



FINEST HOUR

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*Savrola: A Tale of the
Revolution in Laurania*

Churchill and
Three Presidents:
Wilson, Hoover, FDR

Youth Interprets WSC • Myths: Churchill and Chemical Warfare

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"Laurania": Woodcut by André Collot, 1950. From the frontispiece of the Monaco Edition of *Savrola*, Winston Churchill's only novel. From the collection of Ronald I. Cohen. Story on page 58.



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DESPATCH BOX

Finest Hour 159: Lady Thatcher and “AMB”

Thank you for your sensitive tribute to Baroness Thatcher. Her name, like that of the man she admired, will remain bright in the annals of history when all her detractors are deservedly forgotten.

—RICHARD A. GAUNT FRHistS FHEA
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY
UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM

I loved your tribute to Margaret Thatcher, and remember that 1993 Churchill conference so well. Do they still have the great camaraderie of those days? At the British Embassy reception, I spoke with Lady Thatcher briefly about the Bosnian issue and complimented her on her stand. She said she had visited the Holocaust Museum that day and what an important symbol it was. I think this is in my introduction to Martin Gilbert's speech. Thank you for mentioning it.

CYRIL MAZANSKY, NEWTON, MASS.

Thank you for the wonderful remembrances of Lady Thatcher and Sir Anthony. You so skillfully “painted a portrait” of each that I felt like I was able to say that I had known them personally. Your writing ability is well known and you called upon it most effectively in these two articles.

JAMES L. RAUH, GROSSE POINTE FARMS, MICH.

What a superb issue (as usual). I would be grateful if you would kindly send: (a) copy of the many references to Lady Thatcher in *Finest Hour*, 1983-2007; (b) copy of Anthony Montague Browne's remarks and the response by Lord Soames to the Churchill's England tour in 1985 (*FH* 50).

—SANDRA LEWIN, VIA EMAIL

Loved the latest edition, as always. We are off to see Shelagh Montague Browne in Kent next month. What a star she is, and the service she arranged for Anthony M-B at St.

Clement Danes (central church of the RAF) was a triumph. He would have thoroughly approved of it all, and Celia Sandys spoke beautifully. Lady Soames read a lesson, which was very kind of her. It was a good turnout to say farewell to a brave man.

—ROBIN BRODHURST, READING, BERKS.

Editor's response: Thanks for the kind words. Please note that the material requested by Dr. Gaunt and Ms. Lewin is always available by email.

The Way the Land Slides

My compliments on issue 159. It is full of fascinating, well-written pieces. I'm enjoying reading it. One juxtaposition reminded me of an interesting exchange awhile ago with Sir Martin Gilbert and others. On page 31 you remark on the many changes since 1901, especially in language.

Then on the next page, Churchill himself refers to the “innumerable grammatical imperfections” floating around in 1901, concluding: “It should be every journalist's ambition to write pure, correct English.” (What would he think of English in 2013?)

But what prompts this note is Christopher Beckvol, in his finely crafted piece on Churchill and Foreign Policy (pp. 36-40), noting the “Liberal landslide victory in the January 1906 general election” (37). This reminded me that in *The World Crisis* in 1923, Churchill described that same event as “a Conservative landslide”!

Remember? That sentence sent you, Sir Martin, Ronald Cohen and others racing to learn how Churchill of all people could possibly have made such a mistake, or whether it was an editing error. You found that “landslide” in those days meant a huge loss, not a triumph, as in the earth sliding downhill. Interestingly, Webster's cites a 1926 definition for landslide as an election win by a heavy majority. So Churchill's comment in 1923 may have been one of the last instances of the

usage of the term in its original meaning.

I just found it fascinating and wanted to share this with you. It also illustrates to me how much we miss Sir Martin's active involvement.

—DANIEL N. MYERS, DOWNERS GROVE, ILL.

“Argo” and Canada

Reading about the “Argo” film (“Britain Helped Too,” *FH* 159: 8-10) I was moved to send you a Canadian perspective. One never looks to Hollywood for historical fact, but even Ben Affleck was disturbed by Canadian reaction to his movie and the laughable, egregious errors of fact.

While “Argo” was good entertainment, it was severely panned in this country for very good reasons. Affleck was so concerned that he requested a meeting with Ken Taylor (our ambassador to Iran during the 1979 hostage crisis and honorary chairman of ICS Canada) to enquire as to what changes he would make. Ambassador Taylor graciously wrote an addendum which was added to the end of the movie making some corrections.

Since 1979 Ken Taylor has always eschewed any heroic role, but if one listened closely you could discern how truly dangerous the situation was for the many days he housed and looked after the Americans. Flora MacDonald, then Canadian Secretary for Foreign Affairs, has been more descriptive of the bravery of Taylor and his staff and has talked of the “difficulty of dealing with the Americans.” The plan to get the U.S. staff out was delayed repeatedly, but at Taylor's urging she asked our prime minister to call President Carter and emphasize the need to act.

President Carter himself criticized the film after receiving an honorary degree at Queens University in Kingston, Ontario last November:

“Yes, the CIA was involved, but it was the Canadians who did the planning, it was the Canadians who took all the risks, it was the Canadians who exhibited outstanding bravery, and our country will be forever grateful to them. No one else could have done

what the Canadians did.”

The lesson in all this is: never let the facts get in the way of a good story!

—JOHN GREENHOUGH, AURORA, ONT.

Editor's response: Any editor of *FH* quickly becomes very sensitive to the frequent underplaying of Canada's role in fighting the good fight, particularly in World War II. But I didn't have that impression about “Argo.” Perhaps

that's because I know Ken Taylor, saw the addendum, and made allowances for typical ahistorical Hollywood interpretations. What I didn't know until the eruption in England was how the British Embassy played a heroic role. The end result reminds us of Winston Churchill's 1943 injunction at Harvard: “If we are together nothing is impossible. If we are divided all will fail.” We could use some of that spirit today. ☺

AROUND & ABOUT



Lord Lexden writes to correct his and our friend, novelist **Lord (Michael) Dobbs**, who said **Neville Chamberlain's** gout contributed to his “disastrous months in Downing Street.” The gout, says Lexden, was severe only once in 1937, and did not interfere with Chamberlain's “courageous quest to preserve peace, which involved taking defence spending to record levels.” He cites a note in Chamberlain's diaries: “I can never forget that the ultimate decision, the Yes or No which may decide the fate not only of all this generation, but of the British Empire itself, rests with me.” Quite accurate in every respect. Churchill couldn't have won the Battle of Britain without the aircraft commissioned under Chamberlain.

Allie Jones in *The Atlantic Wire* reports: “**Liz Cheney** [running for Wyoming Senator] compared herself to ‘Churchill standing up to Hitler’ on September 2nd, when declaring her stand against American air strikes in Syria—the latest in a series of Liz-Cheney-thinking-rather-highly-of-Liz-Cheney moments.” The latter comparison strikes us as a mouse standing up to a piece of cheese. Where do these speeches come from?

A new book makes headlines with the sophomoric notion that **Churchill's war speeches** inspired few and annoyed many—based on colorful but unquantified exclamations in a wartime speak-your-mind register, **Mass Observation**. This will gather zzzs among the knowledgeable, since the same material was published back in 1994 (see “The Myth of the Blitz,” page 8).

This author's first book concluded that Churchill was an anti-Semite, based on the “discovery” of a hack manuscript Churchill never wrote and rejected—first reported by **Martin Gilbert** in 1981 (*FH* 135: 40). His next book used selective quotes to conclude that Churchill hated Indians—a charge dating to 1944; claimed that Churchill tortured **President Obama's** grandfather in Kenya—who had left prison, as was already known, before Churchill regained power (*FH* 150: 9); and that the Jews rejected the 1948 UN plan for the partition of Palestine (*FH* 153: 5)—the opposite of reality, as Martin Gilbert reported back in 2008.

We will objectively review this book, expecting it to distinguish between Churchill's speeches in the Commons and those over the radio, which he frequently found tiresome, and which even supporters like **Jock Colville** said lacked the original fire. Of course the measure of Churchill's standing during the war is not the cranks and “truthers” of *Mass Observation* but the broader indicators—like his unwavering 85% **Gallup** rating, the affection with which he was almost always received in public, his support in Parliament, and the two votes of confidence, which he won by 464-1 and 475-25. Then there is the testimony we've recorded over the years, from those at the other end of the wireless in those days, from London to Latvia, about what those speeches meant to them. —RML ☺

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QUOTATION OF THE SEASON



THE WHOLE BUSINESS OF WAR IS BEYOND ALL WORDS HORRIBLE, AND THE NATIONS ARE FILLED WITH THE DEEPEST LOATHING OF IT, BUT IF WARS ARE GOING TO TAKE PLACE, IT IS BY NO MEANS CERTAIN THAT THE INTRODUCTION OF CHEMICAL WARFARE IS BOUND TO MAKE THEM MORE HORRIBLE THAN THEY HAVE BEEN.”

—WSC, HOUSE OF COMMONS, 13 MAY 1932

Churchill Companion II

CHICAGO, SEPTEMBER 15TH— The ultimate Churchill facts book sold out. It is now reprinted, with numerous corrections and more information. The new color cover, Richard Deane Taylor's 1951 portrait, is laminated to protect from frequent use. The Companion is offered both square-bound (\$9.95) and spiral-bound (\$12.95). The spiral version lies flat at any page and is very handy for researchers.

Contents: 1873-1977 Timeline of Events, Books by Churchill, Books about Churchill, Wartime Broadcasts, Pound-Dollar Values 1874-2014, Film and Television, Election Results 1899-1959, Family Tree, Best *Finest Hour* Articles, Funeral Services, Glossary of Parliamentary and Political Terms, Governments, Sovereigns, Prime Ministers, Nobility, Decorations and Medals, Favorite Hotels, Military Commissions and Units, Leading Churchill Myths, Offices Held by WSC, British Political Parties, Churchill's Residences, Private and Parliamentary Secretaries, Summit Conferences in WW2, Thoroughbred Horses, Travel by



Sea, Visits to North America, Travel in WW2, and Chartwell Visitor's Book.

Corrections and additions, with the kind assistance of Ronald Cohen, include Mary Soames's wedding date (1947, not 1946!), new entries for WSC's first speech (1895), his first political speech (1897), and his three speeches to the U.S. Congress.

Here is a fountain of information you can't find in any other single source, indispensable for knowing of Churchill's life and times. Amazon.com stocks it for us, and proceeds support The Churchill

Centre. Order now from Amazon.com. If you can't use Amazon, email the editor who will arrange for orders by check (cheque).

Stone Sober

LOS ANGELES, JULY 10TH— Keith Richards has turned seventy. Asked by *Men's Journal* how he got there after all those drugs, Richards replied: "With the smack, I knew: 'I've got to stop now, or I'm going to go in for hard time.' The cocaine I quit because I fell on my head! Actually, my body tells me when

to stop..." (<http://xrl.us/bpo3q9>).

MJ asked: was damage done? "I've never felt that it affected the way I played one way or another. [Neither did we.] It's like Churchill said about alcohol, 'I've taken a lot more out of alcohol than it's ever taken out of me! I got something out of it.'"

Louis Armstrong said, when asked to explain jazz: "If you gotta ask, you just ain't never gonna know." But if you gotta ask, Keith Richards is a founder of the Rolling Stones. And he almost got the quotation right.

Lion's Roar Preserved

CAMBRIDGE, JULY 3RD— Sir Winston's gramophone record collection has been rediscovered after thirty years at the Churchill Archives, some records being original recordings of speeches Churchill gave that were not recorded elsewhere. Several were privately commissioned and some are the only surviving recordings of these speeches.

Archives Director Allen Packwood writes: "The press love the term 'discovered.' The truth is that Churchill's record cabinet was transferred here from Chartwell thirty years ago so that it could be kept more safely. When our conservator, Sarah Lewery, and archivists Katharine Thomson and Natalie Adams, conducted a detailed audio survey of our holdings last year, and began digitising some of the records in the cabinet, we

realised it contained more than music hall and marching bands.

"Some of the contents were rare (if not unique) recordings of WSC in full flow at private appearances. They begin in 1909 with a speech in support of Lloyd George's 'People's Budget,' and go right through to the 1950s, covering half a century of Churchill's oratory, like his 1947 tribute to Al Smith, the former New York governor whom he privately supported for president in 1928. I do not think anyone here had appreciated that such non-commercial recordings could and would be made so easily."

Here is another example: On 28 May 1952, Churchill spoke to the National Association of Her Majesty's Tax Inspectors, saying: "I feel a great burden upon me at my age having seen so much and been through so much. Not that I cannot bear it in the ordinary physical sense, but I do see great perils hanging over the country. We have all got to fight together for the life of the nation.... Our feeling is to some extent alleviated by the fact that we're all in it together."

Churchill then became more light-hearted, paying tribute to his audience. He said the country owed the tax inspectors a debt of gratitude for their help "in extracting more and more money from those who guilelessly voted us into office." He joked about his last visit to the Association some twenty-five years earlier, when he was "only" Chancellor of the Exchequer and Second Lord of the Treasury, comparing this with his new positions as Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury.

The record collection also includes a previously-unheard recording of a speech Churchill made to RAF personnel at the Biggin Hill Aerodrome in 1951. Recalling how he once crashed while taking flying lessons in the years leading up to the First World War, he said his dinner companion that night thought he looked like "a ghost." Then he told the officers: "I suspect you've had many more exciting adventures than that."

The collection includes a number of musical and comedy works, including Noel Coward's "Don't Let's Be Beastly to the Germans," some military marching music (including the Scipio March), as well as songs by music hall acts such as a Churchill favourite, Sir Harry Lauder's "Keep Right on to the End of the Road."

Sarah Lewery, racing against time to digitise the objects before they deteriorate, says the recordings on disc "are possibly the only ones extant and their physical survival is precarious. They are mainly lacquer or instantaneous discs. The cellulose nitrate coating, in which the grooves are cut, degrades very quickly, even in archival conditions." The rare old recordings have been rescued from oblivion in the nick of time.

From this unique collection historians will be able glean valuable insights into a titan of oratory—not just his words, but his unique musical delivery that came to reflect and embody the hopes of a nation.

—ANDREW ROBERTS

Putting down Roots

TEL AVIV, MARCH 30TH 1921— Tremendous excitement! Winston Churchill, the British colonial secretary, was visiting Tel Aviv! To impress him, it was decided to plant a forest in the sands. Workers were sent off to the Sharona, Mikve Yisrael and Abu Kabir woods, where they chopped down trunks of cypresses and pines, and stuck them in the sands between the Council House and the home of Mayor Meir Dizengoff.

When the automobile with Churchill and Dizengoff approached, the large crowd was pushed back and in the process tipped over the trees, exposing their hewn trunks. Dizengoff paled, but Churchill roared with laughter and whispered to the mayor, "Mr. Dizengoff, they won't work without roots..."

—From an article in *ESRA* magazine, brought to our attention by William Vogt through his 2011 Tel Aviv tour guide, Danny Cohen, of *Odysseys Unlimited*, Washington, D.C.

Harry Flood Byrd, Jr. 1914-2013

WINCHESTER, VA., JULY 31ST— In 1929 Winston Churchill was entertained at the Governor's mansion in Richmond. When he expressed a wish for English mustard, young Harry Byrd was dispatched to a grocery store while a furious Mrs. Byrd slowed the dinner to a crawl until he returned. As Churchill's car drove off the next day, her son overheard her say to the Governor, "Harry, don't you ever invite that man back." The Senator told us that story in 1991 at a Churchill conference in Richmond.

Former U.S. Senator Harry Byrd Jr., whose historic decision to become an independent in 1970 would decide political power in Virginia for more than two decades, died at his home, aged 98. His death signals the close of an era in which Virginia politics were the purview of diehard Democrats who countenanced closing public schools in the late 1950s rather than consent to court-ordered desegregation. Sen. Byrd outlived not only that period but its mindset.

The son and namesake of a former governor and his successor in the Senate, Sen. Byrd was a courtly Southerner who bolted from the Democrats but refused to become a Republican, saying: "I would rather be a free man than a captive senator."

Silver-haired, blue-eyed and apple-cheeked, he was given to a firm handshake, a deliberate speaking style and a slightly reedy laugh. An advocate of fiscal frugality, he often said, "I bring good news from Washington: Congress is not in session."

As a boy in Richmond during his father's governorship (1926-30), Sen. Byrd was introduced to many people who would shape world affairs, and >>



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he could recall flying with Lindbergh in the *Spirit of Saint Louis*. His memories of WSC are published here in “Churchill Proceedings,” page 32.

Even after leaving the Senate, Byrd occasionally reminded Virginians of his independence, showing no regard for party labels in assessing proposals or policies. In 2004 he endorsed a sales tax increase urged by Democratic Governor Mark Warner to stabilize state support for schools, police and social services, offsetting losses from a rollback of other taxes.

Harry Byrd was a Navy veteran of World War II, serving in the Pacific. He attended Virginia Military Institute and the University of Virginia. In 1941 he married Gretchen Thomson, one-time queen of the Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival, which he helped organize. Mrs. Byrd died in 1989. Senator Byrd leaves three children, nine grandchildren and twelve great-grandchildren.

—Condensed from Jeff Schapiro’s column in the August 1st *Richmond Times-Dispatch*. Read the full article at <http://xrl.us/bpo3ht>.

UNESCO Awards Archives

TAMWORTH, STAFFORDSHIRE, JULY 9TH—The Cambridge Archives, which holds the papers of Sir Winston Churchill and Lady Thatcher, is celebrating the inclusion of its core collection on the UK National Register of Documentary Heritage, linked to the United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization. At a ceremony today at Tamworth Town Hall, staff from the Archives were presented with a UNESCO award.

The Churchill Archive, housing the personal papers of Sir Winston Churchill, contains over one million items, including originals of his best-known phrases and speeches. It has been recognised by UNESCO as part of its Memory of the World Programme. The collection will now appear on the UK National Register, highlighting its importance to the heritage of Britain. Churchill is joined this

year by ten other British collections of note, including Alfred Hitchcock’s silent movies and The Domesday Book.

“Churchill’s words continue to resonate,” said Sir David Wallace, Master of Churchill College, home to the Churchill Archives Centre. “The notes for his great speeches, the drafts for his many books, and his rich correspondence are the raw material for the study and understanding of his legacy. It has to be right that they are now included on the National Register of our Documentary Heritage.”

UNESCO’s UK Register follows the larger, International Register of Documentary Heritage established in 1997. This list contains many types of globally important documentaries, from ancient clay inscriptions and writings on papyrus to modern digital sound recordings. UK entries to the list include the 1916 film *The Battle of the Somme* and Magna Carta.

“We hope [the] announcement will encourage people to discover these items and collections, as well as some of the other great documentary heritage near them,” said David Dawson, chairman of the UK Memory of the World Committee. For further information on accessing the archives, visit www.chu.cam.ac.uk/archives.

—ALLEN PACKWOOD



Myth of the Blitz

LONDON, APRIL 1994—“The Myth of the Blitz...rested upon the assumed invincibility of an island race distinguished by good humour, understatement and the ability to pluck victory from the jaws of defeat by team work, improvisation and muddling through. In fact, in

many ways, the Blitz was not like that. Sixty-thousand people were conscientious objectors; a quarter of London’s population fled to the country; Churchill and the Royal Family were booed while touring the aftermath of air-raids; Britain was not bombed into classless democracy.”

This is not about a new book, but is the publisher’s blurb for Angus Calder’s *The Myth of the Blitz* two decades ago. Calder proved conclusively that Britain failed to end its class system despite the best efforts of the Nazis, and that there were 60,000 conscientious objectors. A similar treatment was in Peter Stansky’s *The First Day of the Blitz* in 2008. As reputable historians, Calder and Stansky then described, using the same sources, just how resilient the British people really were.

We’d just like to point that out, in view of a new book making the same points, which some consider to be new. (Around & About, page 5.)

Errata

In *Finest Hour* 150, page 9, we reported a letter to *The New Yorker* by a reader who quoted Churchill as saying, “the Aryan stock is bound to triumph.” We stated that the “Aryan stock” quotation did not appear in Churchill’s canon. I have since found the quote in Churchill’s 1901 interview with Gustavus Ohlinger at Michigan University, published in *FH* 159: 34. My view of this remark is in my introduction to the interview on page 31: “Modern critics would of course bemoan the reference to triumph by ‘Aryan stock’; but that was the way Englishmen thought in 1901. It was left to Hitler to give Aryans a bad name.” —RML

In *Finest Hour* 159, page 20, I stated that Winston Churchill became Hon. Colonel of the Queen’s Own Oxfordshire Hussars in 1953. But Churchill himself (same issue, page 21) wrote on 13 July 1944, “...I am now Hon. Colonel.” Evidently he achieved this honour well before 1953—or 1951 as some sources state. —PHC ☺

ON TEXAS AND TEXANS

A reader in Texas asks for Churchill's comments about and relations with residents of the Lone Star State. What we found is of a jovial nature....

First Reference

Young Winston's first memories were of Ireland, where his father was sent to get him out of town (London) after he threatened to name the Prince of Wales as a lover of the notorious Lady Aylesford, in defense of Randolph's brother Blandford, who had been named as co-respondent in her divorce. After the scandal, Lord Aylesford emigrated to Big Springs, Texas, bought a 27,000-acre ranch, and was "exceedingly popular" with the cowboys until he died of dropsy and hardening of the liver shortly before his thirty-sixth birthday in 1885.

Early Praise

Rev. W.K. Lloyd, late Chaplain, 3rd Texas Infantry, Spanish-American War, to WSC, 19 November 1899:

Church of the Holy Cross, Paris, Texas: "I cannot refrain from writing you stranger tho I be to tell you how proud we Texas Englishmen are of you. When we see the best blood of England fighting side by side with 'Tommy Atkins' and performing such deeds of valor....Go on old man and show the world what Englishmen are still made of and may the Good Father of all pre-serve your valuable life."

Buffalo Trails

Young Winston's uncle-by-marriage, Moreton Frewen (nicknamed "Mortal Ruin" for his numerous failed enterprises), was known as one of the best horse riders in England. "A tall, assured sportsman, he had explored the buffalo trails of Texas, and had known everyone there from Buffalo Bill to Sitting Bull. 'A bad man with brown

eyes need not be feared,' Frewen once wrote, 'but the fellow with grey eyes or grey-blue, whose eyes grew darker as they looked down a gun—that was the sort of man to reckon with.'"

—ANITA LESLIE, WSC'S COUSIN

Winston as Cowboy

Churchill acquired his first ten-gallon hat in 1929. In Alberta during their tour of North America that year, Randolph Churchill wrote in his diary: "Papa came out looking magnificent. Jodpur riding suit of khaki, his ten-gallon hat, a malacca walking stick with gold knob, and riding a pure white horse."

Visiting the oilfields, Randolph said it was "a depressing thing to see all these oil mag-nates pigging up a beautiful valley" to make fortunes, and went on to criticize their lack of culture. Instantly his father shot back:

"Cultured people are merely the glittering scum which floats

upon the deep river of production!"

"Damn good," wrote Randolph.

Churchill continued to wear his Texas-style hat throughout his life. "At Chartwell when the weather was fine he always wore a huge grey hat (sometimes a ten-gallon style from Texas) with feathers tucked into the band. These were added to if he discovered any pretty ones near the domains of his black swans."

—WALTER GRAEBNER, CHURCHILL'S LIFE
EDITOR FOR THE SERIALIZATION OF
THE SECOND WORLD WAR, 1965

Pearl Harbor Climacteric

Southern reporter, Washington press conference, 23 December 1941:

"Mr. Prime Minister, in one of your speeches you mentioned three or four of the 'great climacterics.' Do you now add our entry into the war as one of these, suh?"

WSC [affecting a Texas drawl]:
"Ah sho' do."

Texas vs. Hong Kong

"At no time did we press Britain, France or The Netherlands for an immediate grant of self-government to their colonies....When a certain Texan...urged that Britain should return Hong Kong to China, I retorted that Hong Kong had been British longer than Texas had belonged to the United States, and I did not think anyone would welcome a move to turn Texas back to Mexico."

—SECRETARY OF STATE
CORDELL HULL (MEMOIRS) ♡



Riddles Mysteries Enigmas

Q Is there any identification for the only woman (middle ground, above Churchill's cap) on the famous photograph of Churchill on the east bank of the Rhine, 25 March 1945?

—ANTOINE CAPET, UNIV. OF ROUEN, FRANCE



A I have no evidence, but I have always assumed that she was a photographer. WSC's uniform is that

of Honorary Colonel, 4th/5th (Cinque Ports) Battalion, The Royal Sussex Regiment. —PHC

Q What were the uses and fates of the fifty old U.S. destroyers exchanged in 1940 for bases in the North Atlantic and Caribbean? For what purposes and for how long were the bases used by the U.S.? Andrew Roberts had some acerbic comments about the ships in *Storm of War*, but little detail.

A *The Churchills: A Naval History* (FH 110, Spring 2001, 26-27) details the service of HMS Churchill, ex-USS Herndon, later the Soviet *Dyeyatielnyi*. The destroyers for bases agreement was covered in *Fifty Ships That Saved the World*, by Philip Goodhart (1965). The definitive work on the 250 destroyers is *Flush Decks and Four Pipes*, by John D. Alden (1965). Opinion on the usefulness of the destroyers is generally less than positive, but they did provide practical assistance at a critical time when no other resources were available. *Lend-Lease*:



Weapon for Victory by Edward R Stettinius, Jr. (1944) provides a more positive contemporary view. I have not come across significant information about the role of the

bases. The ninety-nine-year rights to bases in Newfoundland and Bermuda were "freely given" and strategically made a direct contribution to U.S. defence. The rights to the Bahamas, Jamaica, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Antigua and British Guiana were "traded." The greatest legacy of the Destroyers for Bases Agreement is the political climate it established between the "cash and carry" policy and the implementation of Lend-Lease. —NEIL COATES

Q After meeting Churchill on the Onassis yacht *Christina*, John F. Kennedy asked his wife, "How did I do?" and she replied, "I think he thought you were a waiter, Jack." Was this 1956? Did Churchill snub Kennedy out of his dislike for his father, the defeatist former U.S. Ambassador to Britain?

A The event actually took place in 1958. The source of the waiter quote is William Douglas-Home's oral history at the Kennedy Library. William, Prime Minister Alec's younger brother, was a longtime friend of Jack's from the period of his father's ambassadorship to Britain. He was one of the many young men in that set who was besotted by Jack's sister "Kick" (Kathleen). William and Jackie both say the meeting with Churchill took place when JFK, Jackie, William and his wife shared a vacation house in the South of France. Caroline Kennedy

confirms the 1958 date in *Jacqueline Kennedy: Historic Conversations on Life with John F. Kennedy*.

That date makes sense in terms of both John Kennedy's trips and his wife Jackie's, as well as Churchill's presence in the South of France. 1956 is impossible: Jackie did not accompany Jack to Europe that summer (after he lost the vice-presidential nomination) because she was about to have a baby. The baby was stillborn and Kennedy had to be called home.

Of course this was not the first meeting between Sir Winston Churchill and Aristotle Onassis, which Martin Gilbert places in 1956. But it was clearly where Jackie thought Sir Winston took Jack for a waiter.

—BARBARA LEAMING (AUTHOR,

CHURCHILL DEFIANT: FIGHTING ON; *JACK KENNEDY: THE EDUCATION OF A STATESMAN*;

MRS. KENNEDY: THE MISSING HISTORY OF THE KENNEDY YEARS).

Editor's note: Kennedy never actually cruised with Onassis, nor did Churchill before September-October 1958. But JFK met Sir Winston again, more auspiciously, after WSC's second *Christina* cruise in February-March 1959. *Christina* was moored at Monte Carlo, and JFK was invited on board when Churchill expressed a wish to meet "young Kennedy."

According to Willi Frischauer's biography *Onassis* (229), Kennedy chatted about his presidential ambitions, citing his Catholicism as a problem. Churchill replied, "If that's the only difficulty, you can always change your religion and still remain a good Christian," prompting a laugh by Kennedy. By this time, for sure, Sir Winston knew exactly who Jack Kennedy was.

We may be sure Churchill never snubbed Jack Kennedy because of his father. Churchill was not a hater. He sent a wreath to the funeral of Jack's sister Kathleen in 1948, expressed admiration of JFK on several occasions, and congratulated him after his election as president in 1960. ☺



GADFLIES, GODS AND PRESIDENTS

"If we lose faith in ourselves...then indeed our story is told." —WSC, Royal Society of St. George, 24 April 1933

Former basketball star Dennis Rodman returned from Pyongyang September 7th, professing his love for North Korean demigod Kim Jong Un ("an awesome kid...my friend for life"). Despite having earlier called on Kim to free one of his up to 200,000 political prisoners, Rodman now says it's none of his business: "Ask Obama about that. Ask Hillary Clinton. Ask those [a.....s]."

Everyone has the right to make a fool of himself, and North Korea's use of poor Mr. Rodman is no concern of mine. But the incident did remind me of what Alistair Cooke wrote about people whose first impulse is to hurl expletives at their country. Frequently they are persons whose fame and fortune is owed to the opportunities that their country gave them, who might otherwise be under the radar of awesome kids like Kim Jong Un.

Mr. Cooke was explaining the Marshall Plan to an audience which had never heard of it. "The Marshall Plan," he said, was a "vast system of loans and gifts to battered old Europe that made possible not only her recovery but also, as Secretary of State Dean Acheson was well aware, the healthy growth of a generation of young Europeans with lungs powerful enough to exercise in withering denunciation of this Secretary, who looked like a Spanish grandee and was, they swore, an American imperialist who had spawned the Marshall Plan as a fat insurance racket."

But that generation wasn't new. Here is Churchill, speaking in 1933: "The worst difficulties from which we suffer do not come from without. They come from within.... They come from a peculiar type of brainy people always found in our country, who, if they add something to its culture, take much from its strength. [They] come from the mood of unwarrantable self-abasement into which we have been cast by a powerful section of our own intellectuals. They come from the acceptance of defeatist doctrines by a large proportion of our politicians."

Now we are on the eve of a conference on Churchill and U.S. presidents. Perhaps we may meet some brainy people there. But we have some brains

of our own. To that end this issue offers views on Churchill and three presidents by scholars present but not presenting in Washington, which may serve as background to the deliberations. One article, by June Hopkins, sheds new light on her grandfather, Franklin Roosevelt's key man, linchpin of an alliance.

I asked for the two articles on Wilson and Hoover in unabashed self-interest. For I was invited to a panel discussion of his relations with U.S. presidents *up to* Roosevelt—a vacuuming (Hoovering?) of his encounters with all the presidents from McKinley to Hoover. So now I may quote the learned findings of Messrs. Lyons and Wernecke, who have done the groundwork! I am sure however that the presentations on Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower will offer more opportunity for brainy people to find and display Churchill's feet of clay. Heaven knows he wasn't perfect. Let him make one slip—and bang.

Churchill, we are often assured, set out to create his own legend through his books; but legends

are often exploded by the dogged efforts of historians to ferret out the truth. The greatest tribute to Winston Churchill is that a multitude

of attempts by brainy people to knock him from his pedestal have failed to alter history's judgment.

I am old and rather jaded. Only a few speeches resound to me over the years. I think of them whenever some bizarre episode like Rodman's occurs.

All are on our website, but if you can't find one, I will email it to you: Alistair Cooke at Bretton Woods, Lord Mountbatten at Edmonton, Grace Hamblin at Dallas, Martin Gilbert at the Holocaust Museum, William Buckley at Boston, Fitzroy Maclean at Argyll, Anthony Montague Brown at London.... and Winston Churchill, at the Royal Society of St. George, back in 1933 (when I was not quite on the scene):

"If, while on all sides foreign nations are every day asserting a more aggressive and militant nationalism by arms and trade, we remain paralysed by our own theoretical doctrines or plunged into the stupor of after-war exhaustion, then indeed all that the croakers predict will come true, and our ruin will be swift and final."

One retort to the croakers begins on page 26. ☺

RICHARD M. LANGWORTH

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Winston Churchill's Critique of Woodrow Wilson



Because the realization of peace was not preordained, Winston Churchill devoted much more thought than President Wilson to practical steps that could bring it about. Wilson's vision was in large part unaccompanied by many practical suggestions. Churchill repeatedly emphasized that collective security does not work without collective force.

Woodrow Wilson is the American president about whom Churchill's reflections are perhaps least known. Wilson necessarily appears as a key figure in *The World Crisis*, Churchill's account of the First World War, and WSC adorns him with vibrant prose, writing that "he played a part in the fate of nations incomparably more direct and personal than any other man....a monument for human meditation."¹ But Churchill's complete judgment of Wilson was not one of unqualified praise.²

Churchill also finds fault with Wilson, "the inscrutable and undecided judge....He would have been greatly helped in his task," Churchill continues, "if he had reached a definite conclusion where in the European struggle Right lay."³ The President's refusal to admit the implications of German aggression kept the United States out of the war during crucial years, whose suffering the world might have been spared:

What he did in April, 1917, could have been done in May, 1915. And if done then what abridgement of the slaughter; what sparing of the agony; what ruin, what catastrophes would have been prevented; in how many million homes would an empty chair be occupied today; how different would be the shattered world in which victors and vanquished alike are condemned to live!⁴

Dr. Lyons, a longtime contributor to *Finest Hour*, is an associate professor of Political Science and History at Ashland University in Ashland, Ohio.

JUSTIN D. LYONS

Pulled toward war by forces beyond his control, Wilson "finally proclaimed" the righteousness of the Allied cause in resounding and visionary phrases.

When in 1919 leaders of the victorious nations met at the Paris Peace Conference to shape the postwar world, Churchill was there representing the British War Cabinet, though he was excluded from the inner councils of the conference. It was here that his final impressions of Wilson were formed.⁵

On 8 January 1918, Wilson set forth America's war aims in the form of his famous "Fourteen Points."⁶ These became the basis for negotiation at Paris, where Wilson went personally, determined to alter European diplomatic tradition and bend it to his will. For Wilson, the Great War was a war to end an old order, to transform the conduct of human affairs. The Armistice coincided with the crowning moment of history, in which the war-weary world would be altered forever. The primary instrument by which lasting peace would be achieved was the League of Nations, an association of democratic countries joined together in solemn union to forsake the pursuit of selfish national interest and to put an end to the use of war as a political instrument.

In the capstone volume of *The World Crisis*, published as *The Aftermath 1918-1928*, Churchill seeks to correct the traditional telling of Woodrow Wilson's meeting with the old European diplomatic order.⁷ His account illumi-

nates the differences between Churchill and Wilson on questions of war and peace. Churchill repudiates the vague Wilsonian progressivism as an insufficient guide for international politics. In Wilson's inability to wed general principle with the immediate and pressing practicalities of diplomacy, Churchill sees the roots of an irresolute and ineffective peace effort—as well as the cause of the failure of the Versailles signatories adequately to support the League of Nations.

Churchill's own support for the League during the appeasement period fifteen years later further clarifies the divide. His position on the League of Nations amounts to a stinging critique of the Wilsonian understanding of what international peace-keeping organizations can be expected to accomplish, and how they ought to be organized. Rather than relying upon the moral force of League pronouncements, Churchill's plan for the League put much greater emphasis on the combined strength of freedom-loving nations to deter any potential aggressor.

Diplomacy Old and New

The view of Wilson as the selfless champion of freedom, confronted by the dark agents of old world diplomacy and intrigue, had its most influential expression at the time in Ray Stannard Baker's *Woodrow Wilson and the World Settlement*, a work which, in Churchill's opinion, was more suited to popular entertainment than to history:

But Mr. Baker detracts from the vindication of his hero by the absurd scenario picture which he has chosen to paint.... A plot more suited to the fruity forms of popular taste is chosen; and the treatment of facts, events and personalities is compelled to conform to its preconceived requirements. For his purpose the President is represented as a stainless Sir Galahad championing the superior ideals of the American people and brought to infinite distress by contact with the awful depravity of Europe and its statesmen.⁸

In Wilson's view, America was the only nation truly dedicated to the interests of mankind as a whole: "We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of mankind."⁹ His approach was based on his beliefs about the nature of democracy, which proved to be ill-founded.

Churchill writes that "Wilson created world democracy in his own image."¹⁰ That is to say, Wilson imagined world democracy as he himself saw it. He imagined that nations, released from the grip of their cliquish and self-interested governments, would prove true to the same benevolent and altruistic feelings which inspired him—

that they would share his vision of the world to come. In the event, their concerns proved to be more immediate: "...the 'plain people' of whom he spoke so much, though very resolute and persevering in war, knew nothing whatever about how to make a just and durable peace. 'Punish the Germans,' 'No more War,' and 'Something for our own country,' above all 'Come Home,' were the only mass ideas then rife."¹¹

Baker's account makes much out of the horror felt by the American delegation at discovering the full extent of European diplomatic corruption, as evidenced by a host of secret treaties the Allies had entered into during the war: "The first shock which the President and his Delegation is said to have received was confrontation with the secret treaties made between the Allies during the war. Mr. Baker in lurid pages has gloated upon their unmoral character." Here was all the corruption of the old world laid bare—proof that European statesmen had failed to heed the new dawn in human affairs. Churchill criticizes the American reaction as unrealistic and unfair. It is easy, after all, to judge the actions of others when it is not your neck on the block, to criticize in hindsight without having experienced the fear of defeat and destruction. If America had entered the war earlier, Churchill points out, her statesmen could have played their part in deciding these matters and her strength would have made some actions taken in desperation unnecessary: "Mr. Baker pretends that all these inter-Allied agreements represented the inherent cynical wickedness and materialism of old-world diplomacy. They were in the main simply convulsive gestures of self-preservation."¹²

Wilson's lack of consideration for practical difficulties in war extended to the peace process. He was so anxious to put his new international organization in place that he rushed the diplomatic process into the larger issue of the League, leaving many issues without due consideration:

The moment at length came for the President to launch his main policy. He declared that a League of Nations must become an integral part of the Treaty of Peace and must have priority over all territorial or economic settlements....now it seemed that the Conference was to dive into interminable academic discussions upon a new Constitution for mankind, while all the practical and clamant issues had to drum their heels outside the door.¹³

Three months passed before the Covenant of the League was finished. "In many regions," Churchill writes, "the power of the victors to enforce their decisions had obviously diminished. A heavy price in blood and privations was in the end to be paid by helpless and distracted peoples for the long delay."¹⁴ >>

Differences over the League of Nations

Though Churchill did not admire Wilson's diplomacy, he did support the League of Nations idea. Martin Gilbert's *Churchill and America* makes it clear how much Churchill dwelt upon and regretted America's later failure to support the nascent League.¹⁵ Gilbert includes a quotation from a 1937 letter Churchill wrote his American friend, Bernard Baruch: "How you must regret, how we all regret, that Wilson's dream was not carried through, for I have no doubt it would have made the difference between a safe, happy and prosperous world and the present hideous panorama."¹⁶

If our impressions rest here, however, we will be left with a false sense of conceptual harmony.

The foremost difference between Churchill's and Wilson's views of the League, which largely gives rise to all the others, is that Churchill did not believe an international organization for promoting peace would fundamentally transform the rules by which the world operates, and by which peoples and nations order their lives. Churchill, rather, was attached to the League idea for both historical and principled reasons.

First, he saw involvement in the League as being in accord with the traditional British foreign policy. Defending the League in 1936, Churchill reminded his listeners that British policy had for 400 years been based on opposing any continental power that sought to dominate.¹⁷ Second, Churchill believed the League to be in harmony with the principles that animated Britain's institutions and way of life. In fact, it represented an extension of those principles to other nations.¹⁸ He was a staunch defender of the League in the inter-war period, and spoke of it often as the only hope for peace.¹⁹ But he knew that such hope could only be realized through directed and sustained effort.

Determining the required effort demands reflection on ends and means. The extent of reflection devoted to these issues also marks a divide between Wilson and Churchill. For Wilson, the end was simply the cessation of international conflict, a version of the universal brotherhood of man governed by international law. Churchill too desired peace, but he did not expect that it could ever be finally or completely achieved. Wilson believed that a perpetual peace would be the result of the organic development of civilization. Because the realization of peace was not preordained, Churchill devoted much more thought than Wilson to practical steps that could bring it about. As Churchill notes in *The Aftermath*, Wilson's vision was accompanied by few practical suggestions.²⁰

Wilson's vagueness may be contrasted with

"In Wilson's inability to wed general principle with the immediate and pressing practicalities of diplomacy, Churchill sees the roots of an irresolute and ineffective peace effort—as well as the cause of the failure of the Versailles signatories adequately to support the League of Nations."

Churchill's very definite ideas about how to keep the peace. Through the inter-war years, he expressed these forcefully, concretely, and often: "We express our immediate plan and policy in a single sentence: 'Arm and Stand by the Covenant.' In this alone lies the assurance of safety, the defence of freedom, and the hope of peace. What is this Covenant by which we are to stand? It is the Covenant of the League of Nations."²¹

A mere expression of ideals would not be enough. Churchill put much greater emphasis on the strength civilization must embody if it is to conquer and on the effort necessary for peace to be maintained:

But it is vain to imagine that the mere perception or declaration of right principles, whether in one country or in many countries, will be of any value unless they are supported by those qualities of civic virtue and manly courage—aye, and by those instruments and agencies of force and science which in the last resort must be the defense of right and reason.²²

Churchill's emphasis on strength as the surest path to peace should not be taken to mean that he did not appreciate and think important the moral force of the League of Nations. Indeed, the ideals of the League were a sure foundation on which peace could be built.²³ But he repeatedly emphasized that collective security does not work without collective force. Only by accepting this reality could the League of Nations fulfill its promise:

Civilisation will not last, freedom will not survive, peace will not be kept, unless a very large majority of mankind unite together to defend them and show themselves possessed of a constabulary power before which barbaric and atavistic forces will stand in awe.²⁴

But the promise of the League was thrown away because the nations of Europe did not deal with realities. Churchill's own country was among the worst offenders, pursuing peace naively and fearfully rather than through the judicious gathering of collective strength.

Domestic Leadership

Churchill also criticizes Woodrow Wilson for the way he handled domestic politics with regard to the peace settlement. His errors in dealing with the Republican Party

resulted in the U.S. Senate's rejection of the treaty and the withdrawal of the vital support of the United States from the nascent international organization. Churchill's treatment does not revolve around the debates over the commitments implied by Article X,²⁵ but rather Wilson's failure to cultivate national unity with respect to the peace process: "It was as a Party and not a National leader that he sought to rule the United States and lecture Europe."²⁶ Wilson's devotion to the idea of the League led him to scorn those who would question it in any way, dismissing their concerns in noble-sounding but vague phrases tinged with moral superiority. When his own greatest test came, Churchill was careful to cast himself as a national, not a party leader.

Wilson had brought much opposition upon himself by failing to include Republicans or the Senate in his activities in Paris. While he had taken a host of advisers with him to Europe, no Senators had been included in the peace mission and his advisers had not been submitted to the Senate for confirmation. Churchill believes

"Churchill did not believe an international organization for promoting peace would fundamentally transform the rules by which the world operates...."

Wilson's inability to work with those for whom he had political distaste caused America's rejection of the League:

Peace and goodwill among all nations abroad, but no truck with the Republican party at home. That was his ticket and that was his ruin, and the ruin of much else as well. It is difficult for a man to do great things if he tries to combine a lambent charity embracing the whole world with the sharper forms of populist party strife.²⁷

In the end, Wilson misjudged even his own country's devotion to the League of Nations, as he discovered when he proudly carried back the fulfillment of his vision from Paris to Washington, only to meet with stiff opposition, a long and hard-fought losing debate, and the eventual repudiation of his greatest dream. ☹

Endnotes

1. Winston S. Churchill, *The World Crisis: 1911-1918*, with a new introduction by Martin Gilbert (New York: Free Press, 2005), 694.

2. As they virtually have in, for example, John Milton Cooper Jr., ed., *Reconsidering Woodrow Wilson: Progressivism, Internationalism, War, and Peace* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 1, 9.

3. *The World Crisis*, 695.

4. *The World Crisis*, 696-97.

5. As Colonial Secretary beginning in 1921, Churchill would be heavily involved in shaping the postwar world, through the Anglo-Irish Treaty and the organization of British mandates in Palestine, Trans-Jordan and Iraq; but in 1919 he was not a world leader, and he played only a limited role in the Paris negotiations. See Robert Lloyd George, *David & Winston: How the Friendship Between Lloyd George and Churchill Changed the Course of History* (New York: Overlook Press, 2008).

6. See E. David Cronon, ed., *The Political Thought of Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965), 406-14. For the text of the Fourteen Points see pp. 438-45. For the Four Supplementary Points see pp. 446-50.

7. Winston S. Churchill, *The Aftermath 1918-1928* (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1929). Churchill published a further *World Crisis* volume on the Eastern Front in 1931, but *The Aftermath* remains the historical capstone of his account of the First World War.

8. *The Aftermath*, 118-19.

9. Quoted in *The Aftermath*, 123.

10. *The Aftermath*, 124.

11. *The Aftermath*, 125.

12. See *The Aftermath*, 127.

13. *The Aftermath*, 144.

14. *The Aftermath*, 162-63.

15. Martin Gilbert, *Churchill and America* (New York: Free Press, 2005). See pp. 91, 95, 102, 110, 161, 325, 395, 408.

16. *Churchill and America*, 158.

17. "British Policy and Europe," March 1936, in Robert Rhodes James, ed., *Winston Churchill: His Complete Speeches 1897-1963*, 8 vols. (New York: Bowker, 1974), VI 5694-96.

18. "Civilisation," 2 July 1938, *Complete Speeches*, VI 5991.

19. "Arm and Stand by the Covenant," 9 May 1938, in *Complete Speeches*, VI 5963.

20. See Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 225: "Never before had such revolutionary goals been put forward with so few guidelines as to how to implement them."

21. "Arm and Stand by the Covenant," *Complete Speeches*, VI 5956. In this speech, Churchill outlines a practical plan, naming the specific countries that should be approached in terms of security and national self-interest.

22. "Civilisation," *Complete Speeches*, VI 5991.

23. "Arm, and Stand by the Covenant," VI 5959.

24. "Civilisation," VI 5991.

25. League opponents in the Senate questioned the obligation imposed upon member countries in Article X of the League Covenant to come to each other's defense, bypassing the constitutional power of Congress to declare war.

26. *The Aftermath*, 148.

27. *The Aftermath*, 125.

Herbert Hoover's Critique of Winston Churchill



Churchill's and Hoover's positions over the Second World War were more than a disagreement over who was the main enemy. Only by considering their vast and complex writings as two highly distinctive analyses of the same set of circumstances and events can the war's lessons of geopolitics and human relations be fully understood.

In September 1939, Europe set out on the road to ruin as Nazi Germany invaded Poland. The ensuing Second World War—a mere twenty years after the First—would draw in every major world power. Battling across continents, oceans and open skies for nearly six years, forces collided and ideologies clashed. When the end came in September 1945, those touched by the war's destruction began to rebuild and the statesmen who had led their countries gave pause, reflecting on all that had happened, and sought to ensure that it would never happen again.

Like Churchill, Herbert Hoover, the 31st president of the United States (1929-33), provided an account of World War II, although it was not published until 2011. Their vantage points during the war years profoundly shaped the tenor and character of their reflections: Churchill as prime minister and war leader; Hoover as a still-influential voice with the unique perspective of a former president.

Hoover's book, *Freedom Betrayed*, presents a vastly different account of the war from Churchill's *The Second World War*. Hoover even goes so far as to correct Churchill and his account, which he read closely as the

volumes appeared. If Churchill's statesmanship is to be understood, however, it is important to do so in light of Hoover's critique. This appears most clearly in Hoover's objections to Churchill's leadership and views regarding Soviet Russia.

Hoover does not mince words. He found it necessary, he writes, "to reject every fact, statement, and conclusion of Churchill which cannot be confirmed from other evidence, and to discard much of his

text."¹ Some of this may result from Churchill's intentional refusal to describe his memoir as mere "history." Instead, Churchill hoped, "it is a contribution to history which will be of service to the future."²

In Thucydidean language, Churchill intended *The Second World War* to be a "possession for all time."³ His volumes display his belief that individuals play an important role in human affairs—for better or for worse—and that his own experience might one day be of value to others in deciding how to act.

It is natural that Hoover and Churchill would be at odds. They were different authors from different regimes, each with his own strategic concerns and prejudices. Moreover, one of Churchill's chief goals during the

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war—securing the involvement of the United States—was rejected by Hoover outright. Hoover held that the United States should take an active role in equipping the world's democracies with the resources needed to defend themselves, while practicing an armed neutrality. About the policies of intervention or isolation he wrote: "Neither is possible, and neither is wisdom."⁴ He advocated a vigilant role for the U.S. rather than the gradual intervention championed by Franklin Roosevelt. For Hoover, "statesmanship demands that the United States stand aside in watchful waiting, armed to the teeth."⁵ While disagreeing with the Anglo-American policy-makers, Hoover by no means offered milquetoast alternatives.

While Hoover gives credit to Churchill where credit is due—albeit sparingly—he criticizes Churchill for what he sees as WSC's myopic obsession with Hitler at the expense of an equal if not greater evil, namely Stalin. Churchill's single-minded pursuit of Hitler amounts to the first of Hoover's three objections against Churchill's Soviet policies. The second is Britain's decision to form an alliance with Russia against Hitler, and the third flows from the second: the Western powers, Hoover maintains, should have let the two dictators devour one another.

Hoover views Communism as a far greater enemy and threat than Hitler and Nazism. Hitler, after all, is just one man, and Nazi Germany would likely falter once he was gone; Communism was in no way dependent on the life, death or leadership of one dangerous figure like Joseph Stalin. This brings to mind the words of another conservative Churchill critic, William F. Buckley, Jr., who held that Communism was a proselytizing faith, while "Hitler had no eschaton."⁶

Stalin, Hoover contends, "has taken advantage of the very freedoms of democracy to destroy them with the most potent fifth column in all history."⁷ As proponents of a view that separates the world into communists and capitalists,⁸ communists viewed national borders as irrelevant. Their ideologues would surreptitiously penetrate regimes and infect their institutions, as Hoover believed they had done in France and were attempting to do in the United States. Democracies were the easiest to infiltrate because their protected freedoms could be exploited. With this possibility in mind, Hoover asks, "Is the word of Stalin any better than the word of Hitler?"⁹

Hoover did not advocate that the United States join the Soviets against the Nazis, a position that would force a choice between equal but opposite tyrannies. He believed, rather, that the Allies should not make war with one tyranny to the benefit of the other. The only strategy worse than perceiving Hitler as the greater evil would be

“Hoover limits his investigation of the Soviet problem by assuming that international relations are primarily dictated by ideology. Thus he fails to articulate fully the role that national interest plays in the conduct of a nation’s foreign affairs. There was no ideological rationale, for example, for the non-aggression pact between Stalin and Hitler in August 1939. Nor was there political congruity in Stalin’s sharp about-face, aligning himself with Britain in the summer of 1941.”

to enter into an alliance with Stalin against him—the very policy adopted by Britain upon Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union in July 1941, and by the entry of the United States into the war in December 1941.

Once Churchill pledged military support to Soviet Russia, and Roosevelt incorporated the USSR into the Lend-Lease provisions already in place, Hoover believed that the war would ensure a double victory for Stalin and the communists: the first over Hitler and fascism—their geographical and antithetical enemy—and the second over the capitalist democracies in the West who had helped him defeat Hitler.

Hoover takes no issue with the Soviets and Nazis fighting one another. His concern is the Anglo-American alliance with a Soviet Union that was clearly an aggressor against democracy. "What happens to the millions of enslaved people of Russia," Hoover writes, "and to all Europe and to our own freedoms if we shall send our sons to win this war for Communism?"¹⁰

Hoover's fear that joining Stalin would result in a victory for Communism was not unfounded. The postwar settlement was far more favorable to the Soviet Union than to the Western democracies. Stalin, the consummate totalitarian, pushed for his slice of a broken Europe, just as he had with Hitler over eastern Poland and the Baltic States; both times he succeeded admirably.

Hoover does not fail to offer alternatives: his common theme, that Hitler and Stalin should be left alone to eviscerate one another, permeates his book. Why send aid to the communists, dangerous as they are, when "the fratricidal war between Hitler and Stalin is daily weakening both dictators" and all the Western democracies need do is wait for one to eliminate the other?¹¹ Even if the Russo-German war did not destroy one or both, Hoover contends it would be preferable to allying with Stalin to the limited disadvantage of Hitler. >>

“NOT MUCH IN THAT”: CHURCHILL’S ANSWER

In the autumn of 1955, I dined alone with him for seventeen evenings. Those evenings alone with an octogenarian were utterly fascinating. All sorts of curious pieces of information came out.... On 1940 I played the Devil’s Advocate. Leaving aside the appalling issue of the extermination camps, which was then not evident, would it have been better if we had joined the New Order, as a substantial part of France was then inclined to do? Would the monstrous tyranny of Stalinism have been brought to an end, for Hitler most certainly would have attacked Russia and, unharassed in the West, almost certainly would have won? Would the equally monstrous tyranny of the Nazi regime have been mitigated or abbreviated by the influence of Britain, whom Hitler had always respected? Would we have kept our Empire and our financial strength? WSC’s reply was brief:

“You’re only saying that to be provocative. You know very well we couldn’t have made peace on the heels of a terrible defeat. The country wouldn’t have stood for it. And what makes you think that we could have trusted Hitler’s word—particularly as he could have had Russian resources behind him? At best we would have been a German client state, and there’s not much in that.”

—Anthony Montague Browne, *Finest Hour* 50 (1985, 12); *Long Sunset* (London: Cassell, 1995, 200).

Herbert Hoover’s Critique of Churchill...

As the war progressed, the consequences of having the Soviets as allies became clearer, lending some weight to Hoover’s views. At the time Churchill and Hoover wrote, *post-bellum*, the world had found itself occupied with another global struggle. Out of the ashes of Europe and the ruins of the Pacific emerged two opposing superpowers, engaged in a contest between two different ways of life. The United States and the Soviet Union, once allies against the Axis, were now opponents in a Cold War with nothing less than the fate of humanity at stake. This was the great conflict that Hoover wished to avoid. Had the Allies not collaborated with Soviet Russia, had Hitler and Stalin been allowed to destroy or at least mutually weaken themselves, the West could have been saved from fifty years of Cold War.

But several problems emerge in Hoover’s analysis. Primarily, he limits his investigation of the Soviet problem by assuming that international relations are primarily dictated by ideology. Thus he fails to articulate fully the role that national interest plays in the conduct of a nation’s foreign affairs.

There was no ideological rationale, for example, for the non-aggression pact between Stalin and Hitler in August 1939. Nor was there political congruity in Stalin’s sharp about-face, aligning himself with Britain in the summer of 1941. In terms of geopolitics and international relations, history repeatedly shows that where ideology fails to drive nations apart, common interests

often bring them together. Churchill with his personal experience was more aware of the hard politics of dealing with Stalin and the communists than was Hoover—who merely sought to force two despots into mutual annihilation, and walk away.

There is perhaps no better way to demonstrate the differences in Hoover’s and Churchill’s approaches than by comparing the openings of each of their books. The first sentences in their volumes are telling enough.

Churchill writes: “After the end of the World War of 1914 there was a deep conviction and almost universal hope that peace would reign in the world.”¹² This hope, as Churchill goes on to explain, was shattered by Hitler, when “the English-speaking peoples through their carelessness and good nature allowed the wicked to rearm.”¹³

Hoover, conversely, is concerned only with ideology: “Before dealing with what Communism really is, a short resumé of the origin and rise of the most disastrous plague which has come to free men may be helpful to readers not already familiar with it.”¹⁴

For Herbert Hoover, the story of the Second World War begins and ends with a study and understanding of Communism. The war occurred the way it did *because* of Communism; the postwar settlement was the way it was *because* of Communism.

It is no surprise that in criticizing Churchill’s *The Second World War*, Hoover homes in specifically on its first volume, *The Gathering Storm*. Churchill’s account here, of the origins of the war, is for Hoover “one of the most difficult problems with which the objective histo-

rian will need to deal”: Churchill’s “personal prejudices, his constant rationalization after the events with a persistent misstatement and evasion of the facts and realities, are much short of objective truth.”¹⁵ Though Hoover intends this as a criticism of what he sees as Churchill’s self-gratification and personal aggrandizement, when he makes reference to “the origins of World War II,” it would be hard to argue that Hoover strikes a balance between ideology and national interest. National interest is simply not what President Hoover has in mind.

Churchill and Hoover are, after all, from vastly different backgrounds, different parts of the world and different cultures. The Englishman was raised in the *Pax Britannica* of the old Victorian empire; the American was bred of sturdy, independent midwesterners with no comparable world view. As an American patriot, it makes some sense for Hoover to be more concerned with the transnational gaze of Communism, through its “potent fifth column.” Communism, he observes, will go anywhere—even to America. It is a subversive poison without geographic boundaries.

From the standpoint of Britain and her global empire, Churchill on the other hand saw the more immediate peril in the expansionist Hitler, while the Soviet Union could be approached more successfully by stressing Russian national interests than the challenges of Soviet

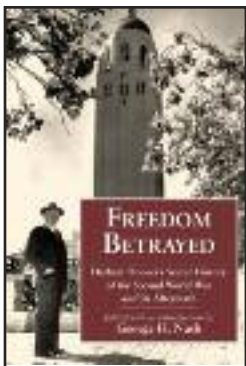
ideology. Indeed it has been observed that Churchill, when referring to communists, would use the words “Bolsheviks” or “Soviets.” But when referring to national interests he would always prefer “Russians.”¹⁶

Without drifting into geopolitical determinism, it can at least be seen why Churchill, in the heat of conflict, would take more notice of Russian national interests than Herbert Hoover, thousands of miles removed, out of office, and after the fact. (Hoover compiled his account over many years after the war.)

In the end, much of history is the record of politics and human interaction. History shows that people and nations will come into conflict with each other time and again. Any study of the great conflict of the Second World War is bound to yield useful contrasts, if the study involves two prominent minds.

Churchill and Hoover differed on many key aspects of the war, through their approaches to the German and Soviet problems specifically and their underlying views of international relations in general. Their positions were vast and complex, and it is imperative to approach their work as separate analyses of the same circumstances and events. Only by considering their work as two highly distinctive analyses of the same set of circumstances and events can the war’s lessons of geopolitics and human relations be fully understood. ☺

Endnotes



1. Herbert Hoover, *Freedom Betrayed: Herbert Hoover's Secret History of the Second World War and Its Aftermath*, ed. with an introduction by George H. Nash (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2011), 870. Written in the 1940s and 1950s, Hoover's account was placed in storage after his death in 1964; only recently has Professor Nash brought out the text, a lifetime project and major historical achievement.

2. Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, vol. 1, *The Gathering Storm* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1948), xiii.

3. The Greek historian Thucydides made a similar pronouncement: “The absence of romance in my history will, I fear, detract somewhat from its interest; but if it be judged useful by those inquirers who desire an exact knowledge of the past as an aid to the interpretation of the future, which in the course of human things must resemble if it does not reflect it, I shall be content. In fine, I have written my work, not as an essay which is to win the applause of the moment, but as a possession for all time.” Thucydides, *History of the*

Peloponnesian War, trans. Richard Crawley, in *The Landmark Thucydides*, ed. Robert B. Strassler (New York: Free Press, 1996), I 16.

4. *Freedom Betrayed*, 260, from “The Crisis: We Should Not Again Sacrifice Our Sons,” a speech by Hoover in Chicago on 16 September 1941.

5. *Freedom Betrayed*, 233. Excerpted from a speech by Hoover on 29 June 1941.

6. William F. Buckley, Jr., to Richard M. Langworth, Boston, November 1995. Private conversation.

7. *Freedom Betrayed*, 232.

8. Or workers and the elite / Proletariat and the Bourgeoisie.

9. *Freedom Betrayed*, 232.

10. *Freedom Betrayed*, 259.

11. *Freedom Betrayed*, 258.

12. *The Gathering Storm*, 3.

13. “Theme of the Volume,” *The Gathering Storm*, [ix].

14. *Freedom Betrayed*, 13.

15. *Freedom Betrayed*, 867.

16. See for example Warren F. Kimball, “Taking a Chance: Editing the Churchill-Roosevelt Correspondence,” *Finest Hour* 157, Winter 2012-13, 62.

Churchill and Hopkins: “The Main Prop and Animator of Roosevelt Himself”



Churchill from the beginning had recognized that Harry Hopkins was unique. The tenacity of this physically frail man, so admired by the steadfast Churchill, was an intrinsic factor in the Allied victory. Hopkins' unstinting efforts toward that victory were largely responsible for his early death at the age of 55. Churchill wrote in his memoirs: “Few brighter flames have burned.”

In August 1941, as Washington sweltered in a brutal heat wave, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt announced that he was going fishing. To some it may have seemed an odd time. Hitler's armies now held most of Western Europe, and seemed to be rolling through the Soviet Union; Congress was squabbling over intervention versus isolation; Britain and the Commonwealth seemed to be losing everywhere.¹

As the presidential yacht USS *Potomac* sailed up the coast of New England, Churchill in London boarded a train for Scapa Flow in the Orkneys. Winging to join Churchill was Harry Hopkins, the President's friend and adviser, flying in primitive conditions in a PBY Catalina from Moscow after three days with Stalin. He was ill and the trip was debilitating, but vital.

On August 4th, Roosevelt left his yacht and boarded the cruiser USS *Augusta*, which continued north. In Placentia Bay, a large inlet near Argentia, Newfoundland, Roosevelt planned to meet Churchill, accompanied by Hopkins, who were sailing to the rendezvous from Scotland aboard HMS *Prince of Wales*.

That first wartime meeting of FDR and Churchill was a game-changer. If not quite the beginning of the “grand

alliance,” it did mark the beginning of the Anglo-American “Special Relationship.” The Atlantic Charter was a communiqué, not a signed agreement, and no set policies were established. Yet despite their ideological differences, a bond between the two leaders was established.

While the Roosevelt-Churchill relationship proved critical to Allied victory, it was Harry Hopkins who constructed much of its foundation. His personal connection with Roosevelt is well

known (see Ron Cynwulf Robbins, “Roosevelt's Bracken,” *FH* 146), but there was also a unique relationship between Hopkins and Churchill. Without it, the Anglo-American alliance might have been much less than it was.

Scholars have compared Hopkins to Woodrow Wilson's Col. Edward House (Hopkins scoffed at the suggestion), to Churchill's Brendan Bracken, and even to Czarina Alexandra's Rasputin. Though he had no official title, some called him (not always with approval) the “Assistant President.” He certainly wielded extraordinary influence in the White House. But Hopkins was not a shadowy figure hovering in the background, nor was he merely an intermediary. He served, rather, as a kind of

JUNE HOPKINS

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third leg of a tripod. Churchill and Roosevelt had previously viewed each other with a wary eye; Hopkins provided stability for the often-tenuous balance between two powerful leaders with very different world outlooks.

The bond of trust between Hopkins and Churchill began in January 1941, when Hopkins first visited London, and deepened into what might be called the “other Special Relationship.” Hopkins did more than keep the Special Relationship alive; he often calmed troubled waters between the U.S. and Great Britain. While Hopkins’ friendship with the President had evolved over many years, his Midwest brusqueness, utter practicality and intense belief in Britain’s commitment to victory struck an immediate chord with the Prime Minister.

Hopkins’ mission to London arose out of a clear need. In a desperate fight on air and sea, Churchill had called on the United States for material aid. Britain was short of armaments, low on food—and out of money. Churchill’s appeals were powerful, but Roosevelt’s ability to meet them was limited by a Congress that wished to remain neutral.

Hopkins, long Roosevelt’s right hand, was ideally situated to order events. An internationalist by nature if not by ideology, he believed that unless the United States entered the war, or at the very least provided the necessary armaments, Hitler could not be defeated. Roosevelt might have been of the same mind, but had to contend with Congress. FDR was reluctant to commit anything more than supplies to Britain, which he presented to the public as a way to prevent direct American involvement. And Roosevelt himself was no advocate of monarchy or empire—two institutions Churchill held in almost religious awe.

Roosevelt’s challenge was twofold: to help Britain materially, he needed to convince Americans that their scarce munitions would not be wasted. Simultaneously he had to convince Churchill that Americans were indeed supportive of British efforts to resist what many in the world saw as an inevitable capitulation to the Germans.² Hopkins was the right man to send to England on Roosevelt’s behalf. Or at least this is what Hopkins thought.

Roosevelt and Churchill both believed that face-to-face meetings were necessary to ascertain “inner thoughts and ultimate intentions,” leading to significant political and military decisions.³ Hopkins agreed wholeheartedly. And he was certain that he should orchestrate such a meeting.

It was difficult, however, to convince Roosevelt to send his ailing adviser to London, even on such a vital mission. Since 1937, Hopkins had suffered from debilitating illnesses, including stomach cancer, a duodenal

GLASGOW, 15 JANUARY 1941

I sat next to Harry Hopkins, an unkempt figure. After a time he got up and, turning to the PM, said: “I suppose you wish to know what I am going to say to President Roosevelt on my return. Well, I’m going to quote you one verse from that Book of Books.... ‘Whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge: thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God.’” Then he added very quietly: “Even to the end.”

I was surprised to find the PM in tears. He knew what it meant. Even to us the words seemed like a rope thrown to a drowning man.

—Diary of Lord Moran
The verse was from Ruth 1:16.

ulcer and hemochromatosis, along with a mysterious inability to absorb protein. He survived with frequent blood transfusions, and by daily injections of nutrients. On a personal level, also, FDR liked having him around. Hopkins had been living in the White House since the middle of 1940, and the President was used to bouncing ideas off a man whose opinion he could trust.

In the end, probably from Churchill’s constant pleas and the fact that the two nations were “between ambassadors,”⁴ Roosevelt relented. Hopkins would fly to England, take the measure of the Prime Minister and of the country itself, and report back to the President. Simultaneously, Congress was considering the Lend-Lease bill, allowing the U.S. to supply Britain with food and munitions while deferring payment.

Though he took an internationalist view of the war, Hopkins was an Iowan from a modest background, a former social worker with little experience in foreign affairs. He certainly had reservations about meeting Churchill, who seemed an almost mythical figure. On the eve of his departure, with his trademark cynicism, he told Jean Monnet, a French businessman working with the British: “I suppose Churchill is convinced that he’s the greatest man on earth.”⁵ Clearly he did not expect to like the PM—but he was on a mission for his boss.

Hopkins left New York aboard a Pan Am Yankee Clipper on January 6th, arriving in Poole, Dorset, late on the 9th. Exhausted, he was unable even to walk off the plane. On the train ride to London he slowly recovered, gazing out at the devastation German bombs had >>

Churchill and Hopkins...

wreaked on the countryside. If he had originally carried a chip on his shoulder about the British, he quickly brushed it off as he observed firsthand what Britons were going through.⁶ His pro-British sentiments increased with each mile traveled. Still, Hopkins did not know what to expect from the Prime Minister, a man with whom he had little in common, politically or socially. He clung to the idea that they had one common goal—to beat Hitler.

Their first meeting, on January 10th, was a three-hour lunch at Ten Downing Street. When Hopkins suggested to Churchill that it would be a good idea to meet the President face to face, Churchill responded, “The sooner the better.”⁷ Roosevelt, Hopkins said, was also anxious for a meeting, but wanted to wait until the Lend-Lease bill had been passed. Churchill quickly realized that Hopkins was no mere social worker, or a New Deal administrator, and concluded that whatever Hopkins reported to Roosevelt would be of extreme importance for the British.

On a personal level Churchill liked the frail but outspoken American. Hopkins admired the PM’s knowledge of the war situation, his eloquence and determination. At subsequent meetings, and there were many, their friendship strengthened. Hopkins began his education in wartime diplomacy at Churchill’s side during the nearly six weeks he spent in Britain. In his accustomed style, he reported to Roosevelt by personal courier, not embassy channels. He described Churchill’s determination to fight to the finish, and the pride the British had in their country’s battle. “If courage alone can win,” he wrote, “the result will be inevitable. But they need our help desperately....*Churchill* is the gov’t in every sense of the word.”⁸

Hopkins’ concern, in the American vernacular, was to get on with the “business of licking that goddam sonofabitch Hitler.”⁹ Although of two worlds in every sense of the term, his close relationship with Churchill from their first meeting on was set in stone. Churchill’s daughter Mary recalled: “the chemistry was right between them.”¹⁰ Britons from all walks of life responded to Hopkins’ genuine empathy. One of Churchill’s aides remarked that it was “extraordinary how Hopkins has endeared himself to everyone here he has met.”¹¹

Hopkins spent weekends with Churchill at Chequers, the country residence of prime ministers (where he suf-

fered terribly from the cold) and travelled with the Prime Minister on inspection tours of military installations. They made an extraordinary couple—the imposing PM with his inevitable cigar; the frail, unkempt and often shivering American, traveling to see the fleet, to inspect munitions factories, to view bomb damage. Altogether Harry Hopkins spent twelve evenings with Churchill—a time, as Robert Sherwood suggested, full of “intimacy” almost as strong as Hopkins’ relationship with Roosevelt.¹² Perhaps it was even stronger than the relationship between Roosevelt and Churchill.



WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 1941: Hopkins (holding hat) arriving to report to Roosevelt after his epic journey to Britain. On his right are the author’s parents, Cherry Preisser (fur collar) and David Hopkins. Opposite: some words to the press. Author photos.

In his memoirs, Churchill recalls Hopkins as “a most extraordinary man, who played...a decisive part in the whole movement of the war.” True, Hopkins could “be disagreeable and say hard and sour things”—a reference to Hopkins’ forthrightness and inability to mince words. But few words between the PM and Hopkins were sour at their first meeting, and Churchill must have warmed to hear Hopkins say: “The President is determined that we shall win the war together. Make no mistake about it...there is nothing he will not do so far as he has human power.”¹³

That remark was pregnant with meaning. The United States was not in a state of war. Constitutionally, no president of the U.S. could have uttered these words to a British prime minister. It is probably true that Hopkins had overstepped his authority, informal as it was, in

making such a forthright declaration. But it was clearly meant to give encouragement to Churchill. Few Americans wished the British to make peace with the Germans. The vital task for both Churchill and Hopkins was to convince the Americans (and the British) that Britain would continue the fight, but that it could not hold out without U.S. material support. Still, it is almost certain that both men believed there was little chance of final victory unless the United States entered the war.

Hopkins left London on February 8th. The next day he flew home from Bournemouth to pass his views to the



President. By the time he got home, the Lend-Lease Act had made it through Congress. Churchill knew he could rely on his new American friend to ensure that Britain would get the munitions and food it needed—for the time being at least. FDR named Hopkins administrator of Lend-Lease, an extremely powerful position. He became in effect “Roosevelt’s own personal Foreign Office.”¹⁴

If Lend-Lease was the lifeline, Hopkins held the rope. In other circumstances, Churchill would have dealt very carefully with any American official having that kind of power. But it is clear from the documents that emerged from their meetings that he and Hopkins were unified in heart and mind. Hopkins, ever the social worker, was determined that Britain would get what it needed. “I find my thoughts constantly with you in the desperate struggle,” he wrote to Churchill, “which I am sure is going to result, in the last analysis, in your victory.”¹⁵

Hopkins returned to London on Monday, July 17th, a few weeks after Hitler had attacked the Soviet Union.

In an ironic turn of events, Joseph Stalin, the Communist leader who had signed a non-aggression pact with Hitler in 1939, had become a British ally—and an American supplicant.

Churchill knew that if the United States were to send war materiel to the Soviet Union, it would cut into Britain’s own Lend-Lease supplies. But he trusted Hopkins’ promise to keep the British Isles supplied. Underlying that trust, the PM invited Hopkins to attend a meeting of the War Cabinet—an unprecedented invitation to an American or, for that matter, the representative of any other nation.

After the meeting they walked and talked privately in the small walled garden behind Number Ten, Churchill puffing his cigar, Hopkins likely with a cigarette hanging from his mouth, discussing the latest turn of events. Hopkins reiterated the President’s desire to schedule, a secret, face-to-face meeting. Churchill agreed, saying he would make the hazardous trip across a U-boat-infested Atlantic to meet the President in August. In the meantime, Hopkins said, he needed to visit Stalin in Moscow.¹⁶

The Red Army now desperately needed war materiel from the United States. Since Hopkins’ approval was required for Lend-Lease purchase orders, he was the man Stalin wished to see. Most politicians and military leaders thought the Soviets would not last more than about four months,

which raised a serious question. Roosevelt needed to know if they were right. Could the Russians, without the aid of Allied war materiel, actually hold out? Or would they give up and sign an armistice? Churchill too wanted that information. Hopkins, who had the trust of both leaders, was the right man to send. He could fly in his Catalina to Archangel, travel to Moscow, and be back in a week to accompany Churchill to the Atlantic Conference. He had promised the PM that he would be at his side when he met the President.

It was a dangerous and long twenty-four-hour journey. Hopkins boarded his plane at Invergorden on July 30th, flew to Archangel and proceeded to Moscow. Three days later, having promised Stalin American aid, Hopkins left for Scapa Flow to join Churchill on *Prince of Wales*. The schedule was tight and he almost didn’t make it: in the rush to meet the Catalina in Archangel he had left his medications in Moscow. He did not have the time to go back.

After another twenty-four-hour flight, this time >>

through enemy fire, lacking the nutrients to inject into his body, Hopkins was close to death. But he was determined not to let Churchill down. Landing in Scotland, gravely ill but alive, he joined Churchill for the journey across the Atlantic.

Semper fidelis, a Marine would say: he had made incredible sacrifices. But he and Churchill knew how crucial his presence would be.

The five-day crossing was rough, with high seas and a zigzag course to elude U-boats. Churchill, still a Naval Person,¹⁷ was in his element, thrilled to be at sea on a dramatic secret mission. If he feared the U-boats it was not for his own safety, nor for the safety of those on board. What he feared was the disruption of the lifeline of arms and munitions from the United States.¹⁸ On this journey hung the hope, in the words of a British journalist, “of saving the world from measureless degradation.”¹⁹ That Churchill could approach the Atlantic Conference with confidence was largely owed to his meetings with Hopkins. They were headed in fact toward the first summit conference.²⁰

Despite rough seas and cramped accommodations, Hopkins regained much of his strength during the crossing. He even managed to attend a few evening films with Churchill, his staff and the crew. Hopkins had brought two gifts from Moscow, which he presented to the PM on one of the five movie nights: a tin of caviar and a film clip of his arrival in the bleak Soviet capital. A delighted Churchill played the clip for the party and shouted “bravo” when Hopkins stepped off the plane; “for one evening at least, Hopkins was Mr. Churchill’s favourite film star.”²¹

Prince of Wales cruised slowly into Placentia Bay on Saturday, August 9th; *Augusta* was already at anchor. The Old World met the New in a remote inlet which Churchill later described as “somewhere in the Atlantic.” FDR doffed his hat and stood in salute as *Prince of*



CASABLANCA, JANUARY 1943. Hopkins’ son Robert wrote on the back of this photo (probably during the 50th anniversary of the conference in 1993), “Seated: the Sultan of Morocco, FDR and Churchill. Standing: Gen. George Patton, Rob’t Murphy, Harry Hopkins, Moulay Hassan [now King of Morocco], Gen. Noguès [Vichy’s general resident], the Grand Vizier, unidentified, Elliott Roosevelt, Captain Eddy [a naval aide].” Robert Hopkins and the King were the only ones who had been there in 1943. Murphy, onetime U.S. chargé d’affaires to Vichy France, had been investigating conditions in North Africa for the upcoming invasion, “Operation Torch.” Noguès, the Vichy resident, was imprisoned in 1947 but released in 1956.

Wales, camouflaged and battered with guns pointing to the sky, moved by.

Aboard *Augusta*, the band struck up *God Save the King*. Franklin Roosevelt, recognizing a tune Americans sang with other lyrics, quipped, “That’s the best rendition of *My Country, ’Tis of Thee* I’ve ever heard.” The Prime Minister stood on his own bridge as the band played *The Star-Spangled Banner*, gazing at the pristine American cruiser in her peacetime light grey livery. The difference was palpable.

It was a historic moment, colored by what a British journalist called “a touch of danger, humor, secrecy” that would “prevent the carving up of the world and the enslavement of Humanity.”²² For those present this was not mere hyperbole. Everyone on board, Hopkins included, had experienced what Hitler had let loose on the globe.

The same day, Hopkins transferred to *Augusta* to finalize arrangements for the meeting between the two leaders. He had been so impressed with Churchill's analysis of the war situation that he was very anxious for Roosevelt to hear the details from the PM himself.

Much to the relief of Harry Hopkins, the President and the Prime Minister quickly came to like each other. The Anglo-American alliance had taken root, months before the United States entered the war. But the relationship between Churchill and Hopkins, that other Special Relationship, had flourished beforehand. Here and at other wartime conferences, Hopkins' ties to Churchill smoothed decisions both military and political that might have been far more fraught without him—a man with no title, no elective office, and certainly no

illustrious background. Merely through the force of his personality, he exercised an influence felt long after his untimely death in 1946.

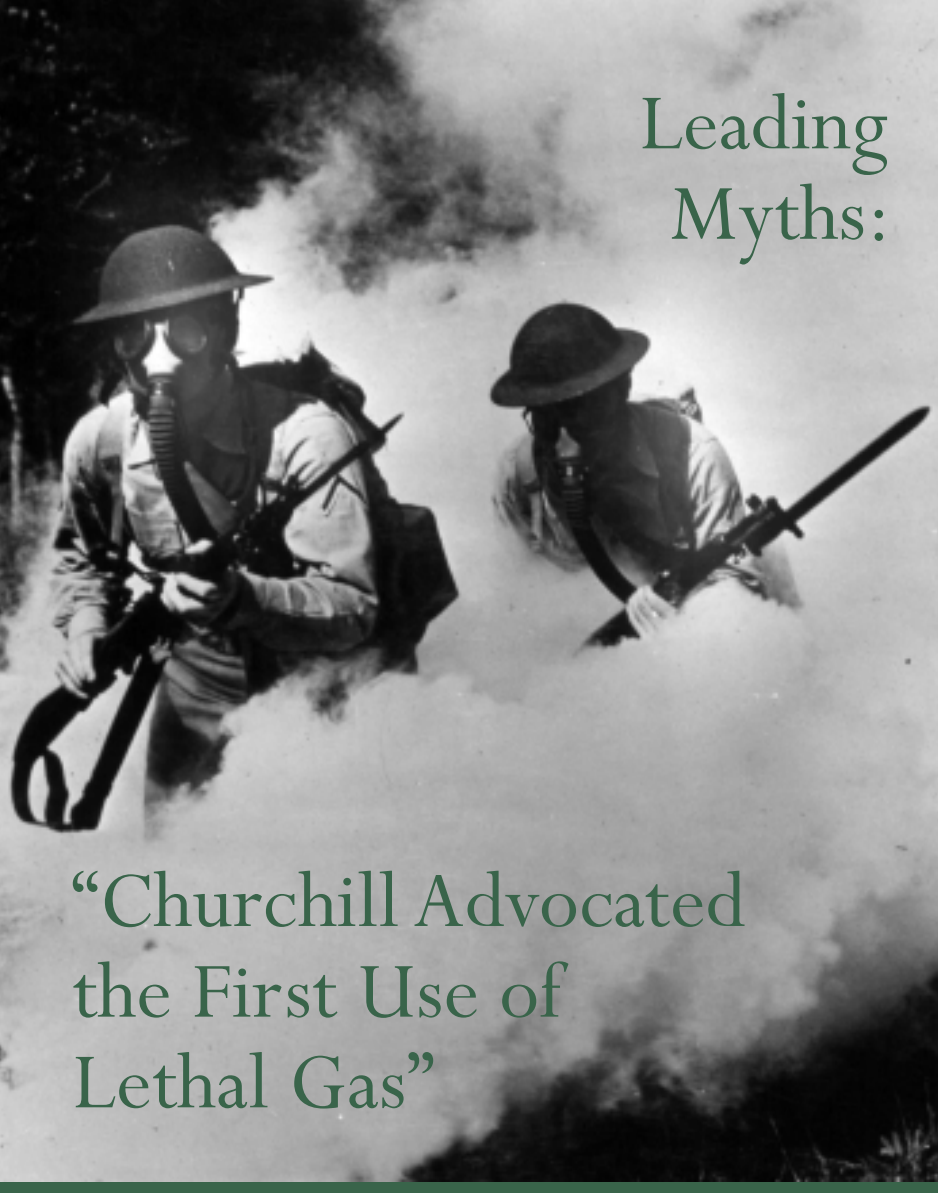
Churchill from the beginning had recognized that Harry Hopkins was unique: “the main prop and animator,” as he put it, “of Roosevelt himself.” Hopkins had always been single-minded in achieving his goals, whether the relief of unemployment during the Depression or the defeat of fascism during World War II. The tenacity of this physically frail man, so admired by the steadfast Churchill, was an intrinsic factor in their triumph. Hopkins' unstinting efforts toward that victory were largely responsible for his early death at the age of 55. Churchill wrote in his memoirs: “Few brighter flames have burned.”²³ ♪

Endnotes

1. Theodore A. Wilson, *The First Summit* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press: 1991), 3-6.
2. Frank Costigliola, *Roosevelt's Lost Alliances: How Personal Politics Helped Start the Cold War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, reprint, 2013), 101-03.
3. *Ibid.*, 98.
4. Joseph P. Kennedy, increasingly defeatist over Britain's prospects, resigned as ambassador to the Court of St. James's in October 1940; his replacement, John G. Winant, did not arrive until March 1941. Lord Lothian, appointed ambassador to the United States in 1939, had died in December 1940.
5. Robert Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), 232.
6. *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 135.
7. *Ibid.*, 238.
8. *Ibid.*, 243.
9. *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 237; *Roosevelt's Lost Alliances*, 104.
10. *Roosevelt's Lost Alliances*, 104.
11. *Ibid.*, 106.
12. *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 261.
13. Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, abridged edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959), 401-02.
14. *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, 268.
15. *Ibid.*, 265.
16. H.V. Morton, *Atlantic Meeting* (London: Methuen, 1943), 12-15.
17. Churchill, who had begun corresponding with Roosevelt when First Lord of the Admiralty, had signed his letters “Naval Person.” After becoming Prime Minister he signed them “Former Naval Person.”
18. *The Second World War*, 410.
19. *Atlantic Meeting*, 155.
20. Dwight William Tuttle, *Harry L. Hopkins and Anglo-American-Soviet Relations 1941-1945* (New York: Garland, 1983), 110-11.
21. *Atlantic Meeting*, 62.
22. *Ibid.*, 90.
23. *The Second World War*, 403.

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Leading Myths:

“Churchill Advocated the First Use of Lethal Gas”

Historians from Martin Gilbert forward have published the facts about Churchill and chemical warfare so often in the last forty years that one is surprised this myth continues to perturb the innocent. No doubt the shock value of the claim is high, given what has been going on in Syria.

Outrage over use of chemical weapons in Syria has led the world media to Winston Churchill. Reports have circulated to the effect that Britain and Churchill were no different from Syria and Assad: that Churchill favored and/or used initiating the use of “poison gas” from World War I through World War II, notably on the Indians and Bolsheviks in 1919, and on the Iraqis in the 1920s. What’s more, he wanted to “drench” German cities with gas in 1943.

The BBC, planning to cover all this, asked: was the matter something we might wish to discuss? Well, yes—before it all gets out of hand.

“Uncivilised Tribes” vs. Welfare of Troops

At the Second Battle of Ypres in April 1915, the horrors of German poison gas broke upon a shocked world. The outraged Allies retaliated in kind, although British manufacture of lethal gas—chlorine, and later phosgene—was a small fraction of that produced by the French and Germans.

Though the killing capacity of those gases was limited to only 4% of combat casualties, revulsion over their insidious effects and the suffering they caused was widespread.¹

After the war, with Churchill at the War Office, Britain was faced with the question of using gas against rebel tribesmen in Northwest India and in Mesopotamia, now Iraq. It was never proposed to use chlorine or phosgene, but

Churchill confused the matter when he used the general term “poison gas” in a departmental minute in 1919 (*italics mine*):

It is sheer affectation to lacerate a man with the poisonous fragment of a bursting shell and to boggle at making his eyes water by means of lachrymatory gas. I am strongly in favour of using poisoned gas against uncivilised tribes. The moral effect should be so good that the loss of life should be reduced to a minimum. *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.*²

RICHARD M. LANGWORTH

“If it is fair war for an Afghan to shoot down a British soldier behind a rock and cut him in pieces as he lies wounded on the ground, why is it not fair for a British artilleryman to fire a shell which makes the said native sneeze? It is really too silly.” —WSC, 1919

Ten days later, Churchill addressed the India Office’s reluctance to use tear gas against rebel tribesmen on the Northwest Frontier:

Gas is a more merciful weapon than high explosive shell, and compels an enemy to accept a decision with less loss of life than any other agency of war. The moral effect is also very great. There can be no conceivable reason why it should not be resorted to. We have definitely taken the position of maintaining gas as a weapon in future warfare, and it is only ignorance on the part of the Indian military authorities which interposes any obstacle.³

Churchill went on to cite what he saw as a greater good, which in his view made the use of “lachrymatory gas” acceptable: the welfare of soldiers. In all the accounts of his supposed enthusiasm for gas warfare, I have never seen this key minute cited in full:

Having regard to the fact that [the India Office] are retaining all our men, even those who are most entitled to demobilisation, we cannot in any circumstances acquiesce in the non-utilisation of any weapons which are available to procure a speedy termination of the disorder which prevails on the frontier. If it is fair war for an Afghan to shoot down a British soldier behind a rock and cut him in pieces as he lies wounded on the ground, why is it not fair for a British artilleryman to fire a shell which makes the said native sneeze? It is really too silly.⁴

Almost always absent from quotations alleging Churchill’s penchant for the use of gas is the above paragraph, and certainly the first part of it. It testifies that Churchill was thinking more broadly, and more humanely, than most: He was thinking of sparing serving soldiers, most of them not volunteers, from ugly deaths by the most grisly and barbarous methods.

The issue of gas came up again after Britain had occupied Mesopotamia, part of the old Ottoman Empire, and was trying to restore order and establish a state, later Iraq—“nation building,” we would call it today. Britain was *not* securing her oil supply, which had already been achieved elsewhere. Churchill actually considered “Messpot,” as he called it, a huge waste of money. (See David Freeman, “Churchill and the Making of Iraq,” *FH* 132.)

Continued use of the Royal Air Force in Iraq, Churchill explained to Air Marshal Trenchard, might require “the provision of some kind of asphyxiating bombs calculated to cause disablement of some kind but not death...”⁵ A year later Churchill urged Trenchard to continue “experimental work on gas bombs, especially mustard gas, which would inflict punishment upon recalcitrant natives without inflicting grave injury upon them.”⁶

Now mustard gas is much sterner stuff than tear gas. It causes itching, skin irritation and large, putrid blisters. If a victim’s eyes are exposed they become sore. A victim can contract conjunctivitis, where the eyelids swell, resulting in temporary blindness. But Churchill was right in his judgment that mustard gas was not usually lethal. Of 165,000 British mustard gas casualties on the Western Front in World War I, only 3000 or 2.5% were deaths. Chlorine, first used by the Germans, in its later “perfected” stage, killed nearly 20%.⁷ In the event, gas of any kind was not used in India or Iraq.

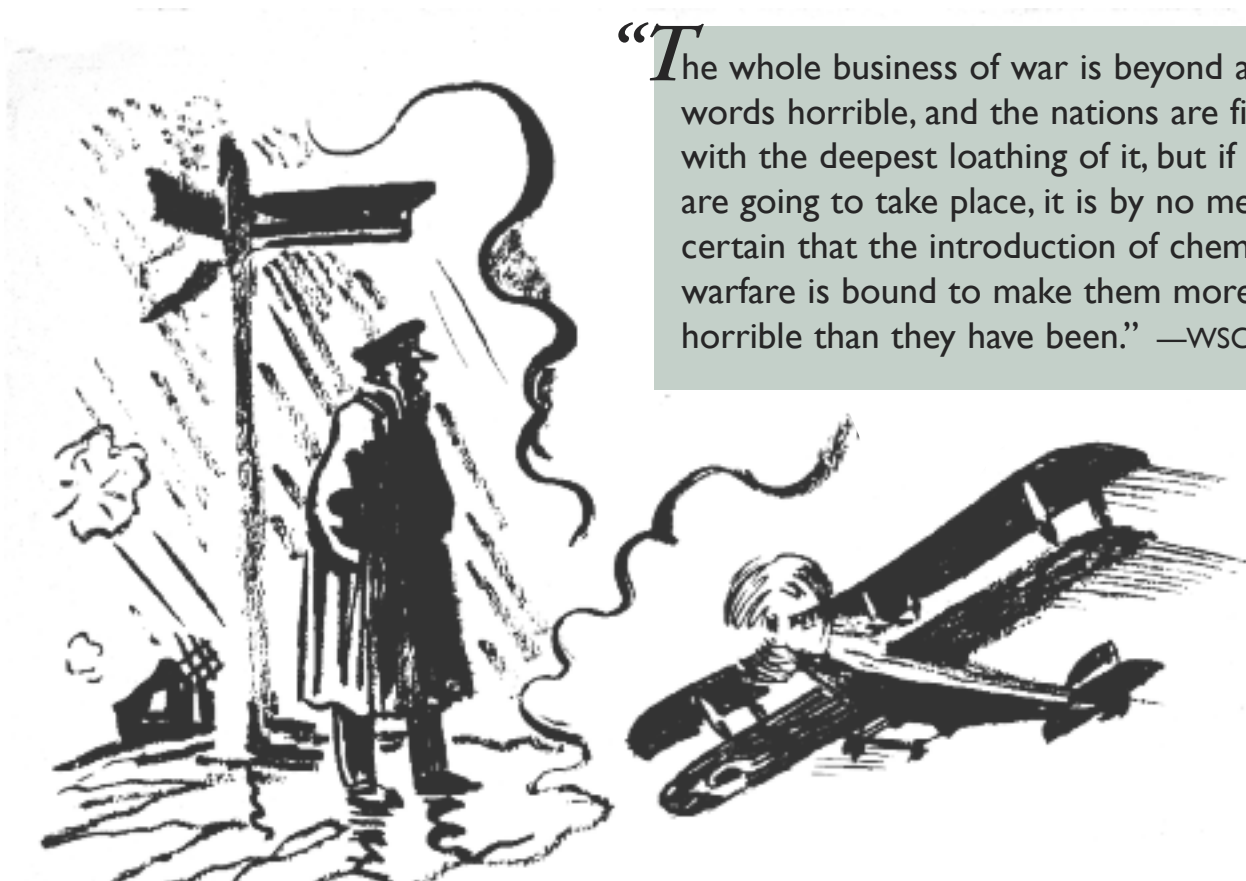
Gassing the Bolsheviks

The strongest case for Churchill as a chemical warfare enthusiast involves Russia, and was made by Giles Milton in *The Guardian* on 1 September 2013, which prompted this article. Milton wrote that in 1919,

scientists at the governmental laboratories at Porton in Wiltshire developed a far more devastating weapon: the top secret “M Device,” an exploding shell containing a highly toxic gas called diphenylaminechloroarsine [DM]. The man in charge of developing it, Major General Charles Foulkes, called it “the most effective chemical weapon ever devised.” Trials at Porton suggested that it was indeed a terrible new weapon. Uncontrollable vomiting, coughing up blood and instant, crippling fatigue were the most common reactions. The overall head of chemical warfare production, Sir Keith Price, was convinced its use would lead to the rapid collapse of the Bolshevik regime. “If you got home only once with the gas you would find no more Bolshies this side of Vologda.”

A staggering 50,000 M Devices were shipped to Russia: British aerial attacks using them began on 27 August 1919....Bolshevik soldiers were seen fleeing in panic as the green chemical gas drifted towards them. Those caught in the cloud vomited blood, then collapsed unconscious. The attacks continued throughout September on many Bolshevik-held villages....But the weapons proved less effective than Churchill had hoped, partly because of the damp autumn weather. By September, the attacks were halted then stopped.⁸

If Churchill planned, or even countenanced, dropping lethal gas on Russian villages, even for three days, he is certainly culpable, assuming he actually understood the horrific nature of the device. It would be the only case where he advocated the use of a killing agent on civil populations, rather than on the battlefield—where he favored throwing at the enemy whatever they threw first. >>



“The whole business of war is beyond all words horrible, and the nations are filled with the deepest loathing of it, but if wars are going to take place, it is by no means certain that the introduction of chemical warfare is bound to make them more horrible than they have been.” —WSC, 1932

ARTWORK FROM REFLEXIONS ET AVENTURES, THE FIRST FRENCH EDITION OF THOUGHTS AND ADVENTURES, 1944

Leading Myths: Lethal Gas...

I respectfully asked Mr. Milton for the sources of his statements, and had no response. I am not sure why I should have to do this. One would expect that a writer making such serious charges would offer sources. No matter: my BBC correspondent put me onto his source: Simon Jones, in a 1999 article which Milton paraphrases, but in my judgment quite misconstrues.⁹

According to Jones, General Foulkes *did* consider the M Device and DM gas effective, and Sir Keith Price *was* convinced it would eliminate any “Bolshies” who came in contact with it. And Churchill *did* order General Ironside, in command at Archangel, to make “fullest use” of the new weapon—for the same reason he always cited with regard to gas: “Bolsheviks have been using gas shells against Allied troops....” (Jones explains that the Bolsheviks had used German shells recovered on the battlefield.¹⁰)

Nowhere, however, does Jones state that anyone thought the M Device “would lead to the rapid collapse of the Bolshevik state.” Neither Simon, nor Milton paraphrasing Simon, says anything about deaths or civilian casualties. This is not to say they didn’t occur, but they could not have been numerous. In a September attack on Chunova, for example, “ten Bolsheviks were affected.” Opposing British troops were advised that in the event of accidentally inhaling DM, “cigarette smoking would give relief.”¹¹

Reading Jones, DM comes off as an ugly, disgusting, but generally non-lethal advance on tear gas. Reading Milton, it sounds almost like Zyklon-B, the gas of choice at Auschwitz and the other killing factories of World War II. Milton’s *Guardian* article then transitions on to the subject of India as if the same gas were proposed there. But Sir Charles Foulkes was next posted *to* India, where he “investigated and rejected proposals to use gas against the fiercely independent North West Frontier tribes who guarded the main strategic routes into Afghanistan.”¹²

It is possible to believe Churchill would countenance use of more serious gasses in Russia, which he regarded as a life or death struggle against a barbarous tyranny. Yet a document in the Churchill Archives, at the time of the Allied intervention in Russia, suggests that his views here were no different than over India and Iraq:

Because an enemy who has perpetrated every conceivable barbarity is at present unable, through his ignorance, to manufacture poisoned gas, is that any reason why our troops should be prevented from taking full advantage of their weapons? The use of these gas shell[s] having become universal during the great war, I consider that we are fully entitled to use them against anyone pending the general review of the laws of war which no doubt will follow the Peace Conference.¹³

There is nothing here suggesting a Churchill penchant for using gas against civilian populations, as Assad (or some-

body, depending on whose intelligence you believe) did in Syria. Indeed Churchill qualified his recommendation: “pending the general review of the laws of war.”

World War II and Beyond

Churchill’s chemical weapons philosophy leading up to the Second World War remained along the lines he had expressed before. If the enemy should use it first, he would expect to use it back. Speaking in the House of Commons in 1932, he said:

Nothing could be more repugnant to our feelings than the use of poison gas, but there is no logic at all behind the argument that it is quite proper in war to lay a man low with high-explosive shell, fragments of which inflict poisonous and festering wounds, and altogether immoral to give him a burn with corrosive gas or make him cough and sneeze or otherwise suffer through his respiratory organs. There is no logical distinction.... The attitude of the British Government has always been to abhor the employment of poison gas. As I understand it, our only procedure is to keep alive such means of studying this subject as shall not put us at a hopeless disadvantage if, by any chance, it were used against us by other people.¹⁴

Lethal gas was not used by the Allies or Germans on World War II battlefields, though the Nazis certainly reached new depths with its application in the death camps. Churchill was content with the battlefield stand-off, but was always prepared to use it there if it were used first by the enemy. One such possibility arose in February 1943, when London became aware that the Germans might use gas against the Russians in their counterattack on the Donets Basin. The Prime Minister immediately minuted the Chiefs of Staff Committee:

In the event of the Germans using gas on the Russians, my declaration of last year of course stands. We shall retaliate by drenching the German cities with gas on the largest possible scale. We must expect their counter-measures. Is everything in readiness for this contingency both ways? It is quite possible that another warning like I gave last year might check them off at the last minute, but we must be ready to strike and make good any threat we utter with the utmost promptitude and severity.¹⁵

The out-of-context quote one often sees here is “drenching the German cities with gas on the largest possible scale.” It is clear, however, that Churchill’s minute was a response, not an order. Nor did the military object. The Vice Chiefs of Staff reported back: “we are prepared offensively and defensively for gas warfare and are in a position to retaliate by air on a very large scale.”¹⁶

Sir Martin Gilbert added that the Prime Minister was talking about mustard gas (described above), “from which nearly everyone recovers.” Even then he would use it, he continued, only “it was life or death for us” or if it would

“shorten the war by a year....” To that end, in Churchill’s opinion, Sir Martin continued,

it might even be used on the Normandy beach-head. “It is absurd to consider morality on this topic,” he wrote, “when everybody used it in the last war without a word of complaint from the moralists or the Church. On the other hand, in the last war the bombing of open cities was regarded as forbidden. Now everybody does it as a matter of course.”

It would be several weeks or even months, Churchill added, “before I shall ask you to drench Germany with poison gas.” In the meantime he wanted the matter studied, he wrote, “in cold blood by sensible people, and not by that particular set of psalm-singing uniformed defeatists which one runs across, now here, now there.”¹⁷

Again the military replied that they were ready, although they “doubted whether gas, of the essentially non-lethal kind envisaged by Churchill, could have a decisive effect, and no gas raids were made.”¹⁸

In view of the celerity and gusto with which Right Thinkers in the media attack Churchill, it is appropriate to mention Sir Martin’s next paragraph—a poignant reminder of stark reality, and the difference between “us” and “them”:

“News had just reached London of the mass murder in specially-designed gas chambers of more than two and a half million Jews at Auschwitz, which had hitherto been identified only as a slave-labour camp.”¹⁹

Myth and Reality

If anyone still believes that Churchill was an enthusiast of lethal gas, he will have to come up with better evidence than we have seen so far—and some acceptable explanation for the many instances when, faced with its possible use, Churchill and his commanders demurred. Truly, they thought on higher moral planes than the Syrians.

We need also to consider attitudes at the time—what really mattered. After the Bolshevik Revolution and the Russian exit from World War I, this same Winston Churchill advocated sending a “commissar” (as he put it) to Lenin, who would offer—in exchange for Russia reentering the war—that Britain would guarantee Lenin’s revolution! Sir Martin said that he first revealed this in a lecture to a very large group of distinguished Soviet officers in Moscow: “You could have heard a pin drop.”²⁰

While he never advocated the first use of lethal gas, Churchill’s main aim in both world wars was victory: “Victory at all costs,” as he said in 1940, “victory in spite of all terror.” To that end he would consider almost anything. Describing the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 he had written similarly:

At the Admiralty we were in hot pursuit of most of the great key inventions and ideas of the war; and this long in advance of every other nation, friend or foe. Tanks, smoke, >>

Leading Myths: Lethal Gas...

torpedo-seaplanes, directional wireless, cryptography, mine fenders, monitors, torpedo-proof ships, paravanes—all were being actively driven forward or developed. Poison gas alone we had put aside—but not, as has been shown, from want of comprehension.²¹

I recall the words of his daughter Lady Soames: “My father would have done almost anything to win the war, and I daresay he had to do some pretty rough things. But they didn’t unman him.”²² ☹

“Tanks, smoke, torpedo-seaplanes, directional wireless, cryptography, mine fenders, monitors, torpedo-proof ships, paravanes—all were being actively driven forward or developed. Poison gas alone we had put aside—but not, as has been shown, from want of comprehension.” —WSC, 1923



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2. Churchill minute. War Office, 12 May 1919. Martin Gilbert, ed., *Winston S. Churchill, Companion Volume 4, Part 1* (London: Heinemann, 1977), 649.

3. *Ibid.*, 661–62.

4. *Ibid.*, 662.

5. Martin Gilbert, “Churchill and Bombing Policy,” Fifth Churchill Lecture, Washington, D.C., 18 October 2005, on the Churchill Centre website: <http://xrl.us/bgy3j2>.

6. WSC to Sir Hugh Trenchard, 29 August 1920, Martin Gilbert, ed., *Winston S. Churchill, Companion Volume 4, Part 2* (London: Heinemann, 1977), 1190.

7. “Chemical Weapons in World War I,” op. cit. See also “Sulphur Mustard,” <http://bit.ly/15pE8hL>.

8. Giles Milton, “Winston Churchill’s Shocking Use of Chemical Weapons,” *The Guardian*, 1 September 2013, <http://xrl.us/bprq4v>.

9. Simon Jones, “‘The right medicine for the Bolshevik’: British air-dropped chemical weapons in north Russia, 1919,” *Imperial War Museum Review* 12, 1999, 78–88. (A .pdf copy is available from the editor by email.)

10. War Office to General Officer in Charge Archangel, telegram, 7 February 1919, Public Record Office. Jones, 80.

11. Jones, 83.

12. King’s College, London, “The Serving Soldier: Major General Charles Foulkes (1875–1969),” <http://xrl.us/bprmo>.

13. WSC to Chief of Imperial General Staff, 25 January 1919, supplied by Allen Packwood, Churchill Archives Centre, 4 September 2013.

14. “Disarmament Problems,” House of Commons, 13 May 1932, in Winston S. Churchill, *Arms and the Covenant* (London: Harrap, 1938), 23–24. Richard M. Langworth, ed., *Churchill in His Own Words* (London: Ebury Press, 2012), 190.

15. Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill*, vol. 7, *Road to Victory 1941–1945* (London: Heinemann, 1986), 352–53. On 20 March 1942, Churchill had written Stalin: “His Majesty’s Government will treat any use of this weapon of poison gas against Russia exactly as if it was directed against ourselves.” See Winston S. Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950), 329.

16. *Ibid.*, 353.

17. Martin Gilbert, *Churchill: A Life* (London: Minerva, 1992), 783.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. Sir Martin Gilbert to the author; private correspondence, 1993.

21. Winston S. Churchill, *The World Crisis*, vol. 1, 1911–1915 (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1923), 382. I am grateful to Prof. Antoine Capet for bringing this to my attention.

22. Lady Soames to the author; private correspondence, 2005.

Encounters with the Good and the Great

COMPILED BY DANA COOK

A Memory for Faces, 1932

SOUTH CAROLINA—

Winston Churchill and his daughter Diana came for a brief visit. They had been vacationing in The Bahamas, where Diana picked up one of the earlier Calypso songs which she chanted. The weather at Hobcaw [Baruch's estate in Georgetown, S.C.] was bad. I invited in a number of Georgetown's leading citizens and other noted South Carolinians. Several times in later years Mr. Churchill would ask me about some of the people he had met. He had forgotten their names but would ask, "What has happened to that little storekeeper with the bald head?"



—BERNARD BARUCH, *FINANCIER MY OWN STORY* (1957)

Opportunity Lost, 1936



LONDON— I had a rather droll experience with Churchill...It happened a day or two after I had flown from Vienna to London to give an uncensored report on the *Anschluss* [annexation of Austria by Nazi Germany]. CBS, for which I was a correspondent in Europe, asked me to get Churchill to broadcast on the crisis, but it would pay him only fifty dollars, which was a ridiculous sum. From the way he talked I concluded he would accept five hundred dollars. But William Paley (see this column, the head of CBS, *FH* 147) was adamant. He would not pay more than fifty, and we lost the broadcast.

—William L. Shirer, *Writer and Historian, A Native's Return* (1990)

Mr. Cook (danacook@istar.ca) has widely published collections of literary, political and show business encounters, including this column, which began in *Finest Hour* 147.

Schoolboy Naughtiness, 1938

CHARTWELL— I spent a good deal of time in Mr Churchill's painting room [Chartwell studio]. His enormous appetite for life included an appetite for visual sensations and he put down what excited him with more gusto (in the modern sense of the word) than discipline....He would emerge about lunch time and waddle down to his heated swimming pool, of which he was very proud. He had been up till two or three in the morning dictating one of his histories. Once or twice I had a room over his study and, waking in the night, heard the peculiar rise and fall of his voice droning as he dictated to some wretched secretary. When he writes in the Gibbonian manner I do not admire his prose, but his conversation was not at all like that because, however high the balloon of his historical imagination might rise, he was always ready to puncture it. Next to his warmth of heart, this vein of schoolboy naughtiness was the most endearing thing about him.



—Kenneth Clark, *Art Historian, Another Part of the Wood* (1974)

Panda Approved, Late 1930s

LONDON— At the Zoo we had just acquired our first giant panda. It was still held in quarantine in a large cage inside the Lion House....We were invited...to meet Winston at lunch and take him privately to see the extraordinary creature. Winston, not then in Cabinet, entertained a curiosity....He gazed long at the animal, lying supine and unaware of the honour done to it. Churchill shook his head approvingly, saying: "It has exceeded all my expectations...and they were very high!"



—Julian Huxley, *Biologist, Memories* (1970)

Missed the Bus, 1939

LONDON— I took a chance and sent over a note of introduction to which Mr. Churchill immediately replied by inviting me to his table for a drink. I went over, shook hands with both Churchill and his wife, and explained that I was acting as "confidential postman" for [American editor and journalist] Herbert Swope. Mr. Churchill mumbled affection for Herbert and gave instructions about where to bring the envelope next day. He then began a long and amusing monologue that touched on a dozen now forgotten subjects. I remember, though, that he was fascinating—and Mrs. Churchill was charming. He would have gone on and on had I not felt it tactful to return to my hosts....I thanked him, bade them both good night, and thought to myself what a shame that this brilliant old guy had missed the bus with every chance he'd had. I now agreed he seemed too old and politically "done for," with hardly any useful future in sight. Even so, I was immensely glad to have met him.



—Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., *Actor, The Salad Days* (1988)

Double Take, 1940s

DOWNING STREET— When we got past the guards and entered the prime minister's house, I saw Churchill shaking hands with a line of VIPs....I held out my hand to Churchill. He took it, looked a bit doubtful, and started away. Then he turned back and did a fast British double take. Two things must have gone through his mind. One, I've seen that face someplace before; two, this fellow must be harmless—no self-respecting spy would ever wear a nose that obvious.



—Bob Hope, *Comedian, Don't Shoot, It's Only Me* (1990) 🐾



NORTH AMERICAN CHURCHILL CONFERENCE, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 2 NOVEMBER 1991

In History: Indelible Impression Encounters with Greatness, 1929-1951

“HIS SUBJECT WAS THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR. FOR FIFTY MINUTES HE TOLD ME MORE ABOUT THE HISTORY OF THE AREA I HAD LIVED IN ALL MY LIFE THAN I HAD EVER KNOWN. HE KNEW MORE ABOUT THE DETAILS, PURPOSES AND TACTICS OF STONEWALL JACKSON’S VALLEY CAMPAIGNS THAN HAD EVER COME TO MY ATTENTION.”

It was in 1929, at the Governor’s Mansion in Richmond, that I first met Winston Churchill. I saw him last in 1951 for a delightful four hours at his office at the House of Commons.

As an author, lecturer and historian, Mr. Churchill had come to Virginia in 1929 to study the Civil War battlefields around Richmond. His host was my father, Governor Byrd; his battlefield guide was Dr. Douglas Southall Freeman, editor of the *Richmond News-Leader* and perhaps America’s foremost authority on Robert E. Lee and Confederate military strategy. Years later, Sir Winston was to write that the American Civil War was the “noblest and least avoidable of all the great mass conflicts.”

Churchill spent ten days in what he called, with considerable personal amusement, “the rebel capital.” He told the Governor that he had no political future and regarded his political career as over. Now he was spending his time writing and lecturing. Then aged fifty-four, he had been a



HARRY FLOOD BYRD, JR.

Member of Parliament for twenty-six years, and had served in the cabinets of three prime ministers: Asquith, Lloyd George and Baldwin. He had served as President of the Board of Trade, Home Secretary, First Lord of the Admiralty, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Minister of Munitions, Secretary of State for War and Air, Colonial Secretary and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

I remember vividly my first sight of the famous Englishman. It was the night of his arrival at the Governor’s Mansion, after he had dressed for a state dinner given for him by Governor and Mrs. Byrd. My mother’s cousin, Gray Williams, and I, both of us fourteen, were standing at the foot of the steps to greet Mr. Churchill as he descended from the floor above.

R. Gray Williams, later one of Virginia’s most prominent lawyers, who would twice decline appointment to the state Supreme Court, was in a tuxedo, preparing to act as host until Governor

Until his death this year (page 7), Senator Byrd was the oldest living U.S. senator. His remarks were delivered at a special North American Churchill conference, our annual international conference having been held that year in Melbourne, during the 1991 Churchill Tour of Australia.

Byrd made his appearance. Mr. Churchill said not as much as hello to either of us. Mistaking my mother's cousin for the butler, the honored guest said in his fine oratorical voice: "My man, will you fetch me a newspaper?"

Gray said, "Of course, Mr. Churchill," and the two of us walked a block to the Richmond Hotel to purchase the *Richmond News-Leader*. When Gray handed it to the British visitor, Mr. Churchill tipped Gray twenty-five cents. Gray kept that quarter until his death.

Those were the days of Prohibition in the United States, but since Mr. Churchill was accustomed to unhindered daily consumption of alcohol, my father was in a quandary. As Governor he did not want to break the law. His close friend, John Stewart Bryan, publisher of the *News-Leader*, solved the problem by quietly and discreetly keeping Mr. Churchill supplied.

Foremost among Mr. Churchill's many notable characteristics was his bulldog tenacity. This, along with his ability to rally his war-weary people, was vital in saving England during those dark days between 1940 and 1945. His tenacity was apparent during his Virginia visit. At dinner on the night of his arrival, he asked for English mustard. His hostess sent his request to the kitchen, only to be informed that there was none in the house. Mrs. Byrd told Mr. Churchill of her predicament and, trying to pass it off lightly, said she would be glad to send someone to the store if he would like. He said yes, that is what he would like! So Mrs. Byrd slowed the dinner to a snail's pace while I was dispatched to the grocery.

Knowing what he wanted and when he wanted it served Churchill well in war and politics, but not as a guest of my parents. During his visit he made a habit of specifying the time he would like his meals; then he began to supervise the menu. He also had a habit of wandering around the house wearing only his underclothes. My mother would have been happy had her visitor received an emergency recall to Parliament. I was standing beside her when we all waved Mr. Churchill goodbye. I remember her words to my father as his car pulled out of the driveway: "Harry, don't you ever invite that man back."

Winston Churchill's ability shone most brilliantly in periods of crisis. He was the first prominent leader to recognize the potential danger of Adolf Hitler. His was the clearest and most persist-

ent voice against the Chamberlain policies in the late 1930s. For years he stood virtually alone and unheeded, and he always regretted that failed campaign. In his famous speech at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri in March 1946, he recalled:

Last time I saw it all coming, and cried aloud to my own fellow-countrymen and to the world, but no one paid any attention. Up till the year 1933 or even 1935, Germany might have been saved from the awful fate which has overtaken her and we might all have been spared the miseries Hitler let loose upon mankind. There never was a war in all history easier to prevent by timely action than the one which has just desolated such great areas of the globe. It could have been prevented without the firing of a single shot, and Germany might be powerful, prosperous and honored today, but no one would listen and one by one we were all sucked into the awful whirlpool.

In 1938 four world leaders met in Munich: Mussolini, Hitler, Daladier and Chamberlain. Their signed agreement approved of Germany taking over a part of Czechoslovakia, after already having acquired the Rhineland and Austria. Neville Chamberlain, returning to England from Munich, proclaimed "peace for our time." He was acclaimed a hero, for the most part throughout the world: the man of the hour, the peacemaker.

The only significant voice of opposition was that of an old bulldog who thundered that the Munich Agreement would not lead to peace, but to war. Countering Churchill's arguments that Hitler's appetite for domination could not be appeased, Chamberlain replied that Hitler had signed an agreement forswearing any further demands. Less than a year later, Germany invaded Poland, and World War II was on. Churchill joined Chamberlain's war cabinet and, on May 10th 1940, succeeded him as prime minister.

It is perhaps too much to say that Churchill saved Britain. It is not too much to say that he did more to that end than any single individual. But I do want to say this about Mr. Chamberlain. I am convinced that Neville Chamberlain was just as patriotic, just as sincere, just as motivated as Churchill. As I see it, it was not a question of motive but of judgment—a question of what policies or principles would stand the test of time. Mr. Churchill's judgment and foresight led to one conclusion, Mr. Chamberlain's to another.

Having been a politician for virtually all of my adult life, I am fascinated by what happened to Churchill in the summer of 1945. Germany >>

In History, Indelible Impression...

having been defeated in May, the world leaders gathered at Potsdam: an American president who only weeks before, without essential background, had assumed the responsibilities of office; the Soviet Union's determined and crafty Joseph Stalin; and Britain's highly experienced Churchill. It was those three who began the task of reshaping the peace-time world.

Partway through the conference, Churchill left for London, expecting to return as soon as the election votes were counted. But the nation that had turned to him in the darker times deserted him, and after the vote tally the new prime minister, Clement R. Attlee, returned to Potsdam in his place.

In 1940 Churchill had bluntly promised his people nothing but "blood, toil, tears and sweat." They had responded; but by 1945 they wanted something more comfortable and, war-weary, they listened to the siren song of the socialists, embracing what Mr. Churchill described as "the philosophy of failure, the creed of ignorance, and the gospel of envy." Churchill went back to his painting, to his writing, and to leading the Opposition in Parliament.

It was in this role that I found him in the summer of 1951, on the eve of his return as prime minister. I was doing some work in Europe for my own and the Gannett newspapers in New York and Chicago. I had been in London quite a while seeking a meeting with Churchill. It was the 100th anniversary of Reuters, the British News Agency. Mrs. Byrd and I were invited to the celebratory dinner attended by Princess Elizabeth. Mr.

Churchill, of course, was also there, but it was not the occasion for an interview.

When I finally received an affirmative invitation to meet him privately, the date coincided with a dinner in my honor being planned by a friend in Scotland. I telephoned Paul Miller, president of Gannett, to say I could not keep the date with Churchill because my Scottish friend had gone to

so much trouble, and I would feel badly if I were not present.

Paul exploded, and I mean exploded: "You are fired—now and forever. What a damn fool thing to turn down an interview with perhaps the most important man in the world, an interview almost every journalist is seeking but can't get!" I calmed him down with difficulty, saying I was working with Mr. Churchill's secretary, hopefully to find another time. Fortunately, it worked out, so Paul and I lived happily ever after.

It was 2 pm when I entered Mr. Churchill's office in the House of Commons—and nearly an hour before he

stopped talking. His subject (clearly in my honor), was the Shenandoah Valley and the American Civil War. For fifty minutes he told me more about the history of the area I had lived in all my life than I had ever known. Particularly, he knew more about the details, purposes and tactics of Stonewall Jackson's valley campaigns than had ever come to my attention.

And all of his monologue was spontaneous! What he had to say he said with relish, glee, and great enthusiasm. His discourse was not only stimulating, but fascinating. He added that he hoped to visit the Shenandoah battlefields before he died. In



"There we stood, Mr. Churchill, my wife and me, alone in that small chamber which had played such a famous role in the advance of liberty. I knew this would remain one of the most cherished experiences of my life. Forty years later, it still is."

the event, that was not to be, but I couldn't help thinking, "why do I know so little about the great events which took place on the soil I've trod for nearly thirty-six years?"

Finally he left the Shenandoah and Stonewall Jackson—during which time I had said practically nothing. We then began to discuss the topics of the day and government policy. There was much dissatisfaction in the United States with President Truman, who was at a low point in his presidency. This prompted me to say I thought the British Parliamentary system, where the leader of government could be changed within a short time span, had much to commend it over the American system.

I shall never forget Mr. Churchill's reply: "Ah yes, Mr. Byrd, but don't forget this—the great strength of the American system is that the forty-eight states, acting through their own legislatures, can, to a very considerable degree, determine their own affairs." Then he added: "You in America are not centralized like we are in England."

Never had I heard such an eloquent description and defense of States' rights. I was fascinated that a world statesman 3000 miles from our shores should recognize and proclaim what so many Americans at that time did not, and even now do not realize: the danger of a government too highly centralized, something Thomas Jefferson warned against 150 years earlier.

In discussing Parliament and British government, Mr. Churchill recalled that the historic Commons Chamber had been severely damaged by German bombs in May 1941. In rebuilding it, he reminded me, his colleagues had wanted to enlarge and modernize it. Mr. Churchill allowed, however, that he "persevered" (to use his own word) until the Commons was restored in its original form.

Should I ever have occasion to build a legislative chamber, he said, it should not be semi-circular, like we have in the United States; it should be oblong, putting one party on one side and the other party on the other, and making them stay there. I didn't remind him that he himself had changed parties twice.*

The second piece of advice was never to have a Chamber large enough to seat all its members, lest it be less than half full most of the time. (The Commons has over 600 members but only 400 seats.) Make them pile in, Churchill told me—

stand, sit on the floor or on each other's lap. This, he deemed the more democratic way. He added, "Besides, it is much easier to speak to a crowded Chamber." It occurred to me when he said this, a man whose eloquence did so much to rally the people during their darkest hours, that he was thinking not so much as an architect, but as an orator, of which he was England's greatest.

What a fascinating character he was. Elected to Parliament at only twenty-five, he sought to dominate the senior Members of Parliament and was lecturing the prime minister before he was thirty. By forty he had held three Cabinet posts and, as First Lord of the Admiralty, he championed the World War I Dardanelles campaign, a disaster that temporarily ended his meteoric rise.

He was a Member of Parliament over sixty-two years between 1901 and his retirement in 1964, but with two short lapses in 1908 and 1922-24. Only one person topped his consecutive years of service: an American, Carl Hayden of Arizona, holds the record. Hayden a Democrat, served fourteen years in the House of Representatives and forty-two in the Senate, fifty-six consecutive years. I served with Carl during the last four years of his tenure.

During my interview with Churchill, Mrs. Byrd had waited for me in the outer office. When I introduced them he asked whether either of us had been through the House of Commons. No, we said. He said, "I'll give you a personally conducted tour." And so he did.

There we stood, Mr. Churchill, my wife and me, alone in that small chamber which had played such a famous role in the advance of liberty. I knew this would remain one of the most cherished experiences of my life. Forty years later, it still is.

Churchill famously summarized a noble creed for a nation and individual: "In War: Resolution; in Defeat: Defiance; in Victory: Magnanimity; in Peace: Goodwill." To this may I add, in reference to Sir Winston Churchill himself: "In History: Indelible Impression." ☞

* WSC was well aware of his floor-crossing when he spoke to this subject on 28 October 1943: "The party system is much favoured by the oblong form of Chamber. It is easy for an individual to move through those insensible gradations from Left to Right, but the act of crossing the floor is one which requires serious consideration. I am well informed on this matter, for I have accomplished that difficult process, not only once but twice."



29TH INTERNATIONAL CHURCHILL CONFERENCE, TORONTO, ONTARIO, 12 OCTOBER 2012

Churchill's Perspective on the Second War Between the English-Speaking Peoples

"CHURCHILL'S INSOUCIANCE OVER THE WAR OF 1812'S NATIVE DIMENSION IS TYPICAL OF THE SCHOLARSHIP OF HIS DAY. GIVEN THE MATERIAL AVAILABLE TO HIM, AND THE SHORT SPACE HE ALLOWED FOR IT, I JUDGE HIS ACCOUNT TO BE FIRST-RATE. NEVERTHELESS, THE WAR OF 1812 DESERVES A LONGER ACCOUNT IN ANY HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES."

In September 1759, a British army led by Major-General James Wolfe defeated a French force led by Lieutenant General Louis Joseph Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham. English-speaking historians refer to that event as a "conquest," but French-speaking historians refer to it as a "cession," and they are right in doing so. For the British did not do to the Canadians what they had done to the Acadians of Nova Scotia a few years earlier. When some 10,000 French Catholic Acadians were unwilling to take an oath of loyalty to a Protestant King, they were forcibly removed from British North America. Now *that* is a conquest.

Such a move was not an option for the British after their victory in Quebec. A few thousand British troops could not crush the 75,000 *Canadiens*, who vastly outnumbered them and had substantial military resources. In April 1760, a



PETER H. RUSSELL

large French army came down the St. Lawrence from Montreal and the battle of the Plains of Abraham was fought in reverse.

The French drove the British back into the citadel of Quebec. When the British relief fleet appeared in the basin of Quebec, the French forces withdrew to Montreal. Four months later the French governor at Montreal capitulated—not because the French had lost a military battle but because Sir William Johnson, Britain's emissary to the Indian nations, persuaded the Mohawks who

guarded the gateway to Montreal to remain neutral. This enabled General Amherst's British forces approaching from the west to land on the Island of Montreal without firing a shot.¹

The terms of capitulation at Montreal and Quebec granted *Les Canadiens* freedom of worship and unfettered continuation of their civil law. Fifteen years later the British Parliament consoli-

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dated that policy in the Quebec Act, the magna carta of French Canada. Instead of adding a fourteenth colony to the thirteen, Britain nourished a separate colony that was French and Catholic—partly out of prudence, and partly out of principle. This was the beginning of “the States and Canada.”

The American Revolution

In the first war between the English-speaking Peoples, the Americans failed to make Canada a fourteenth state. In the autumn of 1775, a rag-tag American force led by Richard Montgomery made its way along what Eliot Cohen calls the Great Warpath from Lake Champlain and down the Richelieu River to Montreal, which they entered with little resistance.² Later in November Montgomery’s force converged outside Quebec with another column of Americans, led by Benedict Arnold, that had come up the Kennebec route from Maine.

The Americans, to quote Churchill, “flung themselves at the Heights of Abraham,”³ but to no avail. Montgomery was killed and Arnold was severely wounded. In the spring, when British ships brought reinforcements, the American invaders withdrew. In Montreal, Benjamin Franklin, whom the U.S. Congress had sent with two other commissioners to offer French Canadians the opportunity of being “conquered into freedom,” suffered one of the rare diplomatic failures of his career. *Les Canadiens* were not particularly hostile to the Americans, but they had been given enough cultural freedom to make it clear that they were not about to join a rebellion against their British rulers.⁴

And so Canada remained mostly French and Indian, ready to take in my folks, “liberty’s exiles” to use Maya Jasanoff’s phrase—Americans loyal to King George, who would quickly populate the western end of Quebec that, in 1791, became the separate British colony of Upper Canada.⁵

Churchill’s Account of the War of 1812

In Book IX of *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, wedged in between a chapter on Washington, Adams and Jefferson and a chapter on Elba and Waterloo, Churchill gives us a short, ten-page chapter on the War of 1812. Given the overarching ideal of unity that animates this four-volume work, it is interesting to see how Churchill treats this second war in which English-speaking

people found themselves on opposite sides.

Churchill was not stirred by this war. Indeed he thought it “a futile and unnecessary conflict.”⁶ Although writing when he did, Churchill was without most scholarly work on the war—much of it written in the run-up to the war’s bicentenary—he still provides a lucid account of the war and a shrewd analysis of its causes and consequences.

A highly acclaimed book is Alan Taylor’s *The Civil War of 1812*.⁷ Churchill by contrast does not at all present the conflict as a civil war. The cogency of Taylor’s title rests on the fact that the majority of the non-native population of Upper Canada, where most of the land battles took place, were newly arrived American settlers whose loyalty to the British Crown at the beginning of the war was far from secure. Adding to the war’s civil nature was strong Federalist opposition to it on the American side of the border. To a considerable extent, the War of 1812 was a war among Americans. Churchill’s account is entirely in terms of conflict between states, not peoples.

As for the causes of the war, Churchill distinguishes the ostensible reason for the Americans’ declaring war from what he considers to be the real reason. “The causes of the conflict,” he writes, “were stated in traditional terms: impressments, violations of the three-mile limit, blockades and Orders-in-Council.”⁸ But what tipped the balance in Congress in favour of war was the land hunger of congressmen from states like Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee. “Their prime aim,” Churchill writes, “was to seize Canada and establish American sovereignty throughout the whole Northern continent.”⁹

Though Churchill’s analysis of American war aims has some validity, he has nothing to say about Great Britain’s uncertain and ambivalent policy in the “Old Northwest”—lands bordering the southern shores of the upper Great Lakes and extending down to the Ohio River. Under the Peace of Paris that ended the American Revolution, these lands lay in U.S. territory. Nevertheless, the British continued to man posts in areas they had taken from the French, and continued in a somewhat faint-hearted way to maintain alliances with native nations whose traditional lands were in that territory. This made for a continuing state of insecurity and conflict throughout the Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin territory, as well as much of Ohio. >>

Churchill's Perspective on the War of 1812...

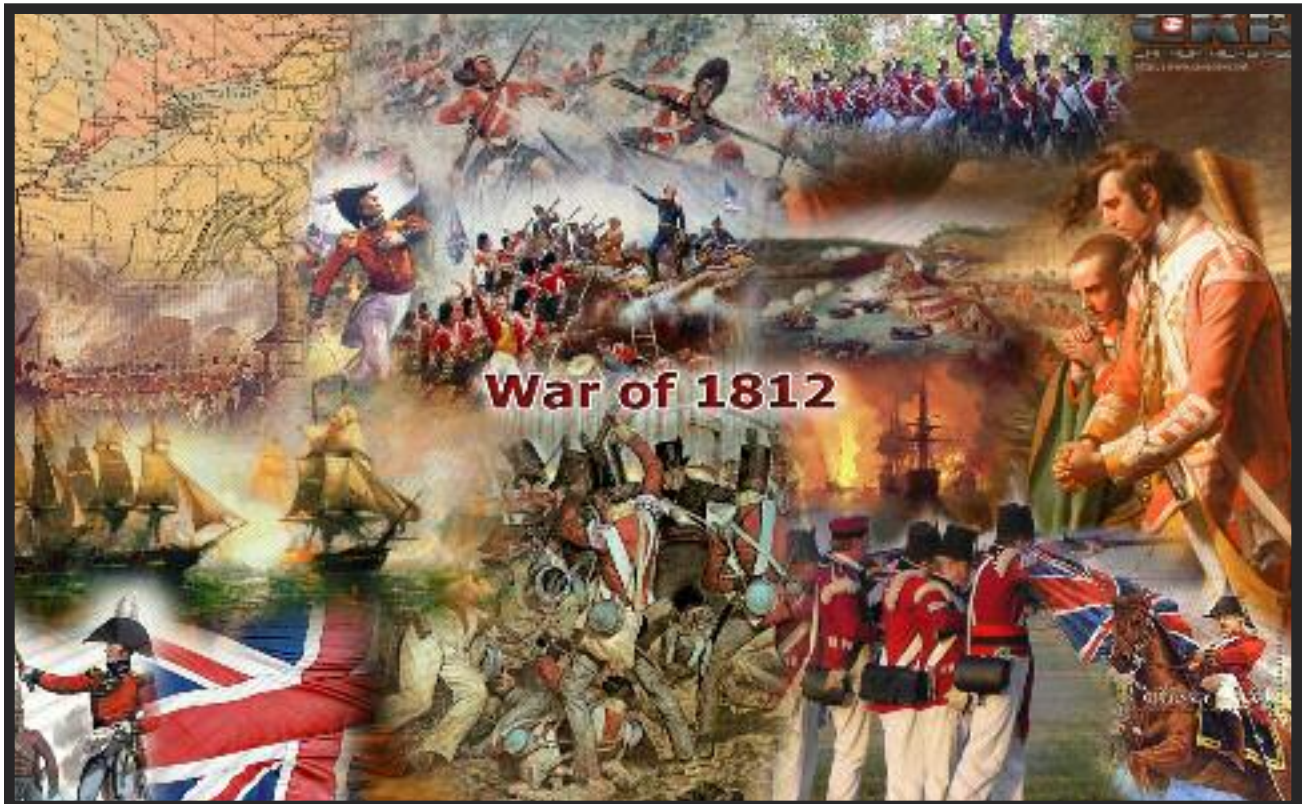
In 1791, an alliance of Miamis, Potawatomis, Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots and other nations native to the area defeated two American armies sent to subdue them. The British encouraged aboriginal resistance by reconstructing an old post at Fort Meig. But when in 1794 the Americans sent another army against the Indians, British officers refused to afford their native allies the protection of the fort. At the Battle of Fallen Timbers, near Perrysburg, Ohio, the United States defeated the native confederacy. In the Jay Treaty of 1794, Britain agreed to abandon the western posts.

Though the treaty provided for unhindered passage of Indians over the Canada/U.S. border, it was seen by the Indian tribes as a massive betrayal by the British, and seemed to doom any hope of their being able to establish a buffer state against the relentless advance of European settlers.

The Jay Treaty did not bring peace to the Old Northwest. By 1805, that remarkable Shawnee chief Tecumseh (in Churchill's words "their last great warrior"¹⁰), was mobilizing a new confederacy of tribes from Canada to the mouth of the Mississippi, to form a barrier against the advancing American frontier. In 1811, General William

Henry Harrison led an army through the Indian territory to attack the Shawnee village of Tippecanoe (now Lafayette, Indiana). After inflicting considerably more casualties on the Americans, the Indians simply withdrew.¹¹ Harrison proclaimed it a great victory and, with his running mate John Tyler, rode to victory in the 1840 presidential election under the banner of "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too." The American-Indian war continued. Since the Iroquois and other tribes in Upper Canada supported the political aspirations of the western nations, and were counted upon by the British to aid in the defence of Canada, the War of 1812 really got started in 1811.

Churchill's insouciance over the War of 1812's native dimension is typical of the scholarship of his day. It is only more recently that the role and interests of indigenous nations have received consideration. Still, he does recognize the importance of 3000-4000 Indian "auxiliaries" on the Canadian side (a rather high estimate) and how much U.S. efforts to invade Canada were impeded by "Indian onslaughts on their columns."¹² But he makes no mention of the important role Iroquois warriors from New York reserves played in the American military, especially in taking Fort Erie and in defeating the British and their Indian allies at Chippewa in the final year of the war.





Montage by Canadaka.net.
Map by Grolier.

“destroyed a British army” and “Tecumseh was killed.” The truth of the matter is that the British Army, led by Major-General Henry Proctor, was badly outnumbered, and fled east towards Burlington after a very short fight, while Tecumseh stood his ground, dying with many of his warriors. Of course Tecumseh and his men were fighting for their homeland.

Some readers might sense a triumphal note in Churchill’s comment that after the Battle of the Thames “the Indian

Confederacy was broken.”¹⁶ Like it or not, from this point on, any possibility of the dream of a western native buffer state being realized would depend not on military resistance but on British diplomacy. The native nations of the Old Northwest could not have relied on shakier or more dubious support.

On Lake Champlain, the prowess of an American fleet again asserted itself, stopping the southern advance of a British army reinforced by troops available after Napoleon’s abdication. This was the largest British force assembled in the war. Without the Champlain victory, Britain might well have been able to seize and hold a major chunk of New York and Vermont. No wonder Churchill calls the American victory at Plattsburg “the most decisive victory of the war.”¹⁷

Churchill certainly cannot be accused of being excessively partisan in his account of the War of 1812. While giving the Americans full credit for their victory on Lake Champlain, he reserves his most damning remarks for the final battle of the war: Britain’s “most irresponsible onslaught” at >>

The Naval Aspect

Churchill is more technically astute in discussing the war at sea and on the lakes. At sea, unlike the situation on land, the Americans were seriously outgunned and outmanned. Against the ninety-seven ships of the British transatlantic fleet, the Americans had only sixteen. But three of these—forty-four-gun frigates, Churchill tells us—“surpassed anything afloat.”¹³ Though heavily timbered, “their clean lines under water enabled them to outsail any ship upon the seas.”¹⁴ One-on-one against British ships, they were virtually unbeatable. The American frigates, he notes, “within a year had won more successes over the British than the French and Spaniards in two decades of warfare.”¹⁵

Churchill was also impressed by the superiority of American fresh-water fighting ships—an important factor in their victory on Lake Erie, that paved the way for Harrison to lead American forces out of Detroit and chase British forces across what is now southwest Ontario. At the Battle of the Thames, near Chatham, Harrison’s army

Churchill's Perspective on the War of 1812...

New Orleans. He considers Sir Edward Pakenham's decision to attempt a frontal assault on Andrew Jackson's American forces "one of the most unintelligent manoeuvres in the history of British warfare."¹⁸

The Outcome

Behind Britain's acquiescence in the Treaty of Ghent, which left the Canadian-American border intact, Churchill sees Wellington's good sense in recognizing that American naval superiority on the lakes would make it foolish to demand territory from them. He has no comment on British negotiators at Ghent dropping the demand for an Indian buffer state in the Old Northwest. Nor does he comment on Article IX, inserted by the British, forbidding the U.S. from punishing Indian tribes in its territory who had supported the King.

A reciprocal clause in Article IX called for the same thing with respect to tribes in Canada who had supported the USA. But that was a dead letter, because no pro-American native tribe remained in British territory. Article IX also proved irrelevant on the U.S. side of the border, because the British would not use force to secure compliance with it. There were soon serious breaches of it, including displacement of tribes from their traditional lands, and a Congressional ban on native Americans trading with British subjects.

Though the War of 1812 did not result in any boundary changes, Churchill assesses the peace as "solid and enduring." For Americans, a key consequence was that "the United States were never again refused proper treatment as an independent power."¹⁹ In that sense, it could be regarded as a second war of American independence.

It was also a "turning-point in the history of Canada," Churchill adds: "Canadians took pride in the part they had played in defending their country, and their growing national sentiment was strengthened."²⁰ Canadian independence was not yet at hand, and would come through evolution rather than revolution. But the War of 1812, as Churchill rightly notes, created a *condition* for independence: a popular sense of national pride.

Churchill was fully aware of the tensions and disagreements that remained to shake Anglo-American relations after the war. The final chapter of Eliot Cohen's *Conquered into Liberty* provides

an excellent account of these episodes. Yet none of them, including the Fenian raids, ever amounted to serious warfare. As a result, Churchill concludes, "henceforward the world was to see a three-thousand-mile international frontier between Canada and the United States."

Conclusion

I have criticized Churchill for not seeing the War of 1812 as a three-way struggle, with two non-losers (if not winners) and one real loser—the Indians. But his historical omission only reflects the commanding prejudices of his day. Given the material available to him, and the short space he allowed for it in his *History of the English-speaking Peoples*, I judge his account to be first-rate. Nevertheless we may well ask: does the War of 1812 deserve a longer account in any history of the English-speaking peoples? I think it does. ☺

Endnotes

1. See Fintan O'Toole, *White Savage: William Johnson and the Invention of America* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005).
2. See Eliot A. Cohen, *Conquered into Liberty: Two Centuries of Battles along the Great Warpath That Made the American Way of War* (New York: Free Press, 2011).
3. Winston S. Churchill, *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, vol. 3, *The Age of Revolution* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1957), 185.
4. Mason Wade, *The French Canadians 1760-1967* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1968), 66.
5. See Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2011). Upper Canada is present-day Ontario.
6. *The Age of Revolution*, 366.
7. See Alan Taylor, *The Civil War of 1812: American Citizens, British Subjects, Irish Rebels & Indian Allies* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2010)
8. *Ibid.*, 359.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, 358.
11. Robert S. Allen, *His Majesty's Indian Allies: British Indian Policy in Defence of Canada, 1774-1815* (Toronto: Dundurn, 1993), 117.
12. *Ibid.*, 360.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*, 361.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*, 362.
17. *Ibid.*, 363.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*, 366.
20. *Ibid.*, 367.

CONDEMNED TO MANUSECTION

PETER POOLEY • PHOTO BY RICHARD BLOSS

Nineteen sixty-four was Churchill's last year as a Member of Parliament. He attended infrequently, but he usually was there when his son-in-law, Christopher Soames, was scheduled to speak. I was then a junior member of Soames's private office in the Ministry of Agriculture. One of my charges was to prepare Parliamentary work. I prepared the dossier for Parliamentary Questions, and after rehearsing my minister would sit in the official box while the drama of Question Time unfolded. On these occasions the grand old man would toddle in, supported physically by a couple of younger Members, and take his privileged seat on the front bench below the gangway. Formally there are no reserved seats, but traditionally this seat is the preserve of former Prime Ministers, and no one else would dare to sit there.

For a giant of history, I remember being surprised at how small he was. Of course he had shrunk with age, but at the time I judged him to be below average height, perhaps five feet six. He was still a colossus as a statesman and I noticed how, as he stood at the bar of the House and made his bow, the buzz of conversation was stilled, and all eyes were turned on Sir Winston. The experience was dazzling and memorable for a 27-year-old civil servant.

Later I met him, although I can't be sure that he met me....

Christopher Soames, as a fairly junior minister at the time, had been allocated a rather mean and cramped office, rather inconveniently placed. His father-in-law, by contrast, had a commodious room very close to the

Chamber. Sir Winston rarely had need for it, and with his permission, Mr. Soames often used the office.

One day Mr. Soames had an important statement to make to the House. It was my job to cobble together a draft on the basis of contributions from the civil servants most



RETURNING FROM PARLIAMENT: A YEAR BEFORE MR. POOLEY'S ENCOUNTER, RICHARD BLOSS OF CLEVELAND, OHIO, HAD THE GOOD FORTUNE TO BE OUTSIDE 28 HYDE PARK GATE WHEN SIR WINSTON RETURNED FROM THE HOUSE. AT LEFT ARE WSC'S MALE NURSE, ROY HOWELLS, AND HIS BODYGUARD, DETECTIVE SERGEANT EDDIE MURRAY. IT WAS MR. BLOSS'S LAST DAY IN LONDON AS PART OF A MONTH-LONG TOUR OF EUROPE. THAT EVENING HE LEFT BY CHANNEL FERRY TO THE HOOK OF HOLLAND. HE HAS SENT A COPY OF THIS PHOTO TO LADY SOAMES.

closely concerned. We met in the Churchill office an hour or two beforehand. No sooner had Mr. Soames begun to read through the draft than the door opened, and there was Sir Winston. We made as if to leave, but he waved the gesture aside and headed for an armchair. He sat down with a little help from an aide, who handed him a copy of *The Times*, behind which the great man quickly disappeared. I was not introduced.

Returning to work, my Minister strongly criticised the draft statement I had prepared. Christopher Soames was a kindly man who wanted to encourage young people, when he remembered to do so, which was not always. He said it was a draft prepared by civil servants for civil servants, quite unsuitable for a politician addressing hostile opponents.

"It's so *balanced*," he said. "It puts both sides of the argument. There's all this 'on the one hand and on the other hand.'" I need just *one* side of the case—*my* side—and I need it put forcefully. We'll have to start again. The first thing I'm going to do is strike out every sentence that begins with the word 'however.'"

You may wonder how I can remember every word of that conversation half a century ago. Well, it was a memorable lesson learned during my early professional development. More important is the vivid memory of the words that followed—from behind the newspaper.

In his unmistakable tones Sir Winston Churchill quipped: "Why don't you cut off one of his hands?"

I felt utterly humiliated, but with the passage of years I began to look back on the encounter with some pride. "Think of it, children, your grandfather was once the butt of one of Sir Winston's little jokes."

I learned later, from those who had lived close to him, that he had made this joke many

times before, his favourite target being two-handed economists who said "on the one hand" and "on the other hand." Still, there cannot be many of us left: civil servants condemned to manusection by the hero of our age.

My remaining sadness is that I cannot remember, should a grandchild ask, whether the great man was carrying a cigar. I should like to think he was, but whether it was lit or unlit I simply cannot remember! ☹

Mr. Pooley (peter@thepooleys.plus.com) is a retired civil servant.

ACTION
THIS DAY



125 YEARS AGO

Autumn 1888 • Age 14
“It spoils my afternoon”

Six of Winston's nine letters to his parents this season contained pleas to visit him at Harrow. His father never did; his mother came once. Writing in anticipation of her visit he said: “try and come early because it spoils my afternoon to wait at the Railway Station.” Next he wrote: “Would you let me have a line to say by what train you could come? Do let me know because it is rather ‘stale’ waiting.” On 26 October, the day before her arrival, he again wrote: “Will you come tomorrow morning as early as possible. Do come, you can take me out to luncheon & we can be very happy. I have a lot to tell you but as I am expecting you tomorrow I shall wait.”

Winston wrote to his father on the 28th, the day after his mother's visit, and told him of the “grand Sham fight” between the Harrow Rifle Corps and Cambridge, which his mother had witnessed. “I am going to learn 1000 lines of Shakespeare this term for the Prize,” Winston added. “I hope I shall get it.” In the event he did not, but he put a positive spin on his effort. “I lost the Shakespeare Prize for the Lower School by 27 marks,” he wrote his mother the next day. “I was rather astonished as I beat some twenty boys who were much older than I.” He did not tell his father until November: “I came out 4th for the Lower School among some 25 boys—some of whom were not less than 7 forms above me. I got 100 marks & the boy who got the prize got 127.”

100 YEARS AGO

Autumn 1913 • Age 39
“Only do play up”

Churchill was engaged in the Irish Home Rule controversy. When the Tory leader Andrew Bonar Law threatened civil war over Home Rule, WSC had told his friend F.E. Smith, a leading Conservative, that such threats were not “playing the game.” Smith subsequently began feeling out his colleagues about giving Home Rule to southern Ireland while excluding Ulster, a position not popular with die-hard unionists. Smith wrote Churchill October 5th, urging him to meet with the Ulster leader Sir Edward Carson to explore the issue: “I think you will agree that I have played up well. I hope you will do the same now.” After giving advice and suggesting questions to put to Carson, he concluded by saying: “But you can do the thing so much better than I can suggest. Only do play up. I have run no small risks and incurred considerable censure.”

In a speech on October 8th, Churchill duly allowed that Ulster could be given special consideration. Six weeks later he discussed Ulster's exclusion from Home Rule with his friend Austen Chamberlain, a former Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer. In a long report to Bonar Law, Chamberlain wrote that “the impression left on my mind by



the whole conversation is that W. genuinely wants a settlement.”

One hundred years ago, no one remotely contemplated a European war in less than a year. With Europe at peace, elements in the Liberal Party wished to cut naval expenditures proposed by Churchill's Admiralty, reducing its proposed four new battleships to two. The dispute put a strain upon Churchill's relationship with the Chancellor of the Exchequer David Lloyd George. The Prime Minister's wife, Margot Asquith, wrote to Lloyd George on 17 November admonishing him not to “let Winston have too much money—it will hurt our party in every way—Labour & even Liberals. If one can't be a little economical when all foreign countries are peaceful I don't know when we can.”

Churchill's Naval Estimates were opposed in cabinet by Postmaster-General Herbert Samuels, Attorney General John Simon, Home Secretary Reginald McKenna [WSC's predecessor at the Admiralty] and, ultimately, Lloyd George. The first three openly wanted Churchill out of the cabinet. Lloyd George privately said, “I do not agree with some of my colleagues.” But he also privately predicted that Churchill would resign “later on,” i.e., after the Naval Estimates dispute.

At the December cabinet meeting when Lloyd George first openly opposed the Estimates, Churchill passed him a note: “I consider that you are going back on your word; in trying to drive me out after we had settled, & you promised to support the Estimates.” Lloyd George wrote back that he supported the 1914 Estimates only: “I told you distinctly I would press for a reduction of a new programme with a view to 1915.” Churchill rejected this: “No. You said you would support the Estimates.”

The prospect of Churchill resigning if his Estimates were not approved was real. He wrote to Asquith on December 18th that if the number of battleships was reduced, “there is no chance whatever of my being able to go on.” The same day, Churchill's aunt, Lady Wimbourne, implored WSC not to “wreck your political life” by making an “error of judgement” like the one his father had:

"You are breaking with the tradition of Liberalism in your Naval expenditure; you are in danger of becoming purely a 'Navy man' and losing sight of the far greater job of a great leader of the Liberal party. Peace, retrenchment and reform must ever be its policy and you are being carried away by the attraction of perfecting your machine for war and expenditure."

75 YEARS AGO

Autumn 1938 • Age 64

"Great Defeat of Churchill"

Vanity is a frequent part of the character of national leaders, as is self-delusion—and both qualities when combined can be dangerous. The Czechs learned this when Neville Chamberlain, in their absence, caved in to Hitler and forced them to turn over the Sudetenland to Germany. On October 5th Churchill said that "the German dictator, instead of snatching his victuals from the table, has been content to have them served to him course by course....I believe the Czechs, left to themselves and told they were going to get no help from the Western Powers, would have been able to make better terms than what they have got—they could hardly have worse."

Vanity and self-delusion had combined disastrously. Hitler had appealed to the PM's vanity when he said at their second meeting, "You are the first man for many years who has got any concessions from me." (It was a standard line which Hitler had used seven months earlier on the Austrian chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg.) Chamberlain repeated this to cabinet colleagues, saying he had "established some degree of personal influence over Herr Hitler," who would "not go back on his word once he had given it." The same self-delusion was present at their first meeting a week earlier, when Chamberlain told the cabinet that Hitler "would not deliberately deceive a man he respected."

Hitler, of course, did not respect Chamberlain at all. In a secret, post-Munich speech at the German Foreign Ministry, he said that he had learned

**With
Halifax,
March
1938**



"how to deal with the English—one had to encounter them aggressively."

On November 14th Foreign Minister Lord Halifax reported that Hitler had said: "If I were Chamberlain, I would not delay for a minute to prepare my country in the most drastic way for a 'total' war and I would thoroughly organize it. If the English do not have total conscription by the spring of 1939, they may consider their world empire as lost. It is astounding how easy the democracies make it for us to reach our goal."

Martin Gilbert wrote: "Halifax then argued in favour of 'increased and hastened' aircraft production, and a National Register of those liable to conscription in war." That was to his credit—indeed those aircraft would soon prove crucial—but it was of course said privately. In public the Chamberlain government continued appear supine. On November 22nd, it defeated a Liberal amendment calling for a Ministry of Supply to coordinate the defense effort.

An anxious Churchill appealed to his colleagues, saying that if only fifty Tory back-benchers voted for the Amendment, it would not damage the government, "but it would make them act."

Unfortunately, the only Conservatives to vote aye were Brendan Bracken, Harold Macmillan and Churchill. The amendment failed, 326 to 130.

German newspapers hailed Britain's apparent failure to prepare for war with such a modest reform as a "Great Defeat of Churchill." It does seem that Hitler knew early who his real enemy was. In early November he criticized Churchill twice by name. "I am surprised," Churchill shot back, "that the head of a great State should set himself to attack British Members of Parliament who hold no official position and who are not even leaders of parties."

Hitler had held an accurate appreciation of Churchill for some time. In 1936,

the Fuehrer's personal and political friend, Rudolph Hess, said to the son of Churchill's cousin Lord Londonderry: "Why do you not have Winston Churchill in your British Cabinet; then we should know you meant business."

50 YEARS AGO

Autumn 1963 • Age 89

"Your Grandmother is unwell"

Lady Churchill, feeling the strain of caring for Sir Winston, went to her daughter Mary's home in Kent, and later to a hospital, to rest and recuperate. Churchill, feeling better, received visits from Harold Macmillan and Jock Colville, but he missed his wife. On September 30th he wrote his grandson: "Your Grandmother is unwell and is having a rest cure...so I am alone and it would be very nice if you would come and see me." Clementine promised to spend the first weekend of October with him at Chartwell; WSC said it would give "a few days which, like others in their time, will be sweet and happy."

Tragedy struck October 14th, when the Churchills' 54-year-old-daughter Diana committed suicide. Neither was well enough to be at her funeral, but they did attend a Memorial Service on the 31st. It was a painful event, particularly for Clementine; advancing old age helped cushion the blow for WSC.

Churchill arrived in a wheelchair at the Commons on November 28th, where he was warmly received. Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Hume gave up his own seat on the front bench for him. But when asked later by Jock Colville to support his idea of making Churchill a life member of the Commons in his "rapidly closing twilight," the PM refused. Colville, writing to WSC's private secretary, called the decision "unimaginative." Anthony Montague Browne replied with irony: "It is perhaps appropriate that those responsible for our own 'very rapidly closing twilight' should not wish to honour the setting sun. So I suppose we must await a Socialist Government who may treat him more honourably than his 'friends.'" ❧



BOOKS, ARTS & CURIOSITIES

Churchill in the Great War: The BBC Gets It Right

PAUL H. COURTENAY

Churchill's First World War. A ninety-minute BBC Television production, aired 30 July 2013.

This new BBC programme (with no commercial breaks) kept interest high for its duration. A well-known historian, Professor Gary Sheffield, led the presentation, which, as the title reveals, dealt with Churchill's activities during the Great War. Interestingly, nearly all the academics who were invited to speak were largely unknown to Churchillians, so one or two new angles on the story had their opportunities.

With occasional references to Churchill's earlier and later life experiences (it was good to see Chartwell's House & Collections Manager Alice Martin), the story really began with Churchill's time as First Lord of the Admiralty (1911-15), and how he ensured that the Royal Navy was fully prepared by the outbreak of war in 1914. Next came Antwerp, which was accurately covered; Churchill's offer to remain there as the commanding general was described with some scorn, as it was by the prime minister at the time—in fact, as notable historians have mentioned, the few days gained by his personal leadership undoubtedly reduced the risk of the Channel ports being overrun. This achievement could have been more charitably appreciated, both then and now.

Churchill's role in the development of aircraft and tanks is well represented.

Inevitably, the Dardanelles and Gallipoli featured prominently. The military story was fairly described, but the political aspects were less fully considered. The familiar claim that Churchill "lost his job" didn't take enough account of the fact that his head was the price somewhat vindictively demanded by the Conservatives, in order for them to join the Liberals in a wartime coalition. Churchillians may think that programme should have gone into more detail, giving more context to Churchill's involvement and the culpability of others, but that must be balanced against its intent to cover the war as a whole.

A highlight of the programme was a reenactment of Churchill's

command of 6th Battalion, The Royal Scots Fusiliers in 1916. Here we find him telling his officers that he was declaring war on lice; or crawling through no-man's land in the dark to inspect his barbed-wire defences—true events which are well documented.

Adam James, the actor playing Churchill, wisely avoided any attempt to mimic his subject's well-known appearance, mannerisms or voice, which somehow added to the authenticity.

Throughout his time at the front, frequent letters passed between Churchill and his wife, which many will have read in Lady Soames's *Speaking for Themselves*; some of these were read out, and touchingly demonstrate Clementine's rock-like devotion to his interests, to the extent of advising him not to



Mr. Courtenay is a senior editor of *Finest Hour*.

return to London prematurely, even though she was continuously concerned for his personal safety. An excellent commentary on this period was supplied by Patrick Hennessy, author of *The Junior Officers' Reading Club*, which described Hennessy's recent service in Afghanistan as a junior officer in the Grenadier Guards; his own background as a regimental officer added credibility to the story.

The final part of the programme dealt with a somewhat overlooked aspect of Churchill's war service, his period as Minister of Munitions (July

1917 to January 1919). The point is strongly made that his energy in 1918, when the final German offensive threatened to succeed, tipped the balance by ensuring that enough equipment and ammunition were supplied. Professor Sheffield concluded that this achievement ranked second only to WSC's premiership a quarter of a century later.

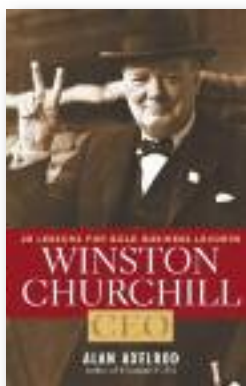
Throughout the programme Allen Packwood, Director of the Churchill Archives Centre and Executive Director of The Churchill Centre UK, made valuable comments on such aspects as Lord Fisher's resignation (which precipi-

tated Churchill's own); WSC's resilience in recovering from his various setbacks (strongly buttressed by Clementine); his dynamism as Minister of Munitions and—particularly—the fact that Churchill's activities in 1914-18 were scarcely confined to the Dardanelles.

As a whole, the programme was successfully conceived and executed. Some of the opinions might be open to question, but the general tenor and lack of errors made for a valuable contribution. For those who know only the World War II leader, this was a good introduction to the earlier Churchill. ☺

Turn up the Air Conditioning

ERICA L. CHENOWETH



***Winston Churchill, CEO: 25 Lessons for Bold Business Leaders*, by Alan Axelrod. Sterling, hardbound, illus., 288 pp., \$22.95.**

Axelrod holds a doctorate in English literature and once published fourteen books in one year. Authors with outputs like that cannot be expected to be expert on Churchill *or* business, so his book provides little insight into either. *CEO* could be read like a synopsis of Churchill's life by an enthusiastic author who has spent limited time with Churchill's writings and biographies.

If Axelrod had stopped there, his book would be a passably pleasant read, thanks to his proclivity for quoting long passages of Churchill's own words. Instead, he meets every twist and turn in the compelling tale, follows every soaring passage, with his own canned platitudes and catch phrases, giving summaries of "lessons" he thinks relevant for today's busy readers. The only business-related experience that comes to mind while reading these "lessons" is a mandatory Friday afternoon session where the speaker fills the room with just enough hot air to make you question whether the air conditioning is working properly.

The author has some knack for pulling out the amusing anecdote. But every chance he gets, he drops the story, throws in a header like "Absorb All the Lessons," and writes an awkwardly-con-

trived paragraph or two—or three—about the importance of learning from experience. The reader should be prepared to find gross generalizations drawn from ill-crafted evidence and less original thought. Worse, Axelrod's air-sandwich sentences are often reprinted on the same page as they appear in regular text, enclosed in boxes in a larger font. The most jarring moment in the book is in the final chapter: after reviewing the victory over Hitler achieved at all costs by Churchill and Allied leaders, and their vow to win the peace, he follows with a passage headed: "Make a Sale, Create a Customer."

Axelrod draws no lessons from Churchill's early experiences at war. If he had looked at the first edition of Churchill's *The River War*—listed in his bibliography, but not the original work—he would have encountered Churchill's thoughts on business as a young man. Churchill contrasts the inner workings of the British army, with which he was already intimately familiar, with the practices of private enterprise. His musings are more fun to read than Axelrod's clumsy passages—the more so because Churchill does not market them as tips for "bold business leaders"—which by Axelrod's standards they might well be, especially their criticisms of Sir Herbert Kitchener.

Churchill's analysis of business operations arises from a discussion of the motives of those who choose leaders in the two spheres. One of his sentences >>

Publishers print thousands of "business books," shove them into stores or websites, and expect readers who are too busy to read to snatch them up. The genre's *raison d'être* is the premise that it is good to learn from the experience of others. Alas, the result, as stated by management consultant Dave Logan, is that "95% go on one of two lists: 'if you don't know this already, you should be working at the DMV' (Department of Motor Vehicles). And, 'if you do these things, your company will *become* the DMV.'" All due respect to the DMV, but Alan Axelrod's book is no exception.

Ms. Chenoweth, a fishery biologist for the state of Alaska, wrote "Churchill and the Theater" in *FH* 152.

Winston Churchill, CEO...

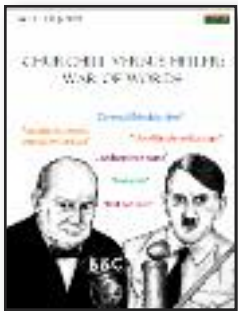
offers as much insight as Axelrod's whole book: "If the head of a firm entrust important affairs to a stupid agent, he probably loses money." The definitive edition of *The River War*, edited by James W. Muller, will bring back many such forgotten passages that

show how much Churchill had to say, not only to "bold business leaders," but to readers in other walks of life.

I wish the same could be said for Axelrod's book. I am implored by conscience to point readers to a more worthwhile book by Steven F. Hayward, *Churchill on Leadership* (1997), which also aims to speak to business readers. The comparison is striking. ☺

Those "Tribal Leaders" Again

WILLIAM JOHN SHEPHERD



Churchill Versus Hitler: The War of Words, by Peter John Bennion Kearny Limited, soft-bound, 354 pp., \$17.99,

Kindle edition \$9.99.

Based upon three years of archival research Mr. John, an economist and former economic adviser to the British government, believes few feuds in history compare in scope to that of Churchill and Hitler. Much has been written comparing them, so saying something new is a challenge.

The two antagonists addressed diplomatic and military events before and during the Second World War in their speeches, writings and private conversations, often taunting each other with colorful and original epithets. Churchill called Hitler a "monstrous abortion of hatred and defeat" (179) and a "blood-thirsty guttersnipe" (200). Hitler called Churchill an "undisciplined swine" (224) and "senile clown" (274). The author logically uses a chronological rather than thematic approach and early

poses a thoughtful question: when did each first become aware of the other?

There is no definitive answer, but John makes a convincing argument that Hitler must surely have known of Churchill soon after the latter became First Sea Lord in 1911, given the budding tension and wide reportage of the Anglo-German naval rivalry. Hitler first came to prominence in the English speaking world via *The Times*, which reported on his failed "Beer Hall Putsch" of 1923 and his subsequent trial.

Neither ever modified his view of the other, John claims, and both were "tribal leaders of the 1940s" (323)—a misplaced critique of nationalism. While Nazi Germany is the epitome of nationalism gone wrong, it is a gross disservice to judge British nationalism similarly, since this was the force Churchill marshaled to save Western civilization.

John effectively contrasts their respective performances while literally under fire. Churchill, he notes, often went to the rooftops during bombings of London, later making personal visits to inspect damage and rally survivors. Hitler stayed in a bunker and turned a blind eye to damage and casualties.

John praises Churchill as "the greatest man in the world" (316) but also serves up snide criticisms. Churchill in 1947, he says, gave "a long and rather hysterical speech" (309) comparing Hitler and Attlee. Churchill's 1954 statement praising Israeli agriculture does not

explain why enhanced irrigation "gave the Jews a right to land occupied by Palestinian Arabs" (314). There are also mistakes: Churchill met Pope Pius XI, not Pius XII (52) in 1927; Churchill was not "ineligible" for a military medal in World War II (234).

Major problems are the endnotes and bibliography listing of author, title and page number but not publisher, edition, city or date. This might be acceptable for a hyperlinked website but is inadequate for print publications, since it is difficult to check without the missing data. Page references from the Hugh Trevor-Roper edited *Hitler's Table Talk* do not match the popular 2000 Enigma edition, suggesting the author used an older edition; his reader should not have to be a detective to determine such information. There are similar problems in checking references to Churchill's *The Second World War*, since volume numbers are rarely given. Another questionable practice is using *Hitler's War* by the discredited writer David Irving (1977) as a major source. In response to an email query, Peter John said he used it because it was "highly praised by many distinguished historians, all utterly free of any taint of Nazi sympathies," including Trevor-Roper, A.J.P. Taylor, Paul Addison and Andrew Roberts. John added that he "used Irving's unequalled research, not his flawed judgments" because Hitler's War "is an almost unparalleled collection of primary sources from those who worked with the dictator" that is otherwise "rather sparse." They are perhaps rather sparse because they are unsubstantiated: "Mrs. Goering to the author," for example. This defense might have been made in a source note, though it is not in my view adequate.

This book is not without merit, posing intriguing questions and presenting unique perspectives. But the lack of illustrations, except for the cover's bizarre, cartoonish caricatures of the antagonists; the inadequate citations; the pedestrian quality of print, size, and format give the impression of a self-published rather than a professionally published work. Readers would do well

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Churchill Versus Hitler...

to consider previously published and generally praised works on the subject: Andrew Roberts' *Hitler and Churchill*

(FH 127), John Strawson's *Churchill and Hitler* (FH 106), David Jablonsky's *Churchill and Hitler* (FH 88), and John Lukacs' *The Duel* (FH 70). ☞

National Security, 1940s-Style

WARREN F. KIMBALL



Conspiracy of One: Tyler Kent's Secret Plot against FDR, Churchill and the Allied War Effort, by Peter Rand. Lyons Press,

hardbound, illus., 272 pp. \$26.95,
Kindle \$12.90, member price \$21.60.

More years ago than I care to remember, I suggested to a bright undergraduate at Rutgers College that his Honors thesis was worth pursuing further. That began my longstanding fascination with the tale of Tyler Kent and his unauthorized, possibly illegal, copying of correspondence between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, along with some 1500 other pieces of classified material. The student (Bruce Bartlett, onetime economic adviser to George H.W. Bush, now a commentator on economic policies) and I churned out a piece, based on research in U.S. and British archives, outlining the details of the Tyler Kent episode.

For the most part, the "Kent Affair" became a throwaway line in diplomatic history textbooks. Even biographies of both Roosevelt and Churchill paid only cursory attention. Yet three books, now a fourth, followed. (None was written by us; none attracts much attention, nor alas did we.)*

Churchillians will find the story familiar. Kent, a low-level code clerk in the American Embassy in London, let

his personal politics—the conviction that international Jewry was somehow in cahoots with the Bolsheviks—get the best of his oath of office, and purloined or copied a tranche of secret material, including six exchanges between Churchill (First Lord of the Admiralty for all but one of the messages) and President Roosevelt. Kent's intent was to expose FDR as a liar who was trying to get the United States into the war. On 20 May 1940, the British arrested him when Ambassador Joseph Kennedy waived Kent's diplomatic immunity. After a secret trial, Kent was incarcerated in British jails until November 1945.

Of course Joe Kennedy was worried. As Rand points out, the Ambassador was caught on the horns of a dilemma. Fearing Hitler's strength, Kennedy wanted the U.S. to stay out of what he saw as just another European war, so he and Kent were nearly on the same page. But a spy in his embassy would make the ambassador seem incompetent, an image Kennedy preferred to avoid.

This latest book is a colorful retelling of the Kent affair. Three issues dominate: Was it legal and principled for the U.S. government to allow Kent to be arrested and then held incommunicado? Would disclosure of the Kent files have embarrassed FDR and Churchill to the point of changing American policies? And who were the two Russian women with whom Kent had affairs? (Was this just sex, or spying?)

The first question seems unimportant in these days of the national security state, where a 9/11-traumatized society (UK and USA) has placidly allowed government to arrest and confine on the

basis of mere accusations of either terrorism or being a terrorist. In mid-1940, with Hitler's Germany on the march westward, Britain acted pretty much the same way. But not so the United States. Yet awareness of the Kent affair was very tightly controlled by Washington, so the constitutional issues never arose until long after the fact, by which time Kent's rampant anti-Semitism destroyed his credibility.

As for the second, whatever FDR's intentions in the fight against Hitler, he did not want to give the so-called isolationists any leverage. That said, American public opinion strongly supported aid to Britain, while Roosevelt's popularity remained high. Disclosure of the Kent files would not have changed that support, and, at the same time, would have provided Hitler with a fuller understanding of American policy.

Rumors of Kent being a coerced Soviet agent cropped up from the outset. All things are possible, but in this case it seems unlikely. But, how else to explain that Stalin's regime allowed one Tatiana, Kent's lover while in Moscow, to leave the Soviet Union and join him? This was what the paranoid Bolsheviks did casually.

Rand's book is an easy read, worth an evening in front of the fireplace. Churchillians might ask, where was WSC? The Prime Minister consciously and smartly opted out, leaving instructions to let MI5 to do its thing. ☞

*Our article was "Roosevelt and Prewar Commitments to Churchill: The Tyler Kent Affair," *Diplomatic History* 5:4 (Fall 1981), 291-311. To our delight Tyler Kent called us "egg-head academics" in a long rant in *The Journal of Historical Review* (labeled routinely as a Holocaust-denial publication): see <http://xrl.us/bpu6pa> (accessed 3 June 2013). Kent's State Department personnel file (DS-Kent/123) was opened for my use in 1979-80, but closed thereafter. Rand found papers from that file in Kent's personal papers, although some of the details apparently are missing.

Churchill in Fiction

MICHAEL McMENAMIN

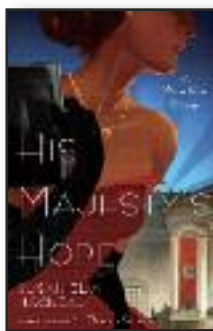
Novels are rated one to three stars on two questions: Is the portrayal of Churchill accurate? Is the book worth reading?

***His Majesty's Hope*, by Susan Elia MacNeal. Bantam, softbound, 368 pp., \$15, member price \$12, Kindle edition \$7.99. Portrayal ★★★ Worth Reading ★★★**

Churchill is undergoing a renaissance as a literary character in new, well-written novels—so much so that readers will no longer be burdened with reviews of any novel with low ratings, except where we receive multiple inquiries from readers, as for example the late, unlamented *Churchill's Secret Agent* (FH 153). We don't want you to read bad novels just because Churchill is a character. That is not the case with these two quite different recent efforts.

His Majesty's Hope is a mystery thriller set in England and Germany in the latter half of 1941, third in the Maggie Hope series. In the first, *Mr. Churchill's Secretary* (FH 156), Maggie is hired as a Churchill stenographer and helps foil a Nazi plot to assassinate the King. In the second, *Princess Elizabeth's Spy* (FH 158), Churchill sends Maggie to MI5, which places her as a tutor to Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret in order to unmask a Nazi spy in the Royal household.

Now Maggie has joined Churchill's Special Operations Executive (SOE) whose brief from the PM was "Set Europe Ablaze." After months of grueling training in Scotland, Maggie, who is fluent in German, is selected by Churchill himself for a special mission



to Berlin. The plot is complicated and, if you've not read the first two books in the series, there are spoilers which will give the plots in both away. But there are plenty of actual historical characters, including a number of good Germans, clergy and civilians alike. Hitler himself makes an appearance in connection with the actual occasion in 1941 where, for the first and last time, he was booed in public. It fits nicely in with the overall plot. Read the book and learn why.

***Winston & Me*, by Mark Woodburn. Valley Press, softbound, 320 pp., \$12, Kindle edition \$2.99. Portrayal ★★★ Worth Reading ★★★**

Mark Woodburn's first fiction, this is a coming-of-age novel about a young Scot who becomes Churchill's batman in the trenches of Flanders in 1916. It features a large number of Churchill scenes and covers a period in his life which has rarely if ever, been treated in fiction. Woodburn offers an excellent portrayal of Churchill and those close to him, like Archie Sinclair and Eddie Marsh.

The young hero, 15-year-old Jamie Melville, lies about his age to enlist in the Army and ends up in Churchill's battalion at about the same time that WSC takes command. Jamie and his age eventually come to Churchill's attention in an unfortunate way, but when Churchill's original batman is wounded, Jamie is chosen to take his place. Churchill was a popular CO among his men and Woodburn gives many illustrations to show why this was so. When Churchill leaves the battalion to return to politics, he takes Jamie with him as an assistant, a position he holds until 1919, when Jamie leaves to join his brothers in the family business. Winston Churchill plays a major role throughout in a novel not to be missed. ☺

ARTICLES

WSC's "Three Majestic Circles"

RICHARD DAVIS: AUTHOR'S ABSTRACT

"The Geometry of Churchill's 'Three Majestic Circles': Keystone of British Foreign Policy or *trompe l'œil*?" in Mélanie Torrent and Claire Sanderson, eds., *La puissance britannique en question: Diplomatie et politique étrangère au 20e siècle / Challenges to British Power Status: Foreign Policy and Diplomacy in the 20th Century*. Series Enjeux internationaux, 25. Brussels: Peter Lang, 2013, 79-92.

"As I look out upon the future of our country in the changing scene of human destiny I feel the existence of three great circles among the free nations and democracies. I almost wish I had a blackboard. I would make a picture for you.... The first circle for us is naturally the British Commonwealth and Empire, with all that that comprises. Then there is also the English-speaking world in which we,

Mr. McMEnamin and his son Patrick are co-authors of the award-winning Winston Churchill thrillers *The DeValera Deception*, *The Parsifal Pursuit* and *The Gemini Agenda*, set during Winston Churchill's "Wilderness Years," 1929-39.

Canada, and the other British Dominions and the United States play so important a part. And finally there is United Europe. These three majestic circles are co-existent and if they are linked together there is no force or combination which could overthrow them or even challenge them.

“Now if you think of the three interlinked circles you will see that we are the only country which has a great part in every one of them. We stand, in fact, at the very point of junction, and here in this Island at the centre of the seaways and perhaps of the airways also, we have the opportunity of joining them all together. If we rise to the occasion in the years that are to come it may be found that once again we hold the key to opening a safe and happy future to humanity, and will gain for ourselves gratitude and fame.”

—WSC, CONSERVATIVE PARTY MASS MEETING,
LLANDUDNO, WALES, 19 OCTOBER 1948

The “three interlinked circles,” like many of Churchill’s aphorisms, quickly became part of the standard vocabulary of British foreign policy, and over sixty years after the term was first pronounced it is not unusual to hear references to it. Time and again after 1948, politicians and diplomats came back to this central theme of Britain’s position in the three circles. Evidence suggests that the mindsets of present British policy makers are not fundamentally different.

However, if the image raised by Churchill in his speech has had a long life, it has never won universal acceptance. It has come in for a good deal of criticism, particularly from those who have argued that Britain after 1945 was trying to hold onto an increasingly untenable, and over-ambitious position in the world. According to this view the three circles concept is perhaps a witty and ingenious expression but nonetheless a fanciful one, a reflection of British decision makers’ tendency to hold too high an opinion of their country’s abilities to influence world affairs and of its value to others.

Excluded from the mainstream of

Europe by its inability to enter the EEC, less respected or courted by Washington, and increasingly distanced from most of the Commonwealth, Britain’s international position was in sharp decline from the 1960s on. Above all it was Britain’s economic situation that undermined the three circles theory. Various elements all seem to point to the con-

clusion that these three circles simply could not be squared. They have not proven to be an adequate basis for British foreign policy. Churchill’s ambition to place Britain at the very centre of the three circles, and consequently of the western world, seems now to have been a noble ambition but one that was beyond Britain’s capacity. ☹

Fisher and the Naval Revolution

ABSTRACT BY ANTOINE CAPET



HMS DREADNOUGHT (1906-1919),
INSPIRED BY ADMIRAL JOHN FISHER, LATER
CHURCHILL’S FIRST SEA LORD, WAS THE
PROGENITOR OF A GENERATION OF FAST,
POWERFUL BATTLESHIPS, WITH ALL-12-INCH
GUNS AND A SPEED OF 21 KNOTS. SHE WAS
BEING REFITTED AND DID NOT PARTICIPATE
IN THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND IN 1916, BUT
SHE WAS QUICK ENOUGH TO RAM AND SINK
A SURFACED SUBMARINE, THE ONLY SUCH
ACCOMPLISHMENT BY A BATTLESHIP.

Christopher M. Bell, “On Standards and Scholarship: A Response to Nicholas Lambert,” in *War in History* 20:3, June 2013, pages 381-409.

This article examines Nicholas A. Lambert’s criticisms (“On Standards: A Reply to Christopher Bell, *War in History* 19, 2012) of Professor Bell’s article, “Sir John Fisher’s Naval Revolution Reconsidered: Winston Churchill at the Admiralty, 1911-1914” (*War in History* 18, 2011).

Christopher Bell’s article challenged

revisionist claims that in July 1914 the Royal Navy was on the verge of implementing a “naval revolution” based on radical ideas attributed to Admiral Sir John Fisher. Bell argues that Lambert’s criticisms are unfounded and provides additional evidence to support an alternative interpretation of British naval policy in the period 1912-14. Important changes were undoubtedly underway on the eve of the First World War, but the revisionists exaggerate Fisher’s influence and oversimplify an inherently complex decision-making process. The Admiralty’s plan to substitute torpedo craft for some of the battleships in its 1914 programme was intended to bolster a conservative strategy, and the changes under consideration were essentially evolutionary in nature. ☹

Dr. Capet is Professor of British Studies at the University of Rouen, France, and editor of several collections on Britain’s 20th century diplomatic and military policy.

How Churchill Helped Develop the Tank

A NATIONAL HISTORY DAY PROJECT BY WESTON STORES



For National History Day, the annual academic program focused on historical research for 6th to 12th grade students, I chose to consider Winston Churchill and his efforts to implement the tank in World War I. The Churchill Centre website was of great assistance. I then wrote the editor of *Finest Hour*, who answered some questions and directed me to Marcus Frost here in Texas, who provided significant information and even loaned me books on the subject, which he consulted in his own article on Churchill and the Tank in *Finest Hour* 135.

My project took the form of several illustrated panels. The most challenging task was condensing the entire exhibit to 500 words, the maximum allowed by the rules. I quoted both Messrs. Langworth and Frost, without whose information, and the sources they provided, I could not have achieved this level of thoroughness and accuracy. I am grateful for all this assistance. The Churchill Centre really made this topic more interesting than I ever thought it would be. —W.S.

WHEN AN EIGHTH GRADE STUDENT AT SARTARTIA MIDDLE SCHOOL IN SUGAR LAND, TEXAS, APPROACHED US WITH QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO HIS PROJECT, WE DID NOT ANTICIPATE HOW COMPREHENSIVE IT WOULD BE, AND HOW ILLUMINATING THE RESULT, WHICH WE ARE NOW PLEASED TO SHARE WITH READERS.

Research Questions

We often receive questions from students working on National History Day projects, but not often do we find them so specific and penetrating as Weston's. We thought readers would like to read them, together with our answers. —Ed.

1. What was Churchill's role at the Ministry of Munitions?

• Churchill was Minister of Munitions from 17 July 1917 to 9 January 1919. His chief role was to make sure the Allied armies in Europe had a sufficient supply of shells in the crucial final months of World War I. Incidentally, after his many visits to munitions factories, which were heavily staffed with devoted women workers, he revised his earlier doubts about votes for women, and he supported women's suffrage when it was enacted in Britain in 1918.

2. Do you have any information about Churchill's formation of the Landship Committee, its members and its role? I believe that his commanding of troops in the trenches in 1916 gave him the inspiration to find a way to end the trench warfare deadlock, and eventually the war. Can you also direct me to any material involving the tank before the war?

• Churchill formed the Landships Committee at the Admiralty before he served in the trenches in 1916. However, he had considerable previous military experience as a young officer in India, the Sudan and South >>

1.

The carnage of WWI's trench warfare stalemate appeared hopeless and spending. First Lord of the Admiralty Winston Churchill found continued use of individual soldiers against enemy machine guns futile and ideas lost unacceptable. In 1915 Churchill formed the Landships Committee and pursued a new type of warfare. The seeds of Churchill's idea of armored caterpillar vehicles to cross enemy trenches began growing.



"It was no use endeavoring to remedy this evil - we had by squandering the lives and valour of endless masses of men. The mechanical danger must be overcome by a mechanical remedy."

Winston Churchill, World War I 1911-1918, p. 202.



2.

The Admiralty Landships Committee tasked creation of a machine to: travel four mph, make sharp turns and reverse direction, climb five foot obstructions, cross eight foot gaps, house ten crew, two machine guns and a two pound gun. Initial trials and observations were bleak.



"[Churchill took] steps to ensure full consideration for a project upon which he had set his heart - when the committee had brought matters of experiment necessitating the expenditure of money - he deserves the gratitude of the Army and of the nation. He sanctioned - £40,000 of public funds upon what was a speculative venture -"

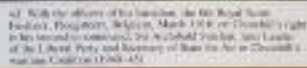
Sir Ernest S. Buxton (Maj.Gen. 1915), 1915-1918, and the origin of the tank, p. 140.

"His main effect - and to set up the Committee and appoint the right people - to keep pushing the idea."

January 4, 1913, Daily Interview with Richard K. Ligonier, Editor of The Churchill Review - PROLOGUE, The First, 1913.



Bleakness continued for Churchill with disaster at Dardanelles, and his relief as First Lord of the Admiralty in May 1915. But, Churchill received command of the 6th Royal Scots Fusiliers in 1916, joining them at the Western Front for first hand experience of trench warfare.



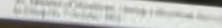
Without [Churchill's] courage in sponsoring what was at that stage a wildly improbable scheme, the weapon would undoubtedly have remained a discredited theory in military circles -

John Macfield, *The Devil's Chariot*, p. 208.

From 1917 to 1919 Churchill's new role as Minister of Munitions continued with unapologetic urging for mass use of tanks on the Western Front. Within his Ministry, Churchill created the Tank Board ensuring tank manufacture in increasing numbers.

"To me this is incomprehensible. The imminent danger is on the Western front; - a defeat here will be fatal - Stint food and commercial imports to increase shells, aeroplanes & tanks."

January 1918 Churchill's appeal to Lloyd George protesting the Army's policy of recruitment over the Army.



Africa from 1897 through 1901. Please see the attached copy of *Finest Hour* 135, and the two articles on Churchill and the Tank, starting on pages 42 and 45. I am copying Marcus Frost, who wrote the second article—not only because he may have further advice for you but because he lives in Texas! I know he will assist.

- As you will read in these articles, there was considerable doubt about the practicality of Churchill's idea for what were then called "land caterpillars." These machines

4. Was there any prohibition to Churchill's expenditures on the Landship Committee? Did he have to go to any extremes to provide funding for the organization or the industry of the tanks?

FINEST HOUR 160 / 52



Gallipoli—and not back until appointed to the Munitions Ministry in 1917. His main effort before then was to set up the Committee and appoint the right people, such as Albert Stern, to keep pushing the idea (see in particular *Finest Hour* 135, page 43).

5. What was the period of time spanning from the first prototype Mark I to the end of the war?

- A prototype named “Little Willie” was running by the summer of 1915—over three years before the war ended in November 1918.

6. What were the total British casualties of the war?

- British military killed 996,000, wounded

2,863,000. For full details search any encyclopedia or the online Wikipedia for World War I casualties.

7. Do you have photos of Churchill in 1914-18?

- Go to Google Images and search for “Churchill World War I”—you will find many images, many of which are copyright-free, particularly for educational projects.

8. Do you have any sources crediting Churchill with the idea, creation and/or invention of the tank?

- The two articles *Finest Hour* 135 are heavily foot-noted. Review the sources referenced in the endnotes on pages 44 and 49. ☺

Pentland Churchill Design Competition

CHURCHILL ART BLOOMS IN LONDON • ALLEN PACKWOOD



The finalists share a Pol Roger toast. L-R: Tristran Debroise (representing Charles Binet), Katie-Jayne Skinner, Clare Corfield, Carl Hoare, Nick Jameson, London Mayor Boris Johnson, Churchill Centre UK Trustee Stephen Rubin, Harriet Riddell, Stephanie Tschirky and Anna Ritchie.

The afternoon of September 16th witnessed a remarkable occasion. Boris Johnson, the colourful and frequently controversial mayor of London, arrived on his bicycle at the Churchill War Rooms, stepped inside, and proceeded to announce the winners of the inaugural Pentland Churchill Design Competition.

The contest was the brainchild of Morice Mendoza, a trustee of The Churchill Centre (UK), who was keen to find a vehicle for getting today's students to think about Sir Winston and what he means for their generation. The idea was taken up by fellow trustee Stephen Rubin and his team at The Pentland Group, a leading brand management and retail firm, including Chief Designer Katie Greenyer. Her brief challenged British art college students to "explore the extraordinary story of Churchill's life and impact on the 20th century and articulate your vision of his continuing relevance to the contemporary

scene" in an original work of art, design or fashion.

The Arts Thread website (www.artsthread.com) provided an excellent vehicle for reaching students. Out of 156 entries, eight finalists were selected. The finalists gathered with members of the Churchill family and press photographers to await the Mayor Johnson's pronouncement. (He pointed out that he was not one of the judges and was simply delivering the verdict!)

The eight leading works are a testament to British creativity. They vary from a Churchill shoe to a tapestry to a silkscreen print, and are built around different facets and aspects of Churchill, from the Boer War to his books, from the famous Karsh photograph to a graphic rendering: "The Many Hats of Winston Churchill." The latter was by Nick Jameson, the overall winner (opposite and in colour with other winners on our back cover).

Mr. Jameson's creation prompted the Mayor to recall that Churchill had also worn a builder's hat, a cowboy hat and a native American hat, and so almost qualified as a one-man YMCA video—an allusion that will be lost on those who are not connoisseurs of disco music.

Mr. Packwood is Director of the Churchill Archives Centre, Cambridge, and Executive Director of The Churchill Centre (UK).

As some advanced Churchillians noticed, not all the quotations or facts incorporated into these pieces are accurate. To my mind—and clearly to the judges—that was outweighed by the passion, innovation and research that went into producing them.

What would Churchill have thought of all this? He famously dismissed the infamous Sutherland portrait as “a remarkable example of modern art.” But in 1953 he said: “The arts are essential to any complete national life. The nation owes it to itself to sustain and encourage them” and “without tradition art is a flock of sheep without a shepherd. Without innovation it is a corpse. Innovation of course involves experiment.”

As to our participants we have his famous admonition to youth in his autobiography, *My Early Life*:

Twenty to twenty-five! These are the years! Don't be content with things as they are. “The earth is yours and the fulness thereof.” Enter upon your inheritance, accept your responsibilities....Don't take No for an answer. Never submit to failure. Do not be fobbed off with mere personal success or acceptance. You will make all kinds of mistakes; but as long as you are generous and true, and also fierce, you cannot hurt the world or even seriously distress her. She was made to be wooed and won by youth. She has lived and thrived only by repeated subjugations.

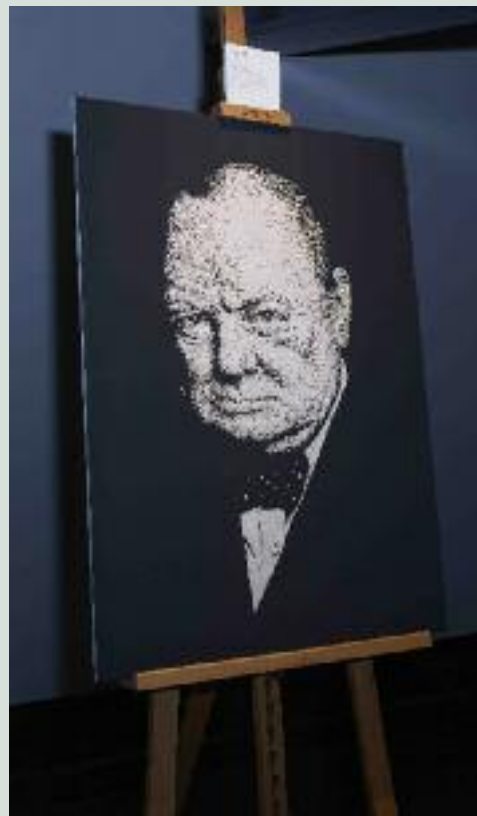
All involved should be proud of the result. Mayor Johnson, who himself is writing a book about Churchill, said the competition will run again in 2014 but that next time it will be international. The brief will be to capture the essence of Sir Winston's unique style and personality. I believe we may have opened the floodgates. ☺



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE COMPETITION

Above left: Churchill's footwear was often as noteworthy as his hats. Anna Ritchie imaginatively created this “C-heeled” shoe emblazoned with portraits of the Young Winston. **Left:** Katie-Jayne Skinner explains her cartoon strip entry to Mayor Boris Johnson. **Below left:** Stephanie Tschirky's modernistic and graphic work was inspired by Winston Churchill's literary output. **Above:** the overall winner was Nick Jameson's "The Many Hats of Winston Churchill," a simple but highly effective theme.

Right: Strongly commended was this stylized graphic design based on the famous 1941 Yousuf Karsh photograph, by Charles Binet.



Peter Churchill: What's in a Name?

MADELIN TERRAZAS

During the Second World War, Peter Morland Churchill, and his colleague in the Special Operations Executive (SOE), Odette Sansom, put his name to use with panache.

Odette Sansom became part of Britain's clandestine war effort in 1942, after mistakenly addressing a letter to the War Office rather than the Admiralty. She was responding to an Admiralty plea for information on France, to help with raids and the eventual reinvasion of the continent. Enclosing some photographs of the country, she wrote that she was French and knew Boulogne. The War Office sent her material to SOE, and she was duly recruited as an agent.

After completing training, Odette (codename "Lise") travelled in a small fishing boat to Cassis, where she met the local SOE organiser, Peter Churchill (code-name "Raoul"). Odette's original mission was to cross Vichy France, joining a resistance group in Burgundy. But when Vichy was occupied by the Germans on 11 November 1942, she remained Peter's courier in Cannes and later in St. Jorioz, near Annecy, in eastern France near the Swiss border.

Peter and Odette were captured by the Gestapo in 1943. A 1947 letter in the Churchill Archives Centre, sent to Churchill by the couple, explains how they decided to use the Churchill name in order to save themselves.

Able to communicate briefly during their "cell-studded" journey to Fresnes Prison south of Paris, Odette and Peter decided to pretend to be married. This did not have any special effect: arriving at Fresnes, they were placed in separate solitary confinement. But according to Peter, the Gestapo agent who had captured them was convinced that Peter was



Agents and Lovers: Peter and Odette in 1945 (top), and at their marriage in 1947 (above); Right: Odette, still vivacious, 1986.



Winston Churchill's nephew—and proposed that he be exchanged for Rudolf Hess! (Since his surprise flight to Scotland on 10 May 1941, Hess had been a "guest of His Majesty.")

Peter denied any relationship to the PM, but Odette's insistence on it, plus Peter's refusal to give his home address, convinced the Gestapo it was true. So both were kept as hostages, rather than simply being shot as British agents.

Peter was sent to Berlin and then north to Sachsenhausen concentration camp, in February 1944. In April 1945 he was transferred to Flossenberg and then to Dachau, where he was liberated by the Americans at the end of the war.

In May 1944 Odette was sent to Ravensbrück concentration camp, also north of Berlin. On the way she was interviewed by a Berlin newspaper reporter who told her several members of the Churchill family were already in German custody, and that the entire family would be in Berlin soon. She replied saucily: "When Winston Churchill arrives in Berlin, it will not be in quite the way you expect."

As the U.S. Army was advancing towards Ravensbrück, the camp commandant, Fritz Suhren, took Odette to the nearest body of troops and told them that she was a relative of Churchill's, hoping his action would save his own skin. At the Nuremberg trials, Odette's evidence against Suhren's operations at the prison camp helped to convict him, and he was hanged in 1950.

Letters at the Churchill Archives Centre reveal that in the autumn of 1944 General Redman, deputy commander of the French Forces of the Interior, contacted Downing Street to ask whether Peter Churchill was indeed a relation. Private Secretary Jock Colville replied that if Peter was a relation he was a very distant one. (In his 1947 letter to WSC, Peter would estimate that they were 62nd cousins.)

In 1946, Odette became the first woman to be awarded the George Cross. She was also awarded an MBE in 1945 and, in 1950, a *Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur* for her contribution to the French resistance. Peter and Odette did indeed marry in 1947, the day after they sent the letter to Winston, but they divorced in 1955. Both remarried in 1956, Odette becoming Mrs. Odette Marie Céline Hallows. Peter died in 1972, Odette in 1995. ☺

References

Correspondence, WSC and Peter and Odette (1947), Churchill Archives Centre, Churchill Papers, CHUR 2/147/135-37.

Correspondence, General Redman and WSC's private office, Churchill Papers, CHAR 20/142B/155-57.

Peter Churchill's Special Operation Executive personnel file, opened 2003, National Archives, Records of Special Operations Executive, HS 9/314 (<http://xrl.us/bnwo3j>).

Odette, by Jerrard Tickell (London: Chapman & Hall, 1950, republished 2007), was adapted to film by Herbert Wilcox. Peter wrote several books about his wartime experiences, including *Of Their Own Choice* (1952), *Duel of Wits* (1953), *The Spirit of the Cage* (1954) and *By Moonlight* (1958).

Online sources: Odette biography, Elmbridge Museum: <http://xrl.us/bnwo4n>. Peter Churchill biographies, <http://xrl.us/bnwo5d> and <http://xrl.us/bnwo5s>. Redman biography, <http://xrl.us/bnwo5h/>.

Ms. Terrazas, formerly with the Churchill Archives Centre, is a cataloguer at Jesus College, Cambridge. We thank Paul Courtenay for assistance in research.

Each quiz offers questions in six categories: Churchill contemporaries (C), literary matters (L), miscellaneous (M), personal details (P), statesmanship (S) and war (W), the easier questions first. Can you reach Level 1?

LEVEL 4

1. Which war did Churchill call a "War of the Unknown Warriors"? (W)
2. In his lifetime, Churchill travelled to the USA sixteen times. Give the year or years for any of these trips. (M)
3. WSC in the Commons, 2 July 1942: "This tank, the A.22, was ordered off the drawing-board....As might be expected, it had many defects and teething troubles, and when these became apparent the tank was appropriately rechristened...." What was the new name for the A.22 tank? (M)
4. To whom was Churchill referring in the House on 17 April 1945: "What an enviable death was his! He had brought his country through the worst of its perils and the heaviest of its toils. Victory had cast its sure and steady beam on him"? (C)
5. Which event prompted WSC to write in *The Second World War*: "I knew the United States was in the war, up to the neck and in to the death"? (W)
6. In what year was Churchill given a cake weighing 84 pounds (ten for every decade) for his 77th birthday? (M)

LEVEL 3

7. The text "How the power of the Grand Alliance became preponderant" is the theme of which volume of *The Second World War*? (L)
8. In which speech did WSC use the words "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended...."? (S)
9. "I called on him the morning after our arrival, and was impressed with his gay, precise, sparkling manner and obvious power of decision." Whom did WSC call on in Berlin, 15 July 1945? (L)
10. Of whom did Churchill say, at The Other Club in November 1958: "His death was a swinging blow....we can all remember how, in dark times, his spirit, his charm and wit were able to rise superior to personal sorrow or grave events"? (C)

11. Where was Churchill when he said, "Do not let us speak of darker days; let us speak rather of sterner days. These are not dark days: these are great days...."? (W)

12. Which of Churchill's books was adopted as a textbook at Sandhurst in 1932? (L)

CHURCHILL QUIZ

JAMES LANCASTER

LEVEL 2

13. Who said, in a tribute to Churchill on 30 January 1965, "Perhaps the most endearing thing about him in private talk, in Cabinet, in the House of Commons, was his Puckish humour, his tremendous sense of fun"? (C)
14. *The Second World War* is a six-volume work with twelve "Books." What is the title of the first Book? (L)
15. In April 1939 Brendan Bracken wrote to Bernard Baruch: "I believe that this long, lonely struggle...will prove to be the best chapter in [Winston's] crowded life." Which struggle? (S)
16. In what year did Churchill tell the Munitions Council there were "only two ways of winning the war, and they both begin with A. One is aeroplanes and the other is America"? (W)
17. In 1922 the Greek Prime Minister Gounaris flitted to and fro between Athens and London, begging for money and arms. WSC described how Gounaris "was confronted by Lord —, who soused him in sonorous cor-rectitudes." Who soused Gounaris? (C)
18. In which of his books did WSC write: "When the notes of life run false, men should correct them by referring to the tuning-fork of death"? (L)

LEVEL 1

19. Of whom did WSC write in *Great Contemporaries*: "He abhorred

plunging; but in wartime, at any rate, chiefs often have to plunge"? (C)

20. In what year did Churchill first meet John F. Kennedy? (C)

21. Where in 1943 did Churchill make his intentional slip about "eagles being replaced by the infernal—I mean internal—combustion engine"? (P)

22. On which occasion did Churchill advise an American schoolboy, "Study history, study history. In history lie all the secrets of statecraft"? (M)

23. Why did Churchill's favourite racehorse, Colonist II, not like the Brighton racecourse? (M)

24. Who gave the budgerigar Toby to Sir Winston? (P) ☞

ANSWERS

- (1) *The Second World War*, at the end of his broadcast on 14 July 1940. (2) 1895, 1900-01, 1929, 1931-32, 1941-42, 1942, 1943 (May and August), 1944, 1946, 1949, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1959 and 1961. (3) *The Churchill tank*. (4) Franklin D. Roosevelt, who had died on 12 April. (5) The attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941. (6) 1951. The surmounting plaque was inscribed: "Where they saw despair, he saw hope; Where they saw disaster, he saw challenge; Where they saw defeat, he saw opportunity for attack; and in the darkness of 1940 he dared to tell history 'This was their finest hour.'" (*Daily Telegraph*, 30 November 1951.)
- (7) Volume IV. (8) In his *Sinews of Peace* speech (aka Iron Curtain speech) in Fulton, Missouri, on 5 March 1946. (9) President Harry Truman. (10) Brendan Bracken, who had recently died, aged only 58. Quoting from Kipling's "If," WSC said that Bracken had "filled the unforgiving minute with sixty seconds' worth of distance run." (11) Harrow School, 29 October 1941. (12) *The World Crisis*.
- (13) Harold Macmillan. (14) "From War to War." (15) His struggle against Appeasement, 1936-39. (16) 1917. (17) Foreign Secretary Lord Curzon. (18) *Savrola*.
- (19) Arthur James Balfour. (20) 1958; see "Riddles, Mysteries, Enigmas, page 10. (21) At Harward, on receiving an honorary degree. He had practised this "slip" on the train from Washington. (22) Reception given before the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, 27 May 1953, to mark the celebrations for the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. (23) Because Brighton was a left-handed circuit, and Colonist, like WSC, did not like turning left. (24) His breeder, Field Marshal Montgomery.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF *SAVROLA*

“Far and Away the Best Thing
I Have Ever Done” —WSC, 1897

RONALD I. COHEN • PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE AUTHOR'S COLLECTION



In the citation for Churchill's 1953 Nobel Prize for Literature, Swedish novelist and poet Sigfrid Siwertz said that our author's "political and literary achievements are of such magnitude that one is tempted to resort to portray him as a Caesar who also has the gift of Cicero's pen." The Swedish Academy had Churchill's historical *oeuvre* in mind, not his works of fiction, of which there were only three. Of these *Savrola* was the only production of book-length.

In mid-career, Churchill seemed anxious to forget his early fling with novel writing. In 1929, a Toronto reporter who had never heard of *Savrola* asked if he'd ever thought of writing fiction. "Not much," WSC replied—"I wrote a novel once." "What happened to it?" the reporter inquired, and recorded Churchill's reply: "I don't know,' in the tone of voice people employ when they say 'lost at sea.'"

Those whose only familiarity with *Savrola* comes from Churchill's charming and humorous autobiography *My Early Life* may have been similarly misled. Alluding to his novel, published thirty years earlier,

Churchill wrote in self-reproach: "I have consistently urged my friends to abstain from reading it."

The consistency of this perhaps feigned lack of enthusiasm surfaced again in the 1956 Random House edition where, in a new foreword, Churchill described his trepidation when it was first published. He then added that the intervening fifty-five years "have somewhat dulled though certainly not changed my sentiments on this point."

Although *Savrola* was Churchill's third published book, it was the first one that he undertook and the second that he completed. He had already finished five chapters, about one-quarter of the text, when he set it aside on his return to Bangalore at the end of August 1897 to begin work on *The Story of the Malakand Field Force*.

Churchill's youthful enthusiasm for *Affairs of State* (the working title for *Savrola*) was reflected in a letter to his mother on 24 August 1897: "It is far and away the best thing that I have ever done." He maintained this attitude throughout the writing. On 24 November, still six weeks away from sending off the *Malakand*

manuscript, he admitted that his novel "filled & still fills my mind."

On 9 February 1898, admitting to his mother that *Savrola* was still only half finished, he said he was "trying to develop in the mouth of my hero a cheery but I believe a true philosophy...it takes much thought." A fortnight later he reported that the novel was "forging slowly along, and I like it better every day." If the *Malakand* were successful, he added in March, "I shall follow it by the novel which a v[er]y little more work will complete, though I intend to polish it till it glitters."

On 25 April 1898, WSC again wrote Lady Randolph: "It is a wild and daring book tilting recklessly here and there and written with no purpose whatever, but to amuse," he wrote. "This I believe it will do. I have faith in my pen. I believe the thoughts I can put on paper will interest & be popular with the public."

To his Aunt Leonie, he wrote a few days later that *Affairs of State* "appeals to all tastes from philosophical to bloodthirsty and is full of wild adventures and atheistic philosophy." In June, the text was done.

Churchill's goal for *Savrola* was reflected in the following words from his original unpublished Preface (see page 60 for full text): "The object of these pages is only to amuse. Like the

Mr. Cohen's *Bibliography of the Writings of Sir Winston Churchill* (2006) received The Churchill Centre's Farrow Award. In addition to writing our Bibliography column, he is co-founder and president of the Sir Winston Churchill Society of Ottawa and a senior fellow on the faculty of Public Affairs, Carleton University.

perfect dinner they should be agreeable at the time and never cause a thought afterwards....I have written what would please me to read."

First Published in the U.S.

A.P. Watt, Churchill's literary agent, was concerned early on to secure copyright protection for *Savrola* in the United States. American copyright laws of the day had more stringent requirements for foreign

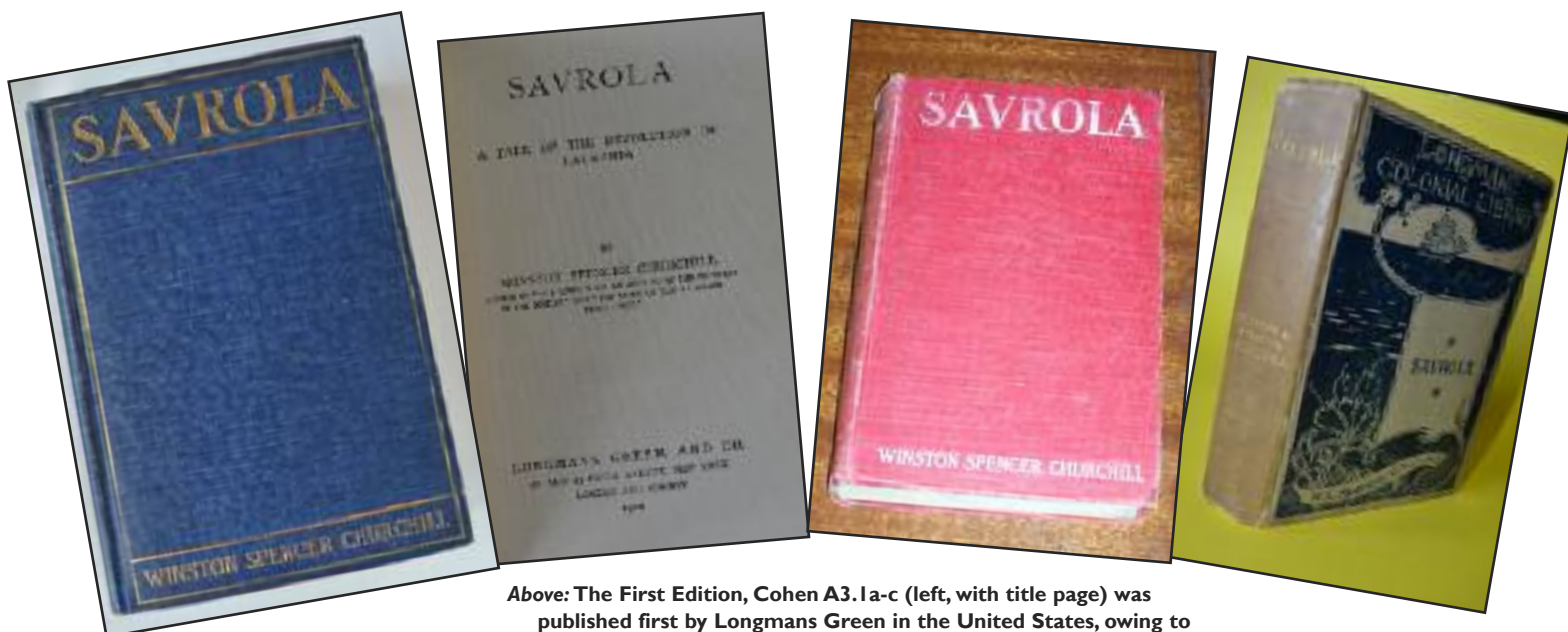
authors. I expect that then-existing copyright law (which required a foreign-authored book to be manufactured in the U.S. to ensure copyright protection there) motivated Watt to insist that Longmans Green, the British publisher, print the work in Norwood, Massachusetts rather than London.

British publishers were likely not as aware of American copyright law as Watt: In a letter of mild

protest to Watt on 27 March 1899, publisher Charles Longman wrote: "If Mr Churchill makes a point of it, we are willing to set the type of his novel in America. Our own opinion is that it is hardly necessary and if the book were our own property solely we should not do so."

Contract and Serialization

In an agreement signed on 17 March 1899, Longmans Green >>



Above: The First Edition, Cohen A3.1a-c (left, with title page) was published first by Longmans Green in the United States, owing to

serialization commitments in Britain. A second printing (above) is known in an extremely rare variant red cloth binding, blocked white. The Canadian Issue, Cohen A3.4 (right with Copp Clark spine imprint), saw only 250 copies.

Below: The British Issue, Cohen A3.2.a-b (left, with title page) was published on 12 February 1900 with 1500 copies in its first state. The Colonial Issue, Cohen A3.3a-c (right, with title page) saw 3950 net copies, 2280 in wrappers and the rest cased.

The fragile wrapper copies expired early and are almost impossible to find.



COHEN CORNER

acquired the exclusive right of printing and publishing the book in Britain, its colonies and the U.S. All rights of translation and dramatization, and the right to publish the work in English in Europe, were reserved to the author. The work would be published at 6 shillings in Britain; Churchill would receive a royalty of 15% on the first 1000 copies and 20% on all sales thereafter. Longmans agreed to produce an American and a colonial edition, the prices of which were at the publisher's discretion. Churchill would receive a royalty of 15% of the American nominal selling price and threepence on each colonial copy sold. There was no advance paid against royalties.

Longmans agreed to publish the book anytime between 31 January and 28 February 1900. However, the publisher provided itself with an "out" by requiring Churchill to submit a "complete copy in time to enable" them to meet the deadline. The publisher also promised to secure the British and American copyrights in the name of the author.

First Appearance (Cohen C73a-d)

Since Churchill had arranged for serialization of the novel in *Macmillan's Magazine*, Longmans agreed not to publish on either side of the Atlantic until serialization was complete. This was perhaps of more concern to *Macmillan's Magazine* than to Longmans but, in the event, it was the arrangement that Watt concluded with both parties. In his letter to Watt of 24 March 1899, *Macmillan's* editor wrote:

I am obliged to you for your letter, and for the assurance which it gives me that Mr. Churchill's story will not be published elsewhere in any form until after its conclusion in this magazine. The story will be commenced, according to my original intention, in the May number,

which begins the new half-yearly volume. The month of its conclusion it is of course not easy to determine so exactly, but you will be safe in making your arrangements for its publication in book form in January, 1900.

Savrola was serialized in *Macmillan's Magazine* between May and December 1899. Decades later, when the author was rather better known, it was serialized over three months in the *Sunday Dispatch* in 1942 and again in 1954-55. It was also published in three parts in *France Illustration Littéraire et Théâtrale* (February-April 1948), where it was described as "*Roman inédit de Winston Churchill*" ("Unpublished Novel by Winston Churchill"). That perhaps led to the French paperback in August 1948.

First Edition (Cohen A3.1.a-c)

In deference to the serialization, *Savrola* was not published in book form in Boston until *circa* 1 February 1900. The book included a surprisingly brief two-sentence Prefatory Note by the author: "Since its first reception [in *Macmillan's*] was not unfriendly, I resolved to publish it as a book, and I now submit it with considerable trepidation to the judgment or clemency of the public."

The reviewer in the *New York Times Saturday Review* was more generous than the author: "...his trepidation is quite needless, for he has written an original and clever book, sufficiently unique to give a distinctly new flavor to the jaded tastes of novel readers." A second printing of the American first edition is known in both the deep purplish blue cloth of the first printing and a variant binding of deep red cloth.

British Issue (A3.2.a-b)

Printed from American edition plates, *Savrola* was published in London on 12 February 1900. There are two states of this issue. The first has

the customary copyright information on the title page verso; the second has a blank title page verso. There were 1500 copies of the first state. I consider that there were 550 copies of the second state, all of which were transferred from their originally intended colonial issue designation.

There were three additional printings of the British issue in 1900, all of which include the words *NEW IMPRESSION* above the name of the publisher on the title page. (There is no way to distinguish these individual printings.) In all, 3200 copies of the later impressions were offered for sale. I know of only one copy (one of the "new impression" copies) in its original dust jacket.

Colonial Issue (A3.3.a-c)

The first Colonial Library issue of 1500 copies was printed on 30 January 1900. The hardback cover used a standard design: a schooner at sea toward the top, below the words "Longmans Colonial Library"; a central panel with the name of the book, and, toward the bottom, some sea-flowers tied with a ribbon bearing the author's name appears. Publisher records are uncertain as to how many of these were cased (hardbound) and how many were in wrappers. Two further printings followed: 2000 on 10 February and 1000 on 20 February. Of the total of 4500 Colonial Library copies, 1670 were cased, 2280 were in wrappers (of which 2244 were offered for sale), and 550 were transferred back to the home issue to meet increased demand. Of the (net) 3950 Colonial Library issue, 250 were assigned to the Canadian Issue (below).

Colonial issues are scarcer than these numbers suggest, particularly the perishable wrappers copies. The second and third printings bear the words *NEW IMPRESSION* above the publisher's name on the title page.

Savrola: The Original Preface

Bangalore, 24 May 1898

I have adopted this method of recording a few things that I have noticed, while I have been alive. I do not associate myself with the actions and opinions of my characters, some of whom[,] I fear, are very shocking people. Yet the moralist may console himself with the reflection, that the story ends, at least, in the triumph of comparative virtue.

Books are frequently written with an ulterior object; to plead some cause or to teach some great moral lesson. The object of these pages is only to amuse. Like the perfect dinner they should be agreeable at the time and never cause a thought afterwards.

Originally the tale was intended to be pacific. An interruption in writing was caused by the war on the North West frontier of India. The scenes and experiences of that time may have invested the closing pages with a ruddier tinge; and my endeavours are now extended to pleasing varied tastes, philosophic or blood thirsty.

I have drawn a bow at a venture—for I have written what would please me to read. “Every man” says Schopenhauer “must necessarily take chief pleasure in his own work, because it is the mirror of his own mind, the echo of his own thoughts; and next in order will come the work of people like him.” Personally I consider that this story deals with many things which are of interest, and I shall hope that among that vast audience to whom a writer of English may appeal, there will be some with minds of similar type to mine, who will agree with me. —Winston S. Churchill

Canadian Issue (A3.4)

Published by Copp Clark in Toronto, this issue, from Colonial Library sheets, is the scarcest of all. Only 250 were printed. Its front cover was the same as the Longmans Colonial Library issue.

Newnes Edition (A3.5)

Since the rights to publish *Savrola* in Britain belonged to Longmans Green, its agreement had to be secured before Newnes could publish its attractively-wrapped sixpenny edition for the popular market. The deal was made when Watt agreed that Longmans “should receive one-fifth of any payments [to Churchill].” The term of the arrangement was initially three years, continuing thereafter until six months notice was provided by either party to the other.

Churchill was to receive a royalty of a penny per copy and an advance of £275 against those royalties on the date of publication, which was during the week of 10 May 1908. Of that sum, £55 was paid to Longmans and a further 10% to Watt, as Churchill’s agent. The rights finally reverted in February 1925.

Hodder & Stoughton Sevenpenny Library Edition (A3.6)

Initial discussions about a sevenpenny edition were with Nelson, but it was Hodder & Stoughton, publisher of Churchill’s *My African Journey* (1908), *Liberalism and the Social Problem* (1909) and *The People’s Rights* (1910), that won the day. This contract, signed 22 March 1915, included an advance to the author of £50 against a royalty of three farthings per copy sold (surely Churchill’s smallest royalty ever). This edition was published during the week of 20 June 1915: a single printing of 25,000 copies, almost all of which were sold in 1915-16.

There are two states of the H&S edition. In the first, there is no date of publication on the title page; in the second, “1915” is added above the name of the publisher.

French Illustrated Edition

In my view, there is no more beautiful edition of Churchill’s works than the French edition of *Savrola*, published on 15 February 1950 by À la voile latine in Monaco. (Many of its illustrations were fea-

tured on the cover and internally in FH 74, First Quarter 1992.)

Illustrated by André Collot (more widely known for his erotic art), the edition of 1000 copies was printed by J. Dumoulin in Paris. The first 950 copies, all numbered, were printed on vellum (numbered 1-50) or linen paper from Papeteries Lafuma, Voiron (numbered 51-950). The remaining fifty copies (numbered H C 1-50, i.e. “Hors commerce”) were not commercially sold; they were reserved for the author, the illustrator, the publishers and their collaborators. Copies 1-50 and the “Hors commerce” copies include a combination of Collot’s suite of black-and-white illustrations and, to a limited extent, original sketches and designs.

Other Editions and Translations

The second American edition of *Savrola*, published by Random House on 16 April 1956, became a one-hour teleplay (overleaf). A year later, Beacon published the second British paperback. Its lurid cover, reminiscent of the 1915 Hodder & Stoughton Sevenpenny dust jacket, is in marked contrast with the sedate photograph of Churchill’s back as he gazes at his Chartwell pond, on the Random House edition’s dust jacket.

In February 1973, at the request of the London & Home Counties Branch of the Library Association, Cedric Chivers published a new cased edition of the novel as a part of the New Portway non-fiction list. In June 1976, Amereon House of Mattituck, New York, photographically reproduced a new issue of the second American edition, and, finally, in April 1990, Leo Cooper, which had brought a number of Churchillian titles back into print over a two-year period, released a new issue, off-printed from the *Savrola* volume V in the 1974 *Collected Works*. >>



Above: the Newnes, Hodder & Stoughton (in rare dust jacket) and Random House editions. Below: The Monaco French and Beacon editions; the Monaco edition was loose pages in a slip-case, intended to be custom-bound, like the one below, which contains an André Collot sketch of our author and WSC's note of thanks. Bottom: the Chivers, Amereon and Cooper editions.



There was also foreign interest in *Savrola*, which has been translated into Danish, Finnish, French, German, Spanish and Swedish. Until recently, I believed the first translation was that of the Finns: *Kansa Nousee*, published by Karisto in Helsinki in 1916—the first translation of *any* Churchill book into a foreign language. But it has since been reported to me that there was a Chinese translation in 1915.

The Dramatization

The new American edition was adapted for the relatively new medium of television as a one-hour teleplay, produced as an episode of the American afternoon program “Matinee Theater.” Shot live and in colour, it was broadcast by NBC from noon to 1 pm on 15 November 1956. It starred none other than Sarah Churchill, playing the female lead of “Lucile,” *Savrola*’s heroine. As the reviewer in *Variety* (a trade magazine) said,

Little did Sir Winston know that 60 years after he wrote his first and only novel it would be televised in color with his daughter cast as a pawn to help put down a rebellion against constituted authority, albeit a dictatorship....In the “Matinee Theatre” collection of hour plays it must be ranked in the forefront for qualitative production, exemplary acting and inspired direction....Miss Churchill seemed quite content to underplay the part but with precision artistry and rarely raised her voice. Her dad will be sent the lenticular film and he’ll undoubtedly approve her handling of the role that came out of his own quill.

The reviewer in *Hollywood Reporter* (the other major daily trade magazine) was equally complimentary: “Sir Winston should be proud of his daughter Sarah’s performance.” Literary critics and historians since have suggested that Churchill could be proud of his novel, too. It represents his youthful ideals, goals and visions as he set out in life, from which he never deviated. ♡

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Pentland Churchill Design Competition

Story on pages 56-57.



Above left: Overall winner Nick Jameson, with his glass of Pol Roger and "The Many Hats of Winston Churchill," an imaginative yet simple iteration of a well-remembered Churchill persona. *Above right:* Runner-up was Carl Hoare with his exploration of Churchill's memory of his 1899 capture and escape during the Anglo-Boer War, recalled in his books, *London to Ladysmith via Pretoria* and *Ian Hamilton's March*.



Above: Harriet Riddell took third place with her intricate portrait of Churchill combined with military and wartime maps and themes. *Above right:* Finalist Clare Corfield's highly commended and vivid design, with its combination of a map of the United Kingdom, Union Flag and the Prime Minister, invokes another kind of Churchill painting. *Right:* London Mayor Boris Johnson dignified proceedings by announcing the winners and praising their work. *Left to right:* Carl Hoare (second place), Nick Jameson (first), Mayor Johnson, Churchill Centre Trustee Stephen Rubin, and Harriet Riddell (third). 📸

