

# “A NASTY OUTBREAK”: ANTI-JEWISH DISTURBANCES IN 1947

Eddie Little and Eric Higgins

The August 1947 Bank Holiday weekend should have followed its normal recreational activities. Instead Manchester, Salford, Liverpool and other parts of the country experienced a series of riots and disorders which ‘earned a squalid niche in post-war history’.<sup>1</sup> The violence was directed specifically at the Jewish community. Its causes were also related to particular events. Like the Lancashire anti-German riots in May, 1915 the civil disorder of 1947 cast further doubt on Manchester’s ‘tradition of tolerance’ derived from its liberal economic and political philosophy.<sup>2</sup> For this reason it requires analysis.

The sudden violence of August, 1947 found its origins in the previous year. They related to the British military presence in Palestine and the increasing military and political resistance to it in pursuit of Zionist objectives. In July, 1946 this had culminated in the explosion at the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, the headquarters of the British civil and military administration. The Jewish militant organisation Irgun claimed responsibility for the explosion which claimed almost one hundred lives.

In Britain anger at this incident was confined to unanimous press condemnation, but during a parliamentary debate on the 31 July Hugh Delargy, Labour M.P. for Miles Platting, warned of “the growing danger of anti-Semitism”. Another M.P., Stanley Evans, made a telling observation:

*For the first time in my experience, ordinary decent working men are talking in their pubs and clubs and at the barbers and at work about the lot to which our lads are being subjected in Palestine at this moment.*<sup>3</sup>

Harold Lever, the M.P. for Manchester Exchange, employed a dual criticism. While “terrorists are villainous, stupid and unbalanced people”, British policy had “played on the hopes of a tortured people and encouraged desperate young men in their ambitions”.<sup>4</sup> As events in Palestine deteriorated throughout 1946 it was increasingly difficult to preserve a balanced position.

In January, 1947 the Board of Deputies of British Jews appealed to the British government to honour its pledges to create a Jewish National Homeland. It stated “its unqualified abhorrence and condemnation of those acts of terrorism by irresponsible groups, whose criminal behaviour is contrary to all the teachings of Judaism and can only harm the interests of the Jewish people”.<sup>5</sup> In March the Board had to express its disquiet about British Palestinian policy with the adoption of a resolution regretting the imposition of martial law and urging an increase in Jewish immigration.

On 29 July three members of Irgun were executed arising from their participation in an attack on Acre prison. The British authorities were warned that, should the sentences be carried out, Irgun would hang in retaliation two British army sergeants they had kidnapped. Consequently the bodies of the soldiers, one of them booby trapped, were found hanging in a eucalyptus grove on 31 July. The news reached Britain at the start of the holiday weekend. In what Harold Lever described as “the greatest descent from decent journalism and good taste that has appeared in any

British newspaper in my life”,<sup>6</sup> the *Daily Express* published a picture of the sergeants hanging on its front page. The Board of Deputies condemned immediately “this atrocious murder”. The Anglo-Jewish Fellowship called it “a barbarous act”.<sup>7</sup> The Jewish Fellowship denounced the deaths as “a dissipation of all that is sacred in the Jewish religion and an abomination to all loyal British citizens of the Jewish faith”.<sup>8</sup>

## Violence in Manchester and Salford

On 4 August 1947 minor disturbances began in Ardwick Green in Manchester. By late evening the situation had escalated. In addition to Jewish property, windows were being broken “all over the place”. Brunswick Street was “a seething mass of people for two hundred yards”. As a police car drove down the street it was stoned and had its windows broken.<sup>9</sup> A crowd of four to five hundred people assembled in Cheetham Hill which by evening was littered by half-bricks.<sup>10</sup> Again both Jewish and non-Jewish property was attacked. Five men, later charged, followed by a retinue of children, visited several Jewish homes and abused the occupants. Cars toured the area from which bricks were flung. The canopy outside the Great Synagogue was ripped down. A Jewish guest at a nearby function was assaulted. The following evening another crowd assembled at Derby Street but dispersed quickly after several arrests.

In Salford a series of disturbances also occurred involving at its peak two thousand to three thousand people. Twenty-nine specific disturbances, including extensive damage to Jewish property in Broad Street, Pendlebury were recorded; the most serious being a confrontation between the police and over a thousand people after an arrest had been made. By the evening of 4 August events were ‘worse than ever’ with people stoning windows without discrimination. Eighteen arrests were made.<sup>11</sup> On the following day Salford shopkeepers thought it prudent to put up notices: “Hold your fire. These premises are British”. “These premises are 100 per cent British owned, managed and staffed”. In front of a smashed window a sign read: “As a British sailor I fought. Is this my reward?”<sup>12</sup>

## Disturbances in Eccles

In Eccles and Patricroft there were “amazing scenes” involving attacks by a crowd of seven hundred on eight shops resulting in £1,150 damage on the night of 4 August.<sup>13</sup> Police reinforcements were drafted in from Manchester, Bolton, Bury and Ashton. There were ‘ugly scenes’ when the crowd attempted to release a young soldier apprehended in the disturbances by the police. The violence here did have a more organised character. It began after 10pm with an attack on a shop believed to be Jewish owned. Other property in Eccles Cross and Patricroft was damaged by a crowd of seven hundred who had assembled in Church Street. The police described the systematic breaking of shop windows allegedly under the direction of John Sweatman, 29, a newspaper seller of Eccles. His arrest, the police believed, deprived a group of youths of “the leadership and encouragement that this man has given them”.<sup>14</sup> The following evening saw more violence when a crowd of two

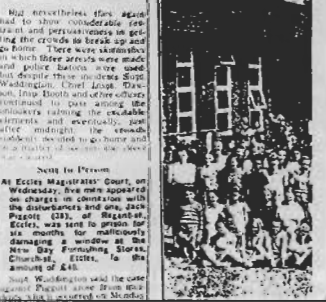
# ANTI-JEW SCENES IN TOWN CENTRE

## Shop Windows Smashed at Eccles

Amazing scenes were witnessed in the main shopping centre at Eccles on Monday night, extending into the early hours of Tuesday, when the sound of breaking glass signalled the start of the first of the anti-Jewish demonstrations which have been taking place in many parts of the country.

### DAMAGE OF £1,150 IN ONE NIGHT

When the first of the attacks was made at 11.30 p.m. on Monday night, the first of the anti-Jewish demonstrations which have been taking place in many parts of the country.



Next in From: An Eccles Magistrate's Court, on Wednesday, five men appeared on charges in connection with the disturbances and one, Jack Pappas (23), of Beckett, Eccles, was sent to prison for six months for maliciously damaging a window at the New Day Forward Store, Church St., Eccles, to the amount of £15.

Report of anti-Jewish demonstrations in Eccles, August 1947.

hundred attacked property. After a number of skirmishes with the police and three arrests the crowd dispersed after midnight. On 6 August Eccles Magistrates dealt with five men for their involvement in "un-British and unpatriotic" behaviour. One, aged 38, with "a shocking record" going back to 1917 was sentenced to six months. The young soldier arrested received a £5 fine. In addition to Sweatman, who was fined £20, the court also remanded on bail two men. One of them, John Regan of Patricroft, was described as "undoubtedly the leader of the whole anti-Jewish demonstration in Eccles".<sup>15</sup> Regan had been active on both nights with a group of young men around him. According to police evidence Regan shouted: "Hitler was right. Exterminate every Jew - every man, woman and child. What are you afraid of? There's only a handful of police".<sup>16</sup> Regan was fined £15 for abusive words and £1 for obstructing the police. Another man was fined £10 for abusive words. Regan, an ex-sergeant major with twelve years service, had been a soldier in both wars until invalided out. There is no record of his possible involvement with any political groups, and he denied expressly any such involvement: "I am no leader of any party. I have never belonged to any party".<sup>17</sup>

The Eccles violence was surprising in view of the small Jewish population in the area. The damage, if orchestrated was certainly not well planned. Attacks were directed at premises thought to conform to a stereotype of Jewish proprietorship - Estelle's Gown Shop, Freeman Hardy and Willis, and Burton's the Tailors. But also other premises which did not have a clear Jewish connection, like Smith's Piano Shop, were attacked

### Liverpool Riots

From the beginning of August there had been minor anti-Jewish disturbances in London, Bristol, Hull and Warrington. There were major disturbances in Glasgow. In the North West the situation in Liverpool was the most serious. Disturbances there lasted for four days and involved extensive attacks on Jewish property and numerous manifestations of anti-Semitism. Several hundred people rioted and looted Jewish premises in Myrtle Street. The synagogue in Cross Street was damaged. Much non-Jewish property was also attacked on the night of Saturday 2 August when 68 incidents were recorded. Damage was done to the gravedigger's hut in the Jewish portion of West Derby cemetery. On 3 August over one hundred properties were damaged and anti-Jewish slogans were scrawled on roads and buildings. Watchers were placed in synagogues and special constables deployed. This did not deter a further 73 recorded attacks on property the following evening and numerous assaults on police officers.

Slaughterhouse workers at Birkenhead Abattoir refused to kill meat for Jewish consumption. Liverpool dockers returning to work after the holidays found a slogan painted across the entrance to Canada Dock: "Death to all Jews".

However, by 5 August violence had subsided throughout the North West. In Manchester the Union of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women dissociated itself from events in Palestine and issued a timely reminder the "when the British Empire was threatened by Nazi hoards, Jew and Christian, Moslem and Hindu stood shoulder to shoulder and died that freedom might live".<sup>18</sup> The Merseyside Board of the Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen urged Liverpool people to repudiate the senseless hooliganism "which sullies their good name just as terrorism sullies the name of Jewry".<sup>19</sup>

The TUC Southport Conference in September condemned what it perceived to be the re-emergence of fascism. The response of the local labour movement was equivocal. Twenty thousand workers at the Trafford Park works of Metropolitan Vickers passed a resolution condemning the recent violence. The response of the local Trades Councils was less clear cut. Eccles Trades Council condemned the violence in the borough and urged the government to outlaw anti-Semitic propaganda. However, the Lancashire and Cheshire Federation of Trades Council's circular to its constituent bodies deploring the anti-Jewish violence was not endorsed by Bury Trades Council. They argued that it could be seen to be giving Jewry encouragement to oppose the British government.

### Nature of the Violence

The scale of the Bank Holiday violence produced inevitable speculation that it had been orchestrated by anti-Semitic groups. In February, 1947 Professor Brodetsky, President of the Board of Deputies had warned:

*There is in this country today a small group of people outside the general run of British political life trying to reestablish that Fascism which has led to war.*<sup>20</sup>

The journalist and Labour M.P. Woodrow Wyatt expressed concern about the increasing number of Fascist meetings. "They are now being held regularly in Brighton, in Liverpool, in the East End and other London districts and plans are being made to extend them further".<sup>21</sup> Maurice Orbach M.P. estimated that there were some twenty-two national organisations publishing about thirty papers devoted to racial and religious hatred.<sup>22</sup>

The Home Secretary, Chuter Ede, dismissed any idea of orchestrated violence:

*The damage was done mostly after dark by young people in groups of two or three some of them not quite sober ... there was no attempt to incite mob activities and it is clear that there was no organised movement.*<sup>23</sup>

This was flatly contradicted by a speaker at the Anglo-Palestinian Club in London:

*I am satisfied that in every case in Liverpool, Manchester, Hull and London the riots were instigated and cleverly organised by Fascist cells which were at first undercover but have now quite openly undertaken anti-Jewish agitation.*<sup>24</sup>

There was evidently no official enquiry into the violence. Orchestration is difficult to prove, but Chuter Ede's interpretation of the disturbances is unsatisfactory on two points. The damage was not done by small groups of inebriated youths but often by large crowds over several

days. In the Manchester, Salford and Eccles disturbances there was evidence of incitement by particular individuals. During the Cheetham Hill violence two men were identified as the instigators. However, much non-Jewish property was also damaged in generally random violence. The crowd consisted of "youths, women and a few toughs".<sup>25</sup> The addresses of those charged with a variety of public order offences reveal them to be local people. The Stipendiary Magistrate, issuing fines and sentences from two to six months, informed the defendants that "this sort of lawlessness will not be permitted in this city while I sit here".<sup>26</sup> There had been an afternoon disturbance outside an Oxford Street cinema in Manchester on 4 August. A similar tactic to arouse a cinema queue to hostility also occurred in Salford when two men incited the crowd to break Jewish windows and to assault two passing Jewish girls. Possibly agitators saw in such crowds a potential for violence. Similarly two men led a large crowd on an attack on a police box in Broad Street and assaulted police officers in an attempt to release an arrested man.

Crowd disturbances can produce 'natural ringleaders' who may have no political involvement. There is no clear evidence linking the participants with anti-Jewish organisations. Nor is there any evidence of coordination in the Eccles, Salford and Manchester disturbances. They broke out at different times over the Bank Holiday weekend and had fizzled out by Tuesday. The considerable damage done throughout to non-Jewish property indicates either imprecise targeting or, more likely, general hooliganism. In Manchester some twenty men were charged with offences. The oldest was thirty-five years, the youngest seventeen with the average age of the convicted being twenty-four. They were too young or unborn to have any connection with pre-war Mosleyism. There is no evidence of any middle-class involvement in the Manchester disturbances. All defendants were manual workers. This applied to the nine men who were charged in Salford. All were local men. The youngest offender being seventeen and the oldest thirty-nine, the average age again being twenty-four.

From the available evidence it is impossible to ascribe direct political involvement to the participants. The post-war years witnessed the formation of various crypto-fascist groups – in Manchester the Imperial Defence League, in Derby the Sons of St. George, in Bristol the British Workers Party for National Unity, in London the Union for British Freedom. Possibly the ringleaders of the Bank Holiday violence may have been associated with these groups. The position remains unclear.

Liverpool police indicated that they had no evidence to associate the Merseyside violence with any Fascist or anti-Semitic group. Local opinion, however, felt that such groups had given an impetus to the disturbances. If the groups hoped to capitalise on the violence they met with little success subsequently. The British League of Ex-Servicemen and Women, described by a local Labour politician as 'a crypto Fascist organisation', called a demonstration in Islington Square at the end of August. Its manifesto proclaimed: "British Homes for British People. British Food for British People. A Policy of Britain First. Strong Measures to stop Jewish Terrorism in Palestine".<sup>27</sup> The meeting was addressed by E. J. Hamm, a later associate of Mosley. About a hundred people were present, many of them hostile. As a counter-demonstration formed, a tense situation developed and the police cleared the Square. Two other scheduled British League meetings in Liverpool did not take place.

S TELEPHONE, ECCLES 36 73 (Eccles Office) THE JOURNAL FRID

## Anti-Jew Disturbances

# "RINGLEADER STRUTTED ABOUT LIKE SERGT.-MAJOR"

### Barton Soldier Helping to Track Down Bandits

It is stated that the "ring-leader" of the disturbances which occurred at Eccles, during the anti-Jewish demonstrations of August 8th and 9th, John Regan (55), of 14, St. Andrew's, Eccles, was found guilty on two charges of using abusive words and one charge of obstructing the police in the execution of their duty, when he and two other men appeared at the Eccles Magistrate's Court, on Friday.

Regan, who was detained by Mr. Robert Walsh, sub-stationer, Manchester, pleaded not guilty.

Chief Insp. Brown, presiding, also stated that at 10.20 p.m. on August 8th P.C. Leather and P.C. Jordan were on duty at Eccles, when they found a crowd of about 100 persons, gathered in front of the "Royal Empire" cinema. They were told that the crowd was breaking windows and were being violent to the girls who were passing. They were told to go to the cinema and see the girls. They were told to go to the cinema and see the girls. They were told to go to the cinema and see the girls.

### HEAVY FINES IMPOSED

The "ring-leader" of the disturbances which occurred at Eccles, during the anti-Jewish demonstrations of August 8th and 9th, John Regan (55), of 14, St. Andrew's, Eccles, was found guilty on two charges of using abusive words and one charge of obstructing the police in the execution of their duty, when he and two other men appeared at the Eccles Magistrate's Court, on Friday.

Regan, who was detained by Mr. Robert Walsh, sub-stationer, Manchester, pleaded not guilty.

Chief Insp. Brown, presiding, also stated that at 10.20 p.m. on August 8th P.C. Leather and P.C. Jordan were on duty at Eccles, when they found a crowd of about 100 persons, gathered in front of the "Royal Empire" cinema. They were told that the crowd was breaking windows and were being violent to the girls who were passing. They were told to go to the cinema and see the girls. They were told to go to the cinema and see the girls.

(Front of the crowd and passed an offensive remark. He approached Gallagher and a violent struggle ensued in which he (the officer) had to draw his staff for his own protection. A large number of people tried to release Gallagher, but with assistance Gallagher was put in the police van. After treatment at hospital for head injuries Gallagher was charged and fined. "I'll see somebody about this.")

"Very Aggressive" Gallagher: You struck me to draw me in. I was in my way to pass into a shop when I saw you as an officer on the floor and you said "Come here, come here" and I thought "What's he up to?" and I went to the Van. I was covered in the hospital.

P.C. Sparks said Gallagher was very aggressive and made use of abusive language. "Regarding the attack on the girls, I was never near the crowd there. I was near the "Duke" after coming from Taylor Brothers' Club.

P.C. Ashton: He was very violent. I helped to put him in the hospital.

Gallagher: I was very violent. After being closed on the head with a billy, I was bloodied. Very violent.

P.C. Frank: Gallagher said he was talking to the Duke of York Hotel about the demonstration, was taken on. The crowd came down from the top side of Eccles, and

### Report of anti-Jewish demonstrations, August 1947.

The Home Secretary dismissed the anxieties of John Haire, Labour M.P. for High Wycombe, about the growth of anti-Semitism and the need for an enquiry into Fascist and semi-Fascist societies:

*Their influence is negligible, and it would be an exaggeration of their importance to suggest that their activities have resulted in any significant increase in anti-Semitism.*<sup>28</sup>

Chuter Ede's interpretation was again over-optimistic. In Manchester Fascist activity did increase significantly after the Bank Holiday violence and the Manchester Jewish Ex-Servicemen organised to meet it. A struggle for street influence began in 1948 when the Ex-Servicemen were determined to rout the newspaper sellers of the newly formed Mosleyite British Union.<sup>29</sup> The Ex-servicemen seem to have taken the initiative in the resistance. In London there was a spontaneous organisation of Jewish civilians in the 43 Group. In Manchester there seems to have been no organised attempt to form a similar organisation.

### Influence of the Press

The combination of large crowds in holiday mood, alcohol, a latent resistance to authority and the shocking news from Palestine were key factors in the violence; factors which may have been employed by anti-Semitic groups to provoke trouble. Many persons charged with various offences throughout the country cited the *Daily Express* picture of the sergeants as the main reason for their participation.<sup>30</sup> The picture was also cited by another person in an unsavoury sequel to the Bank Holiday violence. James Caunt, editor and proprietor of the *Morecambe and Heysham Visitor* published an extraordinary editorial on 6 August. It resulted in his prosecution for publishing a seditious libel concerning people of the Jewish faith resident in Great Britain. The editorial praised the *Daily Express* for publishing the picture, denounced the condemnation of Palestine violence by British Jewry as "blatant hypocrisy" and accused them of using ill-gotten black market money to facilitate the entry into Palestine of "European Jewish scum" who would engage in terrorism against British troops. Concluding that Britain was "in the grip of the Jews" Caunt asserted:

*The Jews, indeed, are a plague on Britain... Violence may be the only to bring them to the sense of their responsibility to the country in which they live.*<sup>31</sup>

Caunt's editorial revived a category of scurrilous anti-Semitic journalism which was thought to have died out by the beginning of this century.<sup>32</sup> It also reinforced a question which had been raised before the Bank Holiday violence. It was reiterated by Willie Gallagher M.P. who believed anti-Semitism was "in its essence an incitement to murder, and should it not be treated as the crime which it really is?"<sup>33</sup>

The Attorney General, Sir Hartley Shawcross, agreed that anti-Semitism was deplorable. He had forwarded the text of the Caunt editorial to the Director of Public Prosecution. While Shawcross believed that the avowed intention of the editorial was to create anti-Semitism, it remained to be seen if the criminal law had been breached.

Caunt denied that he was inciting violence. He was instead warning of the possible consequences if British Jewry did not change its attitude towards terrorism in Palestine. He felt that ostracism of the whole Jewish community was part of the democratic process which should be employed. He thought that damage to Jewish property in Manchester and Salford were not constitutional ways of dealing with the situation. Caunt's defence counsel emphasised the freedom of the Press. "It is nonsense", he argued, "to suggest that if an editor says something that some section of the community does not like he is going beyond the law".<sup>34</sup> The prosecuting counsel made a more telling observation:

*There comes a point at which, in the interests of the preservation of peace and good government, the criminal law steps in and says: This has gone beyond the bounds of legitimate controversy and threatens to interfere with the King's peace.*<sup>35</sup>

Remarkably the point was lost upon the Judge, Mr. Justice Birkett. His summing up dwelt upon the liberty of the Press and the need to prove the case beyond all reasonable doubt. Within thirteen minutes the all male jury found Caunt not guilty. As Sidney Silverman M.P. remarked, Caunt's purpose was to isolate an entire community from their fellow citizens. "Surely this must be in direct conflict with what everyone had previously supposed to be the law".<sup>36</sup> Harold Newbold, Secretary to the Manchester and Salford Trades Council, felt that only the outlawing of anti-Semitism might prevent "any repetition of the organised hooliganism during the August Bank Holiday week".<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless the government remained non-committal. The Home Secretary had requested the Lord Chancellor to examine the matter, but nothing more was heard during the lifetime of the government.

In November Manchester City Council received twenty-six claims for damage to property and goods totaling £702. It was hoped that the Home office might pay half. In December various local authorities received a communication purportedly from Irgun urging them "to demand of your government that it carry out its evacuation of our country speedily". Philip Dingle, the Manchester Town Clerk was unimpressed, believing that this was not a matter for local government and that the council never dealt with anonymous letters.<sup>38</sup>

### Significance of the Disturbances

The anti-Jewish violence of Bank Holiday 1947 was an isolated incident. The conflict in Palestine continued until the British withdrawal at the end of 1947. Many more soldiers died, but there were no further repercussions on local Jewish communities. The local elections in November 1947 saw no anti-Semitic candidates and dealt with

conventional issues. In December the Jewish Youth Festival in Manchester was held with no reported incidents.

The Bank Holiday violence, however, raised a number of disturbing issues. It exploded the claim that the 'recoil effect' of the Holocaust would shield Jews from local hostility.<sup>39</sup> It exposed the dilemma of the Jewish community. As E.C. Black observed, the majority of British Jews had accepted the values and philosophy of Anglo-Jewry – pride in being Jewish, anglicisation, self-help and upward mobility. They had become in fact English people of the Jewish persuasion. 'Therein lay an unresolved tension ... What was to be the relationship of this community with Zionism and Jewish nationalism?'<sup>40</sup> In August, 1947 this tension had translated itself into violence, but this did not mean that British Jewry could ignore their Zionist affinity. On 25 August 35,000 Jews in Manchester and Salford fasted in protest at the government's decision to return to Germany 4,500 Jewish immigrants prevented from getting to Palestine.

In 1903 the *Manchester Evening News* had run a series of articles 'The Aliens of Manchester' it concluded:

*It would be idle to deny that there is not a strong prejudice against the Jews among a section of the people of Manchester, particularly among those who know least about them but it is a prejudice which barely smoulders and which can only be fired into open antipathy by a distortion of the facts.*<sup>41</sup>

The events of August 1947 tended to confirm the continuing fragility of the position of Manchester and Salford Jewry. Their number had increased from 32,000 in 1920 to 37,500 in 1939.<sup>42</sup> While many European Jews fleeing from Fascism were middle class professionals who integrated easily into British economic life and had a 'tendency to keep to themselves',<sup>43</sup> the Palestine violence posed a threat to British Jewry as a whole. Had it continued for some years rather than terminating in 1947 the community might have experienced the crude anti-Semitism which had characterised late Victorian Britain. The role of the *Daily Express* and the Caunt libel case suggest that there might have been press support for such a stance.

In the 1930s British Jewry received protection from the state because their interests coincided in having 'a common enemy in Fascism'. The British Union of Fascists challenged both the state and the Jews.<sup>44</sup> In 1947 the interests of Jewry and the British state were at variance over Palestine. This left British Jewry in a difficult position. This position could have been exacerbated by the re-grouping of post-war fascist organisations. In 1946 and 1947 these were in a fragmented condition which even the return of Mosley to political activity did little to resolve. The end of the British commitment in Palestine, the pursuit of full employment policies, the association of fascism with Hitlerism were all factors in retarding, but not eradicating, its post-war growth.

Perhaps the most sobering assessment of the 1947 disturbances was made by Maurice Edelman M.P. He believed that the anti-Jewish attacks were not typical of British culture, but he warned:

*The country as a whole and British Jewry especially have awakened with a shock to what happened during these few days ... all of us, Gentile and Jew, have suddenly realised that it could happen to us. Mosley wasn't there; the Fascist Party wasn't there; what was there was the mood of anti-Semitism in which a Fascist can destroy democracy by demagogy.*<sup>45</sup>

Almost fifty years later it remains a timely warning.

## NOTES

- 1 D. Leich, 'Explosion at the King David Hotel' in M. Sissons, P. French (eds.) *The Age of Austerity 1945 - 1951*. Oxford, 1986, p. 59.
- 2 P. Panayi, 'The Lancashire Anti-German Riots of May 1915' in *Manchester Region History Review*. Vol. II, No.2, 1988.
- 3 *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 1945-46, Vol. 426, July 24-August 2, Col.988.
- 4 *Ibid*, Col. 1017.
- 5 *The Times*, 28 January 1947.
- 6 *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, Fifth series, 1946-47, VOL. 441 Col. 2345.
- 7 *The Times*, 2 August 1947.
- 8 *Jewish Chronicle*, 1 August 1947.
- 9 *Bolton Evening News*, 5 August 1947.
- 10 *Manchester Evening News*, 4 August 1947.
- 11 *Bolton Evening News*, 5 August 1947.
- 12 *Ibid*. 6 August 1947.
- 13 *Eccles and Patricroft Journal*. 8 August 1947.
- 14 *Eccles Journal*, 8 August 1947.
- 15 *Manchester Evening News*, 6 August 1947.
- 16 *Eccles Journal*, 8 August 1947.
- 17 *Ibid*.
- 18 *Jewish Chronicle*, 1 August 1947.
- 19 *Ibid*.
- 20 *The Times*, 18 February 1947
- 21 *New Statesman and Nation*, 30 August 1947
- 22 *Jewish Chronicle*, 26 September 1947
- 23 *The Times*, 14 August 1947
- 24 Rev. E. Eichorn, *Jewish Chronicle*. 30 August 1947
- 25 *Jewish Chronicle*, 8 August 1947
- 26 *Manchester Evening News*, 6 August 1947.
- 27 *Jewish Chronicle* 29 August 1947
28. *Ibid*. 8 August 1947
- 29 M. Beckman, *The 43 Group*, London, 1992, p.122
- 30 *Manchester Evening News*, 11 August 1947; *The Times*, 5 August 1947; *Bolton Evening News*, 12 August 1947; *Salford City Reporter*, 1947
- 31 Leitch, 'Explosion at the King David Hotel' in Sissons and French, *The Age of Austerity 1945- 1951*, p 60
- 32 B Williams, 'The Anti-Semitism of Tolerance: Middle Class Manchester and the Jews 1870-1900' in A.J. Kidd, K.W. Roberts (eds.) *City. Class and Culture: Social Policy and Cultural Production in Victorian Manchester*. Manchester, 1985, p 88
- 33 *Parliamentary Debates*: Commons, Fifth Series, 1946 - 1947, Vol 441, Col 2420
- 34 *Manchester Evening News*, 13 October 1947
- 35 *Ibid*
- 36 *Jewish Chronicle*, 5 December 1947
- 37 *Ibid*, 28 November 1947
- 38 *Manchester Evening News*, 16 December 1947
- 39 C. Holmes, *A Tolerant Country? Immigrants, Refugees and Minorities in Britain*. London, 1991
- 40 E.C.Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry 1880-1920*, Oxford, 1988, p. 391
- 41 *Manchester Evening News*, 26 - 30 January 1903 cited in S. Cohen, *It's The Same Old Story: Immigration controls against Jewish, Black and Asian People, with special reference to Manchester*, Manchester City Council Public Relations Office, 1987, p. 12.
- 42 V.D. Lipman, *A History of the Jews in Britain Since 1858*, Leicester, 1990, p. 209.
- 43 S. Brook, *The Club: The Jews of Modern Britain*, London, 1989, p. 31.
- 44 C. Holmes, 'Anti-Semitism and the BUF' in K. Lunn, R. C. Thurlow (eds.) *British Fascism*, London, 1980.
- 45 *Jewish Chronicle*, 19 September 1947. .

## Acknowledgements

The authors would like to acknowledge the assistance given by Neil Banks in the final preparation of this article.