead*, ran an article defending Jordan's right to free speech, attacking the Race Relations Act. Knight wrote to thank him, and later in March Tyndall telephoned Knight to offer his support too, asking Knight to send his best wishes to Jordan when he visited him next. Tyndall was also in direct contact with Jordan at this time, and he talked of his attempts to bring 'greater unity' to the movement, and suggested the possibility of 'moderate collaboration' with Jordan in the future.²⁰⁸

²⁰¹ 'Colin Jordan on Race Plot Charges', *The Times*, January 24 1967, p. 10.

²⁰² 'Colin Jordan Gaoled for 18 Months', *The Times*, 26 January 1967, p. 9.

²⁰³ Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/011.

²⁰⁴ Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/008.

²⁰⁵ London, The National Archives, PRO J 167/200.

²⁰⁶ Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/24/001.

²⁰⁷ Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/007.

²⁰⁸ Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/23/002.

When Jordan was released, he reformulated what remained of his tiny organisation into the British Movement, ostensibly as a bid to end his open association with Nazi ideology, yet also continue as a campaigning politician. Throughout its existence, the National Socialist Movement was only ever an organisation of a few tens of activists, some of whom were happy to engage in criminality, and get their names in the papers. As a neo-Nazi groupuscule that was constantly under-resourced and reliant largely on the dedication of volunteers, the group punched above its weight too. It gained a large amount of press attention; its activities allowed Jordan to influence legislation, albeit also in a way that led to his own incarceration; and it allowed Jordan to develop a profile placing him at the forefront of extreme racial nationalism in Britain. Finally, during the period discussed so far, it also developed a significant place within the transnational neo-Nazi networks of the 1960s, which are also important to document.

Transnationalism: The World Union of National Socialists

Jordan's interest in transnational activism continued during the National Socialist Movement years. Though available evidence for his travels at this time is scant, it is worth noting that Steve Frost has described how Jordan was a frequent traveller to Germany during the 1960s, often taking with him stocks of banned propaganda material that he would pass on to contacts, while also touring the country with his mother.²⁰⁹ The beginning of this chapter noted the camp run by the Northern European Ring in August 1962, which saw American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell enter Britain illegally, defined his relationship to neo-Nazis. The significance of this event for transnational neo-Nazism was not, ultimately, the media coverage that helped raise Jordan's profile nationally, but rather the foundation of the World Union of National Socialists. Jordan played a leading part in this organisation until his imprisonment in 1967. Jordan appears to have been in contact with Rockwell at least since 1961,²¹⁰ and as early as 1959 Rockwell had envisioned an organisation he first called the World Union of Free Enterprise National Socialists, suggestive of his own internationalist aspirations. Jordan's influence on Rockwell included introducing him to European figures such as

²⁰⁹ 'Aryan Insights: Steve Frost on Colin Jordan', available at: <http://www.radioaryan.com/2016/03/aryan-insights-steve-frost-on-colin.html>.

²¹⁰ A letter from the American Nazi Party to Roland Kerr-Richie in 1961 noted that the party was already in 'close contact' with Jordan. Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/009.

Savitri Devi and Bruno Ludtke, the latter a former Hitler Youth member and ardent follower of Hitler. For Rockwell in particular, friendship with Ludtke offered a powerful connection to the Nazi past. For his part, Ludtke worshiped Rockwell, considering him as the new Fuehrer for transnational neo-Nazism.

These ambitious neo-Nazis were able to formulate their transnational vision at the Northern European Ring summer camp of 1962. Here, they set out the basis for a new organisation, the World Union of National Socialists. Its founding document, the Cotswold Agreements, was created at this point. It remained merely an expression of ‘the groundwork’ for the organisation, as Rockwell feared that American federal law could be used to prosecute him as an unregistered agent for a political party based outside America if it was deemed a foundational document for a political party.²¹¹ Nevertheless, for the converted the Cotswold Agreements set out the basic framework for their new, transnational origination. All movements that affiliated with the World Union of National Socialists had to obey the international leader, though they would still hold power over how to run their national organisation. Membership also required affiliated groups to pledge open allegiance to National Socialism. Only one movement per nation could affiliate with the World Union of National Socialists, and in principle individuals could not affiliate, though in practice this was permitted in some cases. Initially, Jordan himself was given the title of International Leader, though a clause noted that if Jordan were put in prison then Rockwell would take over. Of course, this did happen in the autumn of 1962 and Jordan’s position remained secondary to Rockwell’s after his release too. In more practical terms, each affiliated group needed to send fortnightly updates to an International Headquarters, which would then allow for the coordination of the network. Its aims included defending the Aryan race, opposing class warfare and supporting free enterprise, while its eventual ambition was to bring about ‘a National Socialist World Order’, as well as bringing about ‘a just and final settlement of the Jewish problem’.²¹² The Agreements also proposed developing a quarterly publication, *National Socialist World*. Clearly, the Cotswold Agreements set out some grand goals for the new network of neo-Nazis.

Transnational activity is realised through the transfer of ideas across borders, to create a sense of a common cause being fought in multiple locations. Evoking this theme, Rockwell himself encouraged American activists to identify with the British cause.

²¹¹ Frederick J. Simonelli, *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), p. 81 – 87.

²¹² Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/INT/01/001.

He wrote a lengthy description of his trip to Britain in his American Nazi Party journal, *The Stormtrooper*. Here, Jordan was described in glowing terms to American activists. In particular, Rockwell idealised Jordan's achievements with the National Socialist Movement, such as its 1962 Trafalgar Square rally, and symbolically, unlike Mosley and the British National Party, Rockwell stressed Jordan stood out as he had 'reached up to grasp the mighty hand of Adolf Hitler'. On his first encounter with Jordan, Rockwell described how 'I was shaking hands, with more emotion than is possible to write about, with the great Colin Jordan himself!' Much of the article described the whole trip as a series of daring capers whereby he, along with his British Nazi hosts led by Jordan (at times driving his red MG sports car), fooled the press and the authorities. Rockwell at least stated the *Daily Mirror* had bought a photo of the camp for £100, and paid for an interview with him for another £100 too. Elsewhere, phrasing was also steeped in the tenor of a cultic milieu stretching across the Atlantic. Describing his speech at the camp, Rockwell again idealised Jordan, describing how 'Colin Jordan gave a short and inspiring introduction in an atmosphere you could FEEL!' After this, he continued:

When I congratulated the British Nazis on reaching up to grasp the mighty hand of The Leader, I put my arm up into the darkness, and could almost feel the touch of the Great Man, and the surging power from an Inscrutable Destiny which has so far guided us unerringly though impossible circumstances to victory after victory!²¹³

This trip established a connection between Jordan and American activists that lasted throughout his life.

American activists supported Jordan as he was prosecuted in 1962. In the autumn, American Nazi Party activists demonstrated solidarity with their new British colleagues during the Spearhead Trial in various ways, such as, in November, marching near the British embassy in Washington, calling for Jordan's release from prison.²¹⁴ After his release in 1963, Jordan's exploits as Leader of the National Socialist Movement were regular features of American Nazi Party and World Union of National Socialists publications too. To cite some examples, Rockwell's *Stormtrooper* reported on Jordan's 1964 protest against John Bloom. The article that noted the police 'arrested the NSM

²¹³ George Lincoln Rockwell, 'Commander's International Report: England!', *The Stormtrooper*, no. 3, November 1962, pp. 6 – 10 & 20 – 31.

²¹⁴ "'Free Jordan' Call", *Daily Express*, 15 November 1962, p. 2.

men ... and released the Jews who violently sought to deny our men their right of free speech'.²¹⁵ The 1965 Leyton by-election campaign was also reported to American readers. Rockwell's editorial on the campaign presented Jordan as inspiration for racist campaigning in America. Moreover, he praised the National Socialist Movement's combative style as follows:

Jordan and his lads launched themselves like ravening wolves on the Reds and race-mixers, often getting bloody and beater, but always smashing up the effort to sweet-talk the people. When clubbed and thrown out, back they came, attacking wildly, again and again, to drive home to those working people the whole truth – THAT ELECTING WALKER WOULD FILL UP THEIR HOMES, SCHOOLS, SHOPS, NEIGHBOURHOODS AND FINALLY EVEN THEIR FAMILIES WITH NIGGERS!²¹⁶

Another edition from 1965 hailed as a great success Jordan's engagement with student unions and student newspapers, and even reproduced in full the article from the University of Warwick newspaper, *Gibbet*, alongside photos from his talk to students at Southampton University. This feature also reported on Jordan's efforts to show support for Ian Smith's Rhodesia by making a number of appearances at party conferences in late 1965.²¹⁷ Then in 1967, *Stormtrooper* reported on Jordan's imprisonment, before in 1968 publishing an article commenting on Jordan's release. This article noted that Jordan had written to the American Nazi Party, by this point operating under its new name the National Socialist White People's Party, to thank its new leader, Matt Koehl, for the support of the organisation while he was in prison. The change in leadership occurred while Jordan was in prison, as a former member of the party, John Palter, had murdered Rockwell in August 1967. Jordan and Koehl would remain in contact in later years.

The World Union of National Socialists was not just an Anglo-American network. It claimed to network a number of openly Nazi groups in Europe and elsewhere too. It created specialist internal literature for this, such as a World Union of National Socialists European Bulletin from 1965, which listed Jordan as the European Commander, and its European Headquarters as his Coventry home, 42 Tudor Avenue. Such internal bulletins commented on a number of British developments too. This

²¹⁵ 'Colin Jordan's Nazis Arrested Picketing Jews!', *Stormtrooper*, September – October 1964, p. 22 – 23.

²¹⁶ *Stormtrooper*, Nov-Dec-Jan 1965 Winter Issue, p. 5.

²¹⁷ 'National Socialist Movement Surges Forwards', *Stormtrooper*, Spring Issue 1966, p. 66 – 71.

included the decision by Rockwell to expel Tyndall from the World Union of National Socialists in 1964, telling members not recognise his Greater Britain Movement as an affiliated organisation. The National Socialist Movement under Jordan's leadership, Rockwell confirmed, remained the recognised British section of the World Union of National Socialists, despite Tyndall's efforts to persuade him otherwise. Such bulletins also distanced Jordan's National Socialist Movement from the Birmingham Ku Klux Klan group that developed in the summer of 1965, as well as another organisation, British National Youth, whose leader, Brendan Willmer, had described National Socialism as 'an evil creed' in the *Daily Telegraph*. National Socialist Movement campaigns were also reported in such World Union of National Socialists bulletins, including as its efforts to protest against the Race Relations Bill. Finally, the National Socialist Movement's sporadic publication, the *National Socialist*, was described as the English language voice of the World Union of National Socialists in Europe, while delays in its production were blamed on 'the anti-WUNS Tyndall group'. Such updates on British activism were set alongside reports of swastikas being painted in Germany, the arrest of Yves Jeane in France, updates on French and Belgian activism (written in French), reports on Rockwell's activism in America, as well as updates on activities in South Africa, Australia and New Zealand.²¹⁸

World Union of National Socialists bulletins edited by Matt Koehl from 1967 also reported on Jordan's conviction and 18-month prison sentence, which was the top story in the 1st quarter edition for 1967. The article urged for a sign of solidarity worldwide, and called for protests such as:

... picket demonstrations, vigils, handbill distributions (including circulation of "The Coloured Invasion?"), posting of signs and gummed sticker, public rallies, protest delegations, telephone campaigns, open letters as well as special dramatic activities.

These, Koehl continued, should be directed at 'British embassies, consulates, travel agencies, offices of British overseas Airways Corporation, and suitable public forums, such as editorial pages'.²¹⁹ The next edition revealed more details on the National Socialist Movement's operations while Jordan was in jail, calling for more protests to

²¹⁸ *World Union of National Socialists European Bulletin*, no. 5, 1 September 1965, p. 4.

²¹⁹ 'Colin Jordan Jailed', *WUNS Bulletin*, no. 7 1967, pp. 1 – 2.

show solidarity with the movement's martyr: 'The important thing is to act', the piece concluded.²²⁰ Some did act, and the next edition gave another update, recounting that one American activist had organised leaflets detailing Jordan's case to be placed on the seats of a dinner being held for the London Symphony Orchestra, who were playing a concert in Florida city.²²¹ The final edition of these bulletins for 1967 reported on a stunt by Relf who mounted a crane and unfurled a large banner with the message 'Free Speech?' above Coventry's shopping precinct, and was able to maintain the protest for around seven hours. Clearly the National Socialist Movement was an origination whose activities were seen as inspirational across the globe, albeit only within a marginalised community.

For his part, Jordan promoted the activities of World Union of National Socialists through his own National Socialist Movement internal bulletins, and *National Socialist* newspaper too. While Jordan was in prison in 1962, Martin Webster used an emergency internal bulletin to announce that Rockwell would move from Deputy Leader to Leader of World Union of National Socialists,²²² a position Jordan never regained. In 1963, edition six of the *National Socialist* reported on Rockwell's tour of Virginia, in June and July 1963, suggesting that crowds of 2,000 were not untypical. Earlier in the year, the National Socialist Movement issued a World Union of National Socialists leaflet celebrating the birthday of Adolf Hitler and stressed the World Union of National Socialists and the National Socialist Movement were continuing Hitler's legacy of fighting for 'a new order of Racial Welfare, National Unity and Social Justice'.²²³ In 1963, an American Nazi Party demonstration outside the White House, protesting against a stamp commemorating Eleanor Roosevelt, was reported to British followers: 'Mrs Roosevelt', the article explained, 'was notorious for her pro-Communist sentiments and activities'.²²⁴ A month later another National Socialist Movement bulletin reported that an aeroplane dropped anti-Jewish leaflets, issued by Rockwell's American Nazi Party, on the centre of Toronto, Canada. It also updated National Socialist Movement members on Rockwell's court appearance following a demonstration the previous year, and members were encouraged to wish Rockwell well.²²⁵ During the National Socialist Movement split in 1964, in June Jordan's version of the National Socialist Movement

²²⁰ 'Colin Jordan Case', *WUNS Bulletin*, no. 8 1967, p. 2.

²²¹ 'Colin Jordan Case', *WUNS Bulletin*, no. 9 1967, pp. 2 - 3.

²²² Martin Webster, *Emergency Bulletin From National H.Q.*, 17 October 1962.

²²³ Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/20/011.

²²⁴ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, October 12 1963, p. 2.

²²⁵ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, November 16 1963, p. 1.

internal bulletin also deemed it important to clarify that he had received a personal letter of support from Rockwell, who recognised him, not Tyndall, as the British representative of World Union of National Socialists, and still recognised him the European Commander of the organisation.²²⁶ Rockwell himself had issued an instruction to ‘All National Commanders, All National Socialists’, that stated both sides had sent material to Rockwell to court his support, that he had tried to reconcile the division, and that faced with a decision regarding who was the strongest leader, he sided with Jordan. He ordered people linked to the Greater Britain Movement to leave it, and return to Jordan’s National Socialist Movement.²²⁷

These National Socialist Movement sources also show that the American Nazi Party mounted demonstrations focusing on British targets. In December 1964, an internal bulletin reported how one US activist, Leslie Hudson, interrupted a press conference by Harold Wilson in Washington, wearing a singlet with the slogan ‘Free Speech for British Nazis’. The section concluded by stating that ‘under one banner of the swastika, the watchword of our Aryan struggle is: ONE RACE, ONE CAUSE, ONE MOVEMENT’.²²⁸ The National Socialist Movement’s bookshop also stocked copies of American Nazi Party publications, such as *The Stormtrooper* and *The Rockwell Report*, priced at 1/- per edition. In 1966, the Internal Revenue Service seized the American Nazi Party’s premises in Arlington, due to unpaid taxes. National Socialist Movement members were advised to send letters of support to an address provided, again a to show solidarity.²²⁹ In 1966, its members were also urged to take out a subscription to a new World Union of National Socialists publication, *National Socialist World*, priced at £3-11-3d via an international money order sent to a Virginia post box linked to Rockwell. Both Members and Supporters could apply for a free copy of the first edition,²³⁰ which featured an essay by Jordan, ‘National Socialism: A Philosophical Appraisal’.

In this essay, Jordan attempted to set out his ideas as a nuanced, political philosophy. He argued the roots of National Socialism could be traced back to Plato, and the Roman idea of stoicism, as well as the cultures of early European Nordic tribes. As such, Jordan claimed that National Socialism ‘reaches back to the old, healthy organic values of life in revolt against the whole structure of thought of liberalism and democracy’, which ‘viewed man as folkless’. He also described history as cyclical, and

²²⁶ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, June 1964, p. 1.

²²⁷ Northampton, University of Northampton, Searchlight Archive, SCH/01/Res/BRI/23/003.

²²⁸ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, December 1964, p. 2.

²²⁹ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, January 1966, p. 2.

²³⁰ *National Socialist Movement Members Bulletin*, August 1966, p. 1.

stated that the twentieth century had become defined by a conflict between the two political forces that sought to move on from the now-dated system of capitalism and liberalism: Communism and National Socialism. If the latter failed, the former would be dominant by the end of the century. In this light, National Socialism for Jordan was ‘our age’s movement of renaissance, a movement revolutionary in scope and spirit’. Echoing a sense of maze-way resynthesis, he claimed it opposed not only the politics and economics of the contemporary order, but its culture and spiritual dynamics too, and sought to completely replace them with a new worldview. ‘Total in its scope’, he continued, ‘National Socialism amounts to a philosophy and a faith’, and even ‘sets a meaning and purpose of a cosmic dimension to life’, fulfilling for the individual as he related to the folk community. (Notably, Jordan’s essay only used male personal pronouns.) While the individual was transient, the discussion continued, the ‘higher’ force of the folk was something to be considered continuous and eternal. By identifying with his folk, man could attain a sense of immortality. Modern nations could trace their folk’s roots back to early tribes, yet the modern nation state themselves were limiting, and in their current form they tended to clash with the folk and race. Therefore, one of the central struggles for National Socialists was to find a new way of being, one that more fully reflected their relationship to both nation and to race. Another challenge was to improve the race too, and so he talked positively of using ‘eugenic measures’ to develop the revolutionary transformation of humanity that he envisaged. Finally, in terms of the National Socialist idea for government, Jordan rejected democracy as the will of the mob. His ideal was to achieve a political system that represent the will of the folk, in the higher interests of the community, and framed this through the lens of recognising both ‘the heritage of the past and the needs of the future’. Endorsing dictatorship, he wrote positively on the ‘directive powers of the state’, and he believed that it could use whatever means were necessary ‘to ensure that everyone and everything in the community is in harmony’. Though clearly an extreme vision, this was meant as a definitional statement on what Jordan thought was the political philosophy that drove him, written for the international community of National Socialists.²³¹

Conclusions

²³¹ Colin Jordan, ‘National Socialism: A Philosophical Appraisal’, *National Socialist World*, No. 1, (1966), pp. 5 – 7.

This chapter has sought to capture the complex history of Jordan's National Socialist Movement. This was only ever a tiny organisation, attracting a handful of supporters. Yet was able to generate a considerable impact, both nationally and internationally. During its first nine months, in 1962, its activities helped to establish Jordan as a figure of notoriety in the British public's consciousness. His neo-Nazi endeavours were much commented on by the British press in 1962 and after. Especially in tabloids such as the *Daily Mirror*, this was presented with a mixture of outrage and bemusement, epitomised by its reporting on his marriage difficulties in 1964. Nevertheless, there was more to the National Socialist Movement than internal conflicts, and splits, though these were a notable feature of the groupuscule. Its activities had a significant impact in disseminating some of the most extreme racist propaganda of the 1960s, such as the pamphlet *The Coloured Invasion*. Unsurprisingly, the movement became well known by MPs too, and was a reference point in emergent legislation on race issues, such as the Race Relations Act of 1965. Finally, its activists could be violent, for example they were involved in arson attacks on synagogues. Jordan stood at the centre of this Nazi-inspired activism, and sought to use the attention he garnered to promote Nazism in Britain, and internationally too. He did develop sustained international links in the process, especially through his leadership role in the World Union of National Socialists. Moreover, through detailed examination of his more nuanced discussions on what his Nazism meant to him by this time, it is clear this was a complex ideology that sought a total transformation of life. Such analysis underscores that his neo-Nazism was understood as an all-encompassing way of being, a political religion that aspired to promote a new, totalitarian system and ultimately aspired to reconfigure the world in a new order based on racial principles. In order to fight for his ideas, Jordan was prepared to go to jail too, though in the end his imprisonment in 1967 helped to end the life of the National Socialist Movement. Reflective of his profile, he garnered support from the movement internationally when he was in prison, and was seen by many in the movement a martyr figure.

The National Socialist Movement was not to last, and in 1968, after his release from prison, Jordan attempted to distance himself from its open Nazism. His next venture, the British Movement, would contrast with the National Socialist Movement, and with it he sought a degree of political legitimacy that he had so far failed to achieve. It would be inaccurate to describe the British Movement, as a more mature organisation, but with it Jordan certainly sought to take his politics in a new direction, in the hope of getting closer to his goals.