



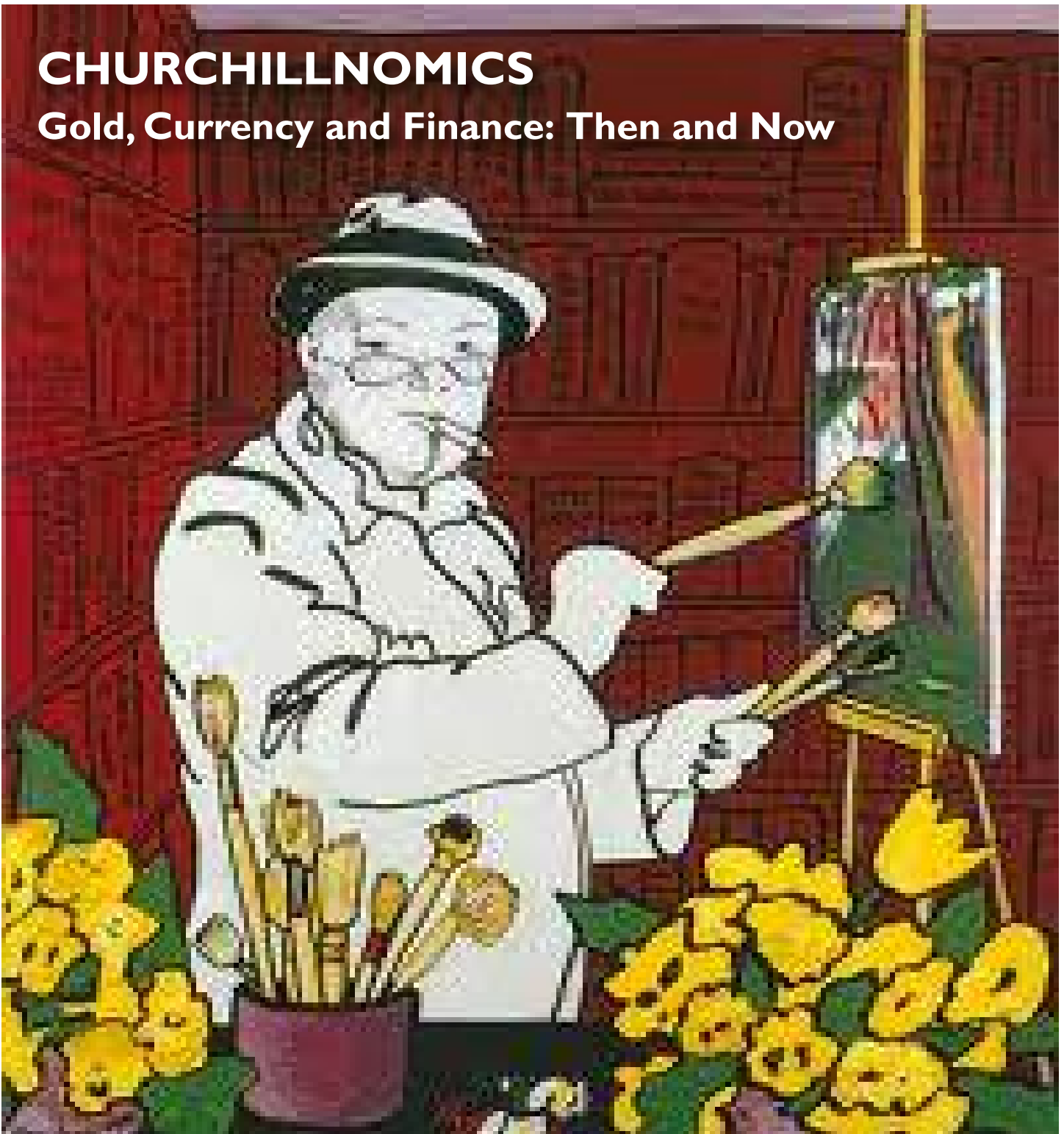
FINEST HOUR

THE JOURNAL OF WINSTON CHURCHILL

WINTER 2011-12 • NO. 153 • \$5.95 / £3.50

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organizations on the back cover.



BROWN, 12



ARNDT, 20



GERWOOD & MAZANSKY, 56

COVER
“Winston at Work,” by Edwina Sandys, from *Edwina Sandys Art*, her new collection of art and sculpture. The first painter she watched at work was her grandfather; from him she inherited his total absorption in art, the “relish and gusto” of his love of life. Story on page **44**.



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WINTER 2011-12 • NO. 153

ARTICLES

CHURCHILLNOMICS: GOLD, CURRENCY AND FINANCE

- 11** Churchill, the Exchequer, and Lessons for Today • *Richard M. Langworth*
- 12** The Burden of Statesmanship: Churchill as Chancellor • *Ryan Brown*
- 20** The Wizard and the Pragmatist: Keynes and Churchill • *H.W. Arndt*
- 26** From the Canon: The Truth about War Debts • *Winston S. Churchill, 1934*
- 29** Chancellor Winston: Churchill on Gold and the Exchequer, 1924-1931
- 30** China’s Challenge: Overvalued Yuan? Or “Sterilization”? • *Ryan Brown*
- 33** Churchill’s 1918 Yen to Nationalize • *Paul Addison, with Churchill Speeches from Robert Rhodes James’s Complete Speeches and The Sinews of Peace*

- 35** Glimpses: Ford Madox Ford, Marion Davies, Rosalind Russell, Peter Quennel • *Dana Cook*
- 38** Foreign Aid: John Gilbert Winant • *Gary Garrison*
- 40** “In the Field”: Churchill and Northey • *Bill Nanny*
- 52** CHURCHILL PROCEEDINGS: Citizens of London • *Lynne Olson*

BOOKS, ARTS & CURIOSITIES

- 43** *A Daughter’s Tale*, by Mary Soames • *John G. Plumpton*
- 44** *Edwina Sandys Art*, by Caroline Seeböhm • *Richard M. Langworth*
- 45** *The Gemini Agenda*, by Michael and Patrick McMenamin • *David Freeman*
- 46** *Dinner with Churchill*, by Cita Stelzer • *Barbara F. Langworth*
- 47** *Hoodwinking Churchill*, by Peter Batty • *David Stafford*
- 48** *Churchill 1920-45*, for OCR A-Level History • *Robin Brodhurst*
- 49** *Churchill’s Secret Agent*, by Max Ciampoli • *Op. JB*, by Christopher Creighton • *Michael McMenamin*
- 50** Theatre: *Three Days in May*, by Ben Brown • *Allen Packwood*
- 56** Churchill Cartophily: Trade and Cigarette Cards • *Cyril Mazansky & Joseph Gerwood*
- 58** Complete Catalogue of Churchill on Trade Cards

DEPARTMENTS

- 2** The Churchill Centre • **4** Despatch Box • **6** Datelines
- 6** Quotation of the Season • **9** Around & About
- 10** Riddles, Mysteries, Enigmas • **11** Editor’s Essay
- 33** Wit & Wisdom • **35** As They Saw Him • **36** Action This Day
- 55** Inside the Journals • **55** Churchilliana
- 62** Churchill Quiz • **63** Regional Directory



COOK, 35



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DESPATCH BOX

ARMY AID

I am delighted to be quoted in *Finest Hour* 152 (page 5), and I really meant what I said. In fact I am using the story of Admiral Fisher and WSC (page 56) on one of the Army's web pages (The Army Knowledge Exchange). There is considerable debate in the Army at the moment about "weight on the man," and the extraordinary burden that our soldiers are carrying in Afghanistan, up to 40-50 kilos. It's the classic balance of "firepower, protection and mobility." Admiral Fisher and Churchill would have understood this well. Our copies are put to good use and create debate.

I am sure the great man would have been delighted. His portrait is in the hall of Government House, seen by the many "great and good" who visit. We put copies in the guest rooms where they are often commented upon, always favourably, especially by some very senior Americans.

MAJ. GEN. P C MARRIOTT CBE, COMMANDANT,
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Editor's response: Thank-you, sir. Your note about "weight on the man" reminds me of Churchill's 1941 query to his War Secretary, hearing that a division was enforcing a seven-mile cross-country run on every soldier from privates to generals: "Who is the general of this division, and does he run the seven miles himself? If so, he may be more useful for football than war. Could Napoleon have run seven miles across country at Austerlitz? Perhaps it was the other fellow he made run."

From Paul Courtenay: Your four young chaps at our London conference made an excellent impression and seemed to enjoy it, while profiting from what they heard. We introduced them to Lady Soames and told them

they'd one day be able to tell their great-grandchildren of this encounter! Many thanks for making it all possible.

BOMBING IN THE AFTERLIGHT

Your "Leading Myths" (<http://bit.ly/jVWSme>) is an excellent source but fails to mention one of the greatest myths of all: that Churchill committed war crimes by ordering Bomber Command to bomb German cities, which is often repeated by people with government grants to support their views, e.g., the government-funded Canadian War Museum in Ottawa:

"Mass bomber raids against Germany resulted in vast destruction and heavy loss of life. The value and morality of the strategic bomber offensive against Germany remains bitterly contested. Bomber Command's aim was to crush civilian morale and force Germany to surrender by destroying its cities and industrial installations. Although Bomber Command and American attacks left 600,000 Germans dead, and more than five million homeless, the raids resulted in only small reductions in German war production until late in the war."

The words "against Germany," instead of something more neutral, like "during the war," indicates considerable bias. A book was published in the UK entitled, *Among the Dead Cities: Was the Allied Bombing of Civilians in WWII—A Necessity or a Crime?* It seems that some taxpayers' money also went to that author. Perhaps some sort of international alliance to promote factual history might help.

MURRAY BALASCAK (Murray.B@shaw.ca)

Editor's Response: One of our "Leading Myths" does touch on the bombing issue. See "Churchill bombed



Dresden as payback for Coventry” (<http://bit.ly/miyrYK>). See also Sir Martin Gilbert’s “Churchill and Bombing Policy” (<http://bit.ly/o5dh6k>) and Christopher Harmon’s “‘Are We Beasts?’ Churchill and the Moral Question of World War II ‘Aerial Bombing’” (<http://bit.ly/nmFaFX>).

The text you quote assumes the results were “small” and omits that one allied leader, Churchill, questioned the bombing on moral grounds. It is nothing more than we hear regularly in what Churchill called “the afterglow,” by those who fail to consider the situation at the time. As Churchill’s daughter often says: “You have to remember that nobody knew then if we were going to win.”

At first the bombing campaign was the only way Britain could strike back, amid incessant demands by Stalin for action in the west. Sir Martin has shown it was the Soviets who asked for the bombing of Dresden. I am no expert at how much damage Bomber Command did, but few at the time thought the effects “small.” The Soviets didn’t. Churchill questioned the morality of the policy long before any other allied leader—a footnote often lost in the shuffle.

From John Plumpton, Toronto: We should not miss the main or principal point of the CWM exhibit. The museum’s mandate is as much to educate as it is to honour and flag-wave. All the museum is trying to say is that it is a “contested” issue, as Mr. Balascak’s letter shows. Significant historians worked on the wording; it was changed under pressure by veterans, and what we see is the final compromise. If I were taking students I would certainly want them to consider and debate why it is a contested issue.

Coincidentally, I spoke in November on the “Politics of Memory,” focusing how memory and memorial events are also political events and how politics evolves as the generations pass. The American Civil War in the South is the

best example but I also address the issue of bombing.

Pieter Geyl said that “history is an argument without end,” and Voltaire was right when he said, “history is a pack of lies we play on the dead,” particularly when moral as well as historical perspectives are involved. I understand Mr. Balascak’s viewpoint but I also understand a friend who participated in the Dresden bombing and never forgave himself.

TOYEING AROUND (3)

I just completed Richard Toye’s *Churchill’s Empire*. I imagine that his file cabinets are stuffed with marked-up Churchill books and documents containing every negative quotation made by and about WSC in ninety years, with emphasis on Africa.

One glaring error is on page 278, where Toye says that the UN plan for partition of Palestine [in 1948] was rejected by the Jews. With sixty-six pages of notes, Toye certainly was busy. I hesitate donating this paperback to the local library.

DAVID DRUCKMAN, CHICAGO

Editor’s response: The book was reviewed rather sympathetically in *FH* 147 and I’ve since come to regret it, because the author’s previous *Lloyd George and Churchill* was lambasted in *FH* 137, and should have warned us. We’re constantly hearing of new errors and feverish accusations in *Churchill’s Empire*. (The first two installments are “Toyeing Around” in *FH* 149:5 and “True and Trite” in *FH* 150:9.) Your discovery is another example of the perfervid cheap shots. We’d donate it, but not to a library.

WHAT LED TO HITLER?

Anent the William Griffin article (*FH* 152: 32-36), a major question we debated was whether or not Churchill thought World War I led directly to Hitler and the other dictators, Lenin, Stalin and Mussolini. I argued that Churchill blamed them not on World

War I, but the mistakes at Versailles.

After publication I ran across the quotation that proves this argument: In his final volume of World War II memoirs, *Triumph and Tragedy*, Churchill reprinted a note he sent on 26 April 1945 to Sir Hugh Knatchbull-Hagessen, then British Ambassador to Belgium:

“Personally, having lived through all these European disturbances and studied carefully their causes, I am of opinion that if the Allies at the peace table at Versailles had not imagined that the sweeping away of long-established dynasties was a form of progress, and if they had allowed a Hohenzollern, a Wittelsbach, and a Habsburg to return to their thrones, there would have been no Hitler.” —EDITOR

RICHARD BURTON

I question the note in *Datelines (FH* 152:6) about the new video of “The Valiant Years,” which states that Richard Burton (the narrator) disliked Churchill. I had the impression that Burton worshiped Sir Winston.

I had been asked to be an “adviser” for this film, so that no great mistakes in presentation would appear. I set up an office in Jermyn Street with Patrick Macnee (later to play John Steed in “The Avengers”) and worked every day for hours with Richard Burton, since all his recordings were done in London. In 1953, when I was working for WSC, I was with the family at The Old Vic to hear Burton as Hamlet. It was quite marvellous and WSC embarrassed the family by speaking along with Burton during his favourite passages. Richard came down to the front of the stage to speak the great Shakespearean words with Churchill—the audience were ecstatic!

JANE WILLIAMS, ENGLAND

Note: Born Jane Portal, Lady Williams of Elvel was WSC’s personal secretary from 1949 through 1955. This column continues, and Richard Burton is dissected, on page 63....

DATELINES

WORLD'S LARGEST THEME PARK

LONDON, NOVEMBER 3RD— The historic gateway that links The Mall to Trafalgar Square could become a museum or a hotel under government plans, reports the *Daily Telegraph*.

Admiralty Arch, designed by Sir Aston Webb, was completed in 1912 as a memorial to Queen Victoria by her son Edward VII, who did not live to see its completion. It is a grade 1 listed building, decorated with the figures of "Navigation" and "Gunnery" by sculptor Thomas Brock. Nearby is Admiralty House, where Churchill lived while First Lord of the Admiralty (1911-15, 1939-40), now divided into apartments for a small number of government ministers. The Arch building, last occupied by the Cabinet Office, is now largely empty.



The Admiralty Arch is now to be sold for £75 million because the government believes its 80,000 square feet will be too expensive to modernise. Stephen Lovegrove, chief executive of the Shareholder Executive, confirmed the sale at the Public Property Summit.

Lovegrove added that the government will look for alternative uses while "protecting the heritage," creating opportunities for public access and "ensuring value for the taxpayer" from the building.

If "protecting the heritage" of central London consists of turning iconic structures into money factories, they have already gone a long way to developing the capital as the World's Largest Theme Park. —RML



IT IS DIFFICULT FOR A MAN TO DO GREAT THINGS IF HE TRIES TO COMBINE A LAMBENT CHARITY EMBRACING THE WHOLE WORLD WITH THE SHARPER FORMS OF POPULIST PARTY STRIFE."

—WSC, *THE AFTERMATH*, LONDON, 1929, 128-29

WINSTON AT 18

LONDON, NOVEMBER 11TH— The firm jaw, the determined look, the hint of a confident smile are features that would later inspire the millions he led to victory over Nazi Germany. Taken when he was 18, previously unseen images of Winston

Spencer Churchill have emerged through the sale of an album belonging to an anonymous titled family.

The pictures, taken when Gladstone was prime minister and photography still a preserve of the wealthy, were taken at WSC's Aunt Cornelia's home in Canford Magna near Bournemouth.

—NAIDIA GILANI, *DAILY MAIL*

Note: Although the *Mail* article identifies the boy at right as Winston's brother Jack, Celia Lee, co-author of

Winston & Jack, thinks it might be Ivor Guest. Jack, a keen photographer at age 12, might have taken the shots.

"THE SHAPE OF OUR ILLUSIONS"

NEW YORK, AUGUST 29TH— Writing in *The New York Times* (<http://nyti.ms/o2BOJx>), Brian Morton explains our frustration with the constant bending, maiming and misrepresenting of quotes by

Churchill and others: "I saw a mug with an inscription from Henry David Thoreau: 'Go confidently in the direction of your dreams! Live the life you've imagined!' Thoreau was not known for his liberal use of exclamation points. When I got home, I looked up the

passage (it's from *Walden*). Thoreau wrote: 'I learned this, at least, by my experiment: that if one advances confidently in the direction of his dreams, and endeavors to live the life which he has imagined, he will meet with a suc-



WINSTON AND ?, 1892

cess unexpected in common hours.’

“When you start to become aware of these bogus quotations, you can’t stop finding them. Henry James, George Eliot, Picasso—all of them are being kept alive in popular culture through pithy, cheery sayings they never actually said.

“Thoreau, Gandhi, Mandela—it’s easy to see why their words and ideas have been massaged into gauzy slogans. They were inspirational figures, dreamers of beautiful dreams. But what goes missing in the slogans is that they were also sober, steely men. Each knew that thoroughgoing change, whether personal or social, involves humility and sacrifice, and that the effort to change oneself or the world always exacts a price.

“But ours is an era in which it’s believed that we can reinvent ourselves whenever we choose. So we recast the wisdom of the great thinkers in the shape of our illusions. Shorn of their complexities, their politics, their grasp of the sheer arduousness of change, they stand before us now. They are shiny from their makeovers, they are fabulous and gorgeous, and they want us to know that we can have it all.”

ANOTHER MUSICAL

LAGOA, PORTUGAL, OCTOBER 1ST—Two Englishmen, Trevor Holman and Derek Charles Ash, both living in the Algarve in southern Portugal, have taken a stab at a recurrent idea, a musical stage play built around Churchill.

Ash, a published lyricist and composer, and Holman, a long-established musician, record producer, composer, arranger and orchestrator, created the lyrics and music for eighteen new songs along with a two-act stage play. They sent a copy of the finished play and a demo CD to Ray Jeffery, who

excitedly agreed to direct the show.

The world premiere of *Churchill: The Musical* (www.churchillthemusical.com) opened at the Lagoa Auditorium in the Algarve tonight with a cast of forty-two. A sell-out audience praised it as “fantastic,” “brilliant” and “emotional,” according to the film’s website.

The play stars Jonathan Reynolds as Winston, Sarah Pryde as Clementine, and Oliver Lanford as “Percy” (a fictitious aide). The props include 289 costumes and uniforms, fifty-seven specially made wigs, 189 lighting changes by designer Andy Chafer, and custom-built sets designed by Jeffrey.

The show revived memories for older viewers, while giving insight into Churchill and the Second World War for those fortunately young enough to have missed it. There are many lighter moments, such as a dinner party scene at Chartwell; and also during an air raid, where locals are taking shelter in the Bethnal Green Underground station.

The run in Portugal was extended, and the producers will take it to Britain in September 2012 and the United States in 2013. Still starring Reynolds and Pryde, the musical will tour the Midlands and south of England for twelve weeks before Christmas holiday, resuming after the New Year with sixteen weeks in northern Eng-

land and Scotland. “Swing Extreme” will provide the dancers and Ryan François (who choreographed the Ola Jordan/Chris Hollins Charleston in *Strictly Come Dancing* last year) is the choreographer.

THREE DAYS OF IMAGINATION

CAMBRIDGE, SEPTEMBER 6TH—

A play entitled “Three Days in May,” with rather broad interpretations of *Fringes of Power*, the diaries of Sir John Colville, one of Churchill’s wartime private secretaries, is reviewed by Allen Packwood on page xx. A rave review by a local writer is posted on our website: [http:// bit.ly/qc9K5F](http://bit.ly/qc9K5F):

“It is the end of May 1940. French premier Paul Reynard [sic] flies to London with proposals for negotiations which he puts to Churchill....

[who gives] the appearance he could be up for a bit of wobbling so as to snare his key opponent, the foreign secretary of the day, Lord Halifax, who was chief cheerleader of the appeasers.” WSC appeals to former PM Neville Chamberlain: “Gently, Churchill leads him to set aside his belief that it might be possible to stop the Nazi machine by negotiation....a history lesson well worth the telling,” etc. etc.

But Paul Reynaud never flew to London, and Churchill never gave an appearance of wobbling, nor did Chamberlain need convincing: his support of Churchill was a key factor. Much of this sounds like superfluous embroidery, deployed for what the producer thinks is a need for drama.

When it comes to May 1940, reality was drama enough. For what really >>



CHURCHILL AND HALIFAX, LONDON, 29 MARCH 1938

DATELINES

happened, read John Lukacs' *Five Days in London*, (FH 105:37) and on our website: <http://bit.ly/o040Xn>.

SAS WAR DIARY

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 23RD— The newly released Special Air Service War Diary has disclosed previously unheard WW2 accounts.

One of the more daring is the targeting of Field Marshal Rommel, arguably the Third Reich's finest commander, at a French chateau shortly after D-Day in 1944:

"If it should prove possible to kidnap Rommel and bring him to this country the propaganda value would be immense and the inevitable retaliation against the local inhabitants might be mitigated or avoided.... To kill Rommel would obviously be easier than to kidnap him...." Unfortunately, the day before the SAS team was due to parachute in, Rommel returned to Germany, having been injured when his staff car was hit by RAF planes.

—THOMAS HARDING IN THE *DAILY TELEGRAPH*; SEE [HTTP://BIT.LY/VTU0LM](http://bit.ly/vTU0LM)

ROMNEY'S GAFFE

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 29TH— In *Business Insider* (<http://read.bi/mQVAKr>), Grace Wyler reports a Churchill misquote by presidential candidate Mitt Romney. Defending himself from charges that he is a "flip-flopper," Romney "confused the Brit every Republican loves with the Brit every Republican loves to hate."

Romney said: "In the private sector, if you don't change your view when the facts change, you'll get fired for

being stubborn and stupid. Churchill said, 'When facts change, I change too, madam.'" That was not Churchill, Wyler notes, but John Maynard Keynes, whose actual words were: "When the facts change, I change my mind. What do you do, sir?" (See "Churchill and Keynes," page 21.)

We heard Romney's gaffe with only a small clang, instead of the large one we usually hear when Churchill is misquoted, because Romney at least had the sentiments right. WSC, like Keynes, changed his mind fairly often. He changed parties twice (opposing some of the people, all of the time). In his article "Consistency in Politics" he explained: "The only way a man can remain consistent amid changing circumstances is to change with them while preserving the same dominating purpose."

All that is literally true. But it is important to note that while he sometimes changed positions on a particular issue, Churchill maintained his purpose: the defense of liberty.

On 5 May 1952, chided for changing his mind in the Commons, Churchill retorted: "My views are a harmonious process which keeps them in relation to the current movements of events."

The following year, when the Queen was crowned, Churchill recalled his diehard support for her uncle, Edward VIII, who had abdicated in 1936 in favor of his brother, Britain's wartime sovereign: "I'm glad I was wrong. We could not have had a better King. And

now we have this splendid Queen."

The main reason Churchill flipped on certain issues was the extraordinary length of his political career. In fifty years, times change. When after World War II the Labour Party wished further to curb the power of the House of Lords, Prime Minister Attlee quoted what Churchill, long a Tory, had said about the Lords as a Liberal, in 1911. Churchill had called the Lords "one-sided, hereditary, unpurged, unrepresentative, irresponsible, absentee."

Churchill replied: "Really, I do believe there ought to be a statute of limitations on my remarks. I'm willing to be held responsible for anything I've said for the past thirty years, but before that I think a veil should be drawn over the past."

Whether Governor Romney has been around long enough to make that claim is doubtful. As the late William Rusher said (FH 151:29): "How many politicians last long enough to make that particular request?"

QUOTE MARATHON

NEW HAMPSHIRE, OCTOBER 10TH— Last year (FH 145:10) we began an entry-by-entry review of my quotations book, *Churchill By Himself*, which is moving toward digital format in combination with the Churchill Archives-Bloomsbury Publishing digital research system, and an ebook plus a new edition. My goal is to link all quotes in the book to the research site.

Churchill By Himself (*Churchill in His Own Words* in the next edition) is the only quote book with each entry attributed. It is also one of the few subject to ongoing review.

Before the 2008 publication we found that a transcriber had made er-



ROMMEL



AROUND & ABOUT



In 1940, writes political analyst **David Gergen** for CNN, many “of Britain’s older political leaders were so despondent they wanted to capitulate to **Adolf Hitler** and had signed a peace treaty. [What treaty was that? —Ed.]

Churchill rallied younger ministers, turned around the cabinet, and inspired his people to fight to the end....What we would give for leaders today who are as defiant in the face of trouble?” Cynics might label Gergen’s piece “too easy to be good” (Dr. **Larry Arnn**’s phrase). Today’s media would have put a target on WSC and scuttled him the moment he said something to challenge what **Andrew Roberts** calls the “Respectable Tendency.” It is certainly the time for inspirational leadership. When was it not time?

Norman Tebbit, a minister in the **Thatcher** government well-known as a gadfly, criticised Liberal leader **Nick Clegg** for a speech on Human Rights: “The frailty of his analysis was demonstrated by the way in which he invoked the names of Winston Churchill and the ‘British lawyers’ (**Maxwell Fyfe**) who created the European Convention on Human Rights. It was their purpose, he seemed to claim, to give foreign judges the power to force us to grant voting rights to murderers, rapists, robbers and terrorists in our jails. I can just imagine the scene as Churchill and his Attorney General slapped high fives and danced around the cabinet table in the joy of con-

structing a system to give illegal immigrant rapists the right to live here on welfare, and polygamists to import their wives.”

Lord Tebbit missed Texas Governor **Rick Perry** in *Parade* magazine: “I’m a huge fan of Winston Churchill. He represents perseverance and how, when you know what you believe in, you stand up for it day in and day out. I actually asked for the bust of Winston Churchill that was removed from the White House, if I could take it. His daughter wrote to me, the British are so—I just love ‘em to death because of how formal they are in certain ways. She wrote me this wonderful letter and said, “I really appreciate your asking to have the bust of my grand...”—I think it was her grandfather. But she said, “It’s property of the British Empire and you’ll have to ask them.” So I asked them and they said, “We’ve got it at the Embassy, and we’re going to keep it. I told them I’ve got busts of **George Washington, Sam Houston, Abraham Lincoln, and Ronald Reagan**. I was like, ‘Man, if I could get Winston Churchill, I’d have what may have been the five most influential men in history.’”

Hooray for Sam Houston and the British Empire. We love to remind Republicans that if Churchill had had the vote, he’d have voted for the Democrat in every U.S. presidential election from 1916 to 1964. ☺

rors. Despite a mammoth last minute effort, paid for with most of my advance, we did not get them all. We also found detail variations in wording or punctuation between what Churchill records in his own speech volumes and other sources. I found most errors to be trivial and not affecting Churchill’s meaning. Some misquotes were synonymous, as if the transcriber’s mind were wandering: odd synonyms were put in. Weird.

Editors are nitpickers and fussbudgets, and I am determined to have the final text exact. The British second edition corrected much, but there are more, ranging from an errant comma to a mangled word or phrase. I have not tried to reconcile English-American variations like “organisation/orga-

nization,” which even Churchill used interchangeably; or non-critical missing commas. You can do only so much rationalizing before you go mad.

Barbara Langworth, Dave Turrell, David Dilks and four students have helped immeasurably. We will soon have a comprehensive errata sheet. Up-to-date errata sheets are available; for details, see <http://bit.ly/nQWLqn>. As always, I welcome hearing the comments of readers. —EDITOR

TWEET @WINSTONC?

WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 18TH—If Churchill were here, would he Tweet? One British MP believes so, and used Churchill to defend Tweeting by MPs.

The House of Commons was considering banning Tweets from inside

Parliament, but MPs defended the practice, saying it connected them to their voters. But Kevin Brennan (Lab., Cardiff West) remonstrated: “There is nothing new in political communication in trying to get a message across in a pithy, memorable way, as Twitter enables us to do. In fact, I think that it was a certain Winston Churchill who said: ‘Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.’ If that statement was issued as a Tweet, it would leave 66 of the 140 characters available on Twitter still to play with.”

Brennan’s argument worked. The House of Commons voted against the motion to ban Tweeting.

—MELISSA BELL,

THE WASHINGTON POST BLOGPOST. ☺

Riddles Mysteries Enigmas



Q I have been waiting for Paul Reid's third volume of *The Last Lion*, so I may go on dreaming of how I would create a lifestyle that allows me to bathe until noon, with a glass of scotch (only one), read all the newspapers and mail and then face the world. Please Mr. Reid, make haste! —Jon W., via email

A It might not be as much fun as you think. That glass was mainly water—"scotch-flavoured mouthwash," as a staffer put it. He didn't bathe all morning. He bathed around 11 after waking at 8am, breakfasting and working in bed, reading the papers (all of them, including the *Daily Worker*), and his mail. Then he went down to lunch, held forth extensively to guests, rambled around Chartwell, returned to his room, worked until around 6pm, bathed again, worked again, held dinner around 9pm, and a film afterward. Then he summoned a secretary and worked until as late as 3am. I have actually tried this, but my wife wouldn't put up with it, and besides, it takes a staff of eleven.

Q In a symposium on quality and data measurement, the speaker casually mentioned that Churchill once said, "It takes me one hour to prepare twenty minutes and an eternity to create one sentence." Can you please provide the actual statement about content, quality, and effectiveness, I have run internet

searches to find this exact statement with absolutely no luck. The best I could find was "one hour of preparation for every minute of delivery," but that falls rather short of the symposium speaker's

comment. —Liz Sammis, via email

A Evidently the time he spent varied directly with the importance of the speech. He did once tell his grandson that he spent "one hour of prep for each minute of delivery." This is backed up by his doctor, Lord Moran, who quoted him about a brief speech to the National Federation of Building Trade Workers on 27 January 1955, a few weeks before he retired as Prime Minister. That speech occupies only two pages of text, and could not have required more than three or four minutes. "It took me three or four hours to prepare," Sir Winston said, "but it went like hot cakes."

It would be reasonable to assume this kind of preparation time referred mainly to his more important orations, not to routine speeches, of which he gave a great many. Oliver Lyttelton (Lord Chandos) wrote, for example, "I have known him to take six or eight or more hours to prepare a speech of forty minutes" (much shorter than his stem-winders). No speech, however, was impromptu. He wrote them all himself until very old age, and rehearsed them carefully.

A great many of Churchill's com-

ments on speech and writing content are in the fourth chapter ("Writer and Speaker) of *Churchill By Himself* (amzn.to/churchillquote): "If you have an important point to make, don't try to be subtle or clever. Use a pile driver. Hit the point once. Then come back and hit it again. Then hit it a third time." (1919) See also his youthful article, "The Scaffolding of Rhetoric," *Finest Hour* 94 (<http://bit.ly/uIBUvi>).

Q WSC sent a copy of one of his books to his cousin, Lord Londonderry, and received the following reply: "My dear Winston, I have received the copy of your latest book. I have put it on the shelf beside the others." Ouch! True? —Jonathan Hayes on *Churchillchat*

A This occurred in the 1930s according to *A Thread in the Tapestry* by Sarah Churchill, who suggested that the writer was the Prince of Wales, later Edward VIII and still later the Duke of Windsor:

"The family, on being told this by my mother, collapsed in laughter. It evoked for us the famous story of what George III, the then Duke of Gloucester, is supposed to have said to Mr. Gibbon: 'Another damned thick square book! Always scribble, scribble, eh Mr. Gibbon?'" Note Sarah's description: "a friend of royal lineage."

[Paul Courtenay corrects Sarah: "Whatever the source, George III was never Duke of Gloucester, a title held by his father and then one of George III's younger brothers."]

William Manchester in his *Last Lion*, vol. 2, apparently mixed this up when he wrote (page 18) that the letter was from the Duke of Gloucester.

It wasn't meant as a conscious put-down, but Churchill, that gifted word-smith, saw humor in it that the writer missed, and read it to his wife, who in turn read it to their family. In the end, he didn't think much of "Mr. David Windsor." ☺

Churchillnomics: Gold, Currency and Finance: Then and Now



“If you laid all the economists end to end,” Milton Friedman allegedly said, “they would not reach a conclusion.” (Friedman? The quip was repeated recently by presidential candidate Mitt Romney, who’s a little creaky with his sources (page 8). Actually I’m quite certain that George Bernard Shaw said this first.

My college economics professor was a Goldwater Tory who preached the doctrine of Adam Smith. (Profs were different then.) His name was Charlie Kramer, and he pronounced his dark science “eek-onomics—with the accent on the ‘eek.’”

If we learned nothing else, he told us on Day One, “I hope you’ll go away with two lessons: 1) It’s a dog-eat-dog world out there. 2) When in doubt, ask the gate guard at the Staten Island ferry.”

“If you really want to know what to do about the economy,” Professor Kramer explained, “don’t ask an economist.” They’ll

hesitate and waffle and disagree with each other. Ask the fellow holding back the crowd until the ferry docks. He’ll give you an answer that’s as good as anybody else’s.”

Winston Churchill might ruefully have agreed after his tenure as Britain’s 1924-29 Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he “restored” the Gold Standard and “caused” the General Strike which paralyzed the country in 1926. This same Churchill in 1930 “abandoned” Free Trade to “support” protective tariffs, putting Britain in even worse shape in the Threadbare Thirties. Of course Churchill didn’t actually “do” any of those things in quotes. He simply accepted the recommendations of economists.

Having learned exactly what Professor Kramer predicted I’d learn from his course, I had only his two prime lessons to fall back on when we considered an issue devoted to one-tenth of Churchill’s political life. I turned *ipso facto* to people who not only know much more about it than I, but whom even I can understand. It’s like the Prime Minister asking his military planners: “Pray summarise for me on one sheet of paper the pros and cons of invading Sumatra.”

Ryan Brown was recommended to us by Ashland University Professor Justin Lyons as able to state Churchill’s

case—which of course is debateable—for putting Britain back on gold. Ryan did. For review, Professor David Dilks sent us to George Peden, Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Stirling in Scotland, who has written at length on the Treasury and Keynesian Economics. His comments helped Ryan improve his work.

For Keynes’s side of the story, and his relationship with Churchill, Alfred James of Australia sent us a fine article by the late H.W. Arndt. We may not be “all Keynesians now,” as Richard Nixon once memorably cracked, but we will be the wiser for his thoughtful piece.

We could not leave the subject without Churchill’s own words, which come in two sallies: his 1934 article, “The Truth About War Debts”—a major issue in economic relations between Britain, Europe and America in the 1930s—and his leading remarks on economics and fiscal policy. Our “Wit and Wisdom” column recalls that

WSC once favored nationalizing the railways, changed his mind, and how he replied when accused of flip-flopping.

For the modern aspect we asked Ryan Brown to write about a current issue: the overvalued Chinese Yuan, which many politicians believe is the root of our troubles. Again Ryan delivered, which is not to say everyone will necessarily agree. No one ever agrees about economics.

If all this brings us no closer to what Professor Kramer warned us is a witch’s brew of arcane science and conflicting opinions, it may provide an understanding of what Churchill tried to do—and how the economic events of the 1930s are reflected in the Chinese currency issue today.

If you finish reading this convinced that Churchill was right about gold, and the politicians wrong about punishing China for the overvalued Yuan, write to your Congressman or your MP. If, which is quite possible, you decide that Churchill was all wet, and that we should go after those troublesome Chinese, write us with your opposing view.

Remember Churchill’s and Lord Birkenhead’s famous Rule 12 of The Other Club (page 24): “Nothing in the rules or intercourse of the Club shall interfere with the rancour or asperity of party politics.” ☞

RICHARD M. LANGWORTH

The Burden of Statesmanship: Churchill as Chancellor

1924-1929

“The world on the verge of its catastrophe was very brilliant.” Winston Churchill was writing of July 1914, in his memoir *The World Crisis*. Europe’s empires were gathered into “an immense cantilever”—two mighty rival systems of alliance “glittering and clanking in their panoply,” being drawn ineluctably into the destructive vortex of World War.

Churchill observed these events from his room at the Admiralty, where he had marshaled naval defenses for the conflict. One of the few who anticipated the massive changes the war would cause, he would spend the rest of his life confronting unresolved repercussions of this titanic struggle. His 1930s warnings of Nazi aggression are tied to the unfinished business of World War I.

Many, however, fail to trace a consistent path between Churchill’s hawkish stances in both world wars through his



RYAN BROWN

in global trade under the classical Gold Standard.² Often misunderstood, the Standard arose naturally from the bartering system in which commodities were exchanged directly. Over time, gold proved to be the most universally

1924-29 tenure as Chancellor of the Exchequer. His conduct of this office attracts heavy criticism for his decision to return Britain to the Gold Standard in 1925.¹

Though the immediate consequences of this policy were bad, a just evaluation must avoid the error of isolating it from historical context, imposing pure economic philosophy onto consequences determined by political forces. In the end, the return to gold shows Churchill shouldering the burden of statesmanship—using every tool at his disposal to forge a lasting peace in a world intent upon repeating the fatal mis-

takes of the past.

Throughout the 19th century, Britain presided over a tenfold rise

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He is a 2010 recipient of the Charles Parton Award for his senior thesis on the British Empire in India.

CONTRARY TO POPULAR PREJUDICES, CHURCHILL'S PRIMARY CONCERN IN RETURNING TO GOLD WAS NOT THE WEALTHY BUT THE WORKING CLASSES. BUT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO FORESEE ALL THE RESULTS. LATER, LOOKING BACK, HE WOULD REGRET HIS DECISION. BUT KNOWING THAT HISTORY MAY SOMETIMES REWARD EXCELLENCE WITH FAILURE IS THE BURDEN OF THE STATESMAN.

desired commodity, and we began to measure the value of goods against it.

As a commodity, gold became the measuring stick of value for goods and eventually developed into the accepted medium of exchange. For ease of trade, banks began to hold gold reserves, and would issue the depositor a paper receipt that could be exchanged as gold in the marketplace. Over time, central banks gained a monopoly on issuing these receipts, and produced paper currencies that were "IOUs"³ for "a specified weight of gold" held by the national banking system.⁴

The amount of currency in circulation was, therefore, limited by the amount of bullion in the national gold reserve. If a central bank pursued an unwise inflationary policy—say by issuing paper currency not represented by gold reserves—the citizenry could protect their savings and "vote" against this action by exchanging their paper bills for gold at national banks. This would contract the gold reserves in the central bank and force them to reverse their policy to stem the gold drain.

Since units of currency were worth a set amount of gold, they could be directly translated into foreign currencies at fixed exchange rates based upon their relationship to gold. These constant exchange rates, founded on gold, tied world markets together with a single standard and created a uniform set of global prices. If a central bank did not preserve the value of a currency, and inflated the money supply,



the rise in domestic prices would decrease exports and cause people to spend money abroad, where goods were cheaper.

As a nation received gold, it would issue paper currency to represent this monetary inflow. This increase in money would eventually cause domestic prices to rise and make foreign goods more affordable. In response, the flow of trade would reverse, as gold found its way to cheaper goods abroad and synchronized trade with market forces. In this way, domestic monetary policy was directly linked to a nation's exchange rate. This process held international gold reserves in proportion to each other based upon how much

wealth individual nations produced.

This self-regulating international system depended on central banks to follow these "rules of the game" and to maintain confidence in their national monetary structures by following the impulses of the Gold Standard mechanism as they set policy. Under this system, money was an impartial standard of value through which market forces could direct capital and allocate resources in proportion to needs of society. Central banks could not abuse monetary policy by artificially lowering interest rates to overextend credit, issuing bonds to finance budget deficits, or manipulating the money supply to boost exports—since excessive borrowing and lending would deplete the national gold reserve.

As a result, countries could not manipulate their >>

1. D.E. Moggridge, *The Return to Gold 1925: The Formulation of Economic Policy and its Critics* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 9.

2. P.J. Cain, "Economics and Empire: The

Metropolitan Context" in Andrew Porter, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 3, *The Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 42.

3. Henry Hazlitt, *What You Should Know About Inflation* (Princeton, New Jersey: Van Nostrand Press, 1965), 3.

4. *Ibid.*, 37.

The Burden of Statesmanship....

currency to run long-term budget deficits or trade imbalances without risking financial collapse: distortions in the market were forced back to equilibrium by the Gold Standard.

Sometimes touted as an economic cure-all, the Gold Standard posed many practical challenges. Because it essentially created a unified currency zone, the effects of sharp corrections or poor monetary policies were often carried, through trade, into other nations.

The sheer rigidity of the Gold Standard also made it difficult for a relatively fixed money supply to keep pace with the expansion of the global economy. In some decades, gold discoveries lagged behind economic output, causing money shortages.

In others, gold rushes caused the money supply to outdistance production, stimulating inflation.

Given the dynamism of the modern global economy, it would prove difficult to revive this system. But in this historical context, the Gold Standard offered the best solution to the complexities of international trade. Despite its imperfections, it brought stable prosperity to the world and linked forty-seven nations through trade by 1914.⁵

Over decades, the economies of the world grew together through Free Trade and the Gold Standard. But World War I was a traumatic shock to this system. Britain lost one of her largest continental customers—Germany—and was one of many nations struggling for economic survival in a period of commercial disruption. Governments commandeered private industry to coordinate the war effort, and disengaged the Gold Standard mechanism to facilitate massive deficit spending.

Released from fiscal restraint, European governments resorted to inflationary policies and heavy borrowing to finance the war. The major combatants squandered \$200

billion, about half their combined wealth, on the conflict.⁶ By 1918, the paper bills in circulation had doubled in Britain, tripled in France, and quadrupled in Germany.⁷

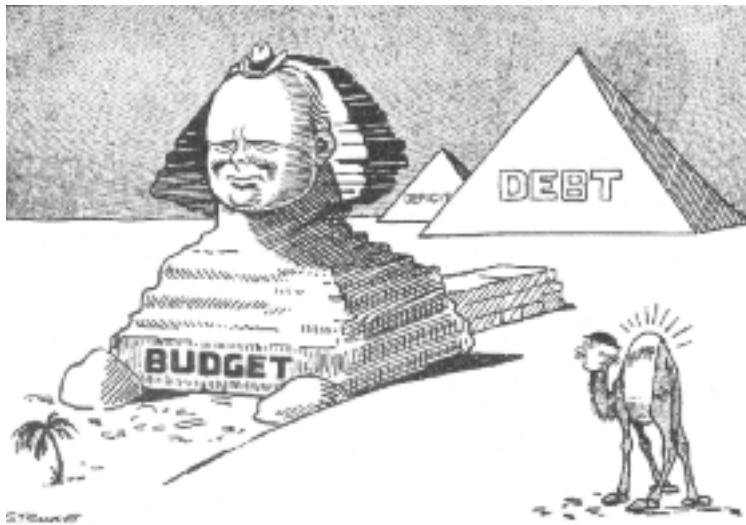
Allied borrowing left America with over 40% of world gold reserves and billions of dollars in outstanding European loans.⁸ A tangled web of international debt claims and excess paper currency weakened the ability of money to report accurately the size of national economies in proportion to one another.

The war also severed the connection between domestic monetary policy and international exchange rates. This left the global system woefully out of equilibrium as nations attempted to reconnect their economies through trade. While many nations neared insolvency, an embittered Europe shunned prewar *laissez-faire* doctrines and sought domestic price stability at the

expense of international price stability. The vestiges of the old world lingered, but now countries turned inwards to seek the interwar ideal of autarky, or self-sufficiency.

Before the war, London was the investment capital of the world. Of the 31.5% of British national income derived from trade,⁹ 8% came from overseas investments.¹⁰ But Britain emerged from the war with exports at half their prewar levels and gold reserves dwindling.¹¹ In response, Parliament suspended the export of bullion until 1925, when the country expected to resume a functioning Gold Standard. Restoring trade was imperative to reviving the British economy, but this first required realigning domestic and international price levels.

The only historical guide for Britain's domestic quandaries was the resumption of gold in 1821.¹² Rather than devalue sterling following the Napoleonic Wars, the Bank of England had chosen to reverse wartime inflation by deflating the currency to its prewar value over six painful years. Britain emerged a colossus, and experienced a century of unprecedented progress.



“The Riddle of the Sphinx.” Strube in the *Daily Express*, 10 March 1927. Parliament was awaiting Churchill’s next budget; Strube’s “Little Man,” who would have to bear it, wonders how much new debts will be incurred.

A GOOD IDEA AT THE TIME

Now, a century later, after a far more devastating war, Bank of England Governor Montagu Norman sought to apply the same methods to bring sterling back to its prewar worth of \$4.86.¹³ To this end, he set out to stabilize the global monetary system and return to gold through the international cooperation of central banks. At the Genoa Conference in 1922, Norman helped engineer a new monetary order around the gold-exchange standard.¹⁴ Under this system, currencies of primary countries, such as the United States and Great Britain, were backed by gold and could essentially function as gold in most international transactions. Rather than send bullion to pay for imports, a nation could make payments in gold-backed bills.

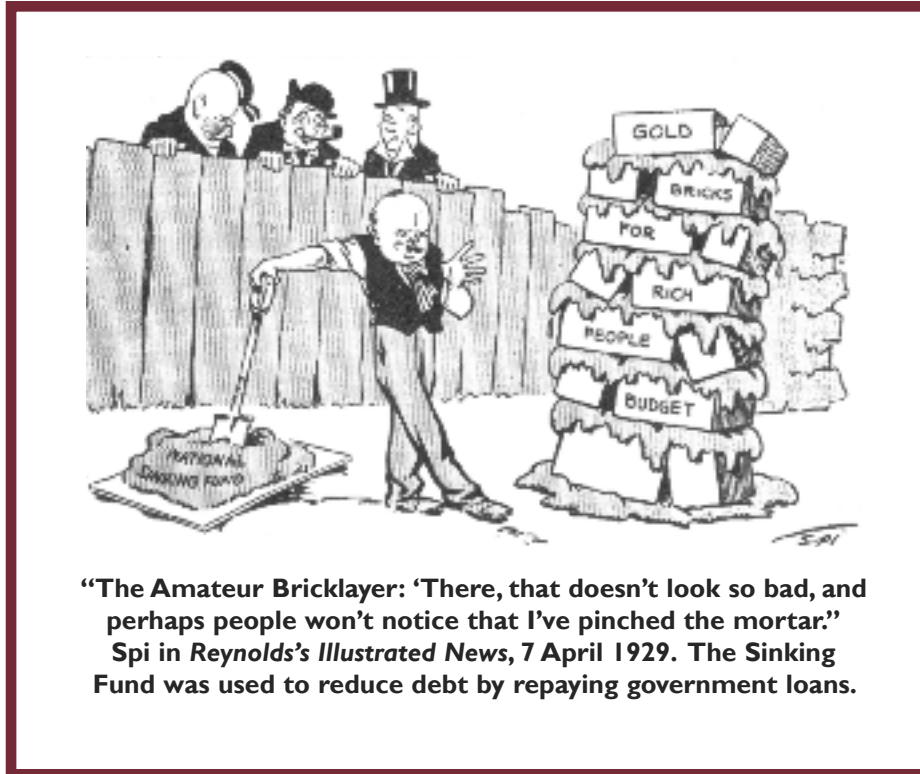
Secondary countries not directly tied to gold could use these bills, instead of gold reserves, to issue more paper currency. Since the world's money supply was not strictly limited to gold, this gold-exchange standard disabled the old Gold Standard's anti-inflationary mechanism and increased the amount of credit flowing through the international markets.

By 1924, the pound was within 10% of its prewar parity against the dollar.¹⁵ Norman had gained approval to resume the Gold Standard from Philip Snowden, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the first Labour government (January-

November 1924). When that government fell, the final decision was left for the incoming Conservative ministry.

Winston Churchill was glowing as he donned the robes his father had worn as Chancellor of the Exchequer and assumed the same high office. His return to the Conservative Party and appointment by the Prime Minister were as big a surprise to him as they were to England. But no shortage of problems awaited him.

After the war, unemployment swelled to 23%¹⁶ before stabilizing at 11.7% in 1923.¹⁷ Hardest hit were the old industries of the North, such as textiles, coal and manufacturing. The war effort had fueled the growth of these industries beyond what could be supported in peacetime, and the postwar malaise revealed their inefficiencies. Britain had lost ground to



**“The Amateur Bricklayer: ‘There, that doesn’t look so bad, and perhaps people won’t notice that I’ve pinched the mortar.’”
Spi in *Reynolds’s Illustrated News*, 7 April 1929. The Sinking Fund was used to reduce debt by repaying government loans.**

industrializing nations before the war and the revived capacities of Europe were providing stiff competition.

The war had also seen union membership balloon, to 8.3 million in 1306 organizations.¹⁸ Unions resisted the deflationary pressure on wages introduced by the central bank, and hindered the adjustment process needed to restore British international competitiveness.

Also, business interests lacked the capital to upgrade their manufacturing capabilities or to risk tapping into new industries. Stalemate and stagnation reigned as Churchill turned to the pressing issue of gold resumption. >>

5. Melchior Palyi, *The Twilight of Gold, 1914-1936: Myths and Realities* (Chicago: Regnery, 1972), 8.

6. Liaquat Ahamed, *Lords of Finance: The Bankers Who Broke the World* (New York: Penguin, 2009), 100.

7. *Ibid.*, 87.

8. Palyi, *The Twilight of Gold*, 46.

9. Avner Offer, “Costs and Benefits, Prosperity, and Security, 1870-1914,” in *The Oxford History of*

the British Empire, vol. 3, 695.

10. *Ibid.*, 693.

11. Moggridge, *Return to Gold*, 14.

12. Cecil C. Carpenter, “The English Specie Resumption of 1821,” in the *Southern Economic Journal*, vol 5, no. 1 (July 1938): 45-54, <http://www.jstor.org/pss/3693802>.

13. Moggridge, *Return to Gold*, 35.

14. Palyi, *The Twilight of Gold*, 48.

15. Hazlitt, *What You Need to Know About Inflation*, 48.

16. Moggridge, *Return to Gold*, 16.

17. Francis Wrigley Hirst, *The Consequences of the War to Great Britain* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 283.

18. C.E. Black and E.C. Helmreich, *Twentieth Century Europe: A History*, 2nd ed. (New York: Knopf, 1967), 283.

CHURCHILL CHOOSES GOLD

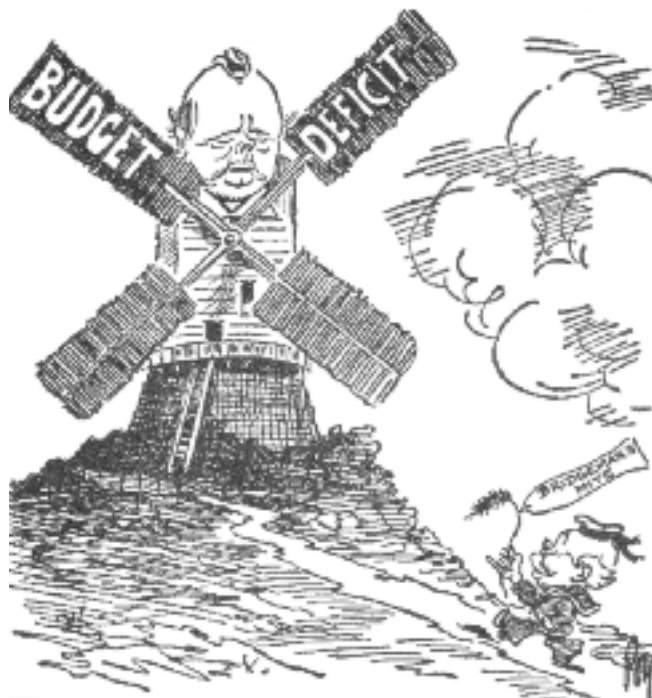
Only the “final steps” toward gold remained as Churchill entered office.¹⁹ Four successive governments over five years had unequivocally supported a return to gold, but Churchill recognized the gravity of this decision and began consulting his advisers.²⁰

Since gold was seen as the true form of money in those days, everyone thought the return to gold was inevitable. The only question was the timing; the only controversy was restoring prewar parity. On 31 December 1925, the gold embargo would expire, returning the pound to its prewar value.²¹ Montagu Norman, adamantly insisting that Britain would be ready, devised a plan with Benjamin Strong, the New York Federal Reserve President, to cushion the changeover using American credit. A government committee unanimously endorsed this measure, and only two witnesses testified against resumption at prewar parity.

Churchill was no financial expert, but was unwilling to be pressured into a decision. He endeavored to understand both sides of the issue, floated polemics to elicit answers from the Bank, and invited the dissenters, John Maynard Keynes and Reginald McKenna, to explain their objections over dinner.

McKenna, a former Chancellor of the Exchequer, feared the short-term consequences of the old parity, but was fatalistic: “[Y]ou will have to go back; but it will be hell.”²²

Keynes, however, saw the Gold Standard as “a barbarous relic”²³ and envisioned “a more scientific standard.”²⁴ In his mind, the Gold Standard restricted the government from curing England’s ailing economy through monetary policy.



“Bringing grist to the Mill.” Poy in the *Daily Mail*, 12 March 1927. The Chancellor has promised major defense cuts, but Vice Admiral Sir Francis Bridgeman brings only one grain to the miller. Later, of course, WSC was criticized for cutbacks.

Under the pure paper standard Keynes advocated, the value of money would be determined and manipulated by the government as a means to manage economic growth.

By inflating the money supply to expand credit and increase spending, Keynes believed government experts could revive a stalled economy. This chronic inflation, however, only wears away the value of money and creates a subjective standard of value that obscures the fundamental realities of the economy; it does not create wealth. These policies flood industries with

excessive volumes of paper credit and finance unsustainable economic booms that rapidly collapse. Furthermore, the fluctuating value of money increases the volatility of international trade as floating exchange rates plummet and soar based upon international demand for national currencies.

In no way did this system promote the price stability the world desperately needed between the wars. Throughout his lifetime, Keynes was notoriously inconsistent on many of his guiding principles, but was invariably committed to his belief that governments could manufacture prosperity.²⁵ As he expressed these views, nations just across the Channel were self-destructing from extreme doses of the remedies he was proposing for Britain.

As Keynes lobbied Churchill, he correctly noted that prewar parity inflated the value of sterling by 10%. This meant a foreigner had “to pay 10% more in his money or we have to accept 10% less in our money” for exports.²⁶ The Gold Standard would eventually close this price level gap through deflation, but promised a stable international exchange. Keynes wanted a fundamentally different solu-

tion: to reduce unemployment by freeing credit and leaving the “foreign exchanges...to look after themselves.”²⁷

British unemployment, however, was *structural*—caused by fundamental weaknesses in the economy, such as outdated industries. It would not be cured by printing more currency. Keynes failed to see the importance of establishing a stable international exchange, though he did not advocate protectionism (tariffs) until the Great Depression. He believed Britain could find a government-managed prosperity if freed from the inevitable volatilities of trade and international competition.²⁸ Obsessed with the short run, Keynes had no vision except to turn inwards and shelter Britain’s antiquated economy from the invigorating power of competition. The lone voice against gold was one of countless voices around the world advocating the nationalistic pursuit of economic self-sufficiency.

This was a far cry from Churchill’s vision. He felt that the times demanded bold leadership to restore international stability and awaken domestic industry. For Churchill, this issue was not “entirely an economic matter” but “a political decision.”²⁹ Good economic theory traces rational principles to their logical conclusions; it is the mathematical science of producing the most with the least. But applying economic theory in politics involves human activity and uncertainty.

In theory, it would have been easiest to devalue sterling after the war, since there are only painful remedies for currency inflation. To devalue, however, would be comparable to declaring bankruptcy. It would mean that all outstanding currency could only be repurchased at a fraction of its previously guaranteed value.³⁰ By 1925, this would have shattered confidence in sterling and erased any benefits of devaluation by sinking the recovering financial sector.

Churchill could not alter the past—so he made a decision in view of the present. He saw the virtue of gold in establishing “a uniform standard of value to all international transactions.”³¹

Europe’s manipulated currencies had transformed the use of money from an impartial standard of exchange to a

weapon of policymakers. It created imbalances as national policy aims devolved into currency crises, or were used to destabilize trading partners for competitive advantages.

In an island nation dependent on trade, these fluctuations had a profound effect on the stability of domestic prices. Rather than finding stability through autarky, or at the expense of other nations, Churchill hoped Britain’s financial influence would restore fair competition to the globe and temper wartime rivalries. The longer Britain waited, the more her influence waned in establishing a stable international system.

The overseas Empire was growing restive waiting for Britain to move. The Dominions were contemplating returning to gold independently, “not on the basis of the pound sterling, but of the dollar.”³² This was alarming. Nations conducting business in pounds (later called the “sterling bloc”) represented a crucial monetary network in the interwar years. Its demise would have spelled disaster for the Empire.³³ The preservation of the sterling bloc alone would have justified the return to gold and spared Britain the worst of the Great Depression that followed.

The “spectacle of Britain possessing the finest credit in the world simultaneously with a million and a quarter unemployed” troubled Churchill.³⁴ Contrary to popular prejudices, his primary concern was not with wealthy interests, but with the working class. It was they who bore the painfully slow transition out of war. He said he preferred to see “Finance less proud and Industry more content.”³⁵ He chose the Gold Standard because he genuinely believed it would benefit all classes in the long run.

Churchill was initially reluctant to pursue a policy that would raise the cost of exports, but was told that overvaluation of the pound could be as low as 2% (the estimates varied greatly).³⁶ Furthermore, the world was soon expected to encounter an inflationary period; the rise in global prices would shorten the fall of the pound necessary to reach parity, and ease the adjustment of exchange rates. The deflationary pressure on prices would cause difficulty, but >>

19. Winston S. Churchill, “Revised Budget Proposals,” House of Commons, 15 September 1931, in Robert Rhodes James, ed., *Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches 1897-1963*, 8 vols. (New York: Bowker, 1974), V 5075.

20. Churchill, “Gold Standard Bill,” 5 August 1925, *Complete Speeches*, IV 3742.

21. R.S. Sayers, “The Return to Gold, 1925” in Sidney Pollard, ed., *The Gold Standard and Employment Policies Between the Wars* (London: Methuen, 1970), 85.

22. Grigg’s account is in Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill*, vol. IV *The Prophet of Truth 1922-1939* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976), 100.

23. John Maynard Keynes, “A Tract on Monetary Reform” in Royal Economic Society, *The Collected*

Writings of John Maynard Keynes, vol. 4 (London: Macmillan, 1971), 138.

24. *Ibid.*, 132.

25. Hunter Lewis, *Where Keynes Went Wrong: and Why World Governments Keep Creating Inflation, Bubbles, and Busts* (Mount Jackson, Virginia: Axios Press, 2009), 257.

26. John Maynard Keynes, “The Economic Consequences of Mr. Churchill” in Pollard, *The Gold Standard and Employment Policies*, 27.

27. John Maynard Keynes, “A Tract on Monetary Reform,” *Collected Writings*, IV 146.

28. Palyi, *The Twilight of Gold*, 88.

29. Grigg’s account is in Gilbert, *The Prophet of Truth*, 100.

30. Hazlitt, *What You Should Know About*

Inflation, 24.

31. Churchill, “Budget Speech,” 28 April 1925, *Complete Speeches*, IV 3562.

32. Churchill, 5 August 1925, *op. cit.*, IV 3742.

33. D.K. Fieldhouse, “The Metropolitan Economics of Empire.” in Judith M. Brown and William Roger Lewis, eds., *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 4, *The Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 94.

34. Winston S. Churchill to Otto Niemeyer (Churchill Papers 18/12), 22 February 1925, in Gilbert, *The Prophet of Truth*, 97.

35. As above, in Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill, Companion Volume 5 Part 1* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966), 412.

36. Moggridge, *Return to Gold*, 50.

The Burden of Statesmanship...

Churchill warned Parliament that “to inflate our currency...in order to produce hectic expansion not warranted by underlying facts” would cause “widespread misery.”³⁷ The British economy had to convert the wartime juggernaut into a sustainable pattern of production. The Gold Standard promised to put Britain in tune with the economic forces driving growth, and in Churchill’s words, “shackle us to reality.”³⁸

On 28 April 1925, Churchill submitted the annual budget and announced Britain’s return to gold.³⁹ He made the best choice he could with the information he had and then committed the vindication of his decision to forces outside of his control.

THE GENERAL STRIKE

Within five months labor became restless, with wages declining under the weight of deflation. The electorate craved the stability of gold, but wished to preserve jobs in unsustainably large industries. English exporters in the textile, shipbuilding, and steelmaking sectors had begun to lag behind their international competitors before the war and immediately felt the pressure of the Gold Standard. British coal mining suffered from restoration of coal production in Germany’s Ruhr district, in addition to increasing export prices.⁴⁰

The government had issued a £10 million subsidy to ease the downward pressure on wages, but pay cuts accelerated as these funds ran dry.⁴¹ In May 1926, the Trades Union Congress (TUC) quit wage negotiations and called for a General Strike: six million Britons walked off their jobs, and the country was brought to a near-standstill.⁴²

For nine days, industry was disrupted—at a cost of £800 million before union funds were exhausted and the TUC capitulated.⁴³ Britain emerged divided along class lines, with static prices gridlocking the economy. Unemployment—increased more by the strike than by gold resumption—remained high for the rest of the decade.

As a self-described “unrepentant Free-Trader,” Churchill resisted the voices from within his own Conservative Party calling for protectionist tariffs.⁴⁴ Instead, he looked to Free Trade and the Gold Standard as the means to economic revitalization. But these twin pillars of prewar economic expansion required maximum efficiency in the domestic marketplace; obstacles, like high taxation and heavy regulation had to be removed to remain competitive.

Britain failed to make these adjustments. The war had brought a dramatic increase in taxation, which severely limited private investment. Immediately after the war, the income tax was nearly five times higher than it had been in 1913⁴⁵ and never sank below four times the prewar rate.⁴⁶

High taxes diverted national resources to the massive war debts owed to the United States. By 1929, debt service



“Churchill Blocks the Way.” Spi in Reynolds’s Illustrated News, 26 August 1926. The government and unions were deadlocked over proposed settlements and miners’ wage cuts. Unions blamed the Treasury and, of course, the Chancellor.

and repayment costs were consuming 46% of Britain’s annual budget. Although the UK had loaned other nations twice what she had borrowed, her creditors were slow and uncooperative in repaying their own debts.⁴⁷

As Chancellor, Churchill was forced to retain some protectionist vestiges of the war as sources of revenue, in order to balance the budget. High taxation, lingering regulations and expensive social programs were a drain on national resources. In both public and private sectors, these powerful factors were preventing the movement of the Gold Standard towards equilibrium.

Gold *did* motivate some “entrepreneurs to switch from old, low-productivity industries to new ones—electronics, automobiles, aeronautics,” but Britain remained over-invested in traditional, staple industries.⁴⁸ Thus growth was lethargic. Yet the financial accountability of the Gold Standard exerted a tremendous discipline on national finances, and had provided a slightly favorable balance of trade by the end of the decade.⁴⁹

Many assume—I think wrongly—that the Keynesian alternative would have produced prosperity. But Britain suffered the same sluggish growth under floating exchange rates, when the pound was on 10% “discount”—and after the pound was devalued in 1931, 1949, and 1967.⁵⁰

Once Britain had returned to gold, Keynes did not

support devaluation or advocate formally repealing the Gold Standard until 1931, when the international monetary order collapsed.⁵¹

THE AFTERMATH

By 1927, gold was leaving Britain at an alarming rate.⁵² Searching for security and fearful of inflation, France in 1926 intentionally undervalued her currency to undercut British trade, and began redeeming sterling notes for English bullion.⁵³ Rather than issuing paper currency for these gold inflows, the French “sterilized” (hoarded bullion) to prevent domestic prices from rising and stabilizing their economy. Under the old rules of the game, the Bank of England would have increased interest rates to draw gold back into its reserves. But this was now politically impossible, since it was already hard enough to borrow capital in a period of prolonged deflation.

Montagu Norman anxiously appealed for help to Benjamin Strong, who lowered American discount rates to reverse the exodus of British gold. This easy-money policy unleashed a speculative fervor in America that sent stock markets soaring, and poured even more credit into world markets. Growing American loans enabled Germany to finance reparation payments and build its own gold reserve.

Within a year, however, the U.S. Federal Reserve became alarmed by reckless speculation and hastily reversed course. German and English gold reserves followed high interest rates back to the United States, where the Fed began to sterilize them to prevent inflation. While expanding credit was filtering through world markets, the gold supply it was built upon was disappearing.

The world system buckled under all of this intensifying stress and finally disintegrated after the 1929 Wall Street Crash—but it was not the fault of Churchill’s orthodox monetary ideals. Great Britain had returned to a type of Gold Standard called a “bullion standard,” under which currency could be redeemed only in gold bars. This bought time to restore confidence in sterling—but at the same time it prevented average citizens from obtaining gold and influencing the central bank’s decisions. The concentration of monetary policy in the Bank of England freed Montagu Norman to pursue his internationalist vision of monetary

cooperation through the gold-exchange mechanism.

The gold-exchange standard, which John Maynard Keynes worked to reestablish in the Bretton Woods Agreement after he drifted toward Norman’s style of internationalism during World War II, disastrously mingled the restrictive foundation of gold with the elastic effects of controlled currency in most central banks.⁵⁴ Without the classical system’s safety mechanisms, central banks had far more latitude over monetary policy, and—as today—foolishly attempted to tame market forces with it.

What Churchill described as an “unwholesome accumulation of gold” in American and French vaults would trigger a global money shortage over a prolonged deflationary period, and eventually break the interwar Gold Standard system.⁵⁵ Since all sides wanted a stable international market slanted towards their interests, mutual distrust spread as banks broke the rules of the game. The antagonisms of the Great War lived on through these rogue policies, and gradually reemerged as economic times worsened.

The whole business ended where it had begun, in the destruction of world war. Churchill had labored to steer Britain towards peace under a stable world order, but the currents of the times overwhelmed his efforts.

There was no silver bullet for these problems; all options had costs. Churchill, guided by prudence, tried to chart a course through many uncertainties to bring about his vision. The Gold Standard was the most promising means to this end. In choosing it, he made the best decision.⁵⁶ His choice, after all, had been between joining the economic skirmishes of Europe, and aiming to create stability.

As “a man within the horizons,” it was impossible for Churchill to foresee the results of his decision.⁵⁶ Once the outcome was clear, he looked back and *did* regret the return to gold.⁵⁷ Hindsight showed the gold-exchange standard was a trap: Britain would “waste her pain” by abandoning gold in 1931, exposing hopes of international concord as vanity.⁵⁸

Knowing that history can reward excellence with failure is the burden of the statesman. From his rapid rise to high office and his struggles through political exile, Churchill consistently resisted the drift towards war. His return to power and greatest triumph would be under the auspices of another war he had labored tirelessly to prevent. ☞

37. Churchill, “Return to Gold,” 4 May 1925, *Complete Speeches*, IV 3598.

38. *Ibid.*, 3598.

39. Moggridge, *Return to Gold*, 9.

40. Hirst, *The Consequences of the War*, 283.

41. A.J. Youngson, *The British Economy: 1920-1957* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 40.

42. William Manchester, *The Last Lion*, vol. 1, 1874-1932 (Boston: Little Brown, 1983), 795-98.

43. *Ibid.*, 795.

44. Winston S. Churchill, speech at Chingford, 14 June 1929, Churchill Centre, <http://bit.ly/tg4ByM>.

45. Youngson, *The British Economy: 1920-1957*, 59.

46. Philip S. Bagwell & G.E. Mingay, *Britain and America: A Study of Economic Change 1850-1939* (New York: Praeger, 1970), 248.

47. Youngson, *The British Economy: 1920-1957*, 52.

48. Paul Johnson, *Churchill* (New York: Viking, 2009), 77.

49. Youngson, *The British Economy: 1920-1957*, 54.

50. Palyi, 86.

51. Moggridge, *Return to Gold*, 9.

52. Jim Powell, *FDR’s Folly: How Roosevelt and His New Deal Prolonged the Great Depression* (New

York: Crown Forum, 2003), 27.

53. Douglas A. Irwin, “Did France Cause the Great Depression?” (Paper, Dartmouth College and the National Bureau of Economic Research, 2010), 16.

54. Palyi, *The Twilight of Gold*, 141.

55. Churchill, Bristol University, 27 June 1931, *Complete Speeches*, V 5052.

56. Justin D. Lyons Lecture on Statesmanship, Ashland University, March 2010.

57. R.A. Sayers, “The Return to Gold” in *The Gold Standard and Unemployment Policies*, 88.

58. Moggridge, *The Return to Gold*, 9.

The Wizard and the Pragmatist



Keynes and Churchill

THE GREAT ECONOMIST AND THE POLITICIAN COULD BE DISPARAGING ABOUT ONE ANOTHER, BUT FOR MOST OF THEIR LIVES THEY EXPRESSED MUTUAL REGARD. KEYNES HAD AN INTELLECTUAL APPRECIATION OF CHURCHILL'S GIFTS, AND A WARMTH OF SYMPATHY FOR A MAN WHOSE TYPE OF MIND WAS VERY DIFFERENT FROM HIS OWN.

“Keynes must be one of the most remarkable men that ever lived—the quick logic, the birdlike swoop of intuition, the vivid fancy, the wide vision, above all the incomparable sense of the fitness of words....only [Churchill] is of comparable stature....But the greatness of the Prime Minister is something much easier to understand than the genius of Keynes.” —*Lionel Robbins, Bretton Woods Monetary Conference, 1944*

Keynes and Churchill were arguably the greatest British figures of the 20th century. Born in 1874 and 1883 respectively, they were near contemporaries: Churchill the aristocrat and politician, Keynes the middle intellectual. They had many social contacts, and for over twenty years worked with (and sometimes against) each other. Yet the vast literature on both of them contains no account of their relationship.

H. W. ARNDT

In 1908-11, when Churchill was President of the Board of Trade and Home Secretary in the Liberal government, he and Lloyd George initiated radical programs of social reform, introducing labour exchanges, unemployment and infirmity insurance; proposing to limit the power of the House of Lords; and striving for Home Rule for Ireland. Churchill's concern with relieving poverty would later preoccupy Keynes, but Keynes then was a young don at Cambridge, moving from philosophy to economics. He was “aware of these things, tangentially involved in some of them, but was basically indifferent to them.”¹

In 1911 Churchill became First Lord of the Admiralty, and for the next decade was absorbed by military and foreign affairs. Although Keynes spent World War I at the Treasury, their official paths did not cross.² But when Keynes published *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, a passionate denunciation of the Versailles settlement along the lines later voiced by Churchill, he sent a complimentary copy to WSC.

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While Keynes and Churchill lived parallel lives, fortuitously unconcerned with each other's business, they did meet socially. Likely mutual contacts were the Fabian socialists Sidney and Beatrice Webb, when Keynes was on the fringe of Fabian activity at Cambridge. Beatrice had met Churchill in 1903, dismissing him as "bumptious, shallow-minded and reactionary." She was more favourably impressed by 1908, when WSC "swallowed Sidney's scheme for labour and unemployment."³

Another possible *point d'appui* was Lady Ottoline Morrell, noted hostess to the thinkers of the Bloomsbury Group in London, which included Keynes and Churchill. On 18 May 1911, she gave a party in honour of WSC, who "looked very fine in full-dress uniform," on his way on to a ball at Buckingham Palace.⁴ In 1916, as Keynes laboured at the Treasury, his letters to his parents were full of a social life studded with Liberals: the Asquiths, the McKennas, Lady Ottoline and Churchill.⁵ He once told his mother he had "dined twice at Downing Street."⁶

After 1922, Keynes was involved in reparations and war debt diplomacy, which ended dramatically when Stanley Baldwin resumed office as Prime Minister in November 1924 and offered Churchill the Exchequer. Pleased but floored, Churchill later explained, "I should have liked to have answered 'Will the bloody duck swim?' but as it was a formal and important occasion I replied 'This fulfils my ambition.'"⁷

CHURCHILL'S CHANCELLORSHIP

Since he'd left the Treasury in 1919, Keynes had been concerned with financial policy: whether Britain should return to the Gold Standard at the prewar parity for sterling. The Bank of England had recommended this, and its view was accepted by the Lloyd George government, which set 31 December 1925 as the deadline.

Keynes's views fluctuated. In the early 1920s he had favoured securing domestic price stability by maintaining a flexible exchange rate, avoiding the deflationary policy needed to raise sterling to parity, with the adverse effects of such a policy on wages and unemployment. In July 1924, testifying to a committee appointed by Philip Snowden, Chancellor in the brief first Labour government, he argued that there was no need for a deflationary policy, since rising prices in the United States would see sterling rise to or

above par. The committee seemed to agree with Keynes, rather than with the Treasury and Bank of England which regarded a return to gold as essential to the standing of London as the world's financial centre. But before it completed its report, the Labour Government fell, and Churchill became Chancellor.⁸

It is probably true that "Churchill understood modern no better than old-fashioned economics,"⁹ but he had acute intelligence and great power of application. Within weeks of assuming his new office he was presented by Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, with a plan to prepare for a return to gold at par by the end of 1925. He worried about the domestic implications and wrote a substantial paper, dubbed "Churchill's Exercise," setting out his objections to a quick return to gold. This led Sir John Bradbury, head of the Treasury, to observe that Churchill "appears to have his spiritual home in the Keynes-McKenna sanctuary."¹⁰

It is not certain whether Churchill was expressing his own view or merely provoking his official advisers into stating their case. If the latter, he was certainly successful, eliciting long and trenchant replies. But there is also no doubt that Churchill was genuinely perplexed and torn. On reading another article by Keynes on "The Return Towards Gold," Churchill complained in another memorandum:

The Treasury have never, it seems to me, faced the profound significance of what Mr. Keynes calls 'the paradox of unemployment amidst dearth.' The Governor shows himself perfectly happy in the spectacle of Britain possessing the finest credit in the world simultaneously with a million and a quarter unemployed.¹¹

Attempting to resolve his doubts, Churchill arranged for a dinner on 17 March 1925 to which he invited Bradbury and financial controller Sir Otto Niemeyer for the Treasury and Keynes and McKenna for the opposition. Till midnight and beyond, Keynes and McKenna argued that at prewar parity, sterling would be overvalued by 10%, and adjusting to the higher rate would mean unemployment and industrial unrest. Churchill, "ready to and anxious to be convinced as far as my limited comprehension of these extremely technical matters will permit,"¹² asked McKenna: "...you have been Chancellor...what decision would you take?" McKenna said there was no escape, but "it will be >>

1. Robert Skidelsky, *John Maynard Keynes*, vol. 1, *Hopes Betrayed 1883-1920* (London: Macmillan, 1983), 232.

2. Donald E. Moggridge and Austin Robinson, eds., *Collected Writings of John Maynard Keynes* (hereinafter cited as CW), 30 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1971-89), X 64.

3. Norman and Jean MacKenzie, *The First*

Fabians (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977), 355.

4. Miranda Seymour, *Ottoline Morrell: Life on a Grand Scale* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1992), 131.

5. CW, XVI 177.

6. Skidelsky, *Hopes Betrayed*, 326.

7. Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill: Prophet of Truth 1922-1939* (London: Heinemann, 1976), 59.

8. Donald E. Moggridge, *Maynard Keynes*

(London: Routledge, 1992) ch. 17, *passim*.

9. Robert Skidelsky, *John Maynard Keynes*, vol. 2, *The Economist as Saviour 1920-1937* (London: Macmillan, 1992), 197.

10. Skidelsky, *The Economist as Saviour*, 426.

11. Moggridge, *Maynard Keynes*, 428.

12. Norman Rose, *Churchill: An Unruly Life* (London: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 174.



POINTS D'APPUI:
CHURCHILL AND
KEYNES PROBABLY MET
AT PARTIES HOSTED BY
LADY OTTOLINE
MORRELL, LEFT; OR AT
THE HOME OF BEATRICE
AND SIDNEY WEBB,
BELOW, WHO LIVED
WELL BUT PROCLAIMED
THEMSELVES SOCIALISTS.



Bill you have introduced!” Churchill replied with his customary courtesy, revealing his continued respect for the wizard economist: “My dear Keynes.... I will read your article enclosed and reflect carefully, as I always do, on all you say.”¹⁶

In 1929 Keynes criticised Churchill’s opposition to a Lloyd George plan (to which Keynes had contributed) for combating unemployment through public works. In his last Budget Speech of April 1929, Churchill had put the orthodox “Treasury view” that deficit-financed public investment would create little employment because it would crowd out private investment through higher interest rates. Keynes’s refutation was the main theme of his *Treatise on Money*, which he wrote during those years.

DEPRESSION ERA

On the day in September 1931 when the pound went off gold—an event Keynes greeted with delight, “chuckling like a boy”¹⁷—Keynes lunched with Churchill, now out of office. That evening at Tilton, the Webbs’ country house, Keynes told Beatrice Webb that Churchill had claimed he had never been in favour of the return to the Gold Standard.¹⁸ He called it his “biggest blunder” and blamed it on Montagu Norman.¹⁹

From May 1929, when the Baldwin Government fell, until September 1939, when he again became First Lord of the Admiralty, Churchill was without office and relatively devoid of interest in economic affairs. But when Keynes in 1930 proposed a 10% tariff on imports as an alternative to a devaluation of the pound, Churchill, in a dramatic departure from his attachment to Free Trade, expressed sympathy—converted, according to Grigg, “by the blandishments of Keynes.”²⁰ When Churchill visited the United States the following year, Brendan Bracken briefed him on events at home, sending him the views of Keynes on the world monetary situation.²¹

While Churchill evidently took no interest in the Keynesian revolution of the 1930s, Keynes backed Churchill in the battle against Appeasement. In March 1938 he wrote to WSC: “I have shared the general admiration of your magnificent speeches in the House of Commons.”²² A few months later he referred in a letter to Kingsley Martin to “anti-Chamberlain candidates supported by all of us, e.g., Winston.”²³ And if professional contacts were now few, their social contact was frequent.

hell.”¹³ (See Ryan Brown’s previous article.)

In July, Keynes’s pamphlet, *The Economic Consequences of Mr. Churchill*, ferociously opposed a return to gold as a fixed exchange-rate system because of its effects on unemployment and the balance of payments. It was not directed at Churchill personally; WSC, he said, had made the decision “partly because he has no intuitive judgment, partly because of the clamorous voices of conventional finance, and, worst of all, because he was gravely misled by the experts.”¹⁴

Churchill, who almost always rose above the Parliamentary fray, did not resent Keynes’s criticisms. In Parliament, he charged Snowden with inconsistency in first urging an early return to gold, and then attacking the government for taking that course, contrasting this “with the position of Mr. Keynes, who is, I suppose, by far the most distinguished and able exponent of opposition to the return to gold. He is the great advocate of a managed currency, the most powerful and persuasive advocate.”¹⁵ Keynes’s warnings about the economic and social consequences of the return to gold at par were soon borne out by the 1926 General Strike. (See Ryan Brown, preceding.)

Keynes had little sympathy with the forceful tone Churchill adopted as editor of the government strike journal, *The British Gazette*, and indeed with Churchill’s increasingly conservative positions in the last three years of his Chancellorship. In 1928 he wrote a rude letter: “Dear Chancellor of the Exchequer, What an imbecile Currency

KEYNES AT THE OTHER CLUB

Churchill and F.E. Smith (later Lord Birkenhead) founded The Other Club in 1911 when, it is said, both had applied for membership in The Club, an exclusive dining society that went back to Samuel Johnson's day, and had been summarily blackballed.²⁴ The Other Club was to consist of not more than fifty members, not more than twenty-four being members of the House of Commons.

The rules, whimsically drafted by F.E. Smith, specified that the club was to meet on alternate Thursdays "at 8.15 punctually" when Parliament was in session." The names of the Executive Committee would be "wrapped in impenetrable mystery," and "Nothing in the Rules or Intercourse of the Club shall interfere with the rancour or asperity of party politics." Dinners, generally held in the Pinafore Room of the Hotel Savoy, could go on late into the night.

Churchill's chauffeur had happy memories of these occasions: The boss, he said, "never missed this if it was possible to attend, and he always enjoyed himself there, always coming out at around 2am, give or take an hour, in a very happy frame of mind."²⁵ Churchill's last public appearance, aged ninety in December 1964, was at a dinner of The Other Club.²⁶

Membership was by invitation only. If a particularly eminent individual was to be recruited, Lloyd

George sometimes joined Churchill in issuing the offer.²⁷

The list of members over the years reads like a Who's Who of Britain's political and intellectual elite, from Smuts and Reading to high brass such as Kitchener and Roberts, to press lords like Beaverbrook and Camrose, writers such as H.G. Wells, Arnold Bennett and P.G. Wodehouse, artists such as Lutyens and Munnings, scientists such as Lindemann (Lord Cherwell) and Cockcroft, and judges.²⁸ But the chief qualification for membership appears to have been that "Winston thought well of them."²⁹ (See "Touch of the Other," *FH* 101:45 or <http://bit.ly/smvpkg>.)

Keynes was invited to join in 1927, demonstrating that Churchill bore him no grudge over his views in *Economic Consequences*. Keynes attended the dinners whenever time allowed. "It was a place of good talk and pleasant intimacy, more worldly in tone than the Bloomsbury gatherings in which he usually found recreation."³⁰

When Churchill, in New York in 1931, was run down and severely hurt by a car, several of his Other Club friends including Keynes, contributed to the £2000 gift of a new Daimler. In 1940, members including Keynes presented WSC with a silver and gilt snuffbox that had belonged to Nelson.³¹

Dinners at The Other Club gave Keynes opportunities to talk >>



GADFLIES: REGINALD MCKENNA, ABOVE, A PAST CHANCELLOR, SAID RETURNING TO GOLD "WILL BE HELL." LABOUR CHANCELLOR PHILIP SNOWDEN, ABOVE RIGHT, RAN HOT AND COLD. KEYNES OPENED FIRE IN *THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF MR. CHURCHILL*, RIGHT.



13. Percy James Grigg, *Prejudice and Judgment* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1948), 182n.

14. CW, IX 212.

15. Robert Rhodes James, ed., *Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches 1897-1963*, 8 vols. (New York: Bowker, 1974), IV 3595.

16. CW XIX 749n.

17. C. H. Rolphe, cited in Skidelsky, *The Economist as Saviour*, 397.

18. Norman and Jean Mackenzie, *The Diary of Beatrice Webb*, vol. 4 1924-43 (London: Virago,

1985), 260.

19. Andrew Boyle, *Montagu Norman* (London: Cassell, 1967), 190.

20. Grigg, 233.

21. Charles Lysaght, *Brendan Bracken* (London: Allen Lane, 1979), 132.

22. Gilbert, *Prophet of Truth*, 955.

23. CW, XXVIII 123.

24. John Campbell, *F.E. Smith: First Earl of Birkenhead* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1983), 268.

25. Gilbert, *Prophet of Truth*, 63, 506.

26. Rose, *Unruly Life*, 141.

27. Cameron Hazlehurst, "Who Founded The Other Club? Unpublished manuscript, Canberra, 1995.

28. Colin R. Coote, *The Other Club* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1971), passim.

29. Gilbert, *Prophet of Truth*, 63.

30. Roy F. Harrod, *The Life of John Maynard Keynes* (London: Macmillan, 1951), 396.

31. Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill*, vol. 6, *Finest Hour 1939-1941* (London: Heinemann; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1983), 853.

Keynes and Churchill...

informally to Churchill on policy matters. In October 1939, he tried unsuccessfully to persuade Churchill to remove wheat from the list of contraband goods, partly to influence German and world opinion and partly to dissipate Germany's foreign exchange reserves.³² In July 1942, Keynes became concerned about Britain's accumulating sterling liabilities. When a government department rejected any suggestion of blocking these balances, Keynes spoke to WSC at an Other Club meeting. The result was an "Action This Day" minute beginning, "Lord Keynes mentioned to me the other night," asking for a Cabinet discussion.³³

WORLD WAR II

As wartime prime minister, Churchill was "sublimely unaware in all but very occasional detail of what happened on the economic front"³⁴ Bracken claimed he was "bored by unheroic money matters."³⁵ Keynes sometimes agreed. In July 1941, he wrote to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Kingsley Wood: "The President [Roosevelt] ought to be left free to concentrate on issues of strategy, diplomacy and politics without having to consider the pressing and difficult details of economic policy, which he does not really care for any more than our own Prime Minister."³⁶

At other times Keynes found Churchill attentive to economic issues, and at least once gave him top marks. In April 1945, reporting in a personal letter on a dinner Churchill gave to finance people to hear the views of Roosevelt's emissary (and Churchill's friend) Bernard Baruch, Keynes said: "Winston was quite magnificent throughout, in his best form, taking a profound interest in our Treasury problems for once, thoroughly understanding the points at issue."³⁷

Keynes was drawn into war work soon after Churchill became Prime Minister. In June 1940, he drafted for Churchill a statement of encouragement to the French.³⁸ From August 1940 he had an office in the Treasury—and Churchill made use of him. When Sir John Anderson was appointed Lord President of the Council, with responsibility for control of wartime economic resources, Churchill told him: "You should summon economists like Keynes to

give their views to you personally."³⁹

In July 1941, preceding the Atlantic Charter meeting with Roosevelt, Keynes saw a draft of Charter Article VII which, by proclaiming non-discrimination in trade as a war aim, appeared to preclude the maintenance of Imperial Preference. Keynes may have influenced insertion of the saving clause, "with due respect for their existing obligations,"⁴⁰ which in 1947 became the "grandfather" clause in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

Keynes visited the U.S. four times during and after World War II: in 1941 to help mobilise U.S. financial resources, including Lend-Lease; in 1943 for preliminary negotiations about the plans for the IMF and World Bank; in 1944 for the Bretton Woods Monetary Conference; and in 1946 for discussions on the terms of the U.S. loan to Britain—each time also discussing much else. Churchill was undoubtedly aware of these issues, though not closely involved. A draft of Keynes's plan for a clearing union was put to Cabinet in April 1942.⁴¹

When the Allies discussed a possible international currency unit, Keynes proposed the name "bancor," but suggested that FDR and Churchill "could between them do better than most of us at this game, as at most other games, if they had the time to turn their minds to writing a new dictionary as well as a new geography."⁴² On one occasion, Churchill and Keynes returned from America together.⁴³ Early in 1945, Churchill asked Keynes to attend a meeting on currency issues with the Governor of the Bank of England and senior ministers.⁴⁴

The Prime Minister undoubtedly had a say in the appointment of Keynes as a director of the Bank of England in September 1941, and his elevation to the peerage in June

1942. Professor Donald Moggridge told me that Keynes's appointments book for 17 June 1942 mentions "10 Downing Street" (perhaps to celebrate the latter event). Likewise, Keynes stayed with Churchill during the war, possibly at Chequers.

Exhausted after strenuous negotiations in the U.S., Keynes attended his final dinner of The Other Club three weeks before his death on 20 April 1946.⁴⁵ A few weeks after Keynes died Churchill, almost equally exhausted, wrote to Lord Cherwell: "I am at what poor Keynes called in the last weeks of his life 'saturation point.'"⁴⁶



U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, Jr. with Keynes at the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference, whose system of exchange rate management remained in place until the early 1970s. (Time-Life)

TWO GREAT MEN

Public figures as prominent, clever, opinionated and combative as Churchill and Keynes inevitably attracted criticism. Margot Asquith said “Winston has a noisy mind,”⁴⁷ and a recent Churchill biography is a compendium of every abuse levelled at him.⁴⁸ Keynes was fiercely attacked by economists who disagreed with him. Montagu Norman referred to him as a “clever dilettante,”⁴⁹ Lloyd George as “an entertaining economist whose bright but shallow dissertations on finance and political economy, when not taken seriously, always provide a source of innocent merriment to his readers.”⁵⁰ But even at the time, and certainly later, these aspersions were outweighed by praise and admiration.

One of Churchill’s senior officials at the Treasury reminisced about his vitality, imagination and critical appreciation of any proposal put to him, and his grasp of administration, “together with his generous temperament and genial expansiveness [which] won him the affection of all of us.”⁵¹ Harold Macmillan described the Churchill of 1924–29 as “unique, wayward, exciting, a man with a peculiar glamour of his own, that brought a sense of colour into our rather drab political life.”⁵²

Panegyrics on Keynes were no less wholehearted. Bertrand Russell called him “the sharpest and clearest intellect that I have ever known.”⁵³ At Bretton Woods, “one name stands quite alone. Maynard’s performance was truly wonderful...His industry was prodigious, his resilience and continuous optimism constant wonders to those inclined to pessimism, while I doubt whether he has ever spoken with more lucidity and charm.”⁵⁴ One of Keynes’s former Cambridge students wrote, “He was so much ahead of the field in wisdom, intellect and power, wit, in art, in gen-



erosity, in his range, and in the ease, gaiety and simplicity that went with all this, that I have never had any reverence left for any other famous men, economists or not, that I have since encountered.”⁵⁵

In the heat of debate, Churchill and Keynes could be disparaging about each other. During the 1929 election campaign Churchill referred to “Professor Keynes” as “the proprietor or controller of an extreme radical weekly newspaper,”⁵⁶ while Keynes declared a statement by Churchill to be “feather-brained.”⁵⁷ But through most of their public lives, they expressed mutual regard. Keynes “had not only an intellectual appreciation” of Churchill’s gifts, but a “warmth of sympathy for one whose type of mind was very different from his own.”⁵⁸

Keynes was not merely being polite when, in reviewing Churchill’s *The World Crisis*, he declared Churchill “the most acute and concentrated intelligence which saw the war at close quarters from beginning to end,” and that he “writes better than any politician since Disraeli.”⁵⁹ Nor was Churchill merely being polite when he referred to Keynes in 1925 as “by far the most distinguished and able exponent of the opposition to the return to gold,” who argued his case in “a series of searching and brilliant articles, formidable and instructive.”⁶⁰

Their backgrounds, personalities and interests were very different. Apart from their two major periods of substantial interaction—Churchill’s Chancellorship and World War II—the literature allows us only glimpses of personal contact between them. But their contacts were almost always friendly.⁶¹ To know this, and to learn something about the relations between such giants, cannot fail to give one pleasure. ☺

32. Moggridge, *Maynard Keynes*, 628.

33. *Ibid.*, 638.

34. Austin Robinson, “A Personal View,” in Milo Keynes, ed., *Essays on J.M. Keynes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 19.

35. Lysaght, 250.

36. CW, XXIII 155.

37. CW, XXIV 302.

38. CW, XXII 180.

39. John W. Wheeler-Bennett, *John Anderson* (London: Macmillan, 1962), 260.

40. John Barnes and David Nicholson, eds., *The Leo Amery Diaries*, vol. 3 1929–1945 (London: Hutchinson, 1988), 707n.

41. Moggridge, *Maynard Keynes*, 678.

42. CW XXV 272.

43. Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill*, vol. 8 “Never Despair” 1945–1965 (London: Heinemann; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988), 526.

44. Harrod, 471.

45. Rose, 341.

46. Gilbert, “Never Despair,” 234.

47. Frederick Leith-Ross, *Money Talk: Fifty Years of International Finance* (London: Hutchinson, 1968), 30.

48. Rose, *passim*.

49. Boyle, 160.

50. David Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, vol. 2 1915–1916 (Boston: Little Brown, 1933), 136.

51. Leith-Ross, 118.

52. Harold Macmillan, *Winds of Change 1914–*

1939 (London Macmillan, 1966), 176.

53. Skidelsky, *Hopes Betrayed*, 124.

54. Frederick G. Lee, “The International Negotiator” in Milo Keynes, ed., *Essays on J.M. Keynes*, 220.

55. David M. Bensusan-Butt, *On Economic Knowledge* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1980), 26.

56. Churchill, *Complete Speeches*, VI 6442.

57. CW, IX 240.

58. Harrod, 360.

59. CW, X 53.

60. Churchill, *Complete Speeches*, IV 3595.

61. Skidelsky, *The Economist as Saviour*, 690.

The Truth about War Debts

“THIS IS NO TIME FOR FORCING A FAITHFUL DEBTOR INTO EXTREME COURSES, AND I BELIEVE THAT, IN SPITE OF THE FRENZIED ORATORY OF EBULLIENT BACKWOODS SENATORS, MODERATE OPINION IN AMERICA RECOGNIZES THE FACT. STILL LESS IS IT A TIME WHEN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES SHOULD FALL OUT.”



Reparations and war debts from the Treaty of Versailles, which ended World War I, contributed significantly to the resumption of what Churchill called “another Thirty Years War.” Facing the camera, l-r: Belin, Foch, Pichon and Clemenceau of France; Lloyd George and Bonar Law of Britain. (Wikimedia Commons)

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, 1934

This article evolved from “The Bond Between Us,” Churchill’s similar piece for *Collier’s* in November 1933 (Cohen C411). It contains substantially the same words, although the *Collier’s* article is longer, remarking on the failure of the then-recent World Economic Conference. Since Churchill was an indefatigable reviser, we offer this version as his “final draft,” but “The Bond Between Us” is available to readers by email from the editor. In sending “The Bond Between Us” to *Collier’s* editor William Chenery, Churchill wrote: “There is no doubt that this Economic article is like a soufflé. It must be served while hot.”

Like many other people over here, during the last year I have watched with interest and sympathy the efforts made by President Roosevelt to restore prosperity to the United States. I am an ardent admirer of the main drift and impulse which he has given to the economic and financial policy of America.

I should have liked, however, to see the reduction in the gold content of the dollar taken as part of a bargain with Great Britain, so that all the prestige of the two great finan-

cial countries could be enlisted behind the new unit of values.

This would also serve as a safeguard against a very vicious tendency which is now rife in the world, and which has queered the pitch of trade and darkened counsel during the last twelve months. This is the desire to use depreciated currencies as a means of fostering external trade, which reproduces tariff wars and tariff obstructions in a new and far more delicate sphere of international commerce.

The competition of great communities to reduce the

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nominal values of their currencies to the lowest point would be a form of folly, as near akin to madness as castaway mariners on a raft lapping salt water in rivalry in the delusion that the winner would quench his thirst. A race between the leading commercial powers, to see who can make his currency valueless in the international market first, ought only to be held in some really large lunatic asylum.

There must be a stable unit of value and exchange between the great trading nations. The people have a right to ask this from their rulers. If gold through its misuse or hoarding has ceased to be available for that high function, all the more vital is it that the leading currencies should be harmonized and interwoven.

We have broken free from gold. America has broken free from gold. Gold soars upward on the wings of panic. But where are we to find a resting-place for the soles of our feet? Surely in our own virtue and in the intrinsic value of our new efforts; in the faithful conduct of our finances and in the association of our joint strength and reputation. The only alternative is that we wall ourselves up in our respective pens like the old robber barons in their feudal castles.

Turning to another aspect of the American recovery drive, although I cordially agree with and acclaim the Roosevelt policy of raising wholesale prices to the levels of normal years, it is impossible not to feel a grave anxiety—for we are all to a large extent in the same boat—about his policy of controlling all the businesses of the United States and regulating so minutely and in such a short time the delicate interplay between capital and labour.

But when it comes to shortening the hours of labour in a time of unparalleled unemployment, one feels that the President is again marching along the high road of national and international salvation.

We speak of the improvement of modern machinery as “labour saving.” What does “labour saving” mean? Does it mean simply that some labourers are to work as long and as hard as ever, while millions of others are to be told that they will never be wanted again? If so, machinery and invention would be a curse to the wage-earning classes, and we might well ask: “Where were the Luddites wrong when they riotously destroyed the new engines which were destroying them?”

But if “labour saving” means that the wage-earning masses are, with the aid of machinery, to make the same amount of things for something like the same wage in a shorter time, and have more leisure, then indeed will machinery and invention be a gift and a blessing to mankind.

Upon these vast and vital topics we know, at least roughly, President Roosevelt’s views. But there is another question, comparatively petty, perhaps, in the estimation of Americans, but of considerable importance to us, and in many ways ugly and irritating—the question of war debts. I have always believed that they lie at the root of our troubles.

The attempt of the victorious Allies to obtain enormous payments from Germany was bound to fail. No people can establish a large permanent lien on the future production of another. Not less injurious and crazy was the effort to liquidate these vast obligations through the agency of the poor little stocks of world gold.

Debts can only be paid across frontiers in goods or services, and if these cannot be received without injury to native industry, they are frankly irrecoverable. We have seen the exchanges of the world disorganized, and gold disqualified as a standard of measurement by the endeavour to use this scarce yellow metal to discharge the gigantic obligations so airily chalked up by credit.

One thing is clear: No European country is going to pay any war indemnities or war debts except England, and the question is: “How much will England pay?”

It is idle for the United States or Great Britain to expect the slightest repayment from Germany. Since the War Germany has borrowed to the utmost of her capacity without apparent intention of repaying either on public or private account. The present regime in that country would glory in the fact that, though Germany lost the War, at any rate, she got £500,000,000 on the balance out of England and America as compensation for her losses.

If Germany does not pay, France and Italy will not pay what they owe either to Great Britain or to the United States. Thus it all comes back to England.

And what should England do? Let us suppose for the moment that the United States decided to remain oblivious of all that has taken place in Europe and the world. That is, in effect, the advice which has been given to the United States Government, within the last few weeks, by certain eminent politicians. Let us suppose they were to take it and to say:

“What is it to us that all your debtors have failed you? That is your affair. We rest upon your honour and your contracted faith. All the more, because these others have defaulted us as well as you, must we come down on the one faithful debtor. Your good faith will cost you dearly; but we admire you very much. It is a fine thing to have such firm principles in this dissolving world.

“Pay us therefore everything you owe according to the letter of the bond. Even the shot and shell fired to cover the employment of armies on the common front; even the excess profits collected by us from the American manufacturers who supplied you with munitions.”

Let us suppose for a moment that a thing like this happened. Let us further suppose—and it is a big supposition—that England accepted the situation. What would she have to do in order to pay the full amount of her war debt to the United States?

It is no use Americans arguing, “She can well afford to pay. At the moment she is better off than we.” Both these statements would be true. The question is not the *ability* >>

The Truth about War Debts...

to pay, but the method and the consequences of payment, across the exchanges and across the ocean.

We are the greatest customers of the United States. We buy every year from them between three and four times what we sell them. Our adverse balance is liquidated by shipping tropical products, by roundabout trade, and by the interest upon our own private investments in the United States, or in countries trading on favourable terms with them. Many experts think that, even so, the annual balance is adverse to us, and is running us subterraneously into further debt.

But on the assumption I am now making we should have to pay between forty and fifty millions sterling per annum over and above the ordinary adverse balance of trade between the two countries. How could we do this? Obviously, only in one way. We should have to reduce our purchases from the United States as much as we possibly could in order to save a margin for repayment of the war debts.

First of all these is tobacco. Many millions of pounds' worth of American tobacco are imported every year; we could certainly do without this. If it came to a choice between our obligations and our tobacco, the tobacco would have to go. Our smokers would have to make shift with the supplies they could get from the British Empire or from Egypt and Turkey.

The same argument would cover motorcars and luxuries of all kinds. But there are certain commodities—cotton, for instance—which, whatever else happens, we must buy from the United States. Here the problem would become one of collecting dollars on this side of the Atlantic which could be remitted westward in payment of our debt.

But if Lancashire is mainly dependent upon American cotton, the cotton States also find in Lancashire their main market. The crop has to be grown each year, if millions of Americans who depend upon it are to live.

We might therefore place a surtax upon all American cotton entering Great Britain and remit its whole yield in the shape of dollar credits to New York. We could, of course, indemnify our own cotton spinners in the remission of taxation or in some other form of local currency. This is substantially the manner in which, up to the Lausanne Conference of 1932, we collected the reduced indemnity which Germany had agreed to pay us.

By thus on the one hand reducing our purchases from America and buying from other countries to whom we were not already debtors, or doing without in all cases of luxury, and on the other hand by levying a surtax in dollars on American importations at the ports, we could accumulate the dollar credits—or a great part of them—necessary for the half-yearly installments of the debt.

Such a process would be equally injurious to both coun-

tries, and it could not fail to raise an increasing friction between them. So the act of President Roosevelt, in declaring last May that the token payment of two million pounds by Great Britain in lieu of about twenty million did not constitute a default, was alike bold and sagacious.

It was courageous because it faced the difficulty of making the ordinary public understand that vast debts between nations cannot be treated like the ordinary indebtedness of private life. You can distraint upon the goods of an individual citizen, but you cannot put nations in the county court and get a bill of distress upon their furniture.

Secondly, the process of payment of the debts of individuals, whether in a country or across an exchange, has no relation to the process of payment of the vast obligations arising out of the Great War. These can only be paid in goods, services, or gold, the first two of which are not wanted, while the third is neither wanted nor, except fractionally, available. So President Roosevelt's act was sagacious because it comprehended the realities of international trade.

We are drawing nearer in time to another crisis of the Anglo-American debt settlement. It would be a matter for general rejoicing if we could say that we were nearer than we have ever been to a settlement on the merits. It is of great consequence to the world that Great Britain and the United States, the two supreme creditor nations, should adjust their difficulties in such a manner as not to make repudiation of the written bond almost universal throughout the globe.

It is astonishing how countries which have defaulted have seemed to thrive. Germany, after her mark had gone to the moon, was able to borrow again almost immediately. France, who has devaluated her franc to one-fifth of its prewar value, and has bluntly refused to pay her war debts, already conceives herself in a position to lecture her disappointed creditor, the U.S., upon financial orthodoxy.

This is no time for forcing a faithful debtor into extreme courses, and I believe that, in spite of the frenzied oratory of ebullient backwoods senators, moderate opinion in America recognizes the fact. Still less is it a time when the English-speaking peoples should fall out.

It is a time for practical measures. It is a time for settlement; and it is a time when the two countries' real and lasting interests, which lie beneath the surface of things, should be understood. Is it too much to hope that, taught by the pressure and anxieties which grip the whole world, a sense of common self-preservation and mutual support will inspire the British and American peoples and enable them, during the next few weeks, to achieve an amicable, economically possible and final settlement of this vexed question of the war debts, and thus clear the way for a fuller and more complete cooperation between them in the difficult and perhaps fateful years ahead? ☞

CHANCELLOR WINSTON

“Everybody said that I was the worst Chancellor of the Exchequer that ever was. And now I’m inclined to agree with them. So now the world’s unanimous.”

—Circa 1930, reported by the historian A.L. Rowse, who added: “There is something endearing about a head of that grim department who could say [that] after dinner one evening.”

“I wish [Montagu Norman, Philip Snowden and the monetary experts] were admirals or generals. I can sink them if necessary. But when I am talking to bankers and economists, after awhile they begin to talk Persian, and then they sink me instead.”

—1924, to Robert Boothby

“We are often told that the Gold Standard will shackle us to the United States. I will deal with that in a moment. I will tell you what it will shackle us to. It will shackle us to reality. For good or for ill, it will shackle us to reality.”

—House of Commons, 4 May 1925

“I never heard any argument more strange and ill-founded than that the return to the Gold Standard is responsible for the condition of affairs in the coal industry. The Gold Standard is no more responsible for the condition of affairs in the coal industry than is the Gulf Stream.”

—West Essex Conservative and Unionist Association, 25 July 1925, responding to a charge by Lloyd George.

CHURCHILL ON GOLD AND THE EXCHEQUER



“In carrying out a great change like the return to the Gold Standard, it has been necessary to move with extreme care. So many objects have to be kept in view at the same moment that delicacy and judgment are required at every step. I think that in the Treasury and in the Bank of England we have the most skilful advisers and financiers that any country can show. At any rate they are respected all over the world, so there is no reason why they should be looked down upon at home.”

—Sheffield Hippodrome,
3 November 1925

“The decision and inspiration...which led President Hoover [to proclaim a year’s moratorium on the payment of war debts] has

been received by all members of the university with sincere acclaim. The unwholesome accumulation of gold in the only two countries which benefit from those

uneconomic and non-commercial payments has largely paralysed world credit, checked the flow of trade, paralysed prices, especially the prices of prime commodities, and has made it impossible for millions of workers on both sides of the Atlantic to earn their daily bread.”

—Bristol University, 27 June 1931

“I can hardly describe with what eagerness [we are watching] President Roosevelt’s valiant effort to solve the riddle of the sphinx. Once again the United States has become a pioneer, breaking with sturdy axmanship a path through the forest, and striving not only to blaze a trail, but to make a road which, if ever it is opened, the world will surely follow.... We have broken free from gold. You [Americans] have broken free from gold. Gold soars upward on the wings of panic. But where are we to find a resting place for the soles of our feet? Surely in our own virtue and in the intrinsic value of our new efforts; in the faithful conduct of our finances and in the association of our joint strength and reputation. The only alternative is that we wall ourselves up in our respective pens like the old robber barons in their feudal castles.”

—“The Bond Between Us,” Colliers,
4 November 1933. Britain left the Gold Standard on 20 September 1931. ☞

Churchill for Today

China's Challenge

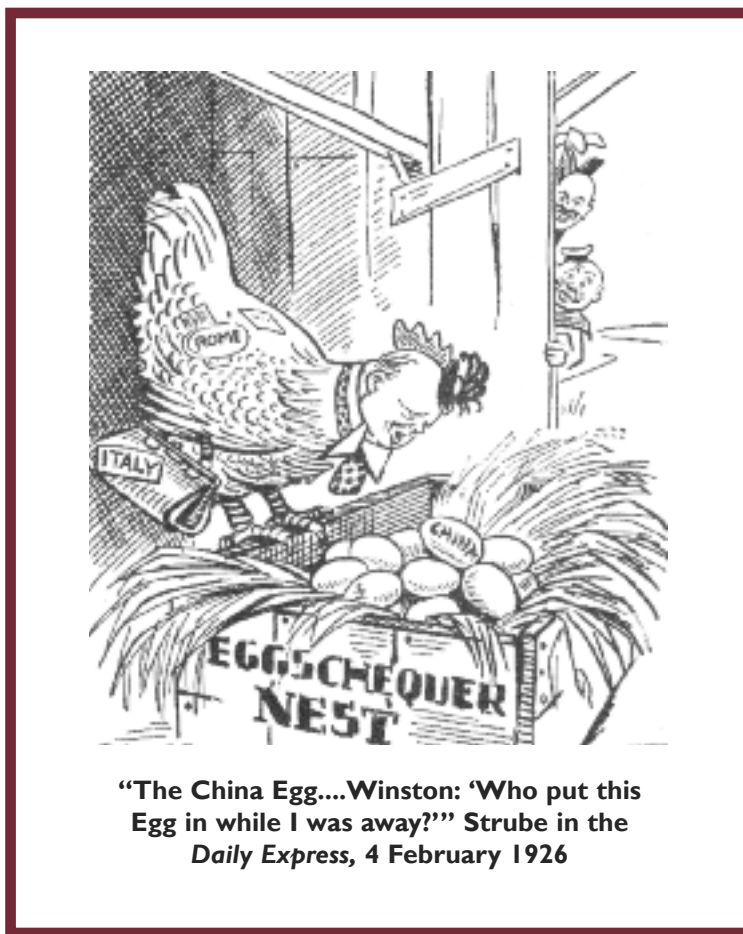
OVERVALUED YUAN? OR "STERILIZATION"?

RYAN BROWN

The rapid rise of China as a global economy and major trading partner is stirring controversy in the United States Congress. Accusations of Chinese currency manipulation have lawmakers considering a bill that would encourage protectionist tariffs to punish China for augmenting its trade surplus and stealing American jobs.

As a centrally planned economy, China is intentionally trying to expand its exports at the expense of its trading partners. But targeting the value of the Chinese Yuan through protectionism will not correct these festering imbalances. In this quandary, there is much we could learn from the Churchill experience.

Today's international economic system is dominated by "Chimerica," a moniker for the complex financial and commercial relationship between the two largest world economies. For decades, the Yuan has been pegged to the



U.S. dollar at a specified rate of conversion. This type of fixed exchange rate establishes a single currency zone between the two countries, but leaves their national monetary policies autonomous.

Since there is no fixed quantity of money (as there would be under the Gold Standard) the fluctuating amounts of paper money in circulation change the value of these respective currencies. This puts tremendous pressure on the fixed exchange rate to adjust according to those changing values. Currently, the Yuan is too cheap compared to

the dollar. This keeps Chinese prices lower than other nations' products.

The undervalued Yuan has allowed China to run a chronic trade surplus at the expense of other nations. This process, however, would quickly collapse under the weight of market pressure were it not enabled by government intervention on both sides of the Pacific. The exchange rate is

only the surface of this problem; the root of these trade distortions is something few talk about: currency sterilization.

When the U.S. uses paper money to purchase foreign goods, recipients of those dollars generally use them to finance the purchase of American goods or sell them to their government in exchange for domestic currency. Both these actions stabilize the balance of trade—by increasing imports or adjusting the domestic price level upwards.

But when American money reaches China, the central bank prevents these dollars from financing imports of international goods by purchasing them with newly issued Yuan. The People's Central Bank then raises reserve requirements on banks and sells "sterilization bonds" to pull these additional Yuan off the market and keep the price level static.

The Chinese government takes this reserve of sterilized dollars, which functions as their "national savings," and purchases debt securities from the United States government to finance American deficit spending. The U.S. government remonetizes these dollars by spending them, reinitiating the distorted balance of payments cycle.

On one side of "Chimerica," the People's Central Bank is hoarding vast sums of capital. On the other side, the Federal Reserve is fueling American overconsumption through excessive borrowing.

Addressing these unsustainable trends is imperative, but the recently introduced Currency Exchange and Oversight Reform Act fails to diagnose the problem or propose a realistic solution. As the American economy continues to flounder, Chinese manufacturing, supported in part by America's burgeoning trade deficit, flourishes. The proposed bill would enable the government to establish protective duties on nations declared to have "fundamentally misaligned currencies." Lawmakers seeking to punish China for currency manipulation forget that American fiscal policy depends on similar monetary interventionism, such as "quantitative easing" (the Federal Reserve purchases bonds

with newly printed currency to inject money into the market, thereby devaluing the dollar).

It is true that the undervalued Yuan causes distortions in the global economy and should be revalued. But forcing Americans to pay more money for imports (through higher tariffs) will not reduce the trade deficit or stop China's practice of monetary sterilization.

Well-meaning bills often have unforeseen consequences: an appreciation of the Yuan, for example, will enhance the competitiveness of Chinese businesses by increasing their profits. The trade deficit has already widened over the past six years as the Yuan rose against the dollar in two different

“To think you can make a man richer by putting on a tax is like a man thinking he can stand in a bucket and lift himself up by the handle.” —WSC, 1904

THE HEADLINES ARE DIFFERENT NOW, BUT THE RISKS OF COLLAPSE REMAIN, AND WE STILL STRUGGLE FOR A STABLE INTERNATIONAL ORDER. BEFORE WE INVITE A TRADE WAR WITH PROTECTIVE TARIFFS, LET US CONSIDER WHETHER OUR PROBLEM IS ARTIFICIALLY LOW EXCHANGE RATES, OR A THREAT CHURCHILL WOULD HAVE RECOGNIZED: STERILIZATION—AND WHETHER OUR OWN POLICY-MAKERS HAVE ACTUALLY FACILITATED CHINA'S MANIPULATION OF TRADE.

periods. A trade imbalance will persist until Chinese capital controls are removed or broken by market pressure. Had the United States complied with the laws of supply and demand, these Chinese antics would have backfired long ago; instead, American policymakers have facilitated Chinese trade manipulation.

If American lawmakers really desire to restore a stable balance of trade, they must first stop stimulating overconsumption and bring the federal budget much nearer to balance. The fiscal interventionism of the United States government is the great enabler of Chinese currency sterilization. Rather than risk a trade war with China or potentially violate World Trade Organization commitments, Congress should encourage job creation by liberating American producers from restrictive regulations and high corporate taxes. >>

Churchill for Today: China's Challenge...

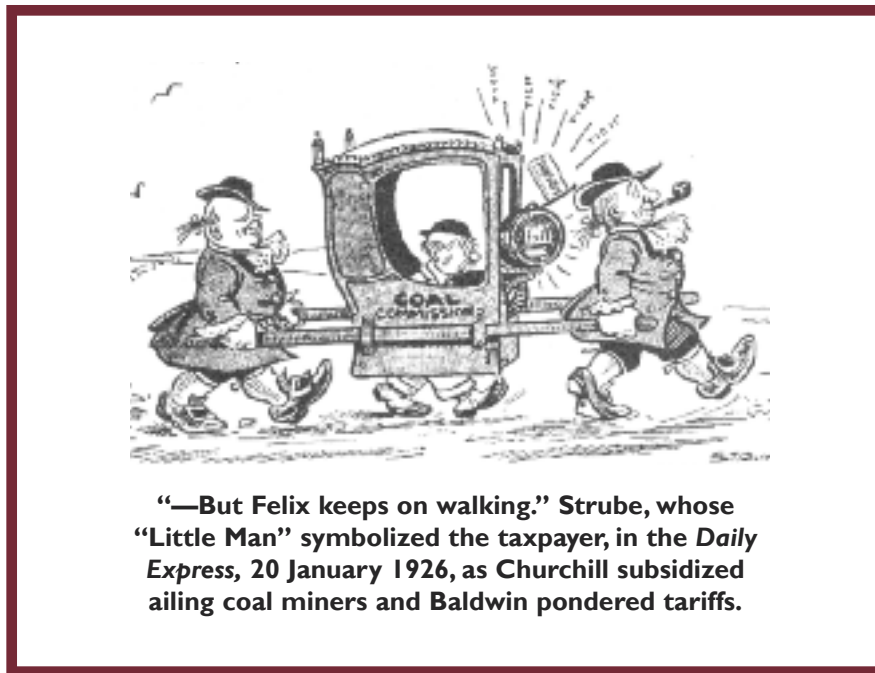
These antiquated policies, not the success of China, are a leading cause of American unemployment. Restoring American financial order will help to break this vicious trade cycle. Nevertheless, the international problem still demands a multilateral solution. The World Trade Organization must be consulted in this process, and the Chinese, for their own sake, must stop sterilizing capital inflows. If the present cycle continues, market forces will continue to build pressure on both the Chinese and American economies until a crisis returns the world financial order to equilibrium.

Although many of the specific policies employed

by Winston Churchill are no longer available to us, the principles that guided him endure. During his tenure as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Churchill opted for the Gold Standard because it would provide the strict fiscal discipline that Britain desperately needed and purge the British economy of rampant imbalances.

As he dealt with Britain's floundering export industries in the wake of World War I, Churchill fought to restore fair competition by removing barriers preventing economic realignment. Though Britain's finances were hampered by war debts, he still sought economy in government to give

room for private enterprise to grow. Most of all, Churchill had the foresight to see through popular protectionist fallacies. As he explained, "To think you can make a man richer by putting on a tax is like a man thinking he can stand in a bucket and lift himself up by the handle." Churchill understood that tariffs were occasionally a necessary tool to defend the freedom and independence of a nation. But they are not the means to create wealth.



“—But Felix keeps on walking.” Strube, whose “Little Man” symbolized the taxpayer, in the *Daily Express*, 20 January 1926, as Churchill subsidized ailing coal miners and Baldwin pondered tariffs.

As Britain's Chancellor in the 1920s, Churchill endeavored to lay the foundations of a stable world system on economic reality. He did not try to ignore these fundamentals with monetary policy, or by capitalizing on trade anomalies for short-term advantage.

Though currency sterilization was rampant in Churchill's era, his fiscal policies did not allow Britain

to engage in this practice, or to accommodate this form of trade manipulation directly.

Rather than searching for quick fixes, or proposing symbolic distractions from real problems, Churchill bravely chose the most difficult path open to him, because he was convinced it would restore genuine prosperity to Britain and balance to international trade. As Churchill navigated the turbulent interwar years, he recognized the need for temporary sacrifices to obtain lasting prosperity. We face the same great challenge of abiding by the timeless principles—despite their temporary costs. ☺

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Churchill's 1918 Yen to Nationalize

Reader Adrian Vaughan asked us if, just before the December 1918 general election, Churchill spoke at Dundee in favor of nationalising the railways—quite contrary to his furious attacks on nationalisation during the post-World War II Labour government. We are indebted to Mr. Vaughan for sending us on a diverting tour of Churchill's canon.

An amusing subtext occurs in 1946, in debate following the Gracious Speech, in which WSC argued *against* nationalising the railways, and a Labour MP reminded him that he had been all for it back in 1918. Apparently things got quite raucous (Hansard's word is "interruption.") But Churchill wriggled easily off the hook.

BACKGROUND

At the end of World War I, both the railways and the coal mines were under State control. Railwaymen and miners were campaigning for nationalisation. Significantly, they formed two of the unions in the "triple alliance" of miners, railwaymen and transport workers. The alliance, which had first appeared in 1914 but lapsed during the war, was dedicated to the syndicalist method of "direct action" to coerce government and society. Its reestablishment in January 1919 greatly alarmed the government. It was in the government's interest to drive a wedge between the railwaymen and the miners, and ministers were more inclined to make concessions to the railwaymen, whose leader, James H. Thomas, was a notorious "moderate," much seen in the company of high society. From several cordial references to him in Churchill's



speeches we may infer that "Jimmy and "Winston" got on well together over the brandy and cigars.

During the 1918 general election, Churchill and a number of other ministers had pledged themselves to nationalize the railways. The Ways and Communications Bill of February 1919 actually included powers of State purchase. But in July 1919 Andrew Bonar Law, leader of the Conservative party, declared his opposition to railway nationalisation. Churchill's protests were in vain, and the power to nationalise was dropped from the bill.

—PAUL ADDISON,

CHURCHILL ON THE HOME FRONT 1900-1955
(LONDON: JONATHAN CAPE, 1992), 207.

ON THE LIBERAL COALITION

—LOCHEE, DUNDEE, 4 DECEMBER 1918.

Mr. Churchill [extract]: I greatly regret that we have not been able to go into the Coalition as a united Liberal party, but that really is not the fault of Mr. Lloyd George. We know how difficult things are and that cooperation is not in every case possible. Mr. Asquith (cheers) in his speech the last night at Edinburgh stated with absolute candour what the position is. He said he did not wish to join the government, but that he is willing to help. That is his position, and it is a thoroughly honourable position for him to take. I very much

regret that Mr. Asquith is not occupying a great position in the State, but I am quite certain of this, that in the tasks before us his weight and influence will be of enormous assistance to the country as a whole in the solution of these difficult problems (cheers, and a voice: "He put you in the Navy!").

As far as I am concerned I look forward with the utmost hopefulness to his sagacious and patriotic counsels on all occasions (cheers). I am under very deep obligations to Mr. Asquith....never will you hear from me any words derogatory of him or of the great service that he has rendered to the nation.

WAR DEBT AND RAILWAYS

—CHAMBER OF COMMERCE LUNCHEON,
DUNDEE, 10 DECEMBER 1918.

Mr. Churchill [extract]: Our financial position begins to assume increasing gravity. We are burdened with an enormous debt. Six-sevenths of it we owe to ourselves. It presents difficulties, but difficulties which, at any rate, are within the boundaries of our own country, and can be adjusted without causing any impairing of its economic energy. We are heavily in debt to the United States. We are in debt to that country to the extent of nearly 400 millions of bullion. We have sent them something like 800 to 1000 millions' worth of securities which we had gathered as the results >>

Wit and Wisdom...

of two generations of prosperous trade. The payment of the interest on that debt and the loss of the interest we have previously received will place upon our credit and productive energies a serious burden. We incurred the burden largely for our Allies and to give Russia some chance of striking a blow, but the churlish, treacherous Bolshevist desertion has inflicted injury upon us and ruin upon their own unhappy country. But we will face the difficulty with courage

“So long as the railways are in private hands they may be used for immediate profit. In the hands of the State, however, it may be wise or expedient to run them at a loss if they develop industry, place the trader in close contact with his market, and stimulate development.” —WSC, 1918

and manliness, and be all the stronger for the efforts imposed upon us.

We have got to do something on a bigger scale than ever. The three great parent factors are land, communications, and power, and the three children [are] food, housing, and manufacture. So long as the railways are in private hands they may be used for immediate profit. In the hands of the State, however, it may be wise or expedient to run them at a loss if they develop industry, place the trader in close contact with his market, and stimulate development.

You cannot organise the great questions of land settlement, new industries, and the extension of production unless the State has control of the means of transportation. But I cannot imagine any step so important as the taking over of the railways as a State concern being carried through except on the basis of honest and fair treatment of those to whose thrift and investment we owe this marvellous railway organisation.

Next to the railways comes power. If the capitalist system is to survive as the mainspring of every form of civilisation, it is essential that there should be just laws regulating the acquisition of wealth, that monopolies should be controlled in the general interest, that taxes be levied as far as possible in proportion to the ability to pay, that there should be effective discrimination between earned and unearned income, and, most important of all, that the great mass of toilers throughout the land should be assured of a decent minimum standard of life and labour.

their evil past and to go forward and endeavour to alleviate the lot of the housewife. But what is the substance behind these declarations? The change of heart is very good, but what are the acts and deeds by which it is to be accompanied? What is the first remedy for all these misfortunes and for all these difficulties? What is the first step of alleviation which we are promised in the Gracious Speech? It is the nationalisation of the railways and of inland transport.

Mr. Shurmer (Lab., Birmingham):
You said that twenty years ago.

Mr. Churchill: I am not going to pretend I see anything immoral in the nationalisation of the railways provided fair compensation is paid to the present owners. I professed myself, as the Hon. Gentleman has reminded the House, in favour of this policy in

1919, but what happened?
[Interruption.]

Mr. W.J. Brown (Cons., Rugby):
Hon. Members on the Government benches must not get so rattled.

Mr. Churchill: Sir Eric Geddes was placed in complete charge of the railways with all the facilities and power which would have accrued to a State-aided nationalised system. What happened? All that he produced in four years was a very bad service for the public, heavy loss to the shareholders, and the worst railway strike ever known except the one preceding the General Strike. I must admit that this practical experience of nationalisation—and we do learn by trial and error provided we profit by our experience—damped, I cannot say my usual, my early enthusiasm for this project.

—Winston S. Churchill, *The Sinews of Peace: Post-War Speeches* (London: Cassell, 1948), 241-42. ☺

Editor's Note: Asked whether a commission of inquiry would be instituted before the railways were nationalised, Churchill said:

“I cannot say, but I think it highly improbable that action on this vital matter can be delayed until a Royal Commission has wandered about. A great mass of information is already available, and already a large portion of the task has automatically accomplished itself.”

—*Complete Speeches*, III 2646-48

FAST FORWARD

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 12 NOVEMBER 1946— Debate on the King's Address (“The Gracious Speech,” in fact a speech by the sovereign embodying the proposals of the party in power, in this case Labour.)

Mr. Churchill: It is very gratifying to hear the Ministers in the King's Speech admitting their intention to break with

EDITED BY DANA COOK

AS THEY SAW HIM

OUTRAGED: LONDON, 1912

Ford Madox Ford, Novelist:

The Marconi Commission* must have been one of the most farcical....Suddenly there was a roar like that of a charging wild boar. Mr. Churchill was pushing aside the people in the doorway as if he had been a forward in a game of football and near the goal. His top hat was pressed down over his ears, his face was as pallid as wax, whiter than the paper on which this is written. His features were so distorted that he was almost unrecognisable. He dashed himself at the chair [and] shouted: "If any man has dared to say that I would do such a damned swinish thing as to buy any share in any filthy company in any way connected with any governmental action... If any man has dared...."

The chairman said: "There, there Mr. Winston, we all know your admirable record." The Tories shouted in unison: "An outrage...." Mr. Churchill slammed his fist violently on the table before him and began again: "If I could get my hands on his throat....to say that I could be capable of such infamy...."

—*Return to Yesterday* (London, 1932)

*In the Marconi Scandal of 1912, high-placed members of H.H. Asquith's Liberal government were said to have bought shares in an American subsidiary of the Marconi Company, knowing of government plans to issue a lucrative contract to the British company—what today would be known as "insider trading." The charges, centering around Lloyd George, were never proven, but reverberated politically for years.

HOUSEGUEST: LOS ANGELES, 1929

Marion Davies, Actress:

He came with his son Randolph...they stayed at the beach house. MGM gave a big reception for Churchill. And he had a sort of lisp, but it didn't come out over the microphone. He couldn't figure it out and I couldn't figure it out, but a lisp just does not register....He was a very good guest

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because he had so many things to do that he didn't become a nuisance. And he stayed quite a while, maybe three or four weeks. Then he went back to England. He liked his scotch and his cigars. They were what kept him alive.

—*The Times We Had* (Indianapolis, 1975)

BELOW THE SALT: 1938

Rosalind Russell, Actress:

Metro sent me to England to make a picture called "The Citadel"...[at] the American Embassy...Rose Kennedy brought a cherubic-looking gentleman over to meet me and said he would be my dinner partner. She introduced him as a Mr. Churchill, there was no Sir Winston about it. In fact, Churchill wasn't much in favor then. When people looked at him they tended to have this "remember the Dardanelles" expression on their faces...I chatted with various agreeable strangers until time to go in to dinner. Then Mr. Churchill came and offered his arm.... "Well," he said, "I understand you're an actress from the United States, and I'm sure you're very fine, but still and all you can't amount to much if you have to sit down here with me."

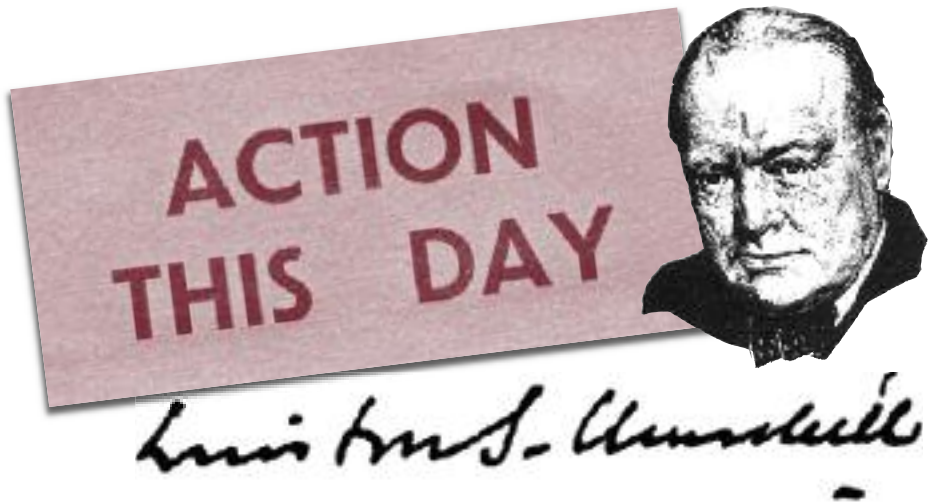
—*Life is a Banquet* (New York, 1977)

RUSHKIN'S SEX LIFE: SURREY, 1939

Peter Quennel, Novelist:

[Churchill and his son Randolph] had just attended some political rally; and during supper they were still deep in an important conversation. But, when the old statesman announced that he must go home and, dutifully attended by Randolph, ambled out toward the street, he could be heard enquiring who I was. "An author," Randolph replied; "He's writing a book on John Ruskin." "Ah, Rushkin, Rushkin," responded the senior Churchill in his sibilant, sonorous voice that has been so often parodied; and, reflectively, as he bade his son farewell: "Rushkin—a man with a shingularly unfortunate shex-life...."

—*The Wanton Chase* (London, 1980) ♪



125 YEARS AGO

Winter, 1886-87 • Age 12
"I am Robin Hood"

In December Winston's father, Lord Randolph, resigned as Chancellor of the Exchequer and, much to his surprise, was not asked to come back by the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury. He was never to hold office again.

Churchill's son Randolph wrote that Winston was to grow up in the background of Lord Randolph's fatal resignation, being only 20 when his father died. Winston's contemporary letters do not reveal any strong feelings about the event, but he certainly developed them later. At the time, however, the only difference in his letters to his father was that he no longer asked for copies of Lord Randolph's autograph to sell to other students.

On 25 January he advised Lady Randolph that he was "getting on very well in Conduct [and] am in the first 11 of football. Give my love to all." On 1 February he wrote her about something she had apparently promised him: "Do not forget to get the set of chess for me. I should like the board to be red and white and not black and white. In our singing classes, we are now learning an Operetta entitled 'The Merry Men of Sherwood Forest.' I am Robin Hood...."

His letter to his mother of February 23rd commenced with "I write, or rather I try to write, this small epistle unto you, hoping you are in good

health" and concluded with the most familiar refrain of his letters: "Do not forget my request for more money."

100 YEARS AGO

Winter, 1911-12 • Age 37
"No such right"

Notwithstanding Churchill's appointment as First Lord of the Admiralty, he continued to be the chief government spokesman on Home Rule for Ireland. He was scheduled to give a speech on the subject in Belfast to the Ulster Liberal Association in early February. The meeting was originally scheduled for Ulster Hall where his father had spoken twenty-five years earlier against Home Rule. The Ulster Conservatives objected to the choice of venue. In January, Churchill engaged in correspondence with his cousin Lord Londonderry regarding the Unionist threats of violence to keep him from speaking.

Londonderry replied that his main objection was to Churchill holding the meeting in the Ulster Hall. "By selecting the Ulster Hall with its historic traditions and the memories connected with your late father's visit in 1886, and the advice he then gave to the people of Ulster, I have no doubt you intended

directly to challenge the genuineness of the oft-expressed determination of those who have made up their minds never under any circumstances to allow themselves to be degraded from their present position under the Imperial Parliament."

Churchill denied that the venue had been chosen for that reason: "You are wrong to think that the Ulster Hall was 'selected' by me as a 'challenge' to you or your friends. Beyond consenting, in fulfillment of an old promise, to make a speech for the Ulster Liberal Association before the meeting of Parliament, I had nothing to do with the local arrangements. I am told, and you no doubt are aware of it, that the Ulster Hall was only 'selected' by the Liberal party in Belfast, after other alternatives had fallen through, because it happened to be free on the date in question. You know quite well that it is a Hall by Act of Parliament open to all parties, and that many Home Rule meetings of importance—one of them as lately as last month—have been freely held there. It is therefore the Ulster Unionist Council who seek to fasten a quarrel, and search for grounds of offence where none are intended."

That Churchill twenty-five years later was still bitter about his father's fall from power was clearly evident later in his letter to Lord Londonderry:



LONDONDERRY

"One word more. Your letter forces me to refer to a personal matter. Your Lordship has a claim, to which I bow, to remind me of the memory of Lord Randolph Churchill. You were his friend through evil as well as good days. The

Unionist Party, who within a few months of the very speech which is now on their lips pursued him with harsh ingratitude, have no such right."

Churchill intended to take his wife with him for the Belfast speech and kept her informed as to the dispute over the venue. The chief government whip wrote to Churchill on 31 January urging him not to bring his wife: "The police report that great quantities of bolts & rivets have been abstracted from the yards, and many revolvers have been taken out of pawn. My own feeling is

that there will be no serious riot, but that isolated disturbance may take place is probable...and moreover you cannot satisfy yourself that [your wife] does not run considerable risk."

In the event, Clementine accompanied Churchill where he gave a speech in the Catholic district of Belfast. Churchill's motorcade from the Grand Central Hotel to the speech venue was set upon by an angry Loyalist crowd approaching 10,000, who surrounded Churchill's car and lifted its back wheels eighteen inches into the air before police beat them off. It was a grim foreshadowing of the unlawful conduct of the Ulster Unionists, which was to accompany their opposition to Home Rule in the next two years.

Churchill's main concern during the winter of 1912 continued to be with his new post as First Lord of the Admiralty. The new German Navy Law proposed building fifteen dreadnought battleships over the next six years rather than the previously planned twelve. Churchill wrote to the foreign secretary Sir Edward Grey, observing that previously, Britain would have built twenty-one ships but now would have to build twenty-seven in order to maintain a "60% superiority over Germany...in Dreadnoughts & Dreadnt Cruisers."

Two days after his speech in Belfast, Churchill spoke in Glasgow on the respective naval power of Britain and Germany. "The purposes of British naval power are essentially defensive," he explained. He added that the difference between British and German naval power was that "The British Navy is to us a necessity and, from some points of view, the German Navy is to them more in the nature of a luxury. Our naval power involves British existence. It is existence to us; it is expansion to them."

Germany did not react well to Churchill's characterization of their Navy as a luxury, and jokes abounded over their *luxus flotte*. It could be argued that Germany's desire to have a stronger fleet was not quite the luxury Churchill made it out to be at the time: Only six years later, German civilians were dying from starvation as a consequence of the British fleet's successful blockade of German ports.

75 YEARS AGO

Winter, 1936-37 • Age 62
"I enjoyed our day so much"

One of the principle members of Churchill's informal intelligence network, Ralph Wigram, died suddenly on New Year's Eve. Churchill learned of this on January 2nd and promptly wrote a letter to Wigram's wife Ava: "...I admired always so much his courage, integrity of purpose, high comprehending vision. He was one of those—how few—who guard the life of Britain. Now he is gone—and on the eve of this fateful year. Indeed it is a blow to England and to all the best that England means."

Notwithstanding Wigram's death, Churchill's intelligence network continued to keep him informed. Sir Martin Gilbert's official biography chronicles the extensive information Churchill received from his network during the winter of 1936-37.

Within the government, the accuracy of Churchill's warnings about the lack of parity between British and German air power was recognized even by Neville Chamberlain, who admitted privately that Britain was "a long way behind Germany numerically."

Churchill's biographers have mostly glossed over his first love, Pamela Plowden, and their continuing affection and platonic friendship over the years. Churchill's destruction of most of her letters to him may have something to do with this. Evidence of their affection remains from the winter of 1937. Clementine and their daughter Mary went skiing in the Alps in January and Clementine urged Churchill to join them and paint the scenery. He left for the Alps on 3 February, but not before spending the previous day in the company of "his Pamela" (as Clementine referred to the now-Lady Lytton) at Knebworth House north of London.

Pamela (then Plowden) was the first woman to whom he had proposed. Improvidently he had written his



"HIS PAMELA"

mother that she was "the only woman I could ever live happily with."

Of their hours together Churchill wrote: "Dearest Pamela, I enjoyed our day so much. Do let me come again & finish the masterpiece. Always yr loving friend, W."

That same day, Churchill wrote to the other—and equally beautiful—woman he eventually found with whom he could live happily: "My darling, I am off tomorrow, & look forward much to joining you 10th or 11th either at St. M or Davos—as you decide."

He closed his with a similar salutation as he sent to Pamela: "Always yr loving husband, W."

50 YEARS AGO

Winter, 1961-62 • Age 86
"With my Humble duty..."

Churchill spent Christmas at Chartwell, where his guests included his daughter Diana and his grandchildren Julian and Celia Sandys. On February 5th, Sir Winston wrote to HM the Queen on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of her ascending to the throne:

"Madam, At the conclusion of the first decade of your Reign, I would like to express to Your Majesty my fervent hopes and wishes for many happy years to come. It is with pride that I recall that I was your Prime Minister at the inception of these ten years of devoted service to our country. With my Humble duty, I remain, Your Majesty's faithful Subject and Servant, Winston S. Churchill."

The Queen replied in a handwritten letter on February 6th:

"My dear Sir Winston, I was most touched to receive your letter of good wishes on the tenth anniversary of my succession. I shall always count myself fortunate that you were my Prime Minister at the beginning of my reign, and that I was able to receive the wise counsel and also friendship which I know my father valued so very much as well. Yours very sincerely, Elizabeth R." ❧

HE BECAME A FAMILIAR FIGURE, WALKING THE BOMBED-OUT STREETS. AMIDST THE SMOKING RUBBLE OF THEIR HOMES, LONDONERS HEARD HIS QUIET AMERICAN VOICE, FELT HIS WARMTH, AND REALIZED THEY WERE NOT ALONE.

FOREIGN AID: John Gilbert Winant

Some people have made history—or made it happen—only to be largely forgotten, overshadowed by the more prominent. One of these was the U.S. Ambassador to Britain during World War II, John Gilbert Winant.

Appointed by Roosevelt in early 1941 to replace Joseph Kennedy, Winant, a Republican, arrived during dark hours. Debarking at Bristol Airport, he declared:

“There is no place I would rather be at this time than in England!”

The next morning his words were spread across British front pages. He became an almost instant symbol of American fellowship and support.

“Gil,” as he preferred to be called, was a lackluster speaker, but had warmth and principle. His message was always succinct: “We are with you.”

Two months after arriving, he forthrightly said where he wished his country to stand: “We have all slept while the wicked, evil men plotted destruction. We have all tried to make ourselves believe we are not our brother’s keeper. But we are

now beginning to realize we need our brothers as much as our brothers need us.”

GARY GARRISON

He became a favorite of the laboring classes. In a speech that helped settle a coal strike, he articulated his philosophy: “The unity of purpose of our people in the common social effort that must follow this war...to crush fascism at its roots, we must crush depression democracy...we will not tolerate the economic evils which breed poverty and war. This is not something we shelve for the duration: it is part of the war.” One British newspaper compared his remarks to Lincoln’s at Gettysburg, because to some Britons, including Mary Churchill, he *looked* like Lincoln!

A close relationship developed quickly. Of course, Churchill was desperate that America join the war. In agreement, Winant counseled the PM on how to convince Roosevelt. His communiqués to FDR emphasized the necessity for support to the only country then in arms against Hitler.

Winant chose not to live in the official residence but in a modest flat, on the same rations as Londoners, joining them in shelters during air raids. He became a familiar figure, walking the bombed-out streets, helping where he could. He preferred talking to commoners than the elite. Amidst the smoking rubble of their homes, they heard this quiet American voice, felt his warmth, and realized they were not alone.

“WE NEED OUR BROTHERS AS MUCH AS OUR BROTHERS NEED US”: HONORARY DEGREE CEREMONY, LONDON, 1943, WITH AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTER ROBERT MENZIES, LEFT, AND THE PRIME MINISTER.



When his train arrived in Windsor from Bristol he was officially greeted by the King, a rare occurrence. Ambassadors are normally presented to the sovereign at Buckingham Palace a few days after their arrival. But this was no ordinary time. George VI ignored protocol to emphasize the importance Britain placed on its relationship with “the Great Republic.”

Mr. Garrison founded the Winston Churchill Society of Georgia and has served on the Churchill Centre’s Board of Governors.

Given neither to small talk nor speeches, Winant believed earnestly in his mission, with an almost religious conviction, of public service. His son Rivington wrote that his father's social conscience was developed during his school years. Born in New York City in 1899, Winant had an indifferent education. He enrolled in St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire, in 1904, but his scholastic career suffered setbacks; he needed an extra year at St. Paul's, and left Princeton University before graduation.

Biographer John Bellushi wrote that the "tall, sensitive youth with piercing eyes had a unique quality of leadership." He was deeply influenced by Dickens' tales of Victorian poverty.

Gaining the confidence of the Rector of St. Paul's, Winant was given a small job which led ultimately to his becoming a Vice Rector. He won a seat in the legislature in 1916. Theodore Roosevelt, with his moral righteousness and idealism, was Winant's inspiration.

After the U.S. entered World War I, Winant flew scouting planes in France. Returning to St. Paul's in 1919, he met and married Constance Russell; among their three children, Rivington is still alive. Attracted to New Hampshire Governor Robert Bass, a progressive who preached social reform and justice, Winant in 1920 was elected to the state senate. Finally in 1924 he was elected governor, serving three terms.

With creativity, compassion and generosity, Winant went to work. The state was in bad shape: many factory workers were out of jobs and those still employed had their wages slashed. Winant created emergency relief, enacted old-age assistance and a minimum wage. He protected workers from foreclosure and assisted dairy farmers in marketing their milk. He also used work relief programs to add ski trails, parks and bathing houses.

In another major step, Winant shifted the cost of highway construction from communities to the state, encouraging public works projects and relieving taxpayers. He called on industry to stop cutting wages, and used state money to help keep a factory open. Once he ordered Concord police to provide breakfasts to the homeless, and to bill him personally for the food. He was seen doling out spare change to lines of unemployed workers outside the State House, his pockets empty by the time he reached the door. His personal touch was remarkable.

His reelection campaign in 1930 was Rooseveltian: "There is a want in this land today and men who know the dignity of labor are idle....We must plan to meet these great cycles of depression and manfully provide against them so

that poverty may be no part of modern civilization."

After Roosevelt was elected in 1932, Winant increasingly supported the New Deal. In 1934 the President named him to the national board that wrote the Social Security law. After he settled a tough textile strike in New Hampshire, Roosevelt asked him to end a national strike of 500,000. He did, and praise for Winant swept the country.

After a stint with the International Labor Organization in Geneva, he returned home to chair the Social Security Administration. During his tenure thirty million Americans enrolled. Resigning in 1936, he returned to the ILO. In mid-1940, he left Geneva by auto for Lisbon and a flight home. A few months later he was Ambassador to Britain.

In Gil Winant, Roosevelt had a person who could connect with the British, and he understood Winant's character, calling him "Utopian John." Partisan Democrat though he was, FDR could overlook party politics with Winant (and Wendell Willkie, his opponent in the 1940 presidential election who also visited Britain)—in the same way as Churchill with Labour leaders like Ernest Bevin and Clement Attlee.

The Prime Minister, almost from the first day of Winant's arrival, took him into his confidence. In the months before Pearl Harbor Winant was Roosevelt's eyes and ears in Europe, and the American Embassy became a vital source of news and military information. He briefed Washington on British war tactics, helping to improve U.S. readi-

ness. Winant did not need Churchill's haranguing to be reminded of the need for the U.S. to enter the war. He was, like Churchill, a symbol of strength to the British people.

Winant was among the party at Chequers when the radio brought news of the Pearl Harbor attack. Churchill started to race out of the room to declare war on Japan when Winant cautioned him not to do so without formal confirmation. But all felt renewed confidence that night. It was reported by one observer that Churchill and Winant "sort of danced around the room together."

After the war and retirement, Winant was summoned to London in 1947 to receive the Order of Merit from George VI. Before he left for the last time, Churchill feted him at the Mansion House. Winant, said WSC, "had been with us always, ready to smooth away difficulties and always giving us that feeling, impossible to resist, how gladly he would give up his life to see the good cause triumph. He is a friend of Britain, but he is more than a friend of Britain. He is a friend of justice, freedom and truth."

Exhausted and ill in 1947, he committed suicide; Churchill sent four dozen yellow roses to his funeral. ☘



WHERE DO WE GET SUCH PEOPLE? FROM THE HEART OF PROUD NATIONS. THEY ARE ALWAYS THERE. THEY ARE THERE TODAY: YOUNG, MEN AND WOMEN, RISKING THEIR LIVES ALL AROUND THIS PLANET, IN UNIFORM, IN STATE DEPARTMENTS, IN THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY, SO WE CAN BE FREE. DON'T SAY HOW HOW TIRED YOU ARE. WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO FIND MORE.

“IN THE FIELD”

Churchill and Northey

Commanding the 6th Battalion, Royal Scots Fusiliers

Over the years, cost-saving measures have seen many proud old British Army regiments amalgamated, including the Highland Light Infantry and Churchill's Royal Scots Fusiliers, second oldest regiment of Scotland, formed in 1678.

The reading room at the Royal Highland Fusiliers Museum in Glasgow houses their records: neatly bound leather scrapbooks, photo albums of forgotten campaigns, dog-eared memoirs held together with twine and rubber bands and memory. In one such scrapbook, firmly pasted in position, is a handwritten letter from Winston S. Churchill to Field Marshal Sir William Robertson, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, dated 4 April 1916 and marked “6th Royal Scots Fusiliers...In the field”:

BILL NANNY



Col. Herbert Hamilton Northey (1871-1938), invalided home after the battle of Loos, was replaced by Churchill.

My dear Sir, I am gratified by the kindness of your letter & I can assure you that I shall always regard this period when I have had the honour to command a battalion of this prestigious regiment in the field, one of the most memorable in my life. Once more thanking you for your letters & its terms. Believe me, yours truly, Winston S Churchill.

As he wrote, Col. Churchill was six weeks away from relinquishing command of the 6th Royal Scots Fusiliers.

Bill Nanny of Charlotte, North Carolina (nannys3@aol.com) is an avid reader of Queen Victoria's "little wars," a collector of British campaign medals, and a contributor to JOMSA, the Journal of The Orders and Medals Research Society. His collection includes the medals awarded to Lt. Col. Northey.

The regiment had suffered greatly the previous September at the Battle of Loos, a hoped-for Franco-British breakthrough of the German line. Now paired with the 7th Battalion RSF, it was to be rebuilt to full operating strength. The Colonel of the 7th Battalion was senior to Churchill, so he was granted command of the newly formed 6th/7th RSF. Churchill, anxious to get back to Parliament, was given his wish by this arrangement.

Churchill, with second-in-command Archibald Sinclair to his right, commanded from 5 January to 16 May 1916.



Counting a two-week leave to prepare and deliver a policy speech in the House of Commons, Churchill had spent 108 days in command of the 6th RSF. On April 28th he led his troops back into the front-line trenches for the last time, overseeing his sector of 1000 yards facing the German lines.

At the farewell lunch by Churchill to his officers on 6 May 1916, Major Andrew Dewar Gibb (author of *With Winston Churchill at the Front* under the pseudonym “Captain X”) noted: “I believe every man in the room felt Winston Churchill’s leaving us a real personal loss.”

Mutual regard between Churchill, his officers and men

was not immediately apparent. Gibb wrote that relations were at first greatly strained. Churchill’s inaugural speech in early January did nothing to allay their doubts: “Gentlemen, I am now your Commanding Officer. Those who support me I will look after. Those who go against me I will break.” These were not exactly words of inspiration for a ravaged, war-weary group.

Three quarters of the RSF’s officers had been killed or wounded, while the other ranks (privates up to senior NCOs) were reduced fifty percent during the Loos offensive. Labeled as a victory, the battle had captured a mile of German territory at a combined cost of over 60,000 French and British casualties, with 25,000 killed or missing.

Colonel Churchill was not like the beloved and respected Colonel Herbert Northey, whom he had replaced. Northey is not mentioned by name in Gibb’s or other personal accounts, but is referred to as “our Colonel” or “the Colonel.” But he left large boots to fill.

Churchill’s letters to his wife, mother and friends in those early days of command express concern as to the caliber of his Scottish soldiers: brave and intelligent, he said, though small in stature. They were not regular army stock but lowland Scots, volunteers who had responded to Lord Kitchener’s patriotic call to arms when war broke out in August 1914. The first 100,000 volunteers, labeled “K1” by the War Office, came from all parts of Britain, but it was Scotland which proportionally delivered more recruits, and would continue to do so as the war slogged on.

The 6th Battalion Royal Scots Fusiliers was a “service” battalion, formed entirely by K1 recruits from Glasgow factories and the coal fields of Ayrshire, trained and led by seasoned, regular army officers and NCOs. Herbert Hamilton Northey, a career officer of the 2nd Battalion RSF, was picked to remain at the regiment’s depot at Ayr and to organize the training of this newest battalion.

It is interesting to parallel Northey’s and Churchill’s military careers, though early on, WSC was a uniformed war correspondent. Both men passed out of the Royal Military College at Sandhurst (only four years apart). In 1897-98, as lieutenants, both were present in the Punjab Frontier and the Tirah campaign against Afridi insurgents.*

Later, in the South African War, Northey like Churchill was captured by the Boers and interned as a POW. Churchill, working for the *Morning Post*, was caught after a commando attack on an armored troop train in whose defense he fought,—he had clearly been in the wrong place at the wrong time. Barely a month later, Lieutenant Northey and his company were surrounded by Boers at the Battle of Colenso and captured. Colenso was a disaster of senior command’s misjudgment of these Boer citizen >>

* Little came of the Tirah operation. Churchill was attached to the Tirah Force for thirty days from 5 March to 4 April 1898, but by the time he got there, operations were virtually over and he was too late to see operational service. —PHC

In the Field...

soldiers, armed with Mauser rifles. And in the Great War just fifteen years later, the enemy would not be Dutch farmers or hill tribesmen, but a modern European army with unimaginable weaponry.

stretcher was obtained, and the two stretcher-bearers tried to carry me over the open, but just as I was being lifted a shell came, a splinter of which blew the unfortunate stretcher-bearer's brains all over me. The other stretcher-bearer then carried me away over the open on his back under a heavy fire some 150 yards....

CHURCHILL AT THE FRONT: JANUARY 1916

Out of the first car came this well-known figure dressed in a long, fine-textured waterproof. He was wearing a *poilu* helmet and a Sam Browne belt holster with a revolver stuck well into it. He was followed by his staff, and I could hardly believe my eyes when I saw the second car, which was piled high with luggage of every description. To my horrified amazement, on the very top of all this clutter was a full-length tin bath. What the hell he was going to do with all this I couldn't think. This very well-known figure came forward, gave a warm handshake, and introduced himself as Lieutenant Colonel Winston Churchill.

After his arrival, all sorts of military and VIPs came to visit us. The military types came along mostly, I think, to see if there was anything they could criticise about his duties as a battalion commander, but they didn't find much. I do remember one voice being raised.

The brigadier came up late one afternoon and spotted a gap in the parapet that had been made that day. It had only been repaired the night before and the little brigadier turned to the CO and said, "Look here, Colonel Churchill. This is a very dangerous thing, to leave this gap unprotected." And the Colonel, turning and fixing him with his piercing eyes, said, "But you know, Sir, this is a very dangerous war." ☞

—Recollection by Jock McDavid, Churchill's adjutant in the 6th Royal Scots Fusiliers, from *Max Arthur, Forgotten Voices of the Great War* (Ebury Press), by kind permission of the author. —PHC

In John Buchan's regimental history of the Royal Scots Fusiliers is a short account from Northey's diary of being wounded in action. On 27 September 1915, the Battle of Loos was in its third day, the communication trenches filled with dead and dying. British troops advanced to and then retired from the captured German lines. Colonel Northey, as was routine then for senior officers, led his men across no-man's land and was struck by a machine gun bullet through his left leg. His vivid account gives us a glimpse of the kind of fighting Churchill would see in their time:

I...stumbled on through communication trenches hopping as best I could for what seemed an interminable distance—the trenches being deep with mud and choked with dead and wounded men—and was eventually helped into a German dugout by a stretcher-bearer, who tied up my leg. I then imagine I must have fainted, probably because I had lost a lot of blood, and came to finding myself being pulled out of the dug-out by two stretcher-bearers, with a terrific din going on all around. This was the German counter-attacking, and I found I was between the German and British lines. I slowly and very painfully made my way along the German trenches towards our own lines—fighting going on all round and very much afraid of being collared by the enemy. At one point a

the downhearted and returned zeal to the brave Scots. Gibb wrote that "no more popular officer ever commanded troops. As a soldier he was hard working, persevering and tough...he lived soldiering; it lay near his heart."

Did Northey and Churchill meet? Probably, at a historic reunion of the Regiment on 1 July 1919, their first postwar regimental dinner, with HRH The Prince of Wales, later Edward VIII, who had been appointed Colonel-in-Chief of the regiment. Among the eighty guests was Churchill, who toasted the Prince and spoke of the "magnificent spirit that existed in the famous old Regiment, and how much that spirit meant, and would mean in the future."

Included among those present was Lieutenant Colonel Northey, the man Churchill had replaced. An eyewitness wrote: "Old friends gripped hands very warmly, but with few words. There was a feeling of reunion and thankfulness, and the regret for those who had gone, and words did not come easily." To believe the two commanders did not share a greeting is impossible. They had much in common.

Lieutenant Colonel H.H. Northey CMG retired on 17 October 1919. He died aged 67 on 14 January 1938—like Churchill, a soldier of the Empire. ☞

Northey was transported to England, hospitalized and convalesced for almost nine months. In January 1916 he was appointed a Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George (CMG). He would later return to his old Battalion.

After Loos the 6th RSF were taken out of the line and moved to a reserve position behind the Ypres Salient, in watery, lice- and rat-infested trenches. Leaderless and stagnant, it floundered until January 1916 when Churchill took over. His character and inspiration transformed



BOOKS, ARTS & CURISOTIES

Thriving in the Shade of a Great Oak

JOHN G. PLUMPTON

It may be apocryphal, but Randolph Churchill is said to have regretted the difficulty of acorns surviving in the shade of a mighty tree. That's true sometimes, but not always. In some cases, acorns thrive, and fall not far from the parent. One such example is Lady Soames, Patron of The Churchill Centre, whose personal story is wonderfully told in her long-awaited autobiography—and what a tale it is.

The author of five previous books on her family, Lady Soames recounts the rapidfire events of her first twenty-five years, culminating in her marriage to Christopher Soames in 1947. She was born at the same time as her father made an offer to purchase Chartwell Manor, a house she has treasured all of her life. This book brings Chartwell alive as a home better than any guidebook.

She opens with a poignant account of the sad death in 1921 of her sister Marigold, the beloved “Duckadilly.” A year later Mary arrived: “Perhaps I was, for my parents, the child of consolation.” We meet Maryott White (“Cousin Moppet” or “Nana”), Clementine’s cousin, Mary’s godmother, nanny/governess and lifelong friend. With her parents often in London and abroad, “Nana in all matters ruled my existence—always loving and always there.”

Prior to going to school, Nana introduced the precocious young child to the



***A Daughter's Tale: The Memoir of Winston and Clementine Churchill's Youngest Child*, by Mary Soames. Doubleday UK, hardbound, illus., 416 pages, £25. Member price for signed copies only: \$85. U.S. edition in May 2012, 352 pages, \$28, member price \$22.40.**

joys of literature, a passion that has remained throughout her life. Reading aloud by Nana began at tea-time and continued through an extended (intentionally) preparation for bed. Lady Soames recalls being enthralled by the Beatrix Potter books, *Black Beauty*, *Alice in Wonderland*, *Peter Pan*, *Treasure Island*, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: a cornucopia of children's classics.

She was one of the first to be spell-

bound by her father's renderings of Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*. A still treasured possession is a gift from her sister Sarah (“a lovely green leather-bound copy of *The Oxford Book of English Verse*, much faded now”). Her love of literature expanded to the theatre, and there is a litany of the great plays of the 1930s and 1940s that she enjoyed with friends and family.

Mary Churchill grew up in an adult world in a large, extended family, and her remembrances are full of insight: “I loved my parents unquestionably and my mother I held in considerable awe. I thought her very beautiful, sought to please her, and greatly feared her displeasure....My relationship with my father was altogether much easier—it just seemed to happen. Of course, he did not have to deal with the small print of my life or wrestle with my shortcomings in the same way as my mother.”

Her siblings were all very different: “Randolph was too distant from me in age to be part of my scheme of things.... I was always rather alarmed by Randolph. Diana was benevolent towards me but was chiefly London-based, coming down to Chartwell on weekends. Sarah was my childhood heroine and my greatest friend.”

Winston's large circle of intimates and associates are recalled, including Professor Lindemann, Eddie Marsh, Alfred >>

The Churchill Centre Book Club is managed for the Centre by Chartwell Booksellers (www.churchillbooks.com), which offers member discounts up to 25%. To order please contact Chartwell Booksellers, 55 East 52nd Street, New York, NY 10055. Email info@chartwellbooksellers.com Telephone (212) 308-0643

Shade of a Great Oak...

Duff Cooper, Bernard Baruch, Lawrence of Arabia (“I liked him very much and noticed his piercing blue eyes and intense manner”) and Lloyd George (“I was strongly and immediately struck by the great man’s white locks, his animation and his celebrated Celtic charm”).

The Second World War was a formative influence on Mary Churchill, and takes up half of the book. She began the war living at Chequers, an 18-year-old volunteer with the Women’s Volunteer Services. Upon learning of the formation of the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS) with the Royal Artillery, she and her cousin and friend Judy Montagu joined up to become “gunner girls.” She traces her career from training centres throughout England until she assumed command of an anti-aircraft battery in Hyde Park, and later in southern England. She also served as aide-de-camp to her father on his overseas journeys to Quebec in 1944 and Potsdam in 1945.

Young Mary lived an eclectic wartime life, enduring the privations of ordinary soldiers, while staying at times with her parents at Chequers and No. 10 Annexe, the above-ground rooms where her father spent most of his time in London.

She had an active social life. Like most of her peers, she enjoyed being “foot-loose and fancy-free and very much on the look-out for romance.” She declined two marriage proposals—actually three because the eventual winner, Christopher Soames, had to propose twice before she accepted.

Her military life was not that of the average “gunner.” Her father would sometimes invite important guests to join him in watching Mary’s unit in action while under attack. Despite these intrusions, it pleased her that neither her commanding officers nor her peers resented their presence or treated her other than as a colleague.

Among the most interesting parts of her story are her portraits of VIPs she met

during the war: Harry Hopkins (“at first a somewhat dour impression but [there] soon emerged great personal charm”); Jan Smuts (“calm demeanour and wise judgment”); Charles de Gaulle (“a stern, direct giant. We all thought him very fine”); Mackenzie King (“very nice but a bit of a maiden aunt [and] a cosy old thing”); Franklin Roosevelt (“most kind, charming and entertaining”).

There are glimpses of most of the Allied military brass, but the two figures that stood out for young Mary were Lord Louis Mountbatten (“good-looking and most affable. Sarah and I fell for him in a big way. I remember we somewhat disrespectfully dubbed him Glamour Pants”); and Sir Harold Alexander. In 1945 she wrote to her mother: “The person I’ve really lost my heart to is Alex—who is definitely my fav’rite Field Marshal. He is one of the few people I fell for at the age of 17 who has stood

the stern test of time.”

Even at a young age, Lady Soames had an eye for detail and character analysis, and a winning way of describing it. There are moving descriptions of the loss of family and friends in the war, and accounts of “tensions and difficulties on the family front,” even as great global events were unfolding. We are reminded throughout the book that the Churchills were not only a great family—they were also a very human family in ways that historians are unable to capture.

Although there is a bibliography, the major source is the diary the author has kept for most of her life. Assuredly it is one of the great documents of history, that some day may be a major resource for historians. In the meantime, *A Daughter’s Tale* is a most illuminating portrait of the early life of a remarkable woman, truly a worthy offspring of Winston and Clementine Churchill. ☺

COVER STORY

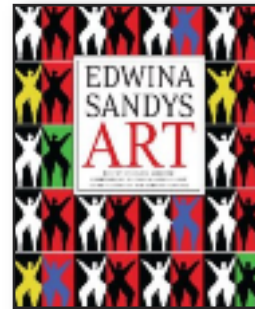
All Edwina, All the Time

RICHARD M. LANGWORTH

***Edwina Sandys Art*, by Caroline Seeböhm. New York: Glitterati, hard-bound, illus., 224 pages, \$75, Member price for inscribed copies \$60.**

“When something exciting happens in the world, I want to jump in and get involved. It’s in my blood.” When Edwina Sandys says things like that, one thinks of her grandfather, dashing off as a young subaltern to cover the slightest hint of a war in the peaceful Victorian 1890s. Like Sir Winston, Edwina has always been in the thick of the action—and now her career is documented with a marvelous coffee table book encapsulating nearly all of her works large and small.

Churchillians will be drawn to the early parts of the book tracing the artist’s



early years, set off with brilliant color plates like “Winston at Work” (cover this issue), inspired by her youthful visits to Chartwell and its master.

Edwina was the second child of Duncan Sandys and Diana Churchill, born in London two months

after Munich. She was too young to recall much of the Blitz, which was well, since “evacuation was not an option for Winston Churchill’s grandchildren.” Her father served as Minister of War, her mother joined the Women’s Royal Naval Service and served betimes as an air raid warden. Edwina remembers collecting bits of shrapnel in London parks on her daily outings.

She credits her grandfather as her inspiration to be an artist (and later a sculptress, a skill they also shared,

Mr. Plumpton is a former president of The Churchill Centre and has contributed to *Finest Hour* for thirty years. He has recently created a bibliography on Canada and World War II, presently being posted at ww2bibliography.ca.

witness WSC's famous bust of the sculptor Oscar Nemon, done while Nemon sculpted him!)

Her grandfather was the first painter she saw at work: "When he was painting, he was totally absorbed. I think—well—I know for myself—that painting uses a different part of your brain and your whole being. So it was a great outlet for him, a complete contrast to the affairs of state."

One thing that is clear from his paintings, she continues, "is his love of life. He went at it with relish and gusto." As an example she offers "Bottlescape": a still-life of "decanters and bottles mostly open, and a fine display of half-filled glasses.... This is one of my favorites and it later inspired my own painting 'Romeo Revisited.'"

Churchill's nephew Peregrine once recalled to this writer how "Bottlescape" was conceived: "My uncle received a huge bottle of brandy one Christmas and I remember it well. He sent us children rushing round Chartwell, ordering us: 'Fetch me associate and fraternal bottles to form a bodyguard to this majestic container!'" Adds Edwina: "You know exactly what each bottle holds, and how what's in it tastes. You can almost smell the cigars in the cedarwood boxes stacked up at the side of the canvas." Another of her portraits, "Chartwell, 1983," was the first color cover of *Finest Hour*, in issue 43 for Spring, 1984.

Subsequent chapters trace Edwina's expansion into sculpture, inspired by her sculptor friend Susanna Holt in 1974: "Suddenly," writes Seebom, "with stunning rapidity, while continuing with her two-dimensional drawings and paintings, and using the same themes of characters in moods or situations—such as a woman playing cards, smoking or putting on mascara—Edwina made more than twenty sculptures that revealed her talent in rapidly evolving forms." Her feminist instincts are represented with evocative female forms expressing liberation. From bronze she moved into marble, inspired by Italian friends: "If I close my eyes and run my hands over the sculpture, I know if it's right. If it's working."

One set of marbles, "Adam & Eve," reminds us of "Breakthrough," the forms Edwina cut into a piece of the Berlin Wall—her most powerful statement. It stands in front of America's Churchill Museum at Westminster College in Fulton site of WSC's "Sinews of Peace" speech in 1946.

Edwina had long wanted to present a work of art to the museum, which she serves as a trustee and a prominent promoter. Glued to the television in 1989, as Germans proudly hacked through that symbol of repression, she and her husband, Richard Kaplan, decided to go to Berlin and obtain a "decent sized chunk."

Getting it wasn't so easy, but she knew exactly what she wanted to do with it. At dinner in Berlin she made a sketch of human forms breaking through the barrier, "physically, as well as metaphorically." Their German friends looked at the sketch. "Ahh, *Durchbruch*," they said in unison. *Durchbruch* means "Breakthrough," and Edwina had her title.

Made from eight sections of communist cement, "Breakthrough" is

graffiti-bedizened on the western side. The eastern side was and remains blank; while it stood, with armed guards watching, no one dared approach it.

Edwina's book, her only "collected work," is crammed with colorful prints ranging over the full gamut of her paintings, prints and sculpture. The critic Anthony Haden-Guest, in his foreword, reminds us that Edwina was never "shoehorned into an Ism. And what was more unusual was that she clearly didn't care." People thought of her as a "remarkable oddity [which] I am happy to report she remains." He describes her feminist theme as "in-your-face in its femaleness...but there is nothing of the abject in it." Sometimes, he adds, "her figures seem as immovable as the Stonehenge menhirs she references, but more often they look poised to kiss, to dance, to fly."

Anyone who marvels at Winston Churchill's talents as an amateur will be enthralled by what one of his grandchildren inherited to become a professional: a kaleidoscopic collection that would have intrigued him, as his own "daubs" once intrigued her. ☺

Lights of Perverted Science

DAVID FREEMAN

***The Gemini Agenda*, a novel by Michael and Patrick McMenamin. Enigma, hardbound, 400 pages, \$23.95, member price \$19.15.**

Nineteen thirty-two: A string of horrifying murders is occurring across America. The body of each victim is discovered with both eyes surgically removed. Police can make nothing of it, but an unlikely source instigates a newspaper investigation. Winston Churchill, at home in



Britain, receives a tip from an informant in Germany which he passes along to his friend, the American press baron William Randolph Hearst. Hearst assigns his ace photojournalist (Churchill's fictional goddaughter) Mattie McGary to the case and events are set in motion that will

lead to a ghastly revelation.

Such is the set-up for Michael and Patrick McMenamin's third Winston Churchill Thriller. As in the previous books, *The De Valera Deception* and *The Parsifal Pursuit*, McGary is joined by her boyfriend Bourke Cockran, Jr. >>

Professor Freeman teaches History at California State University Fullerton.

Dinner Diplomacy...

(fictional son and namesake of Churchill's one-time mentor). Cockran is an American lawyer who has been unsuccessfully fighting against the phony science of Eugenics.

At one time, twenty-six of the United States had Eugenics laws that empowered courts to impose forced sterilization on those thought unsuitable for reproduction. The U.S. Army provided financial support to Eugenics researchers. All of this caught the attention of Germany's increasingly powerful Nazi Party, just as Adolf Hitler was on the brink of taking office.

Sleuthing by McGary and Cockran determines that all of the murder victims are sets of twins. The intrepid couple find themselves attempting to

understand an emerging and complex web of interaction between the U.S. government, international businessmen and the Nazis, which points to a shadowy facility in southern Germany—where lurks a young doctor named Josef Mengele, later known as the “Angel of Death” at Auschwitz/Birkenau.

Churchill has his own reasons for visiting Bavaria. He is researching a biography of his ancestor John Churchill, First Duke of Marlborough, and wants to visit the battlefield of Blenheim, site of the Duke's greatest triumph. The journey also provides an opportunity for the British statesman to increase his knowledge of contemporary events in Germany, because a mutual acquaintance has proposed a meeting between Churchill and Hitler.

Hitler famously misses his chance

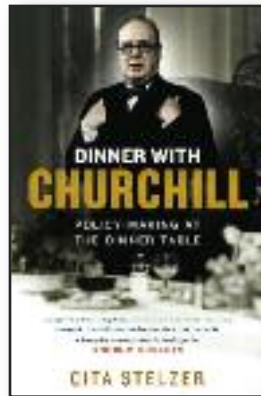
for a face-to-face encounter with his principal antagonist, but Churchill does not miss the opportunity to enjoy a taste of adventure by planning a daring raid on the secret Nazi research facility. Subsequently, Churchill gets to demonstrate his proficiency as a marksman while supporting a dramatic rescue operation that brings together all of the novel's main characters, including Bobby Sullivan, an IRA assassin personally trained by Michael Collins.

Once more the McMenamins have successfully weaved together history and fantasy in a dramatic thriller, one which forces Americans to confront the ugly truth about their country's involvement with Eugenics. Once more, though, Churchill is there to confound Hitler's “perverted science” and “the grisly gang that works his wicked will.” ☞

Dinner Diplomacy

BARBARA F. LANGWORTH

***Dinner with Churchill: Policy-Making at the Dinner Table*, by Cita Stelzer. Short Books, hardbound, 304 pp., illus., £20, Amazon UK £9.40, also available through dealers via Amazon USA.**



In 1958, at the urging of Clementine Churchill, Georgina Landemare, the Churchills' faithful cook, published her book, *Recipes from No. 10. Finest Hour* gets many queries about Churchill's taste in food, drink, and cigars, so one afternoon I sat down with Lady Soames and Mrs. Landemare's book and tagged the favorite family dishes. This resulted in a column in *FH* 95, which lasted for four years, until a reader survey indicated it was the least popular department.

Cita Stelzer has taken a new approach with Churchill's “dinner diplomacy,” finding “aspects of his character and personality—humanity, humor,

curiosity, zest and resilience—that were revealed at the dinner table.” She writes not only about what was served at his table, but what was served to him.

Churchillians are a well-read audience, and will recognize much of the material in this book. What Cita Stelzer has

uniquely accomplished is to extract from the salmagundi on Churchill the many references related to foods.

Our advance review copy did not contain the bibliography, which must be intriguing. She has dug deep to find the intimate details of many a meal, cloaking it with the historic venue and illustrating her pages with photos, menus and memorabilia of the events.

One favorite of mine was WSC's birthday cakes. I've read that they were imaginative and exquisitely wrought; she had found several pictures and descriptions which I particularly enjoyed.

The book is arranged chronologically. The nine chapters in Section One include meals during the 1940s at Newfoundland, Washington, Moscow, Adana (Turkey), Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. Here we meet Stalin, Roosevelt, Eisenhower, Truman, Lord Moran, the Churchill family and close friends and relatives around the dinner table, on picnics or in dining cars.

Section Two answers the kinds of questions people constantly ask: what did Churchill like to eat, drink and smoke? The final chapter is on wartime rationing—a constant challenge for Churchill. In order to maintain support for the programme, Stelzer relates, he had to abide by the rules. This chapter demonstrates Churchill's personal effort to help ease the lot of British citizens during the war. For example what he named “British Restaurants” (instead of the suggested “Communal Feeding Centres”) was a plan of subsidized dining to allow the poor to “have a meal without giving up coupons.”

Churchill's methods had been learned years before, Stelzer relates. Late in World War I, when he was Minister of Munitions, Churchill had to deal

with a serious strike. "He agreed to meet one of the strikers....'Let's have a cup of tea and a bit of cake together,' he said....the issue was resolved to the mutual satisfaction of both parties."

Just before leaving Potsdam for England to hear the election results that hurled him from office in 1945, Churchill hosted a notable banquet for Allied leaders. Menu cards reproduced in the book start with cold clear soup or

hot turtle soup (one of his favorites), fried sole, roast chicken, boiled new potatoes, peas, cold ham (WSC's ham had always to be accompanied by mustard), lettuce salad, fruit salad, ice cream (another favorite) and Scotch Woodcock (a dish of scrambled eggs and anchovies).

The wine list sparkled with Amontillado, Hallgartener Riesling '37, Krug '37, St. Julien '40, Stokes Port,

Trunier Brandy, Cointreau and Benedictine. There was a program of music, and a carefully planned seating plan. Nothing was left to chance.

From a "cuppa" to an elaborate dinner for twenty-eight at Potsdam, Churchill used dining as a cunning means to his ends. This agreeable and interesting book, on a topic that fascinates many, is Ms. Stelzer's first: a real service to the literature. ☺

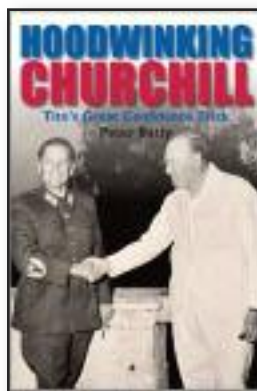
If Only It Were So Simple

DAVID STAFFORD

What is this book about? Simply that President Tito of Yugoslavia, who died in 1980, was "the man who, during World War II...hoodwinked Britain's staunchly anti-communist Prime Minister into giving his full backing to the communist Partisans and cutting all aid to the anti-communist forces resisting the Germans in Yugoslavia....Churchill's decision was based on information provided by two trusted advisers, Fitzroy Maclean and William Deakin, who simply passed on without verification what Tito told them. The deception was compounded by a communist mole at SOE headquarters in Cairo who withheld or doctored information from liaison officers with the anti-communist leader, Draza Mihailovic." Without Churchill's support, the blurb tells us, Tito would not have overcome his political opponents to emerge as the country's leader, and Yugoslavs would have been spared over forty years of harsh communist rule.

If only it were so simple. Remove Churchill, and three more people from the complex situation that was wartime Yugoslavia, and everything would have been radically different.

The author is a British journalist and TV producer. His motive for writing the book comes from a bust-up with the BBC over a documentary he made about Tito. Yugoslavia was broken up in the



***Hoodwinking Churchill: Tito's Great Confidence Trick*, by Peter Batty. Shephard-Walwyn, hardbound, illus., 384 pages, \$42.95, Amazon \$29.54.**

early 1990s—which was, he claims, crudely and savagely re-edited behind his back in order to protect the received "myth" of Tito as the great Partisan hero, as well as the reputation of the late Sir Fitzroy Maclean.

As in most conspiracy theories, not all of the book is wrong. The influence of pro-Tito protagonists such as Deakin and Maclean on postwar historical interpretations of events is undeniably true.

Professor Stafford is the author of *Churchill and Secret Service* and related books on wartime intelligence. His latest book, officially commissioned by the Cabinet Office, is *Mission Accomplished: SOE and Italy 1943-1945* (The Bodley Head, 2011).

Both wrote hugely influential books about their experiences with the Partisans, and Deakin for example—as a distinguished historian who helped Churchill write his monumental memoir of the war—exercised considerable influence through his chairmanship of the British section of the International Committee for the History of the Second World War. It's also the case that several of the junior SOE officers who were parachuted in to serve with the Partisans were too uncritically swept away by the romance of it all, and failed to ask some difficult questions.

But the same could be said for the author's own view of Mihailovic, an undoubtedly tragic and often sadly traduced figure whose patriotism was not in doubt but whose weaknesses and failures (at least from the British point of view, which is what counts here) were apparent long before Deakin and Maclean appeared on the scene and were vouched for by some senior and experienced British sources on the spot.

Batty frequently quotes the official history of SOE by W.J. Mackenzie to support his case. Significantly, however, he fails to acknowledge Mackenzie's judgment that Mihailovic lived in a world that was passing, and that more British support in 1943-44 would have precipitated an even more intense and savage civil war. >>

If Only It Were So Simple...

As for the Soviet “mole” in Cairo, here too a truth is elevated into something more important than it was. James Klugmann, the man concerned, was indeed a communist and certainly did all he could to influence reports in Tito’s favour. But many other sources, amongst them the “Ultra” decrypts, demonstrated that Tito’s Partisans were doing more to engage the enemy than Mihailovic, and SOE Cairo was hardly the deciding voice in the affair anyway.

Was Churchill hoodwinked? It’s true that he intervened energetically to support Tito, and his son Randolph, who was parachuted in to serve alongside Tito, sent back photographs of the Partisans that deeply affected his parents. Later on, too, Churchill admitted that his hopes in Tito had been disappointed. But his intervention was as much the result of *realpolitik* as of any deceit—a fact that the author forgets in his obsession with conspiracy.

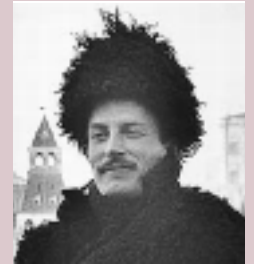
Maintaining the Anglo-Soviet alliance was an absolute imperative for Britain in the campaign to defeat Hitler, and Stalin’s support for Tito was firm—and perhaps regretted by Stalin when Tito chose an independent policy after the war. To continue supporting Mihailovic would have been to throw dust in Stalin’s eyes.

Yes, Churchill was an anti-communist, and so was Mihailovic. But that was no reason for the former to support the latter. War is a dirty and often cynical business. The author is undoubtedly right in most of what he says about the ruthless and dictatorial Tito. But in seeking to explain all by conspiracy, he seems curiously naïve. ☺

WHAT MACLEAN REALLY TOLD CHURCHILL

It affronts the memory of Sir Fitzroy Maclean to suggest that he misled Churchill with deceitful reports. The following are Sir Fitzroy’s remarks to Churchill Centre members during their tour of “Churchill’s Scotland” at Strachur, Argyll, 12 September 1987. From Proceedings of the International Churchill Society 1987 (published 1989):

In 1942 the Prime Minister began to doubt the rightness of our policy in Yugoslavia. We had been backing General Mihailovic’s Chetniks, but now, from intercepted enemy signals, it began to look as if Tito’s Partisans might be a better bet. He wanted me to go in as a brigadier, commanding a British military mission, and as his personal representative, to find out, as he put it rather brutally, “Who was killing the most Germans, and how we could help them to kill more.” My mission was to be first and foremost military; political considerations were to be secondary.



I found Tito to be a rough, alert, sensible man of about fifty, at the head of a far more formidable resistance movement than anyone outside Yugoslavia could possibly have imagined. By his skill as a guerrilla leader he was containing a score or more of enemy divisions and thus making a major contribution to the Allied war effort. He made no bones about being a communist, but for a communist (and I’d just spent three years in Moscow so I knew all about them), he showed a surprising independence of mind and, above all, an intense national pride which did not at all fit in with my idea of a Russian dupe.

All this I reported to Mr. Churchill, first by radio and then, once I could get out of the country, in person in Cairo. On the strength of my reports a decision had been taken to give all-out support to Tito and the Partisans.

I thought it right to remind him that the Partisans were communist-led. “Do you intend to make your home in Yugoslavia after the war?” he asked. “No,” I replied.

“Neither do I,” he said. “That being so, don’t you think we had better leave it to the Yugoslavs to work out their own form of government? What concerns us most now is who is doing the most damage to the Germans.”

Thinking our conversation over afterwards, I felt convinced, and still feel convinced, that this was the right decision. ☺

Students, Mind the Sources

ROBIN BRODHURST

Churchill 1920-45, by Mike Wells. OCR A-Level History. Heinemann, softbound, 192 pages, £13.99.

This new textbook for British A-Level students has interesting



points that may appeal to teachers in other countries. It is specifically for students of OCR (one of three UK exam boards) and for one of modules in their History A Level-Enquiries. This module requires students to engage with secondary and

primary sources, and tests their interpretations. The paper is not focused on historiography, or the different interpretations of historians, although it does introduce students to issues in which evidence may conflict.

As an example, contemporary sources differ on Churchill's handling of the 1926 General Strike. To some he aimed at conciliation; to others he exacerbated matters. Views depend on the nature, origin and date of the source.

Following an opening biography are four chapters on aspects of WSC's political career: 1920 to 1929; foreign policy in the 1930s; Imperial policy in the same period; and World War II. The book ends with exam tips and suggestions, including specimen answers to a number of questions, and examiners' comments on them, which as a student I would have found extremely useful.

The chapter on Imperial foreign policy is instructive. It starts with Churchill's clash with Tory views on India, examines his views on rearmament and appeasement, and considers his political position in 1933-38, asking

whether his views were justified. In other words, it encourages students to move from the specific to the general.

Interspersed with the commentary are short biographies of key individuals such as Gandhi, and data boxes on, for example, the 1935 Government of India Act. Each section usually ends with three sets of sources and questions about them: the first set herein has an extract from Wavell's and Leo Amery's diaries from October/November 1943, compared to a quotation from Arthur Herman's *Gandhi and Churchill* (2008). Each chapter ends with advice by examiners and a rather unsatisfactory bibliography. Remarkably it makes no reference to the Gilbert biography, which one would have thought was basic, or even to the Gilbert's one-volume version. Some books are cited for just two or three pages, while others appear to be recommended *passim*.

While it is important for students to consider differing views on Churchill, I am not sure that I would recommend Ponting's 1994 biography, other than to show how wrong a historian can be. One might as well recommend Irving's *Churchill's War*, just to show that there is a different view. John Charmley gets a rather too extensive series of quotations, particularly in the chapter on international diplomacy in World War II. If I were to recommend a single-volume

biography aside from Gilbert's, it would probably be that by Roy Jenkins, which also gets no mention. Similarly omitted is *Churchill: A Major New Assessment*, the 1993 collection of essays edited by Robert Blake and Roger Louis, amongst the best places for a student to start. Given that one of the aims of the book is to encourage students to look more widely, more thought could have been given to the bibliographies.

It's not possible in a short review to look at each chapter's chosen documents and sources. Every historian will have favourites, and reasons for supporting them. For example, I was disappointed to find little about the Battle of the Atlantic and the allocation of VLR aircraft to Coastal Command compared with the numbers going to Bomber Command. Of course it is not possible to include everything, and the book does succeed in what it sets out to do. It informs A-Level students about important aspects of Churchill in his most important twenty-five years. It shows how documentary sources can illustrate both sides of an argument and encourages students to consider differing views about Churchill. Above all, it allows VI-Form students to venture into the canon, introducing them to his writings, and helping them see how he dominated the 20th century, both nationally and internationally. ☺

Mr. Brodhurst, a former army officer, has been Head of History at Pangbourne College for twenty years, examining A Levels for the past 15. His *Churchill's Anchor*, a biography of Dudley Pound, was reviewed in *FH* 114.

Churchill as a Literary Character (4)

DO NOT READ AT YOUR EARLIEST CONVENIENCE

MICHAEL McMENAMIN

Novels are rated 0 to 3 stars on accuracy of the Churchill portrayal and reading value. These two employ historical characters, including WSC, and purport to be based on reality.

***Churchill's Secret Agent*, by Max and Linda Ciampoli. Berkely, soft-bound, 496 pp., \$9.95. Portrayal ★ Worth Reading 0**



The Churchill Centre's former webmaster, Dave Turrell, had a talent for words. Posting reviews of two of the decade's most appalling critiques, he deployed the subtitle, "We Read Them So You Don't Have To." Well, do we have one that you don't have to read. In

fact, we encourage you to not read it at your earliest convenience.

The Ciampolis' book, which starts with a Churchill quote he never made ("Never, never, never quit"), purports to be "a novel based on a true story": Churchill, were are told, recruited Max Ciampoli to be his "secret agent." By the way, they conversed only in French. Soon we are told that Churchill sometimes "nods off while writing." This must have been quite a sight, since much of Churchill's writing was done at his stand-up desk.

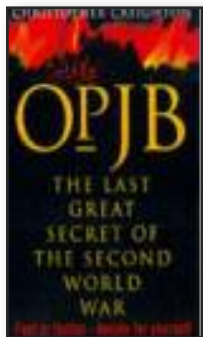
Did you know that there were direct flights from Casablanca to England? >>

Three Days in May...

That's how Max got to Britain on his first mission. I've sent an urgent message to Rick to get Ilsa and Lazlo on that flight—not the one to Lisbon.

The rest is just as bad and involves Churchill personally giving Max all his assignments, debriefing him after each (all in French). Along the way, Max meets the Pope and learns that U.S. Ambassador Joe Kennedy has been in touch with “several American industrialists asking them to manufacture arms, ammunition and airplanes for Germany.... [to] be paid in gold and jewels gathered from the pillage of Europe [which] is being held in safety in South America.”

FH reviewed this book because some of our readers inquired about it. The editor has refused to release your names but you know who you are. In the future, please show more restraint. ☹



***Op. JB*, by Christopher Creighton. Simon & Schuster, 1996. Out of print; available on Amazon, hard-bound \$45, paperbacks from \$1.68. Portrayal ★½ Worth Reading ★★★**

Like the Ciampoli book, *Op. JB* purports to be based on a true—if equally implausible—story about a Churchill/Special Operations Executive-inspired plot: to spirit Martin Bormann out of Berlin in May 1945. Unlike Berkely Publishing, Simon & Schuster at least had the grace to say they “had not been able to verify [the author’s] account by independent research.” If Berkely had at least done that with the Ciampoli book—and they certainly could have—perhaps no *FH* readers

would have asked about its authenticity, sparing me the chore of reading it.

Op. JB is a novel, make no mistake, even though it is set up as “non-fiction” complete with photos and letters to the author from both Churchill and Ian Fleming, who conceived the Bormann snatch operation. (JB = James Bond, get it?) It even has an index, like a self-respecting non-fiction book, as well as an appendix about the author sinking a Dutch submarine which had sighted the Japanese fleet on its way to Pearl Harbor (a story told at greater length in Brian Garfield’s *The Paladin* (FH 139: 24), supposedly about the same Christopher Creighton—whose real name is apparently John Ainsworth-Davies.

I gave this Churchill portrayal 1½ stars mostly to set it apart from Ciampoli. I found only two passages about him which didn’t ring true, and neither pegs the laugh-meter like Churchill rising every day before dawn or nodding off while writing. In one, the author notes Churchill’s “fierce”

opposition to using women in an operational capacity (which I strongly doubt was the case). He attributes this to “the ultra-conventional upbringing” WSC had received from his American mother. Ultra-conventional is not a word you expect to see in the same sentence with Lady Randolph Churchill.

The other loud clang has Churchill returning a revolver from his waistband to the author with the comment, “If I keep it in my trousers any longer, I’ll probably shoot my [male appendage] off.” It’s not that Churchill would never use such a vulgarity that I find suspect. It is, rather, that Churchill was a skilled marksman who frequently carried firearms on his person, and would have had no such concern.

Unlike *Churchill’s Secret Agent*, however, *Op. JB* is worth reading. It is an exciting tale, well-told with a clear plot line and plenty of thrills along the way. I won’t spoil the ending, but the book’s jacket calls it “The last great secret of the Second World War.” ☹

THEATRE

Did the PM Wobble?

ALLEN PACKWOOD



***Three Days in May*, by Ben Brown. A play starring Warren Clarke as WSC**

and Robert Demeger as Neville Chamberlain. Staged in Cambridge and the Trafalgar Studios, London.

There is no doubting the enthusiasm of both Warren Clarke (Churchill) and Jeremy Clyde (Halifax) for their roles in this play, which opened at the Cambridge Arts Theatre. The two expe-

rienced actors visited the Archives Centre and responded knowledgeably to being

shown some of the original documents from 1940, including the diaries of Jock Colville and Leo Amery, and Churchill’s speech notes.

The play is about the debates in the War Cabinet between 26 and 28 May 1940, at which Lord Halifax proposed using Mussolini (then still neutral) to explore peace terms with Germany—

Mr. Packwood is Director of the Churchill Archives Centre, Cambridge and Executive Director of The Churchill Centre United Kingdom, and chaired the 2011 London Churchill Conference.

ground well covered by John Lukacs in his *Five Days in London*, though Lukacs is not credited. Playwright Ben Brown has certainly drawn dialogue from contemporary sources, and his characters quote extensively from the Cabinet minutes and the texts of Churchill's speeches. But, of course, he has also used his imagination to fill in the gaps and speculate on the nature of the conversations between the principal protagonists, chiefly Churchill, Chamberlain and Halifax, with supporting roles by Attlee and Greenwood.

The transition from real to imaginary does not always make for smooth dialogue. Until the second half, the play feels a bit like a series of tableaux, with no sustained driving narrative and momentum. The need to give background information leads to some unrealistic conversation, not least between Churchill and Chamberlain about their views in the 1930s.

I did like the decision to use Jock Colville, one of Churchill's private secretaries and the chronicler of these events through his diary, as the narrator. His role in ushering the others in and out of the Prime Minister's presence helps ease the transition between scenes. Warren Clarke's Churchill is all bulldog, glowering and stern. He conveys a man of conviction, under pressure.

Though "Colville" claims at the outset that even Churchill wobbled, it is not at all clear that Clarke's Churchill *does*. He grudgingly allows Halifax to draft a memorandum, which he then opposes. Perhaps there was a bit too much anger, maybe at the expense of some of the energy and charisma that must also have been there.

Jeremy Clyde's Halifax is superb: aristocratic, reserved, and unable to comprehend Churchill's desire to fight when there might be an alternative, however unpalatable. Yet if Churchill is

too hard, Chamberlain seems too soft. It was difficult to reconcile this portrayal of this nice, reasonable and essentially ordinary man with the hard-edged politician who dominated British politics in the late Thirties, who fought his enemies to the finish, and who remained a powerful force as Leader of the Conservative Party.

Three Days in May has some great moments and wonderful dialogue (how could it not?). It captures the claustrophobia of Whitehall and the sense of impending disaster, as Belgium falls and France teeters on the brink. It reminds me of the importance of those days, but it did not quite convince me.

Did Halifax try to blackmail Churchill? Did Churchill blackmail Chamberlain? If so, one suspects they did it far more subtly than is conveyed here. But I suspect Sir Winston would be the first to acknowledge the difference between theatre and history. ☺

INSIDE THE JOURNALS

ABSTRACTS BY ANTOINE CAPET

"Churchill and the Germans," by John Ramsden.
Contemporary British History 25-1 (2011): 125-39.

While much of Churchill's political career involved German affairs, he knew relatively little about the country. Although he advocated magnanimity at the end of both world wars, residual tensions between Britain and Germany can in part be attributed to his words and strategies.

Before World War I, Churchill admired the German social security system, resented the predominance of the *Junkers* (Prussian aristocracy) in government, and feared Germany's growing naval capability. After the war he feared a German alliance with Soviet Russia, and advocated a policy of appeasement toward both for this reason. In the case of Germany, he sympathized with revising to most onerous provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, but when the Weimar Republic failed in 1933, Churchill was quick to denounce the new Nazi regime.

Over wartime views on Hitler among the Anglo-Americans, Churchill was happy follow Roosevelt's lead. But a lack of clarity existed between the British and American governments about how to treat Germany when the war had ended.

Ramsden also considers criticisms of Churchill by groups

which fared worst under the Nazis, especially the Jews; and by scholars over the bombing of Hamburg and Dresden in 1945.

"Randolph Churchill and the General Election in Preston, 1945: Bucking the Trend," by John Swift.
Northern History 48-1 (2011): 123-44.

In the 1945 general election, Churchill's Conservatives were defeated in a Labour landslide. Randolph Churchill, MP for Preston since 1940, lost his seat by a swing much lower than the national average, but this wasn't due to his performance as an MP. During the war he was largely absent from Parliament on military assignments. Also, his ability to antagonise his own constituency workers was no help to his cause. He did have the advantage of name recognition and a heroic war record, but these were hardly decisive factors.

Smith argues that Randolph's comparatively strong electoral performance was due to his adopting the cause of social reform, combined with campaigning in a flamboyant manner that appealed to electors. Swift suggests that a very different result might have been possible if Randolph's approach had been taken up nationally by the Conservative Party.

Professor Capet is head of British Studies at the University of Rouen, France.

AMERICANS FELT THE SAME PARALYZING FEAR WHEN A BOMB WHISTLED, THE SAME OVERWHELMING RELIEF WHEN IT MISSED. THEY ALSO FELT THE THE EXCITEMENT, THE ENERGY THAT PULSED THROUGH WARTIME LONDON: ON THE ONE HAND, THE CONSTANT THREAT OF DEATH; ON THE OTHER, THE ELEVATION OF STANDING TALL.

“The whole fury and might of the enemy”



Citizens of London

“Paris died like a beautiful woman, in a coma, without struggle, without knowing or even asking why. One left Paris with a feeling almost of relief. London one leaves with regret. Of all the great cities of Europe, London alone behaves with pride, and battered but stubborn dignity.” —Eric Sevareid

Come with me on a little trip back in time. I want you to imagine yourself here in America on August 24th, 1940. You and your family have finished dinner, and are gathered round the radio, as usual every night, to hear the latest news from the war in Europe.

A lot has happened since the war began almost a year ago, when Germany invaded Poland. You still haven’t been able to grasp how much the world has changed since then. Just four months ago the Germans conquered Norway and Denmark, and then in May and June, the most shocking events of all, the German blitzkrieg smashed the Low Countries and France. Now only Britain is left, the last bastion of freedom in Europe, still standing against Hitler. But it’s hanging on by a thread.

The Battle of Britain has begun, and in the words of the Prime Minister, “the whole fury and might of the enemy” has been “turned upon us.” For more

than a week the Luftwaffe bombed airfields, aircraft factories and radar installations in the south of England. On this very night of August 24th, more than 1000 German planes are dropping bombs on English targets, many of them very near London.

But when you tune in CBS, where you get most of your news these days, you don’t hear about the damage done by bombs, nor the latest military or diplomatic developments. Instead what you hear is a long report called “London After Dark,” about how Londoners are calmly living their lives in the midst of the worst crisis in their country’s history.

From the steps of St.-Martin-in-the-Fields Church, on the edge of Trafalgar Square—places well known to American

schoolchildren then—you hear the calm, deep voice of your favorite CBS correspondent, Edward R. Murrow. He tells you that an air raid is in progress, and he pauses so you can hear the sirens’ long wails, the crash of anti-aircraft guns. He describes the scene: searchlights sweeping the sky; red, double-decker buses rumbling by in the darkness; pedestrians entering the shelter near the church. He then puts his microphone down on the ground so you can hear the click, click, click of people’s feet. The eerie sound of footsteps in the darkness, Murrow

LYNNE OLSON

Ms. Olson’s remarks were at the twenty-seventh International Churchill Conference in Charleston, South Carolina on 26 March 2011. Her latest book is *Citizens of London: The Americans Who Stood with Britain in Its Darkest, Finest Hour*, published in 2010.

says, is like hearing ghosts wearing steel shoes.

Then, suddenly, you move from Ed Murrow and Trafalgar Square to the largest dance hall in London, the Hammersmith Palais. You hear an orchestra and recognize a hit song, “A Nightingale Sang in Berkeley Square.” Eric Sevareid, another CBS correspondent, tells you he’s standing in the middle of a huge dance floor, with more than a thousand people swirling around him. A siren has gone off here, Sevareid says, but the band leader says the band will keep playing if anyone wants to stay. Only a few people have left.

“This is not Mayfair,” Sevareid adds. “Nobody comes here to be seen. They come here to dance, for the pure pleasure of dancing. Any American who thinks the British are a phlegmatic race should see them dancing around me tonight. These shop girls, these clerks, these workers, these people who make up the stuff of England, dance wonderfully well.”

Fast-forward now to 2011. I wanted to give you a flavor of that broadcast, which I first listened to a number of years ago when my husband, Stan Cloud, and I were doing research for our first book, *The Murrow Boys*, which is about Ed and the correspondents he hired to create CBS News. I spent several months in the basement of the National Archives in Washington, with earphones, listening to hundreds of recordings of CBS wartime news reports from London and the rest of Europe. It was a mind-blowing experience. Listening to those men—and one woman—talk about what was going on made the war come alive for me in a way that I had never experienced through books or contemporary print reports. I could hear the sounds, I could close my eyes and picture in my mind the places and the people as they were describing them.

You can imagine what this must have been like for American listeners in 1940. There was no television, no Internet, no cell phones; newsreels at the cinema were Saturday night luxuries. What Americans had then to connect them to the world, besides newspapers and magazines, was radio. It was a time when the medium truly met the moment.

Until the late 1930s, the term “radio news” was an oxymoron. The two largest networks, CBS and NBC, had no correspondents traveling around the world to find the news and relay it to the people back home. Edward R. Murrow set out to change that. As the threat of war increased in Europe, he convinced CBS to let him hire his own band of correspondents, who came to be known later as the Murrow Boys. When Germany launched the Battle of Britain and then the Blitz—which started, incidentally, just two weeks after that August 24th

broadcast—that was what Murrow had been preparing for since he’d arrived in Europe. The Blitz was perfect for radio: it had immediacy, human drama, and, above all, sound. No other news medium could bring home to Americans the reality of what was going on in such a powerful way.

And it was done through people, taking complex issues and events and translating them into human terms. Murrow would tell his correspondents to imagine themselves standing before a fireplace back home, explaining to the local editor or dentist or shopkeeper what was going on. But imagine, too, he said, that a maid and her truck-driver husband are listening at the door. Use language and images that are as informative and compelling to them as to the guests around the fireplace.

Murrow believed that only by putting his listeners in the shoes of Londoners would the war begin to have real meaning for them. Eric Sevareid said Ed “made everything concrete and specific. He got down to the bare bones of things.” When you listened to Murrow, you felt as if you were there, standing next to him on the rubble-littered streets of London.

In one report, for example, he described rescue workers tunneling through the wreckage of a bombed-out house, gently lifting out limp figures “looking like broken, castaway, dust-covered dolls.” In his broadcasts, he focused on people like those rescue workers, ordinary Londoners who were the real front-line troops of the Blitz, people like—in his words—“those black-faced men with bloodshot eyes fighting fires, the girls who cradle the steering wheel of a heavy ambulance in their arms, the policeman who stands guard over that unexploded bomb.”

All this, of course, made a huge impression on the people back home. It’s important to remember that at that point, only a tiny fraction of American citizens had traveled abroad. Before World War II most Americans did not know much about what was going on in Britain or Europe, nor did they much care. What they did know is that they had no interest or intention in getting involved in another bloodbath like World War I. Ernest Hemingway voiced the prevailing view in his country when he wrote: “We were fools to be sucked in once in a European war, and we shall never be sucked in again.”

That feeling of isolationism began to change after the shocking events of the German blitzkrieg in the spring of 1940. More Americans began to think they must be involved. That idea became even more pronounced during the Battle of Britain and the Blitz. One of the main reasons for this was the reporting of American journalists in London. Of course, it wasn’t just Murrow and the other CBS correspondents >>

Citizens of London...

who were responsible. I've been talking about them because they were the most influential.

While most Americans still got their news from radio, newsreels, newspapers, and magazines were contributing too. *Life* magazine, which had been created just four years before and was already the most popular magazine in America, provided another powerful way to tell the story of the British in their finest hour. With its candid photographs of newsmakers and events, *Life* offered a window on the world that was irresistible to millions of Americans. And one particular corner of the world it focused on was Britain during the Blitz.

Virtually every issue of *Life* during that period pictured the British coping with the horror of German air raids. Many photos were memorable, like one taken by the British society photographer Cecil Beaton, showing an adorable, wide-eyed little girl of about three, blonde and cute, in a London hospital bed, her head wrapped in bandages, clutching a rag doll. She'd been injured by shrapnel. That extraordinary photo made *Life's* cover. It touched hearts everywhere.

Another wonderful *Life* cover during that period was one we've all seen, the great Karsh portrait of Churchill scowling, with one hand in his vest pocket and the other leaning on his walking stick. The inside story of the scowl is that Karsh had snatched the cigar out of his mouth, producing the wonderful bulldog frown, which captures so amazingly his indomitable spirit. It had a tremendous effect on Americans, as, of course, did Churchill's speeches, which they listened to on the radio, and helped make him the great hero he remains in the USA today.

It's pretty obvious to you by now that that American journalists in London were not neutral in their feelings about what was going on, and many were not neutral in their reporting. Several had been stationed in London for years, and those who had been there in the mid-to-late 1930s had, for the most part, been much opposed to Neville Chamberlain's policy of appeasing the dictators. Some were quite close to Churchill and the few members of Parliament who spoke out against that policy.

Ed Murrow was one of them. Although never openly critical of Chamberlain, he would often

report what Churchill and the "Troublesome Young Men" in Parliament were saying about the prime minister. He even invited the rebels to broadcast to America via CBS—their only radio outlet, since the pro-Appeasement BBC refused to broadcast critics.

Naturally, when Churchill finally came to power in May 1940, he was very well disposed toward Murrow and other American correspondents. He was also aware of how essential they were in influencing U.S. public opinion. He knew even then that Britain could survive ultimately only if the U.S. got into the war. So he did everything he could to make the American correspondents' job easier. When government officials turned down Murrow's request to broadcast live during the Blitz, Churchill overruled them. Anything that might help persuade America to come to the aid of Britain had his blessing.

In 1940, Murrow was the most influential American in town, and Churchill courted him, as he did other influential Americans who came later, like Averell Harriman and John Winant (page 38). Churchill, Murrow and their wives saw quite a bit of each other, as Fred Glueckstein has explained in "This...Is London: Ed Murrow's Churchill Experience" (*Finest Hour* 144:26).

What an extraordinary experience it must have been for American corre-

spondents to be covering London with her back to the wall. Their own country had not been attacked by a foreign power in over a century, and prided itself on its safety. But in London, safety wasn't an option. On the first night of the Blitz, with German bombs falling around him, Eric Sevareid thought to himself: "You can't do this to me! I'm an American!" He wrote later: "Luckily, that moment was brief."

Sevareid's and others' experiences in the Blitz became a key element in American coverage. They had a strong empathy with London residents under fire, because they were residents, too. They felt the same paralyzing fear when they heard the high-pitched whistle of a falling bomb, the same overwhelming relief when it exploded some distance away. But they also felt the excitement, the sense of energy that pulsed through London. On the one hand, you had the constant threat of death, and on the other the exhilaration of survival—the thrill of standing tall against Hitler. An American reporter named Ben Robertson said: "The city in this crisis had rediscovered itself; it was living as it never had



lived....You came out on the street at daybreak now with the feeling that you personally had been helping to save the world.”

When American correspondents left London for the U.S. or other neutral countries, they usually looked forward to getting away from the incessant fear and terror. But, once they'd arrived at some peaceful locale, some felt a sense of alienation—from locals who had no idea of what it was like to live on a battlefield. Many couldn't wait to get back to London. Robertson was one of them. He spent a few days in neutral Ireland in 1940, recalling that it “was like reaching heaven to arrive in Dublin....there were lights on, and suddenly you were free.” At the same time, he added, it was a “profoundly disturbing” experience: “All the good life made you very restless. You found when you were away from London...you could not keep from worrying. You worried about London and about everyone you knew in London.”

Like most of his American colleagues, Robertson believed that his country's official neutrality was wrong, and in making this clear, American writers were not blurring the line between journalism and propaganda. At the very least, they were violating journalistic standards of objectivity, which means reporting news without personal prejudice, opinion, or point of view.

Reporters like Robertson and Murrow thought that the idea of objectivity absurd. They knew what was happening across Nazi-occupied Europe, knew that countless people were dying, that a thousand years of history and civilization being smashed. How could one possibly be neutral about that?

A BBC reporter who knew Murrow well said that “He wanted the Americans to face up to their responsibilities. They either had to see the whole Western world go down...or stand up and fight.” To a friend back home, Murrow wrote: “If the light of the world is to come from the West, somebody had better start lighting some bonfires.”

About a year after he wrote this, the United States did get into the war, with a slight nudge from the Japanese. Four years after that, the Allies were victorious, and American correspondents in London and elsewhere in Europe began to filter home. For many, it was a wrenching experience: being torn from a dear friend who had survived the worst.

Before Murrow returned to New York in 1946,

he went on the BBC to say good-bye. In his youth, he said, he had been unimpressed with Britain: “Your country was sort of a museum piece,” he said, “pleasant but small. You seemed slow, indifferent and exceedingly complacent...I thought your climate unbearable, your class consciousness offensive.” Then came the war, and he watched the British fight back while remaining faithful to principles of freedom and democracy. His early impressions had been wrong, Murrow continued: “I have been privileged to see an entire people give the reply to tyranny that their history demanded of them...You have lived a life, not an apology.”

For the rest of his relatively short life, Edward R. Murrow never stopped missing London.

Murrow wasn't alone. Drew Middleton of *The New York Times*, who spent much of the war in the capital, said, “The years there were the happiest of my life...One can ask no more than to live in a place he knows and loves, among people he understands, respects and likes.”

To some Americans who lived through the Blitz, London resembled Brigadoon, the mythical Scottish village where courage, resolution, sacrifice, and a sense of unity and purpose triumphed, if only for a short time. Eric Sevareid made this point in a broadcast at the height of

the Blitz in October 1940. He had arrived in the British capital just after the fall of France, and like Murrow, he too doubted whether the “smug, insular British” could stand up to Hitler. By the time he left, his doubts had vanished. Once a self-described “American stranger,” he now felt himself to be part of the embattled community.

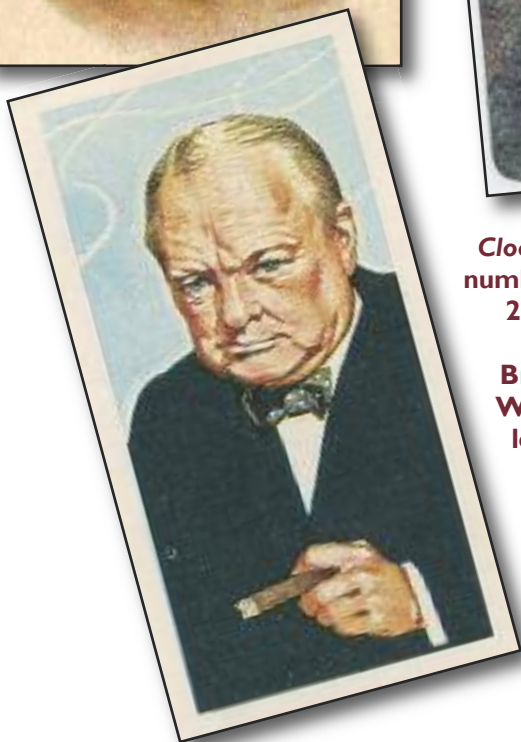
In his last broadcast, Sevareid compared his departure with his from Paris, days before it fell to the Germans. “Paris,” he said, “died like a beautiful woman, in a coma, without struggle, without knowing or even asking why. One left Paris with a feeling almost of relief. London one leaves with regret. Of all the great cities of Europe, London alone behaves with pride, and battered but stubborn dignity.”

As he spoke Sevareid fought to keep his voice steady. At the end he gave up, and his voice choked with emotion: “Someone wrote the other day, ‘When this is all over, in years to come, men will speak of this war and say, ‘I was a soldier,’ ‘I was a sailor,’ or ‘I was a pilot.’ Others will say with equal pride, ‘I was a citizen of London.’” ❧



CHURCHILL CARTOPHILY Trade and Cigarette Cards

CYRIL MAZANSKY & JOSEPH GERWOOD



Clockwise from left (Mazansky-Gerwood catalogue numbers): #17 Brooke Bond Tea Famous People no. 29, 1969. #26 Cohen Weenen & Co. Boer War Celebrities, 1901. #33 Fax Pax: Forty Great Britons, 1991. #73 Rockwell Cards ace, 2005. #90 War Gum Company War Series, No. 15, 1941, which looks very much like the House of Commons after the bombing of 10 May 1941. #1 A&BC Battle Series no. 66, with London ablaze, 1966.

Churchill's exploits and lasting fame as a soldier, statesman and writer over nearly a century found him frequently pictured on commercial items. But surprisingly, what are referred to as Cigarette Cards and Trade Cards in cartophily have received scant attention among the vast variety of Churchilliana.

Since there is no official catalogue of

individual Churchill cards or sets, this listing helps rectify the situation. While comprehensive, our catalogue does not profess to be complete. It consists only of known Churchill cards in the collections of the authors.

Churchill tobacco cards began in 1900, printed by Cohen-Weenen & Co. in London. The latest trade cards are the 2009 American issues by Upper Deck and Topps. Over the last fifty years, Topps issued several different cards, including one where WSC is disguised.

Churchill cards parallel his career, beginning when he reported the Boer

War, and continuing until well past his death. An incredible number was issued between 1910 and 1920. Many tobacco companies used the same picture, varying only the written material on the back. Some cards are blank-backed, some have biographical information, and others are simply advertising for the company.

There is wide variation in the name and titles, from simply "Churchill" to "Winston S. Churchill, Winston L.S. Churchill" and "Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill." Prefixes include "Mr.," "Sir" and commonly "The Rt.



Left: #76 Shell Oil Company "Great Britons" series, 1972. Right: Reverse of three Wills varieties, the top two being the "Scissors" export brand, (#99, #97), the bottom being domestic Wills's Specialties brands: Capstan, Ribbon Cut, Vice Regal, etc. Below: Jermyn's National Heroes series, 1975.

Below: #20 CardZ Company World War II series, 1994, has a card with Churchill reviewing infantrymen. "AAAO" means "Anywhere, Anytime, Anyhow, Bar Nothing."



set by the largest group of companies was the "War Portraits" series, mainly from 1914-15. Reference books list over eighty trade and cigarette companies using this same set, listed here under a separate heading.

On the other hand, there is one case where the same manufacturer (Wills) had two different issues for different types of cigarettes with the same name for the set: "Britain's Defenders." Wills's "Scissors" was an export brand; Wills's "Specialties" comprised the domestic brands Capstan, Vice Regal, Ribbon Cut and Pennant. The content of their sets varied, however.

A few sets included more than one Churchill card in the set. Several of the cards listed were not from a specific cigarette manufacturer or a recognized trade card set. They therefore do not

have the specific catalogue information.

While these cards could be listed chronologically by date, this listing follows standard cartophilic practice by listing them by publishers alphabetically, sorted by last names.

Illustrations of Churchill on game and playing cards are not included in this listing. Churchill has also been pictured several times on two educational sets of cards. A set from the World War II era was produced by Panarizon Publishing Corporation (USA) in 1979-81. A second World War II series frequently featuring Churchill is from Edito-Service S.A., Geneva, printed in English and published in 1977. The company may be familiar as a 1960s producer of certain Churchill books. >>

Hon." Suffixes include "P.C." and "M.P.," individually or combined. Posthumous cards often have carry the dates of his life.

Some cigarette firms and manufacturing or service companies issued identical sets. In cartophilic terms this is referred to as an "alike" series. Thus the same card will appear in different sets by various issuers.

Probably the most frequently issued



Churchill Set of 55 by A&BC, 1965. Card 53 pictures Sir Winston in muff, arriving at London airport, January 1959.

CHURCHILL SETS

A&BC, 1965 (above): Fifty-five cards depicting Churchill's life.

Mercator Vander Elst Cigar Bands, circa 1960s (back cover): Twenty-four individual bands illustrated with headgear portraits from 1909 to 1957.

TYPE CARDS

"Type" is a cartophilic term meaning a single card, or a few cards from a set. These are individual cards showing Churchill from sets on various subjects. The first sentence of each entry contains the name of the issuer, the title if any, and the date of issue, if known. The second sentence gives the number and title of the card (when stated). The abbreviation "desc." indicates that a card includes a description on either the front or the back.

1. A&BC: Battle, 1966. No. 66 – Winston Churchill (desc.). See page 56.
2. Adkins & Sons: Notabilities, 1915. No. 6 – Rt. Hon. W.L.S. Churchill, P.C., M.P. (desc.).
3. Allen & Ginter (USA): Topps National Heroes, 2009. No. 32 – Britain, Winston Churchill (desc.).
4. American Tobacco Co. (USA): Boer War, Series II-B, 1902. No. 11 – Mr. Winston Churchill (desc.).
5. Anglo American Chewing Company/Anglo Bell Boy Bubble Gum, "Men of Progress," post-1945. No. 29 – Winston Churchill (desc.).
6. Ardath Tobacco Co.: Empire Personalities, 1937. No. 11 – Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill (desc.).
7. WS (New York): Army-Navy-Air

Corps, 1942. No. 615 – Prime Minister of England.

8. Barkers Bubble Gum: Famous People, 1961. No. 1 – Sir Winston Churchill (desc.).
9. British American Tobacco Co.: Britain's Defenders, 1914. No. 3 – The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill (desc.).
10. British American Tobacco Co.: Britain's Defenders (blue front), 1915. No. 3 – The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill (desc.).
11. As above (mauve front), 1915.
12. British American Tobacco Co.: Notabilities, 1917. No. 6 - Major W. L. S. Churchill P.C., M.P. (desc.).
13. British American Tobacco Co.: War Leaders & Scenes, 1916. Unnumbered – Winston S. Churchill 1st Lord of Admiralty.
14. British American Tobacco Co.: Historical Figures, second series, 1961 (desc.). Verso carries an advert for their Domino cigarettes.
15. British American Domino Cigarettes (Mauritius, in French): *Figures Historiques*, 2nd Series, 1961. No. 17 – Sir Winston Spencer Churchill.
16. British Heritage Ltd.: Second World War Posters from London Transport Museum, Imperial War Museum, Public Record Office, 1969. Unnumbered – "Let Us Go Forward Together. —Churchill."
17. Brooke Bond Tea: Famous People, 1969. No. 29 – Sir Winston Churchill (1874-1965) (desc.). Page 56.
18. Brooke Bond Tea: Queen Elizabeth I to Queen Elizabeth II, 1982. No. 42 – Sir Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill (desc.).

19. C.C.C. Face to Face: Politics, 1993. Unnumbered – Winston Churchill.
20. CardZ (USA): World War II, 1994. Unnumbered – Winston Churchill 1944 (desc.). See page 57.
21. Carreras Ltd.: Famous Escapes, 1926. No. 1 – Winston Churchill's Escape From Pretoria, Dec. 12th, 1899 (desc.).
22. Carreras Ltd.: Notable M.P.s, 1929. No. 2 – Mr. Winston Churchill (desc.).

23. Cereal Foods: Famous People & Places, 1949. No. 27 – Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill (desc.).

24. Cohen Weenen & Co.: Celebrities (B&W), 1900. Unnumbered – Mr. Winston Churchill (250 subjects listed on back). >



25. Cohen Weenen & Co.: Celebrities (B&W), 1900. Unnumbered – Mr. Winston Churchill (500 subjects listed on back).
26. Cohen Weenen & Co.: Boer War Celebrities, 1901. Unnumbered – Mr. Winston Churchill. See page 56.
27. Crefin Toffee: History in Color of World War II, c. 1950. No. 1 – Churchill at Work (desc.).
28. Major Drapkin & Co.: Celebrities of the Great War, 1916. Unnumbered – Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill (desc.).
29. Variant of card number 28 above: plain back of card without printed description.
30. ED-U-Cards: The Book of Knowledge, 1960. No. 13 – Winston Churchill (desc.).
31. Edwards, Ringer & Biggs: Boer War Celebrities, 1901. Unnumbered – Winston Churchill.
32. Eilebrecht Erzeugnisse (Germany): The Bombing of Toulon, 1950. No. 6 – Winston Churchill (desc.).
33. Fax Pax: Forty Great Britons, 1991. Unnumbered – Sir Winston Churchill 1874-1965 (desc.). Page 56.

34. Fry's Cocoa & Chocolate: Rule Britannia, 1915. No. 7 – Rt. Hon. Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill M.P. (desc.) >

35. Grolier: Story of America, 1994-2001. No. 17-7 – Atlantic Charter.

36. As above. No. 28-8 – Yalta (desc.).

37. Nicholas Hall & Sons: War Series, 1915. Unnumbered - Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill M.P.

38. Hignett Bros. & Co.: Modern Statesmen, 1906. No. 5 – Winston Churchill (desc.).

39. Hokus-Pokus: Magic Photos, 1950s. No. 10 – Sir Winston Churchill Two varieties in English and German.

40. Hughes Biscuits: War Series, 1915. No. 3 – Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill (desc.).

41. Imperial Tobacco Co. (Canada): Notabilities, 1914. No. 6 – Major W.L.S. Churchill, M.P. (desc.).

42. Jacques Chocolate, 1956 No. 69 – Churchill (desc.).

43. Jermyn: National Heroes, 1975. No. 1 – Churchill (desc.). See p. 57.



FRY'S COCOA & CHOCOLATE
MAKERS TO BRITAIN

44. R.J. Lea Ltd. Chairman Cigarettes War Series, 1915. No. 21 – The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill (desc.) >

45. Lever Bros. Ltd.: Celebrities (Black Border), 1905. Not numbered – Winston Churchill M.P.

46. Life Magazine, 1985. No. 169 -Winston Churchill Painting at Chartwell studio (desc.).

47. As above, No. 341 – Churchill & Truman (desc.).

48. Joseph Lingford & Son: British War Leaders, 1949. No. 6 – Winston Churchill (desc.).

49. Lyons Maid: Famous People, 1962. No. 1 – Sir Winston Churchill (desc.).

50. As above, but a manufacturing error: no text on front or reverse.

51. Madame Tussaud's Museum: Historical Figures, post-1965. No. 42 – Winston Churchill (desc.).

52. Madriguera of Barcelona, Spain, 1918. Unnumbered – Guerra Europea ...Winston Churchill (coffee and chocolate ad on verso).

53. Mars Confection: Famous Escapes, 1937. No. 1 – Mr Winston Churchill from Pretoria 1899 (desc.).

54. Meadow Dairy Co. Ltd: War Series, 1915. Unnumbered – Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, M.P. (desc.).

55. J. Millhoff & Co.: In the Public Eye, 1930. No. 12 – Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill (desc.).

56. B. Morris & Sons: War Celebrities, 1916. No. 8 – The Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill, M.P. (desc.)(desc.) >



CHAIRMAN CIGARETTES
WAR SERIES

57. M.P. & Co.: War Scenes, probably WW2 era. No. 119 – Churchill Decorating Commandos (desc.).

58. Muratti, Sons & Co. Ltd: War Series, c. 1916. No. 1 – Rt. Hon. W.L.S. Churchill (desc.).

59. Murray, Sons & Co. Ltd: Promi-

nent Politicians, 1909. Unnumbered - The Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill M.P.

60. Murray, Sons & Co. Ltd: War Series (Series K), 1915 (reprinted 2000) Unnumbered – Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill P.C. M.P. (desc.).

61. Ogden's Tab Cigarettes: Composite Tab Series, Leading Generals at the War, 1900-10. Unnumbered – Winston L. S. Churchill M.P. (desc.).

62. Ogden's Guinea Gold Cigarettes: Boer War, Boxer Rebellion & Miscellaneous, 1901. Unnumbered – Mr. Winston Spencer Churchill (desc.).

63. Ogden's Guinea Gold Cigarettes, 1900-10. Winston Spencer Churchill.

64. Ogden's Guinea Gold Cigarettes: Set 75S (DD 1-DD 185), 1900-10. Unnumbered – Mr. Winston Spencer Churchill (desc.).

65. As above. un-numbered – Home from the War (group pix; desc.).

66. Pacific Trading Co. (USA): WW2, 1992 No. 19 – Winston S. Churchill (1874–1965), British Prime Minister (desc.). >>



#28, Major Drapkin & Co.'s Celebrities of the Great War, 1916, in a series of 36, with a mini-biography of WSC on obverse.

Churchill Cartophily...

- 67.** P.C.G.C.: War Bulletin, 1966. No. 59 – Yalta Conference; No. 83 – Churchill Arrives for Potsdam (desc.).
- 68.** John Player & Sons: Straight Line Caricatures, 1926. No. 14 – Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill, M.P. (desc.).
- 69.** Godfrey Phillips Ltd: Great War Leaders II (silks), 1915. Unnumbered - Rt. Hon. Churchill.
- 70.** Godfrey Phillips Ltd.: In the Public Eye, 1935. No. 53 – Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill (desc.).
- 71.** Godfrey Phillips Ltd.: Personalities of Today, 1932. No. 5 – Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, M.P. (desc.).
- 72.** Proplan Inc.: Motto Board Game, 1987. No. 881 – Winston Churchill, former Prime Minister of England.
- 73.** Rockwell Cards: World War II Posters – Morale, 2005. No. 1 – “Let Us Go Forward Together.” See page 56.
- 74.** As above. No. 3 – “The Few.”

75. As above. No. 10 – “Deserve Victory!” ➤

- 76.** Shell: Great Britons, 1972. Unnumbered - Sir Winston Churchill (1874-1965) (desc.). See p. 57.
- 77.** Stamina Trousers (Australia), 1940s. No. 63 – Photo of WSC (desc.).



- 78.** Teasdale Confections, c. 1914. No. 17 – Winston S. Churchill (desc.).
- 79.** Timaru Milling Co., 1941. Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill.
- 80.** Topps Cards: Look ‘n See Series, 1952. No. 64 – Winston Churchill.
- 81.** Topps Cards: Hocus Focus, 1956. No. 65 – Winston Churchill.
- 82.** Topps Cards: Foldies/Faces Series, 1962. No. 21 – Winston Churchill (desc.).
- 83.** Topps Cards: Push-Pull, 1965. No. 3 – Roosevelt/Churchill (desc.).
- 84.** Topps Cards: Distinguished Service, 2007. No. 26 – Prime Minister, Winston Churchill.
- 85.** Topps Cards: Who Am I?, 1967. No. 37 -Winston Churchill, English Leader (desc.).
- 86.** Trucards: World War II, 1970. No. 18 – Churchill (desc.).
- Note: There are other Trucards series, including a card depicting a fighter jet on front and Churchill’s tribute to “The Few” on reverse.*
- 87.** Upper Deck: Prominent Cuts, 2009. No. 8 – Prime Minister Winston Churchill (desc.).
- 88.** Upper Deck: Legendary Cuts: Famous People, 2009. No. 165 – Portrait of young Winston Churchill (desc.).
- 89.** Upper Deck: Goodwin Champions, “Citizens of the Century, 1900s,” 2009. No. 10 – Winston Churchill (desc.).
- 90.** Gum War Series, 1941. No. 15 - Winston Churchill (desc.). See page 56.
- 91.** Weeties: Famous People & Places (Australia), n.d., probably WW2 era. No. 27 – Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill (desc.).
- 92.** Henry Welfare & Co.: Prominent Politicians, 1911 (reprinted 2001). Unnumbered - Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill M.P. (desc.).
- 93.** Westminster Tobacco: The Great War Celebrities, 1914. No. 4 – The Right Hon. Winston Churchill, P.C. (desc.).
- 94.** Whitbread & Company Ltd: History of Whitbread Inn Signs, 1973. No. 24 – The Churchill (Churchill wearing top hat making V-sign).
- 95.** Whoozit Trivia Card Game: People & Politics, 1985. No. 8 – Winston Churchill (desc.).
- 96.** Wills (Havelock, Australia): Britain’s Defenders, 1915. No. 3 – The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill (desc.).
- 97.** Wills’s Scissors: Britain’s Defenders (red front with orange upright “Scissors” packet, red back), 1915. No. 3 – The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill (desc.).
- 98.** As above, with green upright “Scissors” packet.
- 99.** As above, with red slanting “Scissors” packet.
- 100.** Wills’s Specialties brands (Capstan, Vice Regal, Ribbon Cut,

Pennant): Britain’s Defenders, 1915. No. 3 – The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill (desc.) with the inscription “a Series of 50.”

101. As above, without inscription “a Series of 50.”

102. As #97 with green back, 1915, and the inscription “a Series of 50.”

103. As above, without the inscription “a Series of 50.”

104. Worshipful Playing Card Company, c. 1949. Prime Minister Receiving the Freedom of the City of London, 1943

WAR PORTRAITS SERIES

The 1914-16 series “War Portraits” was prepared with the space at the foot of the back of the card blank for issuers to add their individual names, often in shades of brown differing from the original printing. Number 3 in the series depicts the same photo of Churchill and contains the same description on the back. At least eighty-one individual firms used this format:

- 201.** Anonymous (space at back for firm’s name).
- 202.** Art Picture Hall, Bury.
- 203.** Assembly Rooms, Briggate, Leeds.
- 204.** Baileys 5 o’clock.
- 205.** S.P. Batten, Belvedere, Bath.
- 206.** D. Gore Boodles (Dentist), Gloucester.
- 207.** Boucher’s Firm.
- 208.** Mr. Bowerman’s Dental Surgery, Leicester.
- 209.** Canterbury Electric Theatre, Canterbury.
- 210.** Carlton Picture House, Wakefield.
- 211.** J.H. Clure & Son, Keighley.
- 212.** J. Lomax Cockayne, Sheffield.
- 213.** F. Colton, Jn., Reford.
- 214.** Coppick’s Confectioners, Rugby.
- 215.** W. Spence Culbert’s Pharmacy, Airdrie.
- 216.** Derbyshire & Son, Sweets & Fountain Head Tea, Nottingham.
- 217.** Henry Dillon’s Clothing Stores, Falkirk.
- 218.** J. A. Droney, Ince, Hindley, Pltt-Bridge & Wigan.
- 219.** Dunn’s Reliable Footware.
- 220.** Eddison, Drighlington.
- 221.** H. Eddowes, Draper, Leek.
- 222.** R. H. Edwards, Axebridge & Winscome.

- 223.** The "Elite" Picture House, Bradford.
- 224.** The Empire, Heanor.
- 225.** F. Gennari, Ltd., London.
- 226.** Graveson, Mexboro.
- 227.** The Globe (Amusements), Selby.
- 228.** Nicholas Hall & Son.
- 229.** "Happy Life" Self-Raising Flour.
- 230.** R. E. Heap, Hanley.
- 231.** Geo. H. Hibbs Drug Store, Perth.
- 232.** Hillabys' (Chocs) Ltd.
- 233.** Hippodrome, York, Prop. T. Bowman.
- 234.** "Hope Hall" Cinema.
- 235.** Hughes & Co., Ltd. (Biscuits), London
- 236.** Jones & Sons, (Tea and confectionary), Grantham.
- 237.** Richard Kennedy, Dundee.
- 238.** The "Kino," Clay Cross.
- 239.** C & J Law, Hertford.
- 240.** C. Lees, The Empire Cinema, Mossley.
- 241.** The Lime Street Picture house, Liverpool.
- 242.** Londesboro' Theatre, Scarboro' Macclesfield, Picturedrome Ltd.
- 243.** Wm. McKinnell, Edinburgh.
- 244.** Norris's "Gem" Pictures, Skipton.
- 245.** Parodi (Wine Mchnts.), Tooting.
- 246.** The Palace, Haslingden
- 247.** Partridge Hatter-Hosier, Leek.
- 248.** The Picture House, Harrogate.
- 249.** The Picture House, Keighley.
- 250.** The Picture House, Leeds.
- 251.** The Picture House, Low Moor.
- 252.** The "Picturedrome," Bath.
- 253.** Prince's Hall, Shipley.
- 254.** The Princess Picture Palace, Townsend, Barnsley.
- 255.** The Queen's Theatre, Nelson.
- 256.** F. W. Randall & Co. (Shoe Repairer), Maidstone.



#245, Parodi Wine Merchants uses the standard-format War Portraits series, circa 1914-16.

- 257.** Rayward's Stores (Tea & Coffee), London.
- 258.** Regent Hall Pictures, Nottingham.
- 259.** Alfred Rooks, Dalston.
- 260.** Rooney Bros., Belfast.
- 261.** Royal Pavilion.
- 262.** The Royal Picture House, Cradley Heath.
- 263.** Royal Picture House, Nottingham.
- 264.** St. George's Hall, Bradford.
- 265.** Sefton Picturedrome.
- 266.** Sheards, Records, Rotherham
- 267.** Skipper (Outfitter), E. London.
- 268.** J. Smith & Son, Luton.
- 269.** Smithies (Elder Flower Balm), Elland & Westview.
- 270.** "Solite" Self-Raising Flour.
- 271.** A. Stevenson, Middleton.
- 272.** C.&T.A. Stevenson, Manchester.
- 273.** Tetley & Sons, Ltd., Leeds.
- 274.** Themans & Co., Manchester.
- 275.** The Town Hall, Shirebrook.
- 276.** William Townsend & Son (Shoes), Heckmondwike.
- 277.** Webb & Russell, Reigate.
- 278.** Whate's.
- 279.** Wilson & Co., Ely.
- 280.** W. Wilson, Birmingham.
- 281.** T.E. Yeomans & Sons, Ltd., Derby.

UNCLASSIFIED

Certain cards are not a part of recognized sets and defy classification:

- 301.** Pre-1910, entitled, "Winston Spencer Churchill Esq., M.P."
- 302.** Circa 1914 London *Daily Mail War Album*. A large card with photograph of Churchill in uniform with medals captioned, "The Rt. Hon. Winston Spencer Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty."
- 303.** Pre-1916 Canadian. "The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, Great Britain," on the front; reverse back.
- 304.** 1916 Cuban, possibly in the series *La Guerra Europea*. Front titled "Excmo. Sr. Winston S. Churchill." *Obsequio de Susini*. No. 827.
- 305.** Circa 1920 strip card entitled, "Winston Churchill, Lord of England."
- 306.** 1940s Big Three. Probable game card with a picture of Churchill, FDR and Stalin at a conference.
- 307.** 1940s Fleet Aircraft Limited, Canada. Churchill on the front with statement, "Buy War Savings Certificates Regularly."
- 308.** 1940-1949 Worshipful Playing Card Co. with description "The Prime Minister receiving the Freedom of the City of London, June 30th 1943."
- 309.** Undated, Bryant & May Ltd., published by Imperial Publishing Limited, London. Drawing of WSC.
- 310.** Undated, German, unknown date, portrait of Churchill speaking.
- 311.** Unknown date or publisher, numbered 790. Probable game card. Full-face photograph of Churchill.
- 312.** Mid 1980s, Famous Faces series, no. 10, untitled image of Churchill issued in the mid-1980s.
- 313.** 2011, Dr. Who television show trading cards. Two feature WSC, portrayed by the same actor. The show titles are "Monster Invasion" and "Top Trumps Specials." See <http://www.doc-torwhomi.com/cards/>. ☺

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

LEVEL 4

1. Where was WSC when he wrote in 1900: "...beware of driving men to desperation: even a cornered rat is dangerous"? (W)
2. Where did the memorial service to Churchill take place? (M)
3. What was the name of the steam locomotive which hauled Churchill's funeral train out of Waterloo Station? (M)
4. From *The World Crisis*, fill in the blank: "The armoured car was the child of the air; and the — its grandchild." (W)
5. In which essay in *Thoughts and Adventures* did Churchill write: "Just as eels are supposed to be used to skinning, so politicians get used to being caricatured"? (M)
6. In Marrakesh in January 1944, Churchill said: "Now that the General speaks English so well, he understands my French perfectly." Who was the General? (C)

LEVEL 3

7. What was WSC's relationship with George Harrap, Thornton Butterworth, Charles Scribner and Desmond Flower? (L)
8. What was the title of the first biography of Churchill published after he died? (L)
9. What was Churchill referring to when he wrote in *The Gathering Storm*, "I felt as if were walking with destiny, and that all my past life had been but a preparation for this hour and for this trial"? (S)
10. Also in *The Gathering Storm* our author writes: "So it was that I came again to the room I had quitted in pain and sorrow almost exactly a quarter of a century before." Which room? (S)
11. In which speech did Churchill say, "We must be very careful not to assign to this deliverance the attributes of a victory. Wars are not won by evacuations"? (W)
12. "All our enemies having surrendered unconditionally...I was immediately dismissed by the British electorate from all further conduct of their affairs." To what was Churchill referring? (S)

LEVEL 2

13. Which American President said of Churchill: "His Fulton speech was a fire bell in the night, a Paul Revere warning that tyranny was once again on the march"? (S)
14. WSC in Parliament, 11 November 1942: "I am certainly not one of those who need to be prodded. In fact, if anything, I am a —." Fill in the blank. (P)

CHURCHILL QUIZ

JAMES LANCASTER

15. Lord Rosebery wrote in 1906 that Churchill "has under great difficulties produced a fascinating book, one to be marked among the first dozen, perhaps the first half-dozen, biographies in our language." Which book? (L)
16. "What a pity," Churchill told the British Consul in Lourenço Marques in 1899. "I wanted them for Madame Tussaud's." What did he want? (P)
17. On 22 May 1944, to whom did Churchill write: "It is said about Foreign Office minutes that if you read the odd paragraph numbers and the even paragraph numbers in series you get both sides of the case fully stated"? (C)
18. Who drafted Prime Minister Attlee's detailed statement about the atom bomb, issued from 10 Downing Street on 6 August 1945, the day the bomb fell on Hiroshima? (W)

LEVEL 1

19. In which book did Churchill write, "Would you rise in the world? You must work while others amuse themselves. Are you desirous of a reputation for courage? You must risk your life"? (L)
20. Which Prime Minister said in March 1915: "I do not think Winston will ever get to the top in English politics, with all his wonderful gifts"? (C)
21. What did Churchill describe in November 1947 as "a flash of colour on the

hard road we have to travel"? (M)

22. On 21 October 1940, Churchill gave a broadcast in French on the BBC. Why was this date significant? (P)
23. Of whom did WSC write in *Great Contemporaries*: "He passed from one Cabinet to the other, from the Prime Minister who was his champion to the Prime Minister who had been his most severe critic, like a powerful graceful cat walking delicately and unsoiled across a rather muddy street"? (C)
24. Churchill wrote: "My dear Lew, you must excuse me if I depart. I must prepare my impromptus for the debate which will be held tomorrow." Who was Lew? (P) ☺

ANSWERS

- (1) South Africa. (2) St. Paul's Cathedral, London. (3) *The Winston Churchill*. (4) "The tank. (5) "Cartoons and Cartoonists." Daughter Sarah and Private Secretary John Martin wrote that this was one of his favorite expressions. He used it in at least three important speeches, in 1938, 1940, 1953. (6) De Gaulle.
- (7) They were some of his publishers (Desmond Flower headed Cassell). (8) *Winston Churchill as I Knew Him* by Violet Bonham Carter, published the first week of April 1965. She had been writing it since 1959. It takes the story up to the summer of 1916. (9) His appointment as Prime Minister, 10 May 1940. (10) His room at the Admiralty, where he returned as First Lord after 25 years on 3 September 1939. (11) Discussing the successful evacuation at Dunkirk, 4 June 1940. (12) The Labour victory at the general election of July 1945.
- (13) Ronald Reagan. (14) prod. (15) *Lord Randolph Churchill*, Winston's life of his father. (16) His clothes. They were so filthy from the coal wagon after his escape from Pretoria that the Consul had them burned. (17) Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden. (18) Churchill, who had written the statement before the change of government.
- (19) *Savrola*. (20) H.H. Asquith. (21) The wedding of Princess Elizabeth and Prince Philip. (22) It was the anniversary of the Battle of Trafalgar. (23) Arthur James Balfour, on leaving Asquith for Lloyd George in December 1916. (24) Lewis W. Douglas, Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, 1947-50.

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CHURCHILL CARTOPHILY MERCATOR'S BIOGRAPHIC CIGAR BANDS



Perhaps the most spectacular trade sets falling roughly into the Cartophily hobby are the Dutch Mercator Vander Elst cigar company's twenty-four cigar bands (alas we do not have them all), depicting headgear from Sir Winston's life. Mounted, they make a fine display. Sets have sold recently on ebay for very low prices.