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*Finest Hour*

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: FOR CHURCHILLIANS WORLDWIDE

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Tel. (919) 967-9100 • Fax (919) 967-9001  
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Suzanne Sigman, *Secretary*  
42 Dudley Lane, Milton MA 02186  
Tel. (617) 696-1833\* Fax (617) 696-7738  
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1806-1111 W. Georgia St., Vancouver BC V6E 4M3  
Tel. (604) 209-6400 • Email: cavellcapital@telus.net

## BUSINESS OFFICE

Daniel N. Myers, *Executive Director*  
Karen Linebarger, *Executive Assistant*  
1150 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Suite 307  
Washington DC 20036  
Tel. (888) WSC-1874 • Fax (202) 223-4944  
Email: dmyers@winstonchurchill.org

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## ALLIES

### INTL. CHURCHILL SOCIETY (UNITED KINGDOM)

Nigel Knocker OBE, *Chairman:*  
PO Box 1257, Melksham, Wilts. SN12 6GQ  
Tel. & Fax (01380) 828609  
Email: nigel@icsuksaf.demon.co.uk

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Tel. (905) 201-6687  
Email: randybarber@sympatico.ca

Jeanette Webber, *Membership Secretary*  
RR4, 14 Carter Road, Lion's Head ON NOH 1W0  
Tel. (519) 592-3082 • Email: jeanette.webber@sympatico.ca

Charles Anderson, *Treasurer*  
489 Stanfield Drive, Oakville ON L6L 3R2  
Tel. (905) 827-0819 • Email: cwga@sympatico.ca

### INTL. CHURCHILL SOCIETY OF PORTUGAL

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Universidade Católica Portuguesa  
Palma de Cima 1649-023, Lisbon  
Tel. (351) 21 7214129  
Email: jespada@iep.ucp.pt

### CHURCHILL CENTRE AUSTRALIA

Alfred James, *Coordinator*  
65 Bilyard Avenue, Wahroonga, NSW 2076  
Tel. 61-2-9557-7108 • Email: abmiamas@inet.net.au

### THE RT. HON. SIR WINSTON SPENCER

*CHURCHILL SOCIETY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA*  
Christopher Hebb, *President*  
1806-1111 W. Georgia St., Vancouver BC V6E 4M3  
Tel. (604) 209-6400 • Email: cavellcapital@tclus.net

### THE RT. HON. SIR WINSTON SPENCER

*CHURCHILL SOCIETY OF CALGARY*  
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2379 Longridge Drive, Calgary AB T3E 5N7  
Tel. (403) 249-5016 • Email: rnbill@telus.net

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*CHURCHILL SOCIETY OF EDMONTON*  
Dr. Edward Hutson, *President*  
98 Rehwinkel Road, Edmonton AB T6R 1Z8  
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Barbara E. Langworth, *Executive Editor*  
(blangworth@adelphia.net)  
Richard M. Langworth CBK, *Editor*  
(malakard@adelphia.net)  
Post Office Box 740  
Moultonborough, NH 03254 USA  
Tel. (603) 253-8900  
December-March Tel. (242) 335-0615

*Deputy Editor*  
Robert A. Courts  
(robtc.courts@yahoo.co.uk)  
12 Lynchburst Close, Harestock,  
Winchester, Hants. SO22 6NA, UK  
Tel. (01962) 880-216

*Senior Editors*  
Paul H. Courtenay  
James V. Muller  
Ron Cynwuil Robbms

*News Editor*  
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*Contributors*  
Alfred James, *Australia*  
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SHORT SNORTER CAUGHT OUT  
Anent the Short Snorter article (*FH* 131: 26), General Mark W. Clark DSC KCB KBE spoke of the manner in which he and General Eisenhower "made Mr. Churchill a Short Snorter" at our Sixth Annual Memorial Dinner at the Macdonald Hotel, Edmonton, on 1 June 1970:

"Now Chequers, that was another deal. That came on every Friday afternoon, and we went down there and did not get away till the first thing Monday morning. ...One evening Ike and I made him a Short Snorter....We told him the rules, that he had to carry his short snorter on his person, and if he did not have it when another short snorter challenged him, he had to pay the fine, which was five dollars.

"So at dinner, one evening, Ike said, 'Mr. Prime Minister, would you show us your short snorter?' He jumped up and went out of the room. Finally he came back waving it, and Ike said: 'That's not permissible, sir. You're supposed to have it on your person.' Mr. Churchill held it up and said, 'I make my own rules in my own house.'"

J. EDWARD HUTSON, PRESIDENT  
RT HON SIR WINSTON S. CHURCHILL SOCIETY  
EDMONTON, ALBERTA

**"LIKE LAST TIME"**

I enjoy *Finest Hour*, but I hope you will watch your writing style a little more. In your review of *Churchill's Triumph*, you write that the novel "centers around." Something cannot "center around." It can "revolve around" or "center on." And you wrote that Stalin was determined to break Germany "like last time." This should be "as was done last time" or "the way the victors did last time." The word "like" should not be used if a verb or an implied verb appears on both sides of the "like." It's not a conjunction. We can't all write like Winston Churchill. But we can avoid these errors of style.

DON BUCK, ORFORD, NH

*Editor's response:* We can't, but we can try. I was actually thinking of Churchill's words when I wrote "like last time," so I looked them up, in *The Grand Alliance* (London: Cassell, 1948, 175):

"One day in 1937 I had a meeting with Herr von Ribbentrop, German ambassador to Britain....There was a large map on the wall, and the Ambassador several times led me to it to illustrate his projects...I thought it right to say to the German

Ambassador—in fact I remember the words well, 'When you talk of war, which no doubt would be general war, you must not underrate England. She is a curious country, and few foreigners can understand her mind. Do not judge by the attitude of the present Administration. Once a great cause is presented to the people all kinds of unexpected actions might be taken by this very Government and by the British nation.' And I repeated, 'Do not underrate England. She is very clever. If you plunge us all into another Great War she will bring the whole world against you, like last time.'"

He admired brevity and I can't believe he would have used either of your alternatives. So I am putting in for an exemption! *Mea culpa* on "center ground" and many thanks for reading *FH* so closely.

**"ZIONISM VS. BOLSHEVISM"**

Michael McMenamin writes in "Real Versus Rubbish: Rumbles Left and Right" (*FH* 123: 38-43) that Churchill's 1920 article on Jewish involvement in Bolshevism ("Zionism vs. Bolshevism") was meant as a defense of the Jews rather than as an indictment of them. I agree and would like to know if he might lead me to supplementary documentation which backs up what contemporaries must have regarded as a philosemitic protestation.

DAVID VERBEETEN, VIA EMAIL

*Mr. McMenamin replies:* There probably is supplemental documentation but I'm not aware of it specifically. Maybe Sir Martin Gilbert presents it in essays he's written on Churchill and Zionism and Churchill and the Holocaust. My conclusion on WSC's "Zionism" article was based largely on its contents, which clearly refute the anti-semitism libel. You also might check out on the Centre website my article "Churchill and the Litigious Lord" (*FH* 95:28), where Lord Alfred Douglas claimed Churchill was in the pocket of Jewish money-men after the Battle of Jutland...and was convicted of criminal libel.

One would think having as your official biographer the leading Holocaust scholar in the world is sufficient inoculation against being called an anti-semite...I love the line in Gilbert's *In Search of Churchill* where a source he is interviewing is about to tell him one of Winston's chief flaws. Sir Martin leans forward as the source says, "He was too fond of the Jews."

*continued opposite...*

## THE PITY OF WAR

As his Christmas present, my 22-year-old grandson presented me with the intriguing book, *The Pity of War*, by Niall Ferguson (Basic Books), which presents a rather deep analysis of the multiple circumstances leading up to the outbreak of World War I, and the conduct of the war itself.

On page 177, dealing with the reaction of prominent individuals to the outbreak of war, Ferguson writes: "Alone together in his office at the Commons earlier that afternoon, Asquith and his wife 'could not speak for tears' after he told her simply: 'It's all up.' But a few months into the war on 22 February 1915, Churchill told their daughter Violet Asquith, 'I think a curse should rest on me—because I love this war. I know it's smashing & shattering the lives of thousands every moment—and yet—I can't help it—I enjoy every second of it'....But Churchill was at heart an incurable optimist who never quite ceased to believe that there was an easy way to win the war. His wife evidently did not share his keenness."

It was the first time I have ever read of Churchill's almost boyish attitude towards war. Ferguson's remarks about Clementine's attitude suggest that she was "not sharing his enthusiasm" over the "easy way" to win, which a footnote says comes from "Davies' *Europe*, p. 885." I do not have that book to hand, but I wonder if you have any knowledge of that specific incident of negativeness on Clementine's part. WSC's remark I find rather peculiar coming from a person holding high office.

I don't think any of us, in the battalion I was serving in on 3 September 1939, exulted at the news we were at war. It reached us in the Simla Hills during that night; we merely accepted it as part of the job for which we had signed up. But in Burma, much later, there was no doubting the fact that one and all felt deeply thankful that the Yanks had dropped some mighty big bombs on Japan and that, after the second one went off, the Japanese Emperor had decided to call off the war.

WILLIAM ROBERT DALES, SANTA FE, N.M.

*Editor's response:* Churchill confessed to mixed emotions about war to intimates on several occasions. After

observing German army maneuvers in 1909 he wrote to Clementine: "Much as war attracts me and fascinates my mind with its tremendous situations I feel more deeply every year and can measure the feeling here in the midst of arms what vile and wicked folly and barbarism it all is." (Randolph Churchill, *Winston S. Churchill* 11:225.)

One cannot help remarking at the *honesty* of his assertion. Few politicians would make such a confession then, let alone today. And of course, he carefully preserved it in his papers, for future critics to quote from selectively ("War attracts me and fascinates my mind"—full stop.)

According to [www.bookfinder.com](http://www.bookfinder.com), the reference is to Norman Davies, *Europe: A History*, subtitled, *A Panorama of Europe, East and West, from the Ice Age to the Cold War, from the Urals to Gibraltar* (Harper Collins, 1998).

Clementine Churchill's views on World War I were fairly robust: When WSC was to be cashiered in 1915 she told Prime Minister Asquith that Winston alone had "the power, the imagination, the deadlines to fight Germany." Her letters can be reviewed in Mary Soames, *Speaking for Themselves*, and the companion volumes of the official biography.

## WAS WSC MENTALLY ILL?

*EH* 131 parenthetically asks: "WSC suffered from mental illness?" with an implicit exclamation point scoffing at such an idea. But let's bear in mind octogenarian George Bernard Shaw's famous anecdote about his visit to an ophthalmologist who discovered he had 20/20 vision. "So, I'm right in thinking I still have normal vision?" Shaw asked. "Absolutely not!" the doctor replied. "You have perfect vision, which is altogether *abnormal*

So it goes with "mental illness." I'm in my seventh decade of life, and have encountered barely a handful of people who were entirely free of neurosis. Thus, those who are "mentally well" are altogether abnormal, and more often than not, uninteresting. WSC was unquestionably neurotic. I would even go so far as to say that much of his character and genius derived from the fact that he had "Attention Deficit Disorder."

What *EH* 131 was objecting to was

the notion that mental illness was a *defining trait* of WSC's character. And of course it was not. But saying, for example, that he was an undiagnosed ADD sufferer is *not* the same as saying that ADD was a defining trait of his personality. He won't shrink in our estimation because he diverged from perfection in one or another respect. We do him and history scant service by reflexively dismissing analyses of his behavior that don't comport with our particular image of the man. And we do our fellow creatures scant service by throwing around epithets like "mental illness."

ROBERT H. PILPEL, SCARSDALE, N.Y.

*Editor's response:* Bob, it was the charity Rethink that threw around the epithet "mental illness." (*EH* 126:7 reports them also saying that Churchill "might never have become prime minister if the public had known the depth of his mental health problems.")

By the dictionary explanation of "illness," WSC was not mentally ill, though we don't quarrel with the point that most people have neuroses, and knowing about his own adds to our knowledge, and does not subtract from his stature. Carol Breckenridge explains how ADD might well have been diagnosed in young Winston in "Art as Therapy: How Churchill Coped," *FH* 120: 20-23.

## CONFUSIONS & COINCIDENCES

As the author of *My Original Ambition* (*Finest Hour* 130:7) I was as surprised as your readers to find Sir Winston Churchill's photograph alongside the letter of his namesake grandson in *The Daily Record*. Nonetheless, I am delighted that you mentioned this error, as I am a fan of Sir Winston.

Did you know that Svetlana Stalin, daughter of the Soviet dictator, also resided for more than a year at Sir Winston's former London residence, Morpeth Mansions? Indeed, Ms. Stalin shouted at me in Sir Winston's kitchen when I questioned her about her father. What an irony that Stalin's daughter should have resided in Churchill's own home some twenty years after his passing! The old warrior would turn in his grave, and possibly, the late generalissimo too!

DOMINIC SHELMEARDINE, VIA EMAIL M)



# DATELINES

## CIGAR ATTACKS ON THE RISE

GLASGOW, JULY 20TH— Scenes from modern Scotland: A taxi driver in Glenrothes, alone in his cab between fares, lights up. Enter, from left, a smoking ban enforcer to slap a £200 fine on him for polluting public transport. Talk about a Hamlet cigar moment.



The comedian and actor Mel Smith is playing Winston

Churchill in a play describing a 1921 meeting between Britain's bulldog and the Irish revolutionary leader Michael Collins. It was a long night of brandy and cigars and Smith, wishing to be true to his character, wants to smoke a Romeo y Julieta or two on stage. Doing so, however, would put him in breach of Scotland's smoking ban.

Clearly a graduate of the Stanislavski school of method acting, Smith reacted to this invasion of his artistic integrity with a declaration of war. "I've often wondered what the Scottish Parliament *does*," he says. "Maybe this is an opportunity for me to find out. The thing I would like to say about it is that it would have delighted Adolf Hitler, who, as you know, was anti-smoking. You couldn't smoke at Hitler's dining table. So he'd be pleased, wouldn't he? Congratulations, Scotland."

When the play transfers to England, Smith will be free to smoke as much as he likes on stage. The law there will allow actors to smoke "if the artistic integrity of a performance makes it appropriate." So there you have it. Scotland is the land of Knox with knobs on, the worst wee small-minded country in the world, a nation of fake cigars and fanaticism. Or so we are made to seem.

—Alison Rowat in *The Herald*, Glasgow, 20 July 2006.

## CIGAR VALUES HOLDING

LIVERPOOL, JULY 12TH— One of Winston Churchill's half-smoked cigars was sold at auction today for £365 (\$670) to a private collector in the North of England. The Leader of the Opposition was puffing this cigar as he arrived for a the Conservative Party Conference in Blackpool on 14 October 1950, auctioneers Outhwaite and Litherland said. Upon being told he would not be able to smoke in the ballroom, where he was due to give a major speech, WSC stubbed out the cigar and handed it to a constable standing next to him. The policeman kept the cigar as a souvenir and it stayed in the family until his relatives decided to put it up for auction.

In his address Churchill told the Tories: "...we need just one more heave [to] fling this Socialist government out of power and replace it by a broad, progressive and tolerant administration, the slave neither of class nor of dogma but putting national need first and determined to make Britain and the British Empire once again both great and free." A year later, they had their chance.

## CHURCHILL AND THE AIRLINE BOMB PLOT

*One of our recent new members is Michael Fullerton, deputy executive director of the Homeland Security Advisory Committees. Following the recent terrorist alert and plot to blow up transatlantic airplanes traveling from the*

## Quotation of the Season

"There is something very sinister to my mind in this Mesopotamian entanglement...[We seem] compelled to go on pouring armies and treasure into these thankless deserts. We have not got a single friend in the press upon the subject, and there is no point of which they make more effective use to injure the Government. Week after week and month after month for a long time to come we shall have a continuance of this miserable, wasteful, sporadic warfare, marked from time to time certainly by minor disasters and cuttings off of troops and agents, and very possibly attended by some very grave occurrence."

—WSC TO LLOYD GEORGE, UNSENT LETTER, 20 AUGUST 1920

*UK to USA, he sent us an internal notice to DHS staff from Secretary Chertoff, excerpts of which will be of interest to our readers. —DNM*

WASHINGTON, AUGUST 11TH— *Secretary Chertoff to all DHS Employees:*

Over the last few hours, British authorities have arrested a significant number of extremists engaged in a substantial plot to destroy multiple passenger aircraft flying from the United Kingdom to the United States\_\_Winning this war against terror is the great calling of our generation, and this is a critical moment in the Department's work to protect the world's travelers who transit by air to and from the United States. Since 9/11, we have erected a number of layers of defense against such attacks\_\_A number of you will receive more extensive briefings from your managers and supervisors in the coming hours\_\_the Department is depending on you too to proceed with unyielding focus and quiet determination. The public is counting on us to protect our families, our fellow citizens, our visitors, and our homeland. In Winston Churchill's words, "We will not flinch or weary of the struggle."

Secretary Chertoff's quotation is from the last lines of Churchill's speech of 11 September 1940, "Every Man to His Post": "It is a message of good cheer to our fighting Forces »

on the seas, in the air, and in our waiting Armies in all their posts and stations, that we sent them from this capital city. They know that they have behind them a people who will not flinch or weary of the struggle—hard and protracted though it will be; but that we shall rather draw from the heart of suffering itself the means of inspiration and survival, and of a victory won not only for ourselves but for all; a victory won not only for our own time, but for the long and better days that are to come."

NEW YORK, AUGUST 22ND—In an interview

with nationally syndicated radio talk host Glenn Beck, Sen. Joseph Lieberman (D., Conn.) agreed with Beck's proposition that defeat in Iraq could presage "the end of the West."



The Senator continued: "Somebody told me that Iraq is going to be like the Spanish Civil War, which was the harbinger of what was to come. Also, as the Nazis began to move in Europe, we tried to convince ourselves we contained them—and we obviously didn't, and then we paid the price."

Lieberman went on to invoke Churchill: "I don't have the quotation in front of me, but he said something like there is only one solution and it was victory." The words he was reaching for are from Churchill's first speech as Prime Minister on 13 May 1940: "You ask what is our aim? I can answer in one word: Victory. Victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory however long and hard the road may be; for without victory there is no survival."

### MORE LIEBERMAN-WSC

NEW BEDFORD, MASSACHUSETTS, AUGUST 18TH—Peter Friedman in the *New Bedford Standard-Times* writes of Joseph Lieberman, who was rejected by his party in a recent senatorial primary: "History shows that it is consistency, steadiness and perseverance that

define our greatest leaders, including George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. Arguably America's most admired man, Gen. George Washington, led us to victory and independence in a war that virtually nobody thought we could win. Abraham Lincoln held our nation together by bucking popular opinion through a brutal and unpopular war. Although he was very unpopular for most of his presidency, history gives him the credit he deserves. Real leaders lead even at the expense of their own popularity, whereas popular 'leaders' often are just opportunistic followers of public opinion." We are not experts on Washington or Lincoln, but Mr. Friedman has Winston Churchill right.

### DUCK HUNTER

DAYTON, OHIO, AUGUST 17TH—In his appearance at the Kettering VFW Hall last week, former

Sen. Max Cleland (D., Ga., Churchill Centre member and speaker) invoked more words of Winston Churchill: "In war, you can only be killed once, but in politics, many times."



A decorated veteran who lost two legs and part of an arm in Vietnam, Cleland came to town last week to campaign for Senate candidate Sherrod Brown and congressional candidate Stephanie Studebaker. "I have almost been killed once in war, and I have been killed many times in politics," he told supporters. The jovial Cleland couldn't stay serious for long. "I wasn't wounded in Vietnam," he joked. "I just went duck-hunting with Dick Cheney." —ASSOCIATED PRESS

### WEBLIOGRAPHY

ASHBURN, VIRGINIA, JULY 17TH—A year ago David and Peter Turrell launched "Savrola," a bibliographic website devoted to the book-length works of Winston Churchill. The intent of the site was to marry bibliographic detail with a series of pictures to show what

the volumes actually look like. For the average collector or interested individual, the lack of images is the weak spot of almost any traditional bibliography and can be frustrating.

After months of tweaking and adjustment they have now performed major upgrades to the underlying software, and Savrola version 2 is at <http://www.savrola.co.uk>. Pete Turrell has spent countless hours supporting the technical side of this endeavor, has generously underwritten web hosting costs, and has tirelessly scoured the bookshops of the Malverns on brother Dave's behalf.

A link on the home page will take you to a detailed discussion of what's new. In addition to cosmetic changes and new features, much effort has gone into improving the search capability and the usability of the search results. Additions to the site content are made almost daily.

The Turrells now have details of approximately 1700 items in twenty-eight languages, backed by over 7300 images. There is still, of course, a long way to go, and no bibliography is ever truly complete. To keep the Turrells moving closer to the goal, if you can help by offering suggestions and/or supplying information or images from your own collection, they would be immensely grateful. Contact [david.turrell@verizonbusiness.com](mailto:david.turrell@verizonbusiness.com).

### NINETY YEARS ON: THE MAN WHO MADE TANKS

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 19TH, 1916— "What about the tanks?" Mr. Lloyd George was asked, as he left the War Office yesterday.

"Well," said the War Minister, "we must not expect too much from them, but so far, they have done very well. And don't you think that they reflect credit on those responsible for them? It is really to Mr. Winston Churchill that the credit is due, more than to anyone else. He took up with enthusiasm the idea of making them a long time ago, and he met with many difficulties. He converted me, and at the Ministry of Munitions we went ahead and made them."

"The Admiralty experts were invaluable, and gave the greatest possible assistance. They are, of course, experts in the matter of armour plating. Major Stern, a businessman at the Ministry of Munitions, had charge of the work of getting them built, and he did the task very well. Col. Swinton and others also did valuable work. You see, the enemy has by no means a monopoly of inventive ingenuity."

—DAILY SKETCH, 19SEP16, JOHN FROST  
HISTORICAL NEWSPAPER COLLECTION

## MICHAEL PINTAVILLE

WEST CHESTER, PA., MAY 30TH— The Churchill Centre records with sadness the passing of Michael Pintaville, a longtime member who attended many events over the years. His wife Amy writes: "Churchill was his hero and Mike was an ardent admirer. He collected and read many books by and about him and we had wonderful times at conferences. Thank you for the inspiring lectures, marvelous black-tie dinners, and *Finest Hour*. They gave him great pleasure and the opportunity to learn. Enclosed is a small donation in memory of Mike, and to support the mission of the Centre." Friends may reach Amy at 273 Devon Way, West Chester PA 19380.

## "TOP PILOT, TOP SOLDIER" GEOFF BARKWAY DFM

Staff Sergeant Geoff Barkway, who has died aged 84, will be remembered by delegates at the Portsmouth 2004 Churchill Conference for his modest yet stirring recollections of his important role in the capture of Pegasus Bridge in the early hours of D-Day, 6 June 1944.



Geoffrey Sidney Barkway was born on 18 September 1921 in London, and joined the Territorial Army in February 1939. Mobilised at 17, he volunteered in 1942 for training as a glider pilot. This demanding role required, on D-Day, flying a heavily laden glider miles into enemy territory, landing with pinpoint accuracy in a confined space, in the dark, under possible enemy fire, in a place he had never seen, all without an engine.

There being no quick or sure way to get home again (despite being issued with beach boarding passes to get home to make a second sortie, intended to be within 24 hours!), each pilot then had to pick up weapons and

fight alongside the crack infantrymen they had delivered. The job of the glider pilot was thus one of "top pilot, top soldier." Barkway received the Distinguished Flying Medal for what the Commander-in-Chief Allied Expeditionary Air Force described as probably the finest piece of precision flying in the whole of World War II.

Barkway's glider broke in half on landing and he was thrown out, awaking, somewhat concussed, in a small pond. He returned to the crippled glider to free his co-pilot and others. Unfortunately, whilst unloading ammunition in the firefight that followed, Geoff was wounded. He was soon to lose his arm through gangrene, but his humour helped him handle the loss with aplomb: in later life he used to enjoy hanging his false arm from the boot of his car whilst driving!

His humour was evident at Portsmouth, where Geoff gave one of the most memorable speeches at a Churchill Conference. His great modesty and wit showed us why he was in demand for commemorative reunions. His reception was truly rousing.

Barkway married Eileen Underwood in 1945. She survives him with two sons and two daughters.

—ROBERT A. COURTS

## Errata

§ FH 130:23, penultimate line: The photograph was probably not taken in March 1945 as suggested; it shows WSC in summer uniform, whereas the temperature during the visit to the Rhine crossing at that date dictated something much warmer. Neither could it have been taken in Berlin or Potsdam in July 1945; although summer uniform was worn there, he looks much too jaunty and would not have had binoculars hanging from his neck. The conclusion is that it must have been taken in Italy in August 1944, when he certainly wore this uniform.

§ FH 131: 4, column 3, in the first paragraph of Churchill's letter to President Kennedy: David Bruce was the U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain (not vice-versa). Thanks to Paul Courtenay for the above two points.

§ FH 131: 45: In "Woods Corner," "The Doctor and the Soldier" appears at pages 69-70 of the 1898 edition of *The Malakand Field Force*, not 45-47, which actually refers to the 1989 edition (London: Cooper; New York: Norton). Also, the essay does not, contrary to our statement, appear in volume 2 of the official biography, or any other volume of the O.B. Thanks to Geoffrey Fletcher for these corrections.

## CHURCHILL AT PRITZKER

CHICAGO, JULY 24TH— The Pritzker Military Library ([www.pritzkermilitarylibrary.org](http://www.pritzkermilitarylibrary.org)) has acquired the Winston Churchill Collection of Mort and Joan Mollner, containing books, medallions, coins, postage stamps, tobacco cards, busts of Churchill and other memorabilia. Highlights include a limited edition bust of Churchill by Michael Suttly, one of six medals ordered struck for Churchill by President Eisenhower, a silver Russian "kilo" coin bearing Churchill's likeness, and a case of three limited edition crystal paperweights by Bacarrat & Wedgwood. The gift contains a large number of the medallions listed in J. Eric Engstrom's book, *The Medallie Portraits of Winston Churchill* (London: Spink 1972), and some sixty military medallions struck to honor wartime generals, presidents and battles. »

**PRITZKER LIBRARY...**

Mort Mollner began collecting in 1947. He wanted the trove to stay in the Chicago area, as a resource for his home town and viewable by friends and family members. "Having witnessed how one man almost single-handedly held the free world together, I've derived untold pleasure in playing a part in helping keep his memory and deeds alive," he says. "Mort Mollner's collection is an extraordinary tribute to an amazing historical figure," said Ed Tracy, executive director, Pritzker Military Library. "We are honored to feature this unique collection in our library and gallery."

The Pritzker Military Library, dedicated to a bibliographic and cultural venue for military history and the representations of the citizen soldier in a democratic society, is located at 610 N. Fairbanks Court (second floor). For information call (312) 587.0234 or [www.pritzkermilitarylibrary.org](http://www.pritzkermilitarylibrary.org)



GIFT OF A CIGAR, 1950s.

**GIFTS AT CHARTWELL**

WESTERHAM, KENT, AUGUST 10TH— To mark the 40th anniversary of the opening of Chartwell to the public, the National Trust is changing the display of exhibits in the Museum Room at Chartwell for the first time since 1966.

Over 5,000 items personally associated with WSC are in the Chartwell collection, and it is impossible to show them all. The »page 11

**LOCAL CONTACTS (affiliates in bold face)**

**Local Affairs Coordinator:**

Gary Garrison (ccsgary@bellsouth.net)  
2364 Beechwood Drive, Marietta GA 30062  
tel. (770) 378-8389; fax (770) 565-5925

**Deputy Coordinator:**

Paul Courtenay (ndege@tiscali.co.uk)  
Park Lane Lodge, Quarley, Andover, Hants.  
SP11 8QB UK; tel. (01264) 889627

Sir Winston S. Churchill Society of Alaska  
Judith & Jim Muller (afjwm@uaa.alaska.edu)  
2410 Galewood St., Anchorage AK 99508  
tel. (907) 786-4740; fax (907) 786-4647

**Churchill Centre Arizona**

Larry Pike (lvpik@Chartwellgrp.com)  
4927 E. Crestview Dr., Paradise Valley AZ 85253  
bus. tel. (602) 445-7719; cell (602) 622-0566

**California: Churchillians of the Desert**

David Ramsay (rambo85@aol.com)  
74857 S. Cove Drive, Indian Wells CA 92210  
tel. (760) 837-1095

**Churchillians by the Bay**

Richard Mastio (rcmastio@earthlink.net)  
2996 Franciscan Way, Carmel CA 93923-9216  
tel. (831) 625-6164

**Churchillians of Southern California**

Leon J. Waszak (leonwaszak@aol.com)  
235 South Ave. #66, Los Angeles CA 90042  
tel. (323) 257-9279; bus. tel. (818) 240-1000 x5844

**Churchill Friends of Greater Chicago**

Phil & Susan Larson (parker-fox@msn.com)  
22 Scottsdale Road, LaGrange IL 60526  
tel. (708) 352-6825

**Rocky Mountain Churchillians**

Lew House, President (lhouse2cti@earthlink.net)  
20304 Eisenhower Drive, Louisville CO 80027  
tel. (303) 661-9856; fax (303) 661-0589

**Winston Churchill Society of Michigan:**

Michael P. Malley (Mchael@malleylaw.com)  
3135 South State St., Ste. 203, Ann Arbor MI 48108  
tel. (734) 996-1083; fax (734) 327-2973

England: ICS (UK) Epping & Woodford Branch  
Tony Woodhead, Old Orchard, 32 Albion Hill,  
Loughton, Essex IG10 4RD; tel. (0208) 508-4562

England: ICS (UK) Northern Branch  
Derek Greenwell, "Farriers Cottage"  
Station Road, Goldsborough  
Knaresborough, North Yorkshire HG5 8NT  
tel. (01432) 863225

**Churchill Centre North Florida**

Richard Streiff (streiff@bellsouth.net)  
81 N.W. 44th Street, Gainesville FL 32607  
tel. (352) 378-8985

**Winston Churchill Society of Georgia:**

Gary Garrison (ccsgary@bellsouth.net);  
2364 Beechwood Drive, Marietta GA 30062  
tel. (770) 378-8389; fax (770) 565-5925

Nebraska: Churchill Round Table of Nebraska

John Meeks (jmeeks@wrlhstry.com)  
7720 Howard Street #3, Omaha NE 68114  
tel. (402) 968-2773

**New England Churchillians**

Joseph L. Hern (jhern@fhmboston.com)  
340 Beale Street, Quincy MA 02170  
tel. (617) 773-1907; bus. tel. (617) 248-1919

**Churchill Society of New Orleans**

Edward F. Martin  
2328 Coliseum St., New Orleans LA 70130  
tel. (504) 582-8152

**North Carolina Churchillians**

A. Wendell Musser MD (amusser@nc.rr.com)  
1214 Champions Pointe Drive  
Durham NC 27712; tel. (919) 593-0804

**Churchill Centre Northern Ohio**

Michael McMenamin (mtm@walterhav.com)  
1301 East 9th St. #3500, Cleveland OH 44114  
tel. (216) 781-1212

**Washington Society for Churchill**

Dr. John H. Mather, Pres. (Johnmather@aol.com)  
PO Box 73, Vienna, VA 22182-0073  
tel. (240) 353-6782

**Churchill Centre South Texas**

James T. Slattery (slattery@fed-med.com)  
2803 Red River Creek  
San Antonio TX 78259-3542  
cell (210) 601-2143; fax (210) 497-0904

Tennessee: Vanderbik Univ. Young Churchill Club  
Prof. John English (john.h.english@vanderbilt.edu)  
Box 1616, Station B, Vanderbik University,  
Nashville TN 37235

**THE RT HON**

**SIR WINSTON S. CHURCHILL  
SOCIETY, CANADA**

Calgary: Dr. Francis LeBlanc, Pres. (neuron@telus.new)  
126 Pinetree Dr. SW, Calgary AB T3Z 3K4  
tel. (403) 685-5836, fax: (403) 217-5632

Edmonton: Dr. Edward Hutson, Pres.  
(jehutson@shaw.ca)

98 Rehwinkel Road, Edmonton AB T6R 1Z8  
tel. (780) 430-7178

British Columbia: Christopher Hebb, Pres.  
(cavell\_capital@telus.net)

1806-1111 W. Georgia Street, Vancouver BC  
V6E 4M3; tel. (604) 209-6400

**Vancouver Island: Victor Burstall, Pres.**  
(burst@shaw.ca) P. O. Box 2114, Sidney,  
BC V8L 3S6; tel. (250) 727-7345

# WINSTON CHURCHILL SQUARE



**CHURCHILL MEMORIALS WORLDWIDE:** A book we long to publish some day is a catalogue of all WSC remembrances throughout the world. Here's one we never heard of, until David Druckman sent us the photos. The Square comprises half an acre bordering Downing Street and the west side of Sixth Avenue, New York City, whose Parks Department purchased the site in 1943. The sitting area, designed by George Vellonakis, was rebuilt in 1998-99 to incorporate garden spaces, a pedestal-mounted armillary, and a decorative iron fence. The peaceful oasis is now maintained by the Bedford Downing Block Association.



## G/T S ^7 CHARTWELL...

"Churchill: Gifts to a Hero" exhibition provides an opportunity to highlight a number of pieces never seen before. Many objects that have been in storage for half a century have been taken out and researched as to how and when they were given. The stories contribute to our picture of how Churchill was regarded by so many in his lifetime.

Within the exhibition, and the companion souvenir catalogue, gifts from great figures of the time mingle freely with gifts from ordinary people. They include birthday presents from his wife Clementine and from President Roosevelt, and honours and awards bestowed by towns, institutions and nations. Items range from a magnificent silver sailing ship given by the Gold & Silversmiths of Holland, to home-made birthday cards from individual well-wishers.

"Churchill: Gifts to a Hero" runs at Chartwell throughout the 2006 and 2007 seasons. It is open at the same times as the house.

## APSA CHURCHILL PANEL

PHILADELPHIA, SEPTEMBER 2ND— The annual Churchill Centre panel during the American Political Science Association Convention was held this afternoon at the Philadelphia Marriott, devoted to a discussion of Churchill's 1932 book, *Thoughts and Adventures* (also published in the USA under the title *Amid These Storms*). The book comprises essays on a variety of subjects published by Churchill in public print over the previous decade. One of Churchill's most charming books, it is also one of his most neglected.

William Kristol, editor and publisher of *The Weekly Standard*, served as panel chairman. The speakers

## WANTED: ASSISTANT EDITOR

No one lives forever, and it is time to begin thinking about the future of *Finest Hour*, the *Chartwell Bulletin*, and the other publications we love so well. We seek someone with a *driving interest* (encyclopedic knowledge is not required) in the *entire* Churchill saga (not just WW2), the wisdom he offers, balanced understanding that he was not infallible, and the joy of communicating his words and deeds to future generations.

An assistant editor should be a good wordsmith (though we have wonderful proofreaders who often save us from ourselves), familiar with desktop publishing applications. (Ours is Quark Express.) We seek a proven ability to meet deadlines (often one a month), and a long-term commitment. These are the essentials. This is a paid position, and the pay will increase as the assistant does more. We do not anticipate any sudden changes, rather a gradual drift toward new hands who will carry on for a long time. Thus, applicants should be in their fifties or younger! Contact the editor, (richard@langworth.name) or toll-free at (888) 454-2275. References and resumes are requested. M>

and their topics were: Kirk Emmert, Kenyon College, "Churchill on Painting, Political Knowledge, and Statesmanship"; Steven F. Hayward, American Enterprise Institute, "Churchill and the Problem of Scale in Modern Politics"; James W. Muller, University of Alaska, Anchorage, "Politics and Philosophy in Churchill's Interwar Essays." Paul Cantor, University of Virginia, was our discussant.

That evening, on the 108th anniversary of the Battle of Omdurman, a black tie dinner was held by the Centre at The Union League in Philadelphia. Steve Hayward spoke on "The Use and Abuse of Churchill in History." \$

# WSC ON CINCINNATI

**ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIAN** Sue Ann Painter, who is writing a book on Cincinnati architecture, asked us to verify Churchill's remarks about the city, and whether he stayed in the Netherland Plaza Hotel, as the hotel's records indicate.



## TOISON IN YOUR COFFEE"

We are often asked to confirm the famous reputed exchange between Churchill and Lady Astor, who in exasperation informed him that if she were married to him she would give him poison. Biographer Christopher Sykes, reports this confrontation in his *Nancy Astor* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972, 127):

"To this time [c. 1912] belongs a well-known story of Winston Churchill and Nancy. It sounds like an invention but is well authenticated. He and the Astors were staying with Churchill's cousin, the Duke of Marlborough, at Blenheim Palace. Nancy and Churchill argued ferociously throughout the weekend. At breakfast one morning Nancy said to him, 'Winston, if I was married to you, I'd put poison in your coffee.' Winston Churchill replied: 'Nancy, if I was married to you, I'd drink it.'"

One wonders first whether two such well-read people would have used "was" instead of "were." But there are other reasons for questioning this alleged verbal duel, and certainly the originality of Churchill's retort.

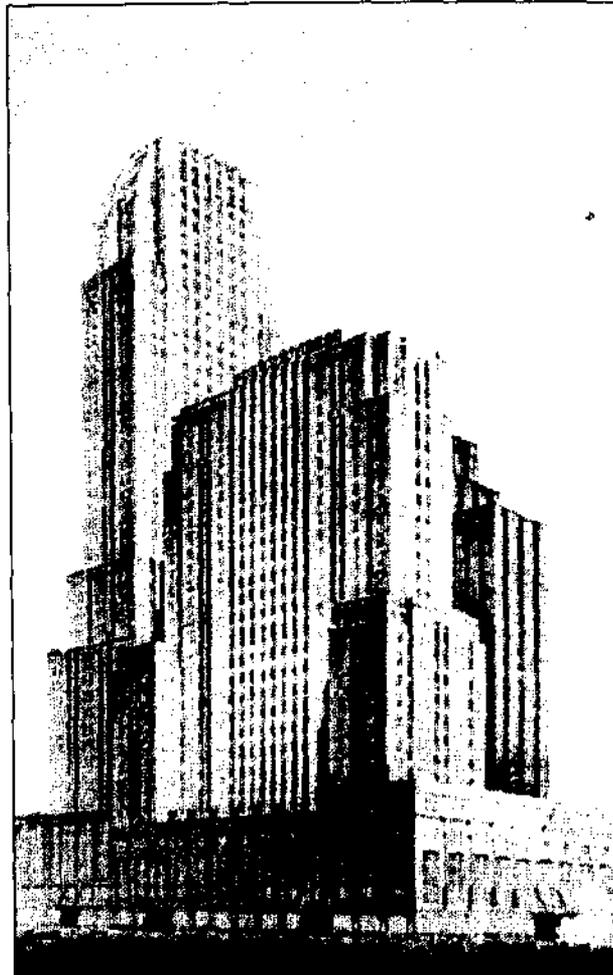
**W**inston S. Churchill, itinerant Briton in America, wrote about American cities in his article, "Land of Corn and Lobsters," published in *Collier's*, 5 August 1933, republished in *The Collected Essays of Sir Winston Churchill*, vol. 4 (London: Library of Imperial History, 1975, p.266):

"Cincinnati, I thought, was the most beautiful of the inland cities of the Union. From the tower of its unsurpassed hotel the city spreads far and wide its pageant of crimson, purple and gold, laced by silver streams that are great rivers."

According to Ms. Painter's research, "Churchill's hotel room had a modernistic bathroom fitted with yellow tiles and streamlined fixtures that the British leader greatly admired and supposedly measured to recreate in London. The bath has been preserved and the room named the Churchill Suite."

Chartwell's bathrooms bear no resemblance to "streamlined fixtures," but London might well have been where he installed similar equipment, in his pre-World War II flat at Morpeth Mansions; in the event, however, whatever was there in his time has long since been replaced.

We could find no reference to the Netherland Plaza in his letters and papers during his visit in February 1932, although only about a tenth of his letters and papers have been published. There seems little doubt, from to his description and contemporary photos, where Churchill stayed.



THE NETHERLAND PLAZA HOTEL, where Churchill probably stayed during his 1932 lecture tour, still dominates Cincinnati's dramatic landscape.



Churchill's official biographer, Sir Martin Gilbert, wrote in his book, *In Search of Churchill* (London: HarperCollins, 1974, 232):

"The dilemma of establishing authenticity is ever-present with Churchill, around whom everyone naturally wishes to attach their favourite story. Certainly many of the widely-circulated stories of the 1920s, which were originally attached to long-forgotten characters like William Joynson-Hicks ('Jix') and the First Earl of Birkenhead ('F.E.') are now given Churchill as their source to make them more interesting. Did Churchill ever say to Nancy Astor, 'If I were your husband, I would drink it?' after she had said, 'If I were your wife I would put poison in your coffee?' I have no idea, though several old-timers suggested to me that the original of Winston in this tale was in fact F.E. (a much heavier drinker than Churchill, and a notorious acerbic wit)."

I still carry this riposte as "possible Churchill" in my developing book, *Winston Churchill by Himself*, but with qualifications. Fred Shapiro, editor of the *Yale Book of Quotations* (appearing this October) advised me that it dates back many years. Fred's research found this joke in the *Chicago Tribune* of 3 January 1900: "'If I had a husband like you,' she said with concentrated scorn, 'I'd give him poison!' 'Mad'm,' he rejoined, looking her over with a feeble sort of smile, 'If I had a wife like you, I'd take it.'"

It is entirely factual that Winston Churchill, with his impressive memory, was in Chicago lecturing a year after the *Tribune's* joke. And we might consider that it was so popular a punch-line that it was still circulating when he got there. Stored in the filing cabinet of memory, it may well have been hauled out in response to Lady Astor. But we cannot credit Churchill with having originated it. It's in the "ripostes" section of my book as "possible Churchill, but if he said it, he was not the first." —RML \$

## AROUND & ABOUT



**Ignacio Fernández Bargues** reminds us of an appropriate response to the announcement by London mayor **Ken Livingstone**, that he has not flushed the loo in fifteen months: "When Ministers of the Crown speak like this on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the Prime Minister and his friends have no need to wonder why they are getting increasingly into bad odour. I had even asked myself, when meditating upon these points whether you, Mr. Speaker, would admit the word 'iously' as a Parliamentary expression in referring to the Administration, provided, of course, it was not intended in a contemptuous sense but purely as one of factual narration." (WSC's remark came when the Minister of Fuel and Power in the postwar Labour Government, **Hugh Gaitskell**, later **Clement Attlee's** successor as leader of the Labour Party, advocated saving energy by taking fewer baths: "Personally, I have never had a great many baths myself, and I can assure those who are in the habit of having a great many that it does not make a great difference to their health if they have less." This was too much for Churchill, a renowned bather. See WSC, *Europe Unite* (London: Cassell, 1950, 179.)

\* \* \*

Those who despair that the young are insulated from Churchill's wisdom should take heart from a recent issue of *The Dig*, a free alternative Boston weekly aimed at the twenty-something crowd. It's the type of paper that features ads for escort services, help wanted ads for bike messengers and body piercers and area nightlife. In a serious front piece, *Dig* editor **Joe Keohane** urged the new crop of Boston-area college graduates (among whom we include the editor's and executive editor's son) to go forth and fight the good fight, citing *New York Times* publisher **Arthur Sulzberger, Jr.'s** commencement speech to SUNY New Paltz, New York. Keohane added: "He [Sulzberger] also quoted a mean, terse 1941 commencement [sic] speech by Churchill: 'Never give in, never give in, never, never, never, never—in nothing great or small, large or petty; never give in except to convictions of honour and good sense.'" Sound advice to those of any age. —**Joe Hern**

\* \* \*

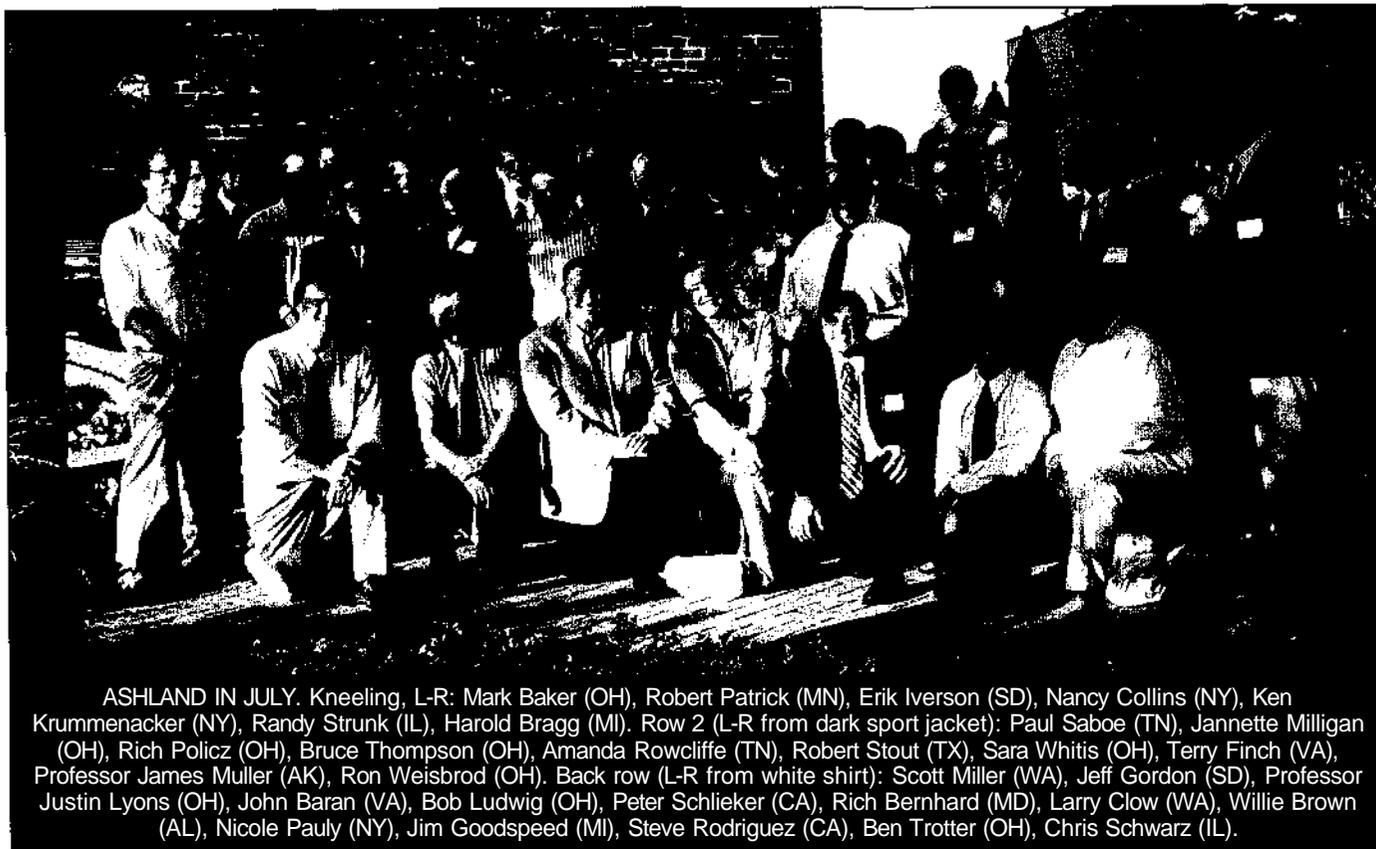
o the **Editor of Time**: In 1999, *Time* named **Albert Einstein** as Person of the Century. [See "Time's Long March to Person of the Century, *FH* 105:21, Winter 1999-2000. —Ed.] A number of us thought the honor should have gone to Winston Churchill, *Time's* "Man of the Half Century." We were disappointed that you used the opportunity to malign Churchill, citing, among other perceived shortcomings, a comment he made about **Gandhi**.

A recent discovery adds a significant wrinkle to this debate. One of the items in Sotheby's recent catalogue of the **Martin Luther King, Jr.** Collection, auctioned June 30th, was a single-page sheet written by King in the early 1960s, in which he lists the "Ten Greatest Men of the Century" (215). King lists Churchill as his Man of the Century, followed by **FDR**, **John F. Kennedy**, **Eleanor Roosevelt**, **Gandhi**, **Salk**, **Einstein**, **Schweitzer**, **Truman**, **M. Luther King** (most likely his father), and **Dag Hammarskjöld**. King certainly was a great student and follower of Gandhi, but nonetheless considered Churchill Man of the Century. A wise choice. —**Richard D. Batchelder, Jr.** \$

# Summer Churchill Institute for Teachers at Ashland University

TWENTY-NINE AMERICAN TEACHERS devoted two weeks of their lives to furthering The Churchill centre's mission of teaching the next generation about Winston Churchill, thanks to the Ashbrook Center and a major grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

BY SUZANNE SIGMAN



ASHLAND IN JULY. Kneeling, L-R: Mark Baker (OH), Robert Patrick (MN), Erik Iverson (SD), Nancy Collins (NY), Ken Krummenacker (NY), Randy Strunk (IL), Harold Bragg (MI). Row 2 (L-R from dark sport jacket): Paul Saboe (TN), Jannette Milligan (OH), Rich Policz (OH), Bruce Thompson (OH), Amanda Rowcliffe (TN), Robert Stout (TX), Sara Whitis (OH), Terry Finch (VA), Professor James Muller (AK), Ron Weisbrod (OH). Back row (L-R from white shirt): Scott Miller (WA), Jeff Gordon (SD), Professor Justin Lyons (OH), John Baran (VA), Bob Ludwig (OH), Peter Schlieker (CA), Rich Bernhard (MD), Larry Clow (WA), Willie Brown (AL), Nicole Pauly (NY), Jim Goodspeed (MI), Steve Rodriguez (CA), Ben Trotter (OH), Chris Schwarz (IL).

**D**he Churchill Centre's most ambitious outreach to high school teachers occurred this summer, when Professors James Muller, chairman of the Centre's Board of Academic Advisors (University of Alaska, Anchorage) and Justin Lyons (Ashland University) co-directed the Summer Institute at the Ashbrook Center for Public Affairs in Ashland, Ohio.

American tax dollars funded a \$94,000 grant from the National

Ms. Sigman is The Churchill Centre's educational outreach coordinator.

Endowment for the Humanities so teachers could attend this institute free of charge, and receive a small stipend as well. The grant covered eight books, instruction, educational materials, room, board and transportation. The Centre hosted a dinner where John Ramsden spoke on "Churchill's Postwar Reputation." Other academics and guest instructors included Allen Packwood (Director, Churchill Archives Centre), CC Fellow Steve Hayward (American Enterprise Institute) and academic adviser Jeffrey Wallin (American Academy of Liberal Education), Peter Schramm (Executive

Director, Ashbrook Center) and John Moser (Ashland University).

Teachers represented thirteen states from California to Virginia, Texas to Minnesota. They teach history, English, government and ethics from elementary to high school pupils.

We had a schedule of Churchillian proportions, with instructional sessions from 9am until noon, followed by lunch and free time until tea at 4pm. A final one-hour academic session preceded dinner. Then followed the screening of an episode from the television documentary *The Wilderness Years* (starring Robert Hardy

as WSC), with a discussion. Some nights featured a dinner lecture as well. By 9:30pm our heads and hearts were full of Winston Churchill.

Grappling with the overwhelming Churchill oeuvre in two weeks necessitated a focus. The Institute was designed as an inquiry into "Churchill and America": a careful examination of how Churchill came to be the man he was, and of the political principles that motivated him. From Pericles to Magna Carta, to the American founding to Churchill, a clear lineage was mapped out.

Session 1 each day comprised a close reading and discussion of three chapters from *My Early Life*. After placing the chapters in their historical context and explaining unfamiliar terms, Professor Muller considered some of the important questions raised by the reading. Discussion ensued on the book's great themes of death, the human condition, religion, luck, privilege, empire, colonialism, war, peace, free will, progress, leaders, education, history, politics and risk.

The second sessions were largely devoted to analyses of Churchill's historical and political thought. Lectures included the ideas of Thucydides, Pericles, and Aristotle, examining the nature and nuances of historical interpretation and the roots of democratic thought and institutions in Britain and America. Professor Lyons compared Churchill's understanding of history to that of "professional historians," who are "often ill at ease reading Churchill." Remember that in his preface to *The Second World War*, Churchill wrote, "I do not describe it as history, for that belongs to another generation. But I claim with confidence that it is a contribution to history which will be of service to the future."

History is not philosophy; it belongs to the world of change. While the passing of time will often alter our



perception of past events (history), Churchill's knowledge of events is from the viewpoint of the highest political man at a particular time—and this will not change.

Professor Lyons believes that Churchill's political thought has been neglected, although general biographies of him proliferate. He did what he could in the short time allotted to alter the ratio!

Reading and discussing *The Great Republic* (the recent collection of WSC's articles on America, compiled by his grandson), and other speeches and essays, comprised the major afternoon sessions. Any Churchillian would be proud of the inquiring nature and intellectual fervor of the teachers as they grappled critically with the large questions Churchill poses, many learning to appreciate him in new ways. Perhaps most relevant to 2006 is Churchill's belief that democratic institutions are fragile and will always be challenged by the nature of the human condition. In Professor Lyons' words, "Churchill combined a devotion to democracy with an awareness of its shortcomings."

The teachers cast a critical eye:

*Was war a sport for most British officers?*

*How accurate is Churchill's description of his own grace under fire? Were there any witnesses?*

*Did he not see before 1940 that the French army was obsolete?*

*Churchill writes [Great Republic 225]: "Fraud, extravagance and a humiliating racial policy were »*

## GIVE AND TAKE

Professor Muller's question of how the young Churchill differs from our teachers' own students precipitated an exemplary exchange on Churchill's willingness to admit in 1930 [in *My Early Life*] all the "strings he had pulled" in his youth:

"My students don't have the connections he had."

"Yes, he had connections, but he also had resolve; he presumed he had the right to ask."

"Today, students might use connections to obtain a safer position—not to seek [dangerous] action."

"But today's students often have a sense of entitlement; Churchill took chances."

"He accepted his challenges, no whining."

"He used all of his fiber to get what he wanted."

"Are some people born to be willing to go get what they want?"

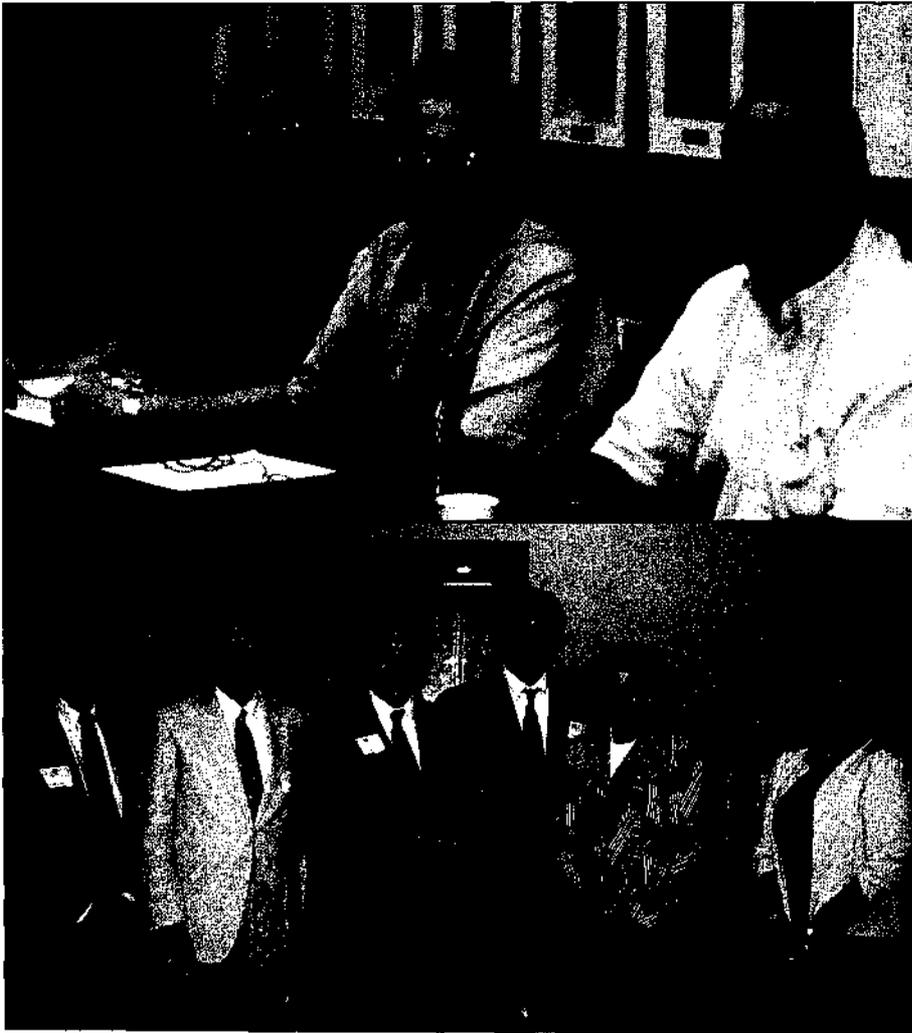
"Does our discomfort with him 'pulling strings' arise from our American view that merit should be the operating principle rather than birth into an aristocratic family?"

"Part of me was hoping to see him 'get smacked'; I've seen too many kids try to weasel into unearned positions to pad their resumes."

"I got *my* teaching job because I knew someone. I admire his tenaciousness. There is little mystery about him; he hides nothing. He's not afraid to take a stand."

"His 'pulling strings' shows his focus. He squeezes everything out of his experience that he can; he looks to his future."

“ Perhaps most relevant to 2006 is Churchill's belief that democratic institutions are fragile and will always be challenged by the nature of the human condition. In Professor Lyons' words, 'Churchill combined a devotion to democracy with an awareness of its shortcomings.' ”



LEFT: The Q&A panel: Justin Lyons, James W. Muller, Jeffrey Wallin and Steve Hayward. BELOW LEFT: Bill Ives, CC president; Professor James Muller, institute co-director and CC chairman of academic advisers; Roger Beckett, deputy director of the John M. Ashbrook Center for Public Affairs; Professor Justin Lyons, institute co-director; Sally Blair, Ashbrook Center director of events; Peter Schramm, Ashbrook Center executive director and professor of Political Science, Ashland University; Suzanne Sigman, CC educational programs coordinator.

teach? Why didn't we incorporate a bit more variety in pedagogical method, especially in the second week, using small group discussions, for example? And yes, it would have been splendid to have a field trip to Chartwell and the Churchill Museum. Next time! By the way, our host institution, Ashland University, received the highest marks, without exception.

Because this article is in *Finest Hour*, a journal largely read by those who often call Churchill "The Great Man"—even while recognizing that he was not a perfect human being nor infallible—I will end with a verbatim remark from a Michigan teacher:

"I always knew he was an important man, but after all this reading, I can say I almost love him." M>

*imposed upon the South by Radical rule [between 1868 and 1891]." I find this statement indefensible.*

*To what purpose was the Boer War? It rings hollow with me.*

*Didn't he sometimes suffer from an over-confidence in the force of his own personality?*

*Did he ever talk about cowardice?*

Teachers' observations were also of considerable interest:

*Churchill is an odd combination of a man, rooted in the past." He advises "seizing the day," yet looks to the future; he bridges time. He believes in rules but he is a rule breaker. He examines the details and at the same time he could see the big picture.*

*Do we suffer from "post-modern paralysis"? Churchill can see other*

*points of view, but in the end he can distinguish evil.*

*Is Churchill wired differently? He thinks militarily. The study of history [today] has done away with this element. We have demilitarized history.*

*George Washington also exuded a sense of calm in battle. Would a bullet in the right place have ended the Revolution?*



would we have changed anything? You bet! We learned much. Why didn't we ask John Ramsden to deliver a lecture on British politics and government? Why didn't we have a significant session on World War II—the one topic almost all history teachers

## SEMINARS TO DATE

- 18Oct05: George Washington University, Washington, D.C.
- 11Mar06: Elmhurst College, Chicago
- 29Apr06: Fletcher School, Tufts University, Medford, Mass.
- 26-28Oct06: Evans School, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington\*
- 4Nov06: The Citadel, Charleston, S.C.

\*Sessions for graduate students, undergraduates and teachers after Sixth Churchill Lecture (in Seattle on 26 October). Other seminars are for high school teachers.

Future possible locations include southern California, Atlanta, Nashville, Pennsylvania or Texas.

# Fulton and Chartwell

ABSTRACTS BY ROBERT A. COURTS

**"Churchill's Speech: A Lesson For The Present" by William Horsley, BBC News Online, 6th March 2006**

**O**n 5 March 1946, Winston Churchill was not Britain's Prime Minister, but he still enjoyed a giant reputation: so much so that President Harry Truman travelled 1000 miles accompanying Churchill to Fulton, Missouri, where the old warrior gave a speech that became one of the most famous of the 20th century.

Churchill had been mocked in the 1930s for warning his country about the menace of Nazi Germany, but had been proved right in the end. Now he came bearing similar warnings. After expressing his admiration for the Russian people and his "wartime comrade, Marshal Stalin," Churchill delivered the phrase that was to define the Cold War: "From Stettin in the Baltic, to Trieste in the Adriatic, an Iron Curtain has descended across the continent."

It was vintage Churchill: grave, eloquent, and ruthlessly honest. It was also a plea to the world's greatest superpower—America—to acknowledge the harsh reality about the Soviets, who were imposing totalitarian rule on all the countries in their military sway. America may have been reluctant to accept this conclusion, but by the following year, Truman decided on a policy of containment: a doctrine that was to bear his name.

Stalin was furious at the Fulton speech and banned its publication in the USSR. But Churchill's words were prescient. He clearly foresaw the Cold War, which was to last until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, and featured the great climacterics of the Cuban Missile Crisis and the Hungarian and Czech uprisings.

The sixtieth anniversary of the speech has brought many reflections on its relevance. Fulton reads like an example of true statesmanship, and perhaps the most memorable "wake-up call" in modern history. It not only displayed the genius with words that would bring Churchill the Nobel Prize for Literature, but in an age of uncertainty, it spread Churchill's iron certainty of purpose.

Churchill's core beliefs were in the special bond between America and Britain, the need for the United Nations to be "a force for action and not merely a frothing of words," and the duty of the Western democracies to stand up for freedom and against tyranny. Although sixty years later there are more democracies in the world than ever before, such moral certainty is rare. With Churchill's authority, it is rarer still.

**"Churchill's Chartwell," by Sir Patrick Cormack. *Heritage*, May 2005**

**F**ew historians doubt that Churchill was one of the greatest wartime Prime Ministers that Britain has ever had, or even, as Roy Jenkins called him, the "greatest human being ever to occupy No. 10 Downing Street." But the house that meant most to Churchill was the dilapidated farmhouse with glorious views which he bought in 1922 and transformed into a wonderfully comfortable family home.

It was from here—Chartwell—that Churchill poured forth the torrent of articles that sustained him, and, in the 1930s, warned of the threat from Nazi Germany. Here he honed some of his finest speeches and books that led him to be awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. But he did not just

work here: he laid out ponds, walls and a cottage, and "never had a dull moment from morning until night."

No house in England is more closely associated with a great man. To go there is to understand, as nowhere else, the man who has been voted the Greatest Briton of all time.

Churchill was nearly fifty and already had a remarkable career behind him when he found Chartwell. He never looked back from that point, although his wife Clementine was aghast at the expense. His alterations made it a homely place, and he entertained streams of visitors. During the war, it was considered too easy a target for German attack and was all but closed down, but afterwards, albeit with a reduced staff, Chartwell once again became Churchill's home.

Remembering what a grateful nation had done for Marlborough, and determined that Churchill's dicey finances should never cost him his home, a group of friends bought Chartwell for the National Trust, with the proviso that Churchill should live there for the rest of his life, and that when he died, it should become a shrine to his memory. This greatly moved WSC, who left many items of memorabilia to the house. It was restored after his death, to the form it had taken in the 1930s. Visitors today therefore to find themselves in the setting where Churchill brooded and urged his compatriots in vain to face up to the realities of Nazi tyranny.

The most evocative rooms in the house are the library, Lady Churchill's elegant bedroom, and the study. In the latter, his workshop of over forty years, Churchill worked on five national budgets, dictated hundreds of articles, rehearsed many speeches, and produced many of his great histories.

The house is synonymous with the extraordinary life that Churchill led. No visitor to Chartwell can fail to be inspired by thoughts of what he achieved here, in a beautiful setting which inspired some of the greatest words and deeds in British history. \$3



# Berlin 1945-2006: Historical Epilogue

ICS (UK) AND THE CHURCHILL CENTRE arranged a dramatic commemorative pilgrimage to Berlin, where over two dozen members visited the house where Winston Churchill and his daughter stayed during the Potsdam Conference of 1945.

BY GARY GARRISON

**I**t was an epilogue to history: the Potsdam Conference had divided postwar Germany into four occupation zones, administered by Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union; and reorganized Germany's institutions and economy. The Allies called for Japan to surrender or risk total destruction. But after the war the goals of Potsdam were undermined by the tensions and suspicions of the gathering Cold War.

The week-long program began with a welcome and briefing by ICS (UK) chairman Col. Nigel Knocker, who covered the background to Sir Winston's visits to Germany and Potsdam. CC president Bill Ives spoke on "A Glimpse of the Cold War: Berlin and Germany in the Mid-Fifties." Ives was a U.S. Army counterintelligence officer and served in Berlin and West Germany during this crucial period. Nigel Dunkley, our tour guide, spoke on "Allied Espionage and Intelligence Operations in East Germany," drawing on his own experiences as a British intelligence officer behind the Iron Curtain in communist East Germany.

Our delegation witnessed the return for the first time since 1945 of Lady Soames to the Villa Urbig, where she had resided with her father during the early part of the conference. The Villa Urbig lies in a leafy and quiet residential area of Babelsberg, between Berlin and Potsdam. It is now officially registered with the presentation of a plaque that will be installed on the villa, and later, a second one at the entrance, commemorating Churchill's stay.



**THEN AND NOW AT VILLA URBIG:** Churchill, Truman and Stalin in a handshake at the front door, belying the extreme differences already becoming apparent, 1945; Sir Winston's daughter marks the very spot with a brass plaque, together with Nigel Knocker and Judy Kambestad, 2006.



Urbig was the only one of the three villas commandeered by the Soviets to house the "Big Three," Churchill, Stalin and Truman, for the Potsdam conference that had not been commemorated. Plaques designating where Truman and Stalin stayed were installed many years earlier, but the private dwelling had nothing to mark its significant role.

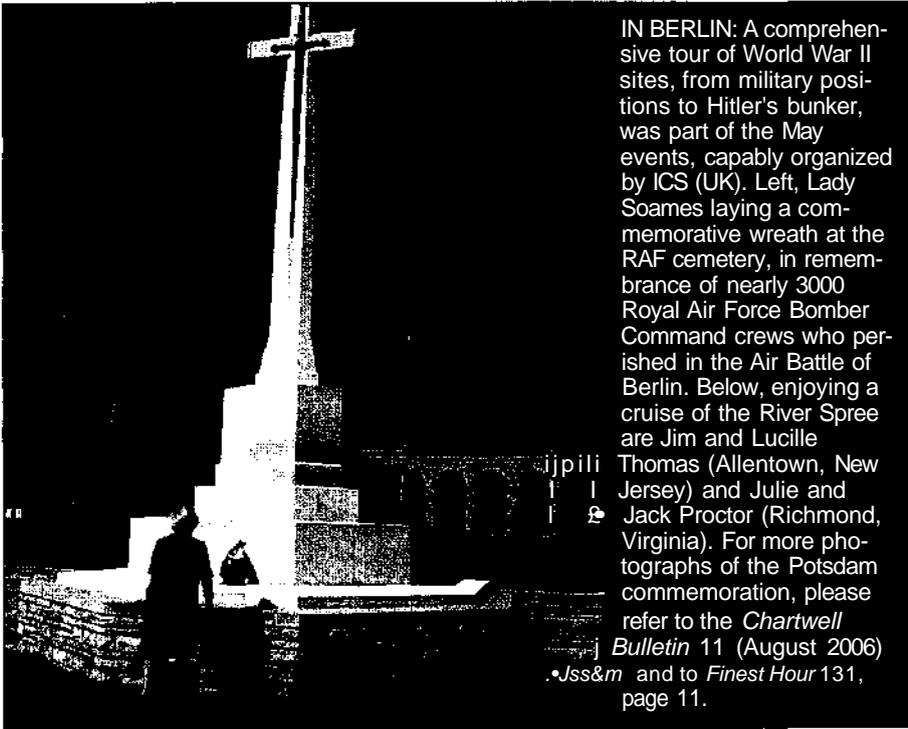
The crucial omission was first noticed by CC governor Judy Kambestad and her husband Jerry during the 21st International Churchill Conference tour of Berlin. Their observation led to this special ceremony.

At the Urbig our party, led by Lady Soames, toured the villa and its gardens, noting the locations of WSC's office, those of his staff, his bedroom and bath, and other places, including the exact spot on the spacious rear verandah where one of the famous photographs of the Big Three was taken.

After the villa visit, an official ceremony was held at the Rathaus (City Hall), hosted by the mayor of Potsdam. Lady Soames was thanked for "correcting an oversight of so many years." The mayor, in his address of thanks, noted that the city will also install a plaque on the fence in front of the villa.

Lunch was held in the former royal dining room at Schloss Cecilienhof, where the plenary sessions of the conference took place. The conference room, including the special ten-foot-round conference table made in Moscow, remains exactly as it was during those historic days soon after the end of the war with Nazi Germany.

That evening, former German Chancellor Helmut Kohl was the guest speaker at a special dinner in honor of Lady Soames. Kohl spoke of his admiration for Churchill, the significant contributions WSC made to the world during his lifetime, and the need today to work with younger generations around the world for peace and stability. The British Ambassador, His Excellency Sir Peter Torry KCMG, was our host at a reception in honor of Lady Soames one evening at the British Embassy. >>



IN BERLIN: A comprehensive tour of World War II sites, from military positions to Hitler's bunker, was part of the May events, capably organized by ICS (UK). Left, Lady Soames laying a commemorative wreath at the RAF cemetery, in remembrance of nearly 3000 Royal Air Force Bomber Command crews who perished in the Air Battle of Berlin. Below, enjoying a cruise of the River Spree are Jim and Lucille

Thomas (Allentown, New Jersey) and Julie and Jack Proctor (Richmond, Virginia). For more photographs of the Potsdam commemoration, please refer to the *Chartwell Bulletin* 11 (August 2006) *Jss&m* and to *Finest Hour* 131, page 11.



#### POTSDAM, continued...

A day was set aside to tour Berlin as Lady Soames and her father had seen it. First stop was the British Commonwealth War Graves Cemetery, where Lady Soames paused to lay a wreath and to pay respects to the nearly 3000 young men of RAF Bomber Command aircrews from the Air Battle of Berlin who are buried there. It was a significant and emotional occasion.

After a visit to the stadium built by Hitler for the 1936 Olympic Games, including a trip to the top of the 450-foot-high Olympic Bell Tower, the group then followed in the Churchills' footsteps to the Reichstag, site of Hitler's bunker and former Reichchancellery; Hermann Goering's Luftwaffe and Air Ministry Headquarters; the Brandenburg

Gate; and Checkpoint Charlie. Though much had changed since Churchill's visit, this was a chance to step back more than sixty years and relive history.

Tours to other Greater Berlin locations took place on other days including Seelow Heights, the Soviet and German positions on the River Oder; a canal cruise through parts of the city; the 1871 Victory Column; the Soviet War Memorial with its T-34 tanks and marble taken from Hitler's office in 1945, and the Memorial to Murdered Jews in Europe.

The Churchill Centre fully supported this program, and was well represented by members of its Board of Governors: Chuck Platt, Jim Thomas, Bill Ives, Nigel Knocker, Judy Kambestad and this writer. —GG

## MORE UK EVENTS

A number of ICS (UK) members, including *Finest Hour* senior editor Paul Courtenay and deputy editor Robert Courts, were able to intercept the Churchill's England tour party (see page 38) at RAF Uxbridge and at RMA Sandhurst), and two-dozen Britons attended the black tie banquet in the Great Hall of Blenheim Palace on May 26th. We were glad to see a number of familiar faces; they all seemed to be enjoying themselves, despite the rain, but what incredible stamina they all had!

## HAVENGORE

The vessel which carried Sir Winston up the Thames after his funeral in 1965 has now been sold by the Palmers. The new owner is Mr. David Ryland; his future plans are unknown, but it is expected that he will maintain the boat's familiar programme for at least the first year.

## HONORARY MEMBERS

In recognition of their active dedication to "the cause," the following prominent Churchillian writers and broadcasters have been made honorary members of ICS(UK): Dr. Piers Brendon, Professor John Ramsden, Professor David Reynolds and Mr. Andrew Roberts.

## ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES, "VOL. 5"

Andrew Roberts published his new book in September, *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples Since 1900*. It was imaginatively conceived to update Winston Churchill's four famous volumes, first published fifty years ago. Roberts brings the story up to the the present day, Churchill, of course, being featured prominently.

## 132ND BIRTHDAY

ICS(UK) will mark this event on 28 November (two days before the true anniversary) with a reception in London. During the proceedings, Sir Martin Gilbert will speak on "Churchill's Birthdays," which should add to the festive atmosphere. —PHC \$9

# Potsdam's Schloss Cecilienhof

IF YOU weren't with us in Potsdam last May, something important can always be seen on your own...

BY DAVID DRUCKMAN

**D**uly 1945. The war in Europe was over. Japan was defending her home islands and the lands she occupied with tenacity and suicidal determination. How could Japan's defeat be accelerated? Now that Germany was crushed, what would be her fate? Could a long-term peace be established? On the agenda were Polish elections, Polish-German borders, the atomic bomb, disposal of the German navy and merchant marine, Italian peace terms, Russia's war declaration on Japan, and the division of Germany.

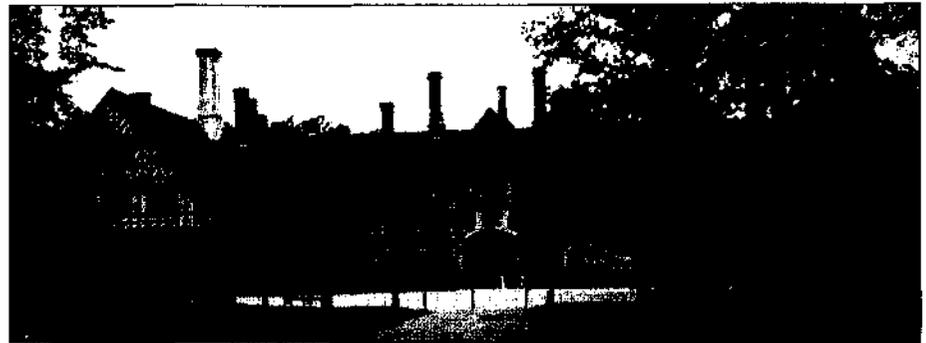
The most effective way to answer these questions was another meeting of the "Big Three": Stalin, Churchill, and Truman, the latter having replaced Roosevelt after FDR's death on 12 April 1945. The Free French government (de Gaulle) was not invited—again.

Churchill gave his view of the conference in his last volume of *The Second World War*, and Sir Martin Gilbert gives a more even view in *Never Despair*, his final volume of the official biography. Great is the literature on Potsdam, and this is not the place to examine the issues. Rather we look at what is to be seen there by visitors, such as this writer and the Churchill Centre party assembled in May (previous article).

Potsdam, which contains the San Souci Gardens, is just south of Berlin,

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Mr. Druckman and his wife Arlyne, of Tucson and Chicago, travel the world in search of Churchill. His previous articles are in *FHA* 7 (South Africa), *FH* 90 (Gallipoli), and *FH* 129 (Brooklyn).



and was not devastated by allied bombing. By prior agreement, eastern Germany was occupied by the Soviets, who acted as conference hosts. Plenary sessions were at the last Hohenzollern building, Schloss Cecilienhof, built between 1914 and 1917 in the style of an English manor house, not dissimilar to Chartwell. A sprawling, asymmetrical, timber-frame structure with two inner courtyards, it was originally the residence of Crown Prince Wilhelm, but was named after Crown Princess Cecilie, who lived there until 1945 when she fled west. The house is still used for political meetings. Members of the German federal government gather regularly.

The narrow, mile-long road to the northern entrance contains mansions occupied by Soviet officials during the communist era. Some of the buildings are deteriorating because nowadays the buildings' ownership cannot be deter-



CROWN PRINCE WILHELM (pictured above with Princess Cecilie in 1904 and 1932) named the Schloss for Cecilie, who admired English manor houses.



CONFERENCE ROOM features a massive, Moscow-built round table for the three delegations.



mined. German courts have been debating the ownership for sixteen years, and many buildings are abandoned.



**HISTORY LIVES:** Cecilienhof borders on the Jungfernsee; gardens feature a Soviet red star of roses planted for the conference in 1945 (top). Visitors may view the British, American (above left and right) and Soviet offices (below left), originally the Crown Prince Wilhelm's library, smoking room and study respectively. (The Soviet office is rather appropriately decorated with red walls.) Arlyne Druckman prompted a special tour by presenting director T. Härte with WSC's first and last books.



The back of the somewhat rectangular two-storey house faces east to the Jungfernsee (Maiden Lake), and beyond the lake is Berlin. Cecilienhof Palace was built between 1914 and 1917. The north section has rooms and an inner courtyard presently used as a beer garden; the center section is a museum, where the Big Three met; the south section is primarily rooms and is now a forty-room hotel where Arlyne and I stayed overnight. The conference used thirty-six of the 176 rooms. The rooms in the upper storey of the central section give one an insight into the royal home decor of the early 1920s.

Many Potsdamers under thirty were unaware of the Maiden Lake

behind the building because the ten-meter Berlin Wall, abutting the lake, blocked its view. The wall and its foundation are now gone and the beautiful lake can be viewed from the palace. In the middle of the central garden is a large planting of red roses in the shape of a star surrounded by blue hydrangeas, planted in 1945 by the Russian hosts.

The entire palace and sleeping rooms are in superior condition, and the 180-acre grounds are equally immaculate, where a walk provides a pleasant hour. A gift shop sells pictures, books, and souvenirs.

At the Museum Arlyne presented the director, Ms. T. Härte, with *The Story of the Malakand Field Force* and a

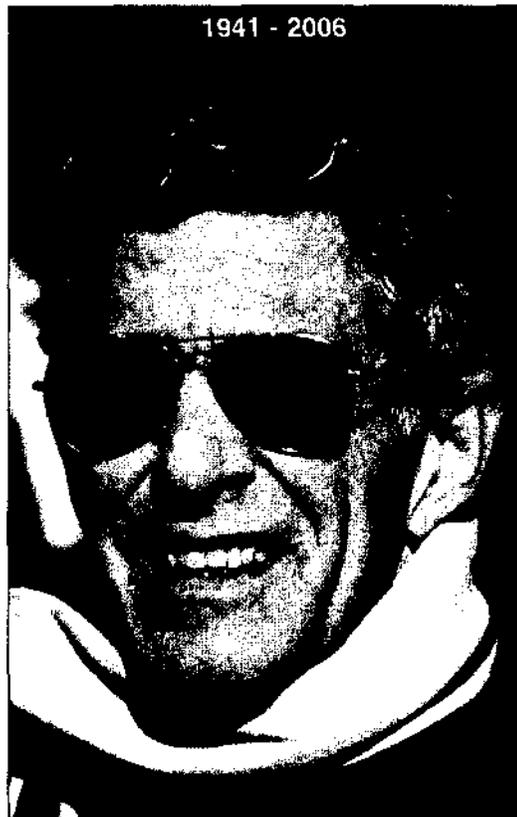
condensed version of *A History of the English Speaking Peoples*. Impressed, she kindly arranged for a personal tour of the conference rooms and offices, of which the largest and most impressive is the well-lit Tudor style conference room. Fourteen chairs, three with high backs, surround the circular table, which was made in Moscow. It reminded me of the table and chairs at the Yalta Meeting, five months prior in February 1945. The walls of the offices of the three delegations contained libraries, with books for Churchill and Truman in English. There is a picture of a bulldog on the wall of Churchill's office; when told the dog bore a resemblance to him, he said, "No! It's missing a cigar."

Stalin displayed his usual suspicions and idiosyncrasies. His office had two exits. He arrived two days after Truman and Churchill, by train from Moscow, with fifteen soldiers every kilometer along his route. Stalin must have felt superior because he was eventually negotiating with two new world leaders: during the meeting, Churchill's Conservatives lost the election and the Labour leader, Clement Attlee, who was present earlier, replaced Churchill. Our guide said that Stalin preferred having an honest debate with Churchill than with Attlee, whom Stalin felt was a cold fish.

Although Churchill left the conference on 25 July, in nine days of meetings he obtained three agreements: withdrawal of American, British, and Soviet troops from Persia; occupation of Vienna by British and American forces; and stability of Turkey's eastern border. The Polish question was his greatest failure, but the one he tried hardest to resolve. Some other final agreements included occupation zones, demilitarization and monitoring of Germany, punishment of war criminals, reparations, and new German and Polish borders. Potsdam established the political balance of power in Europe for forty-five years.

When we left on a Sunday morning, a crowd of 100 mostly German visitors waiting for the start of a new tour. Schloss Cecilienhof is popular—an asset to Potsdam. If you find yourself in the vicinity of Berlin, take a cab to the palace. It will add to your knowledge of Churchill, his friends and adversaries. \$

# Richard Fisher



**I**n 1940 Winston Churchill said of Neville Chamberlain: "He had a physical and moral toughness of fibre which enabled him all through his varied career to endure disappointment without being unduly discouraged or wearied. He had a precision of mind and an aptitude for business which raised him far above the ordinary levels of our generation. He had a firmness of spirit which was not often elated by success, seldom downcast by failure, and never swayed by panic."

The same can be said of Richard Fisher, an avid Churchillian, a passionate Churchilliana collector, a generous friend of The Churchill Centre and the Churchill Museum in London.

One of New York's most avid boosters and contributors, Richard led the strategic growth of Fisher Brothers for almost two decades. The firm created by his father and uncles is synonymous with New York City real estate. They, together with Richard, his cousin and brother, shaped the midtown landscape, and today the family owns approximately six million square feet of office space in New York and Washington.

With an adventurous spirit and a keen mind, Richard led the family's expansion into the hotel business, corporate acquisitions, the creation of a New York City real estate fund, and with his brother Tony, and the formation of a private equity investment partnership, FdG Associates. He named many of his business entities "Chartwell," including his own Churchill-based bookshop in Manhattan.

New York was left the better from his extensive philanthropic activities. He was a trustee of Lincoln Center, chairman of its Real Estate and Construction Council's Journal, and a board member of Strategic Hotels & Resorts. He taught at NYU, was a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, sat on Penn's Board of Overseers for Arts and Sciences, and was responsible for locating the New York Penn Club to its own building on 44th Street.

Carrying on the extraordinary tradition of the Fisher family, Richard was on the boards of the Intrepid Sea, Air and Space Museum, Fisher House Foundation and the Intrepid Fallen Heroes Fund—a series of efforts committed to assisting the families of America's armed forces. He and his wife Kristen joined the first mission of

Americans to Iraq in June 2003 to support the young men and women who had volunteered to serve.

Richard's other philanthropic interests included the UJA Federation, New York State Troopers PBA, and the boards of the Animal Medical Center in New York City.

Richard is survived by his wife Kristen; his children Hadley, Winston and his wife Jessica, and Alexandra; his mother, Emily Fisher Landau and her husband Sheldon; and his brother Lester and sisters Candia and Irma.

This recitation of his myriad accomplishments speaks of an incredibly accomplished and a very good man, one who was generous financially but even more generous intellectually and in spirit. But it was the past two plus years which defined Richard as a great man.

When told of his terminal illness, he determined to live every day large. With passion and commitment he developed and executed plans for his death, and his family and his business with zest, verve, optimism, energy, and a joy that lifted the spirits and souls of all those around him. In his own typical fashion, his numbered days by far exceeded those after which even the most optimistic members of the medical profession had speculated.

Richard was a mentor and a colleague. He was my friend and I shall mourn his death but celebrate his life. No words of mine can be as eloquent as those of Winston Churchill, writing in *Great Contemporaries* of his friend and colleague Arthur Balfour:

"I saw with grief the approaching departure, and—for all human purposes—extinction, of a being high uplifted above the common run. As I observed him regarding with calm, firm and cheerful gaze the approach of Death, I felt how foolish the Stoics were to make such a fuss about an event so natural and indispensable to mankind. But I felt also the tragedy which robs the world of all the wisdom and treasure gathered in a great man's life and experience and hands the lamp to some impetuous and untutored stripling or lets its fall shivered into fragments upon the ground."

Richard L. Fisher was, and will remain forever, a great Churchillian.

—Laurence S. Geller,  
Co-chairman, Churchill Centre Board of Trustees \$

# Chuck Platt

1931 - 2006

**C**huck Platt, our Vice President and friend to us all, passed away on the morning of August 5th, peacefully and surrounded by his family. He had waged a gallant battle against tremendous odds, but serious heart surgery and badly diseased lungs in the end proved insurmountable. This is a huge personal loss for many of us and deprives the Centre of a great leader. Herewith some of the words we feel.

## Charlie

Sometimes when a columnist sits down to write, he knows there is one topic he will write about. But sometimes circumstances dictate the subject. That's the case today. The death of Charlie Platt, my buddy for more than sixty years, so dominates my thoughts right now that I must share some memories.

The funeral was in Denver, but because of health limitations of my own, I couldn't be there. That hurt. I missed the chance to grieve with the family and other members of a tight-knit group of high school classmates we called, for silly reasons, the Vampires.

Each of the guys in our group of Omaha North Class of '49, your humble servant excepted, has compiled a remarkable record of lifetime achievement. Yet it is not unfair to any of them to say that Charlie Platt was the exemplar. He was an outstanding success in the area most important to the Vampires—family. In business, he rose to chief executive officer of the Alamo Rental Car corporation. In his spare time, he provided energy and wise leadership to The Lincoln Forum, which he had helped organize, and to The Churchill Centre.

There are no details in the operation of the Lincoln and Churchill groups that Charlie didn't worry about. The point is that he cared. He didn't belong to impressive-sounding groups just to decorate his résumé. In fact, the entire Platt family handles busy-work chores so the rest of us members can enjoy well-run meetings.

Sometime during our 50th high school reunion, when we coalesced into what had become the Vampires, I must have heard about Charlie's involvement in the Churchill and Lincoln groups and expressed an interest. That was typical of Charlie: He signed us up as members and paid our first year's dues himself.



The organizations are dedicated to examining the lives and times of Mr. Lincoln and Sir Winston. The members include top scholars and dedicated amateurs, and Charlie certainly qualified as the latter. He devoured each new book—and they seem to pour down on us—dealing with these two great figures. In each, Charlie was a class act, whether toasting The Queen or hiking the Gettysburg battlefield.

My earliest memories of Charlie go back to a battlefield of sorts. It was the outfield of the ball diamond at Miller Park in North Omaha, the native habitat of the Vampires. We'd play roll-in-the-dust sandlot football games there and we had a great time. Charlie always was a fine athlete, a good catcher in baseball, and a really good hockey player.

After high school, I went to Lincoln to college and Charlie, and many of the other Vampires-to-be, went to the university in Omaha.

Our paths crossed next in the small city of Norfolk, Nebraska, where I was a utility player reporter (sports, weddings, weather, whatever) and Charlie was beginning a career with General Motors Acceptance Corp. He was the catcher for the town team, and one day he hit a ball through the outfield and into the weeds on the other side of the barbed-wire fence. As the outfielder clawed at the weeds in search of the ball, Charlie was rounding the bases. In my story, I said he "chugged toward home." He never forgot. In fact, he kept the clipping. From heaven today, I can hear him say, "Chugged?"

Our careers led us each to Omaha, where we and our young families had a brief time together before GMAC needed Charlie somewhere else. It really wasn't until recent years that we were able to restore the friendship of our early days. That is largely true of all the Vampires, each of whom has ties to Charlie, just as treasured as mine.

**Don Pieper, Five Cities Times-Press-Recorder  
San Luis Obispo County, California**

## Tower

Chuck was a great Churchillian and a tower of strength to The Churchill Centre. He will be sadly missed by his many friends and admirers. I send deepest sympathy and heartfelt condolences to his family and relatives.

**Winston S. Churchill, Churchill Centre Trustee >>**

### Giver

I am so sorry. Chuck did so much for The Churchill Centre. We shall miss him. My thoughts, prayers and sympathy are with his family at this time.

**The Hon. Celia Sandys, Churchill Centre Trustee**

### Partner

Winston Spencer Churchill, lamenting the death of a man who was probably his greatest friend, F.E. Smith, wrote: "Some men when they die after busy, toilsome, successful lives leave a great stock of scrip and securities, of acres or factories or the goodwill of large undertakings. F.E. banked his treasure in the hearts of his friends, and they will cherish his memory till their time is come." And so it is with Chuck Platt.

The Churchill Centre welcomed Chuck and Linda into its midst thirteen—or as Chuck might prefer one-half score and three years ago. His obvious abilities, combined with a warm, engaging personality and generous spirit, quickly won for him legions of new friends and propelled Chuck at once into the Centre's leadership. And there he remained.

Chuck's far too premature departure brought a profound sadness to all who knew him. It has left a gaping hole in the Churchill Centre's leadership, one that will take much time and more than one person to fill.

Not only was Chuck a Centre Governor and officer, but he also chaired the Audit Committee, and with skill and impressive success, managed The Centre's investments. Chuck and Linda were most generous contributors to so many Centre activities—benefit dinners, international Conferences, Centre educational programs, the Centre's endowment. And Chuck very effectively represented the Centre in the United States and abroad, at meetings of kindred organizations, at lectures, dinners and seminars.

It was his completely loyal, always dependable and totally unselfish service to Winston Churchill and The Churchill Centre that to me stands out from all else, and from all others. While giving so much to the Centre and to its goals, Chuck asked nothing in return—nothing at all. He was a selfless and tireless promoter of Winston Churchill and The Churchill Centre. Many of its successes are due to his active leadership.

Chuck was an absolute delight to work with—candid in expressing his opinions; totally supportive of all that was reasonable; disdainful of self-promoting hypocrites; and impatient with verbosity and indecisiveness. When requested (and typically only when requested), he was generous with his advice which was highly valued and often sought by us all.

Chuck's family—Linda, John Murray, Annette, Murray; and grandchildren Megan, Matt, Grant and Trevor—were always at the forefront of his thoughts and he adored them all.

We faced together, over the years, many challenges and frustrations involving The Churchill Centre and its

work. His tolerance and loyal support at all times were so treasured. The Centre will sorely miss him as will I, not only as an esteemed colleague, but more importantly, as a very dear friend.

Chuck Platt has now joined his two greatest heroes, Winston Churchill and Abraham Lincoln, in God's eternal temple. Chuck is in fine company. And, of course, so are they.

**William C. Ives, Churchill Centre President**

### Churchillian

I am so very sad. My dear friend, and wonderful Churchillian, Richard Fisher, also died today, this afternoon, in New York. An awful day. My heart and prayers are with both families. They are both in a better place and out of pain. I intend to start this day thinking about both men and their laughter, humor and foibles. I will only remember them with their smiles and their energy. Today we should mourn their passing and be grateful for their being. I wish you all well and know only that the pain of their loss will gradually recede and the joy of their being will fill our memories.

**Laurence S. Geller**

**Churchill Centre Co-chairman of Trustees**

### Humourist

From all of us here in England I send our deepest sympathy to Linda and Chuck's family. Chuck was a real stalwart, a true friend and a great Churchillian. We will miss his wise and honest counsel and his lovely dry sense of humour.

**Col. Nigel Knocker OBE, Chairman**

**International Churchill Society (United Kingdom)**

### Friend

Solveig and I have just returned from a long weekend away to this devastating news. Chuck was one of our first friends in the old ICS-USA and we shared many good times with him and Linda at conferences and other venues. Our heartfelt condolences go to Linda and family knowing that we have lost a good friend and a fine man.

**Randy Barber, President**

**International Churchill Society, Canada**

### Naturalist

We remember Chuck Platt the gentleman, giving up his umbrella on a rainy day at Minterne Magna; Chuck the historian, with his keen interest and knowledge of the Civil War, Normandy and Churchill; Chuck the counselor, with his wise business sense and ability to manage complex issues; Chuck the leader, playing important roles in The Churchill Centre and Lincoln Forum. But our favorite memory is Chuck behind the wheel of his boat, checking the osprey nests on Grand Lake, Colorado. Indeed this is tragically a rainy day.

**Judith Kambestad,  
Churchill Centre Governor**

## Father

There are no words that adequately express one's sadness over the loss of such a friend, but our thoughts and prayers are with his family in this time of sorrow and reflection on the life of the greatest person in your lives.

Gary **Garrison, Churchill Centre Governor**

## Rock

I did not know Chuck as well or for as long as others, but I liked him from the moment we were first introduced at the Lansdowne Conference in 2002. It didn't take long for my affection and admiration for Chuck to grow.

Chuck was a rock. In meetings, either in person or by phone, he seldom spoke, but when he did, what he had to say was exactly the right thing at the right time. I always felt better whenever Chuck was involved in a decision because I knew the decision would be sound and solid.

Apart from his position with The Churchill Centre and my duties and obligations to the Centre, I will miss him as a friend and a colleague. He was what all men strive to be: a good man.

Daniel N. Myers  
**Churchill Centre Executive Director**

## "Rose-lipt maidens—Lightfoot Lads"\*

Chuck's lineage runs back to Richard Platt who landed in Milford, Connecticut, from England in 1632. "There are Platts all over England," he said, when an English Platt asked if they were related to the Churchills. "One can't drive down a motorway without seeing 'Platt' on various billboards. Since the Churchill name goes back probably farther, it would not be unusual for a Platt and a Churchill to have connected somewhere along the way."

His ancient roots brought him to us: Chuck and Linda joined The Churchill Centre in the mid-nineties from an ad in *British Heritage*. It was soon evident that their interest was more than casual. They became benefactor members, then Clementine Churchill Associates, and *ipso facto*, as President in those days, I asked one of them (I wasn't particular) to join the Board of Governors. Linda voted for Chuck, which cancelled out his vote, and he came aboard in early 1997.

His value as a counselor was tremendous, and when Bill Ives moved up from Vice President to President, we were all glad that Chuck was there to replace him. In this role and as a Governor Chuck supervised our endowment fund, which he built to its present health, making wise and prudent investments of the money so many had contributed, producing interest income in good times and bad that would make any investor envious. He also played critical roles in improving the business standards and practices of the organization, saving it many thousands annual-

The toast from the film version of *Out of Africa*, based on the book with the same title by Isak Dinesen (Karen Blixen).

ly. I called him "Doctor Platt," and he would look quizzical and ask why, since he had certainly never claimed that title. I said it was because, if we had a malady we couldn't handle, he would be called in to cure it.

The subjects we had in common spanned more than Winston Churchill. I keep a small emailing list called "Mugwumps," to whom I send very occasional snippets, wry nonsense and political humor observed on the web. (It is not always the kind of stuff you want to issue publicly.) Chuck said, "I am happy to be a Mugwump, but what qualifies me?" I replied, "A sense of humor and a tolerance for the proclivities of the oddball sender." He said, "Okay, I get it. I am pleased to join."

We both liked old boats. When in a fit of temporary insanity I acquired a 1950 mahogany Chris-Craft, Chuck was keenly interested in how it performed on Lake Winnepesaukee, New Hampshire (elevation 483 feet) because, he said, "the ones with original engines are kind of sluggish here" (Grand Lake, Colorado, 8000 feet higher). Just before he went into hospital I told him of the compliments we had received over the multi-room audio system installed in our new house, completely inspired by his own. I referred to it as "the Chuck Platt Memorial Audio System," never thinking that the joke would backfire by becoming true. In the last few months his condition worried us all, but when I left him last May, asking him to keep us posted, he was as ready for the ordeal as anyone could be, and then planned to move forward, ever forward: that was his way.

As we all must eventually, Chuck lost the last battle. We can all hope people will say half as much about us as has been said of him here. He was one of the most sterling personalities all of us ever met, not because of mental brilliance or business acumen, though he had those; not because we never disagreed, because we did, though rarely, and it passed, as Lady Soames would say, like "summer storms"—but because he was, as a friend once said of another fellow board member, "the kind of man who built this country." Solid, reliable, principled, and honest, Chuck will be missed all the more for what he gave to a shared cause. In time the pain will fade, but for now there is much that needs fading.

*With rue my heart is laden  
For golden friends I had,  
For many a rose-lipt maiden  
And many a lightfoot lad.*

*By brooks too broad for leaping  
The lightfoot boys are laid;  
The rose-lipt girls are sleeping  
In fields where roses fade.*

—A. E. Housman: *A Shropshire Lad*

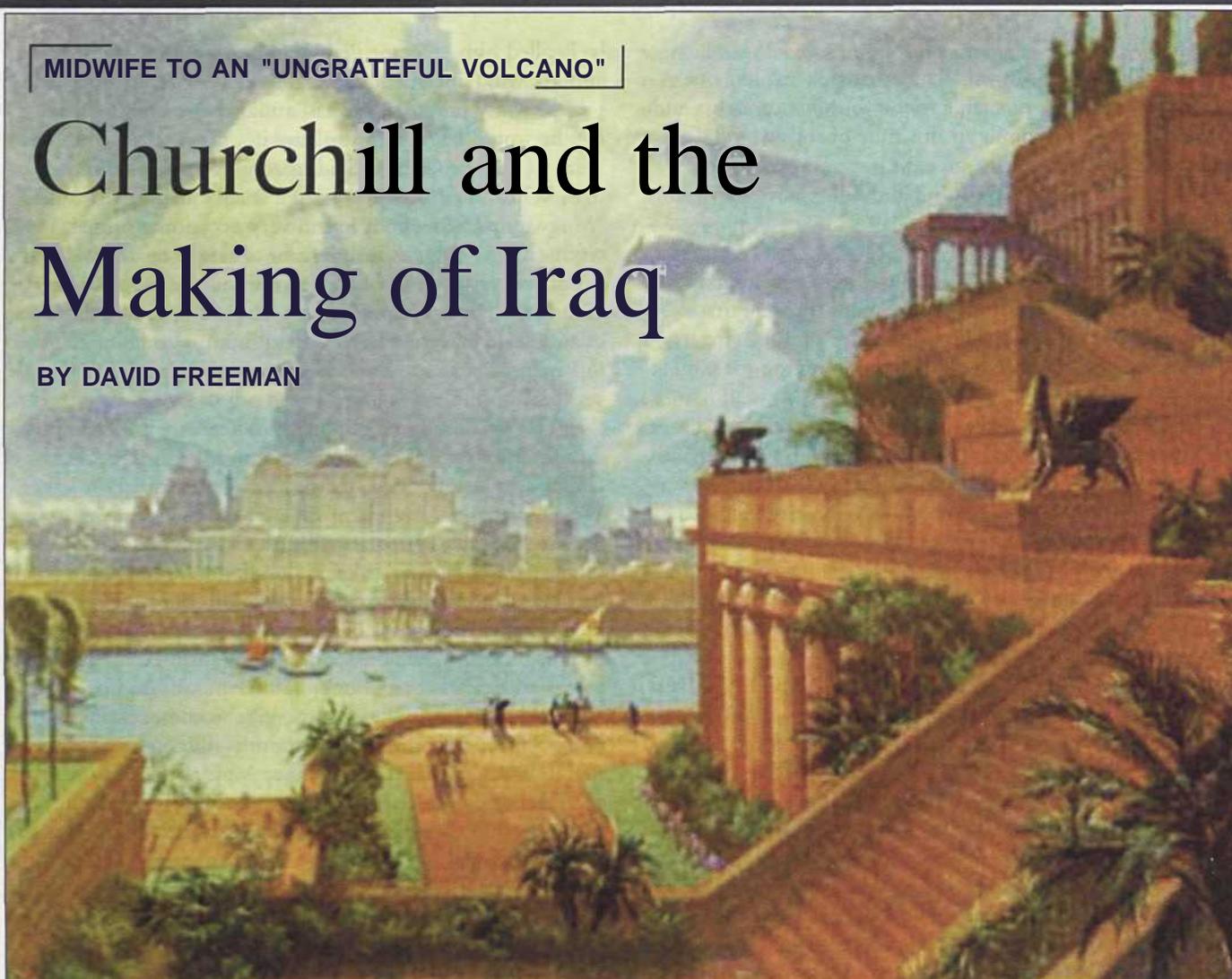
—Richard M. Langworth, Editor \$

In lieu of other tributes the Platt family requests that donations in Chuck's memory be sent to the Lincoln Forum or Churchill Centre.

MIDWIFE TO AN "UNGRATEFUL VOLCANO"

# Churchill and the Making of Iraq

BY DAVID FREEMAN



MESOPOTAMIA'S rich cultural heritage is evoked by a painting of the Hanging Gardens of ancient Babylon.

Atlas Travel & Tourist Agency (<http://www.atlastours.net>)

**I**n the summer of 1920, British and Indian troops under British authority occupied the ancient realm of Mesopotamia, or "Mespot," as some took to calling the cradle of Western Civilization. Increasingly the British began to refer to the region as Iraq, an Arab term meaning "well-rooted country." The troops had been there since fighting their way in against the Turks, who had controlled the land for centuries as part of their Ottoman Empire, until aligning themselves with the Central Powers, which were defeated in the Great War. Now, more than a year and a half since the formal end of hostilities, the occupying forces in Iraq faced an uprising.

In June, various tribes pursuing various goals took aim against their perceived common enemy: Britain. British soldiers, already tense from fatal native attacks the previous year, now endured a fresh round of slayings. For the second year in a row, a British officer sent out to ameliorate the cri-

sis was ambushed and murdered. In the Shiite Moslem holy city of Karbalah a jihad or "holy war" was proclaimed against Britain. In London, press criticism of the government's Middle East policy reached fever pitch.

"How much longer," *The Times* demanded to know in a leading article on August 7th, "are valuable lives to be sacrificed in the vain endeavour to impose upon the Arab population an elaborate and expensive administration which they never asked for and do not want?" An American missionary warned Gertrude Bell, special adviser on Arab affairs to the British Civil Commissioner in Iraq: "You are flying in the face of four millennia of history if you try to draw a line around Iraq and call it a political entity." Finally, after pouring in more troops from India, the British did quell the uprising, but only after suffering nearly 2000 casualties, including 450 dead.

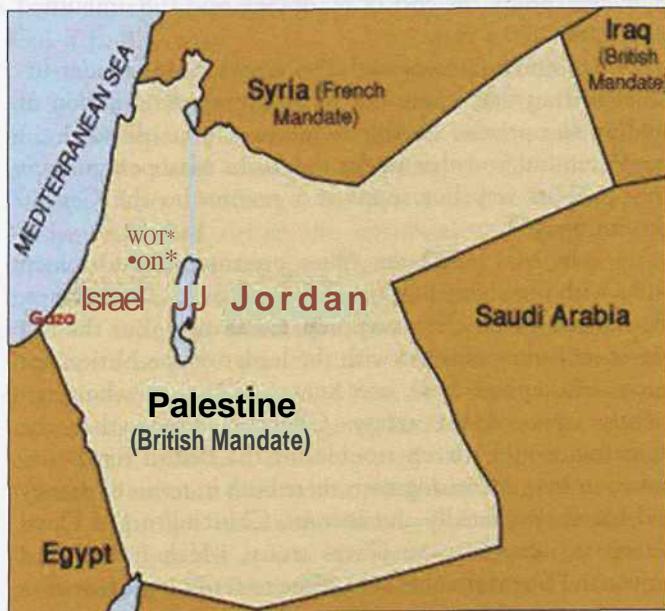
By the time the strife ended in February 1921, Prime Minister David Lloyd George had decided to invite a new hand to take over the Colonial Office—and with it responsibility for instigating a political settlement in the Middle Eastern territories Britain had acquired during the

Professor Freeman teaches History at California State University Fullerton. This article is the text of his presentation given to Churchillians of Southern California in Costa Mesa, 31 July 2004.

war. On the last day of 1920, the Cabinet agreed to the creation of a special Middle East Department to be set up within the Colonial Office. On New Year's Day 1921, the Prime Minister invited the Secretary of State for War and Air, who had urged the creation of the new department, to change portfolios and take charge of the ministry now exclusively responsible for Iraq. Thus Winston Churchill became Secretary of State for the Colonies, assuming office on 14 February 1921.

Churchill's involvement with Iraq, like Britain's, extended back into the war. The idea of an Eastern Strategy against the Central Powers—directing an Allied attack against the Ottoman Turks, who were perceived weak, and opening up a supply route to Czarist Russia—began with the ill-fated Dardanelles campaign, the championing of which had cost Churchill his job as First Lord of the Admiralty in 1915. Subsequently, the British attempted to instigate a revolt against the Turks among the Arab tribes that had long been subject to Ottoman rule.

But British intelligence was almost comically ill-informed about Arab and Moslem affairs. As a result, British authorities wrongly came to believe that the Emir (also known as the Sherif) of Mecca, Hussein Ibn Ali, could wield great power among the Arabs and supplant the Ottoman Sultan as Caliph, the paramount leader of the Moslem



**THE KINGDOM OF JORDAN (34,405 square miles) comprises 78% of the original Palestine Mandate; the remainder (8,019 square miles west of the Jordan) was set aside in 1921 as a Jewish homeland.**



**THE KINGDOM OF IRAQ (1922-58,169,234 square miles), united under Feisal and his descendants, comprised three former Ottoman vilayets (regions), Mosul, Baghdad and Basra, each with distinct ethnic identities.**



world. Hussein was a member of the House of Hashem, a Bedouin clan which claimed descent from the prophet Mohammed. He acted for the Turks as governor of the Hejaz, the hilly regions of western Arabia along the Red Sea coast that include the holy cities of Medina and Mecca. If Hussein could be persuaded—and by persuaded we mean bribed—to declare a revolt against the Turks, the British believed other Arab chieftains would rally behind him, raising an army that would bring down the Ottoman Empire from within.

In the event, Hussein duly accepted the British offer and declared himself King of the Hejaz in 1916. But the new king's sons, Ali, Abdullah and Feisal, failed to attract the anticipated level of support. The British soon learned that the real coming power among the Arabs was a rival chieftain to the east, the Emir of the Nejd, Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud. He also accepted a hefty British subsidy for defying Turkish authority, but was preoccupied with using his own forces to gain preeminence among the Arab tribes. For all their hopes, then, the British were left to drive the Turks from Arabia using almost exclusively their own troops and materials diverted from the Western Front: the one thing they had hoped to avoid. »

During the war the British reached an understanding with their French and Russian allies to partition the territories of the Ottoman Empire among themselves once the Turks were defeated. Russia would take the Trans-Caucasus; the French would occupy the Syria-Lebanon region (nominally this was to defend the Eastern-rite Christian community which existed there in communion with the Roman Catholic Church); and Britain was to take Mesopotamia. Palestine, which was then understood to be the lands along both sides of the Jordan river, was to become a buffer zone either under Arab rule or joint Anglo-French authority.

But the British then went on to make diplomatically ambiguous promises to Hussein about an independent Arab kingdom that might include Palestine, and capped their potentially conflicting pledges with the 1917 Balfour Declaration announcing that the British government viewed "with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people."<sup>3</sup>

By the end of the war, of course, much had changed. President Wilson of the United States, insisting on the principle of self-determination, would not countenance Allied annexation of colonies belonging to the defeated states. Instead, adopting the suggestion of South African Prime Minister Jan Smuts, the Allies agreed to set up so-called Mandated Territories under Article 22 of the League of Nations covenant. This established the principle of international supervision of colonies.

Ottoman lands outside Turkey proper were "category A" mandates, theoretically requiring only administrative advice and assistance before becoming fully independent nations. Under this system, Britain formally took control of Mesopotamia as well as Palestine east and west of the Jordan. But occupation was only to be temporary until such time as British authorities worked out with the native peoples of the region how the land should be divided and who would assume governing power in the new countries.

Complicating matters further was the pro-Greek, anti-Turk policy of British Prime Minister David Lloyd George. At war's end, British and French troops also occupied the Ottoman capital of Constantinople, cutting off most of the Turkish army from the European side of their nation. True to his Liberal roots, and believing Greece to be the coming power in the Levant, Lloyd George supported Greek efforts to gain control not only of the Turkish lands in Europe but also to invade the Turkish heartland of Anatolia and seize the Aegean coast. All this transpired while Lloyd George also insisted upon a drastic reduction in the military budget following the Armistice.

The man responsible for making these economies was Churchill, who had assumed the ministerial portfolios for both the Army and the Royal Air Force immediately after the election of December 1918.

Churchill determined in the summer of 1919 that the most effective area for economy lay in reducing the 125,000 British and Indian troops stationed in Iraq. But even when this number was brought down to 60,000 by the



HE ALSO WANTED SYRIA BUT HE'LL SETTLE FOR IRAQ: Hejaz delegation at Versailles Conference, 1919. Left to right: Rustum Haidar, Nuri al-Said (later Iraq Prime Minister), Feisal, Captain Pisani (behind Feisal), T.E. Lawrence, Feisal's slave (so help us), and Captain Tahsin Qadri.

following spring, the cost of occupying Iraq still amounted to £18,000,000 a year.

Churchill cautioned the army's Commander-in-Chief in Iraq that "there can be absolutely no question of holding the present enormous forces at your disposal—I would remind you that under the Turks Mesopotamia not only paid its way but supplied a revenue to the Central Government."<sup>4</sup>

In May 1920 the Allies presented the Ottoman Turks with the highly punitive Treaty of Sèvres. Under force, the Sultan's government was prepared to sign. But the real power in Turkey now lay with the leader of the Nationalist forces, Mustapha Kemal, later known as Ataturk, who vehemently opposed the treaty. Churchill feared that the Kemalists would stir up trouble for the British forces stationed in Iraq, increasing costs there both in terms of money and blood. Repeatedly and in vain, Churchill urged Lloyd George to abandon the Sevres treaty, which he believed unjust and unenforceable, and come to terms with Kemal as the only way of securing a peaceful and economical settlement in the Middle East. The Prime Minister's consistent disregard of Churchill's advice ultimately led to his downfall.

It was at this moment, with Anglo-Indian troop strength cut by more than fifty percent from the previous summer, that the rebellion of 1920 broke out among the Arabs in northern Iraq. As British forces fell prey to one fatal ambush after another, Col. Arnold Wilson—who had served as Britain's first Acting Commissioner for Mesopotamia—now suggested that hostility could be diffused if an Arab government were quickly established in Iraq under the leadership of Prince Feisal, the third son of King Hussein. Feisal had worked most closely with the British in fighting the



CAN'T WE ALL JUST GET ALONG? Emir Feisal and Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann (left, wearing Arab outfit as a sign of friendship), 1918. Moderate Arabs seemed willing to accept a "Jewish homeland" in 22% of the Palestine Mandate, but Churchill avoided the word "statehood."

Turks during the war, having as his liaison officer the famed Col. T.E. Lawrence.

In March 1920, Feisal had proclaimed himself King of Syria and Palestine, making it clear that by "Syria" he meant Mesopotamia as well. The British government did not support his claim "though," according to Gen. Sir Henry Wilson, "L[loyd] G[eorge] rather favoured it."<sup>5</sup> More seriously, Feisal had defied the territorial ambitions of the French, who drove him from Damascus on July 25th, making him available as a potential ruler elsewhere.

Setting up Feisal in Iraq was delayed until the rebellion could be put down. The new British commander holding this responsibility was Lt. Gen. Sir Aylmer Haldane, an old colleague of Churchill's going back to their days together in India, who had been captured and imprisoned with Churchill in South Africa during the Boer War.

Haldane naturally wanted reinforcements sent to Iraq, but Churchill as War Secretary explained that financially this would be "very difficult," and directed Haldane to prepare plans for a withdrawal if necessary.<sup>6</sup> Seeking an economical way to stifle the violence, Churchill desired the RAF to develop gas bombs, "especially mustard gas, which would inflict punishment upon recalcitrant natives without inflicting grave injury upon them."<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile, Churchill expressed his anxieties in a letter to the Foreign Secretary, Lord Curzon:

It seems to me gratuitous that after all the struggles of war...we should be compelled to go on pouring armies and treasure into these thankless deserts. We have not got a single friend in the press upon the subject, and there is no point of which they make more effective use to injure the Government. Week after week and month after month for

a long time to come we shall have a continuance of this miserable, wasteful, sporadic warfare, marked from time to time certainly by minor disasters and cuttings off of troops and agents, and very possibly attended by some very grave occurrence. Meanwhile the military expenses of this year alone will probably amount to something like fifty millions.<sup>8</sup>

Ultimately, the British utilized the Government of India to pour in new troops and restore order. Securing a permanent settlement then became the next objective.

Churchill had strong credentials for taking up the position of Colonial Secretary. Apart from his experience in both military and civil administration, his first position in government had been as Under Secretary at the Colonial Office during the premiership of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Before taking up his new position, Churchill assembled a very capable Middle East team. Sir John Shuckburgh came from the India Office to direct the new Middle East Department. T.E. Lawrence agreed to become the minister's special adviser on Arab affairs. On the spot in Iraq, joining the military commander Haldane, was Sir Percy Cox, who became the Civil Commissioner and retained Gertrude Bell as the Arab expert taken on by his predecessor.

On 8 January 1921 Churchill telegraphed to warn Cox and Haldane that it was "impossible for us to throw upon the British taxpayer the burdens for military expenditure which are entailed by your present schemes for holding the country."<sup>9</sup> Unless Iraq could be governed inexpensively, withdrawal to the Persian Gulf was inevitable. Churchill was prepared to make a sincere effort to fulfill what he regarded as undesirable mandate obligations taken on by his country, but he was not prepared to burden the Exchequer in any meaningful way. He envisioned an inexpensive custodial administration resting upon air power as the primary means of enforcing authority.

To this end Churchill looked to Air Marshal Sir Hugh Trenchard, the father of the RAF, to develop a suitable scheme. RAF officials were enthusiastic, believing the experience would provide them valuable lessons in planning and administering air defense systems. Cox and Haldane expressed doubts. Churchill remonstrated that "no province in the British Empire had ever been acquired by marching in and maintaining a large regular army at the cost of the British Exchequer, but always by skillful and careful improvisations adapted to its special needs."<sup>10</sup>

On February 7th Churchill scolded Haldane for maintaining a cavalry regiment along the Upper Euphrates at a cost of £100,000 a year for the "purpose of gathering taxes, and that the taxes gathered do not exceed one quarter of the cost of their collection."<sup>11</sup> The Colonial Secretary was further upset by and quashed a proposal to spend £300,000, to build new barracks in Baghdad for British troops that he intended to evacuate as quickly as possible. The one area where Churchill did not intend to economize was in subsidies granted to the competing emirs Hussein and Ibn Saud. The £60,000 paid annually to each was viewed by Churchill

MY DEAR ABDULLAH, LOOK AT ALL THE JEWS HAVE DONE: Churchill, Lawrence and Abdullah visit the Jewish settlement at Rishon-le-Zion, whose prosperity impressed WSC. Later he informed Abdullah that Palestine west of the Jordan "was to remain a British Mandate open to a Jewish settlement."



“ The Colonial Secretary arrived in Cairo on 10 March to shouts from an Arab crowd chanting, 'Down with Churchill'....On 22 March Churchill and his wife Clementine arrived in Gaza to shouts from yet another Arab crowd: 'Cheers for the Minister!' and 'Down with the Jews!' ”

as a cost-effective way "to dole out benefits of various kinds to each on condition that they play our game & don't bite each other." ^

Pacifying the Arab population of Mesopotamia was far from Churchill's only responsibility in the Middle East. To begin with, the Arabs of Iraq were themselves divided religiously between the Shiite and Sunni Moslems. The Shiites in the south outnumbered the Sunnis around Baghdad, who generally had controlled the region for the Turks. In the northern province of Mosul was a separate group of Sunni Moslems. These were the Kurds, whose ethnic distinction from the Arabs generated another source of friction and nurtured hopes for an independent Kurdistan. Additionally, there were minority Jewish and Assyrian (also known as Nestorian) Christian populations.

That was just the situation in Iraq. To the west lay Palestine, which the British had vaguely promised to both the Arabs and the Jews. To the south, Ibn Saud made little secret of his desire to push Hussein out of the Hejaz and to unify the bulk of the Arabian peninsula under his rule. Finally, any settlement Churchill reached had to be acceptable to the French, who had attendant responsibilities and an agenda of national interests in Syria and Lebanon.

Upon agreeing to move to the Colonial Office, Churchill intended to visit the *locus in quo* for himself, but he never got beyond Nice. Instead he decided to hold a conference in Cairo that would resolve the major outstanding questions. To this meeting all of the British principals were summoned, including Sir Herbert Samuel, the British High Commissioner in Palestine, whom Churchill privately referred to as "King Samuel."<sup>13</sup> The Colonial Secretary himself, filling the role of plenipotentiary authority, arrived in Cairo on 10 March to shouts from an Arab crowd chanting "Down with Churchill!" ^

The Cairo Conference opened two days later on 12 March 1921, with discussions about establishing Feisal as the ruler of Iraq. Naturally, Col. Lawrence supported his friend's candidature, stressing that while Feisal did not personally come from Mesopotamia, he nevertheless made an ideal compromise candidate suitable to the various rival claimants for power within Iraq itself. Even if this were not strictly true, British agents in Iraq would be employed at

great lengths to create the illusion that it was true, and engineer what appeared to be the spontaneous desire of the Iraqi people for a Hashemite monarchy.

While Feisal's position was debated, word reached Cairo that the prince's older brother Abdullah had arrived in Amman with 230 men, apparently en route to Damascus for the purpose of liberating Syria from the French (although Abdullah claimed he had merely come north for his health). Churchill's solution to this potentially disastrous development was to buy off Abdullah in such a way as to glue together a general settlement of all the major issues.

### Partitioning Palestine, Uniting Iraq

Palestine would be partitioned. The lands east of the Jordan river, then referred to as Transjordan, would be set up as an independent Arab state with Abdullah as king. This would fulfill Britain's pledge to give at least part of Palestine to the Arabs, as well as securing French control of Syria. The much smaller but more fertile portion of Palestine west of the Jordan would serve as the region of settlement for a Jewish National Home, in fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration. The British military commander in Palestine had already warned that his troops were probably insufficient to control Transjordan, where few Jews had ever settled; he proposed abandoning it to the much greater Arab population as a way of reducing both troubles and expense.

The advantage of this resultant Hashemite policy, Churchill argued, was that Feisal in Iraq, Abdullah in what afterwards became known as Jordan, and their father in the Hejaz, each knew that not only his own position, but that of his other family members, depended on abiding by their agreements with Britain. Pressure applied in one sector, Churchill noted, would be felt in all three. British aerodromes in Jordan and Iraq would provide inexpensive means of exercising pressure as well as maintaining civil order. To placate Ibn Saud—who might well object to the elevation of a rival clan along his northern and western borders—the Colonial Secretary proposed raising the Bedouin chiefs' subsidy to a hefty £100,000 per year, which Churchill rationalized as much less than the cost of a single Indian brigade.

There still remained the matter of the Kurds. Here British opinion was divided. Churchill favored a separate

Kurdish state as a buffer zone between Iraq and Turkey. Sir Percy Cox and Gertrude Bell disagreed, insisting that Mosul should be included within a united Iraq.

Finally it was agreed that for the moment, the Kurdish lands should continue as a separate administrative entity within the authority of the British Civil Commissioner in Baghdad. This effectively killed any chance of creating an independent Kurdistan. Control of the region's potentially rich oil fields probably had been the deciding factor.

The Cairo Conference concluded on 22 March. Churchill and his wife Clementine left for a tour of Palestine, arriving in Gaza to shouts from yet another Arab crowd: This time it was "Cheers for the Minister!" and "Down with the Jews!"<sup>15</sup> As these cries were made in Arabic, the Churchills and their host, Sir Herbert Samuel, somewhat misunderstood their reception, and beamed at the mob's enthusiasm.

On this visit Churchill had to contend with Arab leaders who wanted to control all of Palestine and expel the Jews and Zionist leaders, who hoped to convince Churchill to open at least part of the Transjordan to Jewish settlement. Churchill strongly supported Zionism and was greatly impressed by all the Jewish settlers had accomplished. Yet he remained firm that the line would be drawn at the River Jordan. As for the Arab claims, he curtly pointed out that it had been the armies of Britain, not the Arabs of Palestine, who had liberated the region. In Solomon-like fashion, the British had opted to partition the country between the Arabs and the Jews—and the matter was therefore settled.

Churchill remained resolute that the Balfour Declaration be given a chance. Yet, a flaw in Churchill's master plan would propagate over time, as Professor David Fromkin has pointed out: "Seventy-eight percent of the country had already been given to an Arab dynasty that was not Palestinian."<sup>16</sup>

Indeed to this day, eastern Palestine remains officially "the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan," currently under the leadership of King Abdullah II, great-grandson of the man Churchill installed in Amman in 1921.

### Explanations and Repercussions

After his return from the Middle East, Churchill reported to the Cabinet, which ratified the actions he had taken in Cairo. In June the Colonial Secretary made a much-anticipated statement on these transactions to the House of Commons. Churchill dismissed the fruitlessness of attempting to determine whether taking on the responsibilities of the mandate was wise or not: "Moving this way and that way," he said,

in the agony of the Great War, struggling for our lives, striking at our enemies, now here and now there, wherever it was thought best, we eventually emerged victorious in arms and encumbered with the responsibilities which so often attach to the victor. We are bound to make a sincere, honest, patient, resolute effort to redeem our obligations, and whether the course be popular or unpopular, I am certain it is the only course which any British Govern-

ment or British House of Commons will in the end find itself able to pursue....<sup>17</sup>

As for Iraq, Churchill explained that Britain could choose between the Turkish policy of discouraging national aspirations, setting up administrations of local notables, and exerting influence through the jealousies of one tribe—or adopt the more noble policy of building "up around the ancient capital of Baghdad, in a form friendly to Britain and her Allies, an Arab State which can revive and embody the old culture and glories of the Arab race."<sup>18</sup>

This speech was greeted as a great triumph and brilliant exposition of policy.

Unfortunately for the best laid plans of the British, the local notables of Iraq were busy exerting their influence by burying their jealousies, and binding together to promote one of their own as ruler under the slogan "Iraq for the Iraqis."<sup>19</sup> The leader of this movement, Sayyid Talib, was the dominant local ruler in Basra, the southern city with access to the Persian Gulf. Sir Percy Cox invited Talib to take tea with him at the Residency in Baghdad. Upon his departure Talib was arrested on Cox's orders, and deported to Ceylon on the charge of threatening to incite violence.

Feisal himself then arrived in Basra on June 24th, with Cox encouraging him to campaign for popular support so as to keep up the pretense that the Iraqis—not Britain—had freely chosen their new leader. A plebiscite was held, with the results announced on 18 August as an overwhelming victory for Feisal, who was duly crowned five days later as the first king of the nation that then became officially known as Iraq.

As Churchill had feared, however, the Turks began stirring up trouble for the British that same summer in northern Iraq. Cox advised London that anti-British, pan-Islamic literature translated into Urdu was being distributed to Indian soldiers in Iraq, calling upon them to murder their officers and desert. The Turks were also making gifts of arms to leading sheiks along the Iraqi border. Churchill was unfazed by these developments, but he did renew his efforts to convince Lloyd George that all which had been accomplished stood in jeopardy if the government did not come to an agreement with Kemal. For their part, the Turkish Nationalist forces rejected the Treaty of Sevres, which had been accepted by the Sultan, and declared war against all those who attempted its implementation.

Over the next year, Churchill continued to develop plans for garrisoning Iraq with the RAF in conjunction with a newly-created constabulary made up of Iraqis themselves. A target date of October 1922 was set for when this authority would succeed the army as the primary entity for keeping the peace. But while these plans were being developed, Feisal began to cause difficulty for his British masters. In short, Feisal wished to have no masters at all, for fear that being seen as a puppet ruler undermined his authority.

No sooner had he ascended the throne than he insisted on a treaty with Britain giving him complete autonomy and dissolving the restrictions imposed by mandate »



THE HASHEMITE KINGS OF IRAQ. Left to right: Feisal (1921-33) founder of the dynasty, who achieved full independence before he died; Ghazi (1933-39), killed in a car accident; Feisal II (1939-58), who succeeded as a child, was murdered in the 1958 coup.

status. Such a move presented diplomatic obstacles. The other mandate powers, such as France, Italy and Japan—who along with Britain occupied positions on the League Council (the League of Nations equivalent to the UN Security Council)—could object that no such treaty would be legally valid under the terms of the mandate. Only the League Council could approve full independence. But Feisal desired the legitimacy conferred by an equal treaty—not the inferior status of a supplicant approaching the League.

In the British Cabinet, Arthur Balfour as Lord President of the Council preferred going to the League. But Churchill was for making quick work of the business and further reducing the British taxpayers' burden so far as Iraq was concerned. He authorized Cox to begin treaty negotiations with Feisal. Predictably, these dragged on for months, Feisal objecting to the use of the word "mandate" in the treaty and demanding the immediate right to appoint his own diplomatic representatives abroad. Churchill supported the latter concession but was overruled by the Cabinet, leaving the talks to continue along lines with which the responsible minister disagreed.

For his part Churchill became increasingly exasperated with Feisal. Cox now described the Iraqi king as "crooked and insincere," warning Churchill that the man they had set on the throne was now "encouraging anti-British feeling throughout Iraq."<sup>20</sup> Feisal, Cox warned on 23 August 1922, "is playing a very low & treacherous game with us."<sup>21</sup> A week later, on September 1st, Churchill further cautioned Lloyd George that there was "scarcely a single newspaper—Tory, Liberal or Labour," which was not "consistently hostile" to Britain's remaining in Iraq. "Moreover," Churchill added, "in my own heart I do not see what we are getting out of it."

Churchill advised delivering an ultimatum to King Feisal, demanding that he agree to the terms of the treaty as laid down by the British or threatening to clear out altogether and leave the King to the tender mercies of his benevolent subjects. "We are paying eight millions a year," Churchill concluded, "for the privilege of living on an ungrateful volcano out of which we are in no circumstances to get anything worth having."<sup>22</sup>

But Lloyd George did not concur and refused to quit Iraq. "If we leave," the Prime Minister replied to

Churchill, "we may find a year or two after we have departed that we have handed over to the French and Americans some of the richest oil fields in the world."<sup>23</sup>

### The End of Churchill's Influence

At this point the ongoing quarrels between Greece and Turkey took center stage. Greek forces in Anatolia collapsed and went into full retreat before Mustapha Kemal's Nationalist forces, raising the prospect of fighting between the Turks and British forces stationed in Anatolia at Chanak. Prime Minister Lloyd George, fatally for his political career, worked himself up into his bellicose best, preparing, with Churchill's full support, for a possible war with Turkey, while appearing to enlist the consent of the Dominions without actually consulting them.

Nearly lost in these dramatic events was the culmination of Churchill's Iraqi settlement. On September 11th Feisal agreed to allow Britain "to support an application by Iraq for membership of the League of Nations" once an Anglo-Iraqi treaty was concluded.<sup>24</sup> This essentially amounted to acceptance of mandate status, and Cox expressed his satisfaction. On October 1st the RAF assumed responsibility for garrisoning Iraq. Four days later Feisal accepted the final draft of the treaty which, Churchill informed the Cabinet, "conformed in all respects to the requirements of the League of Nations" while completing the government's plan to develop Iraq as an independent nation within the British sphere of influence.

The Lloyd George government, however, while accepting the Iraq treaty, was a coalition dominated by the Conservatives, who balked at the possibility of a war with the Turks. When the Tories withdrew their support from the Liberal prime minister, Lloyd George and his Cabinet were forced to resign, turning in their seals of office to the King on 25 October 1922.

Churchill's involvement with Iraq was at an end. On top of it all, during the midst of the domestic political crisis, Churchill had undergone an emergency appendectomy on October 17th. Then, in the general election that followed the change of government, he also lost his seat in Parliament, giving rise to his famous jest that in a twinkling he found himself "without an office, without a seat and without an appendix."



THE HASHEMITE KINGS OF JORDAN. Left to right: Abdullah (1921-51), of whom Churchill said "He sits in Amman where I sat him"; Talal (1951-52), who abdicated; Hussein (1952-99), who was moderate and popular; the current King Abdullah II (1999-).

### From Then to Now

Having driven out both Greek and Anglo-French forces, the Kemal National Assembly in November 1922 deposed the Sultan, terminated the Ottoman Empire, and proclaimed the Republic of Turkey. The now irrelevant Treaty of Sèvres was replaced in July 1923 with the Treaty of Lausanne, which essentially codified the existing situation in the Middle East. The Turks did challenge the status of Kurdish-dominated Mosul, but in 1925 Leo Amery, Colonial Secretary in the Baldwin government (with the support of Churchill, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer) successfully defended the Iraqi claim to this territory before the Council of the League of Nations.

The reign of Hussein Ibn Ali as King of the Hejaz proved short-lived. In 1924 Ibn Saud finally succeeded in conquering Hussein's territory, which he unified with his own to proclaim in 1932 the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The discovery of oil there came six years later. Hussein went into exile—first in Cyprus, where he received an honorary British knighthood, and finally in Jordan, where he died in the kingdom ruled by his son Abdullah.

Abdullah himself required British military protection to defend his own kingdom against the Saudis. He was later assassinated on 20 July 1951 and succeeded by his son Talal, who was forced to abdicate the following year because of mental illness. This brought to the throne the long-reigning King Hussein, who was in turn succeeded by his son, the present King Abdullah II.

Iraq's Hashemite monarchy survived nearly half a century. Feisal himself died in 1933. His son King Ghazi was killed in an accident in 1939. Finally, in 1958 King Feisal II, grandson of his namesake and only the third king in the line,

was assassinated, along with the entire royal household, in a military coup d'etat that brought to power the Baath Party, which traced its political pedigree to the Nazis by way of Vichy France and neighboring Syria.

It is noteworthy, however, that Churchill's air-power scheme proved very effective in its time. Iraq is an eclectic nation that one way or another has always been held together by force. But this also raises the question as to why the British encountered so much difficulty in their occupation of Iraq. Ultimately, according to David Fromkin, the British failed to realize their enemy's identity:

It was Britain herself. In a region of the globe whose inhabitants were known especially to dislike foreigners, and in a predominantly Moslem world which could abide being ruled by almost anybody except non-Moslems, a foreign Christian country ought to have expected hostility when it attempted to impose its own rule. The shadows that accompanied the British rulers wherever they went in the Middle East were in fact their own.<sup>25</sup>

What lessons are there for today in Churchill's Iraq experience? The primary one may be that, while the character of the inhabitants offers food for thought, the judgments of 1922 may not be valid eighty-five years later.

For example, everything about Britain's Middle Eastern policy before, during and just after the First World War was based on one paramount and, as it turned out, erroneous assumption: that Britain would indefinitely control India. Oil was *not* then the main issue. All strategy was formulated to secure the control of, access to and defense of India. Thus, the shape of the modern Middle East was largely determined by an assumption that became false almost as soon as the 1922 settlement had been reached. *M*>

#### Endnotes

1. Quoted in David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Making of the Modern Middle East*. New York: Avon, 1990, 452.

2. *Ibid.*, 451.

3. Original draft cited by its author, Leopold S. Amery, in *My Political Life*, vol. II,

*War and Peace 1914-1929*, London: Hutchinson, 1953, 117.

4. Quoted in Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill vol. IV, The Stricken World 1916-1922*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1975, 476.

5. *Ibid.*, 479.

6. *Ibid.*, 494.

7. *Ibid.*, 494.

8. *Ibid.*, 496.

9. *Ibid.*, 511.

10. *Ibid.*, 516.

11. *Ibid.*, 522.

12. *Ibid.*, 523.

13. *Ibid.*, 514.

14. *Ibid.*, 544.

15. *Ibid.*, 558.

16. Fromkin, 514.

17. Gilbert, 595.

18. *Ibid.*, 596.

19. Fromkin, 507.

20. Gilbert, 816.

21. *Ibid.*, 816.

22. *Ibid.*, 817.

23. *Ibid.*, 818.

24. *Ibid.*, 824.

25. Fromkin, 468.

Readers note: This installment was received too late for the Summer issue. —Ed.

125 YEARS AGO:

Summer 1881 • Age 6

*"A most difficult child to manage"*

by Michael McMenamin

**I**reland was still a dominant issue in the House of Commons. While Gladstone's Land Bill for Ireland had given the Irish fixity of tenure on the land, free rents, and free sale ("the three Fs"), it did not ease the situation, proving correct Lord Randolph Churchill's prediction that reform in the face of a suspension of civil liberties would not work.

In return, the Liberal Party began to attack Lord Randolph in language reminiscent of his own. Lord Hartington publicly called him "vile, contumacious and lying," prompting Lord Randolph to challenge Hartington to a duel, using as a representative Captain O'Shea, the cuckolded husband of the mistress of Irish Nationalist party leader Charles Parnell. In the event, Hartington apologized and no duel was forthcoming.

On 12 July, Lady Randolph sent her mother a favorable report on her six-year-old: "Winston is a very good boy, and is getting on with his lessons, but he is a most difficult child to manage." That same summer, Celia Sandys reports, Winston wrote his first known letter to his mother: "My dear Mamma, I am so glad you are coming to see us. I had such a nice bathe in the sea today. Love to Papa. Your loving Winston."

100 YEARS AGO:

Summer 1906 • Age 31

*"Made distinctly powerful"*

**C**hurchill was actively involved at the Colonial Office in guiding government policy toward self-government in South Africa, both in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. Uncertainty over the form of self-government in the Boer territories was adversely affecting economic con-



LORD RANDOLPH: "Vile, contumacious and lying," said Lord Hartington...

ditions and Churchill had asked the head of the Colonial Office, Lord Elgin, for a decision: "The fact which glares me in the face is that a six-months' delay in settling the fundamentals of the constitution will, through economic pressure and political uncertainty, drive many British voters from the Transvaal, and alienate from the Mother Country the affections of the rest."

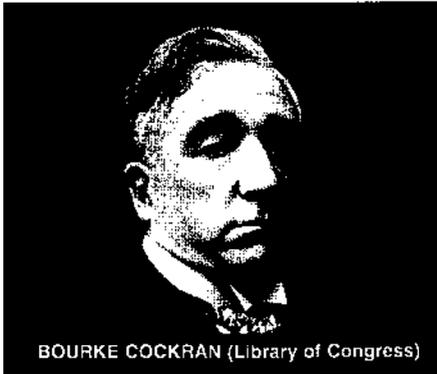
Elgin did so and on 31 July, Churchill gave a major speech in Parliament in which he outlined the nature of self-government in the Transvaal including instituting universal white male suffrage and eliminating the previous qualification of property ownership. The Conservative Party attacked the proposal. Arthur Balfour, a former Fourth Party colleague of

Churchill's late father, described it as "the most reckless experiment ever tried in the development of a great colonial policy." In contrast, Churchill's friend, General Ian Hamilton, wrote to him from South Africa on 2 August 1906 congratulating him:

...on the occasion of your brilliant and moving speech on Tuesday night. No other thing that has happened lately has given me so much pleasure for, as a staunch upholder of your genius, I have, during the last two months had to begin again my arguments with numerous people supposed to be more or less your friends, as to the possibilities of your failure. I feel now that the last bad corner has been turned, and that those who a week ago were busy shaking their heads over your supposed decline will now be amongst the most eager to applaud.

That summer, Churchill and his American mentor Bourke Cockran exchanged long letters on the new state of affairs occasioned by the Liberal Party's smashing 1906 victory. Cockran wrote to Churchill that the election

seems to have made one reputation, and to have unmade several. Looking at it from this distance, its productive results appear to be embodied and exhausted in yourself, its destructive efficiency in the ruin of the Tory Party, and the complete collapse of Balfour, Chamberlain, and the men who have been its leaders for fifteen years. Your position seems to be the only one made distinctly powerful by the campaign itself. On the other side, there does not appear to be anything visible more than some wreckage, with here and there a few survivors clinging to it in rather



forlorn shape....Is there any chance of your coming to this country during the autumn? There will be very interesting elections in November, including a new House of Representatives and a governor in New York State. This struggle is almost certain to develop the issues on which the next Presidential election will be fought, and it is more than likely that its result will foreshadow the candidates on both sides. If you come, needless to say I shall insist upon the pleasure of taking charge of you.

Churchill promptly replied, telling his friend:

I am prepared to claim the Manchester election as a great event. Manchester was the home of Free Trade, Free Trade was assailed. I left my party and went to Manchester to contest its great commercial division, and the division which contains the historic Free Trade Hall. When I went, Manchester and Salford were represented by nine Conservative members—all with more or less pronounced Protectionist views—including the Prime Minister. The result of the Poll dispossessed all these nine gentlemen from seats which many of them had held for twenty years, and installed in their place—by immense majorities—nine Liberal or Labour members all definitely pledged to Free Trade. The results of this electoral turn over, which, so far as I know, is unexampled in English political history, were undoubtedly effective throughout Lancashire.

Churchill added that he would like to be able to come to the United States in the autumn, "but that would be to make adventurous plans." He expressed the view that Cockran's Democrats would "show the world the solution of some of the economic and sociological questions by which we are puzzled." If there was an American "revolution of property," he added, he hoped England would be quick to

adopt it, perhaps gaining the advantages of the French Revolution "without its excesses."

Later that summer, Churchill was invited by Kaiser Wilhelm to observe German army maneuvers to be held in September in Silesia. In a letter to Lord Elgin on 14 September, Churchill wrote that "there is a massive simplicity & force about German military arrangements which grows upon the observer." He later told his Aunt Leonie: "I am very thankful there is a sea between that army and England."

### 75 YEARS AGO:

Summer 1931 • Age 56

*"In the absence of Winston*

Churchill was still estranged from the Conservative Party for his stand on India. He now began to turn his attention to the growing problem of Germany, isolating himself still more. In June 1931, Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald was seeking further disarmament beyond what Britain had already done. Speaking in rebuttal, Churchill said that Britain's disarmament during the 1920s had made it extremely vulnerable and its army no more than "a glorified police force." He opposed Britain putting any further pressure on France to disarm: "The sudden disappearance or undue weakening of that factor of unquestionable French military superiority may open the floodgates of measureless consequence—England's hour of weakness is Europe's hour of danger."

Churchill made that danger clear in an article for the Hearst papers on 10 August 1931: "German youth mounting in its broad swelling flood will never accept the conditions and implications of the Treaty of Versailles."

Meanwhile, the Depression continued to worsen, causing MacDonald to approach the Conservatives for a coalition government with the Labour Party. Churchill opposed it. But in August, the King asked MacDonald to form an all-party national government

which the Conservatives and Liberals readily agreed to join. Neither Churchill nor Lloyd George was invited to be a member, prompting Sir Samuel Hoare to write to Neville Chamberlain: "As we have said several times in the last few days, we have had some great good luck in the absence of Winston and L.G."

### 50 YEARS AGO:

Summer 1956 • Age 81

*"Following the principle of 'More than enough'"*

On 26 July 1956, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal. Initially, Churchill was supportive of the British government's position, telling his wife in a letter: "We have taken a line which will put the Canal effectively on its international basis and will also make it secure till long after 1968."

Prime Minister Anthony Eden kept Churchill informed as the crisis continued. On 6 August, Churchill secretly met with Eden and advised him that in any military attack on Egypt he should "generally follow the principle of 'more than enough.'"

Significantly, however, Churchill also cautioned Eden against retaking control of the Canal, preferring it be placed under international control. In a typewritten note to Eden dictated on his way to their meeting he said: "the more one thinks about taking over the Canal, the less one likes it. The long causeway could be easily obstructed by a succession of mines. We should get much of the blame of stopping work, if it is to be to the moment of our attack a smooth running show."

Churchill spent most of the summer at Chartwell, working on his *History of the English Speaking Peoples*. In September, he flew to the South of France for a visit with Emery and Wendy Reves. While there, Eden sent him a letter on the evolving situation concerning Suez: "I am not happy at the way things are developing here."

*Autumn Action overleaf»*

125 YEARS AGO:

Autumn 1881 • Age 6

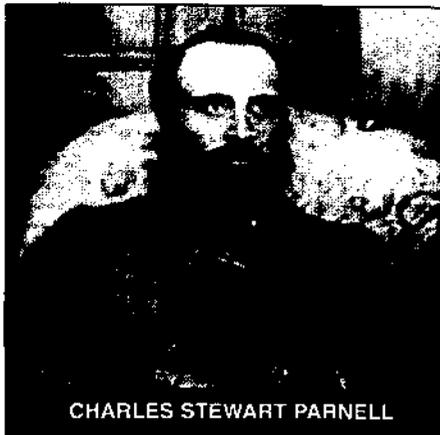
"A man of such unscrupulousness"

**T**he Irish situation was not improving. Charles Stewart Parnell, the great advocate of Home Rule, publicly said he intended to obstruct the implementation of Gladstone's Land Act. In October, Gladstone accused Parnell of "standing between the living and the dead, not, like Aaron, to stay the plague, but to spread it." He added ominously that "the resources of civilization are not exhausted."

True to his word, a few days later Gladstone had Parnell arrested and sent to Kilmainham jail. Ireland erupted in violence with murders, maiming of cattle and widespread boycotting of landlords. Lord Randolph Churchill eagerly added fuel to the fire in a speech on 1 December 1881 attacking the ruling Liberal ("Radical") Party.

You are no doubt aware of a curious fact in natural history—that there is an animal more useful than picturesque, generally to be found in our farmyards, which cannot swim. Owing to its ungraceful conformation, whenever it is called upon to swim, it cuts its own throat with its feet; and the spectacle of the Radical party attempting to govern reminds me irresistibly of that animal trying to swim. The Radical party are prevented from governing by what they are pleased to call their principles; and in the act of government they commit suicide.

Gladstone's private secretary, Edward Hamilton, wrote of Randolph:



CHARLES STEWART PARNELL



by Michael McMenamin

*Lord Randolph Churchill*

It is sickening to think that a man of such unscrupulousness and with such utter want of seriousness should be coming to the front in politics and would on the formation of a Tory govt. be entrusted with governing the country—The Tories are bad enough as regards majors but they are worse as regards men."

100 YEARS AGO:

Autumn 1906 • Age 31

*"The papers willfully misrepresent in the interests of the Republican Party"*

**C**hurchill and his brother Jack came to the financial assistance of their mother's new husband, George Cornwallis-West, who had lost £8000 to an unscrupulous solicitor. George was estranged from his family, but his brother-in-law, the Duke of Westminster, sent Winston £3000 on George's behalf, swearing WSC to confidentiality. Churchill passed the money over on 18 October and wrote the Duke explaining how he had carried out the transaction:

George knows perfectly well the £3000 is a sum far greater than I could spare to help him out of any embarrassment however grave, so that I had to practice a pious fraud in order to prevent his guessing or inquiring too closely about the source whence this money was derived. I therefore impressed upon him that in no circumstances was he to speak to Sir Ernest Cassel about the matter; & I am satisfied that he is persuaded that in some sort of way Cassel has come to his assistance, & that he has no suspicions that you were in any way concerned.

In the event, the Duke released Churchill from his confidence on 14 December 1906 and asked him to take the initiative in patching things up between him and his brother-in-law, which Churchill promptly did.

Through his American mentor, Bourke Cockran, Churchill was following the state elections in New York. The Republicans controlled the New York governorship and the state legislature in 1906. There had been scandals for the past two years in the insurance and banking departments and, in an interesting sidelight, Cockran had criticized William Jerome, Lady Randolph's first cousin and a crusading New York District Attorney, for failing to prosecute criminals in the insurance scandals. Jerome, Cockran charged, had merely dealt with those individuals who came forward and confessed. He did nothing to investigate those who did not come forward.

Churchill made reference to this in a letter to his mother on 29 September, 1906 while he was on holiday in Siena. The Democratic Convention had concluded on 24 September and it is apparent that Cockran had sent Churchill a report, because Churchill is remarkably well informed on New York politics and specifically makes reference to William Jerome's attacks on Hearst and his supporters like Cockran. Churchill clearly sides with Cockran and the Democrats, not the Republicans and his Jerome relative:

The situation in New York is most interesting. B. Cockran is working for Hearst, &c Jerome denounces him and

all his backers as 'a gang of disreputable crooks.' The papers willfully misrepresent the situation in the interests of the Republican Party. I don't pretend to know; but I have a sort of feeling that the Democrats will sweep the board in spite of everything & that Hearst will be Governor. This is a piece of quite gratuitous prophesying, & vy likely you will be able to rebuke me for it when the result is known.

Hearst narrowly lost the election but Cockran was reelected to Congress in November, 1906. He and Anne Ide were married on 15 November at the St. Regis Hotel in New York. Cockran and Anne then set off on their honeymoon, an extended tour of Europe, which included a stop in England and a visit with Churchill after Cockran and his wife had met Churchill's mother Jennie in Monte Carlo.

## 75 YEARS AGO:

Autumn 1931 • Age 56

*"Words are useless..."*

The new all-party government addressed the economic crisis in September 1931 by raising income taxes as well as taxes on tobacco, beer, and petrol. Churchill opposed these increases but, surprisingly not (and for the first time in his career) proposed increasing tariffs and abandoning Free Trade. He was joined in this by other lifelong Free Traders like the Liberal Walter Runciman, Labour's Arthur Anderson, and another lifelong Liberal Free Trader, Sir John Simon.

In October, Parliament was dissolved and a new election scheduled when more than 200 Labour Members of Parliament rejected Prime Minister MacDonald's call for national unity. As a consequence, the Conservatives won a major victory, 473 seats, while Labour lost 52 seats, reducing them to 236. Notwithstanding, Ramsay MacDonald remained Prime Minister and Churchill remained in the wilderness, without government office or influence.

On 2 November *The Eastern Front*, final volume of Churchill's *The World Crisis*, was published. Owing to the political situation, it received less publicity than its predecessors. The

next day, Churchill wrote to his son Randolph which called to mind letters he had received from his own father:

I am ready to pay £100 on account of yr gambling losses in election majorities. But as I told you, I will only do this if it is necessary for yr well-being. If you feel yrself able to keep a magnificent motor car & chauffeur at a rate wh must be £700 or £800 a year, you are surely able to pay yr debts of honour yrself. Unless & until you give proof of yr need by ridding yrself of this gross extravagance you have no right to look for aid from me: nor I to bestow it....I grieve more than is worth setting down to see you with so many gifts & so much good treatment from the world leading the life of a selfish exploiter, borrowing & spending every shilling you can lay yr hands upon, & ever-increasing the lavish folly of yr way. But words are useless.

## 50 YEARS AGO:

Autumn 1956 • Age 81

*"I would never have dared stop"*

The Suez crisis continued during the autumn of 1956. In a letter to her husband in August, Clementine Churchill had expressed doubt about America's initial declared support for the Anglo-French position: "I am afraid she will hang fire in the background." Sure enough, in October U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles began publicly to back away from France and Britain in the quarrel over Nasser's nationalizing of the Suez Canal. Sir Norman Brook wrote Churchill on 4 October:

Our best hope of bringing Nasser to his senses was to preserve a firm front among the Western Powers—and particularly between the United States, France and ourselves. I fear that during the last week or so, the Western position has been seriously weakened by public statements made in the United States.

Suez moved to the Security Council of the United Nations where the Russians vetoed a compromise worked out between the United States, Britain and France.

On 20 October while still holiday in the South of France, Churchill suffered a stroke and flew back to

Britain on the 28th. On the 29th, Israeli forces attacked Egypt and quickly overran the Egyptian army, while Anglo-French forces "temporarily" occupied the Suez Canal.

Britain and France had acted unilaterally without prior consultation with the United States. On 5 November, Churchill issued a public statement supporting the government and expressing confidence "that our American friends will come to realize that, not for the first time, we have acted independently for the common good." Under American pressure, however, Britain and France agreed the next day to a cease fire and, subsequently, an eventual withdrawal of the Anglo-French forces.

Churchill's former private secretary, Jock Colville, dined with him on 20 November and they discussed the Suez situation:

"I then said to him: 'If you had been Prime Minister would you have done this?' And he said to me: 'I would never have dared, and if I had dared, I would never have dared stop.'"

Relations between Britain and the United States were at a low ebb at that point and Colville suggested to Churchill that he write a personal letter to President Eisenhower, reminding him that the enemy were the Russians and not the British.

Churchill asked Colville to prepare a first draft, which he did and the letter was in due course sent to Eisenhower.

In his reply, Eisenhower agreed that "the Soviets are the real enemy of the Western World" but criticized France and Britain for their unilateral action without prior consultation "in violation of the basic principles by which this great combination of nations can be held together— Nothing saddens me more than the thought that I and my old friends of years have met a problem concerning which we do not see eye-to-eye. I shall never be happy until our old-time closeness has been restored."

On 26 November *The New World*, the second volume of Churchill's *History of the English Speaking Peoples*, was published. M>

“ THE RANDOLPH IN OXFORD has location, location and location. It also costs £20 to park your car! We wandered into the bar at around midnight to find a fair number of dinner-jacketed chaps in expansive mood, champagne and cigars much in evidence. (My Guinness wasn't too outrageous, but the price of a glass of house Rioja made me decide to skip the champagne....) It turned out said chaps were American members (I tell a lie, some of them were Texan) of The Churchill Centre, on an eight-day pilgrimage to sites associated with the great man. They'd pretty much done the lot, from dinner at Blenheim to visiting the grave of Churchill's nanny, Mrs. Everest, 'that most excellent woman.' So we sat and swapped Churchill quotations, lambasted *The Guardian* and *The Washington Post*, and generally reinforced each other's prejudices in a most agreeable manner. ”

—“Laban” on <http://www.ukcommentators.blogspot.com/>

# Churchill's England 2006: The Twelfth Churchill Tour

BY MICHAEL RICHARDS



**F**ifty-four Churchillians joined the 12th Churchill Tour on an eight-day journey to "Churchill's England" between May 21st and 28th. It was the tenth Churchill Tour organized by Barbara and Richard Langworth since 1983 (Celia Sandys organized two others), and over 500 have attended to date. Everything went off like clockwork, thanks to Garry Clark of Stevenage, Hertfordshire, who handled UK arrange-

ments and transportation. Hotels were the White House at Regent's Park, London; the Holiday Inn Cambridge; the Old Bell at Hurley; and the Randolph Hotel, Oxford.

The first "Churchill" was in 1983, when fifty members met our Patron for the first time. Later tours have visited Churchill-related places in France, Australia, South Africa, Morocco, and throughout England, and Scotland as far north as Scapa Flow in the Orkneys.

Since that time English traffic has become worse, but much has changed for the better. The cramped Cabinet War Rooms have become the expansive Churchill Museum; Bletchley Park has been saved, preserved as a national historic site with wonderful Churchill exhibits; the Churchill Archives Centre has greatly expanded; and we have made friends with the owners of two private properties associated with Churchill, whose owners kindly invited us to visit. This last is a feature of Churchill Tours that just doesn't exist anywhere else, and has always been one of the most popular aspects.

**Saturday 20 May: Afternoon rendezvous at the Melia White House Hotel, Regent's Park, London; welcoming dinner with Lady Soames.**

Our Patron never stands on ceremony, and walked up to everybody, saying, "Hello, I'm Mary Soames." If as one member said, "we were standing face to face with history," it is because our Patron has always been the most approachable and keenly interested member of every Churchill Centre event.

**Sunday 21 May: Cabinet War Rooms and Churchill Museum; Thames lunch cruise; 28 Hyde Park Gate; wreath-laying at the grave of Nanny Everest.**

Thanks to the vision of curator Phil Reed, and tremendous support from friends around the world, the original War Rooms now contain a state-of-the-art Churchill Museum which, in a word, is phenomenal: the interactive archives table, on which you can call up Churchill files and references for any date, is alone worth the price of admission.

Later we laid flowers (the rain stopped just long enough) on the grave of Nanny Everest (see page 50) at the City of London Cemetery. Winston and his brother Jack paid for her grave marker, whose upkeep is funded by the International Churchill Society (UK). We also walked by Churchill's last London home at 28 Hyde Park Gate, which is privately occupied, but carries the official blue plaque.

**Monday 22 May: Tour of the Houses of Parliament, by courtesy of the Hon. Nicholas Soames MP; the Churchill Memorial Screen, St. Paul's Cathedral; luncheon visit to Stour, East Bergholt, Suffolk.**

We visited both Houses of Parliament. The original Commons chamber, destroyed in a 1941 air raid, was rebuilt in 1950 to original specifications. Churchill successfully prevented any changes, such as "giving each member a desk to sit at and a lid to bang." This, he explained, would render the House nearly empty most of the time (like the U.S. Congress). Left small, it will fill beyond capacity during a crisis, providing "a sense of crowd and urgency."

St. Paul's Cathedral's Churchill memorial screen, designed by blacksmith James Horrobin, is emblazoned



Above: Our flowers at the Everest Grave; CC Patron Lady Soames. Right: Churchill Museum, London. Below: Randolph Churchill's Stour, where Martin Gilbert relived his memories of the early days of the official biography.



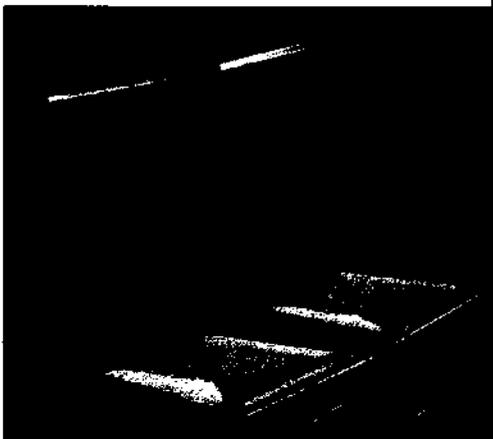
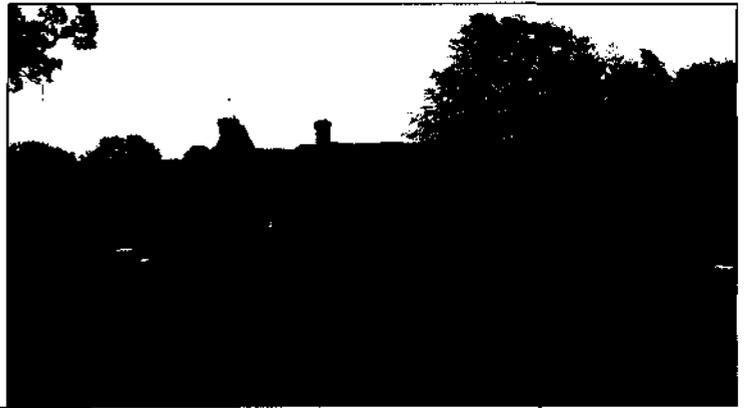
with reminders of WSC's life, the Garter, the Order of Merit, and the Shield of the Cinque Ports.

Stour was purchased for Randolph Churchill by the Churchill Trust in 1957. In Randolph's time, the exterior was rendered in pink stucco; the original brick facade has now been restored. We were affably welcomed by Paul and Birte Kelly, the present owners, and Sir Martin and Lady Gilbert were also on hand. Martin showed us round, emotionally recalling his first glimpse of the boss:

"There was Randolph, in a deep arm chair, out of which he rose slowly, a large, rather cumbersome man, with a somewhat pasty, battered-looking face, ill-fitting trousers which he hitched up even as he was rising from his chair, and the look of an elderly patriarch—he was full of charm, had an engaging twinkle in his eye, and expressed his appreciation that I had made the long journey from Oxford." And the rest is history...

**Tuesday 23 May: Churchill Archives Centre, Cambridge; American Cemetery, Manningtree; dinner for our Archives friends, Cambridge.**

The Archives Centre was built in 1973 to house 3000 boxes of letters and documents, ranging from >>



Chartwell (above left) is magic, even in the rain. At lovely Lullenden (above right) the editor presents a Churchill painting of the house to hosts Matthew and Sally Ferrey (Barbara de Marneffe and Susan Goldfien in background). At Harrow are two old boys' chairs: WSC's and Stanley Baldwin's.



### CHURCHILL'S ENGLAND...

WSC's first childhood letters to his great wartime speeches, to the writings which earned him the Nobel Prize for Literature. Our hosts were director Allen Packwood and his staff, including archivist Katharine Thompson. They, along with former Keeper Piers Brendon, and his wife Vyvyen, joined us that evening for dinner. We saw Churchill College, the Conservation Department, and a special display in the Reading Room. The latter contains multiple terminals, where members experimented with on-line catalogue and other electronic resources.

### **W**ednesday 24 May: morning and lunch at Chartwell, Westerham, Kent; afternoon and tea at Lullenden Manor, East Grinstead, West Sussex.

We arrived at the heart of Churchill's England crisply on time, thanks to a prompt and early start, beating the regular visitors and getting through the house before the crowds. The garden "gleamed with summer jewelry," and we spent time in the studio, with its vast collection of Sir Winston's paintings.

Mary Caroline "Minnie" Churchill, co-author with David Coombs of *Winston Churchill: His Life through His Paintings*, was our luncheon speaker. "Many people don't realize that Winston Churchill's greatest pastime was painting," she said, "He once wrote: 'Happy are the painters, for they shall not be lonely. Light and colour, peace and hope, will keep them company to the end, or

almost to the end, of the day.'"

As we drove out to Chartwell from Westerham High Street we pointed out a house named "Hosey Rigge." Churchill lived here some months while overhauling Chartwell in 1922. He nicknamed the house "Cozy Pig."

Lullenden, where we were hosted by Sally and Matthew Ferrey and their family for a visit and afternoon tea, is an Elizabethan house with all the yeoman qualities of its most celebrated owner, who lived there from early 1917 to November 1919. Although they found it in a "state," Sally and Matthew have devotedly restored and improved the house and grounds to what struck us almost as museum quality. Yet it is a comfortable family residence. Several of WSC's paintings were of Lullenden; the Ferreys own one, and we left them with a nicely framed print of another, taken from the cover of *Finest Hour* 116.

At dinner that evening at the Old Bell at Hurley, we welcomed Randolph and Catherine Churchill, he now actively involved on the committee of ICS (UK).

### **T**hursday 25 May: Harrow School, Harrow-on-the-Hill; mid-morning & lunch at RAF Uxbridge; afternoon visit to the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst.

Churchill attended Harrow from 1888 to 1892, and we enjoyed a thorough tour of the school and grounds, including the Speech Room, where WSC appeared for "Songs," and the ancient formroom where his and Jack's names were carved alongside many others. Before lunch we

visited Headquarters, 11 Fighter Group Uxbridge, where Churchill arrived at the height of the Battle of Britain:

"I now asked: 'What other reserves have we?' 'There are none,' said Air Vice-Marshal Park. In an account which he wrote about it afterwards he said that at this I 'looked grave.' Well I might....The odds were great; our margins small; the stakes infinite."

This historic, original site, eighty feet below ground, is not a public exhibit but can be visited by special arrangement: a museum to the men and women who worked there, and the air crews in the skies above.

The Royal Military Academy Sandhurst, where we spent the afternoon, has had many famous alumni including Sir Winston, who received his commission in 1895. It was a pleasure to enjoy our private tour of the buildings and grounds, and to come across a portrait of Sir Eyre Crowe, a famous ancestor of a Churchill Centre honorary member General Colin Powell.

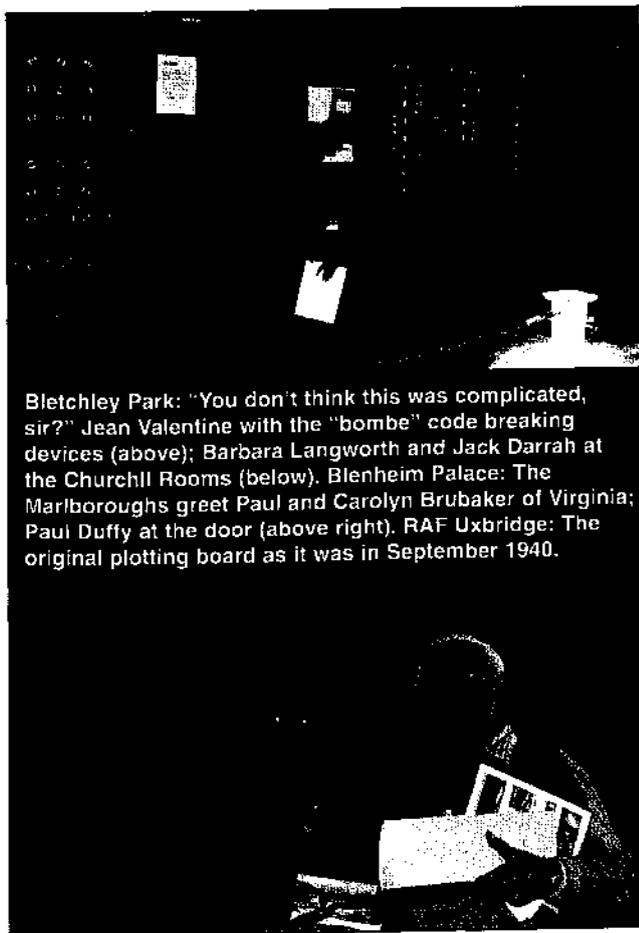
**F**riday 26 May: Morning and lunch at Bletchley Park, Bucks.; Oxford by afternoon. Reception and Dinner (black tie) at the Great Hall, Blenheim Palace.

Secretly at Bletchley Park, the Government Code & Cypher School broke the "unbreakable" Enigma coded signals used by the Germans. Although nearly 9000 were employed in this task during the war, no one ever revealed

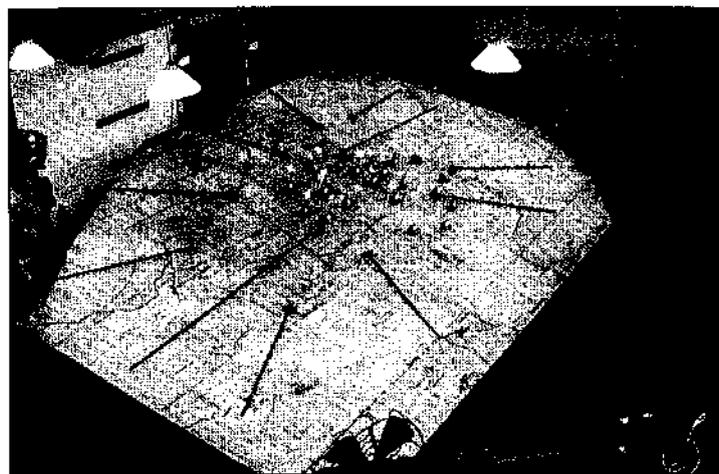
what they did. Churchill referred to them as "my geese who laid the golden eggs and never cackled." We were shown round the premises by a delightful former WRN, Jean Valentine, who was one of the 9000 who actually worked there, and who amused us with her feisty accounts of life in WW2 (and today!). Jean left us at Bletchley's Churchill Rooms with their creator, our old friend Jack Darrah, of ICS (UK), and his late wife Rita.

Our black tie dinner at Blenheim was the culmination of our visit, and a night to remember. Our party swelled to eighty with UK participation, and every available Churchill. The dinner's purpose was to thank the family for their many kindnesses, appearances and speeches over the years: our hosts, The Duke and Duchess of Marlborough; our patron, Lady Soames and her son Nicholas; trustee Celia Sandys; Minnie Churchill and Simon Bird. We also hosted the Kellys from "Stour" and Ferreys from "Lullenden," and honorary member Robert Hardy. Nicholas Soames made a fine speech of welcome. Our special thanks to former Blenheim administrator Paul Duffy, resplendent in red, our superlative toastmaster.

The Marlboroughs have long encouraged the work of The Churchill Centre, making the Great Hall or Orangery available three times, and providing facilities for our 1998 symposium on Churchill's Life of Marlborough. The Duke is an honorary member of the Centre. >>



Bletchley Park: "You don't think this was complicated, sir?" Jean Valentine with the "bombe" code breaking devices (above); Barbara Langworth and Jack Darrah at the Churchill Rooms (below). Blenheim Palace: The Marlboroughs greet Paul and Carolyn Brubaker of Virginia; Paul Duffy at the door (above right). RAF Uxbridge: The original plotting board as it was in September 1940.





BLADON: Rector Roger Humphreys (left) conducted an ecumenical service of thanksgiving for the life of Winston Churchill. And what can we say about our dear friend and honorary member Robert Hardy (right, resplendent in CBE, at the Randolph farewell dinner)? Always keen, always willing to help, from reading the moving poem "At Bladon" to an impromptu toast. Thanks, Tim.

### CHURCHILL'S ENGLAND...

**Saturday 27 May: morning and lunch free to enjoy Oxford; afternoon drive through the Cotswolds with honorary member Robert Hardy; visits to Ditchley and Bladon; farewell dinner, Randolph Hotel.**

Timothy Sydney Robert Hardy, one of Britain's most popular actors, made himself famous as the Yorkshire veterinarian Siegfried Farnon in the TV series *All Creatures Great and Small* (1978-90); today he plays Minister for Magic Cornelius Fudge in the Harry Potter films. It is always an honor to share his company, made especially so at Bladon, where he read the poem recited in 1965, as Sir Winston's coffin was lowered into the ground. An excellent programme containing the poem was provided by the Rector of Bladon, Roger Humphreys, who presided at a memorial service.

During the Blitz, the Prime Minister's official country residence at Chequers, conspicuous at full moon, was a prestigious target for the Luftwaffe. Ronald Tree MP offered his house at Ditchley Park, which we visited in the afternoon—the most beautiful house on our tour. It is now owned by the Ditchley Foundation, an Anglo-American educational trust which seeks to further transatlantic understanding through conferences and seminars.

At the Randolph on Saturday night, our farewell dinner speaker was novelist Michael Dobbs, author of a powerful foursome of Churchill novels: *Winston's War*

(2003), *Never Surrender* (2004), *Churchill's Hour* (2005) and *Churchill's Triumph* (FH 131: 39). Accompanied by his wife Rachel, Michael gave a charming and witty speech about the need to remember Churchill and to defend his memory from baseless misinterpretation: remember him warts and all, but remember him accurately.

We would like to go back to Scotland, working our way north from Yorkshire up to Edinburgh and along the beautiful east coast, and back down via the Lake District. Yes, there are Churchill-related people and places there, too. Robert Hardy may be available as our guide to the Yorkshire Dales made famous in *All Creatures Great and Small*. If this appeals to you for the next Churchill Tour, let the editor know.



**A commemorative 12-page tour brochure, with a beautiful color cover, detailing the history and background of people and places visited, is available from the editor for a \$5 donation to The Churchill Centre. (Three for \$10.) Cheques may be mailed to the Centre; credit cards are accepted; and you can order toll-free from our Washington headquarters: (888) WSC-1874. Members of ICS (UK), ICS, Canada, ICS Portugal or Churchill Centre Australia may remit similar amounts to their Society treasuries and we will airmail your copy from the USA.**



OXFORD: Churchill novelist and scholar Michael Dobbs (left) regaled us at the Randolph by reiterating the responsibility of all, novelists and historians alike, "to keep the memory green, and the record accurate."

LONDON: Steve Wolf of Pennsylvania (below), along with fifty others, stood at the door of 28 Hyde Park Gate. What a crowd!



## PARTICIPANTS WRITE:

Thank you so much for inviting Simon and me to that fabulous dinner at Blenheim. It really was the most wonderful evening and we both enjoyed it so much. How beautiful Blenheim looked, and what a treat to have dinner in the Great Hall. It was so lovely to see you again and to meet so many Churchillians at Chartwell and Blenheim

—MINNIE S. CHURCHILL, LYME REGIS, DORSET

I cannot imagine that there could ever be a better tour devoted to Winston Churchill. No doubt I could go on and on about all the great visits, wonderful people and interesting presentations that you arranged, and took such good care over everything.

—RANDALL BAKER, NEW YORK CITY

I did enjoy myself very much, particularly hearing that your group had a good time at the Archives Centre! The *Levenger Painting as a Pastime* is a small work of art, too, which I'm delighted to have as a souvenir.

—KATHARINE THOMSON, CHURCHILL ARCHIVES CENTRE

It was so special in every way, truly a privilege to be a guest at Blenheim, and the other magnificent and historic homes, Stour and Lullenden. You put together a wonderful and diversified trip. Thanks for a tremendous effort.

—SUE ELLEN KUHN

We particularly liked the visit to Stour, with Sir Martin Gilbert's outstanding presentation, as well as the visits to Lullenden and Ditchley. They are things which we

could not have done on our own. What really enhanced the trip were die Churchill family members. Each of them speaks so well and writes so well. Sir Winston would certainly have been pleased

—JEAN D. JONES, FORT ATKINSON, WISCONSIN

How much we miss our new friends, with whom we are now in touch by email. Thank you for die photo with the Marlboroughs; that was an unforgettable evening.

—SUSAN AND STEVE GOLDFIEN, SAN FRANCISCO

On my blog I threw linear time out the window and posted the stories as I was inspired to write them!

—JOHN DAVID OLSEN

N.B.: For John's spritely and interesting account see <http://footstepsofchurchill.blogspot.com/>

Every day was a home run, in fact this was the "World Series" of tours, every inning better dian the previous one: a memorable, fantastic, marvelous, stupendous, outstanding, incredible tour of Churchill homes, sites, shrines, with his family members present, and you made it look so easy! Everything was seamless, and your love of die Great Man came out in every minute of every event. If only every Churchill Centre, Churchill Society member could have been along!

—RICHARD AND SUSAN MASTIO, CARMEL, CALIFORNIA

We so enjoyed our trip with you and are grateful for the opportunity to learn and share such a phenomenal experience. I would very much like to keep in touch and would like to talk further about your development work efforts, especially for events in the DC area.

—CAROLYN BRUBAKER, OAKTON, VIRGINIA

N.B.: Mrs. Brubaker is now on the committee for the Blenheim Award dinner for Chris Matthews in 2007.

Whenever we speak of it we say that if we multiply our expectations by ten we have the reality of what we experienced and enjoyed so much. Watching the BBC and C-Span has taken on a completely different perspective.

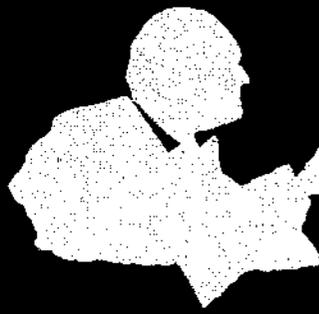
—JUDY AND BILL WERBACH, PHOENIX

Garry Clark was first-rate; we greatly appreciate his efforts to accommodate every need of every one of us.

—ALAN B. MILLER, KING OF PRUSSIA, PENNSYLVANIA

Leaving each other was difficult, leaving Churchill's England equally so. We look forward to future trips and we can't think of anyone more suited to plan for this group of people. Thank you for your inspiration, for making us feel so special, as you are to all of us, and for an experience we shall always remember.

—TERMBADGETT AND JOSEPH TROIANI, CHICAGO M>



# Books, Arts Sc Curiosities

## Book Reviews

The continued deluge of new books has overwhelmed our reviewers. Book reviews will recommence in our winter issue.

## On Scene in Westerham and London

**M**ember David Eastis of Granite Bay, California (dmeastis@aol.com) writes: "My Dad and I will have the good fortune of returning to Chartwell in June and have some questions." Here are the answers we tried to provide. (Readers: any expansions or updates?) —Ed.

• *Canyon recommend a favorite restaurant or pub of WSC nearby?*

Churchill was not a frequenter of pubs, but try the King's Arms in Westerham Village. You can't miss it—big white former coaching inn on the High Street. The food and beer were good last we stopped.

• *Is there anything else to arrange in advance for our visit that will enhance our 3-4 hours there?*

At Chartwell, many miss WSC's favorite view. Looking at the property from the car park, you will see a hill rising to a line of trees at the left. You can walk up that line of trees to the top. WSC said this was the finest view of Chartwell: "You're a damn fool if you haven't been up there."

Also, if you are a Churchill Centre supporting member or higher, your membership card will get you into Chartwell free. Please note that Chartwell's opening times this year show it closed on Mondays and Tuesdays. Check before you arrive.

As you drive out to Chartwell on the B2026 from Westerham High Street (A25), pay attention to the house names on the right. You will pass a well-sheltered house named



WESTERHAM: The King's Arms.  
LONDON: Horse Guards Parade.



"Hosey Rigge." Churchill lived here some months while restoring Chartwell after he bought it in 1922. He nicknamed this house "Cozy Pig." It is not open to the public.

In Westerham village, visit the Churchill statue on the green. It is by Oscar Nemon, and the plinth was donated by the "people of Yugoslavia," no doubt a gesture by Tito. Behind the statue, 14 The Green was the home of longtime Chartwell secretary and administrator, and Churchill Centre honorary member, the late Grace Hamblin. To understand Chartwell, you can do no better than to read her 1987 speech, "Chartwell Memories,"

on our website: <http://xrl.us/ky76>.

Finally, note "The Vicarage" (Borde Hill, Vicarage Hill; anybody in town will tell you where it is). This was the birthplace of Westerham's other hero, General James Wolfe, the conqueror of Quebec; we spent a night in his birth room when it was a B&B. We think it is now just a vicarage. Squerries Court in Westerham is a fine stately home, but has no relation to Churchill, except that his grandson lived in Squerries Lodge during the 1980s and early 1990s.

• *Can you suggest some item that might be especially meaningful to my Dad that would be easy to take with us and give him at Chartwell?*

Consider the Levenger edition of *The Dream* (available from Levenger (<http://xrl.us/ky72>) and in England at places like Chartwell and the Cabinet War Rooms). It is Churchill's haunting short story about the return of his father, who confronts Winston in the Chartwell Studio in 1947.

• *While in London, after Chartwell, we'll visit the Churchill Museum. What else "Churchill" should we not miss? Downing Street is on our list but what else?*

Sadly Downing Street is blocked off for security and you can't get close. The Churchill Museum and Cabinet War Rooms, around the back of it, at Clive Steps opposite St James's Park, is now definitely the most important place to visit in London. Check their website, which is linked on ours. Of course don't miss the WSC statue »

### WESTERHAMAND LONDON...

by Ivor Roberts-Jones, glowering at the Commons in Parliament Square; the charming bronze of Roosevelt and Churchill on a park bench on New Bond Street; and the Church of St. Margaret's, Westminster, where WSC and CSC were married in 1908.

From the War Rooms entrance, looking toward St. James's Park, you can see Admiralty House across Horse Guards Parade, where WSC was twice First Lord. Herbert Asquith, the World War I prime minister, would look up at lights burning well into the night and say, "Winston is preparing his plans and schemes." Access is restricted to Horse Guards Parade, but from its vicinity you may be able to see the garden door of 10 Downing Street.

From the War Rooms facing the park, check the ground floor windows of the building on your left. You can see filled holes which once held steel air raid shutters. This is "Number Ten Annexe," where Churchill actually ran the war; Number 10 was unsafe, and he spent only a few nights in the War Rooms, where he said he felt "like a rat in a hole."

Everyone should read Sir Martin Gilbert's *Churchill's London*, a 1985 speech to one of our tour parties covering some of the obscure places with important associations that nobody ever thinks of. For instance, the low building near the Hyde Park Serpentine that everyone ignores....Sir Martin reveals the crucial part it played in advancing Churchill's career. It's on our website (<http://xrl.us/ky73>).

On our home page, click "Churchill's England" to find out more about places to visit and former residences. The latter are private but can be walked by—notably 28 Hyde Park Gate (his London home, 1945-65); 11 Morpeth Mansions (the top two floors, his flat during the Wilderness Years); and the Metropole Building, Northumberland Avenue, which has recently been used by the Ministry of Defence. It was from here, then the Hotel Metropole, home of the WW1 Ministry of Munitions, that Churchill looked out on the streets of London, celebrating on the 11th hour of the 11th day of the 11th month of 1918. Sir Martin describes the scene in *Churchill's London*. M>

### ROBERTPFALTZGRAAF...

terrorism, consequence management and counter-proliferation issues, the future of the Atlantic Alliance, and arms control policy. He has recently been appointed to the Arms Control and Nonproliferation Advisory Board (ACNAB), U.S. Department of State, and is a member of its WMD Terrorism Task Force.

Bob has been a stalwart supporter of the Centre, of which he is a founding member, and its local affiliate, New England Churchillians. He has several times contributed scholarly discussions to Churchill events. Most recently, Bob was responsible for making the arrangements for our Churchill seminar for high school teachers at the Fletcher School last April 29th. There, he recalled reading Churchill's war memoirs and described his lifelong interest in WSC. In addition to an increased understanding of World War II and the postwar era, he "learned about perseverance and overcoming adversity."

#### Pfaltzgraff on Churchill

17 May 2006: "Churchill's 'Sinews of Peace' Speech Sixty Years On," CC panel discussion, Cabot Intercultural Center, Fletcher School, Tufts University.

29 April 2006: "Churchill: The Gathering Storm and His Finest Hour." CC seminar in cooperation with The Fletcher School, Tufts University, Cabot Intercultural Center.

30 November 2000: "Winston Churchill in 1940." Presented to the New England Churchillians at the Westin Hotel, Waltham, Massachusetts marking Sir Winston's 126th birthday.

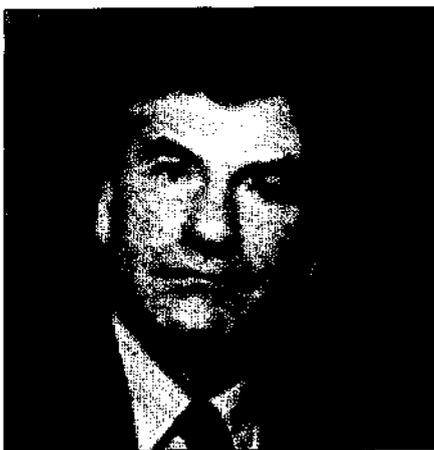
19-22 November 1998: "Churchill and the Tradition and Practice of Liberty," Liberty Fund Colloquium, Hotel Viking, Newport, Rhode Island.

1997-2000: "Winston Churchill and Statecraft," special lecture at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 29 March 2000, 26 March 1999, 10 March 1998, 26 March 1997. «

## Eminent Churchillians: Robert Pfaltzgraff

**D**r. Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., is President of the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, and Shelby Cullom Davis Professor of International Security Studies at the Fletcher School, Tufts University. He traces his membership in The Churchill Centre back thirty years; we remember then-secretary of Defense and honorary member Caspar Weinberger pausing to greet Bob before his speech to the Second International Churchill Conference at the Parker House in 1985.

Bob holds an M.A. in International Relations, a Ph.D. in Political Science, and an M.B.A. in International Business from the University of Pennsylvania. He has held visiting appointments as George



C. Marshall Professor at the College of Europe, Bruges, Belgium; and as Professor, the National Defense College, Tokyo. He has also advised key administration officials on military strategy, modernization, international

**NOTWITHSTANDING** the discrepancies in the "diary," and with the benefit of forty years of hindsight, we may conclude that Moran was the first physician significantly to reveal important information about a world figure that no one else would have been able to record.

**L**ord Moran (Dr. Charles McMoran Wilson, pronounced to rhyme with "sporran") was Winston Churchill's primary physician from 1940 until his patient's death in 1965.<sup>1</sup> The following year he simultaneously published his memoirs in the UK and USA.<sup>2</sup> The response was immediate and highly critical. Churchill's family and his immediate political entourage were outraged. Moran's medical colleagues considered the revealing of any information on his illustrious patient a breach of medical ethics.<sup>3</sup>

Several of Churchill's confidants during World War II and his second premiership were incensed by Moran's book and considered it "an inexcusable breach of confidence."<sup>4</sup> Six authors challenged Moran on several counts, including his assessments of Churchill's performance, political acumen and personal relationships, especially his disparaging remarks about the indefatigable General Hastings "Pug" Ismay. This "inner circle" felt their riposte was necessary because Moran did not confine himself to "technical medical details" and that the doctor "has also given his assessment of Churchill's qualities as a statesman and leader of his country in war and peace. We cannot accept this assessment as it stands: we believe that in some respects it is incorrect and in others incomplete and on both accounts misleading."<sup>5</sup>

The present Lord Moran, in an apparent attempt to rebut the criticisms that have been leveled at his father over the past four decades, has republished the work in two editions. The first (2002) covers May 1940 to July 1945, with thirty-one additions to the original text, and includes an introduction as an explanation for his father's "diary."<sup>6</sup> In it he refers to the publishing controversy and speculates whether it can be "allowed to rest," as he goes on to explain what sort of record his father kept.<sup>7</sup> His proposition is that his father's book should be judged as to the reliability of the various notes and notebooks his father maintained, which he used to write his two books.<sup>8</sup>

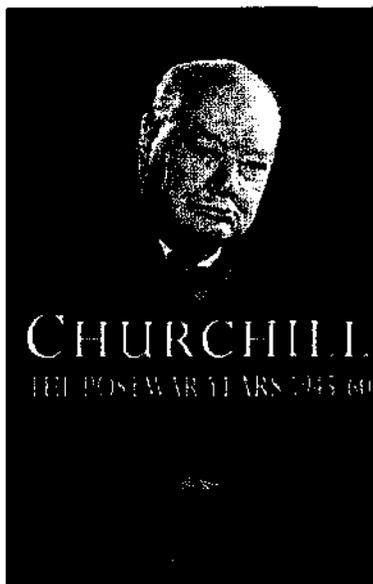
Lord Moran's coverage of the remaining years in his original book, 1945-60, was republished as a companion volume in 2006. This volume contains thirty-three additions and one new medical event. All but one page of the last two chapters are omitted, which now appears as an

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Dr. Mather (Johnmather@aol.com) is has for many years researched Sir Winston Churchill's medical history. He has served as a Churchill Centre governor and secretary, and is director of our DC affiliate, the Washington Society for Churchill.

# Lord Moran's "Diary" Forty Years On

BY JOHN H. MATHER, M.D.



epilogue.<sup>9</sup> The introduction, not by Moran's son, provides insight into the resource files for his father's work: "All these three strands—the absolutely contemporary, the near-contemporary and the essay material—were mingled in the same notebooks."<sup>10</sup>

Nonetheless, the conclusion is that the diary is "an invaluable source for anyone interested in understanding the doctor, as well as his patient."<sup>11</sup>

It must now be concluded that Lord Moran did not produce a diary in the generally accepted use and meaning of the word, as there are many breaks and gaps in the chronology. It is not a day-by-day record, unlike other diaries kept by other Churchill associates.

## Forty Years On

What can be said now about the accuracy, veracity and comprehensiveness of Moran's "diary"? Does it provide useful and clear insights into historical events? Is it a full record of the medical care received by his patient? What inferences might be drawn about Moran as a historian, physician and person?

Lord Moran often refers to keeping a diary and he appears in places to consult earlier diary references.<sup>13</sup> The text is full of quotations of events and conversations, none of which he appears to have checked with the participants for accuracy, which resulted in many ruffled feathers.<sup>14</sup> Yet he wrote, "When I put down my pen I wished to be sure that I had reported faithfully those who have talked to me about [WSC]. I trust that in checking those conversations I have forgotten no one."<sup>15</sup>

His text appears to involve a considerable amount of retrospective editing, for obvious errors have crept in,

such as confusion about dates and who was the more ill at Yalta, Churchill or Roosevelt. His son attributes these errors to his father's age and exhaustion.<sup>16</sup>

Lord Brain, Churchill's neurologist, was particularly disturbed by Moran quoting him without his knowledge and approval. Brain was concerned that his clinical practice might be adversely affected. The dispute was settled, but his son, Dr. Michael Brain, later commented that Moran's use of his father's remarks "showed a gratuitous insensitivity to the feelings of a loyal and very supportive colleague."<sup>17</sup>

Sir Thomas Dunhill, Churchill's surgeon, was also damned with faint praise: "Dunhill rather funks an operation on a man of [WSC's] age and eminence. He is a simple soul, though a fine craftsman."<sup>18</sup> These recorded remarks seem consistent with Moran's personality: even when he admired someone, he had a knack of saying something negative before giving praise.<sup>19</sup> Sir John Colville said, "Though Moran is vain, egotistical and exceedingly indiscreet, his judgment of people is often shrewd, though by no means always right."<sup>20</sup>

## A Historical Record

Moran does not record such events as the 1941 "Atlantic Charter" conference, the 1940 "Battle of Britain" speech and the 1946 "Iron Curtain" speech; at other times he was not in attendance. Later on, Moran was asked to or sought to accompany Churchill on many of the latter's trips. He became aggravated when his request to go along to see President Eisenhower in 1959 was denied.<sup>21</sup>

When Moran did accompany Churchill, unless it was when he provided medical attention or when Churchill was relaxing at various places in to the South of France (as commonly happened after 1955), he was not usually in attendance at meetings involving strategy or statecraft. He makes a number of comments in his "diary" on what had transpired, which has more recently resulted in historians questioning the accuracy of his record. There are conflicting accounts of the timing and nature of events and historians have recently begun to unravel these discrepancies.<sup>22</sup>

John Colville acerbically commented that "Moran was seldom, if ever, present when history was made; but he was quite often invited to dinner afterwards."<sup>23</sup> Moran may have given more credence to what he heard from Churchill than was warranted. One historian wrote: "Churchill's style of tossing ideas around with his companions, often to test their effect, mistakenly inclined Moran to give these half-formed thoughts and suggestions the status of hard fact."<sup>24</sup>

Relying on Moran's work for accurate dates is risky. The "Moran Papers" at the Wellcome Institute Library, University College, London, are almost unavailable to historians and researchers. When Sir Martin Gilbert sought to have a particular date confirmed he was informed the entry did not exist, although the date appears in the "diary." Even existing entries, he wrote, "were not a diary in the accepted sense of the word.... The mind boggles at how much misinformation may have crept into history books, mine included, by such routes."<sup>25</sup>

## Medical Events

Anyone familiar with the medical events in Churchill's life during this period of twenty-five years will note the omissions. The archivist for the "Moran Papers" acknowledges that there is data not in the "diary": "This material includes some sensitive medical information and is therefore closed for a period."<sup>26</sup> The incident in June 1962, when Churchill broke the head of his right femur, is not recorded, as are the medical events of Churchill's last five years. At this point Moran comments that "the short entries in my diary add little to the record. I have thought it proper to omit the painful details... because they are no longer of historical significance..."<sup>27</sup>

Sir John Parkinson, who saw Churchill in consultation about an apparent heart ailment on 24 August 1953, said he was "shocked" by the way WSC had aged since he saw him four years before. There is no "diary" entry for Dr. Parkinson in 1949, or when he had indicated he had seen WSC after the supposed heart attack in December 1941.<sup>28</sup>

Another instance of an inaccurate date concerns Lord Brain, who kept scrupulous notes on his patients. Moran claimed that Lord Brain had first seen Churchill on 25 May 1950, while Lord Brain records that date as 5 October 1949. Brain also records eight subsequent visits that Moran does not record. Churchill's engagement cards at the Churchill Archives Centre show all of the visits made by Brain. The first is as he recorded, 5 October 1949.<sup>29</sup>

## Lord Moran as Physician

When Moran became Churchill's primary physician, he had a modest private practice; Lord Beaverbrook and Brendan Bracken were amongst his patients. Soon Churchill was his only patient, while Moran involved himself more in medical politics. Elected President of the Royal College of Physicians, he represented hospital consultants' interests in the initiation of the National Health Service. This positioned Moran to know the best physicians and surgeons he could summon to treat Churchill. The record demonstrates this as one of his strengths, although his choice of Sir Thomas Dunhill, a thyroid specialist, for Churchill's hernia repair in 1947 may have been a marginal decision.<sup>30</sup>

Moran's biographer, Richard Lovell, had to spend a lot of time organizing the various materials in order to write a cogent and balanced picture. Other medical information about Churchill will eventually be forthcoming. One issue has already surfaced: the full extent of Moran's prescription of various drugs. Some were to help Churchill sleep, while the more controversial were the stimulants which allowed him to be in top form. Churchill appears to have been given a supply of these several drugs, and was able to self-medicate.<sup>31</sup>

Throughout his "diary," Moran selectively records medical information about his patient. He frequently records Churchill's pulse, but there is no record of blood pressure. Lord Brain recorded one of 160/90 in his initial examination.<sup>32</sup> Churchill often took his own tempera- »

## LORDMORAN'S "DIARY"...

ture, and called for Moran when it was elevated, which sometimes proved to be the harbinger of pneumonia. Churchill once called for Moran when he thought he had a temperature of 66 degrees! Moran commented that if so he would be dead. Churchill looked again and reported 96 degrees, but Moran went to see his patient anyway.<sup>33</sup> He seems to accept that his patient would not curb his consumption of alcoholic beverages and cigars, however limited in later years, and his prodigious appetite for fine food. The overall impression Moran left with Colville is that "His skill in diagnosis and the unhesitating speed with which he found the right men at the right time were the greatest services he rendered."<sup>34</sup>

## Some Additional Observations

Moran's book was not the first "memoir" to cast Churchill in a less than noble light. Field Marshal Viscount Alanbrooke had published his own day-by-day diary nine years earlier.<sup>35</sup> Moran ironically commented that Alanbrooke's work "was taken by Winston's friends...as an affront to his fame," and came to Alanbrooke's colleagues "as a complete surprise."<sup>36</sup>

Moran's "diary" was different. Besides medical information on Churchill's physical ailments, such as eye problems, pneumonias and strokes, Moran's diary included detailed information on his patient's moods and mental status. There is a reference to Churchill's depressive tendency, the "Black Dog," which was promptly dismissed, although now well established.<sup>37</sup> Moran provides excruciating detail about Churchill's mood swings, decay and decrepitude, and his dismissive attitude: words Churchill's family could identify as truthful but nonetheless very upsetting.

Moran also intimates that he can help Churchill to "open his heart, and feel better for his candour." Churchill did have a genuine reliance on and affection for Moran, and is quoted as saying, "It is wonderful that you have kept me going for so long."<sup>38</sup> Perhaps the revealing of this intimacy upset the family, while others may have sensed that Moran had inappropriately traded on his special relationship with his patient. It all exposed Churchill to the possibility that he was human after all, and the possibility that he was not so worthy of admiration and honor. Happily his reputation remained undiminished.

## Summary

Notwithstanding the discrepancies in the diary, and with the benefit of forty years of hindsight, we may conclude that Moran was the first physician significantly to reveal important information about a world figure that no one else would have been able to record. When under attack, and in his own defense, he commented to *The Times*: "It is not possible to follow the last twenty-five years of Sir Winston's life without a knowledge of his medical background.... It was exhaustion of mind and body that accounted for much that is otherwise inexplicable. Only a doctor can give the facts accurately."<sup>39</sup>

Moran's revelations of Churchill's physical and mental health was a first, but subsequent biographers have not been squeamish about covering similar ground.<sup>40</sup> This is a big plus for medical historians. Commenting on Moran as a diarist, an academician observed in 1969: "The topical question of whether a patient's confidence has been outraged by his physician's account of him both in his strength and in his weakness will no longer agitate the reader."<sup>41</sup> Today, the issue of ethical propriety in revealing intimate medical details about notable personages seems to be of much less concern.

As Sir Winston's primary physician, Moran mobilized his medical colleagues and provided a level of medical care consistent with contemporary medical practice. His reliance on certain drugs to bolster Churchill's spirits in later years might be questionable, but his patient evinced a strong, rarely ambivalent, and high regard for his services. Whether Churchill would have approved of Moran setting forth the record of his life in such a manner is another matter. WSC might well echo his daughter Lady Soames's conclusion that "Lord Moran understood Winston thoroughly, and he was indeed fortunate he had as his doctor a man who understood not only the medical considerations and risks to his patient, but who was also fully aware of the implications with regard to the office he held, of his condition at any time."<sup>42</sup>

## Endnotes

1. Lord Moran's long life (1882-1977) is detailed in Richard Lovell, *Churchill's Doctor: A Biography of Lord Moran*, New York: Parthenon, 1993.
2. Lord Moran, *Winston Churchill: The Struggle for Survival*, London: Constable 1966; *Churchill: Taken from the Diaries of Lord Moran*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966. (Page references are to the Houghton Mifflin edition.) In London, the *Sunday Times* serialized the work prior to publication, making for timely reaction.
3. Much could be written about the ensuing uproar. The reviewer for *The New York Times* commented that there was "something morbid about publishing so clinical a record of a great man; possibly something 'unethical,' as Americans put it." See Ilza Veith, "On Privileged Communication: A Comparative Study of Several Medical Cases," *The Western Journal of Medicine* 138:3, March 1983, 437-40. See also the editorial, "A Question of Confidence," *The Lancet* vol. I, 23 April 1966, 920.
4. Sir Leslie Rowan in John Wheeler-Bennett, editor, *Action This Day: Working with Churchill*, London: Macmillan, 1968, 249.
5. Lord Normanbrook in *Action This Day*, 10, 31.
6. Lord Moran, *Churchill at War 1940-45*- New York: Carroll & Graf, 2002. One unidentified addition appears in the text (25) where the former Duchess of Marlborough, Consuelo Balsan, is quoted: "Winston looks very well. This is due to Sir Charles. He is President of the Royal College of Physicians but has given up everything to do this....I think the P.M. was rather surprised at this pronouncement. It had never

been put like this before.

7. *Ibid.*, introduction, xxii-xxiii. The present Lord Moran quotes his father's biographer's preface, stating that his father did not keep "a full diary with entries for each day, from which passages were extracted to go into the book."

8. Churchill encouraged Moran to publish his first book, *The Anatomy of Courage* (London: Constable, 1945), but refused to write a preface, saying that might hurt military recruitment. Lowell, *op. cit.*, 213.

9. Lord Moran, *Churchill: The Postwar Years 1945-60*. New York: Carroll & Graf, 2006. The reason for the omission of Chapters 71 and 72 from the original text is unclear, although it was there that the phrase "mounting decrepitude" originally appeared.

10. *Ibid.*, xvi. The conclusion is that "the manuscripts amount not to a 'diary'...but rather the notes for the book on Churchill Moran always intended to write, in a near-constant state of flux and revision."

11. *Ibid.*, xxvii.

12. Review of these sources will make the point: John Martin, *Downing Street: The War Years*, London: Bloomsbury, 1991; John Colville, *The Fringes of Power: Downing Street Diaries*, New York: W. W. Norton, 1985.

13. For the sake of consistency, Moran's original work, *Churchill: The Struggle for Survival I Churchill: Taken from the Diaries of Lord Moran* will be referred to as a "diary." Moran wrote: "My diary for those years (since summer of 1949), five of them during his retirement, is in part a sad record of the advancing signs of decay, a catalogue of lamentations over faculties that had gone." (821)

14. Many of the "Inner Circle" noted their dismay at the quotations attributed to them, and modified them or placed them in a broader context, to provide a more succinct and balanced picture.

15. Moran (1966), *op. cit.*, acknowledgements. Lord Moran was not above telling Wendy Reves that Lady Churchill had "edited out" many passages on Churchill's visits to the Reves chateau, La Pausa, when Mrs. Reves expressed regret that his happy days there were largely unrecorded. In fact, Lady Churchill had never laid eyes on the manuscript until publication. (Private information.)

16. Moran (2002), *op. cit.*, introduction, xxvi. Despite the "discrepancies," his son states, "in the main his account was a truthful and accurate one," supporting this assertion with a series of quotations from supportive commentators.

17. W. Russell Brain, "Encounters with Winston Churchill," *Medical History*, vol. 44, 2000, 3-20.

18. Moran (1966), *op. cit.*, 342

19. Richard Lovell, "Choosing People: An Aspect of the Life of Lord Moran (1882-1977)," *Medical History*, vol. 36, 1992, 442-54. Lovell reminds the reader that Lord Moran's nickname was "Corkscrew Charlie," which, depending on friend or foe, meant he was either shrewd and clever or devious and manipulative.

20. Colville, *op. cit.*, 515. Observation in his diary for 14 September 1944.

21. Anthony Montague Browne, *Long Sunset*. London: Cassell, 1995, 260. Churchill is quoted as saying, "No I don't want that bloody old man," although the author imme-

diately goes on to add, "Actually he [WSC] was rather fond of Moran...."

22. John Ramsden, *Man of the Century: Winston Churchill and His Legend since 1945*. London: HarperCollins, 2002. David Reynolds, *In Command of History: Churchill Fighting and Writing the Second World War*. New York: Random House, 2005.

23. John Colville, *Action This Day*, 110.

24. Anthony Seldon, *Churchill's Indian Summer: The Conservative Government 1951-1955*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1981, 32.

25. Martin Gilbert, *In Search of Churchill*. London: HarperCollins, 1994, 233.

26. P.A. Baker, "Illustrations from the Wellcome Institute Library: The Moran Papers." *Medical History*, vol. 36, 1992, 455-59.

27. Moran (1966), *op. cit.*, xii.

28. Moran (1966), *op. cit.*, 488.

29. Brain, *op. cit.*, 7-8, footnotes 17-18.

30. Prior to performing the hernia repair, the 71-year-old Dunhill practiced the operation for a week on National Health Service patients at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. See Richard Gordon, *An Alarming History of Famous and Difficult Patients*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

31. Richard Lovell, "Letters: Lord Moran's prescriptions for Churchill." *British Medical Journal*, vol. 310, 1999, 1537-38. Moran (1966), *op. cit.* 508, 546, 564, 610, 619, 628, 648, 658.

32. Brain, *op. cit.*, 9.

33. Montague Browne, *op. cit.*, 142.

34. John Colville, *Winston Churchill and his Inner Circle*. New York: Wyndham Books, 1981, 245.

35. Arthur Bryant, *The Turn of the Tide*. New York: Doubleday, 1957; *Triumph in the West 1943-1946*. New York: Doubleday, 1959. A subsequent combined and more complete work is thought to be even more scathing. See Alex Danchev and Daniel Todman, *Alanbrooke: War Diaries 1939-1945*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1998. See Andrew Roberts, "Not For Publication?" *Finest Hour* 111, Summer 2001; and Christopher Harmon, "Alanbrooke and Churchill," *Finest Hour* 112, Autumn 2001.

36. Moran (1966), *op. cit.*, 758-59.

37. Moran (1966), *op. cit.*, 179, 195, 794, 804.

38. Moran (1966), *op. cit.*, 690, 707.

39. Lord Moran, letter to the editor of *The Times*, 25 April 1966.

40. Several books have been published since 1966 on medical biography (pathography), both general and specific. See Bert E. Park, *Ailing, Aging and Addicted: Studies of Compromised Leadership*, Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1993; Clarence G. Lasby, *Eisenhower's Heart Attack*, Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1997; Robert H. Ferrell, *The Dying President: Roosevelt*, Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998. The author can provide a list.

41. Douglas Hubble, "Lord Moran and James Boswell: The Two Diarists Compared and Contrasted." *Medical History*, vol. 13, 1969, 1-9.

42. Mary Soames, *Clementine Churchill*. Revised and updated edition, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002, 470. M>

**I**n the process of proofreading all past Churchilltrivia questions, preparing to relieve Curt Zoller, I came across question 214 back in *Finest Hour* 67:

"The quotation used by Churchill 'If there be any who rejoice that I live, to that dear and excellent woman their gratitude is due' refers to whom?"

Answer: His nanny, Mrs. Everest.

Unusually, Barbara Langworth, the then-editor, does not give her source for this quotation, so I tried to track it down. I came across one reference in *Winston Churchill: The Era and*



refers to Gibbon's nurse instead of his aunt. But this shows that, when writing *My Early Life* in 1930, he was using his phenomenal memory, and that he did not consult the Memoirs. It also demonstrates both his appreciation of a finely tuned sentence, and his deep gratitude for everything Mrs Everest did for him.

It is interesting to think that Churchill might have been inspired as much by Gibbon's life as by his literary style. This is not unimportant. Gibbon almost died at a very early age, as did Churchill. In reading Gibbon's

## "Dear and Excellent Woman"

*the Man* by Virginia Cowles (page 41 in the Hamish Hamilton edition):

He [WSC] attended her funeral and when she was lowered into her grave he wept as he had never wept for his own father. Several years later, in India, he came across the passage Gibbon had written about his nurse: 'If there be any, as I trust there are some, who rejoice that I live, to that dear and excellent woman their gratitude is due.'

It is clear that Cowles was quoting from *My Early Life*, but she did not give a page reference. Churchill's words are to be found on page 109 of my Odhams Press edition:

So pleased was I with *Decline and Fall* that I began at once to read Gibbon's Autobiography... When I read his reference to his old nurse: 'If there be any, as I trust there are some, who rejoice that I live, to that dear and excellent woman their gratitude is due,' I thought of Mrs Everest; and it shall be her epitaph.

The next step was to check

Woods Corner is a bibliophile's column named for the first Churchill bibliographer, Frederick Woods. Mr. Lancaster (jimlanaster@wanadoo.fr) is the new editor of our question and answer column, commencing next issue. (See page opposite.)

**CHURCHILL'S PHOTOGRAPHIC MEMORY** is everywhere evident in his writings and speeches. In searching for the origins of this phrase from *My Early Life*, we find a typical example of Churchill capturing a line he appreciated and storing it away for use later—sometimes years later.

BY JAMES LANCASTER

Gibbon's autobiography, published as *The Memoirs of Edward Gibbon*. In my 1891 Routledge edition on page 52 I found the passage I was looking for:

The maternal office was supplied by my aunt, Mrs Catherine Porten... A life of celibacy transferred her vacant affection to her sister's first child: my weakness excited her pity; her attachment was fortified by labour and success; and if there be any, as I trust there are some, who rejoice that I live, to that dear and excellent woman they must hold themselves indebted. Many anxious and solitary days did she consume in the patient trial of every mode of relief and amusement. Many wakeful nights did she sit by my bedside in trembling expectation that each hour would be my last.

Note that Churchill slightly misquotes the Gibbonian sentence—"their gratitude is due" instead of "they must hold themselves indebted"—and also

Memoirs on sultry afternoons in India, Churchill realised that Gibbon was entirely self-educated—had spent only fourteen months at Oxford in 1752 before his father sent him to Switzerland, because he discovered that young Edward had turned to Rome (which he renounced a few years later). Of his Oxford days Gibbon remarked:

To the University of Oxford I acknowledge no obligation, and she will as readily renounce me for a son, as I am willing to disclaim her for a mother. I spent fourteen months at Magdalen College; they proved the most idle and unprofitable of my whole life. The reader will pronounce between the school and the scholar.

Since Churchill did not go to university himself, it must have given him great comfort to know that this need be no handicap. All one needed was a good library. The story is memorably recounted in *My Early Life* in the chapter, "Education in Bangalore." IS



## "Mr. Churchill at the Embassy"



WSC, British Ambassador to the U.S. Viscount Halifax, Detective-Inspector Walter H. Thompson, Embassy staff. Collection of Sen. Ted Stevens (Alaska).

**M**r. Churchill has moved his residence from the White House to the British Embassy—an indication that final decisions are imminent. He told a crowded gathering of the Embassy staff that there was no reason not to expect a long war.

Mr. Churchill met members of the staff in the Embassy gardens, where he made an informal speech. While it was possible, he said, that the proud German army could collapse as it had done at Jena, in the last war—and in Tunisia where, from a bravely fighting group, it had degenerated into a dejected mob of prisoners—there was no reason to expect sudden deliverance.

Commenting on the changed military position since he visited the United States last June, he said the British Army had put itself on the map once again after the humiliating defeats of Tobruk and Singapore. Everything was going well at present, but he warned them to prepare with their full energies for the hard job ahead. He described the times in which we live as a convulsive, formative period in world history.

Apparently in splendid health, Mr. Churchill, who was wearing a light grey summer suit, gave the V sign to the staff as he entered the garden.

B