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Number 83

FINEST HOUR

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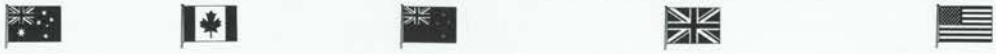
THE INTERNATIONAL CHURCHILL SOCIETIES



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Cover: "She was statue-like,, and one expected to see her carrying an agate lamp. Her chiseled nose and elegantly upheld head suggested a goddess of the infant world," wrote Lady Diana Cooper (page 10). Painting by Sir Winston of Lady Churchill at the Launch of HMS **Indomitable,** *1939, painted c.1954. Reproduced with permisssion of Curtis Brown Ltd, London, on behalf of the Churchill Heritage.* *© Churchill Heritage.*

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THE parallels between the careers of Richard Nixon and Sir Winston Churchill are interesting. Both were born to parents of little wealth. Although life as conducted by their elders was on a vastly different scale, Nixon like Churchill had to work for everything he had, as he reminded his nation in the same sentence with his famous "I am not a crook." Politically both were centrists who preferred coalitions to parties — officially for Churchill in 1940-45, quasi-officially for Nixon in 1968-73, when he achieved one of the most liberal legislative records of any American president in tandem with an opposition Congress.

The most striking parallel was the way both men repeatedly roared back after being pronounced politically dead: Churchill after 1915 (dismissed by Asquith), 1929 (the Tory loss to Labour), 1936 (the Abdication crisis) and 1945 (the Labour landslide); Nixon after 1952 (almost dumped as Eisenhower's running mate), 1956 (ditto), 1960 (losing the Presidency to Kennedy), 1962 (losing the California governorship) and 1974 (the only President forced to resign). Nixon was certainly proof of Churchill's dictum: "In war you can only be killed once — but in politics, many times."

Nixon's oratory and writing didn't hold a candle to Churchill's, but both were political tacticians hampered by a fatal flaw: in Churchill an inability to compromise principle to achieve broader political goals: as over India and Edward VIII vs. the need for British rearmament in the 1930s, for example; in Nixon a persecution complex that caused him to lie to his country about a third-rate burglary he never authorized. Yet at his death Nixon was hailed by many as a hero, while Churchill was being excoriated by revisionist historians.

Alistair Cooke on the BBC spoke movingly about the Nixon funeral: how schoolchildren, jaded by other politicians in the years since, tend now to excuse Nixon's "high crimes and misdemeanors," if they understand them at all; how former enemies praised Nixon at his death: for the approach to China that created the first fault-line in Communism; the strategic arms treaty; the transformation of Vietnam from an American quagmire when he took office to a local affair when he left. Nixon might even have pulled off the 1973 Vietnam peace accord, had he not been fatally wounded by Watergate. Mr. Cooke leaves us with a description of a lone man at the Nixon funeral. Asked why he'd come, he answered simply, "Just paying my respects to a former leader." As do we. Peace at last, Mr. President.

✷ LADY DIANA DUFF COOPER, "the most beautiful woman in England," had a penetrating mind and brilliant pen, capable as few others of capturing a time, earlier in this century, when women considered the world laden with opportunity for fulfillment. This she proved with her famous seven-year performance in Max Reinhardt's "The Miracle," her able collaboration with Duff Cooper's ambassadorship to France, her notable trilogy of memoirs. Her "Winston and Clementine," first published in *The Atlantic* just after WSC's death, was unknown to her son, Lord Norwich, who graciously gave us permission to publish it as our cover story: as fine a tribute to the Churchill marriage as we are likely to encounter.

Diana and Duff were two bright lights of the Churchill era. It is a joy to read their correspondence (*A Durable Fire: The Letters of Duff and Diana Cooper 1913-1950* , London and New York 1983, edited by their granddaughter Artemis) — if only to preserve such writing as this, Diana to Duff in the trenches, 1918: "It is I that must read [our letters] to the envious young — flauntingly, exultantly — and when they hear yours they'll dream well that night, and waking crave for such a mythical supreme lover and regret that they are born in the wrong age — as once I did before I saw your light, crying for Gods and wooers..." Shortly after they met, Duff wrote to Diana: "Bores with God's help we will never be." They weren't.

RICHARD M. LANGWORTH

The editor's opinions are his own and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Churchill Societies or their Trustees.

QUOTE OF THE SEASON

It might be said that he outlived his future by ten years and his past by more than twenty. The brilliant prospects which had shone before him until he became the leader were dispersed by the break-up of his Government and the decisive defeat of his Party. The part he took as a patriot in supporting the War destroyed his hold upon the regard and confidence of the Radical masses...He severed himself by purposeful action from his friends and followers...Within a decade after achieving the pinnacle his political career was closed for ever. It was only two decades later that his long life ended."

-WSC ON ROSEBERY (AND NIXON?), *GREAT CONTEMPORARIES*, 1937

MILTON FRIEDMAN TO SPEAK AT '94 CONFERENCE, SEPT. 25

BANFF, ALBERTA — Hoover Institution Senior Research Fellow Milton Friedman and his wife Rose will be the guests of ICS Canada and the 1994 International Churchill Conference September 23-26th. Dr. Friedman will speak on Sunday the 25th about Churchill and Economics: "I have long argued that great men need not be good economists and my prime example is Winston Churchill. I yield to no one in my admiration for Churchill but, as it happens, he uniformly in my opinion made the wrong decision about economics on almost every occasion when he encountered it from pre-World War I to post-World War II." Don't miss this challenging critique and all the other great events in Canada. See the back cover of this issue and register when your conference packet arrives separately in the post.

"CHURCHILL AS PEACEMAKER"

WASHINGTON, DC — The Churchill Center for the Study of Statecraft, founded by ICS/USA, announces its first Churchill Symposium, in conjunction with the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars October 28-29th. Sir Robert Rhodes James ("Churchill, Study in Failure"), Paul Addison ("Churchill on the Home Front"), Manfred Weidhorn ("Harmony of Interests") James W. Muller ("The Education of Winston Churchill") Kirk Emmert ("Churchill and Empire") Steven Lambakis ("Architect of Peace") and Dr. Williamson Murray are among ten academics who will deliver papers discussing aspects of Churchill as peacemaker from the Boer War through the two World Wars, Irish and Middle East settlements, and quest for a "summit" in the 1950s. Tickets will cost little or nothing but seats are limited. If you are *not* a member of the ICS Washington Chapter and wish to attend, please contact the editor.

ICS/UK A.G.M.

CHARTWELL, KENT, UK, APRIL 16TH — The Annual General Meeting of ICS United Kingdom saw David Boler elected Chairman and Wing Commander Dennis Jackson, OBE, DL, RAF (ret.) Vice-chairman. The complete Committee and Trustees are listed on page two. Lady Soames retired as a Trustee but remains Patron. At least one meeting of the new Committee has since taken place, and David Boler will be in touch with Friends of ICS/UK regularly on coming business and events. Congratulations to all on the new and old teams.

JUMPING ON THE BANDWAGON

LONDON THIS SEASON — "Spies in the Sky" (BBC2, February) said Churchill "personally approved" a series of "highly provocative" RAF spy missions over the USSR...Clive Ponting's biography (May) said WSC was a racist who wanted "forcibly to sterilize 100,000 mental degenerates and send tens of thousands of others to labour camps"... Pat Riott's *Greatest Story Ever Told* said Churchill engineered the 1929 Wall Street stock market crash...Norman Rose's *An Unruly Life* (March) said Churchill was pro-appeasement in the 1930s... Andrew Roberts in *The Spectator* (9 April) revealed "Churchill's life-long antipathy to coloured people and unsuccessful attempts to block New Commonwealth immigration"... Michael Smith in the *Sunday Telegraph* said Churchill was paid by the CIA to finance a campaign for united Europe...Allison McLaughlin in the *Daily Express* said Churchill and the Royals "were regularly supplied with heroin and cocaine during visits to Royal Deeside" in the early 1900s...*The British Nationalist* called Winston Churchill MP's campaign to limit immigration (*FH* #81, page 22) "ironic in view of his grandfather's part in the destruction of the British Empire." According to Andy Harris in *Sunday Sport*, 12Sep93, England's soccer boss Graham Taylor had a visit from Sir Winston, who spoke via *Sunday Sport's* medium, Mystic Maria, equating England's World Cup campaign with World War II.

There, you have it all. Oh, and P.S.: England lost.

BIG THREE ON TV

NEW YORK, APRIL 19-20TH — NBC aired David Rintels's "World War II: When Lions Roared," a four-hour production dealing with the relationship between Churchill (Bob Hoskins), Roosevelt (John Lithgow) and Stalin (Michael Caine), all of whom were reasonably effective. Stalin was a bit too much of a cuddly bear, Roosevelt looked right but his voice lacked FDR's unique lilt, and Churchill kept his chin on his chest too much.

(Hoskins took advantage of his four hours of fame to demonstrate his ignorance by calling Churchill a drunken megalomaniac.) In some scenes, split-screen techniques were used to show the men reacting to each other's long-distance communications, while those sending the communications were made to speak them. The trouble is that people speak differently than they write, so the approach isn't quite valid. On the other hand, so few know anything about history that *any* dramatic license which crams a little of it into their skulls isn't a bad thing. A videocassette recording may be ordered (North American TV equipment) by dialing (800) 568-9393.

Next, CBS is preparing a six-hour miniseries chronicling Sir Winston's life, based on William Manchester's "Last Lion," the final volume of which is being written. Producer Martin Ransohoff says he hopes to have it ready for the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II's conclusion (not to mention WSC's unceremonious Order of the Boot). Actors are not yet announced, but as WSC we'd prefer Hopkins to Hoskins...

CHURCHILL COLLOQUIUM

CAMBRIDGE, UK, MARCH 28-30TH — The Moller Centre for Continuing Education at Churchill College held an impressive symposium chaired by Professor C. Andrew on the topic, "Sir Winston Churchill, Europe, the Empire and the United States, which archivist Correlli Barnett tells us will be pub-

International Datelines...

lished eventually as a book. Included were important papers on Churchill and British sea power; WSC's defence policies; his relations with de Gaulle, Roosevelt, Mussolini, Adenauer, the Danes and Poles; WSC and the Middle East; WSC on NATO and Western defence; and a summation, "Churchill and Britain's Place in the World" by Martin Gilbert. Altogether, a stunning exercise. All congratulations to Churchill College.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Dedicate another bookshelf to your Churchill collection: at least fifteen books are presently being written about WSC besides Ponting, Rose (pg5) and Snell (pg26).

Professor C. Andrew, editor: Churchill Colloquium at Cambridge (see above).

Martin Gilbert: Vols 2 and 3 of the Churchill War Papers: *Never Surrender, June-December 1940* (late 1994) and *The Ever-Widening War: 1941* (1995); also *The Winston Churchill-Emery Reves Correspondence,* to be published 1995.

Dr. Barry Gough (Wilfred Laurier University): *A War of Combinations: First Lord of the Admiralty and First Sea Lord.*

Richard M. Langworth: *Reader's Guide to the Books of Sir Winston Churchill,* to be published by ICS (late 1994).

William Manchester: *The Last Lion Vol 3: Defender of the Realm, 1940-1965* (as much as two years off, W.M. tells us).

Dr. John Mather: *Churchill's Health* (provisional title); see article last issue.

Anthony Montague Browne: *Long Sunset,* the memoirs of WSC's private secretary from 1952-1965 (London:Cassell).

Dr. James W. Muller: *The Education of Winston Churchill* (work in progress).

The Hon. Celia Perkins: *Churchill's Boyhood* (provisional title), based on hitherto unpublished letters and documents (1994).

Patrick Powers: *Democratic Statesmanship: the Lessons of Lincoln, Churchill and de Gaulle* (work in progress).

Douglas S. Russell: *Churchill's Military Career* (provisional title, work in progress).

Dr. David Stafford (Univ. of Edinburgh): A new book on Churchill and secret intelligence, which the author discussed during an ICS visit to Edinburgh on May 21st.

Frederick Woods: *Bibliography of the Works of Sir Winston Churchill* (new edition, manuscript deadline early 1995).

Have we left any out? Please advise.

HUMES TOURS COUNTRY— QUOTEBOOK IN NEW EDITION

PHOTO: JERRY BAUER

James C. Humes, editor of *The Wit and Wisdom of Winston Churchill,* has traveled the USA on behalf of his book and ICS, including many chapter meetings: February 12th, the Wyndham Hotel, Philadelphia, organized by Richard Raffauf; February 17th, the Nixon Library, Yorba Linda, California; March 21st, National Arts Club, New York City, with Cynthia Newberry the ICS organizer; March 24th, Dallas, organized by Dick and Ann Hazlett; May 12th, Washington, organized by Ron Helgemo; April 23rd, Omaha, organized by Ed. Fitzgerald. Humes related the quips and quotes that are so much a part of Churchill's persona, recalling the dialogue between WSC and FDR. ICS/Pennsylvania sponsored two students, while at all venues Humes signed numerous copies of his books. The latter, we are very pleased to report, has reached its third impression, which shows a massive effort to correct various points of detail and inaccuracy in the quotes, and will be available through the ICS New Book Service (regular price $20, ours $16). A review will appear in *FH* shortly.

CHURCHILL SOCIETY OF B.C.

VANCOUVER APRIL 8TH — The third "Evening with Churchill" was held tonight by The Rt. Hon. Sir Winston S. Churchill Society of British Columbia. This has become a regular semi-annual event, with Dr. Keith Alldritt ("Churchill the Writer") the first guest a year ago and a second event held last autumn. We do not have details of the April 8th event, but for those who don't want to miss an always-interesting night, please write for details about the autumn number: Stanley H. Winfield, #1-54 Richmond Street, New Westminster, BC V3L 5P2.

Mr. Winfield has obtained permission for *Finest Hour* to reprint a fine speech by Senator Jerry S. Graftstein, QC, to the University Club Annual Dinner in Toronto on October 27th last. Entitling his talk, "Churchill as a Liberal," Sen. Graftstein covers a little-known aspect of the Great Man's career. It will appear at earliest opportunity, but we cannot resist reproducing the final paragraph now: "Friends, may I conclude by asking you to rise, liberally charge your glasses, and raise a fulsome and liberal toast to the University Club."

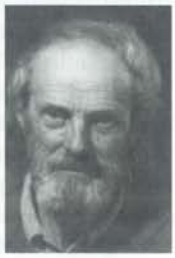
NEW CHURCHILL SCHOLARSHIPS

PHOENIX, ARIZONA, MARCH 30TH— Diane Thomson is the first University of Arizona student to win a $20,000 Churchill scholarship, along with nine others cited by the Churchill Foundation in New York City. Scholarships pay for tuition, fees, living and travel expenses at Cambridge University in England. The Foundation, headed by Harold Epstein and John Loeb, has awarded scholarships in Sir Winston's honor for thirty-three years, and eight Churchill scholars have won the Nobel Prize. Richard Cosgrove, a UA history professor who coordinates national and international scholarships for the school, said, "I consider winning a Churchill more of a feat even than winning a Rhodes." (To win, Diane Thomson maintained a straight-A grade average and received perfect scores on two of her three Graduate Record Exams. She will pursue a master's of philosophy degree in environment and development, examining improved uses of natural resources in poor countries.)

FDR-WSC DATABASE FUNDED

HYDE PARK, NY, JANUARY 19TH — A British government grant similar to the one made to ICS last year (to produce the 1991-92 *Proceedings)* has been awarded to the Roosevelt Library, to produce a database of the Roosevelt-Churchill Correspondence in the Library and establish a computer link between the Churchill Archives in Cambridge and the FDR Library.The grant of $4500 was the brainstorm of British Vice-Consul Ray Raymond. Again the British Embassy has used its grantmaking power to do nothing but good work; we congratulate the FDR Library and wish them success in this project, which will mean so much to scholars.

A YOUNGISH 88



"I am enclosing a money order to cover my subscription to ICS and a photo. In January I celebrated my 88th birthday. I am living at the Merrimac Valley Rehabilitation Home. If anyone would like to visit me, I would be very pleased to receive them," writes Bob Edwards, who only makes us hope that we look as good at 88 as he does. His accompanying resume attests to a fascinating life, with ancestors dating to the 17th century in the USA. If a fellow Churchillian wishes to pay Bob a call, he may be reached at 22 Maple Street, Amesbury, Massachusetts 01913 USA.

ICS/WASHINGTON

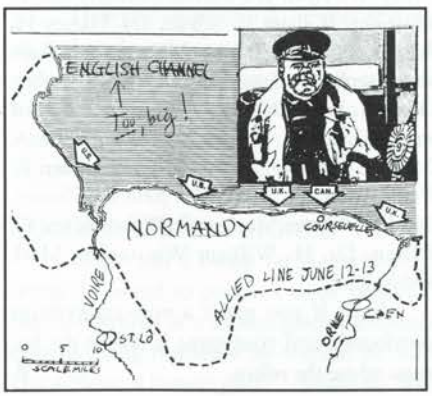
WASHINGTON DC, FEBRUARY 17TH — Sir Winston's "Never Despair" was appropriate to people living in North America last winter. However, after several postponements due to weather, twenty-four hardy associates assembled at the Marvin Center, George Washington University, for a dinner meeting where Ron Helgemo described upcoming events and introduced two speakers. Fellow of the Society Herbert Goldberg, and Royal Navy veteran Raymond Goodman. Dr. Goldberg, who regularly lectures at local universities, discussed "Churchill and the Nation's Capital." Raymond Goodman, a retired World Bank executive, was a member of Churchill's entourage on HMS *Prince of Wales* at the Argentia meeting with Roosevelt. His topic, "All at Sea with Churchill" discussed his encounters with the PM.

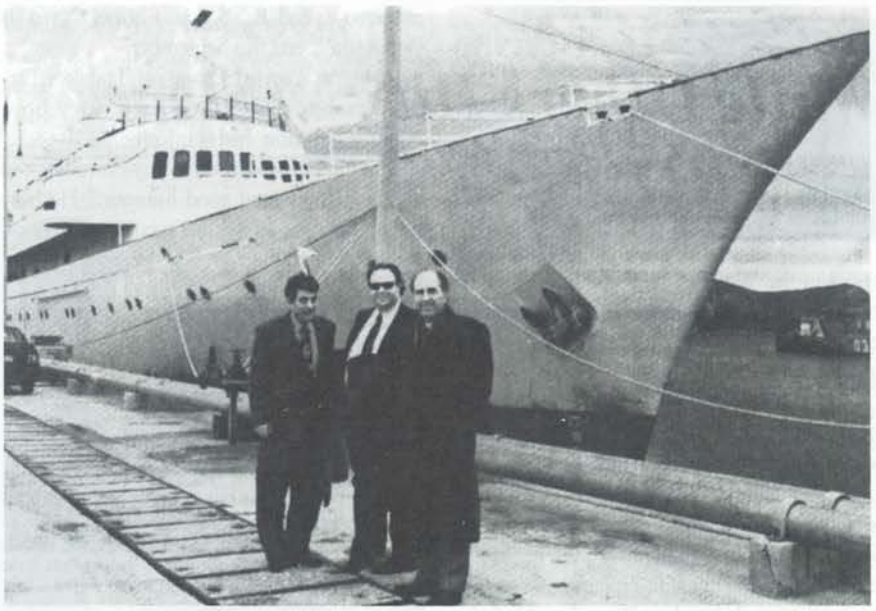
Either or both of these fine speakers would provide a fine evening for other chapters, if their expenses can be covered. If you are interested, please contact Ron Helgemo (address and phone number on page 2).

COVER 42: D-DAY +6

JUNE 12TH — The forty-second ICS commemorative cover was posted to recipients on the covers list* today, marking the 50th Anniversary of Churchill's return to French soil on D-Day +6. (He lunched with Montgomery three miles from the front, appearing disappointed when Montgomery said it was unlikely that the enemy would disturb their repast.) Covers chairman Dave Marcus has again created a historic keepsake on an important anniversary.

* ICS covers are free, but you must ask to be put on the list. To do so, send a recent copy of your ICS mailing label to Dave Marcus, 3048 Van Buskirk Circle, Las Vegas NV 89121 USA. If you did not receive this cover automatically but wish a copy, please send $3 or the equivalent to ICS Stores, 8001 Harrods Landing, Prospect KY 40059 USA.





Alexander James Blastos (center) with Athens attorney Yiannis Vahaviolos and Blastos' advisor Chris Spirou (New Hampshire Democratic Party chairman) with the 325-foot Christina *recently purchased by Blastos for $2.2 million. Photo from the* New Hampshire Sunday News, *13 March 1994, courtesy Alexander Blastos.*

CHRISTINA IS BACK

KEENE, NH, USA, MARCH 13TH — Millionaire businessman Alexander Blastos has purchased the former Onassis yacht *Christina,* which carried Sir Winston on several voyages at the end of his life, for $2.2 million, and plans a restoration that will cost $40 million over the next several years.

Christina, which started life fifty years ago as the Canadian frigate *Stormont,* last belonged to the Greek Navy. Blastos, 28, will charter the yacht at $70,000 a day to recoup his investment, although he really considers it a link with his Greek heritage. Original features, including a bathroom replica of King Minos' lost Palace of Knossos, a swimming pool with a raisable bottom that converts it to a dance floor, nine swank cabins named after Greek islands, and fountains that pulsate to the rythym of music in the smoking salon, are to be restored. ICS will observe Mr. Blastos's voyage of rejuvenation with interest. *Christina* is the biggest yacht owned by an American, the fifth largest private yacht in the world.

FREDERICK FORSCH, R.I.P.

NEW YORK CITY, OCTOBER 8TH — Retired investment banker Frederick Forsch died today, six months after he had anonymously donated his notable Churchill collection to Dartmouth College. The collection, housed at Dartmouth's Baker Library, includes signed first editions of nearly everything WSC published, including pamphlets and over 100 unpublished letters,some marked "secret," written by WSC between 1893 and 1960. Among the manuscripts, bound as "Winston Churchill's Prophecy 1911," is WSC's famous cabinet memo about the probable course of a war with Germany, which accurately mirrored what really happened. There are also signed photos and memorabilia, and some things on the lighter side, such as a 1926 letter to Admiral Keyes: "I designed or paid for in my time all the capital ships, except the *Hood,* now in commission. But this should not encourage you to ask for any new ones! They are so good, they will certainly last a great deal longer." Says special collections librarian Philip Cronenwett, "This is a remarkable collection, built by an astute student and collector of Churchill materials over fifty years. It will not only provide Dartmouth students with important resources, but will be available to scholars too."

ICS/NEW ENGLAND

NEEDHAM, MASS., FEBRUARY 22ND — Chapter director Cyril Mazansky spoke on "Churchill and his Contemporaries" to a gathering of 150 at the Retired Men's Club this evening. His theme was similar to that of his lecture at the 1993 Washington conference, when he portrayed "Churchill's Great Contemporaries: A Pictorial Panorama of Cigarette Cards." Actively interested in the life of Churchill for many years, Mazansky is a member of the executive committee and board of directors of ICS/USA. He was profiled in *Finest Hour* #79 (p28).

ICS PEOPLE: DAVID BOLER

The new chairman of ICS United Kingdom, David Boler became fascinated by Sir Winston at the age of 13, along with all the other 230 boys in his boarding school in the Weald of Kent: "We were made to watch his funeral, displayed on four large television screens placed in each corner of our assembly/sports hall!"

His curiosity aroused, David learned more from his late father's Second World War books, mostly on the Royal Navy, but also from Churchill's WW2 memoirs: "Father had been commissioned into the 'Wavy Navy,' or RNVR, in the early part of the war, sailing in corvettes and frigates. He replaced the family pots and pans donated to Beaverbrook's Spitfire appeal with shining new ones from Halifax, Nova Scotia, from his many visits to that port. He had the dubious distinction of being on the first RN ship to be sunk by a U-boat with an acoustic torpedo, HMS *Lagan,* in 1943. He left the Navy with a D.S.C."

From his father's wartime experiences, as well as being part of the generation born soon after the war, David's interest in World War II and the man who led Great Britain through it waxed. Initially he simply collected books on Churchill, until a chance introduction to ICS/UK led him to be appointed vice-chairman on the Committee formed following former chairman Geoffrey Wheeler's 1989 retirement. During the next four years he was actively involved in organizing the House of Commons dinner and other functions of ICS/UK, in particular two book signing evenings held at the Royal Auto Club for Martin Gilbert's *Churchill: A Life* and Volume I of his *War Papers.* David has also spoken to various organizations about ICS, notably the Churchill Society in Anglesey and local schools in Kent, where he found the pupils very interested. He has illustrated these talks with videos and tape recordings, and looks forward to further engagements.

In his business career David started work at Lloyd's of London in a broking firm in 1969. In 1981 with four colleagues he co-founded Lloyd Thompson, and in October 1987 ("Black Monday") they went public on the London Stock Exchange! The majority of L-T's business emanates from North America, "but I look after clients from Scandinavia and the Far East, thus my travels to North America have been sadly limited." With his wife Diane he did manage to attend the 1993 Washington conference, and ICS Canada hopes to see the Bolers in Alberta this September.

David married Diane on Trafalgar Day, 21 October 1978; they have three boys, Nicholas, Simon and Timothy, aged 15, 13 and 11, "all of whom suffer my obsession with WSC with resigned good humour." He has a fascination for exploring secondhand bookshops wherever he travels, a recent acquisition being an Icelandic first edition of *My Early Life* (in looseleaf form) from a visit to Reykajavik! Their interest in history has just now led David and Diane to purchase a Grade 2* listed house (in Kent, of course), which will inevitably benefit from their ministrations.

HERITAGE FUND THANKS

ICS United States most sincerely thanks the supporters of its Heritage Fund drive at the end of last year. This appeal for financial support for extra publications has more than met its goal, and has secured our ability to produce three new works: *The Churchill-Conover Correspondence, A Reader's Guide to the Books of Sir Winston Churchill,* and *The Proceedings of the Churchill Societies 1992-1993,* and a new edition of *The Chartwell Bulletins.* A special new edition of Churchill's prescient 1924 pamphlet, *Shall We Commit Suicide?,* is being prepared for all of you to express our gratitude.

The Chartwell Associates (named in honor of Sir Winston's home, designed to help support ICS publications, donations of $1000 or more): Fred Farrow, John T. Hay, Ambassador Paul H. Robinson, Jr., Peter J. Travers.

The Dalton Newfield Advocates (named in honor of the President of ICS 1970-75, whose vision and leadership led to its successful campaign to republish out-of-print Churchill books, donations of $500 to $999): Jane Fraser, William C. Ives. Parker H. Lee III, Michael W. Michelson, Robert M. Sprinkle.

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Note: If you made a non-anonymous contribution and your name is not on the list, please advise the editor.

ERRATA: *FH* #71

In my editorial, page 3, I stated that contrary to my remarks in *FH* #67, Lord Randolph Churchill did die from syphilis. Considerable research by Dr. John Mather (see his article last issue), has now conclusively proved that this is not true: the immediate cause of death was pneumonia arising out of complications that had nothing to do with venereal disease. Martin Gilbert also notes that my references to his having sent physicians "blind" copies of Lord Randolph diagnoses and receiving their opinions that the symptoms were of a syphilitic was incorrect. Also, "dementia" is also not an accurate description of Lord Randolph's illness. Dr. Mather's evidence will be published in these pages. RML

In the book field, nothing is more popular than Churchillian quotes. Sprinkling them into "International Datelines," as we've done recently, isn't as effective as a separate column, which commences herewith. I shall concentrate on the lesser known quotes, or well-known ones which have been misquoted in popular books—and droll photos, such as the one below. -Editor

SMITHSONIAN'S *HAT TRICK*

The March 1994 Smithsonian *committed a gaffe in a piece on computer-altered photographs, illustrating four famous personalities wearing the "wrong" hats (above). Churchill, of course, would look perfectly normal wearing a ten-gallon, as in the photo at right (Cairo 1942), as we advised the editors. I believe he picked up the cowboy hat habit while touring the USA in 1929; can a reader confirm this?*

MARRIAGE

"At Blenheim I took two very important decisions: to be born and to marry. I am content with the decision I took on both occasions. I have never had cause to regret either."

NEW YEAR'S TOAST, 1942

"Here's to a year of toil—a year of struggle and peril, and a long step forward towards victory. May we all come through safe and with honour." -Stated on the train enroute Washington after addressing the Canadian Parliament in Ottawa, 31 December 1941.

NUCLEAR WAR ENVISIONED

"Might not a bomb no bigger than an orange be found to possess a secret power...to blast a township at a stroke...guided automatically in flying machines by wireless or other rays without a human pilot?" -Stated in "Shall We Commit Suicide?" (1924). In April 1994 it was disclosed that Russian scientists had a powerful nuclear device no bigger than an orange, and fears were expressed lest it get into the hands of terrorists...

RATTING AND RE-RATTING

Churchill alwlays used the verb "to rat" to symbolize the desertion of one's party, whether by him or someone else. "Anyone can rat," he said, referring to his desertion of the Tories for the Liberals in 1904—"but it takes a certain amount of ingenuity to re-rat" (referring to his desertion of the Liberals for the Tories in 1924).

And: when told in 1945 that a member of the Labour Party had quit to join the Liberals, Churchill observed: "That's the first I've heard of a rat swimming to a sinking ship."

THE SPORTING TRAVELER

A quote often attributed to Churchill was apparently first coined by his wife: "Winston is a sporting man—he always likes to give the train a fair chance to get away." Clemmie used this often because WSC was so often late; although her husband may have picked it up himself as well.

RIDDLE, MYSTERY, ENIGMA

Everyone is familiar with the first part of this quote: "I cannot forecast to you the action of Russia. It is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." Martin Gilbert has noted that relatively few people recall the rest of the quote, made in a wartime speech, in which WSC answered his poser: "...But perhaps there is a key. That key is Russian national interest."

COMPONENTS OF A GOOD SPEECH

James Humes's *Wit and Wisdom of Winston Churchill* contains a number of good pieces of advice on this subject. A good speech, Churchill said, presents a "series of facts...brought forward all pointing in a common direction. The end appears in view before it is reached. The word anticipates the conclusion and the last words fall amid a thunder of assent."

And: "Don't deliver an essay with so many points. No one can absorb it. Just say one thing...Of course, you can say the point in many different ways over and over again with different illustrations...

And: "Vary the pose and vary the pitch. Finally, don't forget the pause."

Most important of all, from one of his pre-speech asides: "I am going to give a very long speech today; I haven't had time to prepare a short one."

WHEN TO LIE

Vice-Admiral Sir William Crawford submits a Churchilliasm uttered during a visit to the Home Fleet at Scapa Flow in 1941, forwarded to us from the *Daily Telegrpah* by David Boler: When asked by an officer in HMS *Rodney*, "Prime Minister, is everything you tell us true?", Churchill replied: "Young man, I have told many lies for the good of my country. I will tell many more."

And, to Stalin, during a conversation at Teheran: "Truth is so precious that she must often be attended by a Bodyguard of Lies."

BY THE WAY...

James Bell's column for this space was not to hand at press time.

Winston and Clementine

Famed for her beauty and the "durable fire" of her marriage to Alfred Duff Cooper, First Viscount Norwich, Lady Diana Cooper was early admitted to a delightful friendship with Winston and Clementine Churchill. Few write better of the happiness they shared.

BY THE LADY DIANA COOPER, 1892-1986

In 1908 (he was 33, she 22) and 1955, with HM The Queen as Winston retired as Prime Minister.

FROM the solemn moment when the world knew that Winston Churchill had breathed his last, a roll of honour of some seventeenth-century poet elusively haunted me. To lay it I asked friends, poets, and publishers, even All Souls College. All remembered it, but none could place the lines that say:

> O that Sir Philip Sidney should be dead
> O that Sir Walter Raleigh should be dead.

Many another glorious name is listed, and now we can add:

> O that Sir Winston Churchill should be dead.

He above all these is not to be mourned. He lived his last years imprisoned by age, and now that the iron gates of life are opened, his spirit soars to the liberty he lived for. Nothing survives — not marble nor gilded monuments at Westminster Abbey, not even pyramids enclosing pharaohs. Only legend remains, and Sir Winston's legend is as secure as that of any hero who fought and triumphed over evil. His fame will last when records are effaced, till legends become fables, and fables histories.

No man deserved his laurels more wholly. He left us the example of his prowess, the books that record his great times; and more than these he gave us courage.

SOME years ago I wrote for my own records what I remembered about Winston Churchill over fifty years, and among these notes comes a facet of his life that in the elegies and paeans of today may not be emphasized. I mean his life with his wife and the part she played in balancing his lion's heart. My contribution scarcely expressed solemnity, but the account of his domestic side cries out to be heard. I quote:

"Winston Churchill, the greatest man ever fathered by England or mothered by America, Winston who in our most dread days armed us with a superhuman courage and endurance that we might respond to his words and actions, victoriously chose his wife with love, wisdom, and intuition.

"Many great men have done as much. Caesar's Calpurnia, we are told, was above suspicion. Nothing is known of her beauty, and we cannot guess at her temptations. Josephine, chosen by Napoleon in his youth for love, was a better wife than the princess who bore him a son. Martha Washington was surely good, and Eleanor Roosevelt too. Disraeli married out of cold sense rather than sentiment, and learned to love his wife tenderly. Mrs. Gladstone was adored by William, for whom she would hide in her bodice cakes and goodies from party tables. Among Prime Ministers I have personally known, Mr. Asquith chose (or was he chosen by?) a Christian dynamo who loved him till his end and after. Lord Baldwin could not sustain life after his wife's death. There was Tolstoy's marriage of unadulterated and increasing misery, yet who but Sofya Andreevna could he have found to bear him thirteen little Russians and copy *War and Peace* seven times with her own hand? A wise choice indeed.

"Winston Churchill, not in his earliest youth, chose most wisely and most well. His bride could have figured in a Homeric story. She was statue-like, and one expected to see her carrying an agate lamp. Her large, lightest of blue-green eyes, her chiseled nose and elegantly upheld head suggested a goddess of the infant world. Blood coursed through the marble, flushing it with animation, warmth, sometimes rising to passionate heat in partisanship of a cause. Calm she also had, with a well-balanced judgment of people and situations — consistent and reliable. She often knew the sheep from the goats better than Winston did. 'Clemmie sits behind me on the platform, shaking her beautiful head in disagreement with some new and pregnant point I am developing,' I remember his saying, with pride in her stable Liberalism, after some Tory meeting. Her devotion never subjected her to becoming a doormat or to taking the easier way with her high-powered Hercules."

I, PERSONALLY, did not know the Churchills when they married, though they were household words since I first remember adult talk. I saw Clemmie's tall, slim figure for the first time in 1910, swathed in black weeds, together with another strangely beautiful young woman, passing silently, as I was myself, before the bier of King Edward VII in Westminster Hall. I asked who were these Attic women and was told they were Winston Churchill's wife and his sister-in-law, Lady Gwendeline Churchill (later mother to Clarissa Eden). I can never forget their veiled beauty. I did not know how the Churchills lived or where. Later I knew there were children; that a little girl by dying had plunged her mother into deep grief which left a permanent scar. Neither Randolph, an Olympian-looking boy, nor the two older daughters did I set eyes upon till they were grown up, and Mary, the youngest, was still a child when, in the Thirties, I came more intimately into the home life of Chartwell.

I was continually meeting Winston at small parties of friends — perfect companions and audiences for his histrionics, his eloquence, and his quips; or at bigger, more formal dinners, where he would sit, a little hunched, distrait or perhaps just self-sufficient, between two ladies trembling with shyness and glowing with the vain hope of pleasing or impressing. Whenever I saw him and his wife together in country houses, pompous or bohemian, they appeared a shining epitome of successful marriage.

Serene, radiant, and selfless, Clemmie put her husband above her children, her interests, and the whole world. She had been frugally brought up — not, I think, much butter on the bread, and the slice was often eaten in Dieppe, the onetime refuge of the indigent — but her mother, Lady Blanche Hozier, saw that her education was surely founded. Their standards of *tenue* can never have been relaxed; no dirty windows or crumpled tablecloths; the dress's hem washed and ironed on coming home from the party, in readiness for the next night's dance. The story is told that Lady Blanche, suspecting one sunny afternoon that Winston would propose marriage, saw to it that her daughter was dressed in her freshest muslin, and an order given that there was to be no sitting down till her hand was pledged. I imagine him drawing her to some romantic stile, rock, or rustic seat, and Clemmie obediently insisting on standing.

Manners and grace, order and good taste must have been considered essential, for these virtues showed brightly before these desperate years of spacious, servantless houses, when attics, stairs, and cellars, outhouses and dirt traps harass the exhausted householder. These virtues were vital, for Chartwell was a large

Below right: Statler Hotel, New York, post-Iron Curtain speech, March 1946; Sarah, WSC CSC, Randolph. Presented to ICS by President Kennedy's White House photographer, Cecil Stoughton.

house, impeccably run, where the master's enterprises took the shape of earthworks and waterworks; where the staff must include a posse of secretaries to cope with stacks of reference books, red boxes, manuscripts of books to be; where the studios and passages bore piled pyramids of canvases; where midnight oil forever burned.

In wartime, difficulties increased apace, perhaps a little less, materially, for the exalted. Winston was always a fastidious eater, and Clemmie and her famous cook, Mrs. Landemare, had to cater for moods of hunger or of fractious fatigue and cheerfully reorganize meals ordered for six at eight o'clock into meals for twenty at ten-thirty. Yet the wheels revolved sweetly, and there was time and space for pause and relaxation, for children and games. I can see Clemmie, between the wars, on the tennis court whacking very professional backhanders, alert beneath a green eyeshade, or strengthening, during the summer months in her bedroom, those muscles most needed for christiania turns on Alpine heights. I can see her in the war, energy undiminished, great in her own right. Her housewifery gave her limited time for public work; I remember knitting my mealtime through to make oiled sweaters for sailors at Clemmie's wish and she organized a big campaign for gifts to Russia and made a fine success of her visit there early in 1945.

Of all the heroes, of Hector, of Lysander, and of Caesar, Clemmie's paragon was probably the easiest to live beside. At least my eyes saw him as most docile to her rule. I never heard Winston nagged. All great men are more childish than good women, and there must have been, behind the scenes, some Mrs. Caudle lectures, some of the scolding that a nanny gives her charge for childishness, showing off, overexcitement, obstinacy, or sulks, some promise extracted that such behaviour would not happen again. I can hear his Prime Minister's professed penitence, the vow made and never kept by the incorrigible schoolboy.

One of his dearest associates tells me that those who were closest to this extraordinary man through the fearful war were struck by the contrast between Winston at work and Winston, the family man, at play. They might spend a whole afternoon listening to him as the great statesman, propounding plans on which the lives of millions of men and the world's future would depend, and a few minutes later they would see him at the dinner table, a benevolent old codger, twinkling with humour, treated as a naughty child by his wife, and mercilessly teased by his daughters.

LIFE at Chartwell before the war was that of England's "Little Man" on a titanic scale. Clipping the privet hedge became laying bricks for outhouses and walls; digging a ha-ha against stray sheep turned to vast earthworks and lake dredgings. The dressing gown and slippers were there (embroidered with Oriental dragons), and so was the tobacco puffed through a select cigar. So was the Irish stew and treacle tart, the garden's first green peas and gooseberries, the open table around which crowded the family and guests from without — a retainer or so, some Dominion Prime Minister, a scientist from Harvard, and the inevitable and cherished cronies.

The pets were ever present, as in all our houses — the dog of the day, the spoiled cat, ducks and swans to be fed, and later, the companion of his age, the arch budgerigar, perched on his shoulder or on his glass's edge. Winston's feeling for animals was passionate. I have watched him mobilize tired notables at a house party to seek a lost poodle in twilight, and he once held up a meeting of urgency to wait for a vet's verdict.

There came a time in the war when Winston, aged sixty-five, found the free countries around him gagged and fettered, and all his fortitude was called upon. In those days Clemmie's burden became colossal. Five hours' sleep at night and an hour's siesta were all that this restless phenomenon allowed himself for rest. What other wife could have restrained herself from urging him to bed? But she learned in their finest hour to know the moment for self-effacement and the moment to take charge.

Once, when he was anxious to see Monsieur Paul Reynaud in France, his colleagues and the flying men

His constant companion through the 1951 campaign, CSC whispers a word to her husband at the Conservative Party's victory celebration, after which Churchill formed his third administration. (1945's caretaker government was his second).

"I often put myself in Clemmie's shoes, and as often felt how they pinched and rubbed till I kicked them off, heroic soles and all, and begged my husband to rest and be careful. Fortunately, Clemmie was a mortal of another day ..."

tried to dissuade him from a flight that would have to be through danger and tempest. Clemmie was besought by an apprehensive friend to influence her husband against taking this risk. "Are the R.A.F. flying today?" she asked. "Yes, but on essential operations only." "Well, Winston says that his mission is an essential operation," was all the satisfaction he got from this Trojan woman. The Prime Minister went — and returned.

The task would have been too heavy for most women to carry. It has always been my temptation to put myself in other people's shoes: even into a horse's shoes as he strains before the heavy dray; into a ballerina's points as she feels age weigh upon her spring; into Cinderella's slippers as she danced till midnight; into the jackboot that kicks; into the Tommy's boots that tramp; into the magic seven-leaguers. With experience of age I have learned to control this habit of sympathy which deforms truth. In war days I often put myself into Clemmie's shoes, and as often felt how they pinched and rubbed till I kicked them off, heroic soles and all, and begged my husband to rest and be careful. Fortunately, Clemmie was a mortal of another day.

Again, in 1943, after Winston had fallen ill at Carthage, Clemmie flew out to nurse him and arrange a convalescing Christmas at Marrakesh without his family. In 1944 Christmas wore a brighter look. On its eve the children were already assembled at Chequers. A special Christmas tree, a present from President Roosevelt, stood ready for lighting, and the grandchildren, all agog with anticipation, were frustrated by a telegram from Athens bringing the disturbing news that the situation there was critical and that the small party of English troops, sent to Greece to cow Communism, was having a perilous time. Winston characteristically decided to leave London by air that very night. Did Clemmie protest? Did she tell him he was being cruel to the children and spoiling everything for everyone? Did she beg for postponement till after the Christmas dinner, till after lunch, at least till after the giving of presents and kisses? I doubt it. She had become a friend of sacrifice. So Winston flew away that night, managed to scotch a Communist coup d'etat, and Greece remained free. I think that is what the reports told us. I hope they told the Greeks.

It must have been a hard time for a wife to sustain robustly an ungrateful country's dismissal of its saviour at the first post-war election. Winston was very affected — indeed, stunned. "I'm told it's a blessing in disguise," he said to me in Paris. "If it is, it's very completely disguised."

Death places his icy democratic hand on kings, heroes, and paupers, and in 1965 the free world and the enslaved registered with mourning or contempt the passing of Winston Churchill. Stones were graven, elegies voiced from platforms and pulpits, the muffled drums rolled, the arms were reversed, the hatchments put up, the last post sounded. The world's sympathy was automatically expressed for the widow, but little was said about his married life, because it was too happy to be heard of.

His epitaph might be:

> One who never turned his back but marched
> breast forward,
> Never doubted clouds would break,
> Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong
> would triumph,
> Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
> Sleep to wake.

Winston Churchill and Eastern Europe

Part 1: The Polish Government.

Could Churchill have done more to save Poland from Communism?

BY STANLEY E. SMITH

THE collapse of Communist regimes throughout Eastern Europe in the autumn of 1989 cheered the hearts of all lovers of freedom. That tidal wave of change also swept away many of the artificial and long-imposed restraints on the expression of nationalistic and ethnic passions felt by those in the liberated countries and by their cousins overseas. The spirited public debate, both verbal and physical, resulting from the collapse of these restraints has included some recriminations against those who supposedly brought the Eastern European countries, or allowed these countries to be brought, to their sorry political, economic and environmental state.

For the most part, Communist regimes in Eastern Europe were formed the closing months and aftermath of the Second World War. One question in particular that has been raised is whether the great Western powers could have done more to bring free governments to Eastern Europe. Winston Churchill, for example, has been accused of ceding much of Eastern Europe to Stalin's influence in exchange for a free hand militarily in Greece.

Churchill's role in the formation of the postwar structure of Eastern Europe deserves a look. Not only was he one of the Big Three leaders of the victorious Allies, he was also involved in the war longer than either President Roosevelt or Marshall Stalin.

The crux of the problem of Eastern Europe was Poland. Not only was it the largest and most populous of those countries; it was also the one most intimately associated with the origins of the war. Poland thus occupied by far the most time and attention of the Big Three leaders in their negotiations over postwar Europe. Accordingly, the discussion of Poland will be the longest section of this article, and will be divided into two topics: the Polish government, and the Polish borders. Other topics discussed will be the division of Germany, the Balkan states and Czechoslovakia, Greece, and Yugoslavia.

The invasion of Poland by Germany on 1 September 1939 began the Second World War. On September 28th, just after the capitulation of Warsaw, Hitler and Stalin revised the secret protocol of their non-aggression pact so as to divide Poland between them along the Narew, Bug, and San Rivers. A Polish government-in-exile, led by Wlaydslaw Sikorski, was formed in France, and, after the fall of France in June, 1940, removed to England.

The German invasion of Russia on 22 June 1941 changed Russia's policy toward Poland dramatically. In accordance with the old maxim that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend," Stalin reestablished diplomatic relations with the Polish government in London on July 31st. Two weeks later, the two governments signed a military convention in Moscow that established a Polish Army in Russia. Some 75,000 of these Polish soldiers later fought in the Middle East.

Diplomatic relations between the Polish and Soviet governments continued well into 1943, during which time German forces overran Poland and penetrated deeply into western Russia. On 13 April 1943, however, Germany announced the discovery of mass graves of interned Polish officers in the Katyn forest in Poland and accused the Soviet Union of their murder. The officers had been interned in nearby camps by the Soviets prior to the German invasion of Russia, and had not been heard from since April 1940. Sikorski told Churchill privately that he had proof that the Soviets were indeed responsible for their deaths.[1] On April 17th, the Polish government asked the International Red Cross to investigate the Katyn Massacre. In response, Stalin angrily accused the Polish government of collusion with Hitler and severed diplomatic relations.[2]

The controversy over who was responsible for the Katyn atrocity continued until very recent times. In September 1943 the Soviets reoccupied the Katyn area. Four months later, they issued a report accusing the Germans of the crime, an accusation that Churchill later said required "an act of faith" to believe, given the evidence.[3] On 13 April 1990, forty-seven years to the day after the initial announcement by Germany, the Soviet government admitted Soviet responsibility for the massacre and denounced it as "one of the worst Stalinist crimes."

Stalin's reaction to the Polish government's request for an investigation could therefore hardly have been caused by injured innocence. It is thus plausible to surmise that, following the surrender of the German army that had beseiged Stalingrad, he took seriously the possibility that he would win the war, overrunning Poland in the process, and that he used the Katyn controversy as a pretext for severing relations with a Polish government that he could not control. His coldness toward the London Poles did not abate in July 1943, when Sikorski was killed in an

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airplane crash and was replaced by Stanislaw Mikolajczyk; nor, beyond a few nominal concessions, did it ever abate thereafter. At the Teheran Conference in December 1943, Stalin spoke strongly against the London Polish government and said he doubted that it would ever become "the kind of Government it ought to be."[4]

Churchill tried repeatedly through 1944 to reconcile Stalin and the London Poles. In January, he warned Stalin against setting up a rival Polish government, and said he was urging the London Poles to accept Stalin's wishes about the Polish-Soviet border.[5] Although the anti-German activities of Soviet agents in Poland had reportedly caused some resentment among the general population by bringing reprisals down upon them,[6] Churchill was able to tell Stalin on February 20th that the Polish government had ordered the Polish Underground to cooperate with the Soviets in fighting the Germans.[7] (Subsequently that summer, Mikolajczyk reported to Churchill that the Polish Underground was fighting alongside the Soviet forces advancing through Poland.[8]) Frontier concessions were also made. Nonetheless Stalin, referring to the Polish leaders in London, told Churchill on March 3rd that "I am more convinced than ever that men of their type are incapable of establishing normal relations with the USSR.[9]" Later that month, Stalin said that the London Poles neither represented the interests nor expressed the aspirations of the Polish people.[10]

During this period, however, and indeed through the rest of the war, Stalin denied that he had any wish to communize Poland. On February 5th Churchill reported to Roosevelt that Stalin had told him that Poland would be free and independent, and that "he would not attempt to influence the kind of Government they set up after the war." He had also assured Churchill that the London Poles would of course be allowed to return to Poland and establish a government there." Soviet Ambassador Feodor Gusev repeated these assurances to Anthony Eden a few days later.[12] Even a year later, at Yalta, Stalin derided any talk of trying to "Sovietize Poland" as "stupid"[13].

During the early months of 1944, Churchill worked very hard to reconcile Stalin and the London Poles. In February, Churchill informed Stalin that the Poles were ready to make substantial border concessions, but Stalin sneered at them.[14] On March 3, in a message to Churchill, he said "I have come more and more to the conclusion that such people are not capable of establishing normal relations with the USSR.[15]" In his reply four days later, Churchill said that he was only asking that Stalin achieve a working relationship with the Polish government, "which we shall continue to recognize as the Government of the Ally for whom we declared war upon Hitler." If Stalin refused, he said, he would be "very sorry indeed ... Our only comfort will be that we have tried our very best.[16]" In April, he urged the Polish government to dismiss its Commander-in-Chief, General Sosnknowski, whose statements had offered Stalin. Mikolajczyk refused to do this.[17]

Despite Churchill's efforts and warnings, Stalin moved steadily to establish his own instruments of control within Poland. On 31 December 1943, a month after the close of the Teheran Conference, Stalin instructed the Polish Workers' Party to form a National Home Council (KRN). Boleslaw Bierut, a long-standing member of the Comintern, was placed in charge. In late June, a Polish Committee for National Liberation was set up under Soviet auspices in Chelm. A few days later, it moved to Lublin.[18]

The advance of Stalin's political grip kept pace with his military advance westward through Eastern Europe and toward the heart of Germany. In late July, Soviet forces crossed the temporarily designated Western frontier of Poland known as the Curzon Line The Polish Committee of National Liberation, or Lublin Committee, was then declared to be the executive branch of the KRN. When Soviet troops occupied Lublin on July 23rd, the Lublin Committee declared itself to be the only legal executive power in Poland. Stalin told Churchill on that day that he had decided to "establish contact" with the Lublin Committee "to undertake the setting up of administration on Polish territory."[19] A week later, Mikolajczyk and two of his colleagues flew to Moscow for ten days of talks that produced no lasting results.[20]

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1. Winston S. Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950), pp. 757-761.
2. *Stalin's Correspondence with Churchill and Attlee, 1941-1945* (New York: Scribner, 1958) p. 121 (hereinafter "Stalin.")
3. Churchill, pp. 757-61
4. Martin Gilbert, *Road to Victory* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1986), p. 588.
5. Ibid., p. 665.
6. Anthony Eden, *The Reckoning* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965), p. 503.
7. Stalin, pp. 201-204.
8. Gilbert, p. 857.
9. Stalin, p. 207.
10. Ibid, pp. 212-13.
11. Gilbert, p. 672.
12. Eden, p. 508.
13. Jim Bishop, *FDR's Last Year* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1974), p. 396.
14. Gilbert, pp. 686-688.
15. Ibid., p. 699.
16. Ibid., pp. 701-2.
17. Ibid., p. 734.
18. Ibid., p. 813.
19. Ibid., pp. 861-2.
20. Eden, p. 548; Winston S. Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1953), pp. 129-132.

Concerned about these developments, Churchill telegraphed Stalin on July 27th that "it would be a great pity and even a disaster if the Western Democracies found themselves recognizing one body of Poles and you recognizing another ..."[21] Stalin sent a mollifying reply the next day.[22]

As subsequent events were to show, once Soviet forces reentered Poland and, in the course of the next several months, reoccupied that country, time was on the side of the Lublin Committee those forces supported. The Committee could, and did, continually extend its control and weaken internal opposition.[23] The most cynical example of this was the refusal of the Soviet army to assist the Warsaw uprising in August. One apparent reason for this is that the population of Warsaw and the Polish Underground forces engaged in the uprising supported the London Poles rather than the Lublin Poles. The Germans were therefore allowed to exterminate some troublesome political opposition.[24]

In October 1944, Churchill and Eden flew to Moscow to confer with Stalin and Molotov. Delegations of Polish leaders from both London and Lublin also attended the conference. There Churchill pressed Mikolajczyk to meet with the Lublin Poles and come to some agreement.[25] When Churchill and Eden met the principal Lublin Poles themselves, however, they were not well impressed. Churchill described them as "mere pawns of Russia" who "appeared to me to be purely tools, and recited their parts with well-drilled accuracy.[26]" Eden described them as "creepy" and, in conversation with Churchill, referred to Bierut and Osubka-Morawski as "the rat and the weasel."[27] Churchill met Bierut again several months later in Potsdam, and, in light of events in Poland, could hardly have been reassured when Bierut glibly (and falsely) "professed to agree with [Churchill] about elections and democracy, and assured [him] that Poland would be one of the most democratic countries in Europe."[28]

At the Moscow Conference, Churchill tried again to reconcile Stalin and the London Poles. Stalin warned Churchill that among the Soviet power elite, only he and Molotov were inclined to deal "softly" with Mikolajczyk. This questionable disparagement of the scope of Stalin's power within the Soviet Union was not challenged by Churchill, at least in his memoirs.[29] Stalin did consent to meet with Mikolajczyk, and had what Churchill described to Roosevelt as "an hour and a half's very friendly talk." When Mikolajczyk promised to establish a government "thoroughly friendly" to the Russians, Stalin appeared to flirt briefly with the idea of agreeing to allow the London Poles to obtain a governing majority over the Lublin Poles. He quickly rejected that idea, however, and insisted that the Lublin Poles constitute a majority of the Polish government.[30]

By December of 1944, Stalin was making it clear that the cordial discussions of the Moscow Conference had in no way mollified his hostility to the London Poles. In a December 8th message to Churchill, he said Mikolajczyk was "incapable of helping a Polish settlement." He accused Mikolajczyk of covering up the activities of anti-Soviet "terrorists," and concluded dismissively that "[m]inisterial changes in the emigre government no longer deserve serious attention.[31]" In a subsequent message to Roosevelt, Stalin again accused Mikolajczyk of screening terrorists, and praised the Lublin Poles for strengthening governmental activities and introducing agrarian reform.[32]

By now it was clear that formal Soviet recognition of the Lublin Poles was only a question of time, and of little time at that. Roosevelt, in his reply to Stalin's message, tried to stave off this event. He pointed out that Mikolajczyk had left the London Polish government, that much of Poland was still controlled by the Germans, and that the Polish people had not yet had an opportunity to elect a representative government. He also declared that the United States would not transfer its recognition from the London to the Lublin government as the latter was then constituted.[33] Churchill expressed similar concerns. Despite these protests, on 5 January 1945, the Soviet Union formally recognized the Lublin Committee as the provisional Polish government.[34]

Poland at Yalta

The march of military events immensely strengthened Stalin's hand. Soon after recognizing the Lublin Poles, Stalin launched an attack all along the eastern front. This winter campaign progressed so rapidly that, by the end of January, Soviet forces had traversed Poland, occupied most of Eastern Europe and crossed the frontier into Germany itself.[35] It was at this critical time that the Big Three leaders met for their final wartime conference, at Yalta.

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21. Gilbert, p. 863.
22. Ibid., p. 870.
23. Eden, p. 557.
24. John Colville, *The Fringes of Power: 10 Downing Street Diaries 1939-1955* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1985), p. 505.
25. Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 235.
26. Ibid., pp. 235, 239.
27. Eden, p. 563.
28. Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 666.
29. Ibid., p. 237.
30. Ibid., pp. 240-1.
31. Stalin, p. 282.
32. Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 332-3.
33. Ibid., pp. 334-5.
34. Ibid., p. 332.
35. Ibid., p. 329; Edward R. Stettinius, *Roosevelt and the Russians: The Yalta Conference* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1949), p. 301.

The Yalta Conference, which was held 4-11 February 1945, was dominated by contentious negotiations over the future of Poland, which was discussed in seven of the eight plenary sessions.[36]

On February 6th, Roosevelt sent Stalin a letter in which he reiterated that the American government could not recognize the Lublin government as it was then constituted. He suggested that Bierut and Osubka-Morawski be invited to Yalta to form a new provisional government that would include Mikolajczyk, Grabski, and Romer from London. This new provisional government would be recognized by the Allies until free elections could be held and a permanent, representative government established. Churchill supported the idea.[37]

At the plenary session on February 8th, Roosevelt put forward a proposal that expanded upon the ideas in his letter. He proposed that several Polish leaders from Lublin and London be invited to Moscow to form a new provisional government, a Presidential Committee of three and a new constitution, under which free elections would be held. The Allies would then recognize the elected government.[38]

Churchill put forward a similar proposal of his own. He urged the establishment of a representative, provisional Polish government "based upon all the democratic and anti-Fascist forces in Poland and including democratic leaders from abroad." As soon as possible, this provisional government would hold "free and unfettered elections on the basis of universal suffrage and a secret ballot", in which "[a]ll democratic parties should have the right to participate and run candidates." Churchill said he was willing, however, that some small amendments, to accept the American proposals.[39] In a message that evening to Clement Attlee, the Deputy Prime Minister, Churchill said he would be willing to recognize a provisional Polish government that included even eight or ten London Poles; at least then the Western Allies could find out what was happening in Poland.[40]

No conclusion was reached on these proposals at that day's session. At a postprandial meeting of the three Foreign Ministers (Stettinius of the USA, Eden of Britain, and Molotov of the USSR) on February 9th, Eden put forward a "British Revised Formula" in which, following discussions in Moscow among the two Polish delegations and the Allied representatives there (Molotov, Harriman of the USA, Kerr of Britain), the Allies would recognize an interim government including members of both Polish delegations and pledged to hold free elections based on universal suffrage, the secret ballot, and broad participation by democratic parties. The election would be supervised and reported on by Allied ambassadors.[41] The three Foreign Ministers agreed on all these points except the last, from which Molotov demurred, protesting that monitoring the elections would "offend the Poles."[42]

The Polish controversy continued to dominate the plenary sessions. In response to Roosevelt's suggestion that the Lublin Poles come to Yalta, Molotov offered the patently lame excuse that he couldn't get through to them on the telephone, and so could not get them to the conference in time.[43]

The Soviets argued that the Lublin Committee, as it was, constituted the proper provisional government of Poland until free elections could be held. Stalin contended that the Lublin Poles were very popular within Poland, and that the traditional Polish resentment of Russia was vanishing as the "liberating" Red Army advanced. The Lublin Poles, he declared (in something of a contradiction), could maintain the peace in the rear of the Red Army, but the London Poles could not.[44] He asserted that the Lublin government had as much democratic legitimacy as de Gaulle's government did in France, and added that Polish elections might be possible in a month.[45] Stalin nonetheless eventually agreed to support a statement incorporating "Poles temporarily abroad" and non-Lublin democratic leaders within Poland into the provisional government.[46]

Churchill sharply disputed Stalin's contention that the Lublin Poles were popular. He said his information was that the Lublin Poles had the support of at best one third of the Polish population, and thus had no right to claim to represent the whole nation.[47] He also said that the Polish Army, now some 150,000 strong and active in Italy, would regard any transfer of British recognition from the London Polish government as a betrayal.[48]

Toward the end of the conference, Roosevelt withdrew his proposal of a Presidential Committee. Instead he proposed, through Stettinius, that the Lublin Committee be recognized as the provisional Polish government (pending free elections), but that the government be reorganized to include other Polish leaders.[49] Implicit in this proposal was Roosevelt's acceptance of Stalin's demand that the Lublin Poles retain at least majority control of the provisional government. According to John Colville, one of Churc-

36. Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 365.
37. Stettinius, pp. 157-9; Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 372.
38. Stettinius, pp. 209-210.
39. Ibid., pp. 211-12.
40. Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 375.
41. Stettinius, pp. 246-8.
42. Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 382.
43. Stettinius, p. 182.
44. Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 369-71.
45. Stettinius, pp. 214-16.
46. Ibid., pp. 181-6.
47. Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 372; Stettinius, pp. 156-7.
48. Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, pp. 376-9.
49. Stettinius, pp. 223-6.

hill's assistants, the Prime Minister was "distressed" at this.[50]

Central to the thinking of the Western Allies was the idea that the provisional Polish government, however it was composed, should hold free elections as soon as possible, and that the Allies should recognize the new government resulting from those elections. At an Anglo-American luncheon early in the conference, Churchill asked Roosevelt to back his demands for an independent coalition government and free elections in Poland. Roosevelt replied that, yes, something would have to be done to persuade the Russians to go along with this, but he didn't know what.[51]

As it tuned out, the Russians quickly agreed that early elections should be held.[52] Curiously, the most controversial point about the Polish elections was whether they should be monitored by diplomatic observers. Churchill and Roosevelt wanted this, but Stalin was adamantly opposed, protesting that it would be "offensive" to the Poles.[53] That the Stalin who in 1939-40 had participated in the dismemberment of Poland should by 1945 have become sensitive to Polish pride is hardly to be believed. His obstinancy on this point, which he maintained in the critical subsequent months of 1945,[54] provides clear evidence of his intention to keep his iron grip on Poland and never to allow truly free elections. Although Roosevelt privately expressed his determination to have the elections observed in any case, no mention of observers was made in the final communique of the conference.[55]

Despite disagreement over the circumstances of the election, all three Allies agreed that they should recognize any Polish government that resulted from full, fair elections.[56]

As at any important conference, each delegation came to Yalta with its own agenda and its own perspective on events, each of which powerfully influenced the negotiations over Poland.

Stalin wanted a Polish government that was friendly to Russia, and, at least partly as a result of the German invasion of 1941, he felt that he could ensure the friendliness of a country on his border only by controlling it, directly or indirectly. Thus, while doing whatever was absolutely necessary to placate his Western allies, he allowed no action to be taken that would weaken his sturdy hold on Polish politics.

Churchill regarded the question of the Polish government as the crux of the conference, and central to the honor of Britain.[57] The invasion of Poland had triggered Britain's entry into the war, and Churchill was determined to do all he could to bring about a strong and independent government in Poland.[58] Nonetheless, he realized that by 1945 Britain was no longer the senior partner in the Western Alliance, and that he could achieve little against the Russian bear without the energetic backing of Roosevelt. He was particularly distressed when he felt that such backing was not forthcoming.[59]

The Western Allies, in particular the United States, were anxious to get Russia to agree to enter the war against Japan, an important point that helped Stalin in the negotiations. Without Russian help, the Japanese war was expected by military experts to last another twelve to eighteen months and to cost between 500,000 and 1,000,000 Allied casualties.[60] Of particular concern were the large Japanese armies in China, against whom the Red Army could be very helpful.[61] At the time of the Yalta conference, the feasibility of atomic weaponry was far from certain, and the Battle of the Bulge was still fresh enough in the minds of the delegates to remind them of the tough resistance even an almost-defeated enemy could put forth.[62] By the end of the conference, Russia had secretly agreed to declare war on Japan within three months of Germany's surrender. This it did — but the dropping of the first atomic bomb two days earlier had by then made Russian help unnecessary.

At the conference, Roosevelt was also anxious to obtain Russian agreement to America's ideas on voting procedures at the United Nations organization. Stalin eventually agreed, but the issue did help him obtain concessions about Poland.[63]

To some observers, Roosevelt's performance at the conference seemed distorted by a preoccupation with electoral politics and enfeebled by declining health. At the Teheran conference in 1943, Roosevelt had told Stalin that he [Roosevelt] had to keep quiet about Poland until after the 1944 election. "This," noted Eden, "was hardly calculated to restrain the Russians."[64] At Yalta, with the 1944 election behind him, Roosevelt still seemed, at least to Harriman, to show "very little interest in Eastern European countries except as they affect sentiment in America."[65] Though Polish-Americans mattered a good deal to

50. John Colville, "How the West Lost the Peace in 1945", *Commentary* (September, 1985), p. 43.
51. Bishop, p. 337.
52. Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, pp. 380-1.
53. Ibid., p. 382.
54. Ibid., p. 438, pp. 499-500.
55. Stettinius, pp. 251-2, 335-8.
56. Ibid., pp. 157-9; Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, pp. 376-9, 382.
57. Stettinius, pp. 213-14, 152-3.
58. Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, pp. 494-7.
59. Colville in *Commentary*, p. 43; Bishop, p. 337.
60. Colville, *Fringes of Power*, p. 561; Stettinius, p. 97.
61. Stettinius, p. 98.
62. Ibid., p. 304.
63. Bishop, p. 359.
64. Eden, p. 496.
65. Colville in *Commentary*, p. 44.

an American politician like Roosevelt, they meant little to Churchill or Stalin. Roosevelt nonetheless cited Polish-American opinion in some of the negotiations about Poland.[66] In what may have been another tactical error, Roosevelt confessed that he doubted that he could garner enough public support to keep a peacetime army in Europe for more than two years.[67]

The President's health was not then a public issue, but it deteriorated notably during the final year of his life. Though Stettinius claimed to find him always alert and capable, Churchill had been "deeply worried" about Roosevelt at their second Quebec conference in September 1944.[68] By the time of the Yalta conference in February 1945, FDR had declined even further, which almost certainly contributed to his inability to put forward Western interests in Poland with full vigor and effectiveness.

At Yalta, however, Stalin held the trump cards. Not the least of these was his near-monopoly of information on actual events in Poland. In the discussions, Churchill challenged Stalin's assertions of the wide popularity of the Lublin Poles, but admitted to being at a disadvantage because of having few intelligence sources within the country.[69] This was one of the reasons why he had wanted election observers to be allowed into Poland. Having failed to budge Stalin on that issue, Churchill finally relented and agreed to postpone diplomatic exchanges with Poland until the new government was recognized there.[70] This arrangement proved inadequate; within weeks of the conclusion of the conference, Churchill was moved to complain that "an impenetrable veil [had] been drawn across the [Polish] scene."[71]

On February 11th, the final communiqué of the conference, better known as the Yalta Declaration, was issued. In that document, the three Allies reaffirmed their "common desire to see established a strong, free, independent, and democratic Poland." In tacit acknowledgement that the Lublin Poles constituted at least the starting point of the next Polish government, the Allies declared that "[t]he Provisional Government which is now functioning in Poland should therefore be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad ..." (with the precise division of power to be determined later). Recognition by the United States and Britain was to follow the formation of this reorganized government.[72]

The Allies came down foursquare, at least on paper, in favor of democratic elections in Poland: "This Polish Provisional Government of National Unity shall be pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot. In these elections all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates ..."[73] Thus the Yalta conference closed to the ring of noble words, a ring that would unhappily prove hollow in the months ahead.

The Yalta Declaration had specified that Molotov and the American and British ambassadors to Russia (Averell Harriman and A. Clark Kerr) should assist in the reorganization of the Polish government by holding consultations in Moscow with leading Poles.[74] The consultations went badly from the start, for Molotov allowed very few non-Lublin Poles to participate. Meanwhile, no Western observers were allowed into Poland, and the Lublin Poles consolidated their power by means of liquidations, deportations and other measures.[75] In late March, when arrangements were being made for the international conference in San Francisco that would launch the United Nations organization, Molotov asked that Poland be represented only by the Lublin government. The United States and Britain refused to agree to this, whereupon Molotov declared that he would boycott the conference.[76]

Churchill noticed within the first few weeks of the Moscow talks that the Soviets were either ignoring or badly misinterpreting the section of the Yalta Declaration that called for consultations "with members of the present provisional Government *and with other Polish democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad* ..."[77] In the broader sense, he also saw Poland as the test case for settling with Russia the meaning of the noble words of democracy and liberty included in the Yalta Declaration.[78]

On March 8th, Churchill proposed to Roosevelt that they send separate messages to Stalin urging that no Poles be rejected for consultation except by the unanimous decision of the Moscow commission, that the Lublin government be prevented from taking any major actions in the meantime, and that the Soviets arrange for American and British observers in Poland. In his reply, Roosevelt suggested instead that a general political "truce" be called in Poland, and said he would prefer that Harriman and Clark Kerr appeal to Molotov before any direct appeal be made to Stalin. Churchill agreed to defer addressing Stalin about his grievances, but he considered a truce

66. Stettinius, pp. 240-2; Bishop, p. 400; Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 367.
67. Stettinius, p. 127.
68. Ibid., p. 73; Colville in *Commentary*, p. 42.
69. Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 383.
70. Bishop, p. 406.
71. Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 429.
72. Stettinius, pp. 335-8.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.
75. Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, pp. 421-2.
76. Ibid., pp. 431-2; Colville, *Fringes of Power*, p. 592.
77. Stettinius, pp. 335-8. Emphasis mine.
78. Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, pp. 422-23, 427-28.

"actively dangerous" because it would give the Lublin government more time to consolidate its power. During this period, Churchill felt that Roosevelt was losing his grip on events, and that the Presidents messages seemed increasingly to be prepared by a committee of his advisers.[79]

Churchill was nothing if not persistent, and on March 27th he urged Roosevelt to "stand by our interpretation of the Yalta Declaration" and join him in sending a message on Poland to Stalin. In a second message the same day, Churchill assured Roosevelt that "Stalin will understand that the whole point of the Yalta decision was to produce a Polish government we would recognise, and that we obviously cannot therefore deal with the present Administration."[80]

Roosevelt agreed that the time had come to address Stalin directly, and sent Churchill the proposed text of a message. Churchill endorsed it, and Roosevelt sent it to Stalin on March 29th. In the message, Roosevelt complained that the Moscow commission had made no progress because of Molotov's interpretation of the Yalta agreements. He rejected the idea that the reorganized Polish government should be little more than a continuance of the present Lublin (now Warsaw) government: the goal of the Yalta accords had been the creation of a fundamentally new government. Roosevelt also denied the validity of the Warsaw government's claim of a veto over participants in the Moscow consultations. Finally, the President urged Stalin again to allow Western observers into Poland."

Churchill followed Roosevelt's message with one of his own on April 1st. In it, he endorsed Roosevelt's message and said the Warsaw veto was absurd, especially when it was extended even to Mikolajczyk. He also expressed his regrets that an apparently spontaneous offer by Molotov to allow Western observers into Poland had been withdrawn.[82]

In his reply, Stalin showed little spirit of accommodation. He accused the American and British ambassadors of trying to abolish the Warsaw government entirely instead of using it as a nucleus of a new government. He also insisted that only those Poles who wanted friendly relations with the Soviet Union should be allowed to take part in the consultations, and that the Warsaw government should be consulted first. In a slight concession, he said Mikolajczyk would be allowed to participate in the consultations, but reiterated that sending observers to Poland would "insult" the Poles.[83] In a message to Churchill later that month, following a similar exchange of correspondence, Stalin maintained the right of the Soviet Union to strive for the creation of a "friendly" government and to veto a "hostile" one.[84]

The language of the Yalta Declaration was general enough to cause just this kind of controversy. There is no question that the Declaration called for the inclusion of both "democratic leaders from within Poland" and "Poles abroad" in the Moscow consultations and in the reorganized Polish government.[85] Stalin's effort to exclude the London Poles from the consultations thus was clearly a violation of the agreement. How a "reorganized" Polish government would be constituted, however, was subject to interpretation. The Western powers had hoped that the old London and Lublin governments would be "swept away," and that a new government would be formed from roughly equal elements of both.[86] Stalin made it clear that the new government would consist predominantly of the old Lublin Poles, with at most a few token additions. The impasse remained unbroken at a meeting of the three Foreign Ministers in late April.[87]

The death of President Roosevelt on April 12th was a great shock to the world, but the war, rushing towards its close, had by then gathered such momentum that nothing could impede it. Churchill was nonetheless pleasantly surprised by the speed with which Roosevelt's successor, Harry Truman, began to take hold of many important matters. On April 14th Truman proposed to Churchill that he [Truman] send Stalin a message denying Warsaw's right to a veto on consultations and suggesting that limited delegations of Poles from Warsaw and from London take part in the consultations. Churchill agreed.[88]

Stalin continued to insist that only those who had "actively shown a friendly attitude" toward the Soviet Union should be invited to the consultations in Moscow.[89] In a last effort at reconciliation, Truman dispatched Roosevelt's trusted but ailing adviser, Harry Hopkins, to Moscow in May. Hopkins managed to wring from Stalin the concession that Mikolajczyk, two of his London colleagues, and a few non-Lublin Poles from within Poland would be invited to the consultations.[90] In a June 4th message to Truman, an exasperated Churchill acknowledged that progress had been made, but noted that the concessions "are no advance on Yalta ..." He said, "we ought by now ... to have had a representative Polish government formed," and added that "I cannot feel therefore that we can regard this as more than a

79. Ibid., pp. 422-29, 418-19.
80. Ibid., pp. 432-4.
81. Ibid., pp. 435, 743-5.
82. Ibid., pp. 435-6.
83. Ibid., pp. 437-8.
84. Ibid., pp. 492-4.
85. Stalin, p. 397, n. 85.
86. Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, pp. 492-4.
87. Ibid., pp. 490-1.
88. Ibid., pp. 486-7; Stalin, pp. 325-6.
89. Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, pp. 499-500.
90. Ibid., p. 581.

milestone in a long hill we ought never to have been asked to climb."[91]

Compounding these negotiations about the composition of the Polish government were negotiations over the fate of sixteen leaders of the Polish underground. In March, the Soviet government had invited the Polish underground, which had always favored the exiled government in London, to send a delegation to Moscow to participate in the governmental consultations there. Their personal safety was guaranteed in writing, and a rendezvous in a suburb of Warsaw was arranged. At this rendezvous the delegation vanished from sight. After a flurry of initial denials, the Soviet government eventually acknowledged that the members of the Polish delegation were imprisoned in Moscow. Despite British and American efforts to effect their release, they were tried in June on charges of espionage and terrorism. All but three were convicted and reimprisoned. Churchill condemned this as the "judicial liquidation" of the leadership of the Polish underground, the rank and file of which had been butchered in the suppression of the Warsaw uprising the previous August.[92]

Little more progress was made in the negotiations over the Moscow discussions., In mid-April, Churchill wrung from Mikolajczyk a declaration that a "close and lasting friendship with Russia" was the "keystone of future Polish policy." Mikolajczyk also made grudging territorial concessions. These messages helped smooth Hopkins's path in obtaining from Stalin an invitation for Mikolajczyk to attend the Moscow talks.[93] As a last hope, Churchill tried in April and May to persuade Truman to delay the withdrawal of the western armies into the agreed-upon zones of occupation until the political future of Poland had been satisfactorily arranged, but Truman refused to do this.[94]

In late June, a new Polish Provisional Government was formed as a result of the Moscow discussions. Except for Mikolajczyk and one colleague, the Polish leaders from London were entirely excluded. Although the free elections agreed to at Yalta had not been held, the American and British governments, at President Truman's request, withdrew their recognition from the Polish government in London and transferred it to the new government in Warsaw. Churchill wearily concluded that "it is difficult to see what more we could have done."

The aftermath was somber. Elections for executive positions in the Polish government were delayed for over forty years. Legislative elections were not held until 1947, and were tightly controlled by the Communist government. Mikolajczyk, who had returned to Poland in 1945, was persecuted and forced to flee his homeland forever in 1947. Only in 1980, with the birth of the Solidarity union, did cracks begin to appear in Communist rule in Poland, which finally collapsed following the elections of 1989.

Indeed it is difficult to see what more Churchill could have done. As the war neared its end, Stalin's military and political grip on Poland became almost complete. Only in conjunction with his American ally could Churchill have exerted any real pressure on Stalin to live up to the letter, let alone the spirit, of the Yalta Declaration, and the American government was not willing to join Churchill in doing this. The dying Roosevelt was an unsteady reed in his last months, and, following his death, Truman declined to change the occupation plans approved by his predecessor. A healthier Roosevelt or a more experienced Truman might have been more flexible in meeting the changed circumstances. Nonetheless, whether public feeling at the time would have allowed the democratic allies suddenly to turn on the Soviet Union and go to the brink, or over the brink, of war to bring democracy to Poland is highly doubtful.

To the extent that geography governs history Poland, trapped between totalitarian giants, was, once war broke out, probably doomed for the time to fall under the sway of one or the other regardless of what the democratic powers tried to do. Thus the blame for its fate lies squarely on Hitler and Stalin.

91. Ibid., p. 582.
92. Ibid., pp. 497-8.
93. Ibid., pp. 489-90.
94. Ibid., pp. 515, 501.

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1053. *The Churchills: Pioneers and Politicians*, by Elizabeth Snell (see page 26). Reservations taken (about $20).

1052. *The Wit and Wisdom of Winston Churchill*, James Humes editor (see page 6), 234pp, reg. $20, our price $16.

1051. *The Medallic Portraits of Winston Churchill*, by J.E. Engstrom, 66pp, illus, hdbnd ($25), our price $19.

1050. *Churchill on the Home Front*, by Paul Addison, 494pp, illus, softbound, excellent work ($25), our price $20.

1048. *Winston Churchill, Architect of Peace*, by Steven Lambakis (reviewed FH82), 208pp ($48), our price $42.

Books Entirely by Sir Winston Churchill (all hardbound):
1001. *India*, 1st US edn, fwd by Manfred Weidhorn ($35).....$25
1002. *The River War*, clothbound from Collected Works.....$60
1003. *The Eastern Front*, from Collected Works.....$75
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Churchills at Play: A

"Winston as Tourist," an unfamiliar role, was captured indeli

The arrival at Marseilles, 26 September 1934.

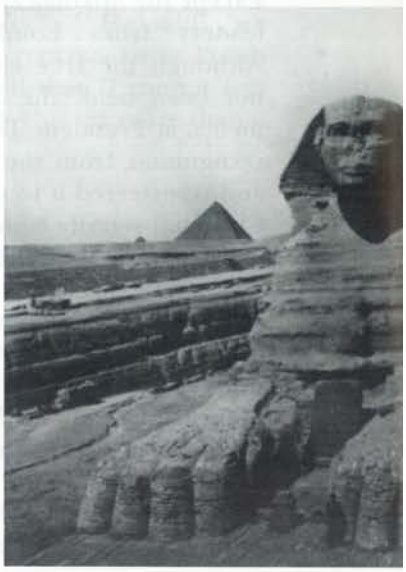
BY RICHARD M. LANGWORTH • FROM

FOR Winston Churchill, 1934 was a hard year. He had begun to speak and write about on Britain's weak air defenses vis-à-vis Germany; but though he gained a wide audience outside Parliament, few in the House would listen. In March he had confronted the Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Hoare, with charges that he had exerted undue influence on Manchester cotton manufacturers to support the India Bill; three months later a Committee of Privileges had pronounced Hoare innocent, and Churchill was mauled in the ensuing debate for having raised "false charges" in an attempt to defeat the India Bill. Parliament adjourned in August, but Churchill paused only long enough to pack for a three-week working "holiday" in France, where he labored day and night on volume three of *Marlborough*. Lord Riddell then asked him for a series of articles in *News of the World*, while film producer Alexander Korda offered him £10,000 to write a script for a George V documentary, and he dropped everything to begin work on that. The pace would have defeated anyone other than Churchill; even so, as he wrote Clementine, it was "a very strange way to earn a living!"

Although the Churchills rarely holidayed together, they may have considered the terrible pace of 1934 a good reason to break precedent. Thus they left Chartwell September 25th for a cruise in the eastern

Clemmie arri

Winston with his secretary, Mrs. Pearman; the two kept a killing pace.



Journey to the Levant

ibly by Lady Moyne's lens on a 1934 Mediterranean voyage.

WSC with Moyne; later, bathing whilst underway.

es aboard.

Mediterranean as guests of Lord and Lady Moyne aboard their yacht *Rosaura*, the same vessel that would bear Clemmie away to the South Pacific the following year, leaving a lonely Winston to communicate with her by means of his "Chartwell Bulletins" (published by ICS in 1989; available from ICS Stores). Even then the great wheels of Winston's writing-factory did not stop turning: against Winston's return John Wheldon was assembing more materials for *Marlborough*, while Keith Feiling was preparing a "rough scheme" for what was to become Churchill's *History of the English-Speaking Peoples*. Winston and Clementine flew to Paris where they took an overnight train to Marseilles, boarding *Rosaura* on September 26th. By October 2nd they were in Piraeus harbor, Winston working madly on his George V filmscript: on the 3rd he wrote Korda asking if still photos of Cabinet ministers received by the King for the signing of the 1922 Irish Treaty could be "made to move on the Mickey Mouse plan? Even if they only moved for a few seconds it would enable the necessary points to be made." It was not *all* work, for Winston certainly knew how to play, as these photographs from Lady Moyne's scrapbook suggest. Martin Gilbert's Volume V tells us how *Rosaura* sailed eastwards from Athens, "to Cyprus and the southern coast of Turkey. Churchill swam, painted and worked on his film script.

Clementine carriages about Syracuse; Lord Moyne is her driver.

On October 6 the yacht reached Beirut....From Beirut, Churchill and his wife drove inland to the ruins of Palmyra, and thence to Damascus." On the 9th they spent the night in Nazareth, moving on to Nablus and Jerusalem, where they rejoined the Moynes. In Jerusalem, they were entertained by the acting High Commissioner, John Hathorn Hall, who later recalled for Martin Gilbert:

"Churchill started rather morose, and monosyllabic, & was not very responsive while the women were there. But when the women withdrew, & he had sunk a couple of brandies, he really got going & was positively coruscating. I acted as a 'feeder,' raising all sorts of controversial political & international issues and wild theories for him to demolish, which he did with devastating wit & in superb prose. He scintillated for the rest of the evening...When I saw him to his car he said to me 'I know that you don't really believe those things that you were saying; I knew what you were doing, my boy.'"

The Moynes and Churchills traveled on to Jericho, Amman, Petra, Akaba and across the Sinai desert to Cairo. After two days in Cairo, and painting the pyramids, Gilbert relates, Winston and Clementine sailed from Alexandria to Naples aboard the faithful *Rosaura*, entrained for Paris, and flew home to Croydon aerodrome on October 21st. One of Churchill's first letters from Chartwell after his return was

Left: Graflex at the ready. Winston explores Tunis. Right: Clementine (l) in Syracuse.

Jericho: Moyne with the Churchills (left) and British garrison commanders (right). Below: inspecting the British garrison.

an invitation to Sir Eric Geddes, chairman of Imperial Airways: "I am sure we must do more to support civil aviation in view of the enormous preponderance of German machines and their convertability for war purposes." Holiday diversions could not detain that restless spirit for long. Lady Moyne's scrapbook offers a rare glimpse of "Winston as Tourist," Camera at the ready, enjoying a brief interlude with his wife, as the controversies of India and Nazi Germany swirled about him and writing assignments achieved proportions that would have swamped more normal beings. But Winston was not, perforce, a normal being.

A Note About the Original

Lady Moyne's scrapbook is for sale. As well as numerous photographs of the 1934 "Journey to the Levant" it includes photos taken at Chartwell, where Winston and Clementine played host to their *Rosaura* hostess. The owner of the album states that a portion of the proceeds of the sale will go to the Churchill Society of the purchaser; for details contact the editor.

Left: WSC, CSC and Moyne at Mycenae. right: Winston in the Sacred Grove, Olympia.

The Moynes were later hosted by the Churchills at Chartwell (left & right). WSC is on the steps to his fishpond. Walter Moyne, center, was CSC's host in the South Seas in 1935.

The North American Churchills

Genealogical research is sometimes a matter of happenstance; in this case, acquisition of a house in Devon made it possible to discover many facts about the Churchills of Canada and America

BY ELIZABETH CHURCHILL SNELL

BOSTON HERALD, 18 DECEMBER 1900 (ELIZABETH SNELL)

MEETING OF THE TWO WINSTON CHURCHILLS.

For several years I have been tracing the roots of the North American Churchills and their relation to the English family. The following is based on a talk I gave In late 1992 to the Hantsport, Nova Scotia Historical Society. This was most appropriate since Hantsport is the place where, since 1823, Canadian Churchills have made waves: not only as builders of ships and owners of a worldwide fleet, but also in provincial and federal politics.

My research, mainly conducted in England, concerns the pre-Marlborough history of the West Country (Dorset, Devon) Churchill family. One of them, John, was the first Churchill to land in America, arriving at Plymouth, Massachusetts c. 1643. One

of John's descendants was Canadian Senator Ezra Churchill, of the seventh generation in North America. (The Virginia branch of the American Churchills originated in Oxfordshire; by their own admission they have no relation to the West Country line, which includes the two Sir Winstons and the First Duke of Marlborough.)

That I have been able to conduct this West Country research at all is a story in its own right. My husband's export housing company, Interhabs, sold a finished, semi-detached English-design house to a builder in Devon. When I saw it I fell in love with it, and begged my husband to buy one of the halves. Its location, at Hackpen Hill, Cullompton, Devon, initially meant nothing to me. I did not know Devon. But the house was situated in a magnificent high, pastoral, wooded setting declared to be an "area of outstanding natural beauty." So it was, and I asked nothing more—but more was to be given me.

I had sent over in the container with our furniture all the Churchill genealogical material I had collected, thinking the English West Country would be an appropriate place to begin putting the story together. Perhaps I might be able to learn more there, perhaps not. It was not really that important, I thought ingenuously, since I already had a great deal.

I could not have been more wrong. Almost immediately, in the small village library in Wellington, Somerset (where I do my marketing), I discovered that the first Sir Winston Churchill (1620-1688) had concocted what is now regarded as a bogus pedigree, claiming to trace his heritage back to the Norman Conquest. He claimed as ancestor one Roger de Curcelle, who came into England with William the Conqueror and received from William extensive lands in Somerset and elsewhere. This I have been able to explode in my book.

The West Country Churchills

The Churchills ancestors can be traced to Devonshire as far back as the twelfth century, at an area known as Broad Clyst, north of Exeter, only twelve miles from my house at Hackpen Hill. Two Churchill Manors still stand, though the present structures are likely on the sites of yet older buildings. I have visited them and talked with the owners several times. I was also able to talk in 1991 with the Devon historian Dr. W. G. Hoskins, whose work was the basis for disproving the Norman Churchill genealogical hypothesis, whom A. L. Rowse in his *The Early Churchills* implored to do further research. Unfortunately a series of strokes had left Dr. Hoskins with a severe loss of memory, and I was unable to determine how he had traced the origins of the Churchills to Broad Clyst. But the consensus is that from Devon, some of the Churchills moved into neighboring Dorset and the vicinity of Dorchester. (I have been able to visit all these Devon and Dorset sites, as they are all within a day's drive from my house at Hackpen Hill.)

The first Sir Winston was born (or moved to just after his birth) to Wootton Glanville, Dorset, in the vicinity of Sherborne. His son John, later First Duke of Marlborough, was reputedly born at Ashe House, south of Axminster. Both these homes are quite close to the birthplace, also near Dorchester, of the first *American* pre-Marlborough West Country Churchill, John, born 1613, who emigrated to "New Plimoth," Massachusetts, circa 1643. Although I cannot *precisely* define the relationship between these two branches of the family, I offer in my book several well-researched possibilities. There is no doubt, as even A. L. Rowse admits, that the two families were the same stock, the first Sir Winston's having come from Bradford Peverell. Incidentally, Sir Winston Churchill included the Roger de Curcelle ancestry story in the first editions of *Marlborough* but omitted it in later editions.

The Canadian Churchills

RANDOLPH WINSTON CHURCHILL (1887-1941)

Only seven years older than the first Sir Winston, John Churchill of America was born into a family settled in Colliton House, Dorchester, and Muston Manor, slightly to the north. In America thirty years later, he founded a distinguished family of American and Canadian Churchills. In researching the latter, some fascinating parallels have come to light. For example, during the interregnum 1688-89 in England, which placed William of Orange on the throne of James II (when John Churchill, later Duke of Marlborough, left James and his post as general of the royal army to declare for William), in New York a West Country Churchill, William, was chief military officer under acting colonial governor Jacob Leisler. Leisler represented the interim citizens' party, which took over when the province repudiated the royal officers appointed by James II.

Elizabeth Churchill Snell, a contributing Friend of ICS, Canada, lives in Halifax, Nova Scotia and Cullompton, Devon, England. Her book, *The Churchills: Pioneers and Politicians, England, America, Canada,* is published by West Country Books, Ltd. *See New Book Service, p22.*

The Canadian descendants of John Churchill the American began with Lemuel (fourth generation), who migrated from Plymouth, Massachusetts to Yarmouth, Nova Scotia in 1763. Ezra (seventh generation) founded the firm of E. Churchill & Sons in Hantsport, N.S. in the 1840s. In the 1870s they were reputed to be the fifth largest shipbuilders in the world. They built themselves, or had built at other yards, or had shares in, over one hundred wooden vessels, including the largest three-masted barque ever built in Canada, and a number of small steamers active into the 1890s. Ezra, who had enjoyed a political career in pre-Confederation Canada, and was appointed one of the first senators in Ottawa after the Confederation.

In 1992 the Public Archives of Nova Scotia greatly encouraged me by publishing my article on Ezra's political career in *The Nova Scotia Historical Review* Volume XII, Number 1 (1992). I had wanted to write this for a long time, because so much emphasis has been placed on Ezra's shipbuilding career but little, I think, on his political contribution.

While the Canadian Senate, and the role of Senators, has been much debated in Canada lately, it may be worthwhile to reflect that in the Confederation agreement of 1867 it was envisioned that Senators would be the guardians of regional interests. In practice, however, it came to be that regional interests devolved upon the House of Commons. But while Ezra was in the Senate, from 1871 until his death in 1874, it was his duty, unlike today, to oversee the needs of Nova Scotia, almost as he had for twelve years on the provincial level, as a member of the House of Assembly.

Ezra's descendants bore interesting names. His son was called George Washington Churchill, and was father to Randolph Winston Churchill (1887-1941), who fought for the Allies during World War I. Randolph was sixteen years younger than his fifth cousin, the famous American novelist and sometime war commentator Winston Churchill (see below). But, while American-Winston chose to fight his war from a lofty, remote and philosophical deployment, his younger Canadian cousin Randolph chose to fight it in the trenches. The American uttered the rallying cry; the Canadian answered it. (And, as we know, the English-Winston did both!)

Randolph Winston Churchill joined the First Regi-ment, Canadian Garrison Artillery, mobilized in 1914. He was commissioned in the 112th Battalion, 1915, and sent overseas aboard HMT *Olympic* (sister ship of the *Titanic* and a troop transport during the war) in July 1916. After training at Bramshott, Randolph was sent to France, having requested reversion in rank to get into the fighting. He was wounded six weeks later in an attack on the Vimy-Avion railway embankment and hospitalized at Etaples, then Manchester, Broad-stairs and Chester. At this point Winston the English-man reputedly asked to meet him. Whether he did is not clear. Randolph returned to Canada in 1917, in time to assist in relief work following the terrible explosion there that year. But by January 1918 he was back in the European war, wounded again, hospitalized again, and recovered. He was at Mons on 11 No-vember 1918 for the signing of the Armistice at the time Winston the Englishman was at his Ministry of Munitions HQ, looking down upon the pandemonium in Northumberland Avenue as Big Ben struck the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month—about which he writes so movingly in the last chapter covering 1918 in *The World Crisis*.

The American Winston Churchill

Keynoting the 1988 ICS Conference at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, Alistair Cooke joked with the audience over the appropriateness of the setting—not because of the famous Bretton Woods Monetary Conference, he said, but because nearby Cornish was the village "where Winston Churchill spent the last fifty years of his life."

Mr. Cooke was referring, as he explained, "to the eminent novelist whose fame was so considerable that when young Winston *Spencer* Churchill decided to publish a book, he wrote to Winston Churchill in New England saying he did not wish to trade on his fame or mislead the reading public." The two engaged in a charming correspondence, made famous in My *Early Life* (see sidebar), whereby English-Winston proposed to use his middle name or initial to distinguish himself from American-Winston, who declared he had no middle name. Curiously, while English-Winston wrote only one novel, *Savrola*, American-Win-

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL TO MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL

London, June 7, 1899.

Mr. Winston Churchill presents his compliments to Mrs Winston Churchill, and begs to draw his attention to a matter which concerns them both. He has learnt from the Press notices that Mr. Winston Churchill proposes to bring out another novel, entitled *Richard Carvel*, which is certain to have a considerable sale both in England and America. Mr. Winston Churchill is also the author of a novel now being published in a serial form in *Macmillan's Magazine*, and for which he anticipates some sale both in England and America. He also proposes to publish on the 1st of October another military chronicle on the Soudan War. He has no doubt that Mr. Winston Churchill will recognise from this letter — if indeed by no other means — that there is grave danger of his works being mistaken for those of Mr. Winston Churchill. He feels sure that Mr. Winston Churchill desires this as little as he does himself. In future to avoid mistakes as far as possible, Mr. Winston Churchill has decided to sign all published articles, stories, or other works, 'Winston Spencer Churchill,' and not 'Winston Churchill' as formerly. He trusts that this arrangement will commend itself to Mr. Winston Churchill. ... He takes this occasion of complimenting Mr. Winston Churchill upon the style and success of his works, which are always brought to his notice whether in magazine or book form, and he trusts that Mr. Winston Churchill has derived equal pleasure from any work of his that may have attracted his attention.•

Windsor, Vermont. June 21, 1899.

Mr. Winston Churchill is extremely grateful to Mr. Winston Churchill for bringing forward a subject which has given Mr. Winston Churchill much anxiety. Mr. Winston Churchill appreciates the courtesy of Mr. Winston Churchill in adopting the name of 'Winston Spencer Churchill' in his books, articles, etc. Mr. Winston Churchill makes haste to add that, had he possessed any other names, he would certainly have adopted one of them. The writings of Mr. Winston Spencer Churchill (henceforth so called) have been brought to Mr. Winston Churchill's notice since the publication of his first story in the 'Century.' It did not seem then to Mr. Winston Churchill that the works of Mr. Winston Spencer Churchill would conflict in any way with his own attempts at fiction.

The proposal of Mr. Winston Spencer Churchill to affix a note to the separate writings of Mr. Winston Spencer Churchill and Mr. Winston Churchill, the text of which is to be agreed on between them, — is quite acceptable to Mr. Winston Churchill. If Mr. Winston Spencer Churchill will do him the favour of drawing up this note, there is little doubt that Mr. Winston Churchill will acquiesce in its particulars.

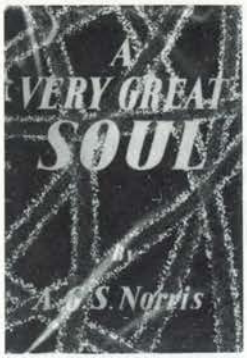
Mr. Winston Churchill will take the liberty of sending Mr. Winston Churchill copies of the two novels he has written. He has a high admiration for the works of Mr. Winston Spencer Churchill and is looking forward with pleasure to reading *Savrola*.•

ston wrote only one non-fiction book, *A Traveller in War-Time*, (New York: Macmillan 1918), extolling the virtues of the Allies following a visit to Britain and France.

Both Winstons entered politics, the American serving for a time in the New Hampshire legislature. It was then that English-Winston allegedly wrote him, saying, "I intend to become Prime Minister of Great Britain; wouldn't it be a lark if you became President of the United States at the same time?" But American-Winston never progressed beyond a brief term of state office.

Despite a promising start, relations between these two distant cousins never developed. Possibly they went awry in 1901, When English-Winston toured America: American-Winston threw a dinner party in his honor in Boston, but English-Winston received the bill! They did not meet again until September 1917, when American-Winston visited Number Ten Downing Street just before writing *A Traveller in War-Time* . Lloyd George was Prime Minister, and English-Winston was of course Minister of Munitions in Lloyd George's government, while American-Winston was a quasi-representative for President Woodrow Wilson's Board of Naval Strategy. They also met briefly afterward at the Front in France. But neither makes any mention of these meetings in his subsequent writings.

Indeed American-Winston never mentioned his English counterpart at all in any of his writings, and throughout his life kept a discreet distance. The North American Churchills, both the American Winston and the Canadian Randolph, were a pretty stiff-necked pair as regards their bumptious, distant English kinsman. From their egalitarian point of view, as expounded by their American colonist forebears, English-Winston had the misfortune of being born into the hereditary aristocracy — that power and privilege which the American "experiment" had set out to eliminate. The two North American Churchills of the new social order were not without their own set of privileges, and their self-righteousness seems a little misplaced. But not even the democratizing process of the Great War was able to dispel their fear that proffered friendship might be construed as toadyism.



Will There Be Another Great Soul for the Next Millennium?

CYNTHIA NEWBERRY

A Very Great Soul: A Biographical Character Study of the Rt. Hon. Sir Winston S. Churchill, by A.G.S. Norris (Edinburgh: International Publishing Co. 1957. 336 pages. Redburn 145. Frequency: scarce.)

THIS is yet another book about Winston Churchill but one with a decided bent: it deals with the metaphysical, the stuff of legend, the inexplicable and the inescapable. The author would have us believe in a universe complete with spiritual entities, vital forces, and divine influences. In a word, he would have us believe in a predetermined world where the element of chance — that by-product of a cold and uncaring universe devoid of any meaning — does not exist. In Norris's view of the world, Winston Churchill was no mean stroke of luck for western civilization at the eleventh hour. Instead he was a man of destiny, an instrument of Providence.

This is a highly personalized account that defies categorization — it is biography, psychology and astrology in about equal measure. The author's purpose in writing such a work was to set the record "aright" for historians of the next century concerning Churchill's good name. It is a name besmirched not by a remorseless chaos, but by what Norris calls the "agents of the antichrist" — forces in the epic struggle against good and evil which seek to destroy Churchill's reputation by sowing confusion and doubt about his words and deeds. Published nearly forty years ago, it remains highly relevant ...

In defense of his subject, Norris contends that "outstanding qualities and attributes manifesting in physical life are prenatal acquisitions of soul" (soul being that which enters the body at birth and which leaves it at death). He believes that in 1874 "a very great soul [Churchill] came to our troubled earth ... charged with work which could benefit the whole planet ..." He sets out to prove that all was not chance in the scheme of things and that Churchill's life — his triumphs, trials and disappointments — was but a preparation for his ultimate test "in the face of the great danger which suddenly faced the world," and from which he never once "faltered." Or as Churchill himself said that night in 1940 when he became Prime Minister: "As I went to bed about 3 a.m., I was conscious of a profound sense of relief. At last I had the authority to give directions over the whole scene. I felt as if I were walking with destiny, and that all my past life had been but a preparation for this hour and for this trial."

Norris, who was a manager at an insurance company, consulted more than two hundred and fifty works over a fifteen year period. At the age of seventy in 1957 he published his book in Scotland, laying claim that it was the "severest test to which a character study has ever been subjected." The book is in two parts. The first part can be read more or less as standard biography. The "test" is to be found in the second part, which consists of "tabulated scientific data," i.e., astrological charts which the author thinks "will resolve to some degree perhaps most of the controversies centering around Churchill." Thus, the second part attempts to explain such controversial aspects of his life as his change of party (Conservative to Liberal, 1904), his reputation for arrogance, and his capacity for alcohol in terms of his soul and personality traits, which are fleshed out in great detail.

If one can accept Norris's quantitative proof in support of his qualitative premise — that drives deep in the unconscious [soul] "spiritually stimulated" Churchill's life, imbuing him with a "vague sense of mission" — then the author's conclusions will make for some interesting reading. For instance, we are told that Churchill's novel, *Savrola,* written while he was a young subaltern in India and first published in 1900, can be understood only in terms of the "motive power in the unconscious." The author contends that the plot, allowing for "distortion" when passing through the conscious mind, uncannily parallels the events of Churchill's life — World War II, 1945 (voted out of office) and 1951 (triumphant return to office). In light of the scientific data which he interprets at great length, Norris concludes that Churchill's subconscious could have been "impregnated" with a prior knowledge of his destiny.

The most interesting aspect of the book, however, is Norris's thought about fate and the manner in

Ms. Newberry is in charge of the ICS New York chapter. A lifelong teacher, she has been associate director of Admissions and Development at St. Hilda's and St. Hugh's School, New York City.

which he attempts to interweave this with scientific data in explaining Churchill's life. He seems to view fate much as the ancient Greeks did — as a thread with which the gods spin around a person the fateful moments of his or her life as if that person were a spindle. The spinning usually takes place at birth and at marriage, or may continue throughout a person's life until all the thread has been draw off the distaff, bringing about death.

In this vein, one of the most fascinating accounts is the converted world-symbol, "St. Michael Slaying the Dragon in a Shower of Black Rain." We are told that this "denotes one with strength of purpose and ability to sustain trails. The Dragon is lust, corruption, and the cold moisture of the earth. St. Michael is the life, solar energy, conqueror of decay; the black rain, the evil which corruption draws. So when the native realizes his soul force he becomes a veritable victor over the monster into whose jaws so many unwarned and unguarded fall. It is a symbol of victory." It so happened that in 1940, when Churchill became Prime Minister, Pluto, which had been in retrograde since his birth, had the above word-symbol which coincided with Churchill's role as "inspirer of a people standing alone in the world against the massed forces of the antichrist."

Was Churchill really fated to don the mantle of St. Michael and slay the Dragon as Norris believes? Did he have a choice? Churchill himself, while on a trip through Africa in 1907, concluded that free will and predestination were one and the same. Observing the butterflies in Uganda, he noticed that their wings changed from deep russet to brilliant blue according to the angle and one's line of vision. He wrote: "Whether you believe in Free Will or Predestination, all depends on the slanting glimpse of the colour of his wings — which are in fact at least two colours at the same time."

La Fontaine remarked, "One often meets his destiny on the very road which he took to escape it." One can't help but wonder as we face the new millennium what tests are in store for us. Will there be another great soul waiting in the wings to help us out, or were we just lucky the last time round? Are we really only a bundle of behavioral responses at the mercy of ourselves, instead of Providence? And if we should cry out for help in the Twenty-first Century, will we be greeted only with silence and have to go it alone, or will we like the weary traveller who is embarked upon a universal journey, be given sustenance along the way from that which also gives life to man?

Josephine Butler: She Also Served, Maybe

GEORGE RICHARD

Cyanide in My Shoe, by Josephine Butler. (Cheltenham, Glos., This England Books, 1991. Hardbound, 205 pages, £9.95. Available from *This England*, PO Box 52, Cheltenham, Glos. GL50 1YQ, England.)

THE recently deceased Josephine Butler (*FH* 81, page 7) claimed to have been a member of Churchill's "Secret Circle," a group of intelligence agents answerable directly to the Prime Minister and limited to twelve members. The "Secret Circle" was indeed a secret — neither MI5 nor the War Office were aware of it and none of the twelve members knew the identity of any of the others.

The book deals principally with the author's adventures in France, into which she parachuted several times to liaise with the Underground. Her story is exciting and detailed and would make an excellent thriller film. Recruited by Churchill because of her knowledge of France and the French — she had studied medicine in Paris and on qualifying had worked there on cancer research — Dr. Butler quickly became one of the few people who travelled regularly between Britain and Occupied Europe.

In the course of her adventures Dr. Butler was at one time arrested by the Gestapo and interrogated by the notorious Klaus Barbie. Despite this and many other hair raising escapades she survived the war and, of course, lived to tell her tale.

The principal interest for Churchillophiles is naturally the references to the Great Man and the insights we are given to an aspect of his wartime leadership not often explored: that of spymaster.

Butler was working in the Ministry of Economic Warfare when she was selected as a potential recruit for the "Secret Circle." Interviewed personally by Churchill, who had of course previously apprised himself of her background and experience, she says she was able to convince him of her suitability for his elite team. It was during this interview that she was given, by Churchill, the code-name by which she was known throughout the war: Jay-Bee, from her initials.

Before her first mission in France Jay-Bee received very thorough training in the role she would be required to undertake. Meticulous in detail, it even extended to a French dental surgeon being employed to replace some of her front teeth, lost when practising falling from a Lysander aircraft a few feet above the ground.

Mr. Richard is a longtime contributor to *Finest Hour* from Taroona, Tasmania, Australia.

In July 1942, on completion of her training and before her first operation on French soil, Jay-Bee had an interview with Churchill. During their conversation, she writes, she noticed how strained and despondent he appeared, so she spontaneously told him how much his efforts were appreciated in the country and how she wished she could somehow lighten his load. The PM's response was "Thank you, Jay-Bee. I thank God that I have a wonderful shoulder to weep on: that of my darling Clemmie."

In the same year in another meeting, Jay-Bee remarked to Churchill that when in trouble she prayed and meditated and that she knew he also meditated. This apparently surprised WSC, who said, "You are very observant. Most people imagine I just cat-nap."

Throughout the war years Jay-Bee met Churchill on her return from visits to France to inform him of the local situation regarding both military activity and civilian morale. Her last conversation with him was in 1945, just after the Labour Government had been elected and WSC was out of office. When she told him he would never be forgotten, Churchill replied, "If they have forgotten me now they will not do so when I die, for I shall have the biggest State Funeral this country has ever seen; and if [the Duke of] Norfolk is still in charge and does not make a good job of it, I shall come back and haunt him!' (Norfolk *was* in charge in 1965, did an excellent job and remained ghost-free.)

Cyanide in my Shoe is a fascinating story with a considerable amount of detail, particularly concerning Butler's exploits with the French Maquis or Underground. Churchill is portrayed throughout as a human being rather than a great war leader, with glimpses of the personal rather than the official Churchill. It is a book worth having for its Churchill references and is besides a good if fairly light read.

There is however one problem — we have no way of proving whether or not it is what it purports to be. Is it in fact the personal memoirs of someone who was in an extremely privileged position, or simply an imaginative and plausible work of fiction?

Jay-Bee died in 1992 at the age of ninety. Her husband had died in 1947 and their only child, a son, was killed in an air raid in 1944. Most of her contemporaries are alas also gone now and she had no next of kin, so a definitive answer is liable to be hard to come by.

She did, however, have in her possession a letter in a familiar hand dated London, May 1945, which read: "To Jay-Bee (Josephine Butler): My thanks —

"She was a member of my secret circle on invasion plans of Europe. She gave up her identity in the service of her country.

"Jay-Bee is of those who knew patriotism was not enough, there had to be sacrifice. She helped to set up the Second Front. Winston S. Churchill"

Predictably, some of the experts who have examined the letter vouch for its authenticity, while some are equally convinced it is not genuine. Josephine Butler herself faced doubts. Her response was that Churchill had written it in her presence. Further, she claimed to have indicated at the time she might in the future write a book on her wartime experiences. Churchill is said to have replied that if she did so she must tell the truth.

Perhaps one day, conclusive evidence as to the truth or otherwise of the story will become available. For the time being we must be content to read, consider and decide for ourselves.

Memoirs of a Great Lady

DAVID J. PORTER

Pure Chance The Memoirs of Dame Felicity Peake

SOME may feel that in calling her book *Pure Chance* Dame Felicity Peake shows an undue sense of modesty, for this is the story of a remarkable woman. She joined an RAF Company of the ATS in 1939 as an Aircraftwoman Equipment Assistant 2nd class and by 1946, at the age of 33, had risen to the top when she was appointed WAAF Director. To members of the International Churchill Society, there is an aspect of this excellent memoir that will arouse their interest.

Dame Felicity's school days began with a close connection to the Churchill family, when she was introduced to Sarah, Churchill's daughter. This friendship, established at their first Day School in London's Sloane Street, endured many years and, even during the war when Dame Felicity was heavily committed to her work in the Royal Air Force, they were able to meet from time to time in the company of important personalities. A sense of fairness and understanding in the treatment of people, which was closely shared by Felicity and Sarah, is well depicted in the book, not only by a particular incident which took place when they were young girls, but by examples illustrated throughout the book's 217 pages. Dame Felicity's sense of responsibility and compassion are particularly evident in her counselling of young pilots and Airwomen during the height of the Battle of Britain, a vital aspect in maintaining their morale.

Felicity Peake was born in 1913. Her early upbringing shows how little the old social order was affected by the First World War, a point which of some significance in her later career. She married in 1935 Jock Hanbury, and she and her husband soon learned to fly — she went solo after only six and one-half hours! Alas Hanbury was killed in a flying

Mr. Porter was chairman, ICS/UK, 1990-94.

accident in 1939. She married Sir Harold Peake, the distinguished banker, in 1952 and has a son, Andrew.

She served at Biggin Hill during the Battle of Britain, and later at Bomber Command. Subsequently she commanded the WAAF Officers' School and then served at No. 60 Group and as senior WAAF Officer, HQ Middle East. As WAAF Director she played an outstanding part in ensuring that women in the Services were treated equally with men. On this she had the full support of the Chief of the Air Staff, Marshal of the Royal Air Force Lord Tedder.

When the Women's Royal Air Force was founded in 1949 Dame Felicity became its first Director and she played a major role in shaping the future of the Service.

Pure Chance vividly recalls Dame Felicity's unique role within the RAF. It will be of great interest to all who served during the last war or who are interested in military history. She writes from a depth of knowledge and understanding.

In 1949, she was appointed a Dame of the British Empire and from 1947-1950 was an Honorary A.D.C. to King George VI. She has been a member of the Council of the Royal Air Force Benevolent Fund since 1946 and was a Trustee of the Imperial War Museum from 1963-1985. In 1987 she was the founder Chairman of the Friends of the Imperial War Museum, a highly firmly respected Society now established with a considerable membership.

IMMORTAL WORDS

AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF ICELAND

The military occupation of Iceland by the forces of the United States
is an event of first-rate political and strategic importance; in fact
it is one of the most important things that has happened since the war began.
It has been undertaken by the United States in pursuance of the purely American policy
of protecting the Western Hemisphere from the Nazi menace.
I understand that in the view of the American technical authorities
modern conditions of war, especially air war, require forestalling action,
in this case especially in order to prevent the acquisition by Hitler
of jumping-off grounds from which it would be possible, bound by bound,
to come to close quarters with the American Continent.
The seizure of Iceland by Hitler would be of great advantage to him
in bringing pressure to bear both on Great Britain and the United States...
This measure of American policy is therefore
in complete harmony with British interests...
It would obviously be foolish for the United States to have one plan
for defending Iceland, and for the British forces to have another.
The second principle of United States policy,
which I understand has led them to the occupation of Iceland,
has been the declared will and purpose of the President, Congress and people of the United States
not only to send all possible aid in warlike munitions and necessary supplies
to Great Britain,
but also to make sure we get them.
Here again is a course of action
for which the United States must take full responsibility.
Apart from this the United States forces in Iceland will, of course,
require their being sustained or reinforced at sea from time to time.
These consignments of American suppplies for American forces overseas
will, of course, have to traverse very dangerous waters,
and, as we have a very large traffic constantly passing through these waters,
I daresay it may be found in practice mutually advantageous
for the two navies involved to assist each other,
so far as is convenient,
in that part of the business.
I really do not think I have anything further to say
about a transaction which appears at every point
to be so very plain and simple.

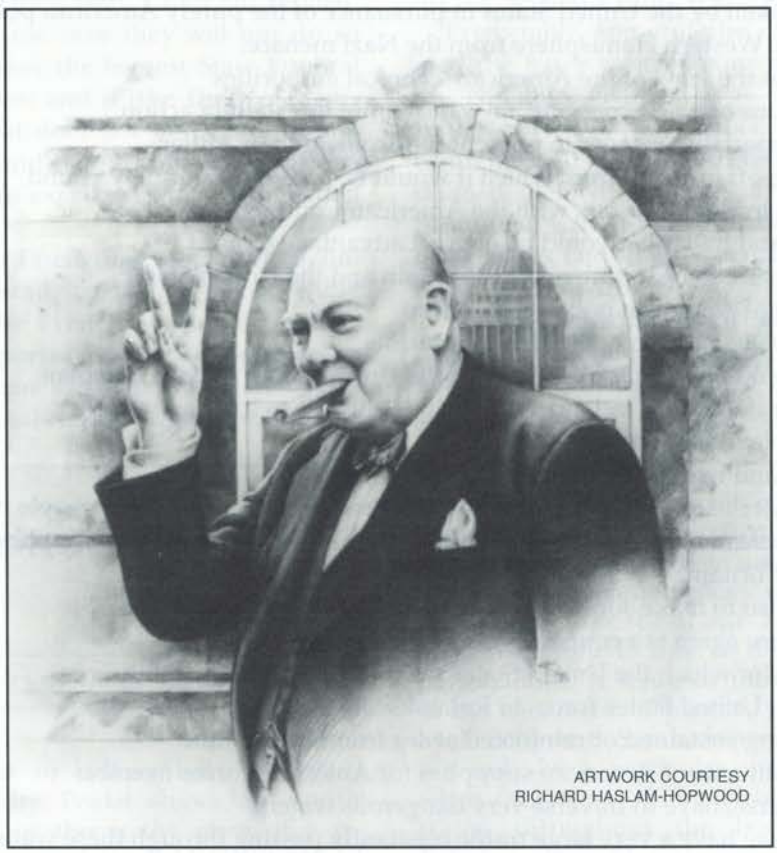
House of Commons
9 July 1941

Sir Winston Churchill: A Report

One of the Societies' primary purposes is "Teaching the Next Generation." Herewith a 13-year-old Friend of ICS provides teaching *by* the Next Generation.

BY KARAN JAIN

Sir Winston Churchill, one of the greatest Englishmen of this century, was born in November, 1874. He belonged to a famous family, and was the son of Lord Randolph Churchill, an English politician. The Duke of Marlborough, a great general of over 200 years ago, was his ancestor. When Winston was twelve years old he was sent to an expensive school called Harrow, which he disliked very much. Churchill later wrote (not quite accurately) that he was not very fond of his studies. At that time in England the most important subjects in school were Latin and Greek. People thought that it was essential to know Latin and Greek well; but young Winston did not find these subjects interesting. He was, however, very fond of reading and he read all the books he could find especially about history. This habit helped him to learn good English and, as a result, he wrote very well. Although young Winston disliked group sports he was good at fencing.



ARTWORK COURTESY
RICHARD HASLAM-HOPWOOD

When he left school he decided to join the army. He was very proud of his ancestor, the Duke of Marlborough, and perhaps hoped to be a great general like him. He went to a famous military college called Sandhurst. When he had finished his training at Sandhurst he joined a cavalry regiment in 1895 and spent a few months in Cuba during the time of the Cuban war of independence against Spain. While in Cuba he wrote about the war and sent reports to and English newspaper. In 1896 his regiment went to India. He lived in Banglore for some time.

Churchill was very brave and adventurous and he wanted to see some real fighting. When he heard that fighting had broken out between the English and the tribesmen of the North-West frontier province of India, he marched with the British forces. Every few days he sent back reports of the war to an English newspaper. His reports were read with great interest in England. After India, Winston Churchill fought a war in Sudan, a part of Africa which was under the rule of Britain and Egypt. Here again Churchill acted as a soldier as well as reporter.

In 1899 Churchill left the army. He had seen enough of military life and now he wanted to make a career as a politician. He also decided that he could earn more money through writing than being an army officer.

Mr. Jain, aged 13, is a member of ICS/Pennsylvania. He wrote this report last year when he was younger.

In South Africa covering the Boer War, Churchill was captured and held by the Boers as a belligerent, though he protested that he was merely a reporter. Determined to escape from his prison camp in Pretoria, Churchill went "over the wall" one night and caught a goods train headed out of Boer territory. During the days he hid or traveled by foot. One night he came to a mine which was run by an Englishman. The Englishman helped him to hide in a dark cave at the bottom of the mine. Churchill had to stay deep underground in a small hole for a number of days. After many days of adventure he at last managed to escape from Boer territory. On his return to England he was greeted as a popular hero.

In 1900, when young Winston was only twenty-six, he became a Member of Parliament. In the next thirty years his name became famous in the British Parliament. He held many important posts in the Government and at the time of the First World War he played an important part in organizing the navy. In this war, Germany was defeated by England, France and America, and she became a very weak country.

After the First World War, Churchill returned to peacetime politics. He was usually a member of the party which was against the Government. He was never afraid of being unpopular and always boldly said what he thought to be true. He warned the world that Germany was turning slowly into a powerful country and that she was preparing for war again. But nobody wanted to listen.

It was true that from 1933 Germany, under a man named Adolf Hitler, was no longer a weak country. After occupying Austria and Czechoslovakia, Hitler planned to conquer more land in Europe.

This is what Churchill had feared, but unfortunately the world had not listened to him. In 1939 when Poland was invaded by the German soldiers, England and France became convinced of Hitler's growing power and wanted to stop him. In September 1939 they declared war on Germany and the Second World War broke out. German armies soon occupied many countries in Europe — Norway, Denmark, Belgium and the Netherlands. After England had fought on the side of France for nearly a year, the English people realized that they needed a strong man like Churchill as their leader. Churchill was thus made the Prime Minister of Britain in May 1940.

In June France was conquered by Hitler. Soon the Nazis marched across France and reached the coast in the north of France. They only had to cross the English Channel in order to reach Britain. Before crossing over, Hitler decided to bomb England and make her weak. Those were dark days for the people of Britain. At a time when they had to fight the Germans all alone, it was Churchill who helped his countrymen by giving them hope and courage. His speeches at that time are remembered even today. Soon after he became Prime Minister, he brought courage in the hearts of the English people with these words:

"WE SHALL DEFEND OUR ISLAND, WHATEVER THE COST MAY BE ... WE SHALL FIGHT ON THE BEACHES, WE SHALL FIGHT ON THE LANDING GROUNDS, WE SHALL FIGHT IN THE FIELDS, AND IN THE STREETS, WE SHALL FIGHT IN THE HILLS; WE SHALL NEVER SURRENDER."

He did not let his countrymen be frightened of Nazi Germany. He told them that the aim of the people of England was "victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory however long and hard the road may be." Whenever he met people he would lift his fingers to make his famous "V" sign, V for Victory. During this time Churchill devoted all his energy in serving his country. He woke up early to write letters. He went to the House of Commons in the afternoon. Many afternoons he visited the soldiers, encouraged them with cheerful words, looked at the new guns and other war equipment. Then he would return to his study and usually work there till three o'clock in the morning. It was Churchill's deep devotion that helped England to stand strong against the mighty power of Germany.

In June 1941 Germany attacked Russia; later Japan, a friend of Germany, attacked America. As a result Russia and America were brought into the war and England no longer had to fight alone. On one side were Britain, Canada, America and Russia and they were called the Allies. On the other side were Germany, Italy and Japan and they were called the Axis Powers. In 1944 the Allies crossed the English Channel and landed in Normandy, on the north-west coast of France. Slowly the Germans were driven away from all the countries they had conquered in Europe. In 1945 the war came to an end, and Hitler took his own life.

After the war Churchill did not continue as Prime Minister. But he continued to take interest in the politics of his country and the world. In 1951, at the age of 77, he again became Prime Minister of Great Britain. He remained in office till 1955. In 1953, the new Queen, Elizabeth II, honored him with a knighthood and he came to be known as Sir Winston Churchill. In the same year he received the Nobel Prize for Literature for his excellent writing. In 1965, the whole world was shaken by the news of his death at the age of ninety-one. Winston Churchill will always be affectionately remembered by the people of the world as the Grand Old Man of Britain.

JOHN G. PLUMPTON

100 YEARS AGO

Swiftly Fading Shadows

Second Quarter 1894 • Age 19

Although Winston was almost twenty years old he still received letters of admonition from his father who thought that he wasted too much time and travelled to London too frequently. Lord Randolph wrote his wife that he had written Winston that "in all qualities of steadiness taking care of things and of not doing stupid things Jack is vastly his superior."

Unknown to his father Churchill was making plans for his future career. He was accompanied by Sir Julian Byng, who later commanded the Canadian Corps at Vimy Ridge and served as Governor-General of Canada, on a visit to the 4th Hussars, a cavalry regiment.

From his mother he received the following: "A bird whispered to me that you did not sleep in yr own bed last night. Write to me all about it. I am not sure if Papa wld approve." Winston replied that his father only expressed disapproval about visiting London. Once again he expressed his career desire. "How I wish I were going into the 4th instead of those old Rifles. It would not cost a penny more and the regiment goes to India in 3 years which is just right for me. I hate the Infantry — in which physical weaknesses will render me nearly useless in service and the only thing I am showing an aptitude for athletically — riding — will be no good to me." The ambitious young man pointed out that "of all regiments in the army the Rifles is slowest for promotion." He knew that only when he did well at Sandhurst would it be the time to tackle his father on his career path.

When the opportunity arose, however, he declined to raise his specific wishes with his father. "It was very pleasant staying with Colonel Brabazon at Aldershot. He has made such a smart regiment of the 4th. They used to be considered very slack — bt he has worked a wonderful change. It was quite extraordinary how clean and smart the men were. It was the first time I have ever messed with a regiment — and the ceremony interested me very much."

The deterioration of Lord Randolph's health was quite noticeable. Against his doctor's advice, he decided to embark, accompanied by Lady Randolph, upon a world tour. He telegraphed to the Secretary of State for War, Sir Henry Campbell-Banneman, a request that Winston be released from Sandhurst for 'my last day in England.' Winston and Jack came to London to see their parents depart. His father had less than a year to live. Winston later wrote of the event: "We drove to the station the next morning — my mother, my younger brother and I. In spite of the great beard which he had grown during his South Africa Journey four years before, his face looked terribly haggard and worn with mental pain. He patted me on the knee in a gesture which however simple was perfectly informing. There followed his long journey round the world. I never saw him again, except as a swiftly-fading shadow."

75 YEARS AGO

Wholesale Elimination of Grand Duke

Second Quarter 1919 • Age 44

As Secretary of State for War and Air, Churchill was not a member of the Inner Cabinet but he was still a prominent player in one of the issues which required much of the Cabinet's attention — post-revolutionary Russia. His active and vociferous support for intervention brought him into conflict with his longtime friend, Prime Minister David Lloyd George.

Lloyd George said of Churchill's vehemence that "his ducal blood revolted against the wholesale elimination of Grand Dukes" but Churchill was repelled also by Marxist doctrine, the brutal tyranny of the Bolsheviks, and a belief that foreign intervention had a chance of preventing the slaughter inherent in any civil war.

While he believed that Marxism/Leninism would create "a condition of barbarism worse than the Stone Age" he also understood that only Russians could prevent a Bolshevik victory and its consequences.

He worried that the new Russia would create an unholy alliance with a revitalized Germany. To prevent this he argued for support for a German invasion of Russia. "Kill the Bolshie and Kiss the Hun," he said.

There was little support for Churchill's interventionist proposals in the Cabinet. The Prime Minister waffled for some time but eventually declared that it would be best "to attend to our own business and leave Russia to look after hers."

The press also had reservations about Churchill's views. The *Daily Express* declared: "Let us have done with the megalomania of Mr. Winston Churchill, the military gamester" and the *Daily Herald* reminded its readers that Churchill was "the gambler of Gallipoli ... The gambler's first throw was Gallipoli ... His second throw is the new war in Russia."

In *The Weekly Dispatch*, he outlined his credo for Britain's foreign policy: "Keep firm friends with the United States; Aid and Protect France; Make a fair peace with the German people; Support the anti-Bolshevik forces in Russia."

50 YEARS AGO

Three Miles from the Enemy

Second Quarter 1944 • Age 69

While eagerly and anxiously awaiting the invasion of Europe, Churchill also worried about possible perfidy by the Soviets. "Once we get on to the Continent with a large commitment, they will have the means of blackmail, which they have not at the present, by refusing to advance beyond a certain point, or even tipping the wink to the Germans that they can move more troops to the West." Force and facts, he believed, were the only realities the Communists understood. Later he would comment: "Never forget that the Bolsheviks are crocodiles." At home his government purged known British Communists from D-Day planning.

Clementine's fifty-ninth birthday was the occasion for a family gathering except for Randolph who was in Yugoslavia. They partied until 4:30 a.m., playing Gilbert and Sullivan and old music-hall songs on the gramophone. Churchill wrote Randolph: "I am keeping Winston with me in the country where he is safe from the London bombings and has room to play about ... Mary is in action two or three nights a week."

Churchill's disagreement with the Americans on strategy in Italy continued. He feared that their insistence on

an invasion of the south of France after Normandy, on top of Alexander's "desolating delay," would destroy future success in Italy. He and his American allies also disagreed on whom to support in Yugoslavia.

On Good Friday, he spoke to the senior British and American generals on plans for D-Day. General de Gaulle was not yet aware of those plans. It was decided not to tell him until June 4th.

In their memoirs Brooke, Eden and Eisenhower all comment on the Prime Minister's exhaustion at this time. In early May Churchill admitted to Brooke that he felt like Roosevelt, who "was no longer the man he had been." Speaking of himself, Churchill said that "he could still always sleep well, eat well, and especially drink well, but that he no longer jumped out of bed the way he used to."

One evening at Chequers Churchill startled his guests, who had assembled to listen to a professional pianist, when he commented that what mattered most in music are the silences between the notes.

In early May be met with the Dominion Prime Ministers, King of Canada, Curtin of Australia, Fraser of New Zealand, Smuts of South Africa and Huggins of Southern Rhodesia.

Casualties were a constant worry for him. He was unhappy about the pre-invasion bombing of France but accepted the arguments of the Americans that it was necessary to limit the losses and perhaps the success of the invasion. Before he went to bed on the evening of June 5th he told his wife: "Do you realize that by the time you wake up in the morning twenty thousand men may have been killed?"

On June 4th Rome was liberated and Churchill's feelings of elation about that achievement were so strong that he took the first ten minutes of his speech to the House on June 6th to ask the House to "take formal cognisance of the liberation of Rome by the Allied forces under the command of General Alexander." Needless to say, members waited throughout that speech for his announcement about the landings in Normandy. After his speech in the House, he lunched with the King and drove with him to Eisenhower's headquarters.

On June 10th, after Montgomery announced that "we have won the battle of the beaches," Churchill, Smuts, Brooke, General Marshall and Admiral King crossed the Channel where they were met by Montgomery. After a beach welcome they drove through "our limited but fertile domain in Normandy." They lunched on the lawn at Montgomery's headquarters, looking towards the front which was only three miles away. Churchill enquired about the chances of German armour breaking up their lunch. Montgomery acknowledged that the chateau had indeed taken a pounding the night before. The Prime Minister reminded him that "anything can be done once or for a short time, but custom, repetition, prolongation, is always to be avoided when possible in war." Montgomery moved his headquarters two days later.

On the night of June 12th the first flying bombs fell on London and for the next nine months the home front was once again a battlefield.

Brooke now found Churchill, relieved of his Normandy worries, "in a very good form, and quite ten years younger," but the debate over a Southern France invasion versus an aggressive offensive in Italy would continue to vex the British Prime Minister.

RIDDLES, MYSTERIES, ENIGMAS

Addenda: *Finest Hour* 81

This column noted that WSC's regiment, the 4th Hussars, was amalgamated with the 8th King's Royal Irish Hussars in 1958 to form The Queen's Royal Irish Hussars. With the current reductions in the British Army, The Queen's Royal Irish Hussars will disappear, amalgamating with The Queen's Own Hussars to form a new regiment, The Queen's Royal Hussars. Incidentally, the 17th/21st Lancers ("The Death or Glory Boys") of Balaclava and Omdurman fame are also gone. Last summer they amalgamated with the 16th/5th Lancers to form The Queen's Royal Lancers.

CAPT. J.R. GRODZINSKY, CFB
CALGARY, ALB., CANADA

Addenda: *Finest Hour* 82

Anent Mr. Hunt's request for documentation that the "two-finger salute" originated as a taunt by English archers toward the French after Agincourt, *Finest Hour's* house authority, Robert Hardy, informs us as follows: "It is established that Henry V told his soldiers of the French threat to cut off the index and middle fingers of English archers as he rode among them before the battle, and this was indeed a French practice at the time. It cannot be proven that the victorious English taunted the French captives by holding up their unsevered fingers; medieval writing on the subject is sparse. The theory is therefore unconfirmed, although it certainly seems a likely scenario."

Det. Thompson, WSC, Cunliffe-Lister (later Lord Swinton)

Q: Can you please identify the automobile Winston Churchill is shown piloting in this photo?

A: *The date is 1925 and the car is possibly a Daimler 20. I say "possibly" because, while there are several photos of this occasion, they all focus on the occupants rather than the car. But Churchill always owned Daimlers through the 1920s and 1930s and this is almost certainly his car. What bothers me about this ID is that the vehicle doesn't seem to have the wheelbase of even this smaller Daimler. Further input from readers is requested. Note: this photo appears in Lady Soames's "Family Album" (1982), another in Randolph Churchill's "Churchill: His Life in Photographs" (1956).*

Q: Concerning the Scribners (American) edition of Marlborough, Woods A40b: I have Volumes I and II dated "1946." Are they part of a remainder issue? I did not know that the Scribner six-volume edition was published after 1938.

A: *Scribners republished all six volumes in entirety using original plates but thinner paper in 1946 and 1950, noting these dates on the title pages. The reprints therefore bulk thinner. "Churchill Bibliographic*

RIDDLES, MYSTERIES, ENIGMAS...

Data" (published by ICS, available from ICS Stores) lists the 1950 on page 1.07 as "A40bb" but did not record the 1946 impression, which rightfully deserves that number, and the 1950 should be "A40bc."

Q: In your grasp, within your reach, do you have any WSC quotes on Machiavelli, and what did WSC feel about "The Prince"?

A: *From Darrell Holley's "Churchill's Literary Allusions" (McFarland, 1987) we find:*

"Had [Arthur Balfour's] life been cast amid the labyrinthine intrigues of the Italian Renaissance, he would not have required to study the works of Machiavelli." ("Great Contemporaries, p208). And: "Edward I anticipated the teachings of Machiavelli...Machiavelli has profoundly observed that every fortress should be victualed for a year..." ("Birth of Britain," pages 304, 350). And: "[Mussolini] might well have pondered with relish on Machiavelli's celebrated remark, 'Men avenge slight injuries, but not grave ones.'" ("The Gathering Storm," US ed. p262; a similar line appears in "Marlborough," Vol 3, US edn., p84.) Finally, there is an extensive quote from "The Prince," chapter XXV, in "Lord Randolph Churchill," Volume I, page 375 (US and English eds.): "It is better to be impetuous than cautious. For Fortune is a woman who to be kept under must be beaten and roughly handled; and we see that she suffers herself to be more readily mastered by those who treat her so...And always, like a woman, she favours the young, because they are less scrupulous and fiercer, and command her with greater audacity."

Q: [To Dr. Cyril Mazansky:] What books would you recommend for an understanding of Churchill and the Jewish People?

A: *The best source is still unpublished, but Martin Gilbert plans to write it. Other sources, most out of print, are as follows: "Churchill and Zionism" by Norman Rose in "Churchill: A Major New Assessment" by Robert Blake & Wm. Roger Louis, NY: Norton, still in print. "Zionism vs. Bolshevism," "The Palestine Crisis," "Our Task for Peace in Palestine" and "Sir Herbert Samuel" by Winston S. Churchill in the "Collected Essays," London: Library of Imperial History 1976, out of print but available from Churchill book specialists. "Churchill: A Life," by Martin Gilbert, London: Heinemann, NY: Holt 1991, Redburn 432; many references to WSC and the Jews. "Churchill's Literary Allusions," by Darrell Holley, North Carolina & London: McFarland 1987, Redburn 408; lists WSC's uses of the Old Testament in his speeches and writings. "Churchill and the Jews" by Michael Cohen, London: Cass 1985, Redburn 390; negative, reviewed in "Finest Hour" 49. "Churchill and Zionism," lecture by Martin Gilbert, Jewish Topics of Today Booklet, World Jewish Congress, British Section, 1974. "Winston Churchill on Jewish Problems" by Oskar K. Rabinowicz, London: Praeger 1956, London & NY: Yoseloff 1960, Redburn 137; very good, out of print but often available from specialist booksellers. "Churchill and Palestine 1939-1945" by Gavriel Cohen, Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi 1976, Redburn 325. "Churchill and the Holocaust" by Martin Gilbert, lecture at ICS 1993 Conference, tape available from ICS Stores. "Moses" in "Thoughts and Adventures" by Winston S. Churchill, Woods A39. Comments on Palestine partition in "Step by Step" by WSC, page 151, Woods A45. Speeches on Palestine by Churchill on 1 August 1946 (reprinted in "The Sinews of Peace," 1948, Woods A124), and on 26 January 1949 (reprinted in "In the Balance," 1951, Woods A130). -CM*

Q: Can you identify this famous WW2 photo of Churchill inspecting Home Guard positions on the coast of England? I believe the Nazis used it for propaganda purposes. Is there any source that would sell such a photograph?

A: *The photo was taken during WSC's inspection of Northeast coastal defenses in July 1940 and belongs to the Imperial War Museum, which I think has issued postcards or posters. Try writing or ringing the IWM at Lambeth Road, London SE1 6HZ, tel. (071) 735-8922. Indeed the photo was used in Nazi propaganda under the title, "Wanted for Murder," referring to WSC as a gangster, which the tommy gun and pinstriped suit put over very well!*

Send your queries to the editor. We try, we try...

DESPATCH BOX

25TH ANNIVERSARY CONFERENCE

Thanks from the Next Generation

On behalf of my students at James Madison High School I wish to thank you for inviting them to attend the ICS Conference. Your generosity has enriched them immeasurably. The opportunities you afforded them to learn, to speak and to meet important dignitaries will all be remembered. I personally enjoyed their reactions, which ranged from, "I have a whole new respect for Churchill" to "Didn't know what to do with all those forks and glasses!" Clearly this was a learning experience in many ways. I look forward to further involvement for myself and my students and would be happy to cooperate with your efforts to reach high school students.

LYNN L. DUBIN, VIENNA, VA.

The Society's generosity allowed an experience I would not otherwise have had. I found the events educational, especially the tour and lecture at the U.S. Holocaust Museum. Thank you for the opportunity and privilege.

JEFF M. MORNEAU, JAMES MADISON H.S.

I really enjoyed it and learned a lot. I hope that my classmates and I will have a chance to learn more about Churchill's life in the future. The things that I learned, and the whole experience, was something I'll never forget.

ESTHER JAMES, JAMES MADISON H.S.

Thanks for inviting me—I have developed a great interest in Churchill and look forward to attending other ICS conferences in the future.

CHRISTINE GILBERT, JAMES MADISON H.S.

Speaking in front of your Society was an invaluable experience. I have been on our Forensics team for two years and have competed in national tournaments, but I have never had the opportunity to speak to a group mainly of adults. Everyone made me feel comfortable and welcome. I also learned a great deal at the Sunday night banquet. Mr. Jack Kemp made a great speech and the food and conversation were wonderful. It was a privilege to hear Martin Gilbert's lecture at the Holocaust Museum. I didn't realize what a great role Sir Winston played in ending the war. It's scary to imagine how long it might have continued if great men like Churchill didn't exist. I don't think there are many good choices for youth in role models, and pity friends who idolize rock stars, actors, even cartoon characters. The Conference instilled in me a desire to learn more about Churchill. He will always be on the top of my list.

TARAH GRANT, JAMES MADISON H.S.

Attending the Conference gave me a better knowledge of who Winston Churchill was and still is to many people. He is an example of a true leader. I enjoyed the student presentations. Churchill's quotes seem to stand the test of time. James Humes was a speaker who came across to me. He has so much enthusiasm and zeal!

SABINA KOOK, JAMES MADISON H.S.

Fraternal Greetings

Thank you very much indeed for inviting us back to your home after the Conference. How wonderful it was to relax in New Hampshire. We thoroughly enjoyed the Washington Conference and met some very nice people who I hope we will meet again next year in Canada.

DAVID BOLER, SEVENOAKS, KENT, UK

What an exemplary conference in Washington! On behalf of the "Canada contingent" I'd like to express our congratulations to everyone on the team for the superlative, well organized event you staged for the enjoyment of all attendees. As hosts for the 1994 Conference in Calgary/Banff, we acknowledge Washington as a tough act to follow, but hope to continue in the standards you've set.

GARNET R. BARBER, PRESIDENT
ICS CANADA, THORNHILL, ONT.

More Conference Comments

Washington was my first ICS Conference, but I am sure it won't be my last. You run a great meeting and deserve the membership's commendation. It was a pleasure to be among the donors who enabled so many young people to attend, and meeting Lady Thatcher was certainly an unexpected reward. I completed her book and wrote her as soon as I finished, and was very pleased to get a prompt response. Thank you for making the weekend so special.

PARKER H. LEE, III, FAIR HAVEN, N.J.

Thank you for all the work in organizing this year's successful conference. It was wonderful to learn that Alistair Cooke [who sent his regrets but promised to be present on our 50th anniversary] will be around in twenty-five years when I'm writing the story of the first fifty years of ICS. [Mr. Freeman wrote about the first twenty-five in issue #81. -Ed.] If I follow Mr. Cooke's example I'll end up writing about our 125th Anniversary.

DAVID FREEMAN, PLACENTIA, CALIF.

I am thrilled with the book you gave me to thank me for my help on the Navy Chapel ceremony, a most generous token of thanks. That service was a real brainstorm on your part [but you did the work! RML] and was the most moving event to me also. Others have said the same to me.

AIDA R. SCHOENFIELD, WASHINGTON

I can't thank you enough for including me at the conference but also making me feel part of the event. I had a wonderful time and learnt a great deal over the past couple of days. It has been incredible to meet so many people dedicated to keeping my great-grandfather's name alive and made me feel even more proud to be a member of the family.

DOMINIC WALTERS, NEW YORK CITY

More on Free Trade

On free trade, I am pleased to hear you're staying on the side of the angels. Unfair trade practices like you describe in your response to the free trade correspondence (*FH* 81, p41) are commonplace in industry. Loss leaders and selling below cost in order to establish a company or increase market share happen all the time. As an old antitrust lawyer I can tell you that economists will attest there is no lasting benefit to be gained from these tactics, absent barriers to entry in the marketplace. And as any economist also will tell you, the only really effective barriers to entry are those raised by government.

The notion that there is a trade "gap" between Japan and the U.S. is a fiction. On a per capita basis, Japan imports as much from the U.S. as vice versa. In 1992 Japan imported U.S. goods worth $48 billion while the U.S. imported Japanese goods worth $97 billion. But because the U.S. has twice the population, the per capita average was $384 worth of Japanese imports from the U.S. and $383 worth of U.S. imports from Japan. Why should the Japanese be coerced into importing more per capita than America does?

Editor's Response: Don't factors like the percentage of raw vs. finished goods have to be considered besides per-capita amounts? Answer to paragraph one: in 1971 Nissan introduced the Datsun 240Z, selling for what most of us auto writers were fairly convinced was a loss. Five years later (after the Z's price had risen considerably), the 240/260/280Z ruled the sports car market, and its derivations did for a long time. That seems to me a fairly lasting benefit. The "export subsidy program" that produced $3995 240Zs in 1971 is still in there pitching on behalf of cars that cost much less in Los Angeles than they do in Tokyo.

Churchill's Handicaps

[To the Editor of *The Spectator:*] Of the various charges leveled against Harold Macmillan in Simon Heffer's article ("Centenary of a double crosser," 5 February 1994), surely the most damaging was Enoch Powell's acute observation that because he had an American mother Macmillan never had Britain's best interests at heart. An American mother was, of course, a defect Macmillan shared with another well-known 20th century prime minister. Goodness knows what Churchill would have been able to accomplish for Britain had he not labored under this handicap.

JOHN CUTCHER, KNOXVILLE, TENN., USA

[To the Editor of *The Washington Post:*] In your tribute to the late Speaker of the House, you cited Tip O'Neill's suggestion that "Winston

DESPATCH BOX ...

Churchill lost his seat in Parliament because he forgot the people in his own election district while he was busy fighting World War II." This is an accurate paraphrase from the speaker's autobiography, but his capacious memory betrayed him. Not only was he wrong about Churchill's fate in 1945, but wrong by 17,000 votes — Churchill's margin of victory in his Woodford constituency in 1945.

Mr. O'Neill doubtless cited this imaginary defeat by way of reinforcing his celebrated dictum, "All politics is local." But there is irony in that, since the constituency-based elections characteristic of British parliamentary democracy do not permit Members of Parliament, however distinguished, the luxury of ignoring local issues in the name of national abstractions.

It may be of note that Churchill did lose three earlier postwar elections, not long after World War I, when the future war leader was moving back into the Conservative fold from a long affiliation with Lloyd George, Asquith and other Liberals. But fortunately, the British political system offers to distinguished and brilliant figures an advantage we do not, by custom, extend to our own — the possibility of shifting constituencies until one finds a fit. This option was open to Churchill after three defeats in the 1920s. Had it been closed, who can doubt that the history of the 20th century would be different, duller and darker than it was?

Is there a lesson here for those who would deprive American voters of their discretion to reelect their leaders as often as they wish by the patently anti-democratic mechanism of "term limits"? In any event, we are in Tip O'Neill's debt for stimulating some useful, if random, thoughts about the quirks of Winston Churchill's political destiny—and maybe our own.

EDWIN YODER, ALEXANDRIA, VA., USA

The Charmleyan Chronicles

You'll be pleased to know that in London, Charmley's book (*FH* #81 p32) is already on remainder, and a book club has it at £2, while Martin Gilbert's book (*Churchill: A Life*) is in two paperback editions, one called the "pocket edition," if you have fat pockets.

AL LURIE, NEW YORK CITY

Here's a curiosity: author Charmley, from the olympian heights of the University of East Anglia, putting his magisterial tuppence into the British press debate over the Churchill archives (your editorial, *FH* #81 p4). Why isn't Charmley's philosophical soulmate, David Irving, taking part in this discussion? Neither he nor Charmley seem challenged for chutzpah.

JAMES MACK, FAIRFIELD, OH, USA

Editor's Response: Alas Mr. Irving is doing time in Pentonville, having lost an argument with HM Govt. over the extent of his German royalties. I certainly hope Mr. Charmley doesn't make the same mistake: what would we do without him?

There He Goes Again

I am seriously indebted to you for your entertainment value. Your editorial with its blasts against "wimpy reviews" and "too much ink" (*FH* 81 p4) consorted oddly with Professor Schoenfeld's intelligent review and Dr. Arnn's sleep-inducing prolixity; hoist by your own petard, I fear. Odd, of course, to devote seven pages to a misrepresentation of part of my book and two to a review of the whole thing, but I am sure your readers will understand.

The long march through Dr. Arnn's turgid prose brought to mind Denis Healy's comment that being attacked by Sir Geoffrey Howe was akin to being savaged by a dead sheep. His inability to distinguish between my arguments and those of Alan Clark and his attribution to me of opinions which he might prefer I held may serve to keep his reader awake, but they do nothing to encourage any confidence in him. Had I but space enough I should be delighted to take issue with him [O spare us, mighty swami! -Ed.], but a man who appears to be under the delusion that I advocate an alliance with Hitler is hardly worth your space or my time.

As to this King Charles' Head of "anti-Americanism" which is once more given an airing, I would refer both the good Doctor and your excellent self to my book, rather than tilt lances with the intellectually challenged in your valuable pages. I should have thought, in view of the standard of some of the reactions to my book, that you might consider transferring the title on page 43 [Churchilltrivia] to your front cover.

JOHN CHARMLEY, NORFOLK, UK

Editor's response: I am filled with admiration over your bio of Duff Cooper: it is so understanding of your subject's human foibles, so willing to wink at his bad calls, so fixated on what really matters, so devoid of the cobbled quote ... so unlike your bio of Churchill! I am forced to wonder what is growing in Norfolk, and how long you've been smoking it?

Now you know Dr. Arnn did not say your book advocated an alliance with Hitler, that he distinguished your arguments from Alan Clark's; and I don't grasp the logic by which you claim to be both entertained and asleep. But I know what you're up to, John! This makes five straight free copies I've sent you containing your contributions. As diverting as it's been, I can't let it go on. It is smashing of you to reward us with so much prose for free, but since I can't quite get you voted an hon. membership, after this issue you'll just have to pony up £20 like the rest of us.

Déjà vu All Over Again

Plowing through Gilbert's *The Stricken World 1916-1922* left me feeling depressed. Has anything really changed? It has been said that God made a terrible mistake when He gave man limited intelligence but unlimited stupidity. Admirals dressed in beautiful gold braid are much more amusing as a group than the Frocks. And, after all, if I remember correctly, the British admirals fought the convoy system until it was almost too late. But with their foul ups at least they, unlike Admiral Halsey, did not try to sail their ships through not one but two typhoons.

RICHARD ZIMBERT,
HOLLYWOOD, CALIF, USA.

Editor's response: I'm sure we can find a writer somewhere to prove that Churchill caused those typhoons, since he is undoubtedly responsible for all the natural disasters of the war as well as the unnatural ones.

Salvaging Charmley

MANFRED WEIDHORN

John Charmley's book, *Churchill: End of Glory* has been taken to task in many ways. Larry Arnn (*FH* 81) has shown how Charmley's quoting out of context distorts his argument. Richard Langworth (*FH* 80) and others have noted the sometimes questionable sources cited. Reviewer Gaddis Smith has declared Charmley's *implicit* solution — to negotiate with Hitler — to be a crime and, what is worse, a blunder. Is anything salvageable left?

I think so. Charmley may have seen the problem correctly and stammered in articulating it; or he was indeed himself partially blind, and his book can be saved only if it is pushed in a different direction by means of a slight revision of his argument.

Despite the wide divergence of interpretation of them, the basic historical facts are simple: [1] Britain went to war to save Poland, and the war ended with Britain victorious but Poland conquered. [2] Britain was a sort of superpower in standing heroically alone against the German superpower during the first third of the war, but at the end was overshadowed by the two new superpowers, the US and the USSR. [3] A Britain shorn of its Empire, heavily dependent on the United States, passive in the face of the communization of Eastern Europe, and a prey to socialism at home, had won a Pyrrhic victory.

Those being the incontrovertible facts, the question is: how avoidable were these developments? That brings us to the realm of the hypothetical and the subjective. Some recent critics of Churchill, led by Charmley, accordingly speculate that they *were* avoidable — if only Churchill had been less romantic and archaic, less Churchillian.

A critique of these critics must begin with essentials. Churchill faced three choices: Negotiate with Hitler; or go under alone; or win with the help of allies. The critics seem to opt for the first. Britain, they contend, could have made an arrangement with Hitler which would have resulted in Hitler's destruction of the odious Communist regime in Russia and would have kept America in its isolationist cocoon. That arrangement would have enabled a condominium of the old British Empire and the new Third German Empire to rule Europe.

Prudential (albeit immoral) as that solution might have been, the critics assume that [1] Hitler would deal; [2] the British Coalition government would let Churchill deal; [3] Hitler would be faithful to the deal; [4] Russia would have gone under; [5] America would keep out; [6] The British Empire still had a long way to go; [7] a Britain tied to Hitler would have remained democratic; [8] American hegemony is bad. As Langworth, Smith, et al point out, most of these Charmley assumptions (1-3, 6-8) are dubious.

If we start with better assumptions — namely, that a deal with Hitler was out of the question for many reasons — Churchill is left with two of the original three choices: Go under heroically alone, or ally Britain with the Russians and the Americans. Churchill preferred survival to self destruction. (Curiously, Charmley ascribes the same preference to the average Briton, with whom Churchill was allegedly out of touch, but uses it as an argument against fighting Hitler!) So Churchill made a deal, but with Russia and America rather than with Germany. He thereby had to hock the store, for he ran into one of Machiavelli's iron laws: "A prince ought never to make common cause with one more powerful than himself to injure another, unless necessity forces him to ...; for if he wins you rest in his power." That is to say, survival proved to be very expensive. But had he any other choice?

Not really, because he was swimming against the tides of history. The days of the European empires were waning. Though Churchill definitely insisted he was not going to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire, the actions necessary for saving Britain brought the liquidation nearer. The grim choice was between losing the Empire or losing Britain as well as the Empire.

As for the emergence of Soviet Russia as a force to be reckoned with, one must remember that in his memoirs Churchill said that in the early stages of the Grand Alliance, the Anglo-American anxiety was over keeping Russia *in* the war. Only later did the problem become one of stopping the sweep of Russian armies. It is easy to blame Roosevelt and Churchill for allegedly selling out Eastern Europe to Stalin, but what were they to do — inflict World War III on a war-ravaged world the day after V-E Day by trying to force the Russian troops back? A Russia which has occupied Eastern Europe would not relinquish it any other way — not after the frightful toll of Russian lives taken by the Germans and not after Russia had been invaded from Eastern Europe four times in 250 years. Stalin had plenty of legions in Eastern Europe, and possession is often nine-tenths of the law. FDR and WSC could have jawboned, negotiated, pleaded, threatened all they wanted, but, in Stalin's world, legality grows out of the barrel of a gun.

And if it came to using force, what would be the purpose of a military attack on Russia? To roll back the Iron Curtain? Yet Charmley himself pointed out that the average Briton is more interested in survival in everyday life than in heroic, romantic crusades in faraway places on behalf of a noble cause.

On Russia (and America) no less than on the Empire, Churchill confronted great historical forces. As far back as 1840, a prescient Alexis de Tocqueville had predicted that Russia and America were "marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half of the globe." Communism may or may not have delayed that historical tendency, but Hitler certainly accelerated it.

The conclusion to all this is that the critics shocked everyone because they suggested that a deal with Hitler would have been kinder to Churchill's fate and would not have been the end of his glory. Inaccurate and immoral as that contention may be, the critics do have a legitimate case, which is that the hero of the 1940 back-to-the-wall stand and of the 1945 victory had the misfortune to see the deleterious side effects of his victory. The law of unintended consequences had come into play. History usually works that way: A problem is not solved but replaced by a new problem, or, as in this case, a problem *is* solved only to have the solution bring its own set of problems.

What Charmley might be saying between the lines, or could be made to say if the emphases are altered, is that

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Dr. Weidhorn is the dean of thinkers on Churchill's thought and an ICS academic advisor.

DESPATCH BOX ...
Manfred Weidhorn ...

Churchill was a tragic figure. "Tragedy" is an overused and misunderstood word; President Kennedy's death by assassination, however sad, was *not* a tragedy. In its strict classic sense, tragedy means, among other things, being damned if one does and damned if one does not. It means "no way out"; it means facing insoluble problems. It means, above all, no free lunches, for survival and victory have large price tags. Churchill's misfortune was to be able to save the world from Hitlerism only at the cost of soon losing the Empire, advancing communism beyond Russia's borders, boosting Americanism, and opening the door to socialism at home. But, despite the critics' fantasy, he *had no alternative.*

Churchill is therefore a tragic hero, someone out of Sophocles or Shakespeare. He did his best, but fate (aka historical forces) was against him. He himself realized that fact when, as Charmley points out, he saw an analogy between his own career and that of Cromwell. Each leader was so focused on fighting off the predator of the hour (Imperial Spain, Hitler's Germany) that he did not see, or could not cope with, the rise of a new one (Louis XIV's France, Stalin's Russia). Perhaps he himself also realized it when, as Charmley likewise notes but does not fully explain, he called the last volume of his war memoirs, *Triumph and Tragedy.*

The "end of glory," then, was Britain's, not Churchill's. He who had the good fortune to be in the right place at the right time in 1940 remained in power long enough to find himself in the right place at the wrong time. He learned Kipling's lesson, that triumph is an "impostor." Churchill is guiltless, however, of having made any bad choices on the major issue confronting him. Charmley's basic flaw is to present as a preventable error what was in fact an inescapable tragedy.

MANFRED WEIDHORN YESHIVA UNIV. NY

Bric-a-brac

An Ongoing Investigation Into the Good, the Bad and the Ugly

DOUGLAS J. HALL

Lord Randolph Churchill Plate

It is probable that the eleven-year-old Winston took great pride in seeing his father's portrait featured on a china plate. It must certainly have given him some distinction amongst his fellow pupils at his Brighton prep-school! It was produced by Staffordshire Pottery (backstamped "Rd No. 41050") in the black and white octagonal design very much favored for commemorative plates in the later Victorian period. The Queen herself was frequently portrayed, as were members of her large family, leading churchmen, judges and politicians. Other contemporary potteries producing plates in the eight-sided format with "foliate borders" around the subject included Wallis, Gimson & Co and Nestle & Huntsman. So far as I can establish this was the only plate commemorating Lord Randolph's political career. It is ironic that a few years later he was castigating his son "... you will become a mere social wastrel, one of the hundreds of public school failures and you will degenerate into a shabby unhappy and futile existence."

Wartime Sepia Transfer

This transfer appeared on a wide range of articles from many different potteries during 1940-41. My collection includes mugs (two different shapes), ashtrays (circular and square), two different cup and saucer sets, two sizes of beaker and a milk jug. Some pieces are unmarked but amongst the backstamps can be found Wellington China, Lancasters, Paragon China, Sutherlands and Gray's Pottery. This little mug, just 3 1/2 inches tall x 3 1/2 inches diameter, from Gray's Pottery, is one of the best, in fine bone china with unusually heavy gilding around the rim and on the handle. Current UK secondary market prices for items in this design range from £30-£100 depending upon quality and condition.

The Pikering Bust

Easily the most widely available piece of Churchilliana is the very finely detailed little five-inch-tall bust design by R.A. Pikering in 1949. An excellent likeness, the bust depicts a rather grim-looking Churchill smoking a cigar and wearing the collar badge of the Order of Merit. Inscribed "Winston

Bric-a-brac columnist Douglas Hall is developing a book about collectible Churchilliana, which ICS hopes to publish.

S. Churchill" on the pedestal, the originals were signed "RA Pikering '49" on the back and cast in either solid bronze (6 lbs.) or hollow bronze (3 lbs.) and mounted on a plinth of polished marble 3 1/4 x 2 1/4 x 3 3/4 inches. During Churchill's second term as Prime Minister, and again during 1965 and 1974 the bust as re-issued in a lightweight plastic resin material in either black or white. These plastic resin busts did not have the marble plinth but are nevertheless quite finely defined. They must have been available in the thousands and would have cost no more than a few shillings but did provide the opportunity for anybody to acquire an affordable piece of Churchilliana. In 1970 BEL products of Birmingham produced a solid brass and hollow brass version of the bust (see Smith p. 106). Somewhere along the way an unknown manufacturer produced the bust in an artificial marble substance similar to Alvastone. In one form or another these little busts are frequently seen around the antiques fairs. What surprises me, in view of their ready availability, is their remarkable increase in price over the last few years. An original signed bronze could be bought for £30 five years ago but I have just seen one listed by a London dealer at £150. I bought several plastic resin examples for an average of £5 each in 1990-91. One London dealer is currently listing the black version at £25 each and the white one at £32. (A USA dealer has a black one at $35.) Another well-known London dealer, operating not far from Oxford Street, has the black one on offer at £69!

Tea Tin

Dating from World War I, this highly decorative tea tin is 7 1/4 inches tall and 5 inches square. All around are detailed battle scenes and the flags of the allies. The colors remain remarkably bright, with no evidence of fading after eighty

years, although there are usually some rust spots and a few small scratches. In addition to Churchill the tin portrays King George V, the Czar of Russia, Grand Duke Nicholas, Sir John Jellicoe, the King of the Belgians, General Joffre, Lord Kitchener and Sir John French. Now fairly rare in the UK where it has a current value of around £25.

Royal Winton Pin Tray

This neat little four-inch-diameter pin tray was produced during World War II by Grimwades (Royal Winton) at Shelton, Stoke-on-Trent. A nice sepia line drawing of a smiling Churchill with a decoration of flowers, the crossed flags of the UK and USA and the inscription "Rt Hon Winston Churchill, Prime Minister, Great Britain," it has been in my collection for many years and, although I had never seen another around the antiques fairs, I had not considered it to have any great value. Then a USA catalogue arrived and I noted a value of $150! I dusted mine and moved it to a lower shelf! I have since, just recently, seen another example on offer in the UK. A very well-known dealer, who is not renowned for the modesty of his prices, offered it to me for £16. He said he had bought it in America! Can anyone make any sense of transatlantic pricing?

Fakes and Forgeries

For somebody with graphological skill, it is possible to create a quite deceptive copy of Churchill's autograph in just a few seconds. The major London Fine Art Auctioneers all report that they reject at least half of the "Churchill's" offered for each sale because they are forgeries, and often complete with cleverly faked letters of provenance! Where do those forgeries then go? Well I would urge caution around the antiques fairs and small-town auction halls.

The faking of a china pot demands not only a rare skill but also access to some expensive hardware and a significant input of man-hours. Ceramic forgers tend, therefore, to target the very top end of the market. But surprisingly the occasional fake does turn up way down the value spectrum.

On the left, a genuine character jug from Staffordshire Fine Ceramics of Tunstall, Stoke-on-Trent issued in the early 1980s: a nice little jug, but nothing remarkable, which sold originally at around £25 and has a current secondary market value of about £40. The fake jug, on the right, has poor quality paintwork and badly oxidised glaze. But the main giveaway is the silver-topped walking stick which forms the handle. On the fake it is very clumsy and completely out-of-scale. I bought it for £5 simply so that I could display it alongside the genuine jug. In isolation, without a bench-mark, it might just have fooled somebody, but it is had to see even then how the forger could have made a profit.

International Churchill Societies

The 11th Annual Conference

Calgary/Banff, Alberta, Canada

September 23-26, 1994

"I am greatly attracted to this country. The tide is flowing strongly," wrote Winston Churchill to his wife in 1929 from his room in the Banff Springs Hotel. He was referring to the exciting developments taking place in Canada at that time. The tide is flowing strongly once again and exciting developments are occurring in the planning for The 11th International Churchill Societies Conference.

- meet Sir Winston's daughter, Lady Soames, and his granddaughter, Hon. Celia Sandys;
- hear Milton Friedman argue that Churchill did not make good economic decisions;
- attend a performance of the Calgary Symphony;
- make many new friends from Churchill Societies around the world;
- learn about the latest Churchill-related research and publications;
- watch a musical ride of a mounted troop;
- view a slide presentation on Churchill's paintings;
- enjoy *Hits from the Blitz;*
- see the spectacular scenery Churchill saw: *"The panorama of the Rocky Mountains rises along the Western Horizon in endless serrated ridges to grey blue peaks nine thousand feet above the sea."*

You too will be strongly attracted to this country!

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