





# *Finest Hour*

SUMMER 2005 • NUMBER 127  
JOURNAL OF THE  
CHURCHILL CENTRE  
AND SOCIETIES



NEVER-HAS SO MUCH  
BEEN OWED BY SO MANY,  
TO SO FEW.

*Winston Churchill*



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& Societies, appears on page 4.

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# *Finest Hour*

JOURNAL OF THE CHURCHILL CENTRE & SOCIETIES  
SUMMER 2005 • NUMBER 127

21 Churchill's Relevance: "A Possession for All Time"

*Justin D. Lyons*

22 Churchill, the RAF and Naval Aviation

"Never has so much been owed by one service to one man"

*Robert A. Courts*

28 Glimpses, 1900: The Voyage Home

"All hell won't keep him from being Premier some day"

*Major Frederick Russell Burnham DSO*

29 Teaching the Next Generation. Bombing Germany: Again

*Richard M. Langworth*

30 Winston Churchill and Boston

Four Faces in The Hub, 1900-1949 *Joseph L. Hern*

44 The Most Caricatured Politician of All Time

The London Political Cartoon Exhibit • *Tim Benson*

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## 37 BOOKS, ARTS & CURIOSITIES

**Summer Book Number:** *Finest Hour* reviews three of the best new books to come along in many a year: Addison's *Unexpected Hero*, Reynolds' *In Command of History*, and Sands' *Truman-Churchill Correspondence*. Also: Roberts' *Hitler and Churchill*, Porch's *Path to Victory*, Hastings' *Armageddon* and "Ephesian"'s *Winston Churchill*. And a play. And a cartoon exhibit. And...

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Despatch Box 4 • @ The Centre 5 • Datelines 7  
Around & About 11 • Local Contacts 12 • Calendar 13  
Local News 14 • Leading Churchill Myths 15  
Wit & Wisdom 16 • UK News 17 • Riddles 18  
Action This Day 19 • Inside the Journals 45  
Woods Corner 49 • Churchilltrivia 50 • Ampersand 51  
Immortal Words 52

*Cover:* This postwar tribute to the Royal Air Force is a painting by an unknown artist, acquired by the editor on eBay: a single printed sheet with the reverse blank and no signature anywhere visible. We would appreciate for attribution purposes any advice as to the name of the artist or publication.



Number 127 • Summer 2005  
ISSN 0882-3715  
www.winstonchurchill.org

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*Finest Hour* is made possible in part through the generous support of members of The Churchill Centre, and with the assistance of the Number Ten Club, and an endowment created by the Churchill Centre Associates (listed on page 2).

*Finest Hour* is published quarterly by The Churchill Centre, which offers various levels of support in various currencies. Membership applications may be obtained from the appropriate offices on page 2, or can be downloaded from our website. Permission to mail at non-profit rates in USA granted by the United States Postal Service, Concord, NH, permit no. 1524. Copyright 2005. All rights reserved. Designed and edited by Dragonwyck Publishing Inc. Production by New England Foil Stamping Inc. Printed by Evans Printing, Inc. Made in U.S.A.



## DESPATCH BOX

### BLACK DOG

*Finest Hour* 125 states that "Black Dog" was attributed to Sir Walter Scott, but Dr. Johnson uses the term in Boswell's *Life of Johnson* years earlier. The introduction says Boswell was "subject to fits of sudden depression," etc. In his letter dated Wednesday, 27 October 1779, Johnson writes: "But what will you do to keep away the *black dog* that worries you at home?" I'd imagine that Churchill read Scott, and maybe Boswell too, although Scott is more likely Churchill's source.

—EVAN QUENON, AUSTIN, TEX.

### IMPERSONATING GARY

We were delighted to receive *Finest Hour* 125 with accounts of the 2004 Portsmouth conference and the trip to Berlin, which brought back memories of so many friends and experiences. The photos of me on pages 20-21 certainly added to the memories. But, what's this? There apparently is a (good-looking) fellow named Richard Kruger cavorting around Europe impersonating me. Should I contact MI-6? Oh MI. Still, Kruger can't be very clever. In my twenty years' membership this is the first time he has been able to get away with this.

—GARY BONINE, DRYDEN, MICH.

### MORE POISON GAS

Ampersand (*Finest Hour* 123:47) gives the false impression that Churchill recommended the use of *only* tear gas in warfare. If you care to re-read the text, you will find that Churchill advocated this as an *additional* option: "I am strongly in favour of using poisoned gas against uncivilised tribes....It is not necessary to use only the most deadly gasses: gasses can be used which cause great inconvenience and would spread a lively terror and yet would leave no serious permanent effects on most of those affected." (Underlines mine.)

More seriously, you chose to ignore, in your reproach of *The Spectator's* Michael Lind, Churchill's blatant racism in reserving the poison gas treatment for use "against uncivilised tribes." (Presumably that excludes his own tribe.)

—DR. ALY ELKHOLY, IEEE.ORG

*FH's Response:* When Churchill said it was "not necessary to use only the most deadly gases" he did not underline the word "only," as you have; his recommendation seems fairly dispositive, especially since deadly gases were not subsequently used. "Uncivilized" by itself is not a racist word but merely a reference to behavior outside the realm of civilization. Only when "uncivilized" is accompanied by another adjective making the author's racist meaning clear can you say it is racist. Otherwise, you are simply making an *ad hominem* attack on someone with whom you disagree. The same issue of *FH* published a more thorough examination of the Lind and other material ("Rumbles Left and Right," by Michael C. McMenamin, pp. 38-43). You will not like it any better, but it does show that Churchill is happily a target of critics on both fringes. —RML & MM

### SLOGAN OR STRATEGY?

In their article "Churchill and D-Day: Another View," Professors Warren Kimball and Norman Rose suggest that in respect of the Italian campaign it was a "slogan not a strategy" and, "as Stalin put it, the Germans would keep as many allied Divisions as possible in Italy where no decision could be reached." Field Marshal Alanbrooke, sourced elsewhere in the article, would not agree. In his war diaries, especially for 6 August 1943 and in his postwar commentary on the diary entry for 15 August 1943, Brooke strongly supported the Italian campaign, as he saw Italy as a base from which to bomb southern Germany—and more importantly as a means of tying down German forces that would otherwise be used against Russia and an Allied invasion in the West. In his commentary on 15 August 1943 Brooke says quite strongly (after arguing with General Marshall): "My contention was that the Italian theatre was essential to render the cross Channel operation possible and consequently the two operations were interdependent." (See also page 43. —Ed.)

—DAVID BULL, CANBERRA, ACT

*Despatch Box continues on page 6.*

**T**he Churchill Centre is coming of age. Growing membership, more website hits, expanded press recognition, a sharp increase in local chapters, and more generous financial contributions all support this conclusion. But the best and most revealing evidence of our increased viability (for me at least) is the growth of critical reactions by members and non-members alike to the Centre's programs, the prominent individuals who support its efforts, and even to Churchill himself. They reach our officers and staff from across a broad spectrum: Democrat and Labour, Republican and Tory, Liberal and Conservative, east and west, old and young, New World and Old, dispassionate and angry, informed and uninformed. They all have something to say and many say it well. Truly constructive criticism is as common as high dudgeon. As my good friend Col. Nigel Knocker likes to say, it is "blindly obvious" that if Churchill and the Centre were not important to them, none of these critics would have given one hoot what we did or how we did it, and most certainly they would not have taken the time to express their views. (See opposite, and page 6. —Ed.)

Within the past year, members have either threatened to resign or have resigned because they disagreed with the personalities or public postures of those involved in Centre events. General Tommy Franks, who spoke at our highly successful Chicago benefit dinner, was accused of being a warmonger. Illinois Senator and Democratic Whip Dick Durbin was too liberal. Texas Congressman and Republican Majority Leader Tom Delay was too conservative. Lord Heseltine was too critical of America's and Britain's thrust into Iraq. Chris Matthews was too provocative. Harsh reactions by some to a few ill-considered but widely publicized comments directed at President Bush abruptly halted (to the dismay of several trustees) efforts to obtain Nelson Mandela as a 2003 conference speaker. Shock was expressed over statements critical of Churchill by panelists at Centre symposia. The Centre is little more than a fan club. The Centre is little more than an old-boy's club devoted to minutia. The Centre should move its offices out of Washington. Day in and day out, we hear it all. And, we want to.

This heightened concern over what the Centre does and how it does it constantly challenges its leadership to stay the course on one of its prime objectives: to keep the Churchill record accurate without deliberately tainting it with pro-Churchill bias. While the Centre has historically accepted this responsibility, more and more opportunities to dispel Churchill myths and deal with shallow, uninformed observations keep presenting themselves.

@THE CENTRE

DAY IN, DAY OUT, WE HEAR IT ALL: The best and most revealing evidence of our increased viability is the growth of critical reactions by members and non-members alike.



Recently, one of our symposiasts repeated the shop-worn canard that as Colonial Secretary Churchill was strongly in favor of using poison gas against uncivilized tribes. While dismay was immediately registered, that statement remains on the record. Over the years, the Centre has vigorously objected to this particular misrepresentation because it ignores the context in which it was made. *{FH 123:47.}* In context it is clear that Churchill was referring primarily to tear gas, not the more lethal gases used during World War I. Churchill was a humanitarian. Had his precepts been followed in the 1898 Sudan campaign, for example, thousands of dervishes who were slaughtered as they sought to overrun the British zariba near Omdurman would have survived.

The Centre is willing to be fully engaged in confronting contemporary issues with an open mind and unfettered voice. Those whom it sponsors, and those who represent it, must be free to espouse their own views in whatever manner they choose to express them. And Churchill explicitly agrees: "Free speech carries with it the evil of foolish, unpleasant and venomous things that are said; but on the whole we would rather lump them than do away with it." (House of Commons, 7 July 1952.)

Nevertheless our critics all appear to have at least one thing in common. They care about Churchill and about The Centre's image and programs. To them as to the rest of us, Churchill and the Centre are relevant—today and tomorrow. If it were otherwise, we would hear only silence. Unfair or not, unreasonable or not, The Centre endeavors responsibly to deal with each criticism on its own merits. And we welcome this exercise of free speech and the passionate exchange of views that Churchill found so stimulating and necessary to successfully functioning democratic systems.

The Centre has never tried to be all things to all people; nor should it. From its inception, it has tried to avoid a narrow ideological or political path. We strive to bring together a broad spectrum of viewpoints from a variety of people on what Winston Churchill and his life and accomplishments have meant to civilized humanity. To the best of our ability, we will continue to do so.

*Diff*<sup>s^O</sup> *K*<sup>Jf/in</sup> *\*\*n^*

## IN-CROWD PETTINESS? OR SEEKING THE TRUTH?

I found your review of the Churchill audio-visual lectures by Professor Fears and the Education Company (*FH* 114) quite puzzling. I think you are too close and too deeply enmeshed in the trees of Blenheim to see them for the forest.

You and those you associate with may debate the intimate details of Churchill's life, and look down on those who paint Churchill's greatness with too broad a brush; but what about the average ignorant and apathetic public who, if they do hear anything about Winston Churchill, hear that he was a successful alcoholic who smoked cigars and gave some good speeches? The typical leftist, socialist professor (and, unfortunately, college students are the only students who may be taught about Churchill) teaches about Churchill's warmongering, racist, imperialist ways.

The Churchill in-crowd may have its petty disagreements about how much Scotch Churchill drank or how many books he wrote, but his true light grows dimmer every year, and we cannot afford to snuff out those lights which may burn too brightly.

Churchill was a great man, and that is not reflected in the picayune corrections you have made to Fears's lectures. Fears in his lectures was himself Churchillian: eloquent, grandiose, zealous, inspirational.

Certainly Fears deserved better than your review, which is much like the small-minded critics who have dogged Churchill for years, over-examining and scrutinizing every last detail to wring the most criticism possible from an extraordinary life.

Get out of your "bubble" and consider the general public's knowledge and understanding of Winston Spencer Churchill. You may have second thoughts about unknown inaccurate details about Churchill's greatness when you realize Churchill's greatness itself is unknown.

—S.B.

Editor's response:

I doubt that Churchill's greatness will ever be unknown, though it is certainly under-appreciated. It appears that we agree on strategy but disagree on tactics.

As editor of *Finest Hour* I try to keep in mind that not every reader wants to engage in minute examination of obscure facts or arcane issues. But not every reader doesn't, either. I feel that the job requires a balance between some pretty basic material, like our student essays or the great war speeches, alongside more detailed coverage of obscure subjects. This is what we strive to provide.

Either way, we follow two guidelines besides our frequent reader surveys. The first is the admonition of his daughter and our Patron, Lady Soames: "be scrupulously accurate"—as her father said, "in all things great and small, large and petty." The second is a remark we often quote by Professor Paul Addison: "To me, it only serves to diminish Churchill to regard him as super-human."

Nothing ever published is free of errors. Celia Sandys' *Churchill* contains mistakes; that doesn't prevent it from being right on what counts, and so good that we won an Annenberg Foundation grant to distribute 5000 copies to North American high school teachers using Churchill in their curricula. Which proves, incidentally, that college students are *not* "the only students who may be taught about Churchill."

I admitted in my review of the tapes that I was too close to the subject and inclined to nitpick. So let's stipulate that objecting to a lecturer who doesn't know there are two Houses of Parliament may be a triviality. How much Scotch Churchill drank, or how many books he wrote, may also be trivial—but Professor Fears raised these issues, not I.

If the lecturer had settled for cit-

ing Churchill's "love of freedom, commitment to honor and morality, and courage and resolve in the face of evil," no one could gainsay him. But what about his suggestion that Churchill was conceived out of wedlock; that his mother slept with 200 men; that Kitchener "set him up" over Gallipoli; that 80 percent of the British people wanted to negotiate with Adolf Hitler; that Neville Chamberlain was not a decent man? Or that Jones's life of

Marlborough is more important to read than Churchill's life of Marlborough—out of which all the lecturer seems to derive is that Churchill was related to Princess Di?

How do such statements enhance Churchill's greatness? On the contrary, they are more likely to be assimilated by perverters of history, to reappear in some defamatory article or website, alongside charges that WSC was a warmongering imperialist drunk who caused the Wall Street crash, conspired in the attack on Pearl Harbor and fire-bombed Dresden.

The Churchill Centre's mission is "to foster leadership, statesmanship, vision and boldness...through the thoughts, words, works and deeds of Winston Spencer Churchill." Those who join and rejoin every year generally do not expect hero worship. They expect the thoughts, words, works and deeds Churchill actually accomplished—not some imaginary version of them. They don't mind considering Churchill "in the round," as Professor John Ramsden wrote. And they expect us to deny ammunition to the army of anti-Churchill, anti-Western hate-mongers, only too ready to seize upon non-facts and ignorant hagiography to serve their own ends.

Those are the principles by which in Churchill's words "we mean to make our way," until such time as substantial numbers of our members tell us otherwise.

M>



# DATELINES

## THE LADY SOAMES LG DBE

LONDON, ST. GEORGE'S DAY, APRIL 23RD— The Churchill Centre and Societies rejoice in the wonderful news that H.M. The Queen has been graciously pleased to appoint The Lady Soames DBE, our Patron, to be a Lady Companion of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.



Lady Soames is the third non-royal female to be appointed to the Order. The first "Lady Companion" was the late Lavinia, Duchess of Norfolk, widow of the 16th Duke of Norfolk KG, in 1990. The second was Lady Thatcher in 1995.

Most significantly, this is the first non-royal father and daughter appointment in the 650-year history of the Order.

Our Patron also becomes the fifth Churchill to be invested with the Garter. The others were John Churchill, First Duke of Marlborough (1703); John Winston Spencer Churchill, Seventh Duke of Marlborough (1868); Charles Richard John Spencer Churchill, Ninth Duke of Marlborough (1902); and Sir Winston Churchill (1953). A sixth Churchill, the Duke of Berwick, son of James II and Arabella Churchill, was appointed

but never invested.

The appointment of Knights and Ladies of the Garter is in The Queen's gift (that is to say without Prime Ministerial advice). Appointments to the Order of the Garter are therefore in the same category as the Order of the Thistle, the Order of Merit and the Royal Victorian Order.

Members of the Royal family are additional to the established number of twenty-four Companions. The Duke of Edinburgh was created a Knight in 1947, The Prince of Wales in 1958, The Duke of Kent in 1985, The Princess Royal in 1994, The Duke of Gloucester in 1997, and Princess Alexandra in 2003.

Despite her new title, our Patron is still addressed as "Lady Soames" (and never "Lady Mary"). If she had not already been the wife of a peer, appointment as Lady of the Garter would have led, in effect, to her becoming "Lady Mary Soames." But because her husband was ultimately The Lord Soames (a baron taking precedence over KG or LG) she is, as before, The Lady Soames. Now obsolete, since LG precedes DBE, is our occasional terminology, "Dame Mary, The Lady Soames."

## SAGA OF NO. 10's DOOR

LONDON, DECEMBER 8TH— One of the world's most famous front doors has found its way into the newly opened Churchill Museum at the Cabinet War Rooms in Whitehall. Fortunately, the house it belongs to has a replacement.

## Quotation of the Season

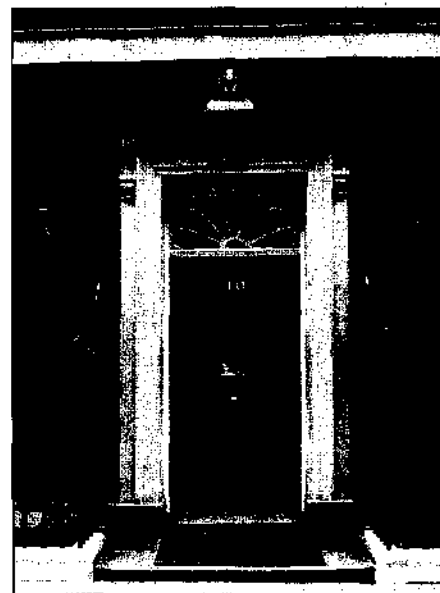
"It is a mistake to try to write out on little pieces of paper what the vast emotions of an outraged and quivering world will be either immediately after the struggle is over or when the inevitable cold fit follows the hot....There is wisdom in reserving one's decisions."

—WSC TO ANTHONY EDEN, JANUARY 1945

During Margaret Thatcher's tenure of 10 Downing Street, when the IRA was active, the wooden door that had been in service since the 1770s was replaced by one identical in looks but heavily bombproofed. The old door disappeared into storage.

It was rediscovered when workmen moved into a vault in the Treasury to convert it into the world's first museum dedicated to Winston Churchill, which opened in February this year (see *Chartwell Bulletin* #7). Here they found the door through which Churchill walked as Prime Minister in 1940.

In December it was mounted on the wall, where it is one of the star exhibits. When the builders installed the original door they did so in a rush and painted the "0" distinctly askew. The tradition has been maintained. »



## "DON'T TALK ABOUT THE WAR"

BRUSSELS, OCTOBER 25TH—As Basil Fawltz said, there are times when it is thought prudent not to mention the war. In *Histoires de l'Europe* vol. 1, a text produced by the European Parliament's Office of Information and distributed to 10,000 Belgian teenagers, there is no reference to World Wars I and II in the section on Britain. To read it, nothing of note occurred in Britain in the early 20th century.

"The jaw drops," says historian David Starkey. "Only one country resisted Germany in 1939-40...and World War I is one of the central events in British history." Clive Heaton-Harris, a British Member of the European Parliament, said "it's part of an agenda within Belgian society nowadays to have as little as possible to do with the Brits or the Americans. It's sad, because if it were not for those two groups of people it would have been a very different picture on the Continent for the last sixty years."

A spokesman for the Belgian section of the Office of Information said, "Everyone knows about World War II so we didn't think it was necessary to put it in." —DAVID WILKES, *DAILY MAIL*

## UKRAINIAN FABLE

LONDON, DECEMBER 19TH—From The History Channel UK comes this shaggy dog story: "During the Boer War of 1899-1902 in South Africa, the commander of one of the Boer regiments was the Ukrainian Yuriy Budiak. Winston Churchill, a military journalist, was taken prisoner by these troops. Budiak himself saved Churchill from execution. Later thanks to an appreciative Churchill, Budiak entered Oxford University. He later worked in the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic, and then he faced Soviet camps and death in 1943."

## NO ID SOON IN BRITAIN

GLASGOW, NOVEMBER 24TH—We can be reasonably sure that a measure which

did appear in The Queen's Speech\*—to introduce compulsory identity cards—is serious. But since it isn't likely to happen until 2012, no one can be sure. Once British citizens learn that they will have to pay £85 to help the government introduce a surveillance regime which even Orwell would have thought incredible, they might go off the idea. That's what happened in Australia. Whatever else they do, ID cards don't stop terrorism. Spain's didn't prevent the Madrid train bombing, and they wouldn't have stopped 9/11. We had ID cards during the Second World War, but Churchill was the first to call for them to be scrapped immediately peace was declared. This was for a very good reason: ID cards were used by fascists as a means of social and political control, racial hygiene, and plain old intimidation.

—IAIN MACWHIRTER, *THE HERALD* (GLASGOW)

\* Formally the Monarch's speech to Parliament, this is in effect the ruling party's legislative manifesto.

## TOO SOON TO TELL

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 7TH—In *Issues 2005*, a special annual, *Newsweek* correspondents joined prominent guest essayists to consider the nature of leadership in the new year. In his contribution, "A Matter of History," official biographer Sir Martin Gilbert wrote that it is a misconception that today's leaders look small compared with Second World War leaders like Churchill and Roosevelt. Their leadership "was conducted in such a way that only many years after the war were its true parameters clear. This is also true of Bush and Blair: only when the secret telegrams and conversations become available will we really know who did what, who influenced whom." Any accurate assessment of Bush and Blair must wait, Gilbert concludes, a decade or longer, until the record can be scrutinized.

This reminds us of a 20th century historian, when asked for his evaluation of the American Revolution. He replied, "too soon to tell."

## 11 Morpeth Mansions

As the Wehrmacht drove through Poland on the night of 2 September 1939, a mutinous group of MPs gathered beneath the rain-lashed mansard roof of 11 Morpeth Mansions to discuss Britain's failure to issue an ultimatum to Hitler. At a



desk, writing to Chamberlain, was Winston Churchill; around him were Anthony Eden, Bob Boothby, Brendan Bracken and Alfred Duff Cooper. Within a day of delivery of WSC's letter, Britain was at war with Germany.

Churchill's London base from 1930 or 1932 (accounts vary) through 1939 was the top two floors at this red brick 1880s apartment block half a mile from Parliament. The Churchills enlarged the two-storey flat, but the kitchen and study were tiny, and the access to the upper floor was a narrow spiral staircase.

The flat is now for sale by owner Peter Sheppard, who notes that it was also once the home of Lloyd George's mistress, Frances Stevenson. Sheppard replaced the spiral staircase with a conventional one, enlarged the kitchen, and remodelled the downstairs.

The flat is the only one in the building to enjoy access to the roof. Here Churchill and his wife went briefly after listening to Chamberlain's broadcast announcing the declaration of war. WSC looked about him and imagined, as he wrote, "pictures of ruin and carnage and vast explosions shaking the ground." He wasn't wrong, though Morpeth Mansions was saved, and today bears a blue plaque noting his residency. \$



## WE REPORT, YOU DECIDE

GUYANA, DECEMBER 12TH— "Thunder in Guyana," a video by Suzanne Wasserman, tells the story of her cousin, Janet Rosenberg Jagan, a Jewish girl from Chicago who falls in love with a charismatic Indian-Guyanese, Cheddi Jagan, follows him to his homeland, and works for social change in this backward South American country. After helping her husband win election as the first president of Guyana, and serving in his government, Janet and Cheddi are driven out of power first by Winston Churchill (when the country was British Guiana) and then by the CIA. After brutal decades of house arrest and working behind the scenes, Cheddi returns triumphantly to power in 1992. After his death in 1997, Janet is elected president. She is considered the mother of her country.

—JOYCE MARCEL, *THE AMERICAN REPORTER*

LONDON, MARCH 1ST— The August Oxford Union Debating Society, which in the past has heard Winston Churchill, Ronald Reagan, the Dalai Lama and Mother Theresa, invited porn star Ron Jeremy to address it this month. Union librarian Vladimir Bermant, who organized the event, said, "Ron is the biggest and apparently the best in the business, so I'm sure he'll have some fascinating stories to tell." But Jeremy pulled out a few weeks later, though Oxford has not giving up on getting him eventually. Jeremy may have been too busy making billboards on behalf of PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals), where he strips off in a campaign to reduce dog and cat over-population, exclaiming, "Sometimes, too much sex can be a bad thing." We are not making this up.

## CAMACHO OR ROMEO Y JULIETA?

PHOENIX, OCTOBER 1ST— When the First Family were at the Royal Palms Resort and Spa here for the first Presidential

debate, the red carpet was rolled out by Delores McKay, "director of estate experiences." After extensive research on Laura Bush, whose passion is reading, McKay sourced a vintage 1933 limited edition, three-volume set of Dostoyevskys's *The Brothers Karamazov*; a 1906 edition of Keats; and a handmade bookmark with Laura's quote, "There is no magic like the magic of the written word." For the President there was a custom humidor of 1942 pre-embargo Cuban cigars—which just happened to be the same brand that Churchill smoked during World War II.



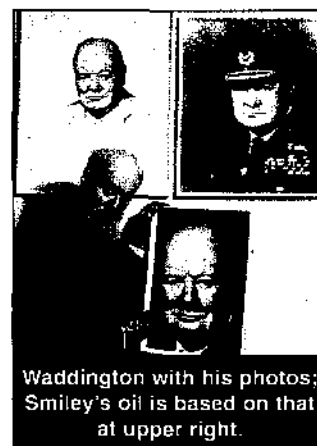
cigar. (We said Camacho or Romeo y Julieta, though oftentimes he smoked unbranded cigars, which were presented to him by admirers within the Cuban cigar industry.)

## MORE ON OUR D.C. OFFICE PAINTING

EDMONTON, FEBRUARY 15TH— Dr. J. Edward Hutson, President of the Rt. Hon. Sir Winston Spencer Churchill Society, Edmonton, Alberta, has identified the origins of the oil painting on display at The Churchill Centre in Washington (*FH* 124:6 and both covers of *FH* 104). The portrait is based on a 1945 photograph by David Waddington, a copy of which was recently presented to the Edmonton Society by Dr. Patrick D. Finnigan, one of its past-presidents.

Dr. Finnigan, who purchased the photograph from Waddington in 1971, wrote: "I have never seen a duplicate of it and it should make a valuable addition to your archives. Attached to the photograph you will

find an envelope with a brief history of the occasion." Among Dr. Finnigan's enclosures was a photograph of Waddington with three portraits of Churchill, one of which was the identical pose to our oil painting.



Attached to the photograph is a note: "Winston Churchill wearing the uniform of Air Commodore, Royal Air Force, an honorary rank in which he took great pride. This 1945 study is one of a series of portraits taken at [Churchill's] London home, for the sitting of which David Waddington, then serving in the RAF as an Airman, was released from duty. Churchill was particularly pleased with this study, of which he signed five direct-colour prints for presentation purposes."

The oil painting in our office, donated by John C. Hassett, was completed in 1959 by Ralph J. Smiley, a former member of Churchill's staff in North Africa.

Artists often work from photographs. The Birdsall painting on the cover of *FH* 108 was based on a photo of WSC at his easel at Consuelo Balsan's chateau at St George's Motel just before World War II. A reader wrote us (*FH* 109:49) to say Birdsall had copied it from Curtis Hooper, who had used it on one of his 1970s intaglio prints signed by Sarah Churchill. In fact, both Birdsall and Hooper had based their work on the same 1939 photograph.

Sir Winston also followed this practice. A 1946 bodyguard, Ron Golding, wrote (*FH* 35) that WSC would often leave the scene of a painting but would have the scene »

photographed. He would then finish it in his Chartwell studio, working from a "magic lantern" projection of the photo. Observing Churchill so engaged one day, Golding "watched this a little while and then said, with respect of course, 'Looks a bit like cheating.' Mr. Churchill looked over the top of his spectacles at me and said quite solemnly, 'If the finished product looks like a work of art, then it is a work of art, no matter how it has been achieved.'"

Incidentally, Smiley committed one infraction in producing his oil version of the Waddington photograph. As readers with a copy of *FH* 104 will notice, he gave Churchill brown eyes! Colour versions of the Waddington original portray the correct blue eyes.

### PRESENTATION TECHNIQUES THAT WORK

IVILLAGE.COM, NOVEMBER 24TH—Among "Presentation Techniques that Work" on this internet job resource website, Marjorie Brody recommends: "5. Create User-Friendly Notes....As Winston Churchill said when asked why he carried notes but seldom used them: 'I carry fire insurance, but I don't expect my house to burn down.'"

### CHURCHILLIAN PRESCRIPTION

PINEHURST, N.C., DECEMBER 4TH—Rep. Richard T. Morgan (R.-Moore), co-Speaker of the North Carolina House of Representatives, surveyed the results of North Carolina's having two Speakers, one from each party: "I am proud to have been part of the historic power-sharing agreement in which I served as co-Speaker with my friend Jim Black (D.-Charlotte). We were successful only because Democrats and Republicans worked together.

"One of my favorite leaders made the following observation: 'If the human race wishes to have a prolonged and indefinite period of material prosperity, they have only got to behave in a peaceful and helpful way toward one another...' The quota-

tion is from Winston Churchill [who] had greater problems to solve than the cooperative character of the North Carolina House of Representatives. But his message resonates for all legislators as we enter the 2005-06 General Assembly. Let's make sure that our leadership structure does not get in the way of future progress for all North Carolinians. More than a few residents of this state feel the same way."

### THE CHURCHILLS OF DORSET

DORCHESTER, JANUARY 21ST—New research by Elizabeth Churchill Snell into the Churchills of Dorset was presented at the County Museum before members of the Dorchester Association and the Civic Society. Minnie Churchill (mother of the lineal great-grandson of Sir Winston Churchill), came from her home in Lyme Regis. John Forster, archivist and education officer of Blenheim Palace, was also present.

Roots of the Marlborough/Churchill family can possibly be traced to the 1400s in Dorset, and various family members have since lived there: the first Sir Winston Churchill himself; the First Duke of Marlborough, his wife Sarah and his brother Charles; Winston's brother Jack and nephews Peregrine and John and niece Clarissa (Countess of Avon); WSC's cousins Ivor and Freddie Guest and Clare Sheridan, the sculptress; daughter-in-law Pamela Digby; grandson Winston.

Also attending was Jenny Bapasota, author of a new book on Blenheim's tapestries, *Threads of History*. She is interested in research of the tapestries at Minterne House, which were presented to General Charles Churchill by the States of Holland after the Battle of Ramillies. Woven in 1710, they are, like those commissioned at Blenheim, declared

to be of significant national interest.

Three Minterne tapestries have General Charles Churchill's arms on flags woven into them, and have been interpreted by *FH* senior editor Paul Courtenay. The arms include those of Gould, the family of Charles' wife, indicating that she was an heraldic heiress and that he, therefore, was "in pretence" as representative of her family. One of the tapestries is thought to depict Queen Anne, John Duke of Marlborough, Duchess Sarah and Abigail, Lady Masham.

Elizabeth Snell has written a revised entry for General Charles Churchill in the recently published new *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. She is hoping to be able to publish a guide to her findings on the early Churchill family in Dorset.



### EARL NICHOLSON R.I.P.

DALLAS, DECEMBER 15TH—It saddens US to report that our old friend Earl Nicholson passed away today. Earl was born in Mississippi in 1922, served in the Army Air Corps, and led a full life as a chemist for NCH, which took him all over the world. He and Charlotte, his wife of 60 years, travelled the world together. They became Churchill Centre Associates and founding members of the Centre. My personal thoughts are that our Dallas Chapter, formerly the Emery Reves Chapter, has experienced a huge loss. Earl, a member of the Chapter Support Group, was a gentleman and scholar of the old school, one of those people that makes you glad you met him, glad you knew him. He and Charlotte together were a book of adventure, optimism, love and generosity. John and I were fortunate enough to be with them on the 1996 Churchill Centre England tour and they were fun to be with and intellectually stimulating. Earl will be sorely missed by the North Texas Churchillians, and I am sure that each of us will smile warmly each time we remember him. —PAULA RESTIREPO

## BILL DEAKIN R.I.P.

VAR, FRANCE, JANUARY 22ND—Sir William Deakin DSO, who helped Churchill write his memoirs, founded St. Antony's College at Oxford University, and led the first British mission to Tito's partisans in Yugoslavia, has died at the age of 91 in the French village where he had lived since 1968: one of the few remaining close associates of Sir Winston. Educated at Christ Church, Oxford, Deakin at first taught history and worked as a research assistant to Churchill. After the war, he spent four years helping Churchill write *The Second World War*.

During that war, Deakin served in Britain's Special Operations Executive behind enemy lines, winning the Distinguished Service Order and the Russian Order of Valor for his mission to Tito, which provided the British government with vital information about Yugoslavia's resistance groups. He parachuted into Tito's headquarters in Montenegro in May 1943, when Yugoslavia was under heavy German attack; Deakin and Tito were wounded by pieces of the same bomb. His subsequent report on Tito's group persuaded the British government to withdraw support from the Chetniks and help Tito's partisans instead.

At the end of the war, Deakin served as first secretary at the British Embassy in Belgrade. In 1946, he resumed teaching at Oxford's Wadham College. He became the first warden of St. Antony's College, building it into a highly regarded center for modern history and political studies.

Churchill Centre chairman of academic advisers, James Muller, writes: "Judith and I visited Sir William and his wife in Le Castellet Village at Lady Soames's suggestion in August 1989. We acquainted him with the work of the organization, and arranged for the complimentary membership, which Sir William held until his death. I was also fortunate to meet Deakin's son in November at David Reynolds' lecture at the University of London; his son had just retired »

## AROUND & ABOUT



roof that Churchill's *The Second World War* needed a book about it (**David Reynolds' *In Command of History***) is obvious from *In Commands* reviews. **Max Hastings'** referred to WSC's volumes as a *History* and was accompanied by a cartoon referring to *The World Crisis*. **Frank McLynn's** (*The Times*) and **Ian McIntyre's** (*The Independent*) perpetuated the myth that Churchill won the 1953 Nobel Prize for Literature for his war volumes. McLynn was upset that "Churchill employed a team, underpaid them and pocketed most of the loot. What emerged was a farrago of tendentious, tunnel-vision judgments, burnished with the benefit of hindsight and flavoured with phoney counterfactuals designed to show Churchill as wise and omniscient." And now for the facts: see *FH's* own review on page 38!

*The New York Times*, never wont to call **George W. Bush** a "great leader," now records that unlike **President Reagan**, "who largely accepted the expansions in government made by his liberal predecessors, Mr. Bush is the first conservative whose policies would gradually unwind major commitments like Social Security and progressive taxes. It is increasingly clear that Mr. Bush embraces the view of Winston Churchill that great leaders should set great goals."

**Donald Trump's** TV show, "The Apprentice," was panned by Professor **M.A. Simpson** on [www.health.24.com](http://www.health.24.com) for its banal assignments and crass greed: "The sole criterion of success is money. And what is that odd hand-signal Trump so often flashes? Is it a hippie-era peace sign, or a feeble imitation of Winston Churchill's symbol for victory? And notice how, even though it is warm summer weather, he prefers to be seen wearing a large black executive overcoat?" Er, no, we didn't, ah, watch...

Nobel Literature Prize winner **Elfriede Jelinek** (Austria) refused to attend the award ceremony: the fourth literature laureate to fail to show up. Previous absentees were British-born Australian **Patrick White** in 1973, **Ernest Hemingway** in 1954, and Winston Churchill in 1953 (who was in Bermuda meeting with **Eisenhower**). Jelinek's excuse was certainly not one Churchill ever used. She said she had a "social phobia."

**Anty Dougan** in the *Evening Times* (London) Online: "Churchill: The Hollywood Years" (84mins) is a lame comedy spoof with Winston Churchill reimagined as a **Christian Slater** action hero, winning the war aided by our own dear Queen. With **Neve Campbell**, **Anthony Sher**, **Harry Enfield**. Worst film of the year." (Our review is on page 44.)

Writing in Canada's *Globe and Mail*, **Murray Campbell** recalled the near-disaster when Churchill, visiting the front on 25 March 1945, insisted on being allowed to cross the Rhine: "As he peered through binoculars at the shattered ruins of Wesel, a German artillery shell landed just 50 metres away. The group around him said he seemed more perturbed about lighting his cigar in the wind than he was about the shellfire falling around him. 'He finally lit that big cigar and walked away as if nothing had happened,' U.S. Army Lieutenant Ellsworth Kerrigan said."

from his professorship there and gave me news of his father.

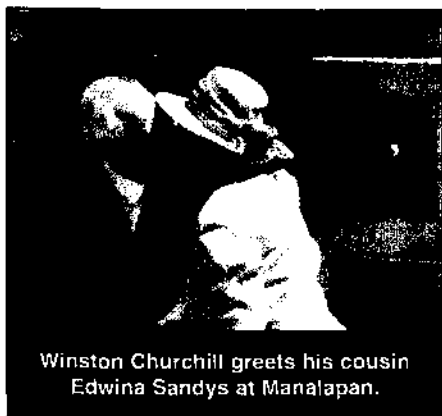
"Sir William served Churchill as a research assistant as early as the 1930s, and was indispensable in organizing the staff who worked on *The Second World War*. His friendship with Churchill, along with his own talents and his aspiration to serve his country, propelled this first-rate scholar into a career that encompassed practical politics and diplomacy as well as writing and academic administration. His books will be a permanent, if understated, record of his own exciting life."

Deakin resigned from St. Antony's in 1968 and moved to France with his second wife, Livia ("Pussy"). He was knighted in 1975. His wife died in 2001; he is survived by two sons from his first marriage.

## RETURN TO CASA ALVA

PALM BEACH, MARCH 5TH— Mayor William Benjamin and Churchill grandchildren Edwina Sandys and Winston Churchill unveiled a new monument to Sir Winston today at Manalapan Estates subdivision. The grounds were formerly part of Casa Alva, where Churchill visited Consuelo Vanderbilt and Jacques Balsan in 1946. Here he painted their swimming pool (see *FH* 116) while preparing to deliver the "Iron Curtain" speech at Fulton, fifty-nine years ago today. Mr. Benjamin has owned Casa Alva for nearly half a century.

The memorial, located in a sunken garden at the east end of



Winston Churchill greets his cousin Edwina Sandys at Manalapan.

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Churchill Way, is composed of a marble sphere from an old English garden, atop a square coquiha column. The front of the column includes a bas relief reproduction of the Churchill bust created in the 1950s by British sculptor Oscar Nemon. The plaque below includes Churchill's "moral of the work" from *The Second World War*. "In war: resolution. In defeat: defiance. In victory: magnanimity. In peace: goodwill."

Winston Churchill noted that his grandfather, like himself, was born of a British father and an American mother, and expressed gratitude for all the honors America has bestowed on Sir Winston: "I can't think of any other statesman in history who has been so honored by the citizens of another land."

Also attending the dedication were CC honorary member the Duke of Marlborough, the Duchess of Marlborough, U.S. Congressman Clay Shaw, and Palm Beach County Commissioner Mary McCarty.

—D. ROGERS, *PALM BEACH DAILY NEWS*

## LESSONS FOR VIRGINIA

2005 STATE OF THE COMMONWEALTH  
SPEECH, RICHMOND, JANUARY 12TH

(EXCERPT)

Governor Mark Warner:

Fifty-nine years ago in this very same chamber, Winston Churchill spoke of how much can be accomplished when people put aside their own particular interests for the broader public good. Churchill was here in America to advocate for a lasting transatlantic alliance in the aftermath of World War II. While that issue is certainly different from the challenges facing us today, his words to that joint session of the Virginia General Assembly still have enormous relevance:

"We should stand together in malice to none...in greed for nothing. . .but in defense of those causes which we hold dear. Not only for our own benefit..but because we believe they mean the honour and the happiness of long generations of men."

This is our last year together in

this ancient and magnificent Capitol building. The interior will soon undergo major renovations in preparation for the commemoration of Jamestown 2007, the 400th anniversary of our nation's founding. So as we begin our last session in this building together, let us resolve to make it one of the best in Virginia's history, to honor the ideals on which this Commonwealth and this nation were founded. Let us resolve to take Churchill's sentiment to heart in our own time, and in our own circumstances. Let us resolve to stand together with "malice to none" and "in greed for nothing" for future generations of Virginians.



## WSC ON LIBERTY WALK

HILLSDALE, MICH., OCTOBER 15TH—

Hillsdale College today dedicated a new statue of Winston Churchill by alumna Heather Tritchka, erected on Liberty Walk, which winds throughout the college campus. Here Churchill joins a bronze of George Washington and the Alpha Kappa Phi Civil War Soldier's monument, which commemorates the College's commitment to the Union army during the American Civil War. Future statues will feature bronzes of Lincoln, Jefferson, Madison, Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan, Frederick Douglass and Hillsdale's "Grand Old Man," Ransom Dunn. Sir Martin Gilbert was among the dignitaries delivering remarks.

Heather Tritchka graduated from Hillsdale in 1998 with a degree in biology and chemistry, but her true passion is sculpting. Commissioned to

## CHURCHILL CALENDAR

(contacts on page 2)

2005

Moultonborough, N.H., 13 August:  
Annual Picnic & Book Discussion  
with Prof. David Reynolds.  
Contact: New England Churchillians

Washington, 2 September APSA  
Academic Dinner: 3 September:  
APSA Panel Discussion, "Winston  
Churchill's *World Crisis* as Political  
Science," chaired by Michael Barone,  
*U.S. News & World Report*.  
Contact: James Muller (Alaska)

Quebec City, P.Q.,  
29 September-2 October:  
22nd Intl. Churchill Conference

Anchorage, Boston and other venues,  
30 November:  
Sir Winston Churchill's  
131st Birthday celebrations.  
Local chapters will notify  
members by mail or email.

2006

Chicago, 27 September-1 October:  
23rd Intl. Churchill Conference

2007

Vancouver, B.C., October:  
24th Intl. Churchill Conference

sculpt Churchill in 2001, she travelled to London to study other statues of WSC, and spent time at Chartwell. Her work offers remarkable detail: his Cuban cigar, zipper shoes, links on his pocket watch, even his round reading glasses. Hillsdale President and long-time CC ally Larry Arnn selected the pose, depicting Churchill at the stand-up desk given to him by his children.

Hillsdale was founded thirty years before Churchill's birth, with a mission to spread "sound learning" so as to help preserve "the blessings of civil and religious liberty" and "intelligent piety," sentiments it believes were shared and are typified by Churchill's life's work. »



## WOODFORD REMEMBERS

WOODFORD, ESSEX, JANUARY 27TH—

**M**any local newspapers carried articles reporting on memories of Winston Churchill and his funeral, to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of his death. One of the most significant of these was the *Wanstead and Woodford Guardian*, the local newspaper of Churchill's Parliamentary seat at Woodford, which frequently featured him in its pages.

Tony Woodhead, treasurer of ICS (UK), was one of those to feature in the coverage, for he had the luck to be able to meet Churchill just a year before the war leader's death. "I remember he was sitting down and we shook hands and spoke for a few moments," Mr. Woodhead recalled. "It was a great experience for me. He was a hero of mine as I was growing up. He was a great man."

The newspaper also mentioned the experiences of Derek Mullett, who helped Churchill with his election campaigns; and Peter Lawrence, who was inspected by Churchill when he was a Boy Scout. Also mentioned was Churchill's 1883 school report, one of the documents on show and available for viewing at the new Churchill Museum, open since February at the Cabinet War Rooms in London.

## CALIFORNIA SOUTH

COACHELLA VALLEY, APRIL 9TH—Internationally recognized author and consultant Dr. Edward Gordon, who has taught history at DePaul University in Chicago, today addressed Churchillians of the Desert on the Battle of Britain. It was the last meeting of the group's successful first season.

Dr. Gordon detailed the development of both the Royal Air Force and the Luftwaffe in the years leading up to the war. He also covered the development of radar and Churchill's part in pressing for the rearmament of the RAF, notably in urging the re-equipping of Fighter Command with

## Local News



**"MEMBER FOR WOODFORD":** One of three garden chairs provided to Chartwell, this one by the Wanstead & Woodford Conservative Association, through the efforts of ICS (UK) treasurer Tony Woodhead (see *Chartwell Bulletin* #7, April 2005).

modern monoplanes such as the Spitfire and Hurricane. He emphasized that the battle was a turning point in the war, and explained how failures by Hitler and Goering allowed the RAF to escape defeat. This victory led to Hitler postponing, and later cancelling, the invasion of Britain (Operation Sea Lion). As Churchill said in his famous speech of that summer, "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few."

One of the members present, Gloria Vogel, related how her father's business in Ipswich, Suffolk (eighty miles northeast of London) switched from making high-quality furniture to producing wooden propellers, a delicate operation which required as much total precision as the former furniture manufacturing business: a clear case of turning plowshares into swords!

As part of the group's program for the 2005-06 season, on which they are already working, Dr. Gordon will be discussing the war between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia (1941-45) which he entitles, "The Clash Between the Titans."

## MICHIGAN

GRAND RAPIDS, APRIL 11TH—Members of the Winston Churchill Society of Michigan, along with several hundred others, gathered at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library and Museum for a reception opening the Library of Congress exhibition, which began in Washington last year in cooperation with the Churchill Archives Centre, Cambridge, and The Churchill Centre. The exhibition, which remained in Grand Rapids until June 5th, will appear in two more cities, Omaha and Seattle. Available to all attending was the book *Churchill and the Great Republic*, produced in association with The Churchill Centre.

The extensive six-room display ranged from a 1706 letter written by Churchill's ancestor, the First Duke of Marlborough, to a film of President John F. Kennedy granting Churchill honorary American citizenship in 1963. Many items shown were newly discovered and had never been displayed before. Unusually, half of the array of archives were not related to the World War II era. Probably the most contemporary display was an

## DATELINES

opening film compiled by the Library of Congress showing world leaders, TV entertainers and cartoon characters quoting, paraphrasing or imitating Churchill, ranging from WW2 through "9-11" and the present day.

After sumptuous refreshments with an English touch, all gathered for opening remarks that included kind words for The Churchill Centre and its Michigan affiliate. Group leaders Tom and Alma Goldner, Michael Mulley, and Gary and Beverly Bonine were able to chat with many attending. Appreciation was expressed to Ford Library Director Dr. Elaine Didier; Deputy Director James Krista; the Librarian of Congress Dr. James Billington (sporting one of the many Churchill Centre ties seen in the audience); and Congressman Vernon Ehlers, for their work and assistance.

### BRITISH COLUMBIA

VANCOUVER, APRIL 11H—Forty-two members of the Rt. Hon. Sir Winston Spencer Churchill Society of B.C. attended an "Evening with Churchill" at which Alexander Moans, Professor

of Political Science at Simon Fraser University, spoke on "The Foreign Policy of George W. Bush." President Christopher Hebb introduced the evening by reading a letter signed by President Bush and delivered to The Churchill Centre to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the death of Sir Winston. The Professor gave an excellent presentation and was well received.

### CALIFORNIA NORTH

CARMEL, APRIL 23RD—David Ramsay, son of D-Day commander Admiral Sir Bertram Ramsay, spoke today before sixty-one members at the Highlands Inn. Among the guests was WW2 fighter ace General F. Michael Rogers, who in his P51 Mustang shot down twelve Nazi planes over Normandy and piloted General Eisenhower for his first taste of live action over Europe. Deborah Churchill Luster, a descendant of the First Duke of Marlborough, attended with her husband Robert. We met Jane Shields, a WW2 Red Cross volunteer who waded ashore on Normandy in June 1944; Robert and Marcie Thedinger, who had traveled all

the way from St. Joseph, Missouri; and Christopher Longstaffe, chief executive of Churchill Leadership, Inc., and his wife Caroline. Our youngest guest was Miss Victoria Ness, age 1, daughter of Andrew and Christy Ness of Lafayette.

David Ramsay's remarks about his father's role in Dunkirk and Normandy—one operation in the shadow of defeat, the other the first wave of victory—were enthusiastically received after a warm introduction by General Rogers. Judy Kambestad, CC director of affiliates, spoke about the Annenberg Grant supporting distribution of Celia Sandys' book *Churchill*. Luncheon was preceded by an open bar and book signing by David Ramsay, and Chris Longstaffe offered copies of Celia's book as well.

Everyone is excited about the new Northern California Churchill Society and future events. One member suggested that in view of our start, the next speaker should be Colin Powell. That says it all regarding how positively Mr. Ramsay was received.

—SUSAN AND RICHARD MASTIO  
*Datelines conclude overleaf...*

## Leading Churchill Myths (10): "Whom would you trust?"<sup>9</sup>

**A**mong the blather which races around the Internet, Todd Ronnei reminds us to address this one:

"Let's imagine: It's time to elect a world leader, and your vote counts. Which would you choose:

"Candidate A: Associates with ward healers and consults with astrologists; has had two mistresses; chain-smokes and drinks eight to ten martinis a day.

"Candidate B: Was kicked out of office twice; sleeps until noon; used opium in college; drinks a quart of brandy every evening.

"Candidate C: Is a decorated war hero, a vegetarian, doesn't smoke, drinks an occasional beer, and has had no illicit love affairs.

"Which of these candidates is your choice? You don't really need any more information, do you? Candidate A is Franklin Roosevelt. Candidate B is Winston Churchill. Candidate C is Adolf Hitler."

Professor Warren Kimball (editor, *Roosevelt-Churchill Correspondence*) tells us: "There is no evidence that Roosevelt was a heavy drinker or chain-smoked, nor did he have two mistresses while married to

Eleanor, only one." As to Hitler, all those descriptives are true; but how many of them matter?

The Churchill description is the worst. Presumably the two kicks out of office were as First Lord of the Admiralty over Gallipoli (1915) and as Prime Minister (1945). That much is true. But Churchill did not sleep until noon; he woke at 8AM and worked in bed for a few hours. He did not use opium in college; he packed along opium pills when he went to South Africa in 1899, along with every other western traveler to such climes. As to his alcoholic capacity see Myth #1 ("Alcohol Abuser"), *FH* 111:33. On this matter we also like to quote Professor Kimball: "He was not an alcoholic—no alcoholic could drink that much!" Kimball thinks he was "alcohol dependent"; we don't, but what we agree on is that even Winston Churchill did not drink a quart of brandy a day.

More to the point, how crucial are these characteristics in determining the worthiness of leaders? Which would you prefer: an unromantic, teetotal vegetarian, or a whisky-drinking, cigar-smoking veteran of political wars who has had his share of ups and downs? \$s

VANCOUVER ISLAND'S  
CHURCHILL HAWTHORN

VICTORIA, BC— Rob Hughes of the City of Victoria Parks Division recently sent a report on the "Winston Churchill English hawthorn" planted in Victoria's Beacon Hill Park by the visiting Winston Spencer Churchill in September 1929.

Late last summer, Mr. Hughes attempted to "T-bud" two English hawthorn stock plants with scion wood from the Churchill tree. Unfortunately, despite being monitored throughout the fall and winter, it does not appear that either of the buds survived. The Parks Division will again fertilize the tree this spring, and water it periodically through the summer. Mr. Hughes will also locate a number of English hawthorn plants to use as understock for budding in the late summer. He hopes that a greater number of plants will ensure success in propagating the tree.

## ICS-CANADA

TORONTO, MAY 10TH— Professor David Dilks, author of a new book, *The Great Dominion: Churchill in Canada 1900-1954*, was the headline speaker tonight at a sell-out dinner held jointly with the Albany Club of Toronto. This is an important new treatment of a specialized subject and a companion volume to Martin Gilbert's upcoming *Churchill and America*. Together these two books make up some of the year's required reading, and are eagerly awaited by Churchillians.

## NEW ENGLAND

NEWPORT, R.I., MAY 8TH— New England Churchillians were guests of the Naval War College here today for a program on "Churchill and the Dardanelles," marking the 90th anniversary of the Dardanelles/Gallipoli campaign and the resultant enforced resignation of Churchill as First Lord of the Admiralty, thought perhaps to have ended his career. This subject also occupied most of *Finest Hour* 126, our previous issue. M>

Wit &  
Wisdom

Many years ago I came into possession of *To War with Whitaker*, the diaries of the Countess of Ranfurly, which covered 1939-45. "Whitaker" was the body servant of her husband who had, on the outbreak of war in 1939, being a 2nd Lt. member of the Territorial Army's "Notts Sherwood Rangers Yeomanry" (a cavalry unit), been mobilized. In a manner similar to 1914, the horsed unit was quickly shipped to Palestine, where it was thought to be more useful than in the European theater.

The energetic Countess took immediate action to be reunited with her quite recently wedded husband, as she wrote in her diary. By 16 May 1940, she had found her way to Palestine, where her husband's regiment was stationed, and she had taken on a secretarial job with the Palestine branch of the Red Crescent, the Islamic equivalent of the Red Cross. Germany had invaded the low countries, and she, like all of us throughout the Empire, were shocked to learn that our British Expeditionary Force, along with the French army, was being forced into retreat by an apparently unstoppable *Wehrmacht*. Yet just a day or so before, we had learned with sure relief that Churchill had replaced Chamberlain as Prime Minister.

The Countess's reaction, in her diary for May 20th, was the same as I remember among us far-away Britishers on India's Northwest Frontier. She wrote:

"Winston Churchill, now Prime Minister, has made another broadcast. It gave us a clear understanding of the gravity of the hour and of his absolute belief in the British people—that we will never surrender. His news was petrifying but I felt braver for his words.

"Whitaker came up to the bungalow. He, too, had taken courage from Mr Churchill. We had a chat before his bath and he looked over the top of his spectacles and said, 'My Lady, the likes of me believe we will win this war, somehow, someday. I think it would help all our "hesprits du corpseses" if you and his Lordship gave a Ball in this bungalow, just like they did before Waterloo.' I agreed. When he'd gone back to camp I locked the doors, pulled the curtains and wept until I fell asleep."

I don't remember our "weeping," but, for sure—and like Whitaker—Churchill's words inspired us all. They gave impetus to a determination to go ahead and "win one"—not for the Gipper, perhaps, but certainly for all that was right and decent.

—Bob Dales, *Santa Fe, New Mexico* (who wrote of his India experiences in *Finest Hour* 100).

Rev. R. E. Knodel, Jr. asks us to reference his favorite Churchill quotation, on the "Boneless Wonder." This was said about Prime Minister Ramsey MacDonald in the House of Commons on 28 January 1931: "I remember when I was a child, being taken to the celebrated Barnum's circus, which contained an exhibition of freaks and monstrosities, but the exhibit...which I most desired to see was the one described as The Boneless Wonder.' My parents judged that that spectacle would be too revolting and demoralising for my youthful eyes, and I have waited fifty years to see the boneless wonder sitting on the Treasury Bench."

**H**he 40th Anniversary of the Death of Sir Winston Churchill was commemorated by an uplifting service at Bladon, on the 40th anniversary his state funeral. It was described in the April edition of the *Chartwell Bulletin*.

• **A Cartoon Exhibition** of original Churchill cartoons, mounted by the Political Cartoon Society at 32 Store Street, London WC1, runs until



International Churchill Society  
of the United Kingdom

which was open to members and to the general public. The aim was to heighten awareness about the Society in the North. Exhibits were loaned by the Churchill Archives Centre and John Ramsden was the main speaker.

• **Schools Membership.** A schools teaching aid is being created, to include extracts from Churchill's writings as well as articles by other

# UK Annual General Meeting

17th September 2005 (see Tim Benton's article in this issue).

• **23 Ringstrasse, Babelsberg.** When those attending Phase III of the 2004 Conference visited Potsdam in October, they found that, whereas the villas occupied by President Truman and Marshal Stalin in July 1945 each bore a plaque recording the fact, no such memento of Churchill's residence was similarly displayed. Plans have been made to put this right and it had been hoped that Lady Soames would unveil a plaque in July 2005; however, the property is now being sold, so the ceremony has been postponed, perhaps until 2006. Whenever the unveiling takes place, it is intended also to run a mini-tour of the local area which members will be welcome to join.

**THE 2005 ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING** was held at the Cabinet War Rooms, London, on April 16th, and enabled members to view the new Churchill Museum. At the meeting Amanda Laurence, who was co-opted to the Committee last year, was confirmed in office; Robin Brodhurst, author of *Churchill's Anchor*, was also elected. Bill Ives and Chuck Platt, Churchill Centre President and Vice-President respectively, made a special trip from the United States in order to attend.

Anyone interested in attending the ceremony and mini-tour should notify ICS(UK), so that they can be kept in touch with dates and plans as these develop.

• **The Northern Chapter** held an event on May 14th at the Imperial War Museum (North) at Manchester,

well-known writers, together with sections on WSC's accomplishments such as oratory, painting, etc.

• **Marketing the Society.** In tandem with the Schools project, this initiative aims to place the Society more firmly in the public eye; ideas are still being formulated. \$

## More About the Apes

• **p<sup>A</sup>NA studies** of the Barbary apes, L/whose population Churchill augmented during World War II to assure British control of Gibraltar (F/-125:6) have revealed where Churchill got his monkeys. "The Gibraltar colony of Barbary macaques provides an ideal example of genetic isolation of a small population, which is now a regular occurrence among wild primate populations because of forest fragmentation," said Robert Martin, a primatologist and Field

Museum provost. "To our surprise, we found a relatively high level of genetic variability in the Gibraltar macaques. This is now explained by our conclusion that the population was founded with individuals from two genetically distinct populations in Algeria and Morocco."

That still leaves a mystery of where the original apes came from. Some scientists think they were brought by the Moors, who occupied Spain between 711 and 1492. Others believe they were a remnant of macaques that lived throughout southern Europe 5.5 million years ago and possibly, some speculate, as recently as the 1800s in Spain.

—ROBERT ROY BRITT, MSNBC.MSN.COM, APRIL 25TH \$

Q:

*I heard Sir Winston's grandson say that Churchill was a Zionist. Is this true? Also, who paid to fix up Blenheim Palace after the war? —EDWIN POSTLE*

**A.** Blenheim Palace was largely used by MI5 during the war, and we believe the British Government made some contribution to its rehabilitation when the war ended.

In the broadest sense (that he believed in the desirability of a Jewish national home) Churchill was indeed a Zionist. In 1952 on the death of Chaim Weitzman, he said: "Those of us who have been Zionists since the days of the Balfour Declaration know what a heavy loss Israel has sustained in the death of its President, Dr. Chaim Weitzman. Here was a man whose fame and fidelity were respected throughout the free world, whose son was killed fighting for us in the late war, and who, it may be rightly claimed, led his people back into their promised land, where we have seen them invincibly established as a free and sovereign State."

The Balfour Declaration (1917) had declared Great Britain in favor of a Jewish national home, but Churchill was also mindful of the Palestinian Arabs, who had been promised their own independence by T. E. Lawrence at the same time. He had the perhaps naive idea that Palestine could be shared between Jews and Arabs. Though he applauded the foundation of Israel, he regretted that it had come into being at the expense of the latter. In December 1948 he said:

"We had the power and the chance to impose and enforce—I must use that word—a partition settlement in Palestine by which the Jews would have secured the national Home which has been the declared object and policy of every British Government for a quarter of a century. Such a scheme would, of course, have taken into account the legitimate rights of the Arabs who, I may say, had not been ill-

used in the settlement made in Iraq, in Transjordan, and in regard to Syria."

Churchill may have thought that Jordan, which is today heavily populated by Palestinians, was the solution for Palestinians who refused to live in Israel; but he never spoke specifically to that idea. He did say, in 1936: "I have no hostility for the Arabs. I think I made most of the settlements over fourteen years ago governing the Palestine situation. The Emir Abdullah is in Transjordan, where I put him one Sunday afternoon in Jerusalem."

Send your questions to the editor



poor Indians?" "Madam," WSC replied, "to which Indians do you refer? Do you refer to the brown Indians of the Asian subcontinent, who under benign and beneficent British influence have multiplied alarmingly? Or do you refer to the red Indians of this continent, who under the current Administration are almost extinct?"

## Who Was Charles Morin?

**Q:** What were the names of the five or six paintings Churchill consigned to a Paris gallery in 1923 under the pseudonym "Charles Morin"? —James Thomas

**A.** I've still to discover the names, or subjects, of the paintings sold in Paris; in fact I still have to confirm that any paintings were sold at all, as the information is anecdotal only.

—David Coombs, co-author, *Winston Churchill's Life Through His Paintings*

**Q:** Can you confirm a Churchill response to Eleanor Roosevelt's complaint about how Indians had suffered under British oppression?

—SUE HOPPOUGH, REPORTER, *FORBES*

**A.** Here is the quote, from memory and without much attribution. It is from a speech by the Earl Mountbatten to The Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill Society of Edmonton, Alberta in 1966, and it is a grand one. The questioner was not Mrs. Roosevelt but Mrs. Ogden Reid (of *The New York Herald Tribune*).

Mountbatten said that the President, in the wry humor for which he prided himself, purposely seated Mrs. Reid, a campaigner for India's independence, next to Churchill at a White House dinner. Then he sat back, awaiting the inevitable explosion.

Not for long: "Mr. Churchill," Mrs. Reid finally exclaimed, halfway through the main course: "What do you intend to do about the wretched,

**Q:** I have searched your website and cannot find if it is true that "JOCK (or another cat) sat in on wartime cabinet meetings.

**A.** The questions we get! "Jock" lived at Chartwell, which was closed during the war. Churchill did host, at various times, at least three cats at Number Ten: "Munich Mouser" (yes, so help us), "Nelson" and "Smoky." But they certainly weren't at cabinet meetings, unless one of them wandered in.

Churchill was, of course, devoted to cats, like all other animals. (On this subject and many more see the late Grace Hamblin's "Frabjous Days: Chartwell Memories 1932-1965," *Finest Hour* 117, pages 19-25.) As Prime Minister he particularly admired Nelson, one of the Number Ten cats. He once told a colleague that Nelson was doing more for the war effort because Nelson served as a prime ministerial hot water bottle! —RML M>



## 125 YEARS AGO: Summer 1880 • Age 5 *"The Radicals stirred uneasily"*

**T**he "Fourth Party"—that informal group of feisty MPs including Winston's father Lord Randolph, Sir Henry Wolfe, Harold Gorst and Arthur Balfour—continued

to bedevil the new Liberal government. The occasion was the government's introduction of the "Employers' Liability Bill," intended to ameliorate the harsh effects of the common law which held an employer liable for injuries done third parties by his servants' negligence, but not for injuries to servants through the negligence of other servants or the employer himself.

As Churchill wrote in *Lord Randolph Churchill*, the bill was badly written "and was, both in principle and drafting, an amateurish suggestion which might, indeed, sound very plausible and accommodating; but which had not been clearly thought out in a scientific spirit with the advantages of official information. [The Fourth Party] saw that a Bill had practically been thrown to the House to be moulded into shape by debate. They resolved to address themselves conscientiously to the task of perfecting the crude conceptions of the Government." But the Fourth Party's "assistance" left the Liberal Party wrong-footed because, while the Government "had expected that Tory opposition would naturally take the form of a defence of the employers' position, the Fourth Party proceeded to criticise the measure entirely in the interests of the working class. This secured them two advantages, which it may be presumed they desired equally. First, it was in accordance with the spirit of Lord Beaconsfield's progressive Toryism and would really benefit the labouring people, for whose sake the Bill was designed. Secondly, nothing could be more embarrassing to a Liberal Government than Conservative oppo-



by Michael McMenamin

*Winston Churchill*

21 JUNE 1955: "I am most grateful to you, my Lord Mayor, for the great kindness with which you have spoken about my work and character, and I shall not hesitate to include it among my testimonials if ever I should be looking for another job."

sition on the grounds that the Bill did not go far enough. [The Government] found themselves between two fires. Below the gangway the Radicals stirred uneasily at such unanswerable argument and behind the Treasury Bench the wealthiest supporters of the party were gnashing their teeth at such reckless proposals."

## 100 YEARS AGO: Summer 1905 • Age 30 *"A story by Edgar Allan Poe"*

**T**he Tory government of Arthur Balfour, Lord Randolph's old Fourth Party colleague, was on its last legs and would be gone before winter set in. Churchill was eager to hasten its demise, helpfully suggesting on the floor of the House on 31 July that Prime Minister Balfour might benefit from reading a Poe story. According to the synopsis in the *Complete Speeches*:

"He was reading the other day a story by Edgar Allan Poe, entitled, *The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar*—he wondered whether the Prime Minister had read that story, for if not it might repay his study. The point of the story which made it applicable to the present situation was that M. Valdemar was approaching the crisis of a fatal illness when he was placed in a mesmeric trance, in which state he continued

above seven months—that was not, indeed, so long as the Government had continued in that state. It was uncertain whether death had or had not supervened, but while M. Valdemar was in that state he retained the power of making certain feeble and erratic motions with his limbs, and even of answering in a stertorous and obscure manner questions which were put to him under the influence of mesmerism. [Ministerial cries of 'Oh!'] At length the time came when it was necessary to awaken him. He did not intend to inflict on the House the grim and morbid details with which that awakening was described, but he commended the whole story to the right hon. Gentleman opposite and his colleagues for their reading in the holidays. It might be found a source of instruction and profit."

## 75 YEARS AGO: Summer 1930 • Age 55 *"Why I am unhappy"*

**C**hurchill disagreed profoundly with the Socialist government's policy in three key areas: India, Egypt and the Navy. In a speech at Minster on 20 August, he explained: "The *Times* has observed that I have had an unhappy session in the House of

Commons. That might well be true [laughter]—and I propose to tell you plainly why I am unhappy. First, I am unhappy about India. The wild Pathan tribesmen have actually come out of their mountains on to the plains of India and are molesting and insulting a famous city (Peshawar) with a large garrison of British and Indian troops. Such a lamentable spectacle would have been impossible in former times. To go into the mountains to fight an Afridi is like going into the water to fight a shark; but here is the shark coming out on to the beach!....Those tribesmen came only because they had been led to believe that Lord Irwin's Government was clearing out of India and that rich spoils lay open to their raids. There is the sinister feature of the event."

Churchill then turned to Egypt: "The Socialist Government is eager to scuttle out of Egypt and to withdraw our troops in Cairo, where they have preserved order and made progress possible for fifty years....One would almost think they were trying to breed a civil war in Egypt as serpents might be bred in the Zoo. There is a quarrel in Egypt between a fanatic Parliament and a despotic King....When the Egyptian Parliament rose against the King they sent British battleships to Alexandria and held the British troops in Cairo in readiness to put down the rebellion. As soon as order had been restored for the moment in the streets they told the Foreign Office official, whom they had made High Commissioner, to invite the leaders of the rebellion to lunch in order that they and their followers might not be downhearted. This was the first time that running with the hare and hunting with the hounds had ever been elevated into the deliberate policy of a great Power towards the people of a small country for whose well-being she had accepted an international responsibility."

Finally, Churchill turned to the naval disarmament treaty with the United States and Japan: "The immediately practical peril of the Naval

Treaty to us is in Asia and in Europe. We have bound ourselves by a solemn endorsement to restrict our Navy while all others are increasing theirs, so that we should not be able when the treaty has been carried out to defend our trade and interests in the Far East against any hostile Asiatic Power with a modern fleet, nor bring our food supplies through the Mediterranean and the Channel in the face of the French submarines and flotillas. When the treaty has been carried out we shall be defenseless at sea so far as our food supply is concerned, and dependent upon the good will and self-restraint of foreign nations as we have never been since the days of Charles II."

## 50 YEARS AGO: Summer 1955 • Age 80

*"Every rule should  
have an exception"*

On 21 June, 1955, Churchill spoke at the Guildhall in London on the occasion of the unveiling of a statue of himself: "I regard it as a very high honour that the City of London should decide to set up a statue of me in this famous Guildhall, which I have so often visited and spoken in during the last half century. I must admit that I think that the House of Commons has made a good rule in not erecting monuments to people in their lifetime. But I entirely agree that every rule should have an exception. The fact that you have done so in my case will both prove the rule, and emphasize the compliment."

Churchill then poked gentle fun at the expense of his old nemesis, John Foster Dulles, the American Secretary of State: "I am most grateful to you,

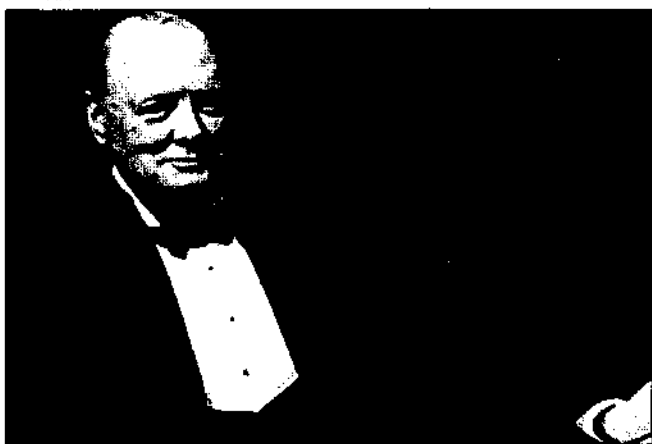


WSC in 1955

my Lord Mayor, for the great kindness with which you have spoken about my work and character, and I shall not hesitate to include it among my testimonials if ever I should be looking for another job. If I were not already ruddy in complexion I should certainly have blushed in a noticeable manner. My hope is that your successors will not find it their duty in my lifetime at any rate, to make any 'agonizing reappraisal,' to quote a famous and up-to-date diplomatic expression, of the verdict you have pronounced with so much eloquence and generosity."

In July the Oxford historian A. L. Rowse lunched with Churchill at Chartwell, noting the occasion later in his diary: "Before lunch I was summoned up to his bedroom, and there, at last, was the so familiar face, much aged: that of an old man who had gone back to his baby looks. The eyes a cloudy blue, a little bloodshot, spectacles on snub nose, a large cigar rolled round in his mouth. He had been at work—'I like work.' Beside the bed a small aluminium pail for cigar-ash; before him, stretching right across the bed, a tray-desk, on which were the long galleys of his *History of the English-Speaking Peoples*. He welcomed me with a touch of old-fashioned exaggerated courtesy, as if the honour were his that the professional historian had come to see him. I returned the compliment, sincerely meant, that he had beaten the professionals at their own game, that his *Marlborough* was an historical masterpiece along with Trevelyan's *Age of Queen Anne*....He talked about the Labour Party, with no animus or opposition: all that had dropped away with the years. He did not speak like a party-man, indeed he never had been a mere party-politician, had sat loosely to party-ties. I noticed that he referred to the Tories, not as 'we' but as 'they'—as if he sat on some Olympus above the party struggle, as indeed he did."

(For Rowse's complete account of this fascinating visit, see *Finest Hour* 81 or our website page 412.) M>



# "A Possession for All Time"<sup>77</sup>

BY JUSTIN D. LYONS

**C**hurchill has been gone now for forty years, yet every year on his birthday Churchill societies will meet, cigars will be smoked, anecdotes will be shared. Every year tourists visit the scenes of his life. Every year conferences will meet to discuss his words and deeds. The stream of new biographies flows uninterrupted. But why do we continue to meditate on this man? Has not the world moved on; has not history left Churchill behind? Why is it that his leadership is thought to be still worthy of attention? The answer lies in a continuing dedication to what one scholar has called the "scholarship of the politics of freedom."

The study of politics has largely been taken over by the methodologies of the social sciences, which aim at reducing the human things to something mathematical, determined, and predictable. This way of viewing politics is opposed to the classical understanding, which held that political leadership is characterized by prudence—that is, the ability to deliberate well about the means for achieving what is good for man. But what need is there for such leadership if history, economics, or biology determine the course of human affairs?

The idea of pre-determination is often linked to a progressive understanding of history: the notion that human existence is necessarily getting better by every measure, especially by political measure. Ultimately, such an understanding posits a time when the story of man will end, when human existence will resolve itself into final form. This final stage of history will see the cessation of conflict, a time when the problems presented for political community by human nature will be removed—a time when statesmanship is no longer necessary.

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Churchill rejected this approach to history. He found in history relevant lessons for present action precisely because the nature and experience of man remain consistent.

Churchill did not believe that history was a linear process which guaranteed the final establishment of any political principle. Churchill was a believer in democracy, of the Anglo-American political tradition. He thought it provided the healthiest way of life for nations, and that the extension of this tradition through an effective international organization was the best way to maintain peace in a troubled world. But Churchill did not think that democracy would triumph because history demanded it. He thought it could triumph because it was the best political

approach  
available to  
man, but  
only if

democratic peoples conducted themselves in a worthy manner.

Churchill brought a coherent body of thought about the nature of man and his world to bear on the problems and essential uncertainties of human political life. In the face of rival philosophical claims and political agendas, he successfully combined a modern devotion to limited government, freedom of speech, and the division of power inherent in Anglo-American constitutionalism with the older understanding of the fundamentally fixed nature of man, the permanently recurring trials he must confront, and the need for the political formation of character.

Churchill's ability to chart and maintain a consistent course for himself and his people under the looming threat of destruction made him a great leader. That his thought and action were directed toward and devoted to the principles of justice, freedom, and peace made him a great man. Taken together, these two forms of greatness elevate him to the highest honors of statesmanship.

The study of Churchill's statesmanship deserves a central place in the scholarship of the politics of freedom. He believed in the metaphysical liberty of mankind, and he insisted that it should be reflected in political arrangements, that political freedom was necessary to the flourishing of the human spirit. But the conditions of freedom do not simply occur. Humanity must fight to establish them, struggle to maintain them, and sacrifice to defend them.

Because these tasks have no end in this world, the lessons of Churchill's words and deeds will remain central to the human political experience. They are, to echo the Greek historian Thucydides, "a possession for all time." We may therefore take Churchill's message as inspiration to undertake the tasks we have still before us:

"The day may dawn when fair play, love for one's fellow men, respect for justice and freedom will enable tormented generations to march forth serene and triumphant from the hideous epoch in which we have to dwell. Meanwhile, never flinch, never weary, never despair." 13



**CHURCHILL'S VIEW** on interchangeability of service equipment is still something that Western air forces are implementing today....The RAF and USAF seek to achieve as great a spread of mission roles as possible by using the same aircraft types.

# Churchill, the RAF and Naval Aviation

BY ROBERT A. COURTS

**B**Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed, by so many, to so few,"<sup>1</sup> Winston Churchill exclaimed in his famous tribute to Fighter Command. The phrase came to him as he was driving home in silence after witnessing, at Uxbridge,<sup>2</sup> the high drama of the Luftwaffe's massive attack on southern England in August 1940. "Do not speak to me. I have never been so moved," was Churchill's first comment on getting into the car, and, as he reflected on the bravery of the young men who fought and wheeled and died above his head, he realised quite how much Britain, and the free world, owed to them.

With the benefit of hindsight, it is interesting to consider how much the Royal Air Force owed to Winston Churchill, without whose patronage the service would have had a much harder job in surviving, and whose world-famous legend would certainly not be as great as it is now. For when, as Secretary of State for War and Air in the early Twenties, Winston Churchill was speaking of "strangling Bolshevism in its cradle," senior figures in the Army and Navy were thinking the same unfriendly thoughts towards the nascent RAF, then only a few years old.<sup>3</sup>

Churchill's support of military aviation goes back over ten years before even that point. When at the Board of Trade, and a member of the Committee for Imperial Defence in 1909, he intervened in one of the first debates about aviation to say that the problem was a "most important one, and we should place ourselves in communication with Mr. Wright [Orville] and avail ourselves of his knowledge."<sup>4</sup>

When he arrived at the Admiralty in 1911, this interest continued. With his usual unquenchable relish for new technology and ideas, he used his tenure to set up

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and foster the Royal Naval Air Service: a project that took him three attempts in the face of determined opposition from the Treasury. Churchill's doggedness was rewarded. In the run-up to the First World War, the Royal Flying Corps claimed entire responsibility for aerial home defence. As Churchill explained in *The World Crisis*: "When asked how they proposed to discharge their duty, they admitted sorrowfully that they had not got the machines and could not get the money."<sup>5</sup>

Thus arrived the Royal Naval Air Service (RNAS), which Churchill set up using his Admiralty budget to undertake the vital task of protecting Britain from air attack, especially the Navy's vital dockyards and oil refineries. The RFC's airplanes, meanwhile, were almost exclusively allocated to reconnaissance tasks for the British Expeditionary Force. In the light of Churchill's determination that the new weapon of the air should be an aggressive one, it is not surprising that Sir Martin Gilbert, his official biographer, found that "the Naval Wing paid more attention than was paid by the Military Wing to the use of the aeroplane as a fighting machine."<sup>6</sup> Clearly Churchill must gain some of the credit for fostering the use of the aircraft in such a way that it was to become the dominant weapon in modern warfare.

Churchill's involvement in the formation of the RNAS was deep and sincere. With his usual attention to detail, he wrote a number of minutes, dealing with everything from aircraft design to the buildings on Naval Air Stations. He even turned his attention to the effect of the word "canteen" on "strict Scottish bosoms!"<sup>7</sup>

Opinions differ on whether Churchill's tendency to micro-manage was a help or a hindrance, but it seems likely that his interest in his brainchild was apt to keep the department in charge "on their toes."<sup>8</sup> In any case, as

Randolph Churchill claims in the official biography, "the First Lord's attention to detail scarcely needs vindication, since the whole project was his own conception, and without him it would never have taken flight."<sup>9</sup>

It is worth noting in any case that Churchill's view on interchangeability of service equipment is still something that Western air forces are implementing today. For example, in his minutes of this period,<sup>10</sup> Churchill was keen to stress that engines and wirelesses ought to be uniform between aircraft, and indeed that the aircraft should be the same types, wherever possible. And today the RAF and USAF seek to achieve as great a spread of mission roles as possible by using the same aircraft types.

And who can argue with the foresight expressed when Churchill claimed that "seaplanes...when they carry torpedoes, may prove capable of playing a decisive part in operations against capital ships"?<sup>11</sup> Recall for example the part that Fleet Air Arm Swordfish played in the sinking of the *Bismarck*. But some would argue that Churchill forgot his predictions when *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* were sunk by Japanese air power in 1941.<sup>12</sup>

Churchill's enthusiasm for promoting private enterprise, and for urging the most from his services, was responsible for demonstrating the folly of the existing War Office policy of having only one aircraft designer for the Royal Flying Corps: the Royal Aircraft Factory. At the beginning of the First World War, it became clear that the Royal Aircraft Factory was not capable of mass production. The RFC's major aircraft type, the BE2c, had therefore to be placed with civilian contractors. However, most of the other new aircraft manufacturers (including Shorts, Sopwith, and Avros) were busy with orders placed by the Admiralty. When the War Office did begin to branch out into other types, one of the successful new designs, the Vickers Gunbus, had only survived as a viable prospect because of an order from the RNAS—not through any action by the War Office. Churchill's policy of ordering from civilian contractors, and of setting them to compete against each other, played its part in the development of the great British aircraft designers of later years.<sup>13</sup>

Churchill's championing of the RNAS was not,

however, due to any antipathy to the Royal Flying Corps. It was a part of the departmental territorialism that inevitably occurs when people have their own corners to fight, especially against the permanent scythe of budget cuts. Indeed Churchill soon began to urge the creation of a unified air force, in order to reconcile the competing demands of the two air services. As early as 1912 he had stressed how the "connection between the Army and Navy work must be close and harmonious."<sup>14</sup> In the tradition of inter-service rivalry, this did not happen, and the progress of military aviation was impeded by in-fighting between the two air services. Then, just after his departure from the Admiralty, in May 1915, Churchill advocated the formation of an Air Ministry, and submitted a paper to that effect to Prime Minister Asquith. Nothing was done immediately, though an Air Ministry was eventually formed within two years—and so, in 1918, was the unified Royal Air Force.

The RAF was lucky that, at the most dangerous time of its young life, Churchill returned to office as Secretary of State for War and Air, thus giving the new service a great ally in government at this vital time. Despite his dual role, and much criticism, Churchill refused to compromise the RAF's independence: "There is no question of subordinating the Royal Air Force to the Army or to the Navy," he said, "or of splitting it into two and dividing it between the Army and the Navy."<sup>15</sup> Churchill put much time and effort into the ranks and uniforms of the new service to ensure that it had the separate identity which it deserved.

Churchill's influence also extended to the shape of the new service. He followed up and encouraged Major General Hugh Trenchard's suggestion regarding

introducing "something of the regimental system of the Army into the RAF, thus preserving the identities of the more famous squadrons."<sup>16</sup> Thus the system was laid where such famous squadrons as 1, 56, and 111 could survive and can trace their ancestry from the First World War down to the present day.

Churchill's first act as Air Minister was to recall Trenchard, the RAF's first service head, to become chief of Air Staff. The partnership of the enthusiastic politician >>



"CHRISTMAS PRESENTS FOR NOTABLES":  
Ernest Noble suggests a present for the founder of  
the Royal Naval Flying Service, *Birmingham*  
*Evening Despatch*, 1 December 1913.



and the "father of the Royal Air Force" was to prove an inspired choice.

In the early Twenties, with her finances well in the red, Britain was looking to reduce spending on the huge armies that had hitherto always been used to quell rebellious tribesmen in far-flung places around the Empire. At Churchill's suggestion, the two men came up with the idea<sup>17</sup> of using the RAF as a form of aerial cavalry, a flying police force that could quell revolts at a fraction of the time and cost taken by the cumbersome land forces. Britain would then be able to reduce her garrisons, and reap a form of "peace dividend." Furthermore, Churchill suggested the idea of the RAF being able to move "two or three companies of men to any threatened point... and to maintain them." For this, "the construction of special aeroplanes...must be the subject of special study."<sup>18</sup> The details were worked out by Trenchard and built upon by succeeding airmen, but the genesis of the strategic airlift capability of the C-130 Hercules and C-17 Globemasters of today—so vital for all modern Allied efforts—was laid by Churchill in the 1920s.

The new plans for the RAF's colonial role, which were built on Trenchard's long-held views regarding aerial bombing, were encapsulated in the White Paper put to Parliament by Churchill in November 1919. The document, "An Outline of the Scheme for the Permanent Organisation of the Royal Air Force,"<sup>19</sup> was to have a great effect on RAF policy for decades to come. The paper contained the suggestion that "before long it will prove possible to regard Royal Air Force units not as an addition to the military garrison but as a substitute for it." Little did they realise quite how pregnant that comment would turn out to be, eighty years later. Debate still rages to this day, especially with regard to the recent operations in Afghanistan and Kosovo, about the efficacy of air power alone as a method of warfare. So too is it a matter of debate as to how effective the relatively lightly armed Westland Wapitis of the interwar RAF were in permanently quelling tribal rebellions.<sup>20</sup>

One thing is however clear: the role of colonial policeman gave the RAF a reason for existing at a time



"NEPTUNE'S ALLY": Bernard Partridge in *Punch* for 25 May 1914, shortly after the First Lord returned from Spain, where he was rumoured to be continuing with his own flying practice.

when the older services were trying to regain control of their own air forces. They could not rival the RAF in speed or cost-efficiency. This was to prove decisive, and the service has Churchill as well as Trenchard to thank for not only tirelessly fighting its corner, but for the creative imagination that gave the service an unarguable *raison d'être* at a time when the knives were drawn in so many quarters.<sup>21</sup>

This policy was expanded and continued when Churchill moved to the Colonial Office in 1921, where the RAF was responsible for policing Iraq (Mesopotamia), a part of the old Ottoman Empire administered by Britain as a League of Nations mandate. As part of his Colonial Office duties, Churchill was responsible for the setting up of foreign air bases, in easy reach of areas of possible

tribal unrest. This colonial network, and the staging posts that were necessary to reach them, meant going over the borders of other countries. Post-carrying aircraft followed, and not far behind, civil aviation.<sup>22</sup>

The policy of the RAF as colonial policeman was not always successful, of course, but it largely was in Iraq, where Britain was able to withdraw tens of thousands of troops, and left the area peaceful and pacified. It is interesting to speculate that this operation arguably laid an early blueprint for the current Allied "battle-lite" tactic, and remarkable that Iraq should have been the laboratory on both occasions.

The Churchill/Trenchard plan was carried out against "a backdrop of bitter inter-service disputes and backbiting,"<sup>23</sup> to the extent that senior British Army figures refused to cooperate with the RAF, so furious were they at being deprived of their role as colonial enforcers. It is to Churchill's credit that he persevered in his support of the RAF, both at the Air Ministry and Colonial Office, against the ferocious attacks of old-school generals.

Churchill's next major phase of involvement with the RAF came from the outside. In the 1930s he argued that Britain's air power was not strong enough to resist an onslaught from Hitler's Luftwaffe, and that much more must be spent to maintain a credible air defence. His air defence warnings had actually started as far back as 1924, not long after he had left the Air Ministry, and continued all the way up until 1939.

"THE POLICY OF THE RAF as colonial policeman was not always successful, of course, but it largely was in Iraq, where Britain was able to withdraw tens of thousands of troops, and left the area peaceful and pacified. It is interesting to speculate that this operation arguably laid an early blueprint for the current Allied 'battle-lite' tactic, and remarkable that Iraq should have been the laboratory on both occasions."

**A**s Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1924, Churchill did not follow the usual policy of cutting back in all areas. The RAF, he accepted, needed to expand; so he sought to achieve the economies that were now his job to achieve by making greater, not less, use of the air force (much the same policy as pursued during his stay as Air Minister regarding the Middle East). For example, in preference to the Admiralty's expensive scheme for the defence of Singapore, which involved submarines and two huge gun batteries (which were to prove useless in 1941), Churchill recommended "heavy bombing machines" that would be mobile and not "tied up forever to one spot."<sup>24</sup>

As Chancellor, Churchill was of course responsible for cutbacks, too, and he pressed the Air Ministry for these as with other departments. The "Ten Year Rule" in particular is one area where Churchill has come in for criticism. The rule assumed, for the purposes of defence expenditure, that there would be no major European war for the next ten years, and that the military need not prepare for one. It has been charged at Churchill that this rule was partly responsible for the deficiencies in Britain's armed forces by the time of the Second World War.

However, this is unfair, as the rule was intended by Churchill to be reviewed *every year* by the Committee of Imperial Defence.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, it was intended to be a check on the mass production of armaments that would be unused and obsolete by the time war came, not on the development of new ideas. When Churchill left the Exchequer in early 1929 the rule was still correct, for war did not break out for over a decade hence. But after leaving his control the policy became a rolling one, renewed without review by the Treasury each year, and used as a stall on any rearming whatsoever. This was an unhappy by-product of Churchill's tenure, but he cannot be held responsible for the twisting of what was a sensible rule of thumb at the time it was drawn up.

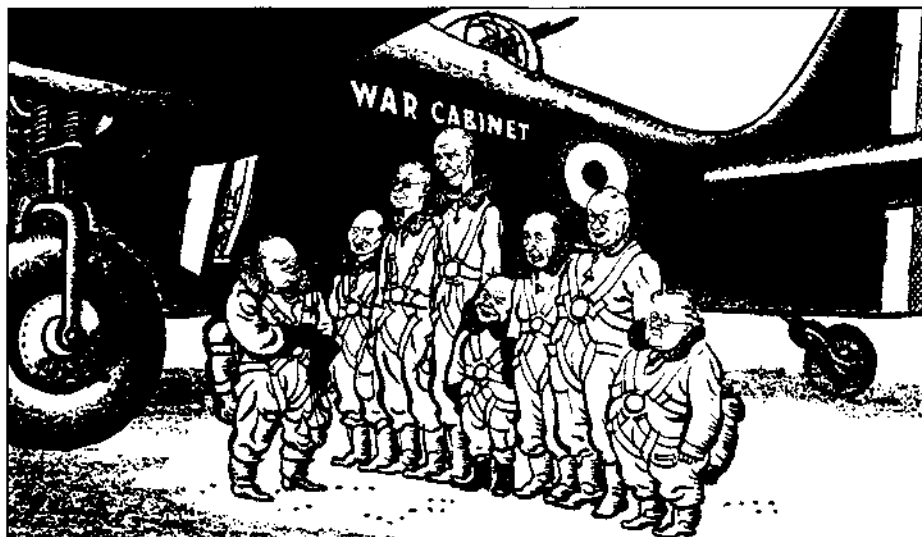
Churchill's campaign for stronger air defences began more seriously around 1932 and gathered pace after that. In 1934 he wrote to Sir Samuel Hoare, who had been the Air Minister when Churchill was at the Exchequer: "The situation has changed entirely [from what it was in the 1920s], and no time should be lost in doubling the Air Force."<sup>26</sup>

Times change, and Churchill in the 1930s cannot be taxed with his views in the 1920s. From this time onwards, he argued consistently for stronger air defences; but it was not until the 1940s that his final, and arguably greatest involvement with the RAF happened.

During the 1940 evacuation of Allied soldiers at Dunkirk, there was (as is often the case with ground troops for the following reason) a great deal of resentment of the RAF by the Army. Churchill, in his famous speech of 4 June 1940,<sup>27</sup> made the point that: "Many of our soldiers coming back have not seen the Air Force at work; they saw only the bombers which escaped its protective attack. They underrate its achievements... that is why I go out of my way to say this... all our pilots have been vindicated as superior to what they have at present to face."

Not only did the Prime Minister stand up for and explain what the RAF was doing, but he began the legend that was to make the Royal Air Force, its pilots, and their Spitfire and Hurricane airplanes household words throughout the world. The legend continued through the Battle of Britain, when the fighter pilots received the Churchillian accolade with which this article started. Nor did he forget the bombers who "night after night, month after month... travel far into Germany," recognising that "on no part of the Royal Air Force does the weight of the war fall more heavily."

But Churchill's wartime involvement with the RAF was more than that of a public-relations spokesman. All services are prone to infighting and separatism, and this was never more true than of the Middle East Command in the months before El Alamein. As Prof. Richard Holmes has pointed out,<sup>28</sup> the RAF in this period operated in a very separate way from the rest of the services. For example, it refused to take Army observers aloft for artillery, and was "culpably slow" in developing the close air support techniques that were later to prove so effective in Normandy, because this smacked of being "airborne artillery" and of being subordinate to the Army. Noting this, Churchill issued a memorandum to his Middle East operational commanders: "Upon the C-in-C Middle East announcing that a battle is in prospect, the AOC-in-C [Air Officer Commander-in-Chief] will give him all possible aid and irrespective of other targets, however attractive. The Army C-in-C will specify to the AOC- »



Recalling Churchill's long connections with military aviation, the *Daily Mail* of 4 October 1940 showed him as Bomber Captain. L-R: WSC, Clement Attlee, Arthur Greenwood, Lord Halifax, Lord Beaverbrook, Sir John Anderson, Ernest Bevin and Sir Kingsley Wood.

in-C the tasks he requires to be performed. It will be for the AOC-in-C to use his maximum force against those targets in the manner most effective."<sup>29</sup> Despite the criticism by Prof. Holmes that this showed how little had been learned, as it was only effective when a battle was in prospect (as opposed to as a matter of general practice), Churchill was here responsible for trying to break down the tiresome inter-service rivalry that so often dogs military operations.

As Tedder, the officer in command, said, from Churchill's pronouncement "emerged a new dimension in the Middle East struggle, air warfare in its own right."<sup>30</sup> This was, in John Terraine's words, the "authoritative definition of the "combined operation,"<sup>31</sup> where the roles of bomber and fighter were spelled out, and the significance of local air superiority established. Thus, from this memorandum, Churchill can claim part of the credit for returning the RAF to Trenchard's old position of cooperation with the Army, and for inventing a new form of warfare: air power, which has grown to the dominance that it enjoys today.

**M**ore controversially, Churchill was involved in the concept of area bombing: the strategic bombing of German cities in an effort to break civilian morale. This is not the place to attempt a detailed assessment of the campaign, but it is worth answering some of the more common criticisms of Churchill's involvement in this area of air power. It has been the criticism of some that the area bombing campaign was morally indefensible, and that Churchill, as

Prime Minister, was responsible. As the overall leader of the war effort, he was. However, he was following a long-held Air Ministry policy that had been started under Trenchard, indeed in the First World War, and developed in the inter-war years.

Furthermore, as Professor Holmes has stated,<sup>32</sup> once the decision to fight on in 1940 had been taken, the strategic bombing campaign became virtually inevitable, since Britain had nothing else to fight back with for many years. This was the only way that she could take the fight directly to the Germans. Few would today argue with Churchill's decision to fight on in 1940, and the area bombing campaign, in the absence of the precise bombing aids that we enjoy today, must therefore be accepted as a logical consequence of that decision.

It is indeed true that Churchill did, upon observing the results of the bombing of Hamburg, leap to his feet and exclaim "Are we beasts? Are we taking this too far?" and did send out a draft memorandum questioning the continuation of the bombing campaign after Dresden. However, Arthur Harris's (C-in-C Bomber Command) cold reply to that communication put an end to this questioning—as indeed it should have done, for the RAF was only delivering what had been promised in 1940, and the campaign could not be abandoned precisely when it was at last achieving its full potential. Churchill, wisely and honestly, stuck to the government's previously expressed policy.

Churchill's involvement with military aviation started with the dawn of the airplane, and ended with the birth of the jet age. It was indeed fitting that, as his funeral barge moved slowly up the Thames, four RAF

**"It was indeed fitting that, as his funeral barge moved slowly up the Thames, four RAF Lightnings roared over—machines utterly different than the aircraft in which Churchill had learned to fly. Their service was one that had been fostered and supported by the man who lay below."**

Lightnings roared over—machines utterly different than the aircraft in which Churchill had learned to fly before World War I—an activity that undoubtedly spurred his early interest in military aviation. Their service had been fostered and supported by the man who briefly lay below. The RAF deserved Churchill's rich praise in 1940, but it could well also be said that, "never in the field of human conflict has so much been owed by one service to one man."

#### ENDNOTES

References to "Official Biography" pertain to *Winston S. Churchill* by Randolph S. Churchill (vols. 1-2) and Sir Martin Gilbert (vols. 3-8) and their associated Companion (document) volumes, London: Cassell: 1966-2001.

1. Speech, 20 August 1940 in Churchill, *Into Battle* (London: Cassell, 1941), 252.

2. HQ 11 Group. The PM sat for a whole afternoon with 11 Group's OC, Keith Park, and watched as the waves of incoming German bombers roared over the shore of Southern England. At one point he asked "what reserves have we?" The impassive Park replied: "There are none."

3. For further information, see John Parker, *Strike Command* (London: Headline Book Publishing, 2002). This period was rife with service and departmental intrigue to see the RAF abolished and air power returned to the two original services.

4. Report of the Sub-Committee on Aerial Navigation, 25 February 1909. Official biography II, 688. The official biography is particularly good on this aspect of Churchill and aviation, and of course has space for much more information than can be fitted here.

5. Churchill, *The World Crisis*, London: Odhams, 1938, 265.

6. "Of the Air Force, not Churchill." Quoted from the official biography II, 696.

7. Minute, 11 February 1914, official biography II 691.

8. *Ibid.*, 690.

9. *Ibid.*, 690.

10. 21 December 1913, official biography II, 690; 18 May 1914, official biography II, 693 in particular.

11. Minute, 10 February 1914, official biography II, 691.

12. There is more to this issue than is usually realised, and Churchill is usually given more of the blame than he deserves. For more detail, see Christopher Bell's "The 'Singapore Strategy' and the Deterrence of Japan: Winston Churchill, the Admiralty, and the Dispatch of Force Z," *The English Historical Review*, 116: 467 (June 2001), 604-34. Professor Bell argues that Churchill's actions need to be examined in context; that he is not necessarily blameless, but that most of the usual blame is misdirected; and that others (particularly Eden) played a critical role that has not been recognised.

13. See Barker, *A Brief History of the Royal Flying Corps in World War I* (London: Robinson 2002), 18ff.

14. WSC to Prince Louis of Battenberg, 7 December 1912, official biography II, 689.

15. WSC to F. E. Smith, February 1919, official biography IV, 203.

16. *Ibid.*, 206.

17. See WSC to Trenchard, 29 February 1920, official biography IV, 216-17.

18. WSC to Trenchard, op. cit.

19. Parker, op. cit., 94.

20. *Ibid.*, 94ff.

21. For example, see the hostile Select Committee on 2 July, official biography IV, 208, which shows how few friends the new Air Ministry had at this time.

22. Civil aviation is outside the scope of this article. Readers should refer to Christopher Sterling's "Churchill and Air Travel," *Finest Hour* 118, 24-29.

23. Parker, op. cit., 100.

24. Official biography V, 72.

25. *Ibid.*, 290.

26. *Ibid.*, 508.

27. *Into Battle*, op. cit., 215.

28. *Battlefields of the Second World War* (London: BBC, 2001), 53.

29. John Terraine, *The Right of the Line* (London: Wordsworth, 1997), 347. (C-in-C: Commander in Chief; AOC-in-C: Air Officer Commanding in Chief.)

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*

32. BBC, op. cit., 164. This is highly recommended as a lucid and calm defence of the strategic bombing campaign on military grounds, without losing sight of its terrible civilian consequences. \$!



ABOARD THE S.S. DUNOTTAR CASTLE, JULY 1900. Standing L-R: Sir Byron Leighton, Claud Grenfel, Major Frederick Burnham, Captain Gordon Forbes, Abe Bailey (his son John would marry Diana Churchill in 1932), next two unidentified, Lord Brooke. Seated L-R: Major Bobby White, Lord Downe, General Sir Henry Colville (a year later Churchill as MP would demand an inquiry over his dismissal from South Africa), Major Harry White, Major Joe Laycock, Churchill, Sir Charles Bentinck. Sitting L-R: unidentified, Col. Maurice Gifford (who had lost his arm in the second Matabele War).

# 1900: THE VOYAGE HOME

**I** was invalided home on the S.S. *Dunottar Castle*. On the voyage to England were many invalid officers, and some high in the councils of the Empire, who were called home because the political clouds had shifted from South Africa to Fashoda, China, and Constantinople. I recall a graphic review of the world's condition given by young Winston Churchill, who even then had a clear premonition of the coming storm [World War I]. He explained to me why, in his thrilling escape from the Boer prison, he had been compelled to do certain things which I, as a scout, had criticized. His moves were restricted by the handicap of physical weakness which made a 20-mile run at night entirely beyond his power.

But the thing that marked him in my memory for life was his solemnly calling a meeting in the cabin and demanding that such men as General Colville, Lord Bentinck, and others should be brought to trial for misappropriation of the sport funds. There was a great buzz throughout the ship, including the crew. Churchill was amply cursed as a bounder, an upstart, a silly ass, a swell-headed "Leftenant," etc., etc. High Dignity appeared offended. Yet the trial had full attendance. Some of the famous legal talent on board was commanded to represent the accused.

"All hell won't keep him from being Premier some day."

BY MAJOR FREDERICK  
RUSSELL BURNHAM DSO

This play was all new to me, a Western American. We abuse our gods quite often, but we do not torment them in just this jocular way. I had a creepy, goose-flesh feeling for Churchill, such as one might have for a child innocently gamboling before an onrushing herd of cattle. I was so sure they would turn the tables on him.

It was all wasted sympathy. The cabin was resolved into some sort of parliament and passed a vote of censure on the accused by a safe majority. It was either young Brooke (later Earl of Warwick) or Sir Byron Leighton who remarked to me, "Don't you worry about Churchill. K. of K. sat on him to no purpose, and all hell won't keep him from being Premier some day."

## Editor's Notes:

The "trial" mentioned was all in fun, of course. "K. of K." is Lord Kitchener of Khartoum, who had vainly tried to prevent Churchill from attaching himself as a war correspondent to Kitchener's Sudan expedition, which resulted in Churchill's 1899 book, *The River War*.

Frederick Burnham was a swashbuckling Californian whose adventures from the Arizona of Wyatt Earp and Geronimo to the Anglo-Boer War in South Africa (including this episode) bedizen his highly readable and exciting autobiography, *Scouting on Two Continents* (1926). His book was brought to our attention by CC Trustee Mick Scully.

Burnham, a scout under Field Marshal Lord Roberts, was presented with the DSO by King Edward VII. Like Churchill, he escaped from a Boer prison camp; but Burnham returned to British lines on a 20-mile run (hence his reference to Churchill, whose escape had involved the rather less strenuous tactics of hiding in a coal mine and taking a long train ride ensconced in bales of wool). Churchill and Burnham are both described by Richard Harding Davis in his famous 1906 book, *Real Soldiers of Fortune*.

Coincidentally, Churchill's escape was aided by Charles Burnham (no relation), the wool merchant who hid Churchill on the goods train. \$5





## Editor's note:

*Finest Hour*

124 carried a letter from a German

deploring

Churchill's alleged role in the destruction of German cities by air bombing. Considering the amount of brazen misinformation in German texts about Churchill's role, this remarkable bending of history should not be surprising. M. Marchal, below, now has the facts; but think of how many readers of *Kriegskinder* still do not.

# Bombing Germany: Again

"TEACHING THE NEXT GENERATION" sometimes takes the form of *unteaching* the collected disinformation of distorters...

*The quotation you have cited has been entirely altered from what Churchill actually wrote. Here is the passage from Road to Victory:*

...Churchill made another incursion into the controversial area of bombing policy, having been shown accounts of the bombing of Dresden on the night of February 13. Churchill's reaction was to raise the whole issue of such bombardments. As he minuted to the Chiefs of Staff Committee, and to Portal:

"It seems to me that the moment has come when the question of bombing of German cities simply for the sake of increasing the terror, though under other pretexts, should be reviewed. Otherwise we shall come into control of an utterly ruined land. We shall not, for instance, be able to get housing materials out of Germany for our own needs because some temporary provision would have to be made for the Germans themselves. The destruction of Dresden remains a serious query against the conduct of Allied bombing. I am of the opinion that military objectives must henceforward be more strictly studied in our own interests rather than that of the enemy. The Foreign Secretary has spoken to me on this subject, and I feel the need for more precise concentration upon military objectives, such as oil and communications behind the immediate battle-zone, rather than on mere acts of terror and wanton destruction, however impressive."

At a meeting of the Chiefs of Staff on March 29, Portal pointed out "that it had always been the aim of our bombing of large cities to destroy the industries and transportation services centred in those cities and not to terrorise the civilian

population of Germany." Churchill then agreed to withdraw his "rough" minute, and instructed Portal to redraft it "in less rough terms."

In Portal's redraft, the word "terror" did not appear. The new minute still asserted, however, that the time had come to consider a halt to this type of raid. Drafted by Portal, but signed by Churchill, it read: "It seems to me that the moment has come when the question of the so called 'area bombing' of German cities should be reviewed from the point of view of our own interests. If we come into control of an entirely ruined land, there will be a great shortage of accommodation for ourselves and our Allies; and we shall be unable to get housing materials out of Germany for our own needs because some temporary provision would have to be made for the Germans themselves. We must see to it that our attacks do not do more harm to ourselves in the long run than they do to the enemy's immediate war effort. Pray let me have your views."

This minute was issued on April 1. Three days later the Air Staff agreed that "at this advanced stage of the war" there was "no great or immediate additional advantage" to be expected from air attack on "the remaining industrial centres of Germany."

Churchill assumed that the new policy would be strictly followed. He was therefore puzzled, two and a half weeks later, to read aircraft had been despatched on the night of April 14 to bomb Potsdam. He wrote at once to Sinclair and Portal: "What was the point of going and blowing down Potsdam?"

Gilbert goes on to explain that Portal replied that the PM's wishes would be followed expressly. —RML \$

**I** am a student of English and German at the University of Mons in Belgium. In my last year I am writing a thesis on *Kriegskinder* [Children of the War], by Hilke Lorenz, about the living conditions of German children during the Second World War.

There are several references to the bombing of German cities by the RAF and U.S. Army Air Corps. According to Lorenz, Churchill sent a letter to the general staff of the R.A.F. to congratulate them for the success of the operation, an excerpt of which is translated into German: "I think that the only purpose of our attacks on German cities should from now on be to terrorize the German population, even if we use other pretexts, because otherwise we are going to take control over a totally ruined country."

Is there an official French translation of that letter, and where can I find a copy of the original?

—Etienne Marchal

Dear M. Marchal,

Sir Martin Gilbert directs us to his volume VII of his Churchill biography, *Road to Victory 1941-1945*, which contains the full text of this Churchill minute on page 1257. It is dated 28 March 1945, to Air Marshal Portal. The question of bombing had come up at this late date in the war because of Churchill's frustration in locating and destroying the German launch bases for the V2 rockets.



# WINSTON CHURCHILL A

**I**n 1900 and 1932 Boston was just one stop on lecture tours that took Churchill to many other North American cities, though his themes on those first two visits varied greatly: the first in defense of a British war, the second in support of Anglo-American destiny. At both, only paying audiences inside hired halls heard him. In 1943 and 1949 he came as a world and allied statesman to deliver major addresses: the first on the state of World War II, the second on the prospects for the postwar world. Both speeches were broadcast to world audiences.

THE FOUR VISITS of Winston Churchill to Boston, Massachusetts illuminate constant qualities and themes at four very different stages of his life; but the circumstances that brought him to the cradle of American liberty were quite different.

BY JOSEPH L. HERN

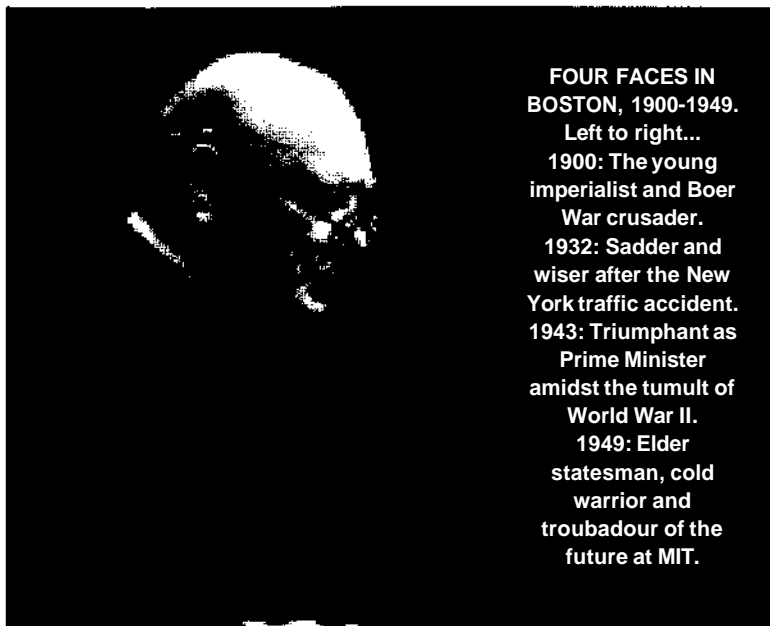
## 1900: Return of the Red Goats

The years 1895-1900, Churchill wrote, "exceed in vividness, variety and exertion anything I have known—except of course the opening months of the Great War."<sup>1</sup> His last half of 1900 would be vivid enough for anyone. In July he had left South Africa, the war and the army, returning to England to campaign for Parliament and to complete his fourth and fifth books. He also toured Britain and North America to lecture on the war and his renowned escape from the Boer prison camp. Between electioneering and lecturing, he was speaking

on one platform or another several nights a week for nearly six months.

Though young, Churchill was astute about the business of lecturing. While still in South Africa he had received a proposal from Major J. B. Pond of the Lyceum Lecture Bureau in the United States to organize an American lecture tour about his adventures. After having Pond vetted, Churchill accepted, and a December-January tour was arranged, to commence immediately after WSC's month-long British lecture tour.<sup>2</sup> He later described his lectures: "[A]ided by a magic lantern, I unfolded my adventures and escape, all set in the general framework of the war."<sup>3</sup> Boston was

Mr. Hern, a Boston attorney, heads New England Churchillians. This article was developed from his PowerPoint lecture introduced last year at Boston's Tremont Temple, where in 1900 the young Churchill lectured on the first of his four visits to Boston. Mr. Hern has since presented it at Colby-Sawyer College in New London, New Hampshire, in their "Adventures in Learning" program, and at The Club of Odd Volumes, a private club still in existence, where Churchill lunched in 1949. Photographs by courtesy of the author, Susan Brearley and Richard Batchelder. The author thanks Cyril Mazansky and Richard Batchelder, who organized the Churchill's Boston tour at the 1995 International Conference.



**FOUR FACES IN  
BOSTON, 1900-1949.**

Left to right...

**1900: The young  
imperialist and Boer  
War crusader.**

**1932: Sadder and  
wiser after the New  
York traffic accident.**

**1943: Triumphant as  
Prime Minister  
amidst the tumult of  
World War II.**

**1949: Elder  
statesman, cold  
warrior and  
troubadour of the  
future at MIT.**

# ND BOSTON

Churchill's sixth American city. He spoke at Tremont Temple on 17 and 22 December 1900. In between he appeared in Hartford, Connecticut; and New Bedford, Springfield and Fall River, Massachusetts.

Major Pond's publicity arrangements offended young Winston, who wrote to his mother complaining of "the vulgar and offensive advertisements Pond has circulated everywhere...which I suppose are calculated to suit the temperament of the public."<sup>4</sup> Pond may have had his finger on the public pulse, for a competing attraction in Boston was the "Polychromo-Telephono-Pantophonograph performance of Weber's Parisian Widows" at the New Palace Theater. "And they don't wear crepe, either," promised the advertisement.

The Boer War was covered extensively in the Boston press, where headlines told of shifting fortunes. The *Boston Daily Globe* announced on 17 December 1900, the day of Churchill's arrival: "VICTORY STORY—Elates British, Cast Down by Disasters—Report of the Total Defeat of a Boer Force." The next day's *Boston Herald* proclaimed "BOER RAIDS—Cape Colony Invaded at Two Points."

It was in Boston that Churchill finally met the American author Winston Churchill, with whom he had generated profound literary confusion in recent years. (See "That Other Winston Churchill," *Finest Hour* 106, website page 747.) Their meeting was headline news in next day's *Boston Herald*.

Churchill, his valet and Major Pond arrived at

Boston's new South Station the morning of December 17th. Churchill and valet proceeded to the Hotel Touraine, while Pond went to the post office to collect Churchill's mail—but it had been forwarded to the American Churchill's 181 Beacon Street home. Feeling run-down, Churchill took to bed, but Major Pond soon brought American Winston to call upon the prostrate English Winston. "Mr. Churchill, Mr. Churchill," was Pond's spare but portentous introduction. "The man on the bed turned over on his side and held out his hand," reported the *Herald*.<sup>5</sup>

The two spent much of the day together, walking through Boston Common and to the middle of a bridge over the Charles River. There English Winston said to American Winston, "Why don't you go into politics? I mean to be Prime Minister of England. It would be a great lark if you were President of the United States at the same time." Six decades later, in his father's official biography, Randolph Churchill wrote that the American Winston must have thought the Englishman "a swollen-headed saucy boy who was talking through his already inadequate hat."<sup>6</sup>

If a pact was struck on the bridge, the Briton fulfilled it forty years later, and would yet be Prime Minister nearly fifty-five years later. The American evidently tried, being elected to the New Hampshire legislature and running unsuccessfully as a Teddy Roosevelt Bull Moose Party candidate for governor. But their relationship was never close after this initial meeting, possibly because the American Churchill, a close friend of Roosevelt, absorbed some of TR's well-known dislike of the Englishman.

A *Boston Daily Globe* 5:00 p.m. extra described the city's English visitor:

Lieut. Churchill has the self-assertiveness of a young man who has done something, but not the egotism of having been "born so"....Thoroughly English, he is still broad in his consideration of enemies and opponents, quick in his answers, with a vein of wit and repartee, and well conversant with the subjects propounded to him.<sup>7</sup>

The qualities perceived by this reporter would reveal themselves consistently throughout Churchill's life.

If Churchill read that newspaper, he might have also glanced at page 1 headlines proclaiming that a returned Boer soldier would be speaking at the Boston Central Branch of the United Irish League the next day. John M. Hart of Worcester, just back from the Transvaal, had fought with American volunteers for »



with one 'impression' firm in his mind—that he had only spent two of the past ten nights in a real bed."<sup>11</sup>

Churchill arrived at South Station at 8:20 a.m. by overnight train from Philadelphia, accompanied by his bodyguard, Sergeant Thompson. Reporters waiting on the platform attracted curious commuters. Churchill smilingly made his way through the throng, raising his hat, to a waiting car and motorcycle escort that brought him to the Copley Plaza.<sup>12</sup> There he received the press for photographs and interviews.

The photographers found him *en suite*, "smoking a sizable cigar and attired in a paisley-patterned dressing gown and a pair of house slippers of reptile skin"; not wishing to be photographed thus, he ducked back into his bedroom and emerged in a sack suit with the familiar polka dot tie, still wearing the reptilian slippers. When the photographers were done, Churchill commanded the reporters to draw near: "Now the artillery can withdraw. Bring on the infantry."<sup>13</sup>

If Churchill read the evening papers he might have seen not merely his interview but also something about the successes a certain Governor Roosevelt was enjoying in the presidential primaries, and President von Hindenberg's decision to run again for the German Presidency in order to thwart Adolf Hitler; these might not have meant anything to him, yet his fate and that of his nation would one day be bound up with those two emerging leaders. He would also have seen screaming headlines about the Lindbergh kidnapping, including an offer from Al Capone to help if the government would release him from Federal prison.

Churchill was taken to the State House to meet the Governor of Massachusetts, and to City Hall to meet the Acting Mayor. He was left cooling his heels at the State

House for an hour before being ushered in to Governor Ely by an aide's announcement: "Okay, big boy; you're next."<sup>14</sup>

That evening he spoke at Symphony Hall. The next day's *Boston Herald* reported on its front page that the hall was packed with 3000 listeners (the *Globe* said he "filled" the hall with 2600). The *Herald* wrote that he "reiterated again and again that Anglo-American relations have never been more harmonious and saw an invulnerable tie in the common language of the two nations." Their common language was a theme he would stress further during his 1943 speech at Harvard.

The *Herald* reported: "The blond, ruddy Englishman, stout but with a bearing which gave evidence of his earlier years as a soldier, developed his serious subject with a light touch."<sup>15</sup>

The *Globe* covered the lecture on page 12 under the headline CHURCHILL SEES U.S. OF EUROPE. It quoted WSC—fourteen years before his "Iron Curtain" Fulton speech and seventeen before his "Mid-Century" MIT speech—as saying, "We are sure to be involved in a long, slow contest with Communism, which teaches that the individual counts for nothing and that the state is all." The *Globe* decided that he was "outspoken, eloquent and witty," and said of his brilliance: "The quality that perhaps cost him a Prime Ministership makes him an eminent lecturer."

After the lecture, Churchill was out of Boston like a shot on the midnight train to New York and his waiting berth on the steamship *Majestic*. He sailed the next night for England, not to return for nearly a decade. "Thus, Winston Churchill left America for a fourth, and in a sense final, time," wrote Robert Pilpel. "Churchill the man would never return to this side of the Atlantic. Next time he came he would be Churchill the legend."<sup>16</sup> »



## AMUSEMENTS

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SYMPHONY HALL  
THURS., MARCH 10, at 8:30

WINSTON  
**CHURCHILL**

"THE DESTINY of the  
ENGLISH SPEAKING PEOPLES"

Presented by Elizabeth Petbody House

EXHAUSTED CAMPAIGNER, 1932. Left: A clearly exhausted Churchill in his hotel room at the Copley Plaza after changing for the photographers (earlier he met them in a more relaxed paisley dressing gown, but thought this unsuitable for photos). Right: He could not have appreciated the ad classification for his speech that night before many listeners at Symphony Hall.

## 1943: In like a lamb, out like a lion

Churchill could not complain of vulgar advance publicity for his 1943 visit to Harvard; there was none whatever. He came into town quite secretly in response to a standing invitation from Harvard to receive an honorary degree. He had found the time while still in America following the Quadrant conference in Quebec:

The President was very anxious for me to keep a longstanding appointment and receive an honorary degree at Harvard. It was to be an occasion of a public declaration to the world of Anglo-American unity and amity. On September 6, I delivered my speech.<sup>17</sup>

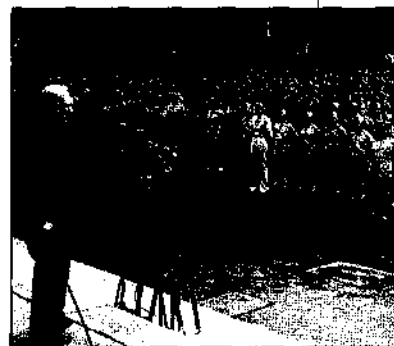
Churchill's physician, Charles Moran, like Sherlock Holmes's Dr. Watson, had a knack for illuminating the truth without recognizing it. Moran wrote in his diary that on the train to Boston: "One might think, from his irritability, that the P.M. had the bug. For some reason, which I cannot fathom, he is taking the speech he is to make at Harvard very seriously."<sup>18</sup>

Churchill *meant* this to be a significant speech. The text, published in *Finest Hour* 80, has been described as the first of a grand trilogy on Anglo-American unity, the other two being the 1946 "Iron Curtain" speech at Fulton and the 1949 mid-century speech at MIT, discussed opposite.

Unknown to the public (but a closely kept open secret with Harvard and the press), Churchill arrived by special train from Washington accompanied by Clementine, his daughter Mary, and several British officials. This time it was the Massachusetts Governor's turn to wait. Governor and Mrs. Leverett Saltonstall and Harvard's President and Mrs. James Conant awaited Churchill's arrival at the Boston & Albany's Beacon Park rail yards in the Allston district.

Several hundred police and secret service agents lined the route. The Prime Minister and his entourage motored to Harvard across the same Charles River over which as a twenty-six-year-old he had predicted his premiership forty-three years before. This time he would not make a paid lecture to a limited audience, but an unpaid broadcast to the world.

After being awarded an honorary doctorate of laws, Churchill spoke in Harvard's Sanders Theatre. His speech was relayed to 10,000 in Harvard Yard and to the world by radio broadcast. He told assembled Americans that "the price of greatness is responsibility" and that the United States could not rise "in many ways to be the leading community in the civilized world without being involved in its problems, without being convulsed by its agonies and inspired by its causes." The United States



"THE PRICE OF GREATNESS IS RESPONSIBILITY," HARVARD, 1943: Clockwise from top left: Mary, Winston and Clementine Churchill arrive at Beacon Park rail yards. Addressing military and naval training forces in Harvard Yard. Arriving for the formal speech at Sanders Theatre. A V-sign for the multitude, with the ever-faithful Detective Walter H. Thompson.

and Britain, he said, "do not war primarily with races as such. Tyranny is our foe, whatever trappings or disguise it wears, whatever language it speaks." He foretold the establishment of the United Nations and stressed the importance of maintaining the Anglo-American alliance after the war, for the safety of the world.<sup>19</sup>

After the ceremonies, Churchill went into Harvard Yard to speak impromptu to 6,000 uniformed students. He warned the officers in training that the climax of the war had not been reached, and that "the heaviest sacrifices in blood and life...lie before the armed forces of Britain and America." He stressed the importance of their intensive military studies, because an abundance of well-trained officers enables the troops to "get their tasks done with incomparably less loss of life."<sup>20</sup>

Following luncheon in Harvard's Fogg Art Museum, he returned to the rail yards and entrained back to Washington. As quickly as he had come, he was gone. Churchill had spent only four hours and fifteen minutes in Boston and Cambridge.

## 1949: "On the path for the elephants"

Churchill returned to Boston in March 1949 to deliver a keynote speech at Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Mid-Century Convocation, a three-day symposium on the "Social Implications of Scientific Progress" and the inauguration of a new university president. If his 1943 movements were shrouded in secrecy, his 1949 itinerary was bathed in publicity. Churchill's schedule and the routes of his comings and goings were announced in the Boston papers, and large crowds gathered wherever he was due to drive by or appear.

He spent the week preceding his speech in New York and Washington. There was great anticipation about what he would say, heightened by the assembling of the foreign ministers of twelve signatory nations in Washington to sign the North Atlantic Treaty. A crowd of 6000 awaited his arrival at South Station the morning of March 31st. At the Ritz Carlton, his party took up the entire 16th floor, where he remained secluded while he polished his remarks. Clementine later remarked that

he had not been pleasant company for the previous two weeks he had worked on it.

So great was demand to hear Churchill that MIT had no space large enough to accommodate the audience. It reluctantly booked the down-market Boston Garden, with its 14,000 chewing gum-encrusted seat capacity, scene of a hockey riot only the night before, and set up an overflow closed circuit projection for an additional 4500 at MIT's Rockwell Cage.<sup>21</sup> Churchill evidently had no misgivings about the site, which seemed to appeal to his boyish side. His limousine entered the Garden by a service entrance. Mindful that the circus had appeared there, Churchill remarked as he and his party got out of the limousine, "The animals were being released from their cages," and as they ascended the ramp leading to the stage, he said, "Here we are on the path for the elephants."<sup>22</sup>

Besides the world radio broadcast, his speech was to be televised live—a first for WSC, who was intrigued by how he would appear on the new medium.<sup>23</sup> The first thing he told the audience was that Britain suffered from a lack of university-level institutions like MIT, which were critical for advancing technology and raising living standards. MIT had a profound effect; his endorsement of the subsequent founding of Churchill College Cambridge as a scientific institution rooted in the humanities is the obvious evidence of how much.<sup>24</sup>

At the onset of the 20th century, Churchill remarked, "little did we guess that what has been called the Century of the Common Man would witness as its outstanding feature more common men killing each other with greater facility than any other five centuries put together in the history of the world." The development of the airplane, as a civil and military instrument, was a mixed blessing for mankind. It affected profoundly human affairs, expanding man's prospects and outlook but without any noticeable advance in his mental faculties or moral character. "His brain got no better, but it buzzed the more."<sup>25</sup>

Churchill devoted much of his speech to relations between the West and the Soviet Union. He said that the warnings he had given three years before at Fulton—warnings that had then "startled and even shocked" many in Britain and the United States—had been "vindicated and fulfilled in much detail" by events. He applauded the new climate of opinion and actions of the West, particularly the Atlantic pact. The immense changes in outlook and the unity of the free world would not have occurred but for the "astounding policy of the Russian Soviet Government," the "thirteen men in the Kremlin, holding down hundreds of millions of people and aiming at the »



"UNITED WE STAND SECURE," MIT, 1949: In Boston Churchill delivered two of his three great speeches on Anglo-American unity. The Harvard speech, opposite, was followed just six years later by a grand climacteric at MIT: "Let us move forward together in discharge of our mission and our duty, fearing God and nothing else."



rule of the world." For his biggest bombshell, and next day's headlines, Churchill bluntly stated:

I must not conceal from you tonight the truth as I see it. It is certain that Europe would have been communized like Czechoslovakia and London under bombardment some time ago but for the deterrent of the atomic bomb in the hands of the United States.<sup>26</sup>

After this speech Churchill's work—but not his duty—was over. One of the commitments he kept was a luncheon hosted the next day by his publishers, Houghton Mifflin, at the Club of Odd Volumes on Beacon Hill (*Finest Hour* 121, Winter 2003-04).<sup>27</sup> After spending most of the afternoon there Churchill attended a gala dinner at the Statler, which became a surprise sixty-fourth birthday parry for Clementine. Reappearing at the Boston Garden on the Convocation's second night to hear the keynote speech by Harold Stassen and to receive an unprecedented honorary lectureship, WSC couldn't help upstaging poor Stassen in his brief remarks:

I carry away from this great gathering sentiments which will enable me for the rest of my life to view in an entirely different light the Boston Tea Party, of which I heard in my early days.<sup>28</sup>

To make his exit, Churchill called for the Marine Band, which President Truman had lent, to play the Marine Hymn. To "The Halls of Montezuma" he strode off the stage, out of the Garden, and into his car. From there he entrained for New York, where he would sail for England. The next day's *Boston Globe* headline read: "Churchill, Eyes Moist, Bids Boston Farewell." *The New York Times* editorialized the day following his departure:

Winston Churchill has been visiting this country at intervals for a long time... The people of this country have thus known him in his impulsive and adventurous youth, in the midstream struggles of his great career, and now as an elder statesman. His physical strength has diminished, but the pungency of his thinking and speaking has not. The man who acted so splendidly has given us also splendid, resounding words... He has spoken and acted for human liberty at the moments of its greatest crises. He so speaks and acts now. With each visit he is increasingly welcome here. May he come soon again.<sup>29</sup>

The *Times* editorial, published on the morrow of Churchill's final departure from Boston, aptly summarizes Boston's four experiences of Winston Churchill during a half century.

## Endnotes

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24. *The Education of a College President*, 111-14.
25. *The New York Times*, 1 April 1949, 10. The speech may also be found at *Winston Churchill Address: MIT Mid-Century Convocation March 31, 1949*, [libraries.mit.edu/archives/exhibits/midcentury/mid-century-churchill.html](http://libraries.mit.edu/archives/exhibits/midcentury/mid-century-churchill.html).
26. See, e.g., *CHURCHILL SAYS BOMB STOPS REDS*, *Boston Herald*, 1 April 1949, 1; "Churchill Holds Atom Bomb Saved Europe from Soviet," *The New York Times*, 1 April 1949, 1.
27. *First Citizen of the World*, 35-36.
28. *Boston Globe*, 2 April 1949, 2.
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# BOOKS, Arts & Curiosities

**TWO OUTSTANDING NEW WORKS** lead summer's bonanza of Churchill-related books. Paul Addison's *Churchill: The Unexpected Hero* is the best of its kind to come along in decades, while David Reynolds' *In Command of History* shows that there is still more to know, if only the assiduous will dig for it.

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# REQUIRED READING

## A Treat Instead of a Treatment

RICHARD M. LANGWORTH

*Churchill: The Unexpected Hero*, by Paul Addison. Oxford U. Press, 308 pages, £30, member price \$20.



The author of the seminal volume on Churchill's domestic politics [*Churchill on the Home Front*, 1992] wrote this compact, thorough biography more or less by accident. After writing the Churchill entry for the new *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, it occurred to Professor Addison that his 30,000 words "could easily be expanded to a short work concentrating on an analysis of Churchill's character and career." The result is a treat. Professor John Ramsden accurately describes it: "...now by a long way the most recommendable short life of WSC. It seems quite amazingly fresh to me."

*Unexpected Hero* is full of arresting insights. Writing of official biogra-

pher Sir Martin Gilbert, for example, Addison is the first author to my knowledge to demonstrate that Gilbert is not bereft of opinion—a common critique by the ill-informed. He quotes Gilbert on Churchill's failings over the Gallipoli episode, and several times to show how Gilbert illumines the often superior judgment of Clementine to Winston. And we naturally are proud of his numerous references to *Finest Hour* articles; he cites The Churchill Centre as "having done much to encourage debate," despite its founding by Churchill admirers.

While balanced between praise and criticism, Addison is scrupulously accurate in areas where other biographers frequently trip. Lord Randolph likely died of a brain tumor, not syphilis; Winston's "rash" act of leading the defense of Antwerp in World War I denied Germany early access to the channel ports; WSC wished to use tear gas, not poison gas, on Arab tribesmen; the phrase, "he mobilised the English language and sent it into battle," is traced not to John Kennedy or

Edward R. Murrow but to the English journalist Beverley Nichols. And so on.

A few minor nits: The mistaken notion about Indian forebears (7) is actually the first of two genealogical myths. It may be uncertain that "captivated" (77) is the right word to describe Churchill's view of a fleet sailing up the Dardanelles to cow Constantinople; a lot of hard-headed analysis went into that strategy (see *Finest Hour* 126). *The World Crisis* is really a far better book than left-wing critics admit (110). *Time* in 1950 named WSC "Man of the Half Century," not "Man of the Year" (224), which made their 2001 attempt to wriggle off the hook on "Person of the Century" all the more hilarious.

These are insignificant points, but we are not left without one major bone to chew: Churchill's role in the bombing of Dresden. The account here is based on an unpublished paper by Sebastian Cox, a Ministry of Defence Air Historian. Cox is incorrect in detail, so far as I can tell, and this seems the only instance where the author relies solely on the conclusions of someone other than himself.

Cox stated that Dresden was bombed as part of "Operation »

Thunderclap," designed at Soviet request to demolish German morale in the closing stages of the war; that the Secretary for Air (Sinclair) and Chief of Air Staff (Portal) "would have preferred to concentrate on oil targets, but when they showed signs of hesitation Churchill settled the matter with a forceful demand for the implementation of the revised 'Thunderclap.' Cox believes Churchill acted so as to strengthen his hand at Yalta, where he was bound to argue with Stalin over Poland and other contentious matters.

But Martin Gilbert writes that the bombing of Dresden, though it *did* arise from a Soviet request, was *not* part of Thunderclap. It was the result of a specific Russian request sent to London while both Churchill and Portal were already en route to Yalta, and was acted upon by Attlee and the deputy chief of air staff. Gilbert doesn't suggest that Churchill would have acted differently, since Dresden was cited as a military target. Churchill would have done almost anything to win the war. But Cox's conclusions suggest a degree of frightfulness which cannot be ascribed.

Addison's summary, "Churchill Past and Present," is worth the price of the book. While acknowledging the legitimate doubts about Churchill's judgement among colleagues and the public, he provides this unanswerable defense: "Churchill's judgement was uneven but compared favourably with that of any of the three main political parties. He was generally consistent in his political beliefs and his apparent shifts were mainly a consequence of a fixed world-view applied to changing circumstances. In normal times, however, British politics had no need of a Man of Destiny." (249)

Addison reminds us: "there was much truth in the Churchillian myth. Churchill *was* prophetic in his warnings of the dangers posed by the rise of Hitler. He *was* the founder and leader of a Coalition government that mobilized Britain for war. At the critical moment his leadership *was* decisive in

ensuring that a compromise peace with Hitler was avoided. As a popular leader his inspirational powers were beyond dispute....he successfully resolved the problem of civil-military relations which had bedevilled the politics of the First World War. It is hard to imagine that any British Prime Minister could have done more to bind together the alliance of Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union."

Where then is the myth? Addison continues: "It lies in the notion that he was always (or almost always) right, and more deeply in a denial of his true personality and the true character of his genius....Much of the so-called revisionism that began after his death, and offended the loyalists who guarded the statue, was not in the least anti-Churchillian. On the contrary it was an attempt to recover the full humanity, and the uneven,

intuitive genius, of a character foreshadowed in Dryden's lines on Achitophel: 'a man so various that he seemed to be, not one, but all mankind's epitome.'"

Paul Addison's book completes a triumvirate of essential books for three different age brackets: Fiona Reynoldson's *Leading Lives* for young people; Celia Sandys' well illustrated and accurate *Churchill* for the more mature; and *Unexpected Hero* for a contemplative, judicious view of Churchill's inimitable fifty-year career. From here, the reader logically moves to the longer, broader tomes like Gilbert's single-volume life, Jenkins, Ramsden, Pelling, Charmley and Manchester, graduating finally to the magisterial official biography, which Addison acknowledges as the trunk from which all branches of modern Churchill studies start.

## A Monumental Book about a Monument

PAUL H. COURTENAY

*In Command of History: Churchill Fighting and Writing the Second World War*, by David Reynolds. Allen, 527 pp, £30, member price \$48.



**Y**ou are over seventy years of age, not in the best of health, exhausted after six years of energetic and unremitting leadership in a

struggle for survival. You are a world statesman from whose lips every utterance is intently studied. And you are the leader of a political party working to regain office in the foreseeable future. So how about spending the next eight years writing two million words in a six-volume history of the recent cataclysm? And, by the way,

some critics half a century hence will be amazed and even scornful if you do not do so *all by yourself*.

Professor and ICS (UK) member David Reynolds is far too good a historian to be among them. His important and masterly book reveals all the pressures placed on Winston Churchill in writing this monumental work, and how these were overcome. Some have been well known for a long time, but others are newly revealed surprises.

Churchill's team of researchers (known as "the Syndicate") was identified early on, for he printed an acknowledgment of their services at the start of each volume. Chief among them were Sir William Deakin, who handled diplomatic and political material; Lieutenant General Sir Henry Pownall, who assembled the military items; and Commodore Gordon Allen, who was in charge of naval matters. Others, such as Denis Kelly, were part of the team, and Lord Ismay was also on hand with general guidance from

his experience as Military Secretary to the War Cabinet.

The three chief players were able to imitate their master's style so effectively that they sometimes drafted whole chapters; this did not prevent some reviewers from remarking: "One of the most engaging things about the book was that he wrote it himself"; or, "The tremendous personality of the author glowers and shines in almost every sentence."

One of the most interesting revelations is that the Cabinet Secretary (Sir Edward Bridges, later Sir Norman Brook) not only arranged for Churchill to have access to Government-owned papers from his premiership—a facility denied to other authors for at least a further thirty years—but also vetted each volume to ensure that the current administration could have no objections to what was to be published. Brook later drafted parts of the text and became, in effect, both an official censor and an unofficial editor. During his five years as Prime Minister Churchill had taken the precaution of having all his minutes and personal telegrams printed and compiled in sixty-eight volumes; it was thus difficult for the government to insist on retaining them. His own wartime working files, held in 600 bulky folders, were stored at the Cabinet Office, where it was easy for the Syndicate to consult them.

David Reynolds reveals the immense sums generated from the sale of the work to British and U.S. publishers, newspapers and magazines. Shrewd legal advice enabled Churchill to convey his papers to a trust, which was entitled to sell material to the publishers without incurring tax; had this not been done, he would have been taxed on his work as an author at 97.5%; in the event he was able—for the first time in his life—to put money worries behind him and to ensure a comfortable future for himself and his family. We are told how Churchill, on assembling his material, had to reassess some of his earlier opinions, e.g., his

under-estimation in 1939-40 of the power of the tank, his complacency in 1940-41 over the effect of air-power against ships, and a growing uncertainty that the western Allies could have beaten the Soviet Union to Berlin in 1945. Deakin persuaded him to soften his view that German generals would have overthrown Hitler if a strong line had been taken by Britain and France over Czechoslovakia in 1938.

Churchill well understood that current diplomatic imperatives meant that he had to be delicate in what he said about contemporary world figures, such as Truman, Eisenhower, de Gaulle, Tito, and the leaders of the Dominions; he also toned down his references to Stalin because he did not want to undermine his hopes for detente. There were also some surprising omissions and minimal references to important events. For example, the Spanish Civil War was barely mentioned, and Stalingrad received scant treatment; above all, it is inevitable that nothing could be revealed about the "Ultra" decrypts of German codes and their effect on decisionmaking. For all these reasons *The Second World War* cannot be seen as definitive, however magnificent it is in other respects. Incidentally David Reynolds does not make the mistake, made by a number of reviewers, that the Nobel Prize for Literature was awarded for this book.

As each of the six volumes is produced, Reynolds shows how publishers and press editors constantly hustled Churchill to meet their deadlines. This had some unfortunate repercussions, notably in Volume I, which contained so many typographical and similar errors that two pages of errata had to be inserted. A principal factor in this was the Book of the Month Club in the United States, which had contracted to receive new volumes for their December issues in time for the Christmas market; this permanent Sword of Damocles, notwithstanding the lucrative returns, clearly had an effect on the rush to complete each volume when greater leeway would have been beneficial.

It is quite clear that, for the historical record, the Conservative defeat in 1945 was a blessing in disguise (as Clementine had suggested); this *magnum opus* could never have been attempted if Winston Churchill had retained the office of Prime Minister.

David Reynolds concludes that, although Churchill may not have personally written most of the book, he decisively set its tone and parameters, and guided and sustained its direction; he remained "in command of history." This is a major work of detection and scholarship; it is amazing that David Reynolds wrote it all himself without a Syndicate of his own.

## Current Relevance Leaps Off the Page

DAVID FREEMAN

*Defending the West: The Truman-Churchill Correspondence, 1945-1960.*  
**Edited with an introduction by G.W. Sand. Praeger, 246 pp. hardbound, \$70, member price \$67.**

**T**his important new work completes a trilogy of the published correspondence between Churchill and the American presidents who overlapped with his time as Prime Minister. In length this volume compares with the Churchill-Eisenhower correspon- »



*TRUMAN-CHURCHILL  
CORRESPONDENCE...*

dence edited by Peter G. Boyle (University of North Carolina Press, 1990), while both are dwarfed by the the three massive volumes of the Churchill-Roosevelt correspondence edited by Warren F. Kimball (Princeton University Press, 1984). Taken altogether, these books provide a solid, unvarnished view of Churchill's working relationships with his American counterparts.

Churchill's Premiership overlapped with just the first three and last eighteen months of the Truman administration. These were critical times, however, especially those three months in the spring of 1945. Well over half the correspondence in this book comes from this period.

Churchill was naturally anxious to establish a good rapport with the man thrust into the White House following President Roosevelt's sudden death on April 12th. Both Allied leaders wanted to meet as soon as possible, but the rush of events leading towards the German surrender combined with the state of transatlantic travel in those days—which was very demanding on a seventy-year-old prime minister—kept Churchill away from Roosevelt's funeral and an early meeting with Truman.

It is for just these reasons, though, that we have such a detailed record of exchange. By contrast, despite their own close, wartime partnership, Mr. Bush and Mr. Blair are unlikely to produce anything similar in the way of written correspondence, given the state of modern communications and jet travel. Historians must be thankful, therefore, that circumstances conspired to commit so much of Churchill's career to paper and that Professors Sand, Boyle and Kimball have worked to provide us with such well-presented texts.

Relations with the Soviet Union dominate the book's 1945 letters. Churchill urged the new president to have Eisenhower's forces meet up with the Red Army as far to the east as pos-

sible. Moving cautiously, however, Truman felt bound to abide by the already agreed upon zones of occupation. In later years the President came to regret that he had not followed the Prime Minister's advice. By that time, however, the Cold War was well under way, and Truman could honestly say that the English-speaking powers had made a good faith effort in their dealings with Stalin at the end of the German war.

It also must be remembered that the atomic bomb was not yet proven, leaving American political and military leaders anxious to secure Soviet entry into the Pacific War, especially if an invasion of the Japanese home islands should prove necessary. An appearance of Anglo-American double-dealing in Europe would have provided Stalin the only excuse he would have needed to opt out of such a potentially bloody commitment. "What the correspondence confirms, however," according to Sand, "was not that U.S. or Anglo-American policy initiated the cold war, but that Stalin's own policies brought on the cold war" (237).

Revisionists who argue that Truman should have made more of an effort to work harmoniously with Stalin at Potsdam in July would do well to read these letters and take note of their concern for the way the Soviets so quickly abandoned the promises made at Yalta just the February before over the creation of a new Polish government.

Churchill, of course, found himself displaced as prime minister in the midst of the Potsdam Conference, leaving his correspondence with the President to continue on a private basis at a dramatically reduced pace. Still, Churchill was anxious to cultivate continued good relations with Truman, in part because he was hopeful to return to power as soon as possible.

Unfortunately, due to a misunderstanding over differences between American and British copyright laws that arose as this book approached publication, Sand was unable to secure

permission to reproduce verbatim and without charge Churchill's private letters to Truman. Instead he has opted to paraphrase the relevant letters under the doctrine of "fair use."

The private correspondence, it must be said, is fairly small in volume, has already been published to a great extent in volume VIII of the official biography by Martin Gilbert, and presumably will some day be published in its entirety. The paraphrased letters are not nearly so important historically as the official letters, falling under Crown copyright and fully reproduced herein.

The volume of correspondence expanded again when Churchill resumed office in October 1951. The dominating issue in these letters was not, as one might expect, the Korean War, but rather the Mossadeq government in Iran. Britain, the United States, oil, and the Middle East: current relevance leaps off the page. Indeed nearly the last official letter Truman had sent Churchill in 1945 was an impassioned plea to lift restrictions on Jewish immigration into Palestine—a request one suspects Churchill would have complied with had he not been replaced by a new, and tragically non-compliant government just two days later.

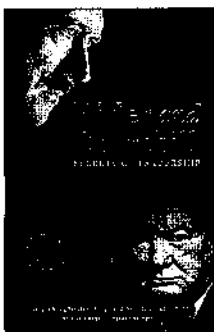
The sincerely amicable relationship established between Churchill and Truman while in office carried over into their retirement years. The Trumans dined at Chartwell while visiting England in 1956. The former president also tried to lure Churchill on a return visit to Missouri, in the hopes that the former prime minister "might have another 'Iron Curtain' speech" in his system (224). Old age, however, drew the correspondence to a close in a series of perfunctory "best wishes" notes that concluded in 1960.

The minor copyright controversy attached to this book does not detract from its scholarly significance. This is a welcome addition to the public record and should find a place in the libraries of all universities and serious students of Churchill.

# The Great Man and K rporal Shicklgriber

TED HUTCHINSON

**Andrew Roberts, *Hitler and Churchill: Secrets of Leadership*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2003, 202 pp. softbound \$14.95, member price \$12.**



**W**hat they shared was: great leadership. Churchill and Hitler commanded the allegiance of millions during some of the most dramatic and difficult times in

world history. One was the epitome of all things decent and good about western civilization; the other was one of the vilest ever to walk the earth. Andrew Roberts argues that both have something to teach us about leadership, and that these lessons are as applicable today as they were during the great contest of World War II.

Roberts' book was an outgrowth of his work on a BBC television series, also called *Secrets of Leadership*, which examined a broader swath of world leaders and their respective leadership styles. As a scholar who has studied Churchill and his era (he has written a fine biography of Halifax, *The Holy Fox*), it makes sense that he would spin off this work into a stand-alone volume that considers the two pivotal figures of the Second World War.

In truth the volume offers almost nothing that is new. Most of it is little more than a collection of anecdotes and observations that can be found in any good biography of Churchill or Hitler. Roberts is a fine writer, but one can only read the story of Churchill's quip to John Colville about favorably mentioning the Devil in the House of Commons so many times before boredom takes over.

Neither is Roberts' format particularly unique. The "dual-biography"

book has already been done a number of times by authors looking for insight into the two men, and often done better. John Strawson's *Churchill and Hitler in Victory and Defeat* was packed with information in a way that Roberts' slim volume simply cannot be, while John Lukacs' *The Duel 10 May-31 July 1940: The Eighty-Day Struggle Between Churchill and Hitler* is smarter, with much deeper thought and insight.

We are reaching a saturation point in Churchill studies, where the sheer volume of known information makes reiterations particularly hard to appreciate. Over the past five years I have read virtually every new book published in English about Churchill; I would classify only a handful as particularly good, and fewer still contain startlingly new material or insight. There is so much published on Churchill (with mounds more coming out each year) that it is almost impossible to say anything profoundly new about the man in book-length form; the same is probably true about Hitler. So we need other ways of considering the latest books about Churchill.

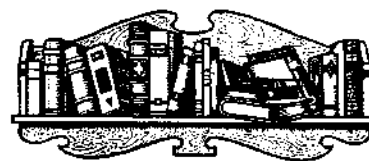
One of the most important criteria in judging new Churchill books is their readability, and here Roberts can be recommended. For instance, when Roberts explores the respective oratorical powers of Churchill and Hitler (22) he comes to the same conclusion of scores before him: that Churchill was a truly original and inspirational speaker, while Hitler was a rabble-rouser who appealed to the worst instincts of his listeners. But Roberts also peppers this section with a load of interesting examples from each speaker's oeuvre, and if it is all very familiar, it is also very well told.

Another thing to glean from new books like this is a new insight, which sometimes manifests itself as little more than a nice turn of phrase in a

sea of well-trod facts. Roberts does this a number of times, which adds to the well-told story. For instance, he observes (61) that Hitler was an almost completely unexceptional man, without talent, except his ability to speak in public, while Churchill was a man of almost limitless talents. I am not sure this is quite right; Hitler was exceptionally talented in a number of areas related to politics. But Roberts forges the observation into an interesting question: how could two men so diametrically different rise to such similar heights?

He makes an even better observation a little later when he writes:

Churchill demonstrated that leaders don't need charisma or dictatorial powers to inspire others. After meeting Hitler, people felt that he, the F hrer, could achieve anything. But when people met Churchill, they felt that they themselves could achieve anything. (68)



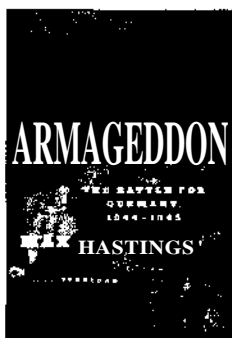
This is exactly right, both in its tone and in its larger message, which is central to the book. Churchill was an inspirational democratic leader who learned from his mistakes, relied on and trusted a skilled staff, and was guided by his humanity and sense of justice. Hitler appealed to the mob, ignored bad news, shunned his advisers, and always assumed the worst even from his most loyal followers. Thus, in difficult times, Hitler was at his worst while Churchill was at his best.

I am afraid however that regardless of his title, Roberts fails to reveal any deeply-hidden secrets of leadership practiced by the two men. He is telling an old tale, one most have heard before. But he tells it in a way that is pleasant, and in a few select places makes it almost seem new again. And in a world flooded by books on Churchill, that is probably enough. »

## Deepening Respect for the Soldiers of WW2

REGE BEHE

***Armageddon: The Battle for Germany, 1944-1945*, by Max Hastings. Knopf, 584 pp., \$30, member price \$24.**



Histories of war are not only written by the victors; they are told predominantly through the viewpoint of the statesmen, generals and leaders. Max

Hastings' *Armageddon* includes those, but also interviews 170 contemporary witnesses described as "ordinary human beings to whom extraordinary things happened."

Hastings, the award-winning author of *Overlord: D-Day and the Battle for Normandy, 1944*, thinks the stories of soldiers in the trenches and citizens affected by war helped him develop a deeper respect for the men and women whom journalist Tom Brokaw called "The Greatest Generation."

"We tend to look at the world in which we're living today and to see everything in terms of what's going on around us," Hastings says from his home outside London. "You often hear people saying today we live in a terrible world, we have the threat of international terrorism and al-Qaida and 9/11. I personally believe each generation has to face different challenges, but when you see what our parents and grandparents who lived through the Second World War went through, it helps us to understand, for all our problems today, we're a fantastically privileged and pampered generation."

Hastings has been interviewing people about their experiences during

World War II for twenty-five years. He remains amazed by the "summits of courage" some attained and the "depths of baseness" others plumbed. Particularly striking in *Armageddon* is the author's portrayal of the difference in the conflicts between the Western and Eastern fronts. While it is folly to compare the relative evils of combat, Hastings says, the animosity between Russia and Germany led to scenes of carnage and abuse that surpassed the conflicts of the Western front:

"It sounds ridiculous to say people in Northwest Europe had an easy time. They certainly didn't. But they had an awful lot easier time than the Russians and Germans in the East. An lot of Germans who were posted in the Western Front, after serving in the East, found it less rough."

American and British soldiers had radically different views of the German army from their Russian counterparts, Hastings continues: "A lot of Americans, and British too, said they didn't feel any great hatred for the Germans until the revelations of the concentration camps came through. There was much more American hatred towards the Japanese—stemming, of course, from Pearl Harbor—than there was towards the Germans."

From interviews he conducted, Hastings discovered there was a surprising degree of mercy among the combatants in the West. But in the East, "it was impossible to come across any case where anybody showed mercy. These were two huge, terrible tyrannies engaged in a terrible struggle."

One of the points of emphasis in *Armageddon* is the popular contention that there were missed opportunities to end the war after it seemed the Allied forces were in control during August, 1944. Instead of pressing their attack, there was an attitude that was, if not leisurely, decidedly less than urgent among the Allies. By then, however, it

was far too late to prevent Russian forces from asserting their dominance in the East; a rift between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill illustrated the Allies' divided state:

"From 1944 onward, Churchill became fed up with Roosevelt because he felt the Nazi tyranny in Eastern Europe was going to be supplanted by the Soviet tyranny," Hastings says.

"The truth was that the Russians were getting there first. If we were going to prevent the Soviets from taking over Eastern Europe and imposing their own terrible tyranny, the Western allies would have to have invaded Normandy much sooner."

The United States adopted a "very altruistic attitude" toward its involvement in World War II. Henry Kissinger, who served as staff sergeant in the U.S. Army, told Hastings that America was determined to be one of the first nations in the history of war to have no territorial objectives. "America was determined to bring down the Nazi tyranny and not demand anything for itself, and this was very noble," Hastings believes. "But it also proved quite naive, when you're up against the Russians, who were pursuing absolutely ruthless territorial objectives."

Hastings also contends that the U.S. made a conscious decision to win World War II "by using its superior industrial and technological powers, creating a smaller army than any of the other combatants." By comparison, Russia committed more troops, and suffered more casualties. "There was a reluctance, even as the Cold War got going, to face up to how far the Western allies had morally compromised the cause of freedom by depending on the Soviets, who were in their way as ghastly as the Nazis, to do a lot of the fighting for us. Without the Russians, we might have won, but it would have taken a terribly long time, because they were prepared to go at it with a savagery the Western democracies couldn't." \$3

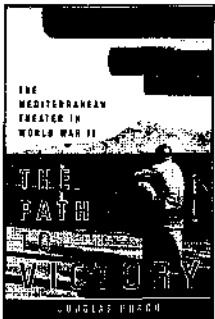
Mr. Behe is a book reviewer for the *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review*, by whose kind courtesy this review is reprinted.



# An Important Stop on the Way to D-Day

CALVIN L. CHRISTMAN

*The Path to Victory: The Mediterranean Theater in World War II*, by Douglas Porch. Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 800 pp., \$35, member price \$28



As the memory of World War II slips away and the veterans of that conflict answer their last roll call, the national recollection of that titanic struggle has centered on the D-

Day landings at Normandy on 6 June 1944. Decisive as that event remains, however, it is well to remember that the war extended far beyond just one invasion or one D-Day.

Douglas Porch, a professor at the Naval Postgraduate School, builds a persuasive case that the Mediterranean theater, which stretched from Spain to Syria and from Italy to Ethiopia, was the pivotal Anglo-American theater of the war. Without it, there could have been no triumph at Normandy. The evidence lies in his brawny volume, *The Path to Victory*. Full of sprightly prose, keen insights and extensive research, his text deserves to be read and then re-read to gain its full flavor and wisdom.

Mr. Porch argues that after the collapse of France and the British evacuation at Dunkirk in 1940, Winston Churchill understood that the Mediterranean represented the only area where Britain, fighting alone, had any chance to defeat the Axis. In doing so, Britain could prove her worth as a future ally to a still neutral but very watchful United States. At the same time, Hitler would be hindered by a

Mr. Christman leads WW2 battlefield tours to Europe, teaches military history at Cedar Valley College, and contributes to *The Dallas Morning News*. This review is reprinted by permission of the newspaper and the author.

chronic shortage of fuel, burdened by the lack of an effective navy, and dragged down by Mussolini, an incompetent ally.

Once the United States entered the war, U.S. Army chief of staff George C. Marshall forcefully argued that the Mediterranean was an unnecessary British sideshow that should be avoided, and that, instead, the Allies should invade Western Europe as early as 1943. President Roosevelt overruled Marshall, committing U.S. forces to join their British comrades in the invasion of North Africa in 1942 and Italy in 1943.

Roosevelt understood that an invasion of France in 1943 would be too risky. A defeat might have fractured the Anglo-American alliance and spelled political doom for both Churchill and Roosevelt. Instead, by adopting a Mediterranean strategy, FDR purposely postponed the invasion of France until 1944, giving the United States a chance to test its Army. Additionally, it provided the Allies essential time to gain experience in amphibious operations, to defeat the German U-boat menace, and to secure needed air superiority. None of these crucial ingredients would have existed in a 1943 invasion of France.

There was more to Roosevelt's thinking. Ever the astute politician, he knew that by 1944 the U.S. would furnish the majority of the troops for the invasion of France and the liberation of Western Europe. This would inevitably mean that an American, rather than a British general, would command the invasion, confirming American dominance in the Western front and the postwar world to come.

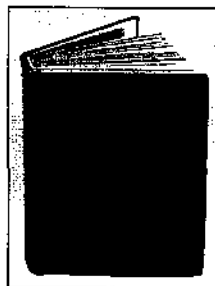
In arguing for the Mediterranean's pivotal role, Porch concludes that it "made the difference between victory and defeat." In short, it provided the essential path from Dunkirk to Normandy.

## OLD TITLES REVISITED

### "Half a Pitt and Half a Puck"

DANIEL N. MYERS

*Winston Churchill: Being an Account of the Life of the Right Hon. Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill, PC, C.H., T.D., M.P.*, by "Ephesian" [C. Bechofer Roberts]. London: Mills & Boon, 1927; New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1928, 272 pp.. Extended editions, London: Newnes, 1936; Hutchinson, 1940. Zoller All. Availability: fairly common.



It is often more fascinating and revealing to read a contemporaneous biography than the account of someone's life from a distance.

When the author is close in time, one sometimes finds a very different and usually biased take on the subject than that more discretionary appraisals written long after the events recorded. Details frequently presented in summary fashion by later biographers are often given in much greater, and interesting, detail by a contemporary.

So it is with this rather well known book, one of the earliest biographies of Winston Churchill, written by a contemporary and dedicated to the wife of Churchill's friend, Lord Birkenhead (F. E. Smith). While Ephesian's bias in favor of Churchill is evident throughout, the writing is well done and highly readable, all the more because of the detail the author provides on Churchill's early years in the army and in Parliament.

While Roy Jenkins' masterful biography, *Churchill*, is by far the more detailed telling on Churchill's parliamentary ups and downs, Ephesian—C. Bechofer Roberts—gives us a contemporary view of the major battles »

**EPHESIAN...**

in which Churchill figured, which formed his character and the attitudes of those who knew him.

The author effectively uses excerpts from Churchill's novel, *Savrola*, as chapter headings. Not only apposite, they tell an autobiographical tale in themselves. If you haven't read *Savrola*, this book will prompt you to do so—despite Churchill's counsel against it.

The author begins the first chapter with this apt quotation: "Ambition was the motive force, and *Savrola* was powerless to resist it." Even more descriptive is his selection for the heading of Chapter II:

"Would you rise in the world?" said *Savrola*. "You must work while others amuse themselves. Are you desirous of a reputation for courage? You must risk your life. Would you be strong morally or physically? You must resist temptations. All this is paying in advance; that is prospective finance. Observe the other side of the picture; the bad things are paid for afterwards."

The author offers several interesting observations and predictions. For example, when describing Churchill's service as Minister of Munitions in 1918, he writes:

After a while [Churchill] is entrusted by the United States Government with an immense and almost unlimited commission to equip its growing armies in France. This trust represents the high-water mark of Anglo-American cordiality, never reached before and unlikely perhaps soon to be reached again.

(I must read his later editions to find out whether he amended this prediction in 1936 or in 1940.)

For those who love books, Chapter X may be the best of all. Here the author reviews each of Churchill's literary productions, from *Savrola* to *The World Crisis*. For Roberts/Ephesian, it would appear that Churchill's literary accomplishments are his greatest claim to fame which, at the time, was probably so. Noting that "Churchill has achieved another of his ambitions: he wins immortality as a writer," our author dangles the possibility that there could be more: "In what other charac-

ters will his name be written in history?"

One is tempted to jump to the final chapter of the book to see how the author predicts the future of this famous man who, while destined to live nearly another forty years, appeared to many to have reached the pinnacle of his career in 1928. Does Ephesian predict immortality?

Not quite: he comes close but doesn't foresee a future Prime Minister. Noting that "for thirty years [WSC] has been marked out as a potential Prime Minister," he backs away from the ever-beckoning prize, saying merely, "there are greater things than the mere attainment of exalted office."

Does he possess the strength, the resilience of character, and the enthusiasm for this supreme task? I like to think that a revealing key to Churchill's character may be found in the alternating expressions which dominate his features. Sometimes these are fixed in a severe frown of statesmanlike reserve; at other moments they light up with the mischievous air of a schoolboy. Would it, I wonder, be altogether wrong to define him as half a Pitt and half a Puck?

Pitt was the youngest person (24) ever to become Prime Minister. Ephesian concludes that "Puck will humanize Pitt; Pitt will moderate Puck." And so it would seem. However, another of the author's predictions misses the mark by a mile: "Age, if he ever grows old—which seems extremely doubtful—must mellow him\_\_\_"

I commend this book to anyone interested in the formative years of a dynamic man. Roberts/Ephesian documents his rise and accomplishments with authority and ease, using Churchill's own writing effectively in the process. Treat yourself to an enjoyable evening's reading and get a copy.

First editions end with Churchill as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Later editions in 1936 and 1940 carry the story forward. Copies are readily available in many used bookshops, or through online resources such as Advanced Book Exchange ([www.abe-books.com](http://www.abe-books.com)). I found my copy, a 1928 American first, in a used bookshop in Boston for under \$25.

**TELEVISION**

**WSG Hollywood Style**

**DARIUS NIKBIN**

*Churchill: The Hollywood Years*, directed by Peter Richardson. British television comedy starring Neve Campbell, Christian Slater, Harry Enfield, 85 minutes.

Calling upon scientific method to deduce how funny this movie is, I'm using a new measure of "funniness" that is simply measured by "laughs per joke." Director Richardson is famous for the late-night TV comedy *Stella Street*, an extreme "hit-and-miss" programme whose laughs per joke ratio usually registers 0.2 (a fifth of the jokes are funny). This is pretty bad, but in laughs per joke *Churchill: The Hollywood Years* is came out 0.13—ridiculously low for a feature film.

Forget science. What can one say about a movie whose premise is that Churchill was actually an after-dinner speaker and character actor called Roy Bubbles?—or includes a joke about Hitler driving a car into a wall? What could one say about a movie that tries to take one of the grimmest periods of modern history and turn it into a comedic farce?

One could say "congratulations" because, despite being a patched-up, nonsensical sequence of tenuously connected sketches, there are genuinely a few decent laughs to be had. It will provide a decent evening's light entertainment, thanks to the comedic talents of Harry Enfield, Phil Cornwell, Dave Clifton and Vic Reeves, who embellish the film with its few memorable scenes. Once you've realised after the first five minutes that this is not going to be a conventional experience—once you have accepted that and somewhat changed your expectations—then the rest is plain sailing and rather enjoyable.

*Mi*

Mr. Nikbin's review is from Felixonline ([www.felixonline.co.uk](http://www.felixonline.co.uk)), the student on-line magazine of Imperial College.

"The Famous and the Forgotten of Plugstreet Wood," by Lloyd Clark, *Battlefields Review* 18: 2002.

**n**o walk the peaceful Belgian wood which the Tommies called "Plugstreet," eight miles south of Ypres, is to tread in the footsteps of volunteers and conscripts of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) who occupied the one and one-half square mile area for all but six months of the war.

ion, 6/ Royal Scots Fusiliers, at Ploegsteert, and established a reserve HQ on the road south to Armentières. It was here whilst writing ideas about a new weapon to help infantry attacks that Churchill was forced to flee from an bombardment that destroyed his office. On his return he could find no sign of the documents but after three nervous days he happened to reach into a little-used pocket where his hand fell upon the papers—the secrecy

## TWO REQUIEMS

CHURCHILL'S LEGACY, 1915 AND 1965: From Ploegsteert Wood to his state funeral many perspectives had changed.

Most of their names meant as little during the war as they do today, but a remarkable number were either famous or to become so: Churchill, Eden, Montgomery, Archibald Sinclair, the cartoonist Bruce Bairnsfather and the poet Aubrey Leighton are among the notable. A few miles away in Messines, Adolf Hitler served as a corporal during the winter of 1914-15.

During the extraordinary "Christmas Truce" of 1914, German and British troops fraternized and exchanged presents, and even played a football match. Poet Bairnsfather wrote of "clambering up and over our parapet [to] join the throng about half-way across the German trenches. It felt most curious: here were these sausage-eating wretches, who had elected to start this infernal European fracas, and in so doing had brought us all into the same muddy pickle as themselves....there was not an atom of hate on either side....suddenly, one of the Boches ran back to his trench and presently reappeared with a large camera. I posed in a mixed group for several photographs, and have ever since wished I had fixed up some arrangement for getting a copy."

Churchill commanded a battal-

of the "tank" had been preserved.

After the unpredictability of politics, Churchill found the routine of the trenches initially satisfying, though he was soon itching to return to Parliament. His troops were impressed by his industry, bravery, and concern for their welfare. One officer, Lt. Jock McDavid, said he "accelerated the morale of the officers and men to an almost unbelievable degree. It was sheer personality." Wearing his trademark French blue "Adrian" helmet, Churchill did not shy away from danger. McDavid was impressed: "I have seen him on the fire step in broad daylight to encourage the Jocks, and to prove to the man on the fire step how little danger there was of being hit."

By early May Churchill had left the front. 6/ Royal Scots Fusiliers left the sector later that year.

Plugstreet Wood does not seem to have attracted as much interest as other areas of the Western Front. However, it reflects the truth of what so much of the fighting was actually like, and reveals that, although difficult to measure, wartime service was likely to have been a character-defining experience in the lives of those who survived.

—ABSTRACT BY THE EDITOR

"40 Years On" by Greg Neale, *BBC History Magazine*, January 2005.

**F**orty years on from Winston Churchill's funeral forms an ideal point at which to reassess how his reputation has been affected by different historians, and to reconsider how the event itself reflected Churchill's place in history. David Cannadine's thesis is that the funeral was "a requiem for Britain as a great power." It was watched by about 350 million around the world, and in the words of the BBC's Richard Dimbleby, giving what proved his own last broadcast, there had not been an event "which has touched the hearts of people quite as much as this one is doing today."

Geoffrey Best recalled how he was "deeply moved as by no televised event, before or since." Simon Schama remembered that "the cutting-edge glamour of the new Britain was utterly engulfed by the immense epic of the national past," and that it was the impact of the funeral which prompted him to re-read Churchill's *History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, which "first kindled [his] passion for history."

David Reynolds holds that the funeral's sense of a chapter closing made it possible for books like Moran's *Churchill: The Struggle for Survival*, and Rhodes James's *Churchill: A Study in Failure*, to be published. The process has continued down to recent books such as Paul Addison's *Churchill: The Unexpected Hero*, where it is argued that Churchill is "the kind of hero our disenchanted culture can accept and admire: a hero with feet of clay." The interest in Churchill studies is likely to continue: his recent nomination as "Greatest Briton" in a BBC poll in 2002 shows his continuing impact on the popular imagination.

For some, there is an argument that Churchill outlived his era, while other writers argue that the continuities in British life were symbolised in Churchill. Whatever view one takes, it is surely a measure of the man that the debates continue.

—ABSTRACT BY ROBERT COURTS M>

# THE MOST CARICATURED

**WINSTON CHURCHILL IN CARICATURE:** Through September 17th, the London exhibition of the Political Cartoon Society presents the many faces of Churchill as seen by cartoonists, friendly and vicious, over sixty years.

BY TIM BENSON

**W**ith an unrivalled political career, Winston Churchill became the most caricatured and cartooned politician of all time. His egocentric personality, along with his capacity for political misjudgment, offered a welcome target to cartoonists of all political persuasions. From his first election to Parliament in 1900 through his retirement as an MP in 1964, Churchill was taken to task by cartoonists of all political stripes at every available opportunity.

At its gallery in London, the Political Cartoon Society is offering the first exhibition of original cartoons to focus exclusively on Churchill's long and illustrious political career. The display, made up of about sixty-five original cartoons by some thirty-five cartoonists, simultaneously summarises the 20th century's

Dr. Benson is curator of the Political Cartoon Gallery, 32 Store Street, London WC1E 7BS. The gallery is open weekdays 9 am-5.30 pm and Saturdays 11am-5.30 pm. Nearest underground stop is Goodge Street Station (Northern Line). For further information email [info@politicalcartoon.co.uk](mailto:info@politicalcartoon.co.uk) or telephone (0207) 580-1114 or (07973) 622371.



most important events as experienced and influenced by one of its most remarkable characters.

The exhibition, although mainly featuring leading British cartoonists such as Low, Strube, Vicky, Zee, Illingworth, E. H. Shepard, Cummings and Lancaster, also has work by American, Australian, Spanish and Soviet cartoonists, showing their many and varied views of the war leader who became

renowned for his fondness for cigars, siren suits, hats and victory salutes. Stubborn, irascible, incisive and inspirational, Churchill's character and achievements live again through the medium of these vivid contemporary original drawings.

The artists represented were not only the best of Fleet Street, but lesser known cartoonists who worked for provincial newspapers around Britain, such as J. C. Walker (*Western*

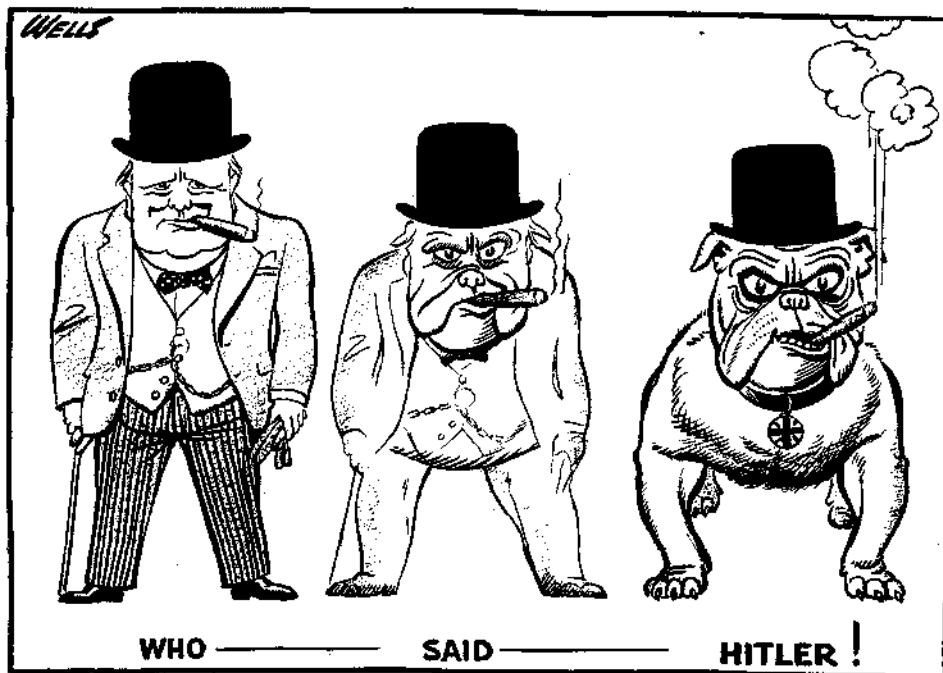
# POLITICIAN OF ALL TIME

*Mail*), George Butterworth (*Manchester Daily Dispatch*) and Arthur Potts (*Bristol Evening World*). Some of these provincial cartoonists were just as good as their Fleet Street counterparts, and the work by so-called little known artists adds an extra dimension to the exhibit.

The majority of cartoonists in Britain may not have cared for Churchill's politics, especially over the economy when he served as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the 1920s and stood with the die-hards over India in the early 1930s. But they were prepared to champion his cause when they deemed it justified. They were generally in sympathy with Churchill's warnings over Hitler's intentions in the late 1930s.

When war eventually broke out in September 1939, the cartoons that appeared in the national press portrayed Churchill as the only man capable of offering Britain the stoic leadership it so desperately needed. On Churchill replacing the demoralised Chamberlain, it was David Low's cartoon, "All Behind you, Winston" (on display) that best captured the public mood of the time. Throughout the whole of the Second World War, the cartoonists upheld Churchill's war leadership without once denigrating or ridiculing him.

On display also are a number of cartoons that Churchill acquired during his lifetime. An avid collector of cartoons in which he appeared, WSC hardly ever complained about the treatment he received at the hands of the cartoonists—and as the exhibit shows, he certainly came in for some merciless treatment. The first time he was ever upset by a »



SUBJECT OF THE CENTURY. Page opposite: For Churchill's eightieth birthday "Vicky" created a collage of Churchills in the style of famous artists, scrawling on his work, "With apologies to Holbein, Rembrandt, Modigliani, Toulouse-Lautrec, Van Gogh, Millais and Picasso." Above: The bulldog comparison fascinated illustrators. Wells performs a Jekyll and Hyde transformation, 22 January 1941. Right: Gilbert and Sullivan, whose plays Churchill loved, provided the title line, from "The Pirates of Penzance," to this cartoon by "Ric" showing a jovial First Lord of the Admiralty, 2 January 1913.





**GOOD TIMES AND BAD:** Leslie Illingworth of *Punch* was one of Churchill's admiring caricaturists when Churchill was up, especially during World War II when, for example, he penned the cartoon above (5 December 1940). Marking the destroyers-for-bases arrangement with Roosevelt, the caption read, "The postman knocks twice." But Churchill down—as in the cartoon of 3 February 1954—was fair game for Illingworth, who knew also he would please his master, *Punch* editor Malcolm Muggeridge, who famously believed that the Prime Minister was "past it" and needed to retire. Churchill was old, but he didn't look *this* bad. The ugly caption read, "Man goeth forth unto his work and to his labour until the evening."

a cartoon surprisingly was not one of himself but of one of his Cabinet Ministers—and a Labour one to boot. The culprit was Low, with a cartoon in the *Evening Standard* on 13 December 1940, making fun of Arthur Greenwood, then a Minister without Portfolio.

In a letter to Beaverbrook, Churchill wrote: "The cartoon in today's *Evening Standard* against Greenwood will certainly make your path and mine more stony. I know the difficulty with Low, but others do not, and cartoons in your papers showing your colleagues in ridiculous

guise will cause fierce resentment."

For his eightieth birthday, Churchill was presented with two cartoons by Vicky and Low which he treasured—unlike the oil portrait of him by Graham Sutherland, to which he took an instant dislike: "a remarkable example of modern art....I look like a down and out drunk who had been picked out of the gutter in the Strand."

In contrast, Vicky's cartoon, which is exhibited (and on page 46) is a collection of portraits of Churchill in the style of famous artists and subtitled, "With apologies

to Holbein, Rembrandt, Modigliani, Toulouse-Lautrec, Van Gogh, Millais and Picasso." Low's watercolour of a room full of Winstons at different stages of his life, now a permanent exhibit at the new Churchill Museum, carries the charming caption: "To Winston, with affectionate birthday greetings from his old castigator—Low." (This cartoon was reproduced in the color centerspread of *Finest Hour* 80.)

Among contentious Churchill cartoons, the exhibit hosts a very notorious one by Illingworth, on public display for the very first time. Published in *Punch* on 3 February 1954, it is entitled, "Man goeth forth unto his work and to his labour until the evening." Churchill is shown listless at his desk, his face registering the unmistakable effects of a partial paralysis he had suffered the preceding summer. (See "The Cartoon That Shocked the P.M." by the author, *Finest Hour* 113.)

Churchill was bitterly hurt by Illingworth, who had earlier produced several admiring cartoons: "Yes, there's malice in it. Look at my hands—I have beautiful hands. *Punch* goes everywhere. I shall have to retire if this sort of thing goes on." Churchill's doctor, Lord Moran, was also shocked by what he considered a vicious caricature of the Prime Minister: "There was something un-English in this savage attack on his failing powers. The eyes were dull and lifeless. There was no tone in the flaccid muscles; the jowl sagged. It was the expressionless mask of extreme old age."

An illustrated catalogue accompanies the exhibition including the author's essay, "Low on Churchill." Sotherans of Sackville Street are the sponsors of Churchill in Caricature.

The exhibit was opened on May 25th by The Lady Soames. \$5

# WORKS IN PROGRESS

## The Companion Volumes, 1942-1965

**T**he first three volumes of *Churchill War Papers*, aka the Companion Volumes to the official biography, appeared in 1993, 1995 and 2000.

The previous Companion Volumes for vol. 5 of the o.b. appeared in 1979, 1981 and 1982. Seven more volumes are planned in all: one each year for 1942-1945; one for the opposition period (1945-51); one for the second Premiership (1951-55); and one for the last years (1955-65).

W. W. Norton abandoned the War Papers as U.S. publisher after 2000, citing the increasing size of the books and the gaps between their appearance. Cassell remained willing to be "UK publisher" but their interest was peripheral. They "published" only 300 or so copies of each volume, supplied by Norton with the Cassell imprint, charged double Norton's price, and then complained about low sales. Subsequently an important educational institution offered to publish the remaining seven Companion Volumes (1942-1965) and to republish the entire official biography, including the eight biographic and sixteen previous document volumes now out of print, most notably the rare companions to vol. 5. Arrangements are being completed but there is no schedule established.

## William Manchester's *Defender of the Realm*

**P**aul Reid, the author assigned to finish William Manchester's Churchill trilogy, *The Last Lion*, informed us in January of progress of the final volume, *Defender of the Realm 1940-1965*: "I just finished Part One

**UNPUBLISHED BUT NOT FORGOTTEN:** The Companion Volumes to the Official Biography have been rescued, and the whole o.b. is to be reprinted, but arrangements are still being completed; and its many fans will be pleased that Manchester's *Last Lion*, vol. 3, is being written by CC member Paul Reid.

(1940). I expect to have Part Two (1941) completed by June, parts three to five by mid-2006. Publication is set for sometime in 2007.

"Bill's notes and interviews run to thousands of pages, enough to fuel at least three more volumes. My job, therefore, is to pace this final volume. About half of it will cover 1940 and 1941, about forty percent the remainder of the war, and about 10-15 percent the postwar years. Bill saw the postwar years (or at least the last decade) as a long 'afterward.' Having been guided by Bill the last year of his life, and having in hand the pages he wrote (through the Fall of France) I think I have a good feeling for the pace he set and where he was going. The pages he finished are, as was usual with Manchester, marvelous, full of suspense and foreshadowing, a real tale beautifully told.

"Among many things he made clear to me was his desire that this book be an enjoyable read for younger people, under forty years of age, who did not grow up with stories of the war percolating through their household. There is a mighty big audience of readers out there who are in early middle age and who were not yet born when John Kennedy died. Bill wanted to give them—and all his readers, of any age—a narrative that just rolls along, strong and deep and wide."

We certainly feel confident, from Paul's obvious enthusiasm for the job and understanding of the author, that *The Last Lion* is in good hands, and we with him Godspeed. —RML

## American Titles

**M**ost bibliophiles know that certain Churchill works had different titles in America, usually because the author was rather less known in the USA than England, but which in the opinion of many were more effective: *My Early Life* became *A Roving Commission* (the English subtitle), and *Thoughts and Adventures* became *Amid These Storms*—the latter, at least, at Churchill's suggestion, when Charles Scribner asked for an alternative.

James Lancaster in France sends us this note on another American title substitution, *While England Slept*. The reference is Bruce Lockhart's *Your England* (London: Putnam, 1955, 201):

"My American publishers, Messrs G. P. Putnam's Sons, told me an excellent story which was later confirmed by Lady Churchill. In 1938 Mr Churchill had sold to Putnam's in New York his book of speeches published by Harrap, entitled *Arms and the Covenant*. As in this period the United States had little interest in arms and none at all in the League of Nations, the directors of Putnam's cabled to Mr Churchill begging him to suggest a new title.

"Mr. Churchill put forward *The Years of the Locust*, but the cable arrived in the corrupt form of *The Years of the Lotus*. Putnam's directors were baffled. They did not wish to trouble Mr. Churchill again. So they sat up all night wracking their brains for an idea. *The Years of the Lotus*

*continued on page 51...*



# CHURCHILL TRIVIA

Questions on contemporaries (C), literary (L), miscellaneous (M), personal (P), statesmanship (S) and war (W) are arranged in four sets of six. Answers inverted at right.

1519. Who became Lord President of the Council upon the resignation of Neville Chamberlain in 1940? (C)

1520. For what book did Churchill outline the first five chapters, but then abandon the project? (L)

1521. What famous grandfather of Pamela Plowden, Winston's lady friend, wrote *The Last Days of Pompeii*? (M)

1522. What Italian Communist partisan captured a sniper who might have killed WSC on 25 August 1944, when the PM was visiting the Gothic Line near Sahara, Italy, on the Adriatic Coast? (P)

1523. On what occasion did Churchill say, "Come then, let us go forward together with our united strength"? (S)

1524. Where in Europe can one find a commemorative plaque of Churchill's military service in World War I? (W)

1525. Who was Churchill's commanding officer in the 4th Hussars at Bangalore, India, in 1896-1897? (C)

1526. *The British Gazette*, published during the 1926 General Strike, started with a circulation of 232,000 on the first night, May 5th. About what was its circulation on the last night, May 12th? (L)

1527. The U.S. destroyer *Winston S. Churchill* is not the first American navy ship named after an Englishman. How many American warships were named after Britons before Churchill? (M)

1528. Where did Churchill have a tree house? (P)

1529. On what occasion did Churchill

comment, "In the past we have had a light that flickered, in the present we have a light which flames, and in the future there will be a light which shines over all the land and sea"? (S)

1530. Where did Churchill go ashore after Operation Overlord? (W)

1531. In 1940, Churchill assigned a new ambassador to Spain who mused, "It was Winston's way of pushing me out of the picture." Who was he? (C)

1532. On 22 April 1904 Churchill lost his train of thought during a speech on the Trade Union Trade Disputes Bill and sat down. To whom did Churchill write of his experience five weeks later? (L)

1533. When Churchill's daughter Mary was 17 and planned to marry Eric Duncannon, son of Lord Bessborough, who persuaded her to wait? (M)

1534. At the Churchill Stakes on 14 May 1951, what was the name of Churchill's thoroughbred? (P)

1535. In 1889 WSC said, "So the great game goes on and gentlemen, it is for you to say that it shall go on—that it shall not be interrupted until we are come through [sic] all the peril and trial and rule in majesty and tranquility...." To what "great game" did he refer? (S)

1536. Which official Japanese organization declared war on Great Britain during World War II? (W)

1537. Who congratulated Churchill after his maiden speech in Parliament by calling him "my rt. hon. friend"? (C)

1538. What is the title of the second published collection of speeches? (L)

1539. What American Service Medal did Churchill receive from Gen. Pershing after World War I? (M)

1540. Who said, "Mr. Churchill by his father is an Englishman and by his mother an American, no doubt a blend that makes the perfect man"? (P)

1541. In December 1940, the PM urged Gen. Wavell to follow up his victory at Sidi Barrani with the famous telegram, "St. Matthew Chapter 7, Verse 7." Without looking it up, how close can you come to reciting the verse? (S)

1542. In 1935, Winston Churchill was a member of the ADR subcommittee.  
What was it? (W)

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(1525) Col. (later Brig. Gen.) William Alexander Ramsay. (1526) Over 2.7 INT-  
lion. (1527) Three. (1528) Charwell.  
(1529) in dTarsunj on 8 December  
1941. (Canadian sector, June  
Beagle, 12 June 1944.

ANSWERS to CHURCHILLERIA  
(1940) by John Anderson. (1520) A  
book on COGNITION to be called *The Creed  
of Faith* (1940) Baron Edward George  
Bulwer-Lytton, 1803-1873. (1522)  
Nello (1940) (1940) (1940) (1940) (1940)  
first speech by JOHN WILKINSON & May  
1940. (1524) Ploegsteert, Belgium.

# & AMPERSAND

## Identifying the Maypole Dancers

Senior editor Paul Courtenay was first to identify nearly all of the maypole dancers on the back cover of the previous issue, number 126.

From left to right (roughly): Mossadeq of Iran (overthrown with the help of British and American intelligence), King Saud (likely), General Mark Clark (C-in-C Far East and suitably portrayed facing Mao), German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, unknown European (possibly a Greek or Spain's Franco), unknown African (possibly Kwame Nkrumah), Mao Tse-tung, Malan of South Africa (or possibly Paul Henri Spaak of Belgium), another African, Winston Churchill, Charles de Gaulle, unknown Japanese, unknown Latin American, Dwight Eisenhower, Juan Peron, Jawaharlal Nehru, Georgi Malenkov, Chin Peng of Malaya, and Neguib of Egypt. If anyone thinks they can better this, they had better let us know!

### French Habitations

A reader wrote to ask where Churchill stayed on his many visits to the French Riviera, and whether he frequented the Villa Roccabella. We could find nothing about Roccabella, but those we know about (where he either stayed or visited) include the following:

Chateau de l'Horizon, Golfe-Juan (Maxine Elliott)

La Capponcina, Cap d'Ail (Lord Beaverbrook)

La Croe, Cap d'Antibes (Duke & Duchess of Windsor)

Villa Mauresque, Cap Ferrat (Somerset Maugham)

La Pausa, Roquebrune (Emery & Wendy Reves)

Les Zoraïdes, Cap Martin (Daisy Fellowes)



La Dragonière, Cap Martin (Lord Rothermere)

Lou Mas, St Jean-Cap Ferrat (Countess of Essex)

Lou Seuil, Eze (Jacques & Consuelo Balsan)

It's always possible that he visited Roccabella while staying at one of the above, but I don't think he ever stayed there, and "frequented" is probably an exaggeration. If we knew the identities of previous owners, we might be able to find out more. —PHC M>

### American Titles from p49...

meant nothing to Americans. 'Get a dictionary,' said the boss at last. He turned up 'lotus: plant inducing luxurious dreaminess.' 'Gee,' he said, 'I've got it: *While England Slept*.'

Mr. Lancaster writes: "In my opinion, Putnam's in New York came up with a much better title than Harrap's in London. *While England Slept* says it all in three simple words, whereas most readers knew little or nothing about the Covenant of the League of Nations."

Shortly afterward, writing of the appeasement period, John F. Kennedy entitled his book *Why England Slept*, noting that his title was suggested by Churchill's. (JFK's views were quite different from his father's, though the elder Kennedy made his son's book a

## WHO WILL REMEMBER?

Will future generations remember?  
Will the ideas you cherish *now* be sustained *then*?  
Who will guide your grandchildren, and your country?  
There is an answer:

The Churchill Centre Associates (page 2) have each committed \$10,000 or more, over five years, all tax-deductible, to The Churchill Centre Endowment. Its earnings guarantee that The Churchill Centre will endure as a powerful voice, sustaining beliefs Winston Churchill held dear. Now. And for future generations.

To become an Associate please contact  
Richard M. Langworth,  
Chairman, Board of Trustees  
(888) 454-2275 • malakand@adelphia.net

best-seller by the simple expedient of buying thousands of copies.)

Putnam's in New York would publish only one more book by Churchill, but its title too was changed, whether by the publishers, or editor Randolph Churchill, or WSC himself we are not sure. But *Into Battle*, the first volume of Churchill's war speeches, became *Blood, Sweat and Tears* in the United States, and in Canada where it was published by McClelland & Stewart. It became Churchill's best selling book to date, until publication of his war memoirs starting in 1948. \$

### "Send for Churchill": 1951 Campaign Pin



From the Washington Society for Churchill comes this finely enameled replica of the pin Churchill's supporters wore in the 1951 General Election—which also happens to be highly relevant today, or any day. The craftsmanship is a major improvement on the original—crisp, clear and bright. US \$10 or the equivalent postpaid. Send cheques payable to WSC, c/o Dan Borinsky, 2080 Old Bridge Road #203, Lake Ridge VA 22192 USA.

# IMMORTAL WORDS

*I feel greatly honoured*

*that you should have invited me*

*to enter the United States Senate Chamber*

*and address the representatives of both branches of Congress.*

*The fact that my American forebears have for so many generations*

*played their part in the life of the United States,*

*and that here I am, an Englishman, welcomed in your midst,*

*makes this experience one of the most moving*

*and thrilling in my life,*

*which is already long,*

*and has not been entirely uneventful.*

*I wish indeed that my mother,*

*whose memory I cherish across the vale of years,*

*could have been here to see.*

*By the way, I cannot help reflecting*

*that if my father had been American, and my mother British,*

*instead of the other way round,*

*I might have got here on my own. [Laughter]*

*In that case this would not have been the first time*

*you would have heard my voice.*

*In that case I should not have needed any invitation,*

*but if I had,*

*it is hardly likely it would have been unanimous.*

*So perhaps things are better as they are.*

*I may confess, however,*

*that I do not feel quite like a fish out of water*

*in a legislative assembly where English is spoken.*