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Victories, defeats, intelligence, counterintelligence and deception were ingredients in a very mixed bag.

The Love-Hate Relationship between the Broadcast Czar and the Prophet in the Wilderness

The Love-Hate Relationship between the Broadcast Czar and the Prophet in the Wilderness

"Warts and All": If it diminishes Churchill to regard him as super-human (and it does), consider Richard Holmes’s equivocal biography, *In the Footsteps of Churchill*; and Paul Addison’s "top ten" Churchill books ... Or die challenges thrown at WSC during Question Time in Parliament; or the charges of President Thabo Mbeke ... Not to mention the fictional critique of Dan Brown.
DESPATCH BOX

SPEECH-MAKING

Finest Hour 126 was particularly good. Not only did it contain Sir Martin Gilbert's superb article on Gallipoli (Churchill is still blamed for this in Australia, as he is for Singapore); but also Betsy Foster's article on Churchill's maiden speech. Please be kind enough to pass the attached note to Ms. Foster. I am a retired Senator from Australia, and I have to admit that it was the best exposition I have ever seen on the art of Parliamentary oratory.

—W. C. O'Chee, Brisbane

To Betsy Foster: What impressed me most was that you understood the importance of sound in conveying emotion. I frequently use particular sounds because they move the audience in particular ways. I subsequently use particular sounds because they are truly outstanding.

—JONATHAN HAYES, SEATTLE

I share Mr. Brice's pleasure and am thrilled with the quality, design, layout and contents. I am pleased that it was published on the occasion of the 90th year of the Dardanelles and Gallipoli campaign. You have opened for me a brand new horizon: the world of Winston Churchill. May I please bring this to your attention: the correction spelling of my name is "Sulutas."

—MEHMET ALİ SULUTAŞ, YENİSEHİR, TURKEY

More puzzling (and perhaps more significant) is why Churchill apparently neither wrote nor said anything anyone recorded about the Straits. One would have thought the centuries of rich history associated with them, their uncommon beauty, their well-recognized strategic importance—and the two great ancient forts dramatically facing each other across the narrows—would have inspired a suitably Churchillian comment. De Mendelssohn concedes, as Mr. Hayes notes, writing on pages 482-83: "This is all the more strange, since the political and military position of Turkey occupied [Churchill] intensely."

Determining the extent of Churchill's firsthand knowledge of the challenges the Dardanelles posed to an attacking battle fleet is not just an arid academic exercise, but could contribute substantially to our understanding of his motivations at the Admiralty in 1914-15.

On behalf of my colleague Mr. Sulutas and myself, I write to thank you warmly for your splendid editing of our contribution to Finest Hour 126. Our piece follows favourably on the accounts of the Dardanelles expeditions of 1910, and your careful editing has added to its clarity and interest. We are much indebted to you.

—WILLIAM C. BRICE, DIDSBURY, MANCHESTER, UK

I disagree with one conclusion, in "Churchill and Turkey, 1943," that "Churchill's diplomacy did not meet with obvious success"? Even before the meeting with Inonü there was a secret body of British soldiers engaged in intelligence work, who later built airfields to protect Turkish cities, under "aid to Turkey." Some of their fighter planes were crewed by British airmen.


—CRAIG ENCER, BEESTON, NOTTINGHAM, UK

CHURCHILL AND TURKEY

William Ives (FH 126) says Churchill had never seen the Dardanelles. But Peter de Mendelssohn in The Age of Churchill (London: Thames & Hudson; New York: Knopf, 1961) says the 1910 Mediterranean cruise on Baron de Forest's yacht Honour stopped at Constantinople after (obviously) passing through the Dardanelles, while admitting that Churchill found "little of interest" in the Straits. WSC himself, in the last chapter of The World Crisis, vol. 1, mentions "...the summer of 1909 [when] I had visited Constantinople..." His date was off, but do these works not suggestWSC did actually see the Dardanelles?

—JOHNATHAN HAYES, SEATTLE

What a gorgeous magazine and so well presented. I like the common thread of Turkey running through the articles. May I disagree with one conclusion, in "Churchill and Turkey, 1943," that "Churchill's diplomacy did not meet with obvious success"? Even before the meeting with Inonü there was a secret body of British soldiers engaged in intelligence work, who later built airfields to protect Turkish cities, under "aid to Turkey." Some of their fighter planes were crewed by British airmen.
Two or three years ago I telephoned Dr. Henry Kissinger's Washington, D.C. office to inquire as to his availability to address a Churchill Centre benefit dinner. Although I identified myself as one of his former students, I explained that I was calling as President of The Churchill Centre. His secretary responded: "The who?"

Momentarily taken aback, I repeated "The Churchill Centre" and briefly described who we were and what we did. Again an unwelcome response: "I've never heard of it." More than a bit irritated, I thanked her for her time and terminated the brief conversation, vowing that if I ever called again (which I have not) my reception would be quite different.

I cannot state with any certainty that, today The Centre would be instantly recognizable by Dr. Kissinger's office or a score of other offices like it in the capital of the United States. But I am sure a major change has occurred since that call. The Centre's footprint is now much larger and more sharply defined in Washington, D.C., and far beyond. We are on the "radar screens" of many organizations and people of influence. However one wishes to describe it, The Churchill Centre is a recognized positive presence in the political hub of the international community as well as throughout North America, the United Kingdom and elsewhere.

This much higher level of recognition may be credited to a number of factors: our established Washington location, no longer new but definitely important; a knowledgeable professional staff; The Library of Congress Exhibit and its attendant academic and social functions; meaningful relationships with kindred organizations; numerous continual contacts with congressional and administration leaders; an active and supportive local affiliate, the Washington Society for Churchill; the Churchill Lecture series; and the willing and valuable assistance of prominent non-government personalities such Lady Soames, Celia Sandys, Winston Churchill, Jack Kemp and Chris Matthews.

It should now be apparent that those interested in Churchill, in the conduct and lessons of 20th century history, in the essence of leadership, and in the major tides and currents of the past hundred years, must belong to The Churchill Centre. The Centre is widely understood to be the source of choice for things Churchill and Churchill-related.

Quotations and references are frequently sought by and supplied to those in government, in the press and in academia. Recently, statements for both the Congressional Record and for the White House were provided on the 40th anniversary of Sir Winston Churchill's death. Other organizations seek out the Centre to participate with them in joint events. Invitations to attend and become a part of commemorative and educational functions are received with increasing frequency. And through Finest Hour, our annual conferences, lectures, symposia, publications and website, the Centre persistently stokes the fires of interest in a great man and a historic era. In other words, we are much more than a blank card in the rolodex of the worldwide Churchill community.

Regrettably, the Centre and its purposes still remain unknown among far too many. While substantial efforts during the past two years have somewhat reduced that universe, it is still far too large. Although we may say with increasing confidence that the Centre is reaching the end of the beginning in its quest for deserved recognition, we also know that it has some distance yet to go.
DATELINES

LONDON CAN TAKE IT
LONDON, JULY 7TH— We are deeply saddened at the news of the London bombings and our hearts and prayers go out to the victims of this barbarous tragedy and to our many friends in the UK. It is perhaps ironic that the "Quotation of the Day" on our website today, from The Sir Winston Churchill Birthday Book, should be this: "People who are not prepared to do unpopular things and to defy clannishness are not fit to be Ministers in times of stress."

—DANIEL N. MYERS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IT TAKES A VILLAGE
NEW YORK, JULY 8TH—Yesterday's bombings in downtown London are profoundly disturbing. In part, that is because a bombing in our mother country and closest ally, Britain, is almost like a bombing in our own country...Every Muslim living in a Western society suddenly becomes a suspect, becomes a potential walking bomb. And when that happens, it means Western countries are going to be tempted to crack down even harder on Muslim populations....And because I think that would be a disaster, it is essential that the Muslim world wake up to the fact that it has a jihadist death cult in its midst. If it does not fight that death cult, that cancer, within its own body politic, it is going to infect Muslim-Western relations everywhere. Only the Muslim world can root out that cult. It takes a village.

The Muslim village has been derelict in condemning the madness of jihadist attacks. When Salman Rushdie wrote a controversial novel involving the prophet Muhammad, he was sentenced to death by the leader of Iran. To this day—to this day—no major Muslim cleric or religious body has ever issued a fatwa condemning Osama bin Laden. The double-decker buses of London and the subways of Paris, as well as the covered markets of Riyadh, Bali and Cairo, will never be secure as long as the Muslim village and elders do not take on, delegitimize, condemn and isolate the extremists in their midst.

—THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN, THE NEW YORK TIMES

EDENFIELD, LANCASHIRE, JULY 9TH—What an end to last week. After the euphoria of getting the Olympics, the bombings in London. Mr. Blair handled it well, even if the G-8 conference appeared to take somewhat of a back seat. The consensus seems to be that an attack was inevitable, but four bombs within such a short time, and so indiscriminate... The emergency services were wonderful, as they had been fully trained for such events, but even they were stretched to their limits. There are some really evil people about at present in this world.

On a happier note, the 60th anniversary of the end of the war in Europe was celebrated, mainly in London, but around the country too. London put on a superb show. There were enactments of wartime entertainment and Churchill's speeches, delivered by Robert Hardy, who is looking more and more like WSC. The Queen looked to be enjoying the show. She really does work hard, with services to attend, memorials to unveil, veterans to meet, and then the appearance on the balcony at Buckingham Palace for the Fly Past and the dropping of a million poppies. The cameras depicted an amazing sight from the top of the Palace, with people down the Mall as far as the eye could see. Who says the monarchy's on its way out?

—DOROTHY JONES

ANCHORAGE, JULY 10TH—Stoicism says more eloquently than words that terror cannot change Britain's values or way of life. Words do have power, however, and that's why people around the world have been remembering Winston Churchill's words during World War II. Prime Minister Tony Blair is not Winston Churchill, but he spoke with a simple directness that the wartime leader would have appreciated when he said on Thursday, "We shall prevail and they shall not."

—ANCHORAGE DAILY NEWS
ONLINE HISTORY LESSON
LONDON, APRIL 4TH— The family of Sir Winston Churchill has put one of his most famous speeches online in a project to bring new technology to history lessons. A new website combines the full audio recording of Sir Winston’s "Sinews of Peace" speech of 1946 with his annotated transcript, background information and interpretation, maps and photographs. It breaks the 45-minute speech into themes and interprets them against both events of the time and their relevance today.

The project is a culmination of an 18-month collaboration between the Churchill family and MWR, a company that specialises in using digital archives in education. MWR spokesman Martyn Farrow said, "We will now look at doing the same with other Churchill speeches and speeches by other world leaders."

The oration, known as the "Iron Curtain" speech because Churchill used the phrase to describe the barrier enclosing the Soviet sphere in Europe, may be found at the following location: www.churchill-speeches.com. (You need broadband and Macromedia Flash Player to access this material; the website offers downloads.)

BOW TIES ARE BACK
NEW YORK, JULY 14TH— When Tucker Carlson and producers at MSNBC sat down to talk about the image he wanted to project on his new show, "The Situation," one issue trumped all others. Would Carlson exchange his trademark bow tie for something less annoying: a conventional tie, an open shirt or even, say, a bolo? There was what Carlson called the "effete weenie factor" of the bow tie. It was hard to see the upside of that. But despite obvious drawbacks, Carlson couldn't bring himself to change neckwear.

Jack Freedman, bow-tie wearer and director of planning at men’s clothier Paul Stuart, says there is nothing inherently bothersome about bow ties. Wearing one, he says, is simply a way of standing out in a crowd: "It's a statement maker because it's not generally in fashion. It tells people you're an individual."

A list of bow-tie devotees reads like a Who’s Who of rugged individualists: Theodore Roosevelt, Charlie Chaplin, Winston Churchill and Fred Astaire wore bow ties, as did Senators Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York and Paul Simon of Illinois. These days, Louis Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam; columnist George Will; Charles Ogando of CBS News; and OutKasts Andre 3000 and Big Boi wear bow ties. Boi even has a song called "Bowtie." Another class of bow-tied men is the comedians who wear them ironically, such as Mark Russell, Pee-wee Herman and Mo Rocca.

Freedman says about ten percent of his store’s customers buy bow ties, which he says offer more opportunities for expression than a simple necktie. Bow ties come in every imaginable color and fabric and there is no end to bow-tie shapes.

—WARREN ST. JOHN, THE NEW YORK TIMES

CHURCHILLTRIVIA
EDITOR NEEDED STARTING 2006
MISSION vieJo, CALIF— I have decided to donate my Churchill Library to the Huntington Library, which they will transfer to their possession at the end of this year. I have submitted Trivia columns through Finest Hour 130, which should provide enough time to find a suitable replacement for me. It has been great to work with you and I enjoyed every minute.

—CURT ZOLLER

Editors response: Curt Zoller has done a wonderful job extending our long-running "Churchilltrivia" column from Barbara Langworth, to the point where we now have enough questions and answers to fill a Churchill version of "Trivial Pursuits." (Now there's an idea.....) The column is not easy to do, and requires constant reference to past columns, which we can provide. Though popular with readers, it will be retired unless someone would like to step forward and take Curt’s place. Please contact the editor.

C Artoons and pictures of Churchill blossomed in the weeks following July 7th. An advert for low cost airline Ryanair which refers to the London bombings has received almost 200 complaints. It features Winston Churchill saying: "We shall fly them to the beaches, we shall fly them to the hills, we shall fly them to London!" People should be encouraged "to live their lives as normal and not to be defeated by terror," replied Peter Sherrard, head of communications for Ryanair. The Advertising Standards Authority received 192 complaints, and is considering whether to investigate. A spokesman for the Authority said, "The general nature of the complaints are that it is crass and offensive. Other complaints are that it is insensitive, coming so soon after the London bombings last week."
OUR CRATEST BRITON
LONDON, MARCH 13TH—Finest Hour 124 (p. 7) asked when the BBC was going to produce its memorial to Churchill, promised for the winner in its money-making "Greatest Briton" contest in 2002. Now we know. The BBC has spent £50,000 to portray Churchill as a pile of old boxes.

The memorial, by sculptor Paul de Monchaux, first lay in state in Westminster Hall. Its twenty pieces of oak form a see-through "timber tower." De Monchaux refers to oak's "resilience" and the shape of the pile to represent "the step-by-step, blocked way that Churchill liked to lay out the paragraphs of speeches for his texts."

Sir Winston's grandson, Nicholas Soames MP, said: "My family think it is absurd. It is not serious, not sensible, not dignified, just BBC silly. Will I take my children along to see it? Of course I bloody won't. Why would you take any child to see such a ridiculous thing?" Mr. Soames said he was speaking for most of his family.

Years ago when Churchill was asked how he wished to be memorialized in London, he said he would like to see a park bearing his name for East End children to play in. Forty years on, batches of mixed-quality memorials and an old orange crate later, we are still waiting for the park.

ANNE BANCROFT R.I.P.
NEW YORK, JUNE 6TH (AP)—The actress whose portrayal of Lady Randolph Churchill in Carl Foreman's "Young Winston" rivalled that of the late Lee Remick in "Jennie," died today of uterine cancer, leaving her husband of four decades, Mel Brooks, and a son, Maximilian, born 1972.

In a long list of memorable film and stage roles, Bancroft was best known for her role as Mrs. Robinson in "The Graduate." It was a part she almost didn't take. She said in 2003 that nearly everyone discouraged her from playing the role of Dustin Hoffman's middle-aged seductress "because it was all about sex with a younger man." Yet Bancroft saw something deeper, viewing the character as having unfulfilled dreams and having been relegated to a conventional life with a conventional husband. "Film critics said I gave a voice to the fear we all have: that we'll reach a certain point in our lives, look around and realize that all the things we said we'd do and become will never come to be—and that we're ordinary."

Anything but ordinary, Bancroft was among the most lauded actresses of the 1960s and 1970s, earning five Academy Award nominations and one Oscar, for playing the teacher of a young Helen Keller in "The Miracle Worker," a role that also brought her one of two Tony Awards. "Her combination of brains, humor, frankness and sense was unlike any other artist," said Mike Nichols, who directed her in "The Graduate." "Her beauty was constantly shifting with her roles, and because she was a consummate actress she changed radically for every part."

Bancroft married comedian-director-producer Brooks in 1964. They met when she was rehearsing a musical number, "Married I Can Always Get," for the Perry Como TV show. She told her psychiatrist the next day: "Let's speed this process up—I've met the right man. See, I'd never had so much pleasure being with another human being. I wanted him to enjoy me too. It was that simple."

—DINO HAZELL, ASSOCIATED PRESS

FINISH HOURS 124 / 8

ERRATA, FH127
P13 paragraph 2: It should not be inferred that Pamela Digby Churchill was American at the time of Sir Winston's grandson's birth, although she was an American citizen from 1971 to 1997.

P49: The UK publisher of the official biography is Heine, not Cassell.

P50: Question 1521 should refer to the grandfather of Pamela Plowden's husband, not Pamela. His name is complicated, not Plowden.

TWO-FINGERED SALUTES
NEW YORK, APRIL 26TH—What do you do when you cut off a car you didn't see in your blind spot? How do you say you're sorry going 65 mph on the highway? The National Motorists Association, a Wisconsin-based lobbying group, wants you to give peace a chance: hold your two fingers in a "V" with the palm out. This "apology" signal, they insist, "can defuse the destructive anger and frustration that follow these unfortunate encounters."

The peace sign, as it is now mainly known, has a curious past. Vietnam War protesters supposedly took the gesture from President Nixon, who used the "V for victory" in imitation of Winston Churchill, who made it universal in World War II. (The symbol was originated long before, allegedly by English archers at Agincourt, who held up their bow fingers to prove that the enemy French had not cut them off, as threatened.)

But Churchill's advisers had to caution the Prime Minister to keep his palm out when he flashed his signal; when he occasionally forgot and flashed it palm in, he was giving what the British charitably describe as "the forks"—a variation of which Yanks know as "the one-fingered salute."

And there's the rub. Something simple can be easily misconstrued. As
Joanne Gorman of the Twin County Driving School in East Northport, New York, says: "There are too many nuts out there. I'd keep my hands down and just have a look on my face that says, 'I'm sorry.'"

Robert Sinclair of the Automobile Club of New York says some European drivers point three fingers of their right hand horizontally at their own head to make an "E" for "Excuse me!" But that gesture "hasn't made it across the pond," he says.

—SPENCER RUMSEY, NEW YORKNEWSDAY

CHURCHILL IN CHICAGO

CHICAGO, MAY 6TH—"For the crowd at the Pritzker Military Library," wrote Jon Anderson in the Chicago Tribune, "there was no doubt who was The Man. 'What do you call yourselves?' Edward Tracy, the library's executive director, wondered before introducing the evening's speaker. 'Churchillians,' they replied, to a person."

Members and friends of The Churchill Centre had come to see FH editor Richard Langworth and to hear news of the 23rd annual International Churchill Conference, to be held at the Drake Hotel from September 27th to October 1st, 2006. "We'll also be going out to Cantigny," said TCC executive director Daniel Myers, referring to the Robert R. McCormick Museum, whose library includes the Churchill Hidden Room (a secret bar). "There, the longtime Republican publisher of the Chicago Tribune and his British guest would bend elbows for hours even though, as Langworth observed, Churchill probably would have voted Democratic in the last twelve presidential elections of his life, had he been eligible to vote for U.S. presidents," Anderson continued.

The main focus was on Churchill's The Dream, which has just been republished by Levenger (FH 125:41): a strange 1947 story which covered the misfortunes of the 20th century, as related in a fictional conversation between Churchill and his father, Lord Randolph, who had died over half a century before when Churchill was only twenty.

The artifice of Churchill's tale »
is that, before he can explain his own substantial role in preventing even worse disasters, his father says it was a shame he didn’t go into politics—“You might have done a lot to help.” Then, he disappears. Levenger kindly supplied some fifty copies of the book which sold to benefit the Centre.

No hagiographer, our Editor fielded a wide variety of questions from the audience on a myriad of topics with expert recall and candor: “Churchill wasn’t always right, or even admirable—but the average wasn’t too bad.” Asked about Charles de Gaulle, he recalled Churchill’s statement that “He thinks he is Joan of Arc—but my bishops won’t let me burn him!” Yet despite their disagreements, Langworth added, their relationship was one of respect, and when Churchill died de Gaulle sent a message: “In the great drama, he was the greatest.”

Many questions involved Churchill the writer, whose collected works cover some 19,000 pages. Churchill would work late at night, padding up and down in his slippers, dictating to teams of secretaries. A video of the talk is viewable at www.pritzkermilitarylibrary.org/events/2005-05-11-richardlangworth.jsp

—PHILIP AND SUSAN LARSON

MORE CHICAGO NEWS

WHEATON, JUNE 20TH—Philip and Susan Larson spoke by invitation at Cantigny, the former estate of Robert S. McCormick, in celebration of the Chicago Tribune’s Robert R. McCormick Fiftieth Anniversary. They spoke in the mansion’s library on the long and unique relationship Churchill and McCormick shared over nearly forty years. Other speakers included McCormick biographer Richard Norton Smith and Rick Kogan of WGN Radio.

The Larsons revealed many interesting comments by McCormick such as after his first interview with Churchill in 1915: “...he is the most aggressive person I have ever met.” They told about the Tribune’s front
page article in 1900, entitled "Winston Spencer Churchill Who May Some Day Be Premier of England." They indicated that the relationship was unusual in that McCormick was well known to be decidedly anti-British. A feature article on the Churchill-McCormick relationship will be published in FH next year.

In November, Churchill Friends will join others around the world to celebrate Winston Churchill's 131st birthday in Chicago. Details are still being developed. A mailing announcing the meeting will be sent to all CC members. For further information, please call the Larsons at 708-352-6825 or email parker-fox@msn.com.

WSC AS DUMBLEDORE

NEW YORK, JULY 15TH—The Wall Street Journal's Jonathan Last contends that the latest "Harry Potter" book is an allegory based on Churchill, Hitler and Roosevelt: "The parallels between this book and Britain's prewar dithering are so great that the book is perhaps best read as a light companion to Alone, the second volume of William Manchester's biography of Winston Churchill," writes Last. The archfiend-spook Valdemar is based on Hitler. Dumbledore, the kindly but wise and righteous master of the school for little wizards, is Churchill in his Wilderness Years, warning of the impending assault by evil, to the annoyance of the witchly establishment. Potter, the student, is an immature and undeveloped, but quickly growing and potentially mighty force, who can tip the balance: thusly FDR/America.

Terry McGarry writes: "The putative allegory gets quite detailed (often the sign of barnily manic allegory-detectors) and there are people/things matchups for, among others, Halifax and The Times of London. Maybe this is the way to bring Churchill to the younger generation: 'You've read Harry Potter—but have you read the original? Here's the exciting true tale of the real Dumbledore!"

bill approved March 13th by the Florida Senate Criminal Justice Committee would, in part, exempt actors from a state constitutional amendment that limits smoking to stand alone bars, designated hotel rooms and home offices. Sen. Mike Haridopolos (R-Melbourne), tried to remove the language from the bill, saying the constitutional amendment set clear limits and the Legislature should enforce rules instead of finding exemptions to them.

Haridopolos' amendment failed on a 5-3 vote, with those who want the stage exemption scoffing at the idea. Sen. Jim King (R-Jacksonville), said he couldn't imagine a play on Mark Twain that didn't include a lit pipe, or Winston Churchill being depicted without a cigar. Sen. Rod Smith (D-Alachua) said, "I find it amazing that we would now think that you could do 'Oh! Calcutta!' on the stage buck naked, simulating sex as long as you don't light a cigarette. This silliness has gone too far." The late Sir Robert Rhodes James wasn't even sure this liberality would last, remarking to us at a Churchill symposium: "Some day even sex will be banned in your country." But maybe not, as long as you don't light up.

...he old rumor that Jennie Jerome invented the Manhattan cocktail continues to surface, most recently in a recipe using Maker's Mark bourbon in the May 4th Cincinnati Post: "Manhattan: bourbon, a couple dashes of bitters, sweet vermouth, served up or on ice, garnished with a cherry. This cocktail originated at New York's Manhattan Club in 1870. It was invented at a banquet hosted by Jennie Jerome (Lady Randolph Churchill, Winston's mother) in honor of presidential candidate Samuel J. Tilden."

We have often suspected that the story must be false because in those days, ladies were not admitted to the Manhattan Club, let alone to host banquets. Can anyone put us right on this? $
CHURCHILLIANS REVITALIZE THE TORONTO CHURCHILL MEMORIAL

TORONTO—Finest Hour 117:12 mentioned that on 23 October last year a fund raising campaign had commenced, by ICS-Canada and the Churchill Society for the Advancement of Parliamentary Democracy, to improve the landscaping around the Churchill statue in Nathan Phillips (City Hall) Square. The date was significant, being the twenty-fifth anniversary of the installation of the Toronto statue.

Over C$30,000 was raised and used to install eight park benches, trees and four plaques covering aspects of the Great Man's life. The texts, drafted by local members, were reviewed by Sir Martin Gilbert, who suggested minor changes. Framed copies of the plaques (full size 32x22") will be shown at the Quebec Conference. Excerpts from one of the plaques follows; the full texts are available by email from the editor.

—TERRY REARDON

Churchill, Toronto and Canada

"I love coming to Canada. Canada is the master-link in Anglo-American unity, apart from her own glories. God bless your Country."

Churchill had a deep affection for Canada, which he referred to as "the linchpin of the English-speaking peoples." The City of Toronto played a special role in this Canadian connection.

Churchill first visited Canada in the winter of 1900-01, the veteran of four military campaigns, the author of five books, a newly elected Member of Parliament and, as the result of his escape from captivity during the Boer War, world-famous. He spoke about his wartime experiences to full houses.

In the summer of 1929, he made his second trip to Canada, travelling by rail from Quebec City to British Columbia. His developing love of Canada led him to write to his wife: "Darling I am greatly attracted to this country. Immense developments are going forward—Never in my whole life have I been welcomed with so much genuine interest & admiration as throughout this vast country....I am profoundly touched; & I intend to devote my strength to interpreting Canada to our people & vice versa."

In September 1939, Canada joined Great Britain in declaring war on Germany. In August 1941, Churchill met with U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt in Placentia Bay, Newfoundland, where they signed the Atlantic Charter. After Pearl Harbour in December 1941, Churchill addressed the Canadian House of Commons on December 30th. Recalling the taunt of the French generals that Britain would soon have its neck wrung like a chicken, he countered boldly, "Some chicken!" and, when the laughter died down, "Some neck!" He returned to Canada in 1943 and 1944 for the two Quebec Conferences with President Roosevelt hosted by Prime Minister Mackenzie King.

Canada's contribution in World War II was enormous. Of a population of eleven million, more than one million served in the armed forces, of these, 42,000 were killed and 54,000 wounded. Canada spent $18 billion on the war and also gave $3-5 billion to Britain and the Allies—stupendous sums of money in those days.

In 1958 Churchill became the first person to be offered the Freedom of the City of Toronto. Upon his death on January 2, 1965, newspapers across the country published tributes to him with the Toronto Telegram stating: "He who marches today in the glittering procession of history. He marches erect, strong and determined. Probably no man in history has come closer to attainment of immortality than this great commoner."
CHURCHILL CALENDAR
Contact the Centre for all events except November 28-30th: (888) WSC-1874, info@winstonchurchill.org

2005
Quebec, September 29th-October 2nd: 22nd Intl. Churchill Conference
Washington, October 18th: Fifth Churchill Lecture: Sir Martin Gilbert, George Washington University
Chicago, November 8th Churchill Centre Benefit and Award Dinner for Tom Brokaw
Anchorage, Boston, and other venues, November 30th: Sir Winston Churchill's 131st birthday celebrations.

2006
Chicago, 27 September-1 October: 23rd Intl. Churchill Conference

2007
Vancouver, B.C., September 12-15th: 24th Intl. Churchill Conference

HELP WANTED
Finest Hour has recently acquired a fine young deputy editor, Robert Courts in England, who is playing an important role in the magazine's production. We wish to add another deputy editor in the USA, with layout experience, and familiar with Quark Express (either Windows or Mac), along with other aspects of editing. Contact the Editor.

HARDY LOOKS BACK
LONDON, JANUARY 15TH—Honorary member Robert Hardy, for our money still the best Churchill actor ever, in an interview with York Membery: "Take each day as it comes, do everything you do to the best of your ability, and try not to hurt others. I've always done my best to live up to this, although I'm not sure I've always succeeded." Good words. $
Q: It is widely published in South Africa that our erstwhile Prime Minister, Jan Smuts, who was good friends with Churchill and a member of WSC’s War Cabinet, served by an act of default as the Prime Minister of Britain for two days when Churchill was out of the country, because he was the senior leader in Britain at the time. Can you help us on this one?

—Matthew Buckland, Publisher, Mail & Guardian Online, Johannesburg

A: Although a member Lloyd-George’s War Cabinet in 1917-18, Smuts was not a member of the Churchill War Cabinet, though he attended its meetings by invitation when visiting England.

Winston Churchill had such a high opinion of Smuts that he toyed with the idea of leaving him in charge when he went to the Teheran conference in November 1943, but this never happened. The constitutional difficulties would have been almost insuperable; Smuts would probably have had to be created a peer, with a seat in the House of Lords, in order to have been able to govern. Yet as early as 1940 Jock Colville (then WSC’s assistant private secretary) thought that if anything happened to Churchill, Smuts should replace him; Colville went so far as mentioning this idea to his mother, who was a lady-in-waiting to Queen Mary and thus in a position to mention it to Her Majesty in the expectation that it would filter through to her son, the King.

Q: The famous portrait of WSC in RAF uniform shows him sporting wings of the RAF. Are you able to tell me when he was awarded them?

A: Wings are for pilots only, but on 1 April 1943, the 25th anniversary of the creation of the Royal Air Force, the Air Council, with the King’s approval, awarded Churchill honorary wings. Thus any photo or painting of WSC in RAF uniform can be instantly dated as either before or after 1 April 1943. Churchill acknowledged this honor in the following letter to Air Marshal Sir Bertine Sutton (Air Member for Personnel):

"Dear Air Marshal Sutton,

"I take it as a high compliment that the Air Council should wish to give one of their honorary commodores his honorary wings. I value this distinction the more because it comes to me on the 25th anniversary of the formation of the Royal Air Force. My memories go back six years earlier, when in 1912, as First Lord of the Admiralty, I began to cherish the Royal Naval Air Service.

"I consider that Marshal of the Royal Air Force Lord Trenchard is the founder of the Royal Air Force. He it was who proposed to me, when I was Air Minister in 1919, that Mesopotamia should be held by air power, thus releasing a number of army divisions, which cost us £40,000,000 a year to maintain in that country. This proved, in a manner patent to all intelligent minds, the immediate part which the air would play not only in war but in peace.

"Since those now distant days,

we have had the epic of the Battle of Britain, upon which, under Providence, the freedom of the world, perhaps for several generations, was staked. The name of Sir Hugh Dowding is linked with this historic episode.

"At this moment, we may say without vanity that the Royal Air Force—taken all in all—is 'Second to None.' At this moment it is the spearpoint of the British offensive against the proud and cruel enemy who boasted that he would 'erase' the cities of our native land, and hoped to lay all the lands under his toll and thrall. As the world conflict deepens, the war future of the Royal Air Force glows with a still brighter and fiercer light.

"I am honoured to be accorded a place, albeit out of kindness, in that comradeship of the air which guards the life of our island and carries doom to tyrants, whether they flaunt themselves or burrow deep."

—Paul H. Courtenay

Churchill's Personal Airplanes

Q: Churchill's personal aircraft was made available to a group of British-trained Czechoslovak paratroopers on 28 June 1944 for actions behind enemy lines and, in fact, took them on that day from airfield in Reading to Algiers. What was its name? —Dr. Jan A. Klinka, Victoria, B.C.

A: We could find no mention of the mission in the two books about Churchill's aircraft, and hope a reader will be able to clarify. The planes were "Ascalon," a DC3; and "Commando," a converted Liberator bomber. The books were Ascalon by Jerrard Tickell (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1964); and The Man Who Flew Churchill by Bruce West (Toronto and New York: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1974). $
The strike in Tonypandy, Wales, grew from a dispute concerning wage differentials in the working of hard and soft seams. Between 25,000 and 30,000 men and many coal pits were involved. After looting began, local authorities appealed to the War Office for troops. Churchill consulted the Secretary of War, Haldane, and they agreed instead to send police, but to hold troops in reserve near by.

In the official biography, vol. 2, Churchill's son Randolph wrote that WSC's conduct was "grotesquely distorted, and it has become a part of socialist demonology that Churchill sent troops who fired upon the miners....Fortunately, a contemporary account of the truth survives in words written before the lie had ever been born." (See box at right.)

Although his father's instincts were as Randolph represented them, Winston Churchill did in the end send troops as support to civil authority. And, Geoffrey Best writes in his Churchill: A Study in Greatness (London: Hambledon, 2001), "he was to do the same again and again (whether the civil authority asked for them or not) in the summer of 1911" during strikes by longshoremen, miners and railway workers. Not all of Churchill's Cabinet colleagues became as worked up as he did...."

But "Churchill did not see himself as an 'enemy of the people.' He perceived himself as a benevolent friend to the working class, a promoter of social welfare, and the protector of unions' rights and of everybody's civil rights; and indeed the record shows that he was in all those things. But the record also shows how little he was prepared to see everybody's civil rights and the security of the state endangered by civil disorder and revolutionary activism. The legend of 'Tonypandy' after all had some justice in it, though for the wrong reason." 

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WSC to the King
[? 10 November 1910] Copy [? Draft]
Reports today from the whole of the Rhondda Valley are satisfactory. Absolute order has been maintained around all the threatened collieries. A few trifling incidents of windowbreaking have occurred in two of the villages. The 1,400 Police at the disposal of the Chief Constable will, it is expected, be able not merely to prevent attacks upon the collieries but to control the whole district and to deal promptly with any sign of a disorderly gathering large or small. No need for the employment of the military is likely to occur....

With regard to the action taken by the Home Office on Tuesday, the following facts should be known:

The 400 Cavalry and Infantry which were sent for by the Chief Constable on Monday night were not started by the Secretary of State for War or by the Home Secretary, but were sent, pending superior instructions, by the General Officer Commanding of the Southern Command. Up to 10 o'clock on Tuesday morning the Home Office had no knowledge of this movement or of the necessity for it. At 11 o'clock Mr. Churchill, after consulting with Mr. Haldane and communicating by telephone with the Chief Constable of Glamorgan at Tonypandy, definitely decided to employ Police instead of Military to deal with disorder, and, while moving troops near to the scene of disturbance, to keep them in the background until it was certain that Police methods had proved insufficient. From this policy there has been no change whatever....

The Chief Constable of Glamorgan concurred in the substitution of the Metropolitan Police for the Infantry, who were halted at Swindon, and the Cavalry were told to proceed no further than Cardiff and to await further instructions there. General Macready [Commander of the 2nd Infantry Brigade] was specially selected to take charge of any military forces which might be required to support the police....

All the attacks of the rioters upon the Glamorgan Colliery were, however, successfully repulsed by the Chief Constable with the County Police at his disposal, and when the Metropolitan Police arrived the rioters had already been beaten from the collieries without the aid of any reinforcement either of London Police or Military....

The whole district is now in the effective control of the police, and there appears to be no reason at present why the policy of keeping the military out of direct contact with the rioters should be departed from.
125 YEARS AGO:
Autumn 1880 • Age 6
"A recurring sense of disgust"

The "Fourth Party," in which Churchill's father Lord Randolph was a key member, continued to draw attention. The Times wrote: "The rise of a small body of Conservative free-lances below the gangway, of whom Lord Randolph Churchill and Mr. Gorst are the chiefs, is a curious incident, and has originated the half-serious nickname...."

Prime Minister Gladstone's predecessor Benjamin Disraeli, now Lord Beaconsfield, noticed them as well. In his biography of his father, Churchill wrote that "Dizzy" was the Fourth Party's "most powerful antagonist and their mainstay. His quick eye discerned very early in the session the menace that was growing below the gangway, and he hastened to respond to the challenge....they returned by other paths unwearied to the attack."

Churchill gently suggested that his father's private letters "do not lend themselves to publication as readily as those of some other eminent persons. They are spontaneous and scrappy. They deal with the little ordinary commonplaces of the writer's life. They reflect his mood at the moment....Any piece of gossip, any quaint conceit or joke or piece of solemn drollery, any sharp judgment that occurred to him went upon the paper without an afterthought. Every passing shadow or gleam of sunlight which fell upon him marked his pages with strong contrasts of feeling often extravagantly and recklessly expressed. Nevertheless his correspondence with Sir Henry Wolff has an air of gay and generous friendship, strong with an attractiveness of its own. But there runs through it a recurring sense of weariness and of disgust at politics, which seems to have alternated with his periods of great exertion even during these most merry and successful years of his life."

100 YEARS AGO
Autumn 1905 • Age 31
"Thirty-one is very old"

A century ago Churchill completed his biography of his father (for which he was paid, in current value, over £350,000), and witnessed the first published biography of Churchill himself. His biographer was the Liberal writer Alexander MacCallum Scott, who said that except for Joseph Chamberlain (a party-switcher like Churchill but in the opposite direction, from Liberals to Tories), Churchill was "probably the best-hated man in English politics. He will ever be a leader, whether of a forlorn hope or of a great Party. Already in the House of Commons he leads by a natural right which no man can dispute. He does the inevitable act which no one had thought of before; he thinks the original thought which is so simple and obvious once it has been uttered; he coins the happy phrase which expresses what all men have longed to say, and which thereafter comes so aptly to every man's tongue."

On 30 November, Churchill celebrated his birthday and wrote to his mother that "Thirty-one is very old." Four days later, the Conservative government resigned and ten days after his birthday, Churchill became a junior minister in the new Liberal government. Churchill asked for and received the post of Under-Secretary of State at the Colonial Office, where he would conduct all the department's business in the House of Commons because the head of the Colonial Office, Lord Elgin, sat in the Lords. Churchill's cousin, the Duke of Marlborough, wrote to him: "I am truly glad....You don't realize yet what a position is now offered to you. Your speeches will be read throughout the Colonies and you alone will be the mouthpiece of the Govt...."

On 13 December, Churchill dined with Edward Marsh, who had talked to WSC's old flame, Pamela, Lady Lytton, to learn more about his new chief, about whom Marsh had some misgivings. Her comment, Marsh wrote, "was one of the nicest things that can ever have been said about anybody. 'The first time you meet Winston you see all his faults, and the rest of your life you spend in discovering his virtues'; and so it proved."

75 YEARS AGO:
Autumn 1930 • Age 56
"My dearest Mend"

Churchill's autobiography, My Early Life: A Roving Commission, was published in October to widespread acclaim. His friend T.E. Lawrence wrote to him saying, "A hundred times
as I read it I knocked my hands together, saying 'That's himself.' I wonder if those who do not know you (the unfortunate majority today, and all the future) will see the whole Winston in the book, or not?"

Prime Minister MacDonald wrote, "When I have the hardihood to put mine in the window you will have a copy in grateful exchange for this. But then, there is no chance of mine ever coming unless some old fishwife turns biographer. You are an interesting cuss—I, a dull dog. May yours bring you both credit & cash."

On 14 October, Stanley Baldwin publicly acquiesced in Neville Chamberlain's demand that the Conservatives support tariffs at the next election, something the still ostensibly free trader Churchill vehemently opposed. He drafted a letter to Baldwin stating, "I refuse categorically to seek a mandate from the electorate to impose taxes upon the staple foods of this overcrowded island. There are perhaps twenty million people alive in Great Britain to-day who would not be in existence but for their power to purchase at world prices world wheat and meat, with neither of which they can ever adequately supply themselves.... Not only should we lessen and perhaps destroy our chance of securing a Conservative or non-Socialist government, but we should expose the newly-forged links of Imperial union to the most perilous strains...." But Churchill did not make the letter public, as had been his intent. Instead, he showed Baldwin, who urged him not to make his opposition public: "From what you said in your letter, I fear this may be the occasion when you feel it necessary to express your dissent. I hope not. But I am confident that nothing will disturb a friendship that I value."

Chamberlain wrote in like vein: "I hope you will consider the whole situation very carefully before taking any irrevocable step....Whatever you ultimately decide to do, I hope we shall not find ourselves driven into opposite camps when there is so much about which we are in agreement."

In the event, Churchill decided not to make his opposition public, sensing correctly that few Conservative members of Parliament would follow his lead.

At the time, Churchill was greatly saddened by the untimely death of his best friend, RE. Smith, Lord Birkenhead. On 30 October, he told a meeting of The Other Club, which he and F.E. had founded in 1911: "We miss his wisdom, his gaiety, the broad human companionship and comradeship which he always displayed and excited from his friends. We admired his grand intellect and massive good sense. He was a rock; a man one could love, a man one could play with, and have happy jolly times. At this narrow table where he sat so often among us, we feel his loss now. He loved this Club. He was always happy here....I do not think anyone knew him better than I did, and he was, after all, my dearest friend."

50 YEARS AGO
Autumn 1955 • Age 81

"Working at the book"

Churchill, seeking warmth and "paintaceous" surroundings, had decided to spend the autumn season in the south of France at Lord Beaverbrook's villa, La Capponcina, where he painted and worked on a preface to his History of the English-Speaking Peoples. He wrote to Lord Beaverbrook on 6 October: "We have had a very pleasant three weeks here, and Clemmie is better. The Chef is excellent, and the garden lovely. I have painted another picture, and so far I have not spoiled it, which is something....! think of you in your cold, bleak, winter-ridden country with wonder and admiration that you have made this sacrifice for me. But perhaps you like to do it. That would only make it better."

During his stay, Churchill's wife Clementine had returned to England and he wrote to her on 15 October: "Today it is raining, and the prophets predict at least two days of similar weather. There is no doubt you were well advised to leave when you did. I have been working at the book. I hope that Miss Pugh [Doreen Pugh, one of his secretaries, and for many years a volunteer at Chartwell] gave you the ninth and tenth sections. You must not judge by the end. It is incomplete, and I have not looked at it (except "The Great Republic") for fifteen years. There is, however, plenty of time as it is not required until October 1958."

On Churchill's 81st birthday on 30 November, President Eisenhower wrote him that the English-speaking peoples and the entire world "are the better for the wisdom of your counsel, for the inspiration of your unflagging optimism and for the heartening example of your shining courage. You have been a towering leader in the quest for peace, as you were in the battle for freedom through the dark days of war."

Churchill replied: "Your letter has moved me more than I can tell you. As you know, it is my deepest conviction that it is on the friendship between our two nations that the happiness and security of the free peoples rests—and indeed that of the whole world. Your eloquent words have once more given me proof, if it were needed, that you share my own feelings and reciprocate my personal affection." M
On 13 September 1940, Italian Marshal Rudolfo Graziani, with considerable misgivings but under pressure from Mussolini, invaded Egypt with 150,000 troops. Graziani felt he lacked sufficient mechanized armor necessary to oppose the British. Arrayed against him was the British Western Desert Force commanded by General Richard O'Connor and General Sir Archibald Wavell, C-in-C, Middle East, based in Cairo, whose responsibilities ranged from East Africa, to Egypt, and across the Middle East from Lebanon to Iran.

The Italian invasion stalled sixty miles inside Egypt, near Sidi Barrani. The Italians built a series of fortified camps, each manned by an infantry brigade, with supporting tanks and artillery, whose major weakness was that they were too widely spread to be mutually supporting. O'Connor's Operation Compass was planned as a four- or five-day raid, but on 26 November, Churchill wired Wavell:

**IF SUCCESS IS ACHIEVED, PRESUME YOU HAVE PLANS FOR EXPLOITING IT TO THE FULL**

Mr. Brown, who was in Libya in the British Army in 1949-50 and has visited battlefields in Egypt, Triполитания and Tunisia, is past president of the Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill Society of British Columbia. Christopher Hebb suggested that Mr. Brown might like to recast his remarks in article form for *FH* readers.

It proved an amazing success, one of the most brilliant actions of the entire war, and one of the most successful campaigns in military history. O'Connor has sometimes been referred to as "the Forgotten Victor," for there is no other instance in World War II where a small force was able to kill or capture an opposing force five or six times its size.

The Western Desert Force, driving between the fortified camps, attacked them from the rear, one by one. Up to the capture of Tobruk, they captured about 100,000 Italian prisoners. The Italians began to retreat around the coast through Derna, Cyrene and Benghazi. O'Connor sent the Seventh Armoured Division (later known as the "Desert Rats") across the Jebel Akhdar through the interior to Beda Fomm on the Gulf of Sirte.

This small force of about 3,000 waited for the ponderously moving Italian Tenth Army to appear. When it did, the entire Italian force was put "into the bag." General Bergonzoli (nicknamed "Barba Electrca" or "Electric Whiskers") went into captivity singing Italian opera. The British troops were startled to see so many Italians carrying well-packed suitcases!

In two months, the British force of about 25,000 front line soldiers had advanced 500 miles, destroyed an Italian Army of ten divisions, and captured about 130,000 prisoners, some 400 tanks, and over 800 cars—a cost of less than 2000 killed, wounded and missing. Anthony Eden merrily paraphrased Churchill's words about the RAF a few weeks earlier: "Never had so much been surrendered by so many to so few."

Hitler, far from angered or disappointed by the Italian disaster, was distinctly amused by it, remarking in almost Churchillian terms: "Failure has had the healthy effect of once more compressing Italian claims to within the natural boundaries of Italian capabilities."

Three factors now prevented a virtually unopposed British advance to Tripoli, capital of Italian Libya: (1) The Western Desert Force was at an extreme distance from its base of supply; (2) Major units were detached and sent to Greece, which had been attacked by Germany: a political decision which caused the Germans to postpone the invasion of Russia, and had major long-term strategic consequences for Germany; and (3) German General Erwin Rommel arrived in Tripoli.

Churchill's decision to aid Greece is often viewed as a romantically inspired misadventure and a very serious mistake, which militarily it may well have been. But in 1946 General Jodl, formerly Field Marshal Keitel's deputy at the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (OKW), told Field Marshal Jan Smuts of South Africa that Germany had lost the war "because she had been obliged to divert divisions to meet the British landing in Greece. That meant that she lost six weeks. She lost time—and with time, she lost Moscow, Stalingrad, and the war."

In March 1941, a British Army Intelligence summary stated: "detachments of a German Expeditionary Force, under an obscure German General Rommel, have landed in North Africa." He did not remain obscure for long.

Immediately on arrival, Rommel reviewed his troops in Tripoli with the intention of impressing the local population, and the British, with a spurious show of strength. Rommel's tank force was not large, but on the parade in the main square outside the Castello entrance to the old city, he made sure that the tanks turned into a side street, the Avenida Vittorio Emanuele, and back onto the main square, to pass the saluting base again and again. After this they immediately started their eastwards drive towards the British forces in Cyrenaica.

This was one of the first acts of deception in the North Africa campaign, and it worked. British spies in Tripoli, as Rommel hoped, duly reported the arrival of his major tank force, and this news had a negative effect on British forces in the months to come.

Rommel's Afrika Korps made contact with the British at El Agheila at the base of the Gulf of Sirte, where the Germans made a reconnaissance in force. These minor probes found that the British were either very weak, or had already pulled out. Typically, Rommel ignored his orders and took off in pursuit, in a drive which would force the British to make a "strategic withdrawal" (a British euphemism for "headlong retreat") all the way back to Egypt.

continued overleaf...
ANTAGONISTS. Left: Churchill in North Africa with the two British Generals who eventually won the final victory against Rommel's Afrika Korps: Harold Alexander (C-in-C Middle East) and Bernard Montgomery (Commander Eighth Army). WSC is demonstrating his famous zip suit. Right: Why are these men smiling? Mussolini with Hitler in happier times. The Fuehrer's reaction to Italian defeat in North Africa had positively Churchillian overtones: "Failure has had the healthy effect of once more compressing Italian claims to within the natural boundaries of Italian capabilities." This reminds us of the (almost certainly apocryphal) comment Churchill was supposed to have made when von Ribbentrop, the German Ambassador to Britain, reminded him in the late Thirties that if another war came, Germany would have Italy on her side: "It seems only fair—we had them last time."

On the way, the Germans captured Major General Gambier-Parry, and later a much bigger prize, General O'Connor himself, along with General Neame VC. Wavell appointed General Sir Alan Cunningham to replace them. Tobruk was invested, and remained a thorn in Rommel's side until it was relieved on 21 December 1941.

In June 1941, Churchill wrote that "at home we had the feeling that Wavell was a tired man. The extraordinary convergence of five or six theatres, with their ups and downs, upon a single commander-in-chief, constituted a strain to which few soldiers have been subjected." Churchill thus appointed Wavell Commander-in-Chief India, and brought in Sir Claude Auchinleck from India to command the Middle East.

On 18 November 1941, Auchinleck's Operation Crusader was launched to relieve Tobruk. Auchinleck replaced General Cunningham with General Neil Ritchie, a GHQ staff officer who had never commanded large formations of troops in the field. Rommel was driven back to El Agheila, where his initial attack had started. But British supply lines were again very stretched.

On 21 January 1942, Rommel attacked and Benghazi was quickly captured. At this point there were high-level German discussions about halting Rommel after capturing Tobruk, and concentrating on the capture of Malta. But Malta was not attacked. Possibly one of the factors weighing on this decision was the level of casualties suffered by the German airborne forces under General Kurt Student in Crete. Malta would remain a vital base from which planes, submarines and ships interrupted much of Rommel's urgently needed supplies.

Rommel won the argument that Cairo was within his grasp, and was allowed to continue the attack towards Egypt. After the disastrous Battle of Gazala, in which the German 88 mm guns made mincemeat of British tanks, Tobruk, under South African General Klopper, surrendered on June 21st, along with about 30,000 prisoners and major stores. Rommel, aged only 50 and having been a Lieutenant Colonel a mere four years earlier, was now made a Field Marshal.

Tobruk was the second-worst British surrender in World War II (the worst was Singapore, which fell to a much smaller Japanese force on 15 February 1942). In the desert, Rommel was regarded as an almost superhuman figure, so glamorous and omnipotent that Auchinleck mounted a campaign to deflate his reputation, saying that he should not be regarded as a "magician" or "bogey-man." Realistically evaluating his enemy, and with customary candour, Churchill told Parliament: "We have a very daring and skilful opponent against us and, may I say across the havoc of war, a great general."

On the black day when Tobruk surrendered, Churchill, visiting Roosevelt in Washington, made no attempt to hide his shock from his American ally. "I am," he reportedly said, "the most miserable Englishman in America since Burgoyne" (the English general who surrendered Saratoga during the American Revolution). Roosevelt anxiously asked what he could do to help, and diverted a large shipment of about 300 Sherman tanks, and about 100 guns, earmarked for other theatres, to Egypt. These would eventually provide General Montgomery's superiority in weapons and equipment.

After the fall of Tobruk, the Eighth Army began another headlong retreat into Egypt. On May 27th Rommel attacked the First Free French Brigade at Bir
found that he had laagered overnight behind British lines. General Koenig rejected a call to surrender with the words, "We are not here to surrender." Rommel is reported to have said, "Nowhere in Africa was I given a suffer fight." During the nights of 10 and 11 June the French Brigade broke out of encirclement, and escaped with its wounded and usable equipment.

Rommel drove the British back to the El Alamein area, which bordered in the south by the impassable Qattara Depression. At this point Auchinleck sacked Ritchie, took personal command of the demoralized force, and with brilliant generalship and leadership, halted Rommel at the First Battle of Alamein. Ritchie was later to become an effective Corps Commander under Montgomery in Western Europe. Rommel's career was at its zenith.

It is generally known that the British were "reading Rommel's mail" through ULTRA. Less well known is that Rommel, in 1942, was "reading the British mail" from three different sources. Colonel Bonner Fellers, the American Liaison Officer in Cairo, was kept informed of everything by GHQ, Cairo, and was sending the information to Washington in the Black Code used by the American Military and Diplomatic Service.

Erwin Rommel: "May I say across the havoc of war, a great general."

Erwin Rommel was born in 1891 into a middle class family (his father, and grandfather were school teachers), near Ulm in the state of Wurttemberg. In 1910 he became an officer-cadet in the Sixth Wurttemberg Regiment. In World War I he won Germany's highest award, the Pour Le Merite,* against the Italians at the Battle of Caporetto in 1917. As a soldier he kept clear of party or political involvement.

A good regimental officer, Rommel came to Hitler's attention when the Fuehrer read Rommel's Infanterie Greif An, a manual of infantry attack. Rommel became commander of Hitler's personal bodyguard during the Polish campaign. In the 1940 invasion of France, his Seventh Panzer Division was nicknamed the "Ghost Division" because it moved so fast that sometimes even the Germans did not know where every unit was. It captured General Victor Fortune and the 51st Highland Division at St. Valery.

A thoroughly decent man, Rommel had no use for the Schutz Staffel (SS), and no Waffen SS units served under him in North Africa. Hitler ordered that if any Germans serving in the French Foreign Legion were captured, they were to be shot as traitors. Rommel ignored the order. When the British SAS appeared in North Africa, Hitler issued his notorious Kommandobefehl to the effect that they were to be shot if captured. Rommel ignored this, too.

There is a story that Rommel, in his captured British Command vehicle in the desert, came across a large tented British Field Hospital. He told his driver to let him out, entered the tent, talked to the British doctors, walked through the tent, and then at the other end reentered his vehicle and drove off.

He always "led from the front" and sometimes found that he had laagered overnight behind British lines. On one occasion he found himself driving parallel to a British column, a few hundred yards away. Since he was in a captured British command vehicle, the British did not realize what an opportunity they had missed.

After the Battle of Alamein Haifa, his "last throw," Rommel began to be pessimistic about the outcome of the war, and of Germany's future under Hitler. His health was so bad that he was in Germany at the start of the Battle of Alamein on 23 October 1942.

Hitler later appointed Rommel Inspector-General of Festung Europa (Fortress Europe). He wanted to be able to attack the allied landings aggressively on the beaches, but his superior, von Runstedt, kept the panzers farther back as a mobile reserve. The weather was bad at the time of D-Day, and Rommel made a disastrous mistake, going home for his wife's birthday. He was in Germany when the Allies landed.

He knew about Schwarze Kapelle ("Black Orchestra"), the July 1944 conspiracy against Hitler. He was not part of it and did not report it, but the conspirators had ambitious plans for him if it succeeded.

Though not in favour of assassinating Hitler, Rommel did hope for the overthrow of the Nazi regime. It is not clear how one could have happened without the other. When the plot failed, General Burgdorf and another general arrived at Rommel's home from Berlin and gave him two options: a public trial, with no assurance of safety for his wife and son; or leave with them, take poison, and receive a state funeral, with the safety of his family guaranteed. He chose the latter.

It was a wise decision. The 1944 conspirators, including Field-Marshal Von Witzleben, were hung on meat hooks in Plotsenzen prison with piano wire around their necks. Hitler had their death agonies filmed for his subsequent satisfaction.

"Germany's highest WW1 military medal, also known as the "Blue Max," had a French name because French was the language of the German courts that created it. In 1667, when Frederick William I of Brandenburg created the Ordre de la Generosite; Brandenburg created the Ordre de la Generosite; in 1740, Frederick the Great changed its name to Pour le Merite, and first awarded it to subjects displaying particular merit in the conflict with Silesia.
What was not known at the time was that an Italian employee of the American Ambassador in Rome, before America entered the war, was a skilled safe-cracker, and had broken into the ambassador's safe, copied the Black Code, and passed it on to the Italian Security Service, who, in turn gave it to the Germans.

The German Y-Dienst Company, a front-line unit at Alamein commanded by Captain Alfred Seebohm, monitored clear voice British radio traffic, and received and passed on to Rommel intelligence unwittingly provided by Colonel Bonner Fellers. This unit also received information from two German spies who had been infiltrated into Egypt under the code name Operation Condor. It was the subject of a fictionalized Hollywood movie called "The Key to Rebecca."

**OPERATION CONDOR**

The two spies providing intelligence to Rommel were Peter Monkaster, a tall, blond oil mechanic who had spent many years in East Africa; and John Eppler, a 28-year-old Abwehr agent born in Alexandria of German parents, but with an Egyptian stepfather. Eppler was a Muslim, spoke Arabic, and could pass as an Egyptian. They were guided across the southern Egyptian desert by German-Hungarian Arabist Count Ladislaus de Almaszy, who was fictionalized in the film, *The English Patient.*

A story about Operation Condor, which has little corroboration from other sources and may not be completely accurate, was told by Anthony Cave Brown in his two-volume book, *Bodyguard of Lies.* It relates that the two spies had forged papers showing Eppler to be an Anglo-Egyptian merchant and Monkaster to be an American oil-rig mechanic. Carrying two U.S. Hallicrafter transmitters and a vast quantity of English currency, they passed easily as Anglo-Americans.

Arriving in Cairo, they met Egypt's premier belly dancer, Hekmet-Fahmy, hired for a "navel engagement" at the Kit Kat Club. Violently anti-British, she was spying for the Muslim Brotherhood and the Egyptian Free Officers Association. Her main contacts were two Egyptian officers with now-familiar names—Gamal Abdul Nasser and Anwar el-Sadat, each of whom later became president of Egypt. Her main source of information, according to Cave Brown, was her English lover, one "Major Smith" of British GHQ, Cairo. Eppler and Monkaster rented a nearby houseboat, and Hekmet-Fahmy let them see the contents of Major Smith's briefcase while she was "entertaining" him.

Eppler then made a comedy of errors. First, at several bars, dressed as a British officer, he paid in sterling, which he thought was still legal tender. He picked up a bar girl, Yvette, bought expensive champagne with more British currency, took her back to his houseboat for a night's romp, and paid her £20 in five-pound notes.

But Yvette was spying for the Jewish Agency, which worked with MI6. Eppler was German, she reported; he had a Saarland accent, and far too much money. The British Paymaster's Office for Egyptian currency had also become suspicious about Eppler's sterling notes, which were found to be counterfeit.

Returning, Yvette found both Eppler and Monkaster drunk and asleep, and looked around. She found a copy of *Rebecca*, as well as notepaper covered with gridded squares and six-letter groups. Noting the numbers of the pages which appeared to be used, she copied the first of the cipher groups on each line of the document. This enabled the British to break the *Rebecca*-based code, and transmit disinformation to the Germans which would alter the course of the war in North Africa.

Eppler's and Monkaster's third mistake was buying £300-worth of luxury goods, paying in counterfeit sterling and asking that the goods be delivered to their houseboat. Major A. W. Sansom, Chief of Field Security, was informed, and crept aboard the suspect houseboat with an armed party. Monkaster just had time to dump the Hallicrafter, his copy of *Rebecca*, and the mission's back traffic into the Nile. The Hallicrafter was recovered from the mud. It was inoperable but the dial was set to a telltale wavelength. The British could now transmit disinformation to the Germans.

Eppler, Monkaster and Hekmet-Fahmy were arrested. The Germans refused to talk, but Hekmet-Fahmy "sang like a canary" about Eppler's contacts. Anwar al Sadat was arrested. Sadat's biography states that when Churchill was in Cairo in August 1942, with the new commanders, Alexander and Montgomery, he interviewed Eppler and Monkaster who, once Churchill promised that their lives would be spared, talked freely.

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*Bodyguard of Lies* should be read circumspectly, since many of its assertions are doubtful, including the canard that Churchill let Coventry be bombed to protect his sources of secret intelligence. (See "Leading Churchill Myths," by Peter McIver, *Finest Hour* 114.)
SPECIAL FORCES IN THE DESERT

There were three separate Special Forces operating in the Western Desert, under the general command of the Eighth Army:

*The Long-Range Desert Group* was founded by Major Ralph Bagnold, with Wavell's encouragement, before the Italian invasion in 1940. It attacked enemy supply columns and depots, attacked airfields, observed Rommel's supply columns on the coastal road from Tripoli, and ran a regular long distance reconnaissance service as far as Tunisia in preparation for future battles.

*Popski's Private Army* roamed behind the lines attacking depots, airfields and even freeing prisoners of war. Led by Col. Vladimir Peniakoff, a Belgian-born officer of Russian parents, this commando unit operated initially from 1942 as a Libyan Arab unit, mainly from the Senussi tribe. Later, with a number of hand-picked British and Commonwealth troops usually numbering fewer than 100, it operated in Tripolitania, Tunisia, Italy and even Austria. The New Zealanders found Peniakoff’s name rather a tongue-twister so dubbed him POPSKI. It was amazing that in two years of fighting, largely behind enemy lines, the PPA lost only twelve killed.

*The Special Air Service (SAS)* was founded by David Stirling with an initial complement of sixty-six men. Today the elite unit of the British Army, it specialized in raiding operations behind enemy lines.

The most bizarre SAS operation was the raid in Benghazi harbour by David Stirling, Randolph Churchill, and Fitzroy Maclean.* It was made easier because Fitzroy McLean spoke perfect Italian, having lived in Florence before the war.

They entered Benghazi in a vehicle painted to look like an Italian staff car, passed the Italian sentries by saying they were staff officers, and entered the perimeter of the harbour with an inflatable dinghy. Unfortunately the dinghy was punctured and, as they were trying to inflate it, an Italian sentry asked what they were doing. Fitzroy told him to mind his own business.

They now had the problem of getting out with their damaged dinghy, and unused limpet mines, so they marched up to the guard room, called out the guard, and Fitzroy then tore a strip off the sergeant guard commander for lax security, stating that, for all he knew, they could have been British saboteurs attempting to blow up ships in the harbour! In his best Italian, he bawled them out for being a slovenly bunch of soldiers.

The SAS group then marched out the gate, put their arms around each other's shoulders as if they were drunk, wandered up the main street of Benghazi, where the Germans thought they were Italians and the Italians thought they were Germans. Finding their hidden vehicle, they drove off. This story comes from Sir Fitzroy McLean's autobiography, *Eastern Approaches*.

THE BATTLE OF ALAM HALFA

Occurring between 30 August and 6 September 1942, this was Rommel's "last throw." The "Desert Fox" knew that the British were building huge reserves of men tanks, stores and equipment for an offensive; and that if he was to conquer Egypt, he would have to get in first. He planned a typical Rommel manoeuvre: a huge "right hook" which would swing north behind the Eighth Army.

His maps and intelligence told him that the British defenses at the southern end of the line were...
thin. Here is where he would attack. By night Rommel moved his units south, leaving dummy vehicles and trucks behind so as to fool the British. He wired his intentions to Rome and Berlin. His plans were in Montgomery's and Alexander's hands immediately.

General Sir Francis de Guingand, Montgomery's chief of staff, noticed on maps that the Ragil Depression, where Rommel was expected to strike, had deep, shifting and treacherous sands. Through the disinformation coming from the now British-controlled CONDOR spy system, a message was sent saying that the British in the south were awaiting reinforcements, and not ready for more than a makeshift defence. Then de Guingand had his cartographers make a map showing that the ground was hard and suitable for panzers. The problem was how to get the map to Rommel in such a way that he would believe it. A scout car loaded with explosives was sent towards the German lines with an already dead driver and detonated. The Germans sent a patrol to investigate and found the corpse, along with the false map.

Rommel's attack began on August 30th, and quickly bogged down in the newly-sown British minefields. Tanks, armoured cars, half-tracks, and trucks found themselves floundering in the "hard ground" on the false map, and were bombed and strafed by the RAF. Rommel ordered the attack to turn north, just as Montgomery had planned, and ran straight into the firepower of four armoured divisions where his intelligence had told him that there was only one.

Rommel withdrew. Montgomery did not pursue him. His mind was focused on the coming major battle which would decide the entire North African campaign.

THE BATTLE OF ALAMEIN

In terms of men and material this battle, on 23 October 1942, was an unequal contest. The Eighth Army had about 195,000 men against Rommel's 104,000, of whom only about 50,000 were German. In terms of equipment, the British preponderance in field guns was 1.6:1, in anti-tank guns 3:1, in tanks 2.7:1.

What happened is well known. What is less well known is the deception employed by Montgomery, Operation Bertram, designed to deceive the enemy, minimize casualties and maximize success.

As General de Guingand said to Col. Dudley Clarke, who masterminded the deception: "You must conceal 150,000 men, with 1000 guns and 1000 tanks, on a plain as flat and hard as a billiard table, and the Germans must know nothing about it, although they will be watching every movement, listening to every noise, and charting every track. Every bloody wog will be watching you and telling the Germans what you are doing for the price of a packet of tea. You cannot do it, of course, but you've bloody well got to." Clarke and his team succeeded brilliantly.

Montgomery planned his major attack in the north, so he had to convince Rommel that it was coming in the south. A dummy water pipeline was built to the south. A five-mile trench was laid with empty oil drums. At night, another five-mile trench was dug, the oil drums were moved into it, and the previous five-mile trench was filled in. The pace of construction was such that it would not reach the south at least forty-eight hours after the date of the major attack in the north. Dummy pumping stations were also built.

At the southern end of the "pipeline" a nine-square-mile patch of desert was transformed into a phony depot of about 9000 tons of ammunition, food and petrol, which was simulated by about 700 "stacks." Telegraph poles were laid in gun pits to simulate artillery, with camouflage netting which was allowed to rot, so that the Germans would see they were dummies and take no notice of them.

Then, just before Montgomery mounted an attack to justify all this activity, the telegraph poles were removed, and real guns were put in their place. Suddenly, guns the Germans believed to be dummies belched fire at them. It was a double bluff.

In the north, multiple "sunshields" of phony ten-ton trucks large enough to hold a tank were constructed. To the Germans they appeared to be fixtures. Just before the attack, tanks were moved into the shelter of the dummy trucks which appeared not to have moved. Barrage guns, with their limbers and movers, were similarly in position to resemble three-ton trucks.

That night over 900 guns opened up a fifteen-minute barrage on the German lines in the north. The object was to punch a hole in the German lines, then exploit it with armour. On November 4th, Montgomery broke the Axis front, precipitating a general retreat, even though Hitler had ordered Rommel to stand firm.
Shortly after the start of the attack, three events occurred which contributed to Rommel's hopeless position. First, General Stumme, Rommel's deputy during the latter's absence in Germany, died of a heart attack. General Ritter Von Thoma, his successor, voluntarily surrendered and was invited to dinner by Montgomery.

Second, German coast watchers reported the likelihood of a major British amphibious landing behind their lines. Behind a smokescreen there were noises and a smell of engines, the rattling of chains, voices of men shouting over loud-hailers, and flares. It was all a British sonic and naval ruse, provided by recordings aboard MTBs close to the beaches.

Finally, Rommel's fuel situation became desperate. He prevailed on Mussolini to send five tankers with urgently needed fuel for his tanks. GHQ Cairo knew about this from ULTRA intercepts, but the danger was that if all were sunk, particularly in foggy weather, Rommel would likely conclude that his secure communications were being compromised.

The decision had to go all the way up to Churchill, who (despite the unfounded rumour that he failed to defend Coventry to protect his intelligence source in 1941) was quite willing to risk ULTRA if the stakes were high. In short order the tankers Proserpina, Tripolino, Ostia, Zara and Brioni were located from the air and sunk, one of them in Tobruk harbour.

Sure enough, it was soon learned from ULTRA that Rommel suspected the security of his communications, if not Italian treachery. MI6 in Cairo then sent a message, in a code which they knew the Germans would be able to read, to a phantom group of agents in Naples congratulating them on their timely information, and offering them a raise in pay!

THE END OF THE BEGINNING

On 10 November 1942, Churchill spoke in the Guildhall at the Lord Mayor of London's banquet: "I have never promised anything but blood, toil, tears and sweat. Now, however, we have a new experience. We have a victory—a remarkable and definite victory. A bright gleam has caught the helmets of our soldiers, and warmed and cheered all our hearts." (More of this speech will be found on the back cover.) For the first time in two years the church bells in Britain were rung. Prior to that, they would have signaled a German invasion.

Rommel became further disillusioned with Hitler on receiving a directive to fight to the last man. Rommel ignored it, and it was rescinded. His forces retreated skilfully, evading Montgomery's attempts to cut him off. A brief defence was made at the Homs-Tarhuna line before Rommel fell back to Tripoli, which was abandoned on 23 January 1943.

Montgomery held a victory parade in Tripoli, attended by Churchill, who made a speech in which he said: "In days to come, when asked by those at home what part you played in the war, it will be with pride in your hearts that you can reply, 'I marched with the Eighth Army.'"

Rommel made a stand at Medenine in Tunisia, and again at the Mareth Line which dominated the Tripolitanian and Tunisian plains. Montgomery turned his flank by pouring through Wilder's Gap in the south, which had been discovered by the Long-Range Desert Group many months before. The Americans recovered from a "bloody nose" given them by Rommel at Kasserine Pass on February 14th and, after the Battle of Wadi Akarit, linked up with the Eighth Army. Rommel left Tunisia a sick man, never to return. His successor, General Kurt Von Arnim, surrendered about 200,000 Axis troops at Cape Bon on 13 May 1943.

On 10 August 1942, Churchill had sent this directive to General Alexander:

"Your prime and main duty will be to take or destroy at the earliest opportunity the German-Italian army commanded by Field-Marshal Rommel, together with all its supplies and establishments in Egypt and Libya.

2. You will discharge or cause to be discharged such other duties as pertain to your command, without prejudice to the task described in paragraph 1, which must be considered paramount in His Majesty's interests.

While in Tripoli, Churchill received, from Alexander in Cairo, one of the most famous telegrams of the war. Nigel Nicholson, in Alex, his biography of Alexander, writes that the Prime Minister said to Alexander, "Pray let me have a message which I can read in the House of Commons when I get back—and make it dramatic and colourful." Alexander, Nicholson writes, rose to the occasion:

Sir, The orders you gave me [on 10] August, 1942, have been fulfilled. His Majesty's enemies, together with their impedimenta, have been completely eliminated from Egypt, Cyrenaica, Libya,* and Tripolitania.

I now await your further instructions.

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*A slight technical inaccuracy is that Libya includes Cyrenaica and Tripolitania (as well as the Fezzan in the south, which was never a battleground between British and Axis forces)—so the addition of "Libya" to the message was superfluous. After von Arnim had formally surrendered on 13 May 1943, Alexander sent the Prime Minister a final telegram reporting that "the Tunisian campaign is over. All enemy resistance has ceased. We are now masters of the North African shores."
or nearly three decades Winston Churchill and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) shared a tense relationship which would have important long-term ramifications for both parties. Despite the success of his classic wartime broadcasts, Churchill's views about the BBC, its management and role were often far less positive.

The British Broadcasting Company had begun in October 1922 as a commercially-supported radio broadcasting service based in London. John C.W. Reith (1889-1971) was appointed as general manager two months later. After a Parliamentary study (and partially in a negative reaction to the confusing rise of commercial radio in the United States), at the beginning of 1927 the BBC (by then a Corporation connecting numerous stations), became government-supported and thus non-commercial.

At the time of the nine-day General Strike of May 1926, however, the BBC was still six months away from renewal of its government-granted commercial license, placing it in a precarious bargaining position in any disagreement with the establishment. To Reith, the fledgling BBC occupied a unique place in the nation's life and therefore had to maintain a neutral tone; indeed a policy was in place banning broadcasts on controversial issues.

Such a position was anathema to Churchill, then serving as Chancellor of the Exchequer: "I first quarrelled with Reith in 1926, during the General Strike. He behaved quite impartially between the strikers and the nation. I said he had no right to be impartial between the fire and fire-brigade. The nation was being held up."2

Churchill perceived the BBC as an offshoot of the press, and spoke strongly for marshalling the BBC to the government's side. Andrew Boyle, a sympathetic Reith biographer, notes that when the British Gazette was launched the ministerial editor of this unadulterated propaganda sheet began to pick holes in BBC output and sought support for his resolute proposal to take it over. The Chancellor could see no reason why the resources of broadcasting should not be mobilized as another powerful weapon against the strikers.3

Though often considered, the "formal decision not to commandeer the BBC was not taken until 11 May," only the day before the strike ended.4

For two more years (until March 1928), the BBC maintained its policy of banning broadcasts on controversial issues. Shortly after the ban was lifted, Churchill, still Chancellor, delivered a brief radio address on his forth-
Churchill's limited access to radio grew more restricted when the Tories lost the spring 1929 election. His desire to reach the growing number of BBC listeners is evident in his December 1929 offer to pay $100 [then worth $500 and today equivalent to ten times that] out of [his] own pocket for the right to speak for half an hour on Politics." Reith turned him down out of concern about the precedent that would be set by a U.S.-style "time for money" scheme, and pointed out that the BBC accepted political speakers only as designated by the main parties, not individuals. Churchill responded that he preferred the American approach to "the present British methods of debarring public men from access to a public who wish to hear."

Two years later, in mid-1931, the BBC refused to allow Churchill to broadcast his views on self-government for India while debate was ongoing in Parliament. This did not originate with Reith (though Churchill thought it did), but rather reflected the usual BBC practice of adhering to reasonable requests of the government in office. Similar decisions prevented Churchill from broadcasting about the economic crisis a year later, though he did broadcast several times as part of round-table programs featuring a variety of points of view. The clear problem was that "the [public] mood of the 1930s was not congenial to the forthright communication of Churchillian themes, and the BBC did not seek to dispel it."

While continuing to blame Reith for his broadcast banishment, however, Churchill could still show his sense of humor. Before the Royal Society of St. George at an April 1934 speech that was carried live by the BBC, he chided its management:

You see these microphones? They have been placed on our tables by the British Broadcasting Corporation. Think of the risk these eminent men are running. We can almost see them in our mind's eye, gathered together in that very expensive building with the questionable statues on its front. We can picture Sir John Reith, with the perspiration mantling on his lofty brow, with his hand on the control switch, wondering, as I utter every word, whether it will not be his duty to protect his innocent subscribers from some irreverent thing I might say about Mr. Gandhi, or about the Bolsheviks, or even about our peripatetic Prime Minister.

But let me reassure him. I have much more serious topics to discuss. I have to speak to you about St. George and the Dragon.

On 29 January 1935 Churchill finally did get a chance to broadcast about India. Reith dubbed the effort "awfully disappointing—a string of bombastic phrases with little sincerity at the back of it." The speech was one of only a handful of such appearances: Churchill in fact spoke more often on the American radio networks (and was well paid for those appearances) than at home.

Reith's first biographer, writing in 1938 just after Reith had resigned his BBC post, and while Churchill was deep in his political wilderness, offered what was probably a fairly typical view of Churchill at that time:

Imagine what would have been the case had the B.B.C. been under the direction of Winston Churchill, whose career does not possess sufficient justification for me to assume that a Churchill-controlled B.B.C. would have been other than a war-fermenting, rabidly imperialistic, recklessly adventurous, class-warfare instrument which, sooner than later, would have mortally offended some other nations.

We need not dwell on Churchill's famous wartime broadcasts, which have been widely reprinted and discussed here and elsewhere. But it should be remembered that none of those broadcasts was made from the floor of the House of Commons. Rather, they were repeat readings of his speeches (and often not as good as the original, as a tired Churchill readily admitted) for later broadcast.

In January 1942, he asked the House to consider an experiment in recording at least some key speeches and debate on the floor—both as a record and for possible subsequent broadcast—but no action was taken.

As to the vital roles the BBC performed during the war, however, "In the six volumes of Winston Churchill's epic history [of World War II] there are less than ten references to the role of broadcasting or of the BBC, and none of these involve any comprehensive assessment." In part this may have been because of Churchill's desire to describe actions rather than words, but it attested also to his continuing discomfort with the BBC. At an October 1940 cabinet meeting, for example, Reith (whom Chamberlain had named Minister of Information early in the year, but was switched by Churchill to Transport) wrote that evening in his diary: "I became aware of the intense discontent with the BBC. Churchill spoke with great bitterness: an enemy within the gates, continually causing trouble, doing more harm than good, something drastic must be done about it."

Some of Churchill's anguish appears to have arisen from his concern about the employment of...
leftist writers and broadcasters at the BBC (and Ministry of Information) specifically hired to connect working class listeners to government programs and issues.\footnote{16}

Churchill's discomfort with the BBC may have been reflected in his generally poor use of radio for a series of political speeches made during his doomed 1945 reelection campaign. Perhaps feeling burned by that vote, "after 1945 he was to refuse to broadcast on at least nine occasions."\footnote{17} WSC, Prime Minister Attlee and BBC Director General Sir William Haley all agreed on at least one thing: that the returning BBC television service (it went back on the air in mid-1946) would not play any political role. Television was not thought fit to deal with the complexities of political issues. As leader of the opposition, Churchill backed the Beveridge Committee’s determination that the BBC’s monopoly on broadcasting should continue.\footnote{18}

Churchill’s personal aversion to television became more pronounced in his second administration (1951-55) when he avoided most coverage by film and TV (which, in any case, he regarded as vulgar). Churchill on TV never delivered a party political or election broadcast. Only once did he agree to appear on live television. He spoke a few words at the end of a tribute broadcast on his eightieth birthday, in November 1954. Churchill may well have feared that the television cameras would highlight his age and growing frailty. In 1955 he agreed to a secret screen test at 10 Downing street...when he was shown the screen test he hated it, perhaps...because it told an unflattering truth.\footnote{19}

He was, however, very aware of television’s potential political power, and thus the “intolerable burden if one had to consider how one would appear, what one would look like, all over the land.”\footnote{20} If Churchill had had his way, the June 1953 Coronation would not have been televised: it was only the young Queen’s personal wish that allowed the BBC to provide its historic coverage.\footnote{21}

Discussions about broadcast policy, which by now interested Churchill hardly at all (other than news, he only occasionally listened to radio and almost never watched television), increasingly focused on the introduction of competition, a debate driven more by commercial than political concerns. During a 1952 debate about his own government’s plan to introduce television competition, Churchill told his doctor, Lord Moran, that though he felt the competition issue was "not at all fundamental,"

I am against the monopoly employed by the BBC. For eleven years they kept me off the air. They prevented me from expressing views which have proved to be right. Their behavior has been tyrannical. They are honeycombed with socialists—probably with communists.\footnote{22}

In late 1952, Sir Ian Jacob (who had been part of Churchill’s wartime inner circle) became director general of the BBC. However, even he could not modify WSC’s generally dour outlook on broadcasting: "...Churchill, even if he was never impressed by claims for commercial television ("Why do we need this peep-show?") and impatiently brushed aside arguments in its favor...had never been much impressed either by talk of the BBC as a great national institution."\footnote{23}

It was (now Lord) Reith’s impassioned speech in the House of Lords against commercial television that helped bring Churchill around to argue in support of the competition his old adversary so resisted. Still, the real push for commercial television came from a group of young Tory politicians, not the Prime Minister.\footnote{24} Paul Addison concludes that "beyond the fact that he allowed it to happen, the ending of the BBC’s monopoly by the Television Act of 1954 owed nothing to Churchill."\footnote{25}

Given the checkered relationship between Churchill and the BBC, it is perhaps a fitting twist to the story that, when he finally stepped down as Prime Minister in April 1955, a national press strike meant that news of his departure was carried only by radio, television and the Manchester Guardian.\footnote{26} And, while Churchill may have harbored doubts about the BBC, its TV coverage of his final journey created lasting images, and with them a legend, of which any statesman would be proud.
Sir John Reith on Churchill


"He cited an item about Lord Knutsford having had to arrange with a union official to have power maintained at the London Hospital. From this a general argument developed, Mrs. Churchill supporting him... He was polite to me; I wished we had had a proper set-to at the beginning of the General Strike." —1926

"I met Churchill when he came to give his long-deferred broadcast about India. He was very agreeable; said he much appreciated my staying late to meet him. He borrowed 5/- from me for a taxi home, which, to my satisfaction, he never repaid." —1935

"At the Admiralty... Churchill said he knew me chiefly as the individual who had kept him from broadcasting about India. That was a happy way of greeting a new colleague.... it was very unsatisfactory." —1939

"German invasion of Norway... Churchill said we had the Germans where we wanted them; I wondered how they had got there." —1940

"My first minute from him was stamped 'Prime Minister, Personal Minute'; attached was a red label with the caption 'Action This Day'... A junior should not have to be stimulated or frightened into answering quickly a note from the boss (in any business).... I should not have expected Churchill to admit the possibility of delay in a reply to one of his minutes." —1940

"He wrote me in 1945: 'I know what a sacrifice you made when you gave up your position in order to join Mr. Chamberlain's Government.... I admired your abilities and energy, and it was with regret that I was not able to include you in the reconstruction of the Government in 1942. I was told you were difficult to work with.... If I can be of service to you at any time, pray let me know; for I am very sorry that the fortunes of war should have proved so adverse to you, and I feel the State is in your debt.'

"One may be content to take the ending of that letter as the ending of this story." —1945

Endnotes

1. For more on this complex Scotsman, see Ron Cynewulf Robbins, "Great Contemporaries: Reith of the BBC," *Finest Hour* 82 [1994], also posted on the Centre website.


5. Ibid., p. 165.


8. Briggs, 146.

10. Boyle, 237. Broadcasting House had opened in 1932, and for its facade Eric Gill had sculpted nude statues of Prospero and Ariel, which raised critical eyebrows.


18. Addison, 420.


25. Addison, 421.

Cover Story

Churchill Leadership Gallery
at the Fulton Memorial

BY ROB HAVERS

As the new Churchill Museum opened this year in Britain, a major upgrade was being planned for the Winston Churchill Memorial and Library in the United States. The Memorial, at Fulton, Missouri, site of Churchill's 1946 "Sinews of Peace" or "Iron Curtain" speech, is housed in a Christopher Wren London church, laboriously dismantled and transported to Missouri, then rebuilt stone by stone in the late 1960s.

Plans to renovate the main exhibition at the Memorial have reached the final design phase. The sketches and renderings shown here, provided by Design Craftsmen in Michigan, are what the new Churchill Leadership Gallery will look like. The new design is an impressive blend of traditional museum form with innovative, interactive elements.

The aim is to continue to tell the same story of the life and impact of Winston Spencer Churchill, but to update how we do it. To begin, we have considerably expanded the scale of the exhibition. What previously were administration offices, work rooms and storage areas in the Memorial undercroft have now been given over to additional exhibition space. This has allowed us to expand our display area by nearly 30 percent.

In addition to updating the style of the Churchill exhibition, one of the key aims of the renovation is to ensure that displays will appeal to as many people as possible. The new exhibits will work on many intellectual levels and appeal to different levels of knowledge about Churchill specifically and modern history in general.

For example, while the seasoned and well-informed Churchillian will always come away having learned something new, it is important not to exclude those whose knowledge may be less extensive. For some considerable time at the Churchill Memorial, much thought has been expended on how best to interest and engage new generations in the study of WSC: the young people for whom Churchill does not possess the same historical resonance as for older generations.

With this constituency in mind, the new exhibitions will employ state-of-the-art museum technology to convey Churchill's life and experience in as thoughtful and interesting a fashion as possible. Churchill led a long and eventful life; we aim to convey his influence upon the modern world by examining some of his lesser-known exploits: creating Iraq, for example, and establishing the "two Irelands" that still exist today. Thus the Churchill Memorial will underscore the continuing relevance of Churchill in the 21st century.

Mr. Havers (havers@westminster-mo.edu) is executive director of the Winston Churchill Memorial and Library in the United States.
New Entry Lobby

Although all entry lobbies are rather mundane spaces, it is important that a professional and business-like image is presented. As the above "before and after" illustrations suggest, the new entry space is smart and functional, wholly in tune with the wider exhibition, and a considerable improvement on the existing entrance.

The Sinews of Peace Room

In this new room (page opposite) the visitor is prompted to push a button located on the stage, triggering the lights at this end of the gallery to dim. Without video the visitor hears President Truman introduce Churchill. The screen comes to life with footage of the famous Fulton speech, interspersed with comments from noted Churchill experts and others. Once again, the thinking behind this room is to build on what was done before while employing new technology to present it more effectively.

The Gathering Storm Room

One of the most interesting new features is the suite entitled "The Gathering Storm." At the left, the space is dominated by what appear to be "trees." At the right is a an innocuous picture of Adolf Hitler looking, as many people in the 1930s saw him, like a benign German politician. The visitor to the new Leadership Gallery can see this picture and then stand on a marked spot on the floor to see the Hitler Churchill saw. This places the visitor in line with the five tree-like structures that are actually multi-media projectors, showing a tape of Hitler at a political rally, dressed in full Nazi regalia and conforming to the true image of the man.

The point of this exhibit is to demonstrate clearly and simply that Churchill in the 1930s saw Hitler very differently than most of his contemporaries. To many British politicians, and to others in Europe, »
Hitler was no bad thing; he had put Germany back to work through methods similar to those employed successfully by Roosevelt in the "New Deal"; and a strong Germany offered a bulwark to what many in the 1930s considered to be the real menace: communism.

This display will show that Churchill thought differently about unfolding events. We hope this type of innovation will engage visitors, whet their appetites, and encourage them to read in more detail—from more traditional types of museum signage—exactly how and why Churchill proved so prescient, and why so few were interested in much of what he had to say. Yet even if visitors stop at the level of these interactive exhibits, they will still come away with a grounding in modern history and a useful working knowledge of Churchill's life and times.

**Wit and Wisdom Room**

The new exhibition attempts also to explore other dimensions of Churchill's life. Additional highlights in the design include the "Wit and Wisdom Room," where visitors can learn what Churchill had to say on a vast range of topics (as well as finding out exactly what he didn't say, an occupation that keeps The Churchill Centre, as well as the Memorial, busy).

This room brings together, in an accessible form, many of the verbal and written quotations and quips. They range from the inspiring and amusing to the pleasingly and devastatingly acerbic. The room will feature comfortable chairs where people can search a database of Churchill quotations arranged according to subject or "keyword." The interactive element to the exhibition is apparent in all the various rooms, with visitors encouraged to open "envelopes" containing correspondence to and from Churchill and his wife, Clementine.

All in all, the new Churchill Leadership Gallery will be an exhibition featuring state-of-the-art museum technology and highly innovative modes of display. This, we are confident, will enable us to continue to fulfill our mission of promoting the life and achievements of Winston Churchill and, now, to underscore even more convincingly his relevance to, and influence on, the modern contemporary world.
"Blood, Toil, Tears and Sweat": Evolution of a Phrase

BY RICHARD M. LANGWORTH


In the Boer War books, Churchill noted the growing enemy might and worried lest the result would be expressed in terms of "blood and tears".... The phrase in its renowned form first appeared before World War II and not in a speech. In an article written during the late stages of the Spanish Civil War, he observed that the Republican side was becoming more disciplined and civilized; new structures were being erected on "blood, sweat, and tears."

"Blood and Tears"

This in turn set us off on an intense search through our digital archives for the evolution of the phrase. Indeed Churchill first used it in a talk with M. Grobelaar, Boer Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, during WSC's imprisonment in Pretoria following his capture in the armoured train skirmish. See The Boer War (reprint of London to Ladysmith via Pretoria and Ian Hamilton's March) New York: Norton, 1990, page 75:

Self. "My opinion [that Britain will win] is unaltered, except that the necessity for settling the matter has become more apparent. As for the result, that, as I think Mr. Grobelaar knows, is only a question of time and money expressed in terms of blood and tears."

One year later Churchill used the phrase again, in his article "Officers and Gentlemen." The Saturday Evening Post, 29 December 1900:

As we have frequent little local manoeuvres, so there must be greater ones, all carefully supervised, at longer intervals. And the knowledge gained at every manoeuvre must be used remorselessly to control the progress of mediocre men up the military ladder; to cast the bad ones down and help the good ones towards the top. It will all seem very sad and brutal in times of peace, but there will be less blood and tears when the next war comes.

Churchill's memory for great phrases was long. Nearly forty years later, in his article "Will There Be War in Europe—and When?" (News of the World, 4 June 1939, also published slightly abridged as "War, Now or Never" in Colliers, 3 June 1939 and reprinted entirely in the Collected Essays, vol. 1, Churchill wrote of the coming war in Europe (page 443):

Although the sufferings of the assaulted nations will be great in proportion as they have neglected their preparations, there is no reason to suppose that they will not emerge living and controlling from the conflict. With blood and tears they will bear forward faithfully and gloriously the ark which enshrines the tide deeds of the good commonwealth of mankind.

"Blood, Sweat and Tears"


These pages recount dazzling victories and defeats stoutly made good. They record the toils, perils, sufferings and passions of millions of men. Their sweat, their tears, their blood bedewed the endless plain.

"Toil, Waste, Sorrow and Torment"

Manfred Weidhorn refers to an article (which contains "toil" but not the others): "How To Stop War" was indeed written in the late stages of the Spanish Civil War, and published in The Evening Standard of 12 June 1936. It was reprinted in Churchill's book of essays entitled Step by Step: 1936-1939 (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1939). From page 25 of that book:

Nearly all the countries and most of the people in every country desire above all things to prevent war. And no wonder, since except for a few handfuls of ferocious romanticists, or sordid would-be profiteers, war spells nothing but toil, waste, sorrow and torment to the vast mass of ordinary folk in every land.

Finally, as Weidhorn informs us in his essay, the "renowned phrase" of "blood, sweat and tears" came together in the article "Can Franco Restore Unity and Strength to Spain?" (Daily Telegraph, 23 February 1939), reproduced in Step by Step under title title, "Hope in Spain." From page 319 of the book:
But at length regular armies come into the field. Disci-pline and organisation grip in earnest both sides. They march, manœuvre, advance, retreat, with all the valour common to the leading races of mankind. But here are new structures of national life erected upon blood, sweat and tears, which are not dissimilar and therefore capable of being united. What milestone of advantage can be gained by going farther? Now is the time to stop.

"Blood, Toil, Tears and Sweat"

But although "Blood, Sweat, and Tears" became the "renowned phrase" (and the American/Canadian title for Churchill's first book of Second World War speeches), it was not actually what he said to Parliament on 13 May 1940 in one of the two or three most immortal speeches of the war. What he said was: "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat." And "toil," although it was a favorite word of his, did not join "blood," "tears" and "sweat" until May 1940.

EDUCATION

"I would like to ask you three questions..."

MESSAGES LIKE THIS reach a crescendo every spring, we're sure because it is term paper and final examination time. We don't write students' papers, but we try to help... I am a student doing a history project on Winston Churchill as Prime Minster during World War II. If you do not mind I would like to ask you three questions about him.

1. What were Winston Churchill's goals for the end of World War II?
2. How did he feel about the peace settlement?
3. What were his hopes for the United Nations when it was established after the war?

—EUNICE KIM

Variations on email like this from young people all over the world come to us every week. Some sound suspiciously like requests to write their essays for them. But sometimes they are just intriguing enough that we are not quite sure. Of course they can easily "lift" things from our website and put them down on paper—but teachers we've talked to are fairly talented at spotting plagiarism.

We try to help all comers. As WSC said, "I am on the side of the optimists..." See what you think of our reply to Ms. Kim, and whether you can think of any improvements we might adopt.

Dear Eunice Kim,

These are very broad questions, and what you need to do is enter words like "end of World War II," "peace settlement" and "United Nations" in our website search engine, and then read the articles that it finds—which will help you a lot. Here are some general answers to your questions:

1. Churchill's goals for the end of World War II are best represented by the Atlantic Charter, issued by Churchill and Roosevelt in August 1941 (before the USA entered the war). Check this page on our website: www.winstonchurchill.org/i4a/pages/index.cfm?pageid=281
2. There was never an official peace settlement among all the warring parties. Rather there were individual treaties. The United States, Great Britain and France eventually combined their German occupation zones to form the German Federal Republic. The Soviets set up the eastern "German People's Republic." The two Germanys were not reunited until 1990.

Churchill's attitude toward the end of the war might be summarized in his "theme" of his last volume of war memoirs, Triumph and Tragedy. "How the Great Democracies triumphed, and so were able to resume the follies which had so nearly cost them their life." He was at first concerned, after the war, that the Western allies would not see the danger of the Soviet Union, which he warned about, most notably in his speech at Fulton, Missouri in 1946 (search for "Fulton speech"). After Stalin's death in 1953, and with the advent of the hydrogen bomb which was far more powerful than the atomic bomb, Churchill became convinced that a summit meeting was necessary between Stalin's successors, President Eisenhower and himself. Eisenhower resisted this. Use our search engine to search for articles about "Churchill and Eisenhower." Use it also to search for articles on "Eisenhower" and "Stalin" and "Bermuda Conference."

3. Churchill's hope for the United Nations when it was established after the war was that it would prevent future wars, through a security council with five permanent members. It didn't work out as he expected. Look up our website references to "United Nations."
Will Fitzhugh's Concord Review: An Important Special Relationship

BY SUZANNE SIGMAN

Churchill's thinking during his last major speech in Parliament informs The Churchill Centre's preeminent cause: educating future generations in his wisdom, courage and leadership. How fortunate we were, then, when Virginia member Dan Borinsky brokered a personal contact with Will Fitzhugh, founder of The Concord Review (www.tcr.org): a unique and vital journal.

Will Fitzhugh wears many hats. A lover of history and "champion of the term paper" (Boston Globe), founder of the National History Club (2002) and the driving force behind the National Writing Board (1998), his endeavors meet synergistically beneath the broad umbrella he calls "Varsity Academics."

For eighteen years The Concord Review, a quarterly journal of scholarly high school history essays, has published quality research papers by almost 700 high school students from thirty-four countries. Each year, the five best essays win $3000 Ralph Waldo Emerson Prizes.

Mr. Fitzhugh is tireless in his efforts to convince students, teachers and the educational establishment that reading "real" history rather than text books, plunging headlong into an interesting topic rather than superficially surveying the centuries—and writing the now-rare research paper—truly allows young people to "fall in love with history." This is certainly a goal we all share.

Most college freshmen in the U.S. are unskilled in the process of writing term papers. This is also true to a greater or lesser extent in other countries. We must suspend our powers of common sense to believe that, for the five-paragraph essay, facts don't matter—indeed, they are not part of the grade for this new writing test!

A survey of high school history teachers commissioned by The Concord Review and conducted by the University of Connecticut in 2002 found that 81 percent never assign a paper of more than 5000 words. Worse, most high school writing instruction emphasizes "creative" writing, rather than the clear, logical, well-argued expository variety. How many of today's students will acquire the skills to access and expound on good history writing—let alone on Winston Churchill?

Writing a term paper is just one path to Churchill, but one which Churchill himself, who was largely self-educated, might savor. The Concord Review welcomes submissions from all over the world. Mr. Fitzhugh wants to encourage more submissions from students in Canada and Great Britain. Perhaps you might encourage your...
A Touchstone for the High School Essay

SUEBDURY MASS.

1987, Will Fitzhugh started the Concord Review, a scholarly publication that printed the best high school history research papers in America. His intent was simple: to recognize students who produced high-quality research, to show teachers and students that it could be done, and to thereby raise the standard for high school writing.

On one level, he succeeded brilliantly. In 17 years, he has published 677 student papers in 57 issues of the quarterly, tackling some of history’s most challenging questions. In a 2,353-word paper, Rachel Hines of Montgomery High in Rockville, Md., asked: Did Chaim Rumkowski, the Jewish leader of Poland’s Lodz ghetto, do more good or harm by collaborating with the Nazis? Aaron Elhady of Hunter High in New York City explored to what extent John Maynard Keynes’s economic ideas were truly revolutionary, and to what extent they were borrowed from others.

Jessica Leight of Cambridge Rindge and Latin in Massachusetts wanted to know why Anne Hutchinson suffered so much more at the hands of the Puritans than her brother-in-law, the Rev. John Wheelwright, when both attacked the leadership of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Jennifer Shingleton of Phillips Academy in Andover, Mass., questioned whether Abigail Adams really was a feminist, or was being taken out of 18th-century context by contemporary feminism.

Britta Woller of Roosevelt High in Kent, Ohio, wrote about the Ferris wheel. “Fascinating,” Mr. Fitzhugh says. “The guy who invented it died brokenhearted. I tell people, the topic doesn’t matter, it’s the quality that matters, so a kid learns the joy of scholarship. If you learn what it means to go in depth, you also realize when you’re being superficial.”

Some of America’s best-known historians — Arthur Schlesinger Jr., David McCullough, Shelby Foote — have praised the Review for its published students — who often include their Review papers with their college applications when admitted. Seventy-four went on to Harvard, 57 to Yale, 30 to Princeton.

And yet for much of the time, Mr. Fitzhugh has felt like a boatman on the Lewis and Clark expedition, padding upstream on the Mississippi and making little headway. He fears the high school research paper is on the verge of extinction, shoved aside as students prepare for the five-paragraph essays now demanded on state tests, the SAT II and soon, the SAT. “I’m convinced the majority of high school students graduate without reading a nonfiction book cover to cover,” he says. Mr. Fitzhugh is offended that the National Endowment for the Humanities sponsors a $5,000 history essay contest with a 1,200-word limit. “I have kids writing brilliant 5,000-word papers, and they’re not eligible,” he says. He is saddened by a letter from the chairman of the history department at Boston Latin, that city’s premier high school. “Over the past 10 years, history teachers have largely stopped assigning the traditional term papers,” Walter Lambert, the chairman, wrote.

While much of the education establishment crows about how standardized testing and the SAT writing sample are raising standards, Mr. Fitzhugh is not alone in seeing a dumbing down. Ken Fox, a college counselor at Ladue Horton Watkins High in St. Louis says that in test preparation courses, his students learn to write a generic five-paragraph essay that can be modified when they take the SAT. “They’re trained to write-to-formula,” he says.

He has urged students to submit papers to the Review, and Robert Levin did — on the emancipation proclamation that John Fremont, a Union Army commander, issued in Missouri in 1861, two years before Lincoln’s took effect. “The big thing,” says Robert, who wrote the paper on his own time, “is I’ve been living here my whole life, interested in the Civil War, and never knew there was this whole huge deal of an emancipation proclamation in Missouri.”

Perhaps you can encourage a history teacher or history student in your town to consider forming such a club. Refer to www.tcr.org under “National History Club” to see if there are chapters in your area, for information on forming one.

Many of Mr. Fitzhugh’s efforts are directed at those who may likely develop a Churchill interest. His organizations encourage and support the strengths Churchill himself possessed: a love and knowledge of history, an inquiring mind, a mastery of the written word. These remain the strengths of a good liberal arts education. And Fitzhugh’s contacts are teachers who believe in his mission.

David Driscoll, the Massachusetts Commissioner of Education, calls The Concord Review "a publication we need to promote" and a “strategic external partner”—something akin, I suspect, to being “the right people, in the right places, at the right time,” with “a potable and valuable part to play” in the cause not only of history, but of The Churchill Centre. For without students who can read, write and appreciate history, what will become of us? $5
"WSC'S failings as a politician were the reverse side of his greatness as a statesman: he was protean where most people can only sustain a narrow expertise, brave where most are timid, decisive where most dither, strong where most are weak, diligent where most are casual, a brilliant manager of his own time where most are disorganised." —RICHARD HOLMES

“WARTS AND ALL...”

Greatness Flawed
PAUL H. COURTENAY

In the Footsteps of Churchill, by Richard Holmes, 316 pages. BBC Books, £20; Basic Books $27.50. Member price $22.

Holmes is no hagiographer and told this writer that he thinks of Churchill as "the greatest Englishman ever, warts and all." His theme does not reveal any major surprises and he covers the key points of his subject's life with commendable accuracy. Where the book scores is in highly readable commentaries on contemporary events which shaped Churchill's policies and career, some of which would be hard to find elsewhere; in each instance the identified context is instructive.

Early in the book Holmes seizes on paradoxes: Churchill was fascinated by the drama of war but repelled by its realities. He was a patriot but not a nationalist. Though a child of distant and uncaring parents, he was the centre of a doting coterie. His characteristics were not those of a deprived child, but of one excessively indulged. The early death of his father and his consequent proprietary attitude towards his mother were the most important factors in his life, colouring every subsequent action. Nevertheless Holmes considers (sadly) that a close study of the first Companion Volumes to the Official Biography made it impossible to like young Winston, and finds WSC's "unvarnished egomania and cynical exploitation of people who cared for him frankly detestable."

An early clue to Churchill's concern as to how he might be seen by others was to be found in a revealing incident with the Malakand Field Force; he was ordered by a senior officer urgently to ride and summon a British battalion to reinforce the hard-pressed Indian unit to which he was then attached. WSC replied, "I must have that order in writing, sir"; he did not wish to return to find himself the sole survivor, without a witness to the order he had been given.

Holmes considers that, despite Churchill's energetic first tenure as First Lord of the Admiralty, WSC fell far short of transforming the culture of the Royal Navy. The volcanic Fisher appealed to Churchill, Holmes says, because the old admiral permitted WSC to present a knowledgeable facade to the Royal Navy and House of Commons. Moving forward to Churchill's second tenure, in 1939-40, Holmes quotes Stephen Roskill (official historian of the war at sea and a major critic) to the effect that...
Churchill's understanding of naval operations had stuck fast in 1915. He also quotes General Hastings Ismay, a steadfast Churchill supporter, who wrote that the worst shortcomings of the First World War, as exemplified by the conduct of the Dardanelles operation, were faithfully repeated in the Norway operation (in such matters as the lack of effective coordination between the Navy and Army.)

The background to Britain's return to the Gold Standard under Chancellor of the Exchequer Churchill in 1925 is particularly well covered. Even opponents of the idea, such as John Maynard Keynes, conceded that Churchill had no choice in the matter, though this did not stop Keynes from attacking him for it. Holmes makes a good point when he says that "WSC's failings as a politician were the reverse side of his greatness as a statesman: he was protean where most people can only sustain a narrow expertise, brave where most are timid, decisive where most are disorganised." Holmes is also very perceptive when setting the contexts of the 1929 Depression and the India Bill.

The author is interesting in his commentary on the volte-face by the Labour Party over national defence. Until 1935 Labour had been strongly opposed to rearmament in competition with another power; but then the Comintern responded to the Nazi destruction of the German Communist party by calling for anti-Fascist unity among Communists, Socialists and progressives. This had the unexpected effect of clustering assorted leftists around Churchill, who suddenly found himself popular among people who had spent the past twenty-five years denouncing him.

Turning to the policy on prewar aircraft procurement for the RAF, Holmes is informative on strategic and technical bombers and the weaknesses of the decisions put forward—a subject which might take a lot of research if one wanted independently to understand the pros and cons. This is a typical example of his flair for identifying a context, aided by his historian's skill and military background. (He was a Territorial Army Brigadier.)

The author opines that the great paradox of Churchill's public life was that, as Prime Minister in defence of freedom, he presided over the greatest and most irrevocable shift of power from the citizen to the state in British history. Yet Churchill refused to accept arbitrary power. The moral power of his administration lay in his creation of a structure that permitted him to impart energy to the war effort, but which also—by design—placed limits on him. Holmes identifies a passage from Churchill's Marlborough which defines the standard he set for himself:

Almost any intelligent scribe can draw up a lucid and logical treatise full of laboriously ascertained facts and technical phrases on a particular war situation...Nothing but genius, the daemon in common man, can answer the riddles of war, and genius—though it may be armed—cannot be acquired either by reading or by experience. In default of genius nations have to make war as best they can and, since that quality is much rarer than the largest and purest diamonds, most wars are mainly tales of muddle. But when from time to time it flashes upon the scene, order and design with a sense almost of infallibility draw out from hazard and confusion.

The author makes a valid and neglected point about the part played by Imperial forces during the Second World War, stressing that Britain was not really "alone" in 1940 in the way history generally asserts. The contributions and sacrifices made by Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India and British colonies throughout the world were very large in proportion to their respective populations. It is important that this is understood and not overlooked.

Holmes says that, if it were possible precisely to date the change in U.S. perceptions on Britain's determination to save civilisation (and thus to deserve more support from America), the London visit by Harry Hopkins in January 1941 was probably that moment. Churchill handled the visit masterfully. By the time of his return to Washington, Hopkins was convinced that the nation was indeed united behind his host, and briefed the President accordingly.

But Churchill's failure to attend Roosevelt's funeral ranksles Holmes: It is not unreasonable to wonder whether FDR's death did not strike Winston as robbing him of the timely finale to which he himself aspired. Nothing he said to those closest to him at the time or wrote later offers a clue to why he chose not to pay his last respects to the man with whom his fate had been so closely bound, and to spurn an invitation to confer with Harry Truman...who was anxious to meet him.

Really? Churchill told his wife: "I decided not to fly to Roosevelt's funeral on account of much that was going on here." (Soames, Personal Letters, 526). He wrote to Harry Hopkins: "...everyone here thought my duty next week lay at home, at a time when so many Ministers are out of the country." (Gilbert, Winston S. Churchill VII: 1294.) "P.M. of course wanted to go. [Anthony Eden] thought they oughtn't both to be away together...P.M. says he'll go and A. can stay. I told A. that, if P.M. goes, he must....Churchill deeply regretted in after years that he allowed himself to be persuaded not to go at once to Washington." [Diaries of Alexander Cadogan, 727].

Holmes continues: "Such a flagrant departure from Winston's normal standards of behaviour, and such a lapse in his duty as prime minister of a nation that needed U.S. good will more than ever, argues that some irrational factor was at work." This is really quite a leap. Some consider that >>
Churchill's was a calculated decision: Warren Kimball in Blake and Lewis, Churchill: A Major New Assessment, concludes that he wished "to bring the mountain to Mohammed"—even though Roosevelt had offered to come to Britain for their next meeting, and Truman might have wished to make good that pledge. Jon Meacham's Franklin and Winston (FH 122:42) believes Churchill's acted out of envy toward Roosevelt's preeminence. Even then, his decision can hardly be deemed irrational. But is it so hard to believe that, with victory approaching after so many terrible years, Churchill would wish to be close at hand?

The final paradox of WSC's public life identified by Richard Holmes is that while he valued freedom, he loved power more—which could apply to his last years in office but may be too broad a judgment. At the height of the rearmament controversy in 1936, Churchill declared: "I would endure with patience the roar of exultation that would go up when I was proved wrong....What does it matter who gets exposed or discomfited? If the country is safe, who cares for individual politicians, in or out of office?"

This book will undoubtedly cause a few eyebrows to be raised, but the "warts"—though starkly identified—only serve to highlight Churchill's achievements as a whole. This offering, both in print and on the screen, by an author with gift for lucid exposition (both written and oral), makes an interesting and valuable addition to the scholarship. The author ends with Shakespeare's words spoken by Mark Antony in "Julius Caesar" (written at a time when "gentle" meant "noble"):

His life was gentle; and the elements
So mixed up in him, that nature might
stand up,
And say to all the world. "This was a
maw."

3. In Search of Churchill, by Martin Gilbert. Political biography was a gentlemanly affair of delving into one or two archives until Martin Gilbert came on the scene. As Churchill's official biographer he set rigorous new standards of research, working through scores of manuscript collections and travelling far and wide in search of new material. The six volumes of Gilbert's official biography are a towering achievement but not many people have the leisure, this side of retirement, to savour all 7285 pages. In the meantime there could be no better introduction than Gilbert's highly entertaining account of his methods of writing, and his search for buried treasure: eye witnesses whose recollections had never been recorded, and caches of documents that had lain hidden for decades.

THE "TOP TEN"

My Favourite Churchill Books

PAUL ADDISON

Editor's Note:

Professor Paul Addison is director of the Centre for Second World War studies at the University of Edinburgh. He is a former visiting fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and the author of Churchill: The Unexpected Hero (reviewed in Finest Hour 127). When we saw his choices for the ten best Churchill books, we immediately wanted readers to see them, knowing of the esteem which so many Churchillians hold for his canny and balanced views. Republished by kind permission of the author, from The Guardian Unlimited, 13 April 2005.

Note to readers: Want to get in on the top ten game? Send us your lists, together with your cases (briefly and succinctly written, as here) for your ten favorite books by and about Churchill. We will publish as many as we can.


My top ten have not been arranged in order of merit, but if they had been, this would still be number one. The best source on the making of Winston Churchill is still Churchill himself. Written in later middle age, his autobiography recalled his unhappy childhood and his youthful quest for glory as a soldier and war correspondent. A classic adventure story, it was also a lament for a vanished age of aristocracy and empire.

2. Churchill: Four Faces and the Man (Churchill Revised in USA), edited by A.J.P. Taylor. First published in 1969, this sparkling collection of essays anatomised Churchill's qualities as a statesman (A.J.P. Taylor), politician (Robert Rhodes James), historian (J.H. Plumb), military strategist (Basil Liddell Hart) and depressive human being (Anthony Storr). Research has moved on since then, but as an analysis of the essential Churchill the book has never been surpassed. It founded the British school of Churchillians who admire him "warts and all."

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4. Winston Churchill: His Life as a Painter, by Mary Soames. Denis Healey used to say that every politician needs a hinterland—an absorbing outside interest. WSC found it in painting. He seldom travelled without his brushes and oils, and the moment he set up his easel he was lost to the world. Churchill never claimed to be a great artist but he delighted in the landscapes he saw on his travels, domestic scenes from his home at Chartwell, and portraits of his family and friends. The story of his life as a painter, delightfully told by his daughter Mary Soames, is a revelation of the private self who kept the statesman human.

FINESHT HOUR 128/39
5. Churchill and Secret Service, by David Stafford. Churchill’s lifelong fascination with secret intelligence is the theme of this riveting book which covers everything from his first encounter with the “Great Game” on the north-west frontier of India to his involvement in the Anglo-American-inspired coup that led to the overthrow of Mussadiq in Iran in 1953. Though Stafford is at pains to disprove some of the conspiracy theories which implicate Churchill in episodes like the sinking of the Lusitania or the attack on Pearl Harbor, he shows that Churchill played a crucial part in the development of the intelligence services and was no mean hand with a cloak and dagger.

6. Man of the Century: Winston Churchill and his Legend since 1945, by John Ramsden. Ramsden has added a new dimension to Churchill studies with a richly detailed analysis of the growth of WSC’s legend since 1945. His book sets out “to understand how that fame was created, perceived, marketed, spun and in some cases even fabricated.” In the course of a fascinating conducted tour of perceptions of Churchill around the English-speaking world, Ramsden identifies the publicists and politicians who constructed the legend and the monuments and memorabilia which celebrated him. Such is his eye for detail that he even remarks on Churchill’s unassailable lead in commemorative toby jugs: twenty-two different designs, compared with two each for Baldwin, Chamberlain and Lloyd George.

7. In Command of History: Churchill Fighting and Writing the Second World War, by David Reynolds. In writing his war memoirs Churchill had two main aims. The first was to make a fortune for himself and his family while protecting it from the taxman. The second was to create a useable past that would vindicate his judgment as a war leader and assist his activities as a postwar statesman. In a masterly feat of sustained scholarly analysis, Reynolds explains how Churchill achieved a triumphant success on both counts. In anyone else Churchill’s profiteering, manipulation of the documents, and unacknowledged use of ghost writers would look disreputable, but all is forgiven the saviour of his country.

8. Churchill: The End of Glory, by John Charmley. The furore over the so-called “Charmley thesis”—the case for a compromise peace with Hitler in 1940—has distracted attention from an otherwise perceptive political life grounded in a coherent critique of Churchill’s flaws, and a far from ungenerous appreciation of his abilities. Charmley adopts the skeptical view of Churchill held by most of his contemporaries before 1939, and extends it to apply to his conduct of the war—a debatable but stimulating exercise.

9. The Iron Curtain: Churchill, America and the Origins of the Cold War, by Fraser J. Harbutt. It is no secret that Churchill is revered by many Americans as a philosopher-king and role model for leadership. Whereas in Britain we see him as a man of the past, he is admired in the U.S. as a guide to the present and the future. Churchill’s unique stature on the western side of the Atlantic owes something to his wartime alliance with Roosevelt, but as Fraser Harbutt shows in a powerfully argued book, the decisive factor was the part Churchill played, while he was out of office, in facilitating the entry of the United States into the Cold War. The tipping point was his “Iron Curtain” speech at Fulton, Missouri in March 1946.

10. Churchill, by Roy Jenkins; Churchill: A Study in Greatness, by Geoffrey Best. The competition for the title of best one-volume life of Churchill is intense and the result, it seems to me, is a tie between Roy Jenkins and Geoffrey Best. Both authors are comprehensive, accurate, and stylish, but in different ways. Jenkins brings to the subject a veteran politician’s feel for office and power, a worldly appreciation of Churchill’s love of the good life, and an encyclopaedic appetite for detail. His account is richly descriptive but tends to stick to the surface of events. Best is a more reflective and speculative writer with a historian’s flair for the insights that lie just beyond the tangible evidence. By different routes both authors come to the same conclusion, or as Best puts it: “His achievements, taken all in all, justify his title to be known as the greatest Englishman of his age...in this later time we are diminished if, admitting Churchill’s failings and failures, we can no longer appreciate his virtues and victories.”

Coming up: Readers constantly ask for the best books to read in the vast Churchill field. Finest Hour will shortly produce an updated set of nominations for the thirty top books about Winston S. Churchill in six categories, and the five best books by the man himself.
CHURCHILL was a master of Parliamentary Questions, wherein friends and opponents tried to put him on the spot...and some of the issues from 1943 sound eerily familiar at the moment.

Security Detainees
On 4 August 1943 a Member urged that the emergency powers of Regulation 18b (detention without trial of potential security risks) be transferred from the Home Secretary to a properly constituted legal tribunal. WSC: "The issue raised has been debated in the House on more than one occasion, and it has been pointed out that the responsibility for deciding whether circumstances of suspicion exist, warranting the restraint of some individual on grounds of public security, could not properly be placed on a legal tribunal. So long as exceptional powers are needed in the interests of national security, they must be exercised by a Minister responsible to Parliament."

Apologies for Bombing
A Member asked on 28 July 1943 whether there had been any official reply to the request to the Italians to capitulate, and also whether the Prime Minister was satisfied that "apologies for bombing Rome serve any useful purpose." WSC: "No official reply has been received...unless the disappearance of Mussolini is to be construed as his own reply to it. As regards the second part of the Question, His Majesty's Government have not made any apology for bombing the marshalling yards near Rome. On the contrary, if they are repaired, and hostile traffic is resumed, they will no doubt have to be bombed again."

The Perils of Nation-Building
Churchill was asked on 3 August 1943 whether the Allies would recognise an Italian Government consisting of Socialists and other leftists expressing a desire to negotiate peace. WSC: "His Majesty's Government will be prepared, in consultation with their principal Allies, to deal with all situations as they arise." He was asked to be "more specific." WSC: "I have nothing to add to what I have said, which I think is explicit and, I think, has the additional merit of being comprehensive."

Disposition of a Fleet
On 12 October 1943 a Member asked for details of the surrendered Italian fleet. WSC (in a written reply): "The major part of the Italian fleet, totalling over 100 warships of all categories, is in Allied hands. This includes five out of the six battleships in commission, and eight out of the eleven cruisers. More than 150,000 tons of merchant ships have so far been accounted for in ports under Allied control. It would not be in the public interest to go into further details."

Senators in the War Zone
On 19 October 1943 a Member asked the Prime Minister to place on record the British view of a critical report by five United States Senators who recently visited the fighting areas. WSC: "Sir, the report in question was made to the Congress of the United States in Secret Session, and I am therefore neither fully nor accurately acquainted with its nature. A summary of ten conclusions reached by the Senators has been printed in the Record of the United States Senate. These conclusions bring no charges of the kind referred to by my hon. and gallant Friend. However, apart from the above, many stories have been published purporting to represent what individual Senators have said. I am well aware of the pain which some of these unfair and probably unauthorised statements have caused. I have carefully considered whether to make a public reply. I have come to the conclusion that there would be no advantage in his Majesty's Government taking part in this wordy warfare, especially at a time when the British and United States Armies are engaged shoulder to shoulder in the battles taking place or impending..."

Demand for Removal of a Colleague
On 21 October 1943 a Member asked what reply the Prime Minister had sent to a resolution addressed to him by the Lea Bridge Works Factory Committee demanding the removal from office of the Secretary of State for India. WSC: "Such matters hardly seem to fall within the province of the Lea Bridge Works Factory Committee, and I have accordingly directed that no answer should be sent to them. Perhaps if they send me a communication on some subject on which they are specially qualified to express an opinion, I shall have the opportunity, which I should greatly value, of corresponding with them."

Aid to the Republic of China
A Member asked on 11 November 1943 about the duties of General Carton de Wiart in Chungking. WSC: "General Carton de Wiart will act as my personal representative with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and he will also be under Admiral Mountbatten's orders as Principal Liaison Officer at Chungking. I am sure this will be welcomed...I cannot make any statement on the forms of military aid that we intend to give to China, except to say that everything in human power is being done."

A discordant note during the fortieth anniversary of the death of Winston Churchill was sounded by the President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeke, who alleged that Churchill's attitude towards black peoples was racist and patronizing. His view has been shared by some white critics, but Churchill's attitude was more complex and, in some ways, more sympathetic than has generally been recognized.

Churchill's views on black Africans cannot be simply summarized or categorized because they varied considerably according to time, place and circumstance. He recognized that the various countries and peoples of Africa had their own diverse characteristics.

As a military man Churchill was particularly impressed by the courage and loyalty of African soldiers who served the British. But he did not regard black Africans simply as useful cannon-fodder, for he opposed their exploitation by slave traders, white settlers or colonial authorities. He also rejected discrimination on the grounds of color.

It is true that Churchill was reluctant to grant universal suffrage and majority rule to black Africans. That was partly because the overwhelming majority of white settlers in Africa were opposed to political equality on the basis of "one man one vote." Churchill could not ignore their views because European Africans dominated the dominion of South Africa and the government of several other Crown colonies. He tolerated a system of political discrimination against black Africans that did not accord with our contemporary notions of equality and democracy.

Churchill was a Victorian by upbringing, who never visited sub-Saharan Africa after 1907; and most Britons of his generation regarded black Africans as backward and relatively "uncivilized." Churchill's own outlook was more informed and relatively enlightened. His reservations about black majority rule were based on considerations of class, education and culture, rather than race and color. In that respect, Churchill's attitude resembled that of the mid-Victorians to the working classes—they should be cautiously and gradually admitted to the body politic.

Abstracted for FH by David Freeman

LAST RITES

GONE BUT NOT FORGOTTEN: WINSTON AND WINSTON.

Thabo Mbeki believes Churchill was racist and patronizing toward black Africans; Roland Quinault counters that WSC's attitude was more complex, and indeed more sympathetic, than can be represented by sound-bites. Russell Plummer, meanwhile, recalls another departed Churchill, the once-handsome North Sea ferry, a derelict hulk since 1996.


One of the more obscure vessels named after Sir Winston was launched two years after his death by the Italian CNR shipyard: the 8600-ton, Diesel-driven Winston Churchill, a North Sea ferry. She was operated for nearly three decades by the DKDS (Union Steamship Co., established in Denmark in 1866), doing business most of that time as Scandinavian Seaways.

The handsome, one-funnel, two-masted, 430-foot vessel had space for 464 passengers and 180 cars or forty trailer trucks that made drive-through use of doors in her bow and stern. After being named by Lady Churchill in a ceremony at Greenwich, she entered service in June 1967, sailing from Harwich across the North Sea to Esbjerg in Denmark. At a smart 21 knots, the crossing took eighteen hours. Just three years into her career, her passenger capacity was raised to 850 by building cabins in former cargo holds and reducing the previous three classes to a single class.

While on a run to Sweden in August 1979 she ran aground off the Gothenburg Archipelago, requiring repairs involving a new double bottom and propellers; she returned to service in March 1980. By 1987, Winston Churchill was running spring and autumn cruises up to Norway and the North Cape, though with reduced passenger load of 400. Refitted in 1989, she cruised as far as Leningrad and even sailed around Britain—eventually she visited forty ports.

Alas her end came with a fire in auxiliary engine electrical installations in April 1996, her twenty-ninth year. Given her age, she was declared a loss and sold to a small cruise line which planned to fix her up for cruises between Florida and Mexico. But those plans fell through, and for the past nine years, the Winston Churchill has moldered away in a Norwegian fjord, unlikely ever to sail again.

Abstracted for FH by Chris Sterling

FINEST HOUR 128/42
ANGELIC DEMONOLOGY

CHURCHILL AS FUNDAMENTALIST CATHOLIC? Now indeed we have heard everything, thanks to Angels and Demons, Dan Brown's best-selling novel about the "Illuminati."


What indeed, Mr. Reilly! Churchill was raised in the Church of England, though in his short story The Dream (1947) he refers to himself as "Episcopalian" (North American Anglican). His "religion" was probably that of an optimistic agnostic. He said he was "not a pillar of the Church but a flying buttress—I support it from the outside." He wrote that having made so many deposits in the "Bank of Observance" as a boy, he had been "drawing confidently on it" ever since, never enquiring as to the state of his account—lest he find an "overdraft."

Churchill did write the article Brown cites ("Zionism versus Bolshevism" Illustrated Sunday Herald, 25 January 1920, Collected Essays TV: 26-30, Woods C73). But it had nothing to do with the sinister group Brown calls the "Illuminati"—a cult allegedly dating at least back to Galileo, which challenges the teachings of the Catholic church. Churchill was never a Catholic, and did not express the sentiments ascribed to him in the novel. The threat to morality Churchill attacked was Bolshevism—and he went on to explain why he thought so.

"Zionism versus Bolshevism" is sometimes produced as evidence that Churchill was an anti-semit, since his article notes the preponderance of Jews among Bolshevks, "a sinister confederacy...mostly men reared up among the unhappy populations of countries where Jews are persecuted on account of their race....Trotsky (Russia), Bela Kun (Hungary), Rosa Luxembourg (Germany), and Emma Goldman (United States), this world-wide conspiracy for the overthrow of civilization and for the reconstitution of society on the basis of arrested development, of envious malevolence, and impossible equality, has been steadily growing,... with the exception of Lenin, the majority of leading figures are Jews."

To quote this paragraph out of context from the rest of the article is to misrepresent Churchill, who added that such figures comprise only a small portion of Jews, whom he calls "the most formidable and the most remarkable race which has ever appeared in the world." Prefiguring his later indictment of Nazi Germany, he writes: "Nothing is more wrong than to deny an individual, on account of race or origin, his right to be judged on his personal merits and conduct."

Jews in every country, Churchill continued, "identify themselves with that country, enter into its national life....a Jew living in England would say, 'I am an Englishman practising the Jewish faith.' This is a worthy conception, and useful in the highest degree...and in our own Army Jewish soldiers have played a most distinguished part, some rising to the command of armies, others winning the Victoria Cross for valour."

The context is extracted from such popular condemnations of Churchill's article. No one but the most ardent Churchillophile can use "Zionism vs. Bolshevism" to indict Churchill for anti-semitism. And no one but an imaginative novelist can use it to portray WSC as a fundamentalist churchman. —RML $S

"Woods Corner" is a book column named for the late Churchill bibliographer Frederick Woods.
He was "easily satisfied by the best of everything," declared Sir Winston Churchill, who resigned as Prime Minister fifty years ago last April. As an inveterate traveller and epicure, he was the natural customer of grand hotels. Many properties still trumpet Churchill's patronage. The following are six with the closest connections.

**The Mount Nelson Hotel, Cape Town.**
Churchill arrived in South Africa in 1899 as Boer War correspondent for *The Morning Post*, and made himself at home at the Mount Nelson, where he filed dispatches from a luxury suite. The comfortable living came to an end when the young reporter took to the field and was taken prisoner. His subsequent heroic escape gave him a first taste of fame. A century later, pink-washed "Nellie" (as the hotel is known by devotees), set in subtropical gardens at the foot of Table Mountain, prides itself on colonial-style ambience with afternoon tea and banquets at the Cape Colony restaurant. Mount Nelson Hotel (020-7960 0500, www.orient-express.com). Doubles from £313, per night, including breakfast.

**Mena House, Cairo.**
The catalogue of famous people to have stayed at Mena House, next to the Pyramids at Giza, is lengthy. But only Churchill and Montgomery have suites named after them. Churchill's stays spanned several decades, as recorded in sepia photographs lining the hotel's corridors. He described it as an "oasis of good living." These days, the original, extravagant Palace Wing is supplemented by a modern 500-room Garden Wing, which offers five-star comforts and pyramid panoramas, but not the same atmosphere. Mena House Oberoi (00 800 1234 0101, www.oberoihotels.com). Doubles from £95. The Churchill Suite is £761.

**Knockinaam Lodge, Dumfries & Galloway.**
Churchill was known to rehearse speeches for the House of Commons in the bath. Appropriately, the Churchill Suite at this former shooting lodge has a huge stone bath. Knockinaam's finest hour came a few days before the Normandy Landings in 1944, when the P.M. arrived here by seaplane for a secret meeting with Eisenhower. These days American and British guests have no need to be furtive as they dine in the lodge, now at the Michelin one-star restaurant. Knockinaam Lodge (01776 810471, www.prideojbritainhotels.com). Dinner, B&B from £250 per couple. The Churchill Suite is £370.

**La Mamounia, Marrakesh.**
"It is the most lovely spot in the world," Churchill is said to have assured Roosevelt about Marrakesh, persuading the latter to join him at the art deco styled grand hotel, La Mamounia, after their Casablanca Conference in 1943. He described the views from the balcony over the roofs of Marrakesh and the pink Atlas Mountains beyond as "paintaceous." World leaders from Ronald Reagan to Nelson Mandela have also stayed here. La Mamounia (00 212 4438 8643, www.mamounia.com). Doubles from £238. The Churchill Suite is £940.

**Reid's Palace, Madeira.**
Winston and his wife Clementine first stayed at this Edwardian hotel over the 1949-50 New Year, while Winston recuperated from a mild stroke. They occupied ground-floor rooms, today called The Churchill Suite and adorned with caricatures of the famous visitor. While on the island, Churchill indulged his passion for painting. Despite a revamp by Orient-Express to make the hotel feel lighter and fresher, elderly aristocrats still dress for dinner and play bridge during the "winter season" at Reid's. Reid's Palace Hotel (020-7960 0500, www.orient-express.com). B&B doubles from £274. The Churchill Suite is £1829.

**Hotel de Paris, Monte Carlo.**
Churchill stayed here several times, including 1963 when he collapsed and was taken by stretcher through the lobby and flown home. In those final years, WSC kept the suite on the top floor that still bears his name. Today, it is yours for £5600 a night. It has 360-degree views over Monaco and the Mediterranean. More recent occupants include rock star Prince. Hotel de Paris (00 37792 1625 25, www.montecarloresort.com). Double rooms from £273.
Hendaye, France, July 1945

Andrew Carless (andyc@mclink.it) writes: "I am trying to track for a friend the date of a photograph. My friend's grandfather (on the extreme right with his face almost out of the shot) was apparently Churchill's temporary chauffeur when he visited Hendaye in the Pays Basque sometime in 1945. Do you have any way of tracing Churchill's movements in the Pays Basque?"

We are always pleased to help track photos of friends or relatives with the Great Man. Here we can reliably advise that this photo was taken between July 7th and 14th, 1945. Sir Martin Gilbert records in the official biography that Churchill with his daughter Mary arrived in Hendaye on the 7th, for a break between polling-day for the General Election and the start of the Potsdam conference with Stalin and Truman. During that conference, Churchill decided to take a fortnight's holiday, the first he had had since war began. A hospitable Canadian, Brigadier-General Brutinel, who owned the Chateau Margaux vineyard, offered his house, Bordaberry, near Hendaye. The General had somehow contrived to remain in France throughout the German occupation and had been a leading conspirator in arranging for escaping Allied airmen and prisoners of war to cross the Pyrenees into Spain.

So on July 7th Mr. and Mrs. Churchill, Mary, Lord Moran [WSC's physician] and I flew to Bordeaux. The PM. devoted most of the time to painting. He was accompanied and advised on his artistic expeditions by a talented artist, Mrs. Nairn, wife of the British Consul at Bordeaux, who had been at Marrakech when we were there in January 1944 and had won Churchill's esteem. The rest of us walked, visited Biarritz, St. Jean de Luz and Bayonne, watched Basque dancing at Hendaye and drank the finest clarets.

In the mornings we bathed from a sandy beach. The Prime Minister floated, like a benevolent hippo, in the middle of a large circle of protective French policemen who duly donned bathing suits for the purpose. His British detective had also been equipped by the thoughtful authorities at Scotland Yard for such aquatic duties. Round and round this circle swam a persistent French Countess, a notorious collaboratrice who hoped by speaking to Churchill to escape the fate which the implacable Resistance were probably planning for her. It reminded me of the medieval practice of "touching for the King's evil."

The encircling gendarmes, patiently treading water, thwarted her plot, but she did entrap me on the beach. Looking at her golden locks I felt pity and hoped she would not suffer the fate of those shorn girls I had seen at Bayeux the preceding summer. I believe that in the end her good looks, and no doubt her influential connections, saved her from anything worse than a short prison sentence.

Before we left for France Churchill asked President Truman to telegraph the result of the test of the first atomic bomb due to take place in the Nevada desert. "Let me know," he had signalled, "whether it is a flop or a plop." When we were about to leave Bordaberry a telegram came from the President to the Prime Minister. It read: "It's a plop. Truman." A new, glaring light was shed on the future of the war against Japan.

On July 15th Winston Churchill left for the Potsdam Conference.
ChurCHILLTRIVIA

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

1543. Whom did Churchill describe as "the only man on either side who could lose the war [WWI] in an afternoon"? (C)

1544. Churchill wrote a foreword to a book concerning another great British Prime Minister. What was his name? (L)

1545. To what did Churchill refer when he commented, "news of the kind that never fails"? (M)

1546. Who wrote in 1943, "Mary Churchill is so nice....She is wonderfully unspoilt, ready to be excited and interested in everything"? (P)

1547. In 1917 Churchill outlined what attack using concrete caissons, towed to the scene and "sunk to create a weather-proof harbour in the open sea"? (It led to the WW2 Mulberry harbours.) (S)

1548. Speaking in January 1942, what did WSC add to his prescription of "blood, toil, tears and sweat"? (W)

1549. According to his son and biographer, who was Churchill's closest political friend until he crossed the floor from the WW2 Mulberry harbours.) (S)

1550. Churchill wrote a foreword to the autobiography of Field-Marshal Lord Birdwood. What was its title? (L)

1551. When Churchill in 1904 referred to Sir W. E. M. Tomlinson as "a miserable old man," a friend of Tomlinson translated it into English on WSC's 80th birthday? (L)

1552. In 1901 Churchill became associated with what group of dissident young Tory Members? (P)

1553. According to Churchill, what is the most important qualification of a politician? (S)

1554. Who was the founder of the Royal Naval Air Service? (W)

1555. Whom did Churchill describing in this eulogy "a voice had become audible, a note had been struck, more true, more thrilling, more able to do justice to the nobility of our youth in arms engaged in this present war...." (C)

1556. In 1937 Churchill wrote a chapter on the achievements of the British Empire in a small booklet entitled Responsibilities of Empire. What was the title of the chapter? (L)

1557. The notes between Churchill and Lloyd George in Cabinet meetings in 1914 were torn up by Lloyd George. Why did they survive? (M)

1558. As Home Secretary, WSC wrote to Edward VII to keep him informed. Why did the King not respond? (P)

1559. When Churchill traveled to Turkey in January 1943, the British hid the trip with a deceptive announcement. Where did they announce that Churchill was going? (S)

1560. When was the first torpedo dropped from a British aircraft? (W)

1561. On what occasion is Churchill alleged to have remarked, "the two most talkative people in the world are meeting the most silent"? (C)

1562. Who was the well-known Portuguese novelist, who held for many years a high position in the Portuguese Foreign Office, who delivered a lecture about Churchill which was translated into English on WSC's 80th birthday? (L)

1563. After the Casablanca Conference, where did Churchill drive FDR to show him the sunset? (M)

1564. To what was Gen. Brooke referring in his diary on 13Oct43: "I can now control him no more. He has worked himself into a frenzy of excitement about the...attack"? (P)

1565. In January 1943, Gen. Alexander visited the American front lines in Tunisia and requested Churchill to send the best British officers. What did Alexander want them for? (S)

1566. When Churchill sent the fleet to battle stations in 1914, where did he send the battleships and where did he send the battle-cruisers? (W)
RECAPS

Who Photographed the "Gathering of Eagles"?

When Churchill was about to leave the USA in May 1943 he prevailed upon General Marshall to accompany his entourage on a visit to Algiers that would enable the P.M. to confer with Eisenhower. Out of that meeting came the unforgettable "gathering-of-eagles" photograph at the Villa dar el Ouard, showing WSC in a white linen suit surrounded by the chief Anglo-American military leaders. The Prime Minister is smiling impishly as he prepares to open a policy paper of some sort, holding the stage as the great captains await his remarks.

Several other photos were taken at this occasion. In one, Tedder, Cunningham and Alexander have broken into laughter and Montgomery has given way to a smile. Eisenhower, Marshall, Brooke and Eden maintain their serious demeanor, but Churchill appears to be cajoling Ike and Marshall into joining the fun. A third photo taken just before or just after the meeting shows WSC standing with Marshall and Montgomery engaged in serious conversation.

I have looked far and wide for the name of the photographer, not least of all because he must have taken many other pictures on that occasion. The closest I've come is an (uncertain) attribution of the famous first photo to the U.S. Army Signal Corps. Can anyone provide the photographer's name and the location of all the shots that never made it into the history books?

—ROBERT H. PILPEL

Paris, Armistice Day 1944

Readers may recall the photo of WSC and de Gaulle (FH 119:51). The tall man in a homburg on the extreme left, whom we couldn't identify, is Harry Battley, Scotland Yard bodyguard attached to Eden, who, according to Churchill's 1946 bodyguard Ronald Golding (FH 55:15), "was killed in a plane crash returning from Moscow after Eden." Eden's memoirs correct Golding in that Battley was killed en route to Yalta: "The day [2Feb45] had been a sad one for me, for I learned of the death of three able young members of the Foreign Service and of my personal detective, Inspector Battley. Flying out from London to join us [at Yalta], their pilot had failed to find Malta in the mist, the aircraft came down in the sea off Lampedusa and they, with eleven others, had drowned."

—PHC
I have never promised anything but blood, tears, toil, and sweat. Now, however, we have a new experience.

We have victory—a remarkable and definite victory.

The bright gleam has caught the helmets of our soldiers, and warmed and cheered all our hearts....

Rommel's army has been defeated. It has been routed.

It has been very largely destroyed as a fighting force....

Now this is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end.

But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning....

I recall to you some lines of Byron, which seem to me to fit the event, the hour, and the theme:

'Millions of tongues record thee, and anew

Their children's lips shall echo them, and say

"Here, where the sword united nations drew,

Our countrymen were warring on that day!"

And this is much,

and all which will not pass away.'

—WSC, LORD MAYOR'S BANQUET, GUILDHALL, LONDON, 10 NOVEMBER 1942