

THE CHURCHILLIAN

SPRING 2014 | VOLUME 5 | ISSUE 1

THE MAGAZINE OF THE NATIONAL CHURCHILL MUSEUM

CHURCHILL, ZIONISM AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Winston Churchill and
Palestine

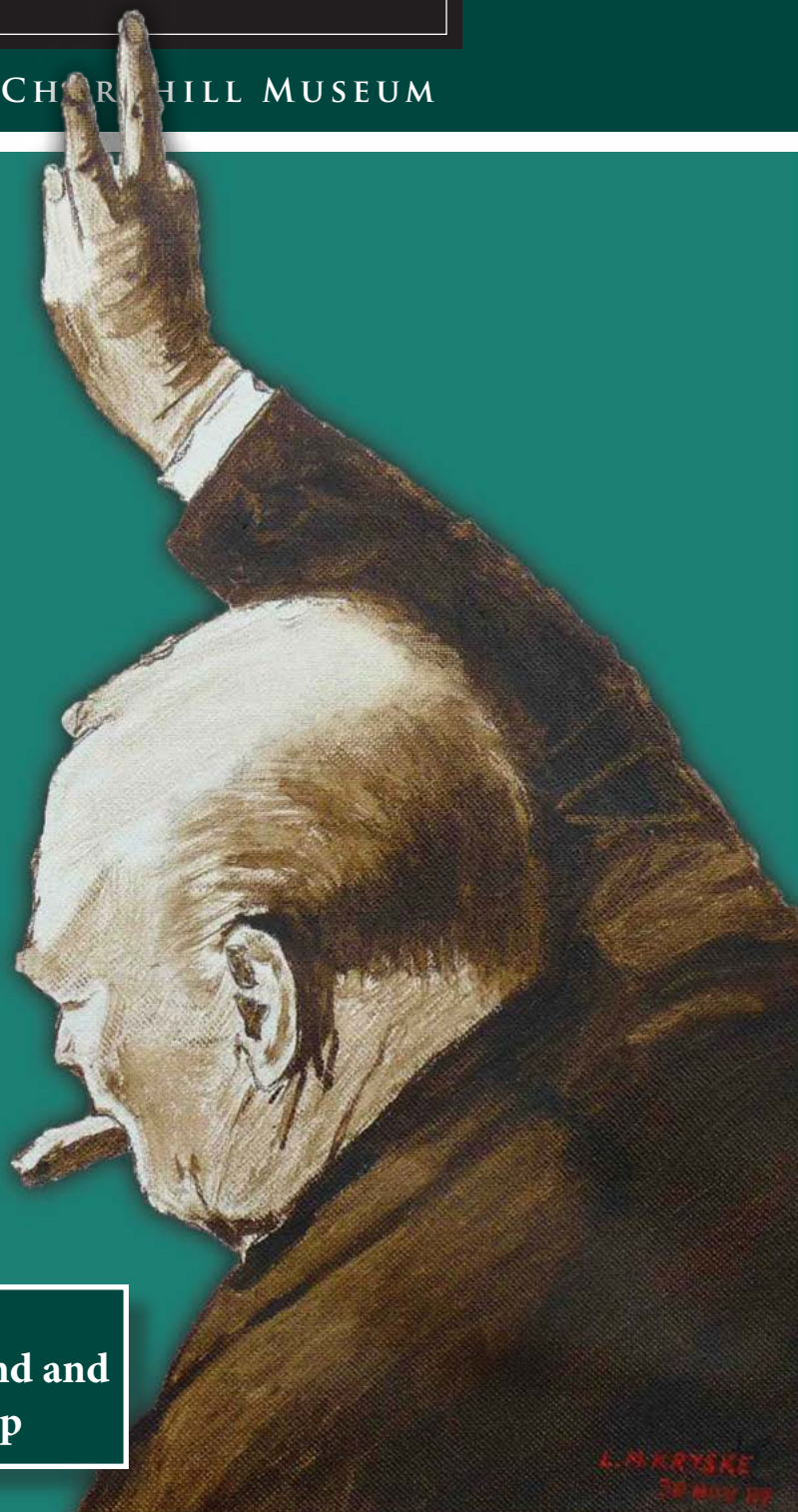
A Jewish National Home,
1922

Sir Winston's Plea for
Tolerance

Churchill and Ben-Gurion

SPECIAL FEATURE:

Full coverage of the 2014 Churchill Weekend and
the Enid and R. Crosby Kemper Lectureship



THE REAL CHURCHILL · FROM THE ARCHIVES
MUSEUM EDUCATIONAL AND PUBLIC PROGRAMMING

MESSAGE FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR



PHOTO BY DAK DILLON

Warm greetings from the campus of Westminster College. As I write, we are still recovering from a wonderful Churchill Weekend. This weekend, marking the 68th anniversary of Churchill's visit here and his *Sinews of Peace* address, was a special one for several reasons. Firstly, because of the threat of bad weather which, while unpleasant, never realized the forecast's dismal potential and because of the presence of members of the Churchill family, Randolph, Catherine and Jennie Churchill for a first ever visit. This, in tandem with a wonderful Enid and R. Crosby Kemper Lecture delivered

by Paul Reid, defied the weather and entertained a bumper crowd of Churchillians at both dinner, in the Museum, and at a special 'ask the experts' brunch. More details and photographs can be found on pages 28-31 and of course re-caps seen at our website.

As events flair in the former USSR many look back to Churchill's stern warnings about the Cold War. In this issue of *The Churchillian*, we too look back to more of Churchill's thoughts on another area of continued tension, the Middle East, with articles that explore both Churchill's pronouncements on events there as well as his own actions that helped shape this most fascinating and complex part of the world. Churchill's public pronouncements are known for their prescience so it is most apt that, as we prepare for the 50th anniversary of Winston Churchill's death in January of 2015, esteemed Churchillian Richard Langworth takes stock of Churchill's reputation today in the age of the internet.

Finally, we look ahead to a summer and autumn of exciting exhibitions marking two landmarks in world history. The first marks the 70th anniversary of the D-Day landings that opened a second front in Europe in the decisive fashion that Stalin had so longed for. Our second special exhibition looks at the 100th anniversary of the outbreak of World War One. The 'war to end all wars' was, unfortunately, not the end point of such conflict, but its course and consequences would shape the 20th century. Winston Churchill, needless to say, featured prominently in both events.

I'm delighted to announce that we will welcome another eminent Churchillian to the National Churchill Museum on May 30/31st. Allen Packwood, Director of the Churchill College Archives Centre in Cambridge will make his first visit to Fulton. Allen will be present at the opening of our D-Day Exhibition and also speak at a dinner in St Louis. Stay tuned for more information.

I hope to see you all at one or both of these exhibitions and look forward to the occasion.

Dr. Rob Havers
Executive Director,
National Churchill Museum

Board of Governors of the Association of Churchill Fellows

Jean-Paul Montupet
Chairman & Senior Fellow
St. Louis, Missouri

A.V. L. Brokaw, III
St. Louis, Missouri

Robert L. DeFer
Chesterfield, Missouri

Earle H. Harbison, Jr.
St. Louis, Missouri

William C. Ives
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

R. Crosby Kemper, III
Kansas City, Missouri

Barbara D. Lewington
St. Louis, Missouri

Richard J. Mahoney
St. Louis, Missouri

William R. Piper
St. Louis, Missouri

Suzanne D. Richardson
St. Louis, Missouri

The Honorable Edwina Sandys, M.B.E.
New York, New York

James M. Schmuck
Wildwood, Missouri

Lady Mary Soames L.G., D.B.E.
London, U.K.

Linda Gill Taylor
Edgerton, Missouri

John C. Wade
Wildwood, Missouri

Hjalma E. Johnson, Emeritus
Dade City, Florida

John R. McFarland, Emeritus
St. Louis, Missouri

Harold L. Ogden, Emeritus
Seal Beach, California

William H. Tyler, Emeritus
Pebble Beach, California

Churchill Institute & Museum Committee of the Board of Trustees, Westminster College

James M. Schmuck, Chair
Wildwood, Missouri

Jane Bell, Vice Chair
Fulton, Missouri

Bruce Brookby
Bartlesville, Oklahoma

Ron J. Kostich
Upland, California

Ken Meyer
Springfield, Missouri

J. Christopher Panettiere
Atlanta, Georgia

George K. Parkins
Prairie Village, Kansas

Suzanne D. Richardson
St. Louis Missouri

William H. Roedy
London, U.K.

Linda Gill Taylor
Edgerton, Missouri

Ronald D. Winney
Edwardsville, Illinois

Rob Havers
Executive Director

THE CHURCHILLIAN

THE MAGAZINE OF THE NATIONAL CHURCHILL MUSEUM

SPRING 2014 | VOLUME 5 | ISSUE 1

- 4 Understanding the Real Churchill
by Richard M. Langworth
- 10 “One of His Greatest Speeches”
Churchill on a Jewish National Home, 1922
The Editors
- 12 Palestine and Zionism Speech
by Winston S. Churchill
- 18 A “Monster of His own Creation”?
Churchill's Plea for Tolerance in the Middle East
by Max E. Hertwig
- 22 Churchill and Ben-Gurion
by Joseph Stone
- 26 The Literary Churchill
Tennyson: His favorite Poet?
by Michael Richards
- 28 The 2013 Churchill And The
Enid And R. Crosby Kemper Lecture
- 32 From the Archives
- 33 Message from the Director of Development
by Kit Freudenberg
- 34 Educational and Public Programming
by Mandy Plybon
- 35 Calendar of Events



— Page 12 —



— Page 22 —

The National Churchill Museum is located on the Westminster College campus in Fulton, Missouri, and designated by Congress as America's National Churchill Museum. 573-592-5369, www.nationalchurchillmuseum.org

Copyright material by Winston S. Churchill is reprinted within *The Churchillian* with the permission of Curtis Brown, London, on behalf of the Estate of Sir Winston Churchill.

Cover: Churchill on VE-Day 1945, 8x10-inch oil on canvas by Larry Krysk, 1993. A retired U.S. navy Commander, Mr. Krysk is an all-round Churchillian who conducts leadership seminars based on Churchill's example (www.YourFinestHour.com).

UNDERSTANDING THE REAL CHURCHILL

Richard M. Langworth



AS HE MOVES FROM A FIGURE OF THE RECENT PAST TO A FIGURE
FOR THE AGES, THE DIGITAL ERA TENDS TO OBFUSCATE CHURCHILL:
WHO HE WAS, WHAT HE STOOD FOR.
IT IS UP TO US CHURCHILLIANS TO KEEP THE RECORD ACCURATE.

In the film “Stand-Up Guys,” a character played by Al Pacino makes a pregnant statement that stopped me in my tracks. “You really die twice,” Pacino says. “First when the last breath leaves your body, and second when the last person who knew you says your name.”

That’s probably true for most of us, but it doesn’t apply to Sir Winston Churchill. Almost half a century since his death, those who knew him have dwindled to a tiny handful; but his name is all over the news and the Internet. When the last person who knew him dies, Churchill will surely live on—like Washington, Lincoln, the two Roosevelts and, on the darker side, Hitler and Stalin. But among those immortals, it is still Winston Churchill who dominates the ether.

For young people today he may fade into the blue distance of the Middle Ages. But anyone who thinks Churchill belongs to history, rather than foursquare in the middle of events, just doesn’t follow the news. We who know something about him, and respect what we know, have both a problem and an opportunity. As the world turns more and more on that electronic Hyde Park Corner, the Internet, we face a bubbling, digital soup, in which Winston Churchill can say anything, or do anything, from deserting a sinking ship to fire-bombing Dresden. Our task is to put the record straight.

Many will remember the widespread Churchill misquote after the *Costa Concordia* tragedy in 2012, when the cruise ship ran aground with the loss of at least thirty lives. He liked Italian liners, Sir Winston supposedly said, because “in time of emergency, there is none of this nonsense about women and children first.” Only the truly ignorant could believe he ever said that.

Quotations editor Nigel Rees says: “If you don’t know the author of a choice remark, credit it to Churchill, Einstein, Lincoln or Martin Luther King. Everyone will be impressed, and they all said so much that nobody will know the difference.”



Moscow 1942: Their later meetings were more cordial than their first but in any case, longstanding gallows humor about Stalin shooting his interpreter is a shaggy dog story.

But the truth matters, or it should. Who was the real Churchill? What did he stand for? We’ll not get the answers from obscure enthusiasts with Wi-Fi connections.

The Challenge of the Internet

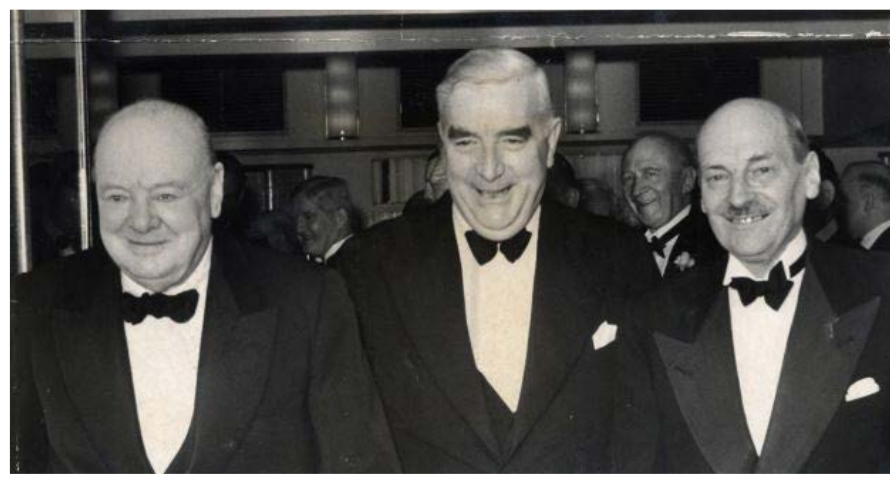
Churchill’s name elicits 20 to 40 million Google hits, though as Andrew Roberts wrote, “admittedly many are about schools, ships, scholarships and a variety of red sweet pea, *Lathyrus odoratus*, that was named after him. Then there are the Internet questions, many of which require the answer ‘No’—such as: ‘Was Churchill Jewish?’, ‘Was Churchill anti-Semitic?’, ‘Was Churchill born in a ladies’ loo after a dance?’, and ‘Did Alexander Fleming save Churchill from drowning?’”

Like it or not, the World Wide Web is where people go. And so much of it is so little checked that it sometimes warps what matters. Professor John Charmley, a famous Churchill critic who nevertheless admires him, wrote: “A recent survey in the UK revealed that most schoolchildren think Churchill was a mythical figure. After holding our heads in our hands and deciding that the world has indeed gone to the dogs, we might care to reflect that there may be an irony in this. Churchill *did* set out to make himself a legendary figure; so it may be only just that he seems to have become one.”

Frequently misunderstood are his risky injections of humor into serious situations. Take his order discontinuing the plan to ring church bells if the Germans invaded Britain in 1940: “I cannot help feeling that anything like a serious invasion would be bound to leak out.” Or on Hitler in 1941, getting bogged down in the Russian winter, “He must have been very loosely educated.” People accused him of undue levity when he said such things.

Today’s web-crawlers often are perplexed at Churchill’s unexpected outbursts of magnanimity—because, I think, magnanimity is so rare in today’s discourse. Take his remark to the House of Commons about Erwin Rommel, commander of the German Afrika Korps, in the midst of battle in 1942: “We have a very daring and skillful opponent against us, and, may I say across the havoc of war, a great general.” That earned him a host of outraged complaints. But that was the real Churchill: a man unable to hide admiration for admirable qualities, even among his enemies.

Often however, these surprise asides give people entirely the wrong ideas, causing them to draw false



WSC with Attlee (right) and Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies. Churchill never forgot Attlee's loyal service in the wartime coalition and, while exchanging the strongest barbs in House of Commons debate, always regarded him as a loyal servant of his country.

conclusions. The late William F. Buckley, Jr., speaking to a Churchill Centre conference in 1995, offered an example: "Working his way through disputatious bureaucracy from separatists in Delhi, Churchill exclaimed, 'I *hate* Indians. They are a beastly people with a beastly religion.'

"I don't doubt," Buckley added, "that the famous gleam came to his eyes when he said this, with mischievous glee—an offense, in modern convention, of genocidal magnitude." And sure enough: ever since a book appeared accusing Churchill of willfully causing the 1943 Bengali famine—which he actually tried to alleviate—that private, wry remark of his has been used to prove he hated Indians.

The real Churchill is a more complicated creature. Understanding him takes determination. Churchill was no fan of India's Congress Party, or of the appalling mistreatment of the "Untouchables" by the Brahmin classes. We must also consider his friendship with Nehru in his later years—or his encouraging message to Gandhi, through a mutual friend, after the 1935 India Act had been passed, over his opposition: "Tell Mr. Gandhi to use the powers that are offered and make the thing a success....you have got the things now; make a success and if you do I will advocate your getting much more."

Those who like to quote Churchill on Gandhi never quote Gandhi on Churchill. For example, here is Gandhi's reply to Churchill's message above: "I have got a good recollection of Mr. Churchill when he was in the Colonial Office, and somehow or other since then I have held the opinion that I can always rely on his sympathy and goodwill." Gandhi was referring to 1906 when, as Undersecretary for the Colonies, Churchill had supported equal rights for the Indian minority in South Africa, for which Gandhi was then campaigning.

The problem is that too many people simply believe *anything*. And, from playwrights to authors to politicians to pundits, you can probably find more pure rubbish about Churchill on the Internet than in all the hypercritical books written about him in the last century. Of course, some of the criticisms are well-founded. Churchill's faults like his virtues were on a grand scale. But the latter far outweighed the former.

Through the work of the National Churchill Museum, the Churchill Centre, the Churchill War Rooms, the Churchill Archives Centre and other institutions, the truth is having some effect. Public figures are more cagey when they quote Churchill nowadays; sometimes they even ask for verification. Senator Warner of

Virginia, quoting the famous but unverified aphorism, "Americans will always do the right thing after all other possibilities are exhausted," added that "good authorities suggest" Churchill didn't say that, but if not, he should have. Fair enough! The columnist George Will, quoting a real inaccuracy ("the greatest argument against democracy is a five-minute conversation with the average voter") admitted that Churchill possibly never said this at all. He was right: Churchill had more respect than that for the average voter.

With a figure still so much in the news, our efforts to portray the real Churchill are worthwhile. He is fun to study. He represents many sides to many questions, which may or may not be relevant today. Professor Paul Addison wrote: "Since history never repeats itself, the policies Churchill adopted do not provide ready-made solutions now. But Churchill's writings and speeches are full of reflections and philosophy that offer food for thought. It is rare to discover in the archives the reflections of a politician on the nature of man."

Here's the rule we who admire him might keep in mind: Criticize and analyze him by all means. *But get it right*. Sir Winston once spoke of "a professor who in his declining hours was asked by his devoted pupils for his final counsel. He replied, 'Verify your quotations.'"

I only wish Twitter and Facebook posters would actually do that. Here are the four most popular Churchill quotes on social media, which it is virtually certain that Winston Churchill never said: 1. "A lie gets halfway around the world before the truth puts its trousers on." (That was actually coined by Franklin Roosevelt's Secretary of State, Cordell Hull.) 2. "Attitude is a little thing that makes a big difference." 3. "Success is not final, failure is not fatal: it is the courage to continue that counts." 4. "Success is the ability to go from one failure to another with no loss of enthusiasm." (Actually, what he *did* say about success is much better: "Suc-



MIT, Boston, 1949

cess always demands a greater effort.” And: “...no one can guarantee success, but only deserve it.”

Representing the army of apocryphal fables is one related by his late grandson. In 1942, as we know, the Prime Minister went to Moscow to tell Stalin there would be no Second Front in Europe anytime soon. Their first conversation left both of them infuriated.

Nearly half a century later, Sir Winston’s grandson happened to meet Mikhail Gorbachev’s interpreter. “I’ve always wanted to know, he asked, “if in Soviet circles there’s anything to this story....”

The story goes that Churchill, after their hot meeting—never one to hold a grudge—pens a private note to Stalin: “The hour was late, we both said things we regret, let us expunge it from the record and start again tomorrow.”

Stalin supposedly replies: “The hour was indeed late, we both said things we regret. We shall start over, and the only witness to our conversation was the interpreter, who has been shot.”

“That is a very amusing story,” said Mr. Gorbachev’s interpreter. “But I can assure you, Mr. Churchill—my father lived a very long and productive life.”

Verified Genuine

Contrariwise, here are three stories that *are* true. We all know about the PM’s famous traveling map room, maintained by the loyal Captain Pym, showing all the theatres of war, frequently updated. One night Churchill passed Captain Pym working late on his hands and knees on the map room floor, his military cap upturned next to him. Churchill stopped, fished out a coin, dropped it into the cap, and passed on without a word.

People say he never carried money, but he had at least something in his pocket early in the century when Lloyd George called out to him from one of the new House of Commons call boxes: “Winston, be a sport and lend me tuppence so I can ring a friend.” Churchill made an elaborate show of digging in his pockets, and finally found a coin. “Here, David, is a shilling. Now you can ring *all* your friends...”

One of the least appreciated periods of his life, until Barbara Leaming’s great book *Churchill Defiant*, was as postwar Leader of the Opposition, excoriating the Labour government and Prime Minister Clement Attlee, of whom Churchill was very fond personally, since Attlee had been his devoted Deputy Prime Minister during the war.

It is *not* true, therefore, that Churchill once said, “an empty car drew up and Clement Attlee got out.” When confronted with this alleged remark he replied heatedly: “Mr. Attlee is a gallant and devoted servant of the Crown. I would never say such things about him.”

And this is important, because it shows us that whatever the political quarrels—which he fought tooth and nail—Churchill never indulged in personal attacks, and regarded his worst critics as servants of the nation.

That is something we have largely lost in politics today.

During a speech by Hugh Gaitskell, who replaced Attlee as Labour leader after Churchill had again become prime minister, Sir Winston tossed a sweet toward his mouth and missed. Hurriedly he searched the folds of his waistcoat, then his trousers, then his bench, then the floor. Gaitskell stopped in mid-sentence and offered to help, as the whole House of Commons watched the frenzied activity. Noting the silence Churchill looked up and said, “I was only looking for my jujube.” (The next day a newspaper account was entitled, “The Fall of the Pastille.”)

He really had a wonderful, comprehending, sometimes cynical but at other times quite charitable attitude to politics and politicians. Here are two remarks the Museum has recently supplied to members of the U.S. Congress: “I have noticed that whenever a distinguished politician declares that a particular question is above party, what he really means is that everybody, without distinction of party, shall vote for him.” (1905) And: “Some people’s idea of [debate] is that they are free to say what they like, but if anyone says anything back, that is an outrage.” (1943)

The Genuine Article

Who was the real Churchill? A genius, if we accept one famous definition of genius—“the capacity for taking infinite pains”—who strove, as he said of Neville Chamberlain, “according to his lights, to the utmost of his capacity and authority, which were powerful, to save the world from awful, devastating struggle.” And once that struggle was upon him, he didn’t win it—that was not in his power.

What he did in his finest hour was *not lose it*.

Of the many who pronounced Churchill the Person of the Century at the end of 1999, the one I remember most is the columnist Charles



Watching the arrival of an American bomber sent under Lend-Lease, 1941.

Krauthammer, whose book I reviewed in the previous issue:

“The great movements that underlie history—the development of science, industry, culture, social and political structures—are undeniably powerful, almost determinant, yet every once in a while, a single person arises without whom everything would be different. In the 20th century

only Churchill carries that absolutely required criterion: indispensability. Without him, in 1940, the world today would be unrecognizable—dark, impoverished, tortured.”

Though often pilloried by the Left or Right, Winston Churchill believed in a “middle road” between radicals and reactionaries, jingoists and appeasers. And he was unabashedly proud, in a way that has gone out of fashion, of his country’s history, and the all the good Britain, Canada, America and the other great democracies, including India, had accomplished.

He is said to have suffered from manic depression—an utter fallacy. “The things he went through would depress anybody,” his daughter says. But in very old age he did sadly reflect: “I have worked very hard and achieved a great deal, only to achieve nothing in the end.”

That, his last private secretary told me, showed his disappointment never to have helped establish a lasting peace, and the permanent relationship he always wanted with America. Meeting his non-Cabinet ministers before he retired, he told them: “Never be separated from the Americans.”

He had mixed feelings about the future. Fearful of Nazi Germany in the 1930s he declared, with words that reverberate today:

“There is nothing new in the story. It is as old as the Sybilline Books.* It falls into that long, dismal catalogue of the fruitlessness of experience and the confirmed unteachability of mankind. Want of foresight, unwillingness to act when action would be simple and effective, lack of clear thinking, confusion of counsel until the emergency comes, until self-preservation strikes its jarring gong—these are the features which constitute the endless repetition of history.”

A fair description of Churchill would be “optimistic realist”—especially about mankind: the same imperfect being, he repeatedly declared, presented by science with increasingly potent and dangerous toys. Yet “the genus homo,” he said in 1949, “is a tough creature who has travelled here by a very long road. His...spirit has, from the earliest dawn of history, shown itself upon occasion capable of mounting to the sublime, far above material conditions or mortal terrors. He still remains man—still remains as Pope described him 200 years ago:

*Placed on this Isthmus of a middle State,
A being darkly wise and rudely great...
Created half to rise and half to fall;
Great Lord of all things, yet a prey to all;
Sole judge of truth, in endless error hurled;
The glory, jest and riddle of the world.”*

It is sometimes said that people like Churchill are rare, that they don't exist, that we'll never find them now. Churchill thought this was "perhaps because the spate of events with which we attempt to cope, and which we strive to control, have far exceeded, in this modern age, the old bounds, that they have been swollen up to giant proportions, while, all the time, the stature and intellect of man remain unchanged. It is therefore above all things important that the moral philosophy and spiritual conceptions of men and nations should hold their own amid these formidable scientific evolutions." It is hard to believe he spoke those words over seventy years ago.

So there is the real Churchill, whom we who respect him should strive to represent. Sir Martin Gilbert, asked to summarize him in one sentence, said: "He was a great humanitarian who was himself distressed that the accidents of history gave him his greatest power at a time when everything had to be focused on defending the country from destruction, rather than achieving his goals of a fairer society."

Churchill was indeed "a noble spirit," Gilbert continued, "sustained in his long life by a faith in the capacity of man to live in peace, to seek prosperity, and to ward off threats and dangers by his own exertions. His love of country, his sense of fair play, his hopes for the human race, were matched by formidable powers of work and thought, vision and foresight. His path had often been dogged by controversy, disappointment and abuse, but these had never deflected him from his sense of duty and his faith in the British people."

Churchill himself added something which justifies his continued study today, nearly a half century from his death and 75 years since his finest hour: "I have tried to drag history up a little nearer to our own times in case it should be helpful as a guide in present difficulties."



Downing Street, during WW2

How do we do that, exactly? To paraphrase the words of a famous American admirer and president: Ask not what Churchill would do today. Ask what we should do, bearing Churchill firmly in mind. □

***Sibylline Books**

A collection of oracular utterances, set out in Greek hexameters, purchased from a sibyl by the last king of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus, and consulted at momentous crises through the history of the Republic and Empire. Only fragments have survived, the rest being lost or deliberately destroyed.

“One of His Greatest Speeches”

Churchill on a Jewish National Home, 1922

“Without Churchill it is very unlikely that Israel would ever have come into existence. It is not given to many men to found, or help preserve, one new state: his score was three.”

—Paul Johnson, *Churchill* (2009)

The three states were Iraq, Israel and Jordan.

Introduction by the Editors

No Israel without Churchill? Paul Johnson’s was a challenging statement, but Johnson stoutly defended it: “Churchill became (and remained) pro-Zionist as soon as it became a practical scheme,” the historian wrote. “At [the 1921 Cairo Conference] and later he was able to defeat attempts to renege on the Balfour Declaration and wind up the Jewish National Home in response to Arab pressure. On the contrary, he gave it every support in his power, and when in 1922 the House of Commons showed signs of turning against the whole idea, he made one of his greatest speeches, which swung Members of Parliament round into giving the Jews their chance.”

Churchill’s words from that speech—long obscure—are reproduced herewith. There is no doubt that it was a signal moment. Facing all three major parties, Churchill took on all the weak-kneed MPs who were beginning to waffle over the Balfour Declaration favoring a Jewish National Home in Palestine, and flung their own words back in their faces.

It is *The Churchillian’s* practice to send material like this to interested experts for

comment before publication. Several greeted it with expressions of disbelief. A leading World War II historian wrote: “How could Johnson credit Churchill with Israel on the basis of one speech in 1922? Almost nothing in history depends on a single event.” Another was pessimistic: “Unless Churchill is planning a reincarnation, the likelihood of Israel reaching its 100th birthday seems suspect.” A third responded: “Nothing suspect about it. We have been around for nearly 4000 years. We will make it for another thirty-five.”

All these are valid points. Churchill’s “Finest Hour” speech of June 1940 affected, but did not decide, the outcome of World War II. More likely, Paul Johnson meant this speech as an example of Churchill’s consistent attitude toward the National Home that became Israel. However, let readers judge for themselves.

What can we learn that is relevant today in the seemingly endless question of Palestine? One element of Churchill’s statesmanship was his prevailing optimism, his constant belief that reasonable people of good will on both sides could see their way clear to peaceful

settlements. Perhaps, cynics might say, if there are enough reasonable people left. A small British organization, “Jews for Justice for Palestinians” (<http://jffjp.com>) carries at its first principle a proposition Churchill could have written: “Peace in the Middle East will only come about with mutual recognition and respect and must be seen as just by both sides.”

We can also learn from Churchill’s fair play, emphasizing as he did the equal rights of Arabs and Jews. Of the original Mandate of Palestine, modern Israel comprises one-seventh; the rest is modern Jordan. In Israel, Arabs comprise 16% of the population, the largest minority group, with full rights of citizenship, and there are twelve Arab members of the Knesset. In Jordan, there are no Jews. □

Reader’s Note:

For the sake of brevity we have edited out certain passages not part of Churchill’s main message, added subtitles, and broken up a few long paragraphs from their appearance in *Hansard*. We have identified all the people Churchill referred to, some now obscure, and made note of their various roles.

We left all the interruptions by Churchill’s listeners, which makes this speech such a good example of why the House of Commons is unrivalled as a place of political debate. Speaking without interruptions for the cameras in an empty House of Representatives, a U.S. Congressman has only to read a well-rehearsed speech. Nobody rises with a catcall or interruption to distract the speaker. It is not so easy to pose for the camera when you don’t know what kind of flak will be hurled at you by some opposition Member, or even one of your allies, in a packed house of Commons. This speech shows us how good Churchill was at his craft of oratory.

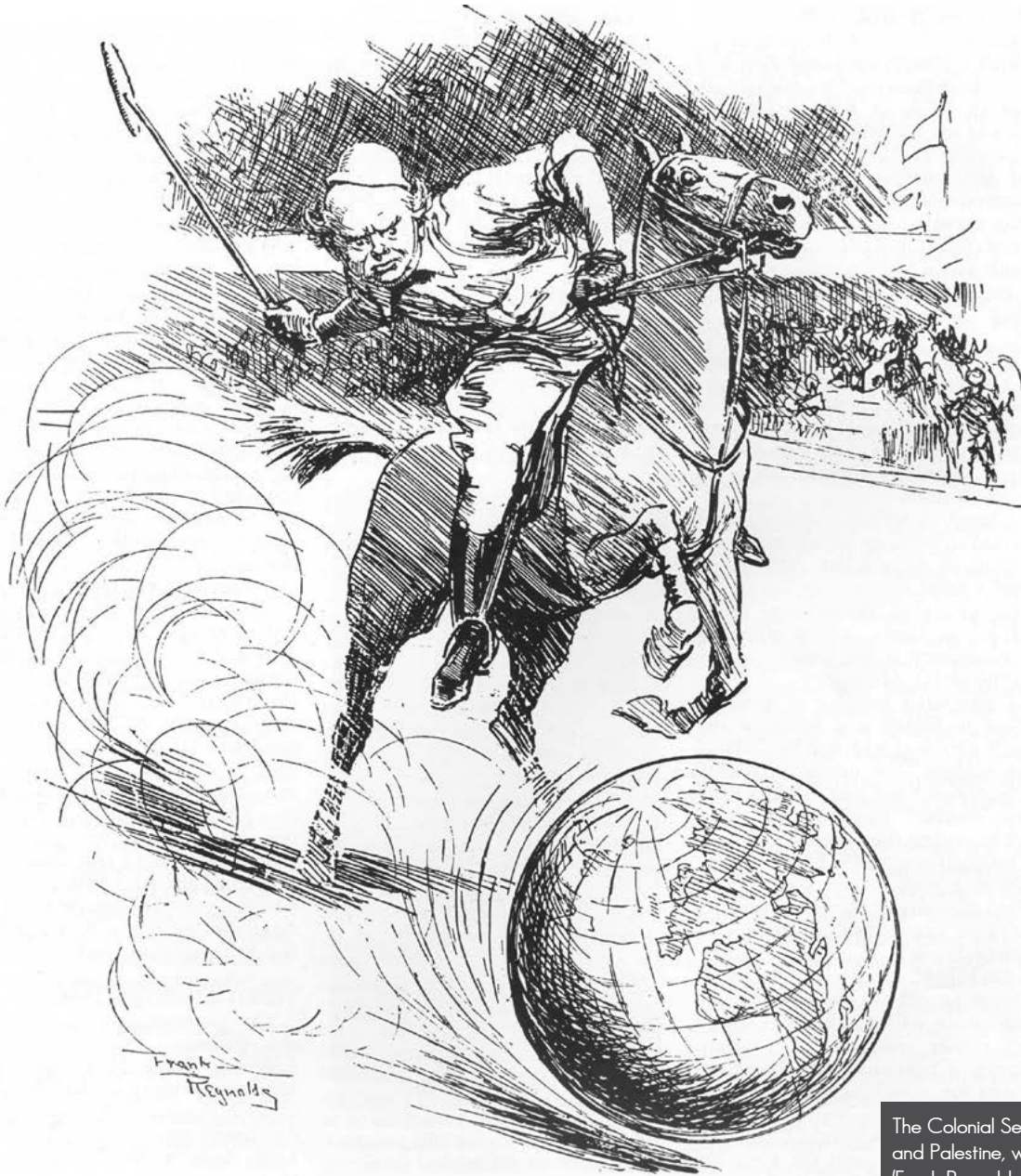


Churchill (front and center) chaired the March 1921 Cairo Conference, which largely set the borders of the modern Middle East. Seated at WSC’s right is Palestine High Commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel. Standing, first row (flowered hat) is Gertrude Bell, travel writer and mapper of the region; Sir Sassoon Eskell, Iraqi financier and statesman; Field Marshal Lord Allenby, former commander in the Middle East, now High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan; Jafar Pasha al-Askar, who deserted the Turks to join Feisal and would later serve two terms as Iraqi prime minister; and T.E. Lawrence (of Arabia). Bell and Lawrence ardently championed the cause of Emir Feisal. We would be pleased to have identification of everyone in this photo; contact the editor. (Wikimedia Commons)

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

Palestine and Zionism

Reprinted by kind courtesy
of the Churchill Literary
Trust, Curtis Brown Ltd.,
and Randolph S. Churchill.



The Colonial Secretary, pronouncing on Mesopotamia
and Palestine, was in the saddle remaking the world.
(Frank Reynolds in Punch, June 15, 1921).

OUR IMPERIAL No. 1.

[What with his pronouncement on Mesopotamia, and the opening of the Imperial Conference, this is a great week for
Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL.]

Broadly speaking, there are two issues raised tonight, and it is very important to keep them distinct. The first is, Are we to keep our pledge to the Zionists [the Balfour Declaration] made in 1917 to the effect that His Majesty's Government would use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of a National Home for the Jewish people? Are we to keep that pledge or are we to abandon it? That is the first issue. The second issue is a separate one, and it is: Are the measures taken by the Colonial Office to fulfill that pledge reasonable and proper measures?

The Balfour Declaration

No doubt individual Members who have always opposed the Zionist policy—if such there be—are perfectly consistent in opposing it now, but the House, as a whole, has definitely committed itself on more than one occasion to the general proposition that we should use our best endeavours to make good our pledges and facilitate the achievement of a National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

There never has been any serious challenge to that policy in Parliament. Pledges and promises were made during the war, and they were made not only on the merits, though I think the merits are considerable. They were made because it was considered they would be of value to us in our struggle to win the war. It was considered that the support which the Jews could give us all over the world, and particularly in the United States, and also in Russia, would be a definite palpable advantage.

I was not responsible at that time for the giving of those pledges, nor for the conduct of the war of which they were, when given, an integral part. But like other Members I supported the policy of the War Cabinet. Like other Members, I accepted and was proud to accept a share in those great

“...I appeal to the House of Commons not to alter its opinion...but to stand faithfully to the undertakings which have been given in the name of Britain, and interpret in an honourable and earnest way the promise that Britain will do her best to fulfill her undertakings to the Zionists.”

transactions, which left us with terrible losses, with formidable obligations, but nevertheless with unchallengeable victory. We presented ourselves to our constituents on that basis, and on that basis we were returned.

Then came the peace negotiations. They were watched throughout with the utmost vigilance by Parliament. Parliament repeatedly and deliberately approved of the arrangements which were made, and included among those arrangements was the acceptance by Great Britain of mandatory responsibility for Palestine, and with that mandatory responsibility for Palestine there was also accepted responsibility for fulfilling the promises we had made to the Zionists.

Mr. Gwynne¹: The House has not yet had an opportunity of discussing it.

Mr. Churchill: The House again and again on most formal occasions has approved of the great series of negotiations in which these were included, and which is associated with the name of Versailles. There is no doubt whatever that the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration was an integral part of the whole mandatory system, as inaugurated by agreement between the victorious Powers and by the Treaty of Versailles.

These are decisions in which I have taken only a very subordinate part, and which the House at every stage has approved. And speaking as Colonial Secretary, charged with the execution of a particular policy, a policy adopted

The Balfour Declaration (November 2, 1917) was a letter from the British Foreign Secretary, Arthur James Balfour, to Lord Rothschild (Walter Rothschild, Second Baron Rothschild), a leader of the British Jewish community, for transmission to the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland.

It read as follows: “His Majesty’s government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.”

The text of the letter was published in the press one week later, on November 9, 1917. The “Balfour Declaration” was later incorporated into the Sèvres peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire and the Mandate for Palestine. The original document is in the British Library. —Wikipedia



What is commonly known now as "Palestine" comprises 22% of the British Palestine Mandate, the rest having been apportioned to the Arab state of Trans-Jordan (now Jordan), where Jewish immigration was forbidden. The disputed 22% became what one historian called "the Twice-Promised Land," by Lawrence to the Arabs, Balfour to the Jews. (Wikimedia Commons; legends are in Czech).

“...an equally important promise was made to the Arab inhabitants in Palestine that their civil and religious rights would be effectively safeguarded, and that they should not be turned out to make room for newcomers.”

and confirmed by this country before the whole world, I am bound by the pledges and promises which have been given in the name of Great Britain in the past, and by the decisions which Parliament has taken from time to time.

Then and Now

I know it is dangerous to go back upon the declarations which people have made in the past—at any rate, to go back for a very long period. For about fifteen years, I am quite prepared to stand scrutiny. Let us keep to the question. When the Zionist policy was announced by Lord Balfour, then Mr. Balfour, almost every public man in this country expressed his opinion upon it. I am going to read now, not the opinions

of ministers of all denominations, not the views of the most gifted writers of every school of thought. I am going to deal only with politicians. We are all politicians here.

Lord Grey² said: “I am entirely in sympathy with the declaration of Mr. Balfour.”

Lord Crewe³ said: “I have long hoped that it would be possible to make such a declaration.”

The Noble Lord the Member for Hitchin (Lord Robert Cecil)⁴ had a letter written: “Lord Robert Cecil wishes me to say that he was very glad to see Mr. Balfour’s letter, and has

naturally the fullest sympathy with the policy therein enunciated.”

Speaking on behalf of the Labour Party, the Rt. Hon. Member who then represented Barnard Castle (Mr. Arthur Henderson)⁵ strongly supported the policy, and the Rt. Hon. Member for Gorton (Mr. Hodge)⁶, then Minister of Pensions, said: “I fully sympathise with the view expressed in Mr. Balfour’s letter. Further, may I express a hope that the end of the War may speedily see the realisation of the Zionists’ dream.”

Lord Sydenham⁷ said...[Hon. Members: “Who is he?”]

Mr. Churchill: He is one of the great controversialists in the Press and in another place [the House of Lords], at the end of the passage. As to the fulfillment of the dreams of the Zionists, he said: “I earnestly hope that one result of the War will be to free Palestine from the withering blight of Turkish rule, and to render it available as the national home of the Jewish people, who can restore its ancient prosperity.”

Another communication ran this way: “Captain Wedgwood Benn⁸ has returned to service at the Front”—that was what the Hon. and gallant gentleman usually did during the War—“I am able to say, however, that he has always had the warmest sympathy with the Zionist movement, and welcomes cordially the declaration of the Government on the subject.”

Captain Benn: And still does.

Mr. Churchill: The Hon. and Learned Member for York (Sir John Butcher)⁹, who has just addressed us in terms of such biting indignation, was almost lyrical on the subject. He said: “I trust the day is not far distant when the Jewish people may be free to return to the sacred birthplace of their race, and to establish in the ancient home of their fathers a great, free,

industrial community where, safe from all external aggression, they may attain their ideals, and fulfill their destiny. We had great support from those who are known as the Die-hard party.”

My Hon. and Gallant Friend the Member for Bournemouth (Lt.-Col. Croft)¹⁰ said: “I heartily welcome the idea of a Jewish community living

and endeavoured a little to guard himself against any discovery of his previous declarations—my Hon. Friend the Member for Brentford (Sir William Joynson-Hicks).¹³

I could prolong this list. But I am content, and I say this: You have no right to say this kind of thing as individuals; you have no right to support public

Arab inhabitants in Palestine that their civil and religious rights would be effectively safeguarded, and that they should not be turned out to make room for newcomers. If that pledge was to be acted upon, it was perfectly clear that the newcomers must bring their own means of livelihood, and that they, by their industry, by their brains, and by their money, must create

“Left to themselves, the Arabs of Palestine would not in a thousand years have taken effective steps towards the irrigation and electrification of Palestine. They would have been quite content to dwell—a handful of philosophic people—in the wasted sun-scorched plains, letting the waters of the Jordan continue to flow unbridled and unharnessed into the Dead Sea.”

under British protection in Palestine, and I feel sure that this will be a great triumph for civilisation.”

I could prolong these quotations almost indefinitely, but I do not wish to show any want of chivalry. I intend, however, to claim the same consideration on their part for those who have now to bear the burden of these enthusiasms.

As far as I can make out, only one Hon. Member has guarded himself with great care—the Hon. and Gallant Member for Bilston (Brigadier-General Hickman)¹¹ who wrote: “I am sorry, but I know nothing of the subject, and ask you to excuse me.”

Another most formidable authority was lent to this list by the Hon. Baronet the Member for Ayr Burghs (Sir George Younger)¹², who wrote: “Mr. Balfour’s declaration on the subject of Palestine and the Jewish people has my entire sympathy.”

So that was all right. Last, but not least, my Hon. Friend who introduced this subject, who felt a sort of prompting of weakness on this subject,

declarations made in the name of your country in the crisis and heat of the war, and then afterwards, when all is cold and prosaic, to turn round and attack the Minister or the Department which is faithfully and laboriously endeavouring to translate these perfervid enthusiasms into the sober, concrete facts of day-to-day administration.

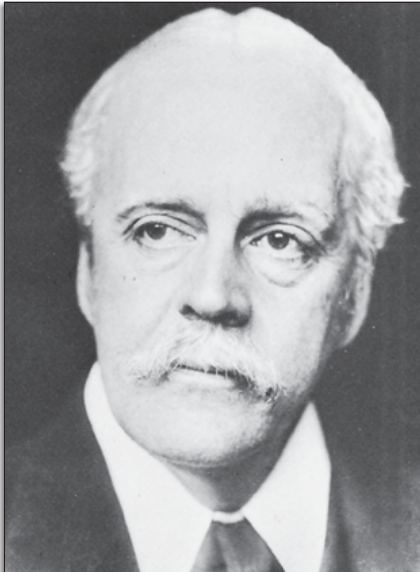
I say, in all consistency and reasonable fair play, that does not justify the House of Commons at this stage in repudiating the general Zionist policy. That would not be in accordance with the way in which affairs of State are conducted by the Imperial Parliament or, at any rate, by the House of Commons. I appeal to the House of Commons not to alter its opinion on the general question, but to stand faithfully to the undertakings which have been given in the name of Britain, and interpret in an honourable and earnest way the promise that Britain will do her best to fulfill her undertakings to the Zionists.

Fair Play for the Arabs

At the same time that this pledge was made to the Zionists, an equally important promise was made to the

new sources of wealth on which they could live without detriment to or subtraction from the well-being of the Arab population. It was inevitable that, by creating these new sources of wealth, and bringing this new money into the country, they would not only benefit themselves, but benefit and enrich the entire country among all classes and races of its population.

What sources of new wealth were opened? In the first place, there was a greatly extended and revived agriculture. As I explained to the House when I addressed Hon. Members a year and a half ago, anyone who has visited Palestine recently must have seen how parts of the desert have been converted into gardens, and how material improvement has been effected in every respect by the Arab population dwelling around. On the sides of the hills there are enormous systems of terraces, and they are now the abode of an active cultivating population; whereas before, under centuries of Turkish and Arab rule, they had relapsed into a wilderness. There is no doubt whatever that in that country there is room for still further energy and development if capital and other forces be allowed to



Arthur James Balfour (1848-1930), First Earl of Balfour (1922) had been prime minister from 1902 to 1905. He succeeded Churchill as First Lord of the Admiralty in 1915, and from 1916 to 1919 was foreign secretary, when he issued the famous declaration of intent for a Jewish national home in Palestine. Churchill admired Balfour, but thought him largely detached from the great issues. Labour Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald said on his death: "He saw a great deal of life from afar."

play their part. There is no doubt that there is room for a far larger number of people, and this far larger number of people will be able to lead far more decent and prosperous lives.

Apart from this agricultural work, this reclamation work, there are services which science, assisted by outside capital, can render, and of all the enterprises of importance which would have the effect of greatly enriching the land none was greater than the scientific storage and regulation of the waters of the Jordan for the provision of cheap power and light needed for the industry of Palestine, as well as water for the irrigation of new lands now desolate. This would have been carrying out your policy, not only the policy of the Government, and it was the only means by which it could be done without injuring vitally the existence of the Arab inhabitants of the country. It would create a new world entirely,

"...was not this a good gift which would impress more than anything else on the Arab population that the Zionists were their friends and helpers, not their expellers and expropriators, and that the earth was a generous mother, that Palestine had before it a bright future, and that there was enough for all?"

a new means of existence. And it was only by the irrigation which created and fertilised the land, and by electric power which would supply the means of employing the Arab population, that you could take any steps towards the honest fulfillment of the pledges to which this country and this House, to an unparalleled extent of individual commitment, is irrevocably committed.

What better steps could we take, in order to fulfill our pledge to help them to establish their national home, without breaking our pledge to the Arabs that they would not be disturbed, than to interest Zionists in the creation of this new Palestinian world which, without injustice to a single individual, without taking away one scrap of what was there before, would endow the whole country with the assurance of a greater prosperity and the means of a higher economic and social life? Was not this a good gift which the Zionists would bring with them, the consequences of which spreading as years went by in general easement and amelioration, was not this a good gift which would impress more than anything else on the Arab population that the Zionists were their friends and helpers, not their expellers and expropriators, and that the earth was a generous mother, that Palestine had before it a bright future, and that there was enough for all?

Were we wrong in carrying out the policy of the nation and of Parliament

in fixing upon this development of the waterways and the water power of Palestine as the main and principal means by which we could fulfill our undertaking? I am told that the Arabs would have done it themselves. Who is going to believe that? Left to themselves, the Arabs of Palestine would not in a thousand years have taken effective steps towards the irrigation and electrification of Palestine. They would have been quite content to dwell—a handful of philosophic people—in the wasted sun-scorched plains, letting the waters of the Jordan continue to flow unbridled and unharnessed into the Dead Sea.

Mr. Marriott¹⁴: Is there no Englishman who would have done it for them?

Mr. Churchill: I really must remind my Hon. Friend that he wrote, in 1917: "I entirely agree in the declaration of sympathy made by Mr. Balfour, on behalf of the Government to the Zionist Federation, and trust that the termination of the War may permit the realisation of the hope and intention which he expressed."

Mr. Marriott: I stand by every word of that.

Mr. Churchill: It is very easy for my Hon. Friend to sit there standing by every word, but he takes every conceivable point that occurs to him

against the Government in their endeavour to carry out the Mandate and the imperative commands which he laid upon them.

Where there are tremendous public works awaiting construction, which will enormously enrich the countries concerned, and enable them to buy our manufactures much more largely, we always fall between two stools. We have not got the money ourselves. The Government will not advance the money. What would be said were I to ask for a loan of £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 for developing Palestine irrigation at this moment? It would be completely turned down.

But we are so mortally afraid of any private person coming along, or of any concession being given, lest they may make something out of it. In a great number—the great majority—of cases, valuable works are not undertaken, and many people who undertake public works on Government concessions lose their money, while, in the few cases in which they make a small profit, the Minister responsible is always abused as a pickpocket, who has given away valuable public concessions to private speculators. The result is that the development of your possessions is far below what it might be, and that you suffer in your employment continuously by the fact that these great estates are not brought up to a high level of economic development.

Keeping Britain's Word

I am bound to ask the Committee to take the vote which is about to be given as a vote of confidence, because we cannot carry out our pledges to the Zionists, with which the House is fully familiar, unless we are permitted to use Jews, and use Jews freely, within what limits are proper, to develop new sources of wealth in Palestine. I am bound also to ask the Committee to attach significance to this vote because

of the adverse vote recorded in another place a few days ago. I think that it was a very unfortunate vote.

As far as this House and the country are concerned, it does not make much difference. We all know that you can easily get sixty or seventy Members of that Chamber together. We all remember the vote given on the subject of Miss Violet Douglas-Pennant.¹⁵ This vote may have a serious result in Palestine. It might lead to violent disturbances, and though we consider ourselves properly equipped to deal with such disturbances, and have every intention of putting them down with a firm hand, a vote like this, unless dealt with by the House of Commons, might lead to distress and bloodshed.

We are doing our best to carry out the pledges as entered into both to the Jews and the Arabs. We are doing our best to develop the resources of Palestine in order to recoup the expenditure made by this country. The year before last we were faced with a cost of £8,000,000; last year it cost £4,000,000; this year it was estimated at a cost of £2,000,000. I had long talks with Sir Herbert Samuel¹⁶ while he was over here. He promised me that next year it will not be more than £1,500,000, and the year after that only £1,000,000.

This is a great reduction in four years of administration from £8,000,000 to £1,000,000. I say that Palestine is all the more important to us in view of what is happening, in view of the ever-growing significance to the British Empire of the Suez Canal; and I do not think £1,000,000 a year, even if further reductions cannot be obtained—and I do not admit that no further reductions can be obtained—would be too much for Great Britain to pay for the control and guardianship of this great historic land, and for keeping the word she has given before all the nations of the world. □

Endnotes

1. Rupert Sackville Gwynne (1873-1924), Conservative MP 1910-24.
2. Edward Grey, First Viscount Grey (1862-1933), Liberal foreign secretary 1905-16, the longest tenure of anyone in that office.
3. Robert Crewe-Milnes, First Marquess of Crewe (1858-1945), Liberal Colonial Secretary 1910-15, Liberal leader in the House of Lords 1908-16.
4. Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, First Viscount Cecil (1864-1958), Conservative Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs 1915-1919.
5. Arthur Henderson (1863-1935), Labour MP from 1908, later Home and Foreign Secretary.
6. John Hodge (1855-1937), Labour MP from 1906, Minister of Labour, then Pensions in the wartime coalition government, 1915-18.
7. George Clarke, First Baron Sydenham (1848-1933), colonial administrator, author of an anti-Churchill biography of Admiral Lord Fisher.
8. William Wedgwood Benn, First Viscount Stansgate (1877-1960), Liberal then Labour MP 1906-42, received DSO and DFC in World War I.
9. John George Butcher, First Baron Danesfort (1852-1935), Conservative MP 1892-1906, 1908-23, adamant opponent of Zionist concessions.
10. Henry Page Croft, First Baron Croft (1861-1947), Conservative MP 1906-40, Undersecretary of State for War in the 1940-45 Churchill coalition.
11. Thomas Edgecumbe Hickman (1859-1930), army officer, Conservative MP 1910-22.
12. George Younger, First Viscount Younger (1851-1929), Conservative MP 1906-22.
13. William Joynson-Hicks, First Viscount Brentford (1865-1932), known as "Jix," Conservative MP 1908-29, Home Secretary 1924-29.
14. Sir John Marriott (1859-1945), historian and Conservative MP 1917-29.
15. Violet Douglas-Pennant (1869-1945), second commandant Women's Royal Air Force (WRAF). Unfairly dismissed in 1918, she appealed to Churchill, who demanded a judicial inquiry which failed to clear her name.
16. Herbert Samuel, First Viscount Samuel (1870-1963), Liberal MP 1902-18, First Palestine High Commissioner 1920-25.

A "MONSTER OF HIS OWN CREATION"?

CHURCHILL'S PLEA FOR TOLERANCE
IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Max E. Hertwig



We have much to learn from Churchill's experience in trying to bring peace to the Middle East, and our learning might begin with an understanding of "the art of the possible" in 1921—when Churchill, as British Colonial Secretary, presided over key decisions that shaped that part of the world.

The historian David Fromkin, author of *A Peace to End all Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East* (1989, still in print) was asked after a lecture why Churchill, as chairman of the 1921 Cairo Conference on the Middle East, installed two kings from Arabia, Feisal in Iraq and Abdullah in Jordan. (Abdullah's descendant still rules.) Why did Churchill opt for monarchies, instead of republics?

"Churchill was a monarchist," Fromkin replied, "but in the world in which he grew up, that's what you did. When it was decided just before the First World War to create an independent state of Albania, an intrinsic part of the thing was to find it a king.

"Abdullah was part of the problem, so they made him part of the solution. He was there in Jordan; he had armed followers, he claimed he was going to avenge the wrongs done to his brother Feisal. For all the British knew at that time, Abdullah might upset their tenuous rule. It's like deputizing a thief to sheriff because there aren't any other deputies. It was logical to ask Abdullah to take charge....As for Feisal, there was a general feeling at the time that when you brought in a king for a new country, it ought to be somebody who is not from that country—not involved in its internal feuds. You look for an outsider and a unifier."

Fromkin said Churchill believed that Feisal and Abdullah would prove to be moderate

◀ Winston and Clementine Churchill, right with Palestine High Commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel the Emir Abdullah of Trans-Jordan, Government House, Jerusalem, March 28th, 1921. "I have no hostility for the Arabs," Churchill said in 1936. "I think I made most of the settlements over fourteen years ago governing the Palestine situation. The Emir Abdullah is in Transjordan, where I put him one Sunday afternoon at Jerusalem." Abdullah II, the Emir's great-grandson, now rules in Jordan.

and restraining influences. Abdullah himself accompanied Churchill in his tour of Jerusalem, and supported (or at least did not contest) Churchill's desire for a Jewish National Home. Feisal, favored by Churchill's friend and colleague Lawrence of Arabia, seemed malleable enough, although after he took the throne of Iraq he frequently defied the British. Whatever the faults of the two kings, however, Churchill found them far preferable to the Wahhabis.

Wahhabism is an ultra-conservative, branch of Sunni Islam aspiring to fundamental Islamic teachings. According to Natana De Long-Bas, senior research assistant at the Prince Alwaleed Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University: "The militant Islam of Osama bin Laden did not have its origins in the teachings of Ibn Abd-al-Wahhab and is not representative of Wahhabi Islam as it is practiced in contemporary Saudi Arabia. [But since] bin Laden's global jihad was of Islam in general and Wahhabi Islam in particular, its prominence in headline news took Wahhabi Islam across the spectrum from revival and reform to global jihad."

The historian Noah Feldman wrote that although Saudi Wahhabis were "the largest funders of local Muslim Brotherhood chapters and other hard-line Islamists," they opposed jihadi resistance to Muslim governments and assassination of Muslim leaders because of their belief that "the decision to wage jihad lay with the ruler, not the individual believer."

The Wahhabi sect was a serious impediment to Churchill during the Middle East Conference, which he convened in March 1921 to take up the disposition of the former Ottoman Empire. The Wahhabis were the most violent opponents of the "Sherifian policy," bringing the Sherif Feisal and his brother Abdullah to rule in Mesopotamia (now Iraq) and Jordan respectively. The Mideast commander General Tudor wrote to Churchill in October 1922: "A hostile Wahhabi Trans-Jordan could not fail to render the carrying through of our Jewish policy much more difficult, as the Arabs of Palestine would be encouraged in their already strong hostility to Zionism. We might have many more raids to deal with than at present."

Was Churchill an incurable optimist in thinking that Arabs and Jews could ever get along in Palestine? Many scholars think so now, nearly a century later. The most charitable view of Churchill's role in the Middle East may be what he himself said of Neville Chamberlain, after Chamberlain's appeasement policies were proved futile:

"But what were these hopes in which he was disappointed?...What was that faith that was abused? They were surely among the most noble and benevolent instincts of the human heart—the love of peace, the toil for peace, the strife for peace, the pursuit of peace, even at great peril, and certainly to the utter disdain of popularity or clamour."

Cairo Conference, March 12, 1921
from Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill, vol. IV, The Stricken World 1917-1922*
(London: Heinemann, 1975), 545:

The Chairman [Mr. Churchill] pointed out that a strong argument in favour of Sherifian policy was that it enabled His Majesty's Government to bring pressure to bear on one Arab sphere in order to attain their own ends in another. If Feisal knew that not only his father's subsidy and the protection of the Holy Places from Wahhabi attack, but also the position of his brother in Trans-Jordan was dependent upon his own good behaviour, he would be much easier to deal with. The same argument applied *mutatis mutandis* to King Hussein and Emir Abdullah. The French Government had tried to convince him that by adopting a Sherifian policy he would risk being destroyed, like Frankenstein, by a monster of his own creation.

Churchill on Middle East Policy
House of Commons, June 14, 1921 (*Hansard*):

Mesopotamia is not, like Egypt, a place which in a strategic sense is of cardinal importance to our interests, and our policy in Mesopotamia is to reduce our commitments and to extricate ourselves from our burdens while at the same time honourably discharging our obligations and building up a strong and effective Arab Government which will always be the friend of Britain and, I will add, the friend of France.¹

We are leaning strongly to what I may call the Sherifian solution, both in Mesopotamia, to which the Emir Feisal is proceeding, and in Trans-Jordania,

where the Emir Abdullah is now in charge. We are also giving aid and assistance to King Hussein, the Sherif of Mecca, whose State and whose finances have been grievously affected by the interruption of the pilgrimage, in which our Mohammedan countrymen are so deeply interested, and which we desire to see resumed. The repercussion of this Sherifian policy upon the other Arab chiefs must be carefully watched.

In the vast deserts of Arabia, which stretch eastward and north-eastward from the neighbourhood of Mecca to the Persian Gulf and to the boundaries of Mesopotamia, there dwell the peoples of Nejd, powerful nomadic tribes, at the head of whom the remarkable chief Bin Saud maintains himself. This Arab chief has long been in a state of warfare, raid, and reprisal with King Hussein and with his neighbours generally. A large number of Bin Saud's followers belong to the Wahhabi sect, a form of Mohammedanism which bears, roughly speaking, the same relation to orthodox Islam as the most militant form of Calvinism would have borne to Rome in the fiercest times of the religious wars.

The Wahhabis profess a life of exceeding austerity, and what they practise themselves they rigorously enforce on others. They hold it as an article of duty, as well as of faith, to kill all who do not share their opinions and to make slaves of their wives and children. Women have been put to death in Wahhabi villages for simply appearing in the streets. It is a penal offence to wear a silk garment. Men have been killed for smoking a cigarette, and as for the crime of alcohol, the most energetic supporter of the temperance cause in this country falls far behind them.

Austere, intolerant, well-armed, and blood-thirsty, in their own regions the Ahabs are a distinct factor which must be taken into account, and they have been, and still are, very dangerous to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and to the whole institution of the pilgrimage, in which our Indian fellow-subjects are so deeply concerned.²

The Emir Bin Saud has shown himself capable of leading and, within considerable limits, of

controlling these formidable sectaries. He has always shown himself well disposed towards Great Britain and has long been in intimate relations with Sir Percy Cox.³ Under the advice of Sir Percy Cox, and of my counsellors here at home, we have arranged to continue the subsidy which Bin Saud has hitherto received from the British Government of £60,000 a year, together with a lump sum of £20,000. It is only the cost after all of a single battalion of

Indian infantry. This subsidy will be paid monthly in arrear, contingent on the maintenance of peace and order externally. It must be understood that the granting of this subsidy gives the Chief the power to establish the authority on which that order and control depend, and that, deprived of these funds, he would soon lose control of the nomadic and predatory tribes which are brought under what is after all a restraining influence. □

Colonial Secretary Churchill with T.E. Lawrence and the Emir Abdullah, touring Jewish settlements in Jerusalem in 1921. Churchill was tremendously impressed by the Zionist efforts to turn the desert into well-watered farmland, which he believed was enough for all.



Endnotes

1. It would take a tin ear indeed not to notice how closely Churchill's intentions mirrored those of the West in Iraq and Afghanistan ninety years later. Alas, intentions do not guarantee success.

2. Although there were many more Muslims in Imperial India, which included what is now Pakistan, Muslims in India today comprise 13.4 percent, making it the third-largest Muslim nation. Muslims have played a prominent part in India's economic rise and cultural influence.

3. Major-General Sir Percy Cox (1864-1927), British Indian Army officer, colonial administrator in the Middle East, first High Commissioner of Iraq, 1921-23.

Lifetime Zionist: Churchill and David Ben-Gurion

Recollections of
Their First Meeting,
June 2, 1961
by Joseph Stone

In May 1961, after meeting in Canada with Prime Minister Diefenbaker and in New York with recently-elected President Kennedy, Israel's Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion flew to London to confer with Prime Minister Macmillan and British Foreign Secretary Lord Home. While there, Ben-Gurion sent Sir Winston Churchill a message asking if they could meet. Churchill gladly agreed, and both men, who had been friends for years by correspondence, met for the first time at Churchill's home at 28 Hyde Park Gate on June 2nd.

Ben-Gurion was accompanied to Hyde Park Gate by his Private Secretary, Yitzhak Navon, and the Israeli Ambassador to London, Arthur Lourie. Sitting side by side in armchairs, a decanter on the mantelpiece and aides in the background, the two old warriors held a 25-minute conversation. In a 1987 letter to Sir Martin Gilbert, Navon recalled the conversation: "Churchill said that he was always a friend of the Jewish people and Zionism, and Ben-Gurion responded with expressions of admiration for his friendship and his stand during the Second World War as a leader of the free world which was saved, thanks to him. He told of his stay in London during

the Blitz and the impressions he gained of the courageous stand of the British people."

It was reported by the press that the two men also talked about milestones of British and Israeli history, touching on the 1917 declaration by British Foreign Secretary Harold Balfour, promising the Jews a national home; the work of the late Israeli President Chaim Weizmann; and the rise of modern Israel. The official photograph has them shaking hands sitting close to each other in armchairs. Wearing a suit, Ben-Gurion is looking at Churchill with a proud smile; Churchill, looking pensively at the photographer, wears a bow tie, dark waistcoat and jacket, and holds a cigar in his left hand.

At the end of their meeting, Navon told Sir Martin, Churchill turned to Ben-Gurion and said: "You are a brave leader of a great nation." Afterwards Ben-Gurion told the press: "I enjoyed my talk with him very greatly. I never met him before and I was really glad to see him. After all he is the greatest man of our time."

During their conversation Churchill mentioned to Ben-Gurion that he had once written

David Ben-Gurion visits Sir Winston on June 2, 1961. Churchill's private secretary recalled that part of their discussion was whether Jesus or Moses was the greater man. Churchill argued on behalf of Moses, Ben-Gurion for Jesus!
(Photograph: The Granger Collection)



an essay on Moses. Ben-Gurion expressed great interest and requested a copy. Two days later, on June 4th, Churchill sent him a copy of his book containing the essay and a letter:

My dear Prime Minister,

*It gave me great pleasure to see you here. I now send you a copy of my book, *Thoughts and Adventures*, which contains the essay on Moses. I have re-read it, however, and I would not particularly wish it to be remembered as one of my literary works. But as I promised to send it to you, here it is. I hope that we shall have another opportunity of meeting again, and meanwhile I send you my earnest good wishes for the great tasks in which you are engaged.*

Ben-Gurion's admiration for Churchill began when in England during the Second World War. In April 1940, as Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, Ben-Gurion had traveled from Palestine to London. He arrived ten days before Churchill became Prime

Minister. "The impression that Churchill's leadership made on Ben-Gurion was profound," wrote Sir Martin Gilbert. Its impact may be seen in his letters to his wife Paula.

On June 7th, 1940, Ben-Gurion wrote Paula about Churchill's radio broadcast following the evacuation of British and French soldiers from Dunkirk. "I know that you cannot stand against Hitler with speeches. Without planes and tanks and bombs and cannons we will not destroy the Mechanized Attila....But Churchill's speech was undoubtedly the steadfast and stubborn persistence of the English nation to stand and fight to the end." He added: "Churchill did not find reassurance in false consolations. He did not hide the severity of the blow that befell the Allies in Flanders." Quoting Churchill, he wrote "...our thankfulness for the escape of our Army...must not blind us to the fact what happened in France and Belgium is a colossal military disaster."

"Only a great man who believes in his strength can allow himself to

say such bitter words—and before the entire nation,” Ben-Gurion continued. “And it was this brave statement that gave meaning and the importance to the things he said immediately afterwards—that England would fight until it wins, would fight for years, would fight alone—if it needs to! And the words with which he finished his speech will ring in the ears of the world for years to come.” He then quoted Churchill’s words that have since become immortal:

We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender, and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire

beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God’s good time, the new world, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old.

Those words, Ben-Gurion considered, “were not merely a jest. This is the spirit of the rebellious England, and in it a guarantee for better days—even if not the soonest.”

On August 8th, with the Battle of Britain about to begin, he again wrote to his wife about Churchill. “And how great is this nation that found a suitable leader in this terrible hour—and at the right moment, and one could say that if England...and with it all of humanity, were to survive the Nazi disaster...it would be due only to the rule of democracy and freedom that has taken root so deeply. It’s hard to describe how much England has changed. Since Churchill inherited Chamberlain’s place, the silent and confident bravery beating in every



Nineteen sixty-one wasn’t Ben-Gurion’s first encounter with a Churchill. On May 26, 1958, Sir Winston’s daughter Sarah called on the Prime Minister to deliver a letter from her father, whom she represented at ceremonies dedicating the Winston Churchill Auditorium at the Technion campus on Mt. Carmel, Haifa.

Englishman's heart is the fruit of this exchange."

Churchill's biographer Sir Martin Gilbert was impressed by his own conversation with the Israeli statesman: "The memory of Churchill's leadership in 1940 was to inspire Ben-Gurion himself eight years later, when he led a nation likewise believed by many inside—and out—to be on the verge of destruction." Gilbert's view was echoed by a later Israeli prime minister, Shimon Peres: "Ben-Gurion was in awe of Churchill's 'magnetic leadership, powerful eloquence, contagious courage... deep sense of history and an unshakeable faith in the destiny of his people'...History would have been quite different if there had been no Churchill.

"He would have never have written or said that of himself," Peres added, "But I say it without reservation: I truly believe that without Ben-Gurion the State of Israel would not have come into being."

It is interesting to juxtapose Peres' view with that of Paul Johnson in the preceding article—that without Churchill, there would have been no Israel either.

After their historic meeting, Ben-Gurion and Churchill

continued to correspond. In September 1961, Churchill's private secretary, Anthony Montague Browne asked him if he wanted to send a message to Ben-Gurion on his seventy-fifth birthday. "You have not done so in previous years," said Montague Browne, but since they had now met, Churchill wanted to send greetings. His telegram was dispatched on September 27th: "On your 75th birthday I send you my congratulations and good wishes." Ben-Gurion responded fulsomely:

I was deeply moved to receive your greeting on the occasion of my birthday, and I rejoiced to see that you still remember such trifles. It recalled to my mind the few unforgettable moments I spent with you at the beginning of June, and I cherish as a precious possession your book of essays, which includes that on Moses. I hold you in esteem and affection, not only—nor even mainly—because of your unfailing friendship to our people and your profound sympathy with its resurgence in our ancient homeland. Your greatness transcends all national boundaries.... Your words and your deeds are indelibly engraved in the annals of humanity. Happy the

people that has produced such a son.

A few days later Churchill replied: "I am indeed obliged to you for your graceful and charming letter. It gave me great pleasure to read what you said, and I would like to assure you again of my very warm good wishes both for the State of Israel and for you personally."

In April 1962, Churchill made plans to join the Onassis yacht *Christina* for a cruise from Monte Carlo to Libya, Lebanon and Greece. With the euphoria generated by his friendship with Ben-Gurion, Montague Browne worried that Sir Winston would insist on visiting Israel, which might cause repercussions with Britain's Arab friends. Perhaps at Montague Browne's urging, *Christina* sailed along the Israeli coast during the night and did not dock. It was similar to another occasion, when Onassis arranged to sail through the Dardanelles while Churchill slept, hoping to spare his friend sad memories of the failed campaign there in 1915.

Churchill had visited Palestine in the past, but on this final trip he never set foot onto the modern state of Israel, which also deprived him of the possible opportunity to again see his friend, David Ben-Gurion. □

Sources

David Ben-Gurion, *Israel: A Personal History* (New York and Tel Aviv: Funk & Wagnalls and Sabra Books, 1971).

David Ben-Gurion, ed. Thomas R. Bransten, *Recollections* (London: Macdonald Unit Seventy-Five, 1970).

Martin Gilbert, *Churchill and the Jews* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2007).

Shimon Peres in Conversation with David Landau, *Ben-Gurion: A Political Life* (New York: Schocken Books, 2011).

Newspapers: *Baltimore Sun*, *New York Times*

Interview: David Ben-Gurion with Edward R. Murrow, February 3, 1956 at Sde Boker kibbutz; part of Murrow's series, "I Can Hear It Now." Accessible at: <http://bit.ly/1IMdvRi>.

THE Literary Churchill

Tennyson: His Favorite Poet?

Michael Richards

A reader, Ralph Parker, has written to ask if Alfred, Lord Tennyson was Churchill's favorite poet. We don't know if Tennyson headed the list, but he certainly was up there.

In 1908, Churchill's old Harrow headmaster, Bishop Welldon, gave him a set of Tennyson's works as a wedding present. It appears that he began reading Tennyson in depth at around that time, as his lifetime friend and admirer Violet Bonham-Carter recalls in her 1966 book, *Winston Churchill as I Knew Him*:

WSC: "What is it you once called yourself—'red in tooth and claw'? I like to see you plunge your claws—those delicate and rosy claws—into the vitals of a foe."

Violet: "It wasn't my phrase, it was Tennyson's."

WSC: "Never read him. Should I like his books?"

Despite that interchange Churchill did have some acquaintance with the great poet earlier. He read "The Charge of the Light Brigade" as a boy, and memorized some famous Tennyson lines, possibly from books of quotations, in his massive self-education as a young cavalry lieutenant in India in 1895-97.

In his own books, it was not unusual for Churchill to reach into his amazing memory for a favorite passage or title by a great author. For example, his first chapter in *Ian Hamilton's March* (1900) is *A Roving Commission*, which he later used as the subtitle (and American

title) of his autobiography, *My Early Life* (1930). This was the title of an 1899 novel by G.A. Henty, which Churchill had read as a young man. Likewise in *Lord Randolph Churchill* (1906), Churchill leads a chapter with a line from Tennyson: "To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield...."

In 1926, Churchill inserted Tennyson's patriotic poem "Soul of England" in the *British Gazette* during the General Strike. Eighteen years later, speaking in the Albert Hall on American Thanksgiving day, November 23, 1944, Tennyson was still on his mind: "Let the great world spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change," as Tennyson said many years ago."

There is no doubt about Churchill's favorite Tennyson lines, which come up again and again in his writings: the prophetic predictions of future wars in the poem "Locksley Hall." Walter Graebner, his *Life* editor after World War II, recalled: "He had an incredible memory—one of the reasons for his genius—and if something reminded him of Tennyson it was nothing for him to recite a hundred lines or more of 'Locksley Hall.'"

Churchill quoted "Locksley Hall" more often than any other words of Tennyson, alluding to it in conversations with Roosevelt and the allied military generals in World War II. But his favorite lines appeared in his essay "Fifty Years Hence," published as a chapter in his book, *Thoughts and Adventures* (1932):

***For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;
Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;
Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a ghastly dew
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;
Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm
With the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thunderstorm;
Till the war-drum throb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.
Slowly comes a hungry people, as a lion creeping nigher,
Glares at one that nods and winks behind a slowly-dying fire."***

Recalling those lines again in "Nations on the Loose" (*Colliers*, May 4, 1935), Churchill wrote: "Many intellectuals believed that after the horrible carnage and desolation of the Great War the thoughts of mankind would turn irresistibly to internationalism.... They hoped that Tennyson's prophecy of the 'Parliament of man, the Federation of the world' would be fulfilled with the rest of his memorable predictions. But the time is not yet."

He must have been well into Tennyson that year as he wrote about George V's Silver Jubilee ("The Moral of the Jubilee," *Daily Mail*, May 15, 1935): "We exclaim with Tennyson: 'O Statesmen, guard us, guard the eye, the soul / Of Europe, keep our noble England whole.'"

Finally, at his famous 1949 "Mid-Century" speech at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he said: "Yea, even in this darkling hour I have faith that this process [Anglo-American collaboration] will go on. I rejoice in Tennyson's celebrated lines: "Men, my brothers, men, the workers, ever reaping something new; That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do." □



Alfred, Lord Tennyson (1809-1892) was Poet Laureate of Great Britain during much of Queen Victoria's reign and remains one of the most popular British poets. (Portrait by John Guille Millais)

THE 2014 CHURCHILL WEEKEND

The Association of Churchill Fellows
invites you to
**CHURCHILL
FELLOWS WEEKEND**

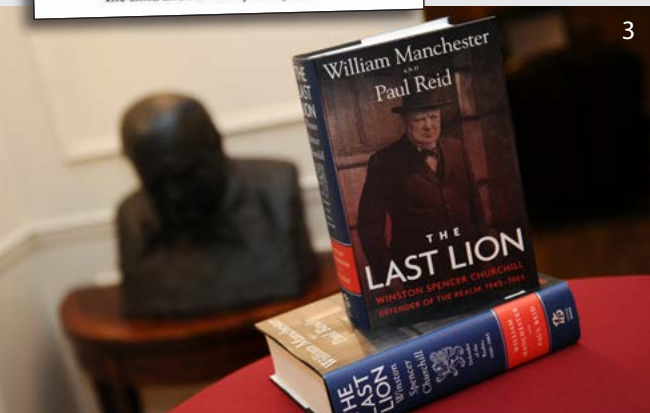
Celebrating the Life and Legacy of Winston Churchill

March 1 & 2, 2014
at the National Churchill Museum
on the campus of Westminster College
Fulton, Missouri

◆ ◆ ◆
GUESTS OF HONOR

**MR. AND MRS. RANDOLPH CHURCHILL
AND MRS. JENNIE CHURCHILL,**
great-grandchildren of Sir Winston Churchill

AND
MR. PAUL REID
Featured Speaker,
The Enid and R. Crosby Kemper Lecture



(1) The obligatory *Pol Roger* champagne (Churchill's favorite) is dispensed for the toast to the immortal memory of Winston Churchill (2) Jennie Churchill, Randolph Churchill, Dr. Rob Havers, Senior Fellow Jean-Paul Montupet and Catherine Churchill pose in the cool Missouri temperatures outside the entrance to the Church of St Mary (3) The subject of the Enid and R. Crosby Kemper Lectureship (4) As their Great Grandfather looks on, Jennie and Randolph face the press from the lectern that Churchill used in 1946 (5) Pre-dinner cocktails: from left Isabelle Montupet, Westminster College President Barney Forsythe, Jane Forsythe and Crosby Kemper III (6) Paul Reid at the media availability (7) Dr. Monroe and Sandra Trout talk with Catherine Churchill (8) Jennie Churchill talks with Baxter Watson one those present at the 1946 'Sinews of Peace' Address (9) The wonderful table arrangements for the dinner held in the National Churchill Museum itself



(1) Paul Reid signs copies of his work (2) The magnificent Mander pipe organ and the Westminster College Churchill singers perform *Jerusalem* (3) Dr. Rob Havers and Paul Reid adopt the a conversational format for this year's Enid and R. Crosby Kemper Lectureship (4) The packed brunch (5) The brunch audience enjoys the questions and especially the answers! (6) Westminster student Jenna Teeter poses a question for the 'experts' at the 'Ask the experts Churchill brunch'. The experts, from left: Randolph Churchill, Crosby Kemper, Paul Reid and Richard J. Mahoney (7) Kemper lecturer Paul Reid admires one of the National Churchill Museum's Churchill paintings, *Flat calm with a high prowded boat, 1925*

THE NATIONAL CHURCHILL MUSEUM
 The National Churchill Museum is located on the campus of Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, the site of Winston Churchill's famous 1946 "Iron Curtain" speech where he predicted a new threat to a world "tired of war" as "iron curtain has descended across the Continent."
 To commemorate this historic event, the Church of St. Mary, the Virgin Aldersbrook, a 17th century Chippingham West church, was moved stone by stone from London to Fulton in 1961.
 The Museum, located in its surroundings, brings to life Churchill's thoughts and legacies. Restored in 2006 and designated by U.S. Congress as America's National Churchill Museum, its exhibits recreate the impact of an entire world at war as visitors step into the trenches of the Great War, gaze before the Nazi propaganda machine, and witness the final hour of London during WWII and the era of unparalleled heroism. The Museum tells the story of Churchill's leadership and the first world fight for freedom through its darkest days.

THE ENID AND R. CROSBY KEMPER LECTURESHIP
 The Enid and R. Crosby Kemper Lectureship was established by a grant from the Crosby Kemper Foundation of Kansas City, Missouri. It is intended to provide for lectures by authorities on British History or the Western Churchill and to be held annually at the National Churchill Museum at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri. The established lectureship is held under the auspices of the British Institute of the United States and the National Churchill Museum.



PAUL REID
THE ENID AND R. CROSBY KEMPER LECTURESHIP
 Paul Reid, a fiction writer for the *Irish Rebel Press*, was asked by his friend William Manchester to "collaborate" on the long-awaited third volume of Winston Churchill's life "The Last Lion: Winston Spencer Churchill: Epicure of the Ages 1942-1965." The second volume had been published in 1988.
 "You'll write, I'll edit," he told Reid, and then Manchester abruptly died on June 1, 2004. After agreeing and much research Reid decided to follow his own instincts and writing style. The result was described in a *New York Times* piece as "over of a stand-alone book than a continuation of the first and second volumes."
 It is Reid's master work — and truly his own. It was in every respect what was often said of Churchill himself: "Mr. Churchill, is easily satisfied with the best."





The Winston Churchill Student Speech Competition 2014

It was Winston Churchill who popularized the phrase “special relationship” in what is his most significant post-war speech, the ‘Sinews of Peace, delivered right here on the campus of Westminster College in 1946. It described and lauded the extraordinary relationship between the English speaking peoples and between the United States and Great Britain in particular.

Another special relationship has been formed between the National Churchill Museum and the Education Department at Blenheim Palace – Churchill’s birthplace.

Under the direction of Mandy Plybon, who heads up the National Churchill Museum Education department, and Barbara Lewington, the Chair of the Education Committee on the Board of Governors of the Association of Churchill Fellows, contact was made with Karen Wiseman of the Education Team at Blenheim and the Duke of Marlborough. Barbara and Mandy found that Blenheim—sponsored an annual speech contest for students and thought this would be a wonderful project for the National Churchill Museum as well. It was with this collaboration that our contest was born.

The Winston Churchill student speech competition asks for the students in grades 6 through 8 to write a speech responding to a specific Winston Churchill quote.

“Never confuse leadership with popularity” was the quote that was selected for the 2014 contest. Winston Churchill gave this advice as he presented the current Duke of Marlborough a fob watch when the Duke came of age. The Education Department of the National Churchill Museum and the Education Department of the Association of Churchill Fellows, Board of Governors thought this quote would be perfect for the 2014 competition.

Students were to research and comprehend how leadership and popularity are related, how they co-exist, and how they are different. Most importantly, students were to connect what Winston Churchill said to the 21st Century and to their own lives. The students arrived at the National Churchill Museum on Feb 17 to compete at the State level. The judges were Westminster College faculty, Churchillians, and Speech and Debate experts. The prize for the winner is a plaque that was made from an oak tree which came from the grounds of Blenheim Palace.

Excerpt from Ms. Cho’s speech

So- what’s in a leader? I say there are three traits a person needs in order to be a true leader. To be a true leader, one must not look at today, tomorrow, or next week, but at the years and decades to come. To be a true leader, one must listen to the voices of all the people. To be a true leader, one must keep in mind the principles that he or she strives to live by- such as equality, justice, and freedom. To be a true leader, one must emulate our great president, Abraham Lincoln, who, despite his unpopularity and the rejection of the Emancipation Proclamation, both persevered and changed our nation for the better. Winston Churchill once said “Never confuse leadership with popularity”. And I can’t agree with him more.

A new Churchill quote will be announced in September 2014 for the competition in 2015.



We’ve been hard at work in Fulton to ensure that even if you can’t make it to the Museum in person, Churchillians around the world will be able to experience the history and resources associated with the National Churchill Museum.

The Museum is active on all of the top social media platforms. It doesn’t matter if you prefer Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, or even Pinterest, you’ll be able to stay up-to-date on all of the latest at the Museum. You may find links to all of our social media profiles at the bottom of our website.

One of our most recent endeavors is our new YouTube video series entitled “Churchill Chats”. In these videos, Executive Director Dr. Rob Havers sits down to talk Churchill with some of the Museum’s guests. Recent interviewees include Dan Martin, artist of the *St. Louis Post Dispatch’s* “The Weatherbird”, and Churchill biographer and Kemper Lecturer Paul Reid. Interviews with Winston Churchill’s great-grandchildren, Randolph and Jennie Churchill, are coming soon... so stay tuned!



First Place Kristine Cho Jefferson Middle School Columbia, Missouri	Third Place Riley Lawson Barnwell Middle School St. Louis, Missouri
Second Place Jessica Rood St. George School Hermann, Missouri	Fourth Place Torri Weidinger North Kirkwood Middle School Kirkwood, Missouri

The DeVoy-White and Mahoney family donations

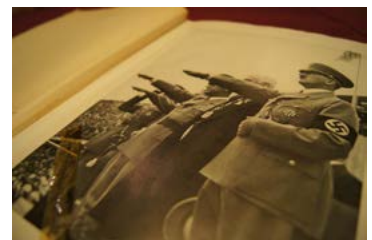
During the last few months, numerous emails and telephone contacts have brought Churchill era materials to the Museum staff's attention. In particular, *Churchilliana* pieces have been offered and donated.

The word *Churchilliana* has come to identify objects and items that pertain to Sir Winston Churchill. These pieces range from beautifully crafted Limoges porcelain to the commercially produced Churchill mugs and decanters. The DeVoy-White family recently completed a decade of donations to the Museum. New donations from Mr. and Mrs. Richard Mahoney include photographs, author signed books and materials, and *Churchilliana* pieces of which a small selection is currently on display.

Of interesting note are two South Africa Campaign medals donated by Mrs. Patricia M. English of Florida, the granddaughter of Francis Edward Sadler, born on Dalkey Hill, Dalkey, Ireland. The medals came in her grandfather's original case. Mrs. English wrote, "I am grateful that my Grandfather's medals will be in your museum."



A very interesting 1936 Olympics souvenir book has been loaned for research and review of the photographs. Written in German, it prominently features many photograph plates of the Nazi Party leader Adolph Hitler and the pomp and ceremonies within the swastika-draped arenas and sports venues.



Mobile "art carts" help spark curiosity

When family visitors come to the National Churchill Museum, they seek an interactive experience for child and adult alike. To this goal, the Museum exhibits were re-envisioned in 2006 to bring history alive through interactive exhibits that engage both the hands and the mind.

Now, we are asking your help to strengthen that experience and fund art carts for a truly experiential time at the Museum and outreach efforts in our communities. The goal is to create three experiences/carts:

Growing up in Victorian Britain

The life of a World War II soldier

Winston Churchill's family life and hobbies

The mobile art carts will be transported to schools and community centers with an outreach focus on low-income and rural schools and communities. Local artists and craftspeople will develop activities with the Museum's Education Program Coordinator Mandy Plybon to spark curiosity – and hopefully inspire explorations using learning activities such as quilts, story boards, sketching and drawing, and hands-on artifacts.

The art carts cost \$2,000 per cart – please contact me at 573-592-5234 about funding a cart as tribute to a family member, teacher, or special person in your life or as a corporate sponsor.

The art supplies may be funded through your donation at the website <http://www.dickblick.com/ara/lists/4222/home> to will jump start this program and fund the art supplies. Would you take a few moments to visit this website and contribute?



Kit Freudenberg
Director of Development



School and Community Update

As I was facing the beginning of my senior year at William Woods University, I knew it was important to find an internship that would not only add to my resume but also one in which I would learn a lot. As a double major in History and Communications, the thought of interning at the National Churchill Museum had never crossed my mind. I was sitting at my computer one day, looking at different options, when my friend said, “Why don’t you look at the Churchill Museum?” It seemed perfect. Not only was it close to campus, but it would allow me to learn about the museum world and further explore my options. Thankfully, I was able to meet with Mandy Plybon at the end of April and she offered me the internship in the Educational and Public Programs Department.



Mandy Plybon
Education & Public Programs Coordinator

In the fall, I had the opportunity to sit in an Intro to Museum Studies class where I learned the basics of how a museum operates. I was exposed to the different types of museum professionals and what is necessary in order to protect the collection. I also helped with sending out the newsletter, and wrote a guide for walking yourself through the permanent exhibit. One my favorite experiences was being able to work during the Victorian Christmas fundraiser. I love working different events and being able to interact with the friends of the Museum. This semester, I’ve been marketing the outreach program to schools and managing the scheduling of field trips. I’m also going to help give tours during field trips, which is something I’m especially excited about. I’ve loved museums from a young age and hope that I can instill that in some of our guests.



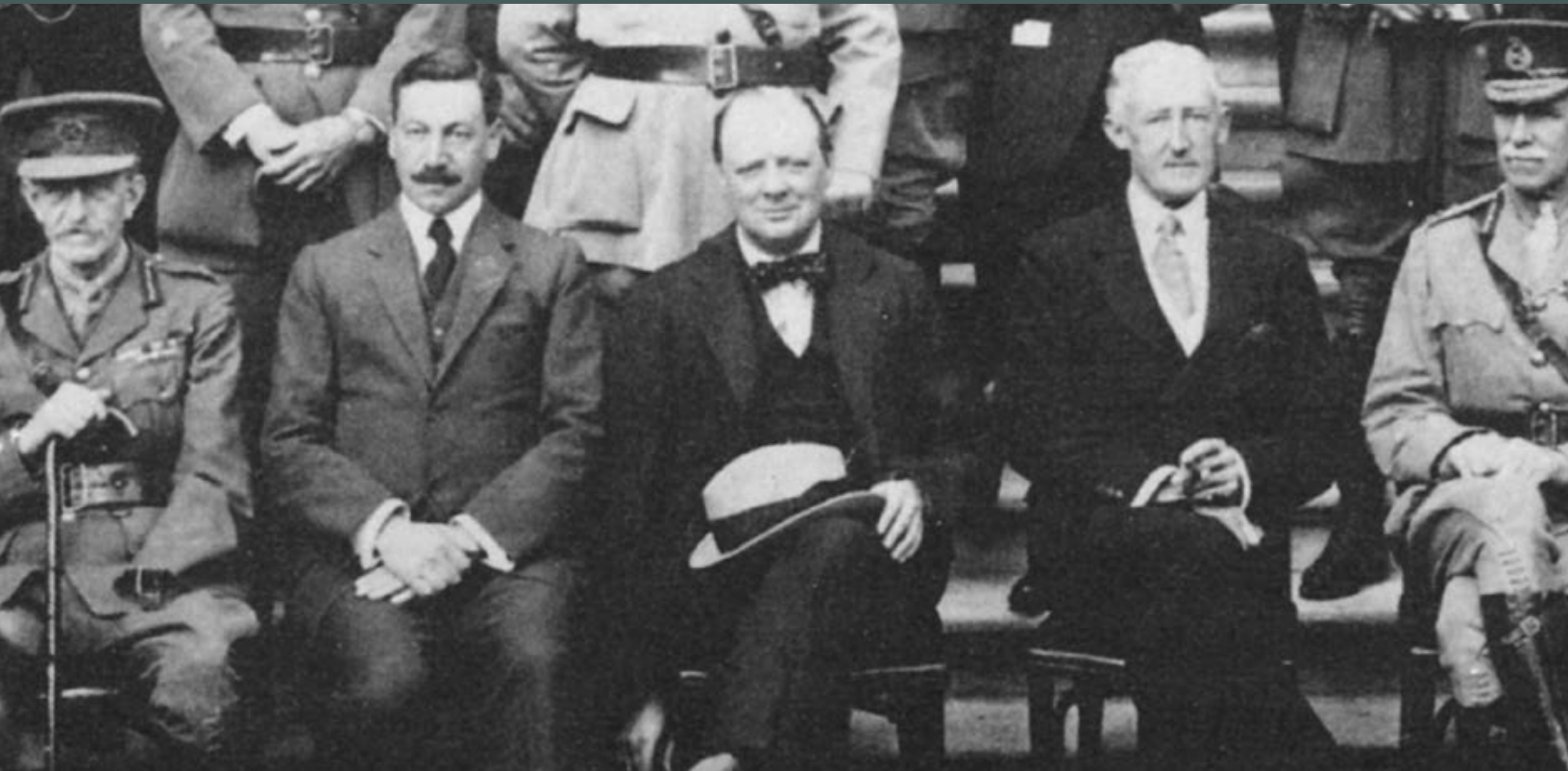
The “Museums & Education” class took a field trip to the Truman Library & Museum’s White House Decision Center.

At the National Churchill Museum we are given the opportunity to do something very special. We are able to take Churchill’s story and share it with others. I’ve loved being able to interact over the past year with such a courageous, noble, and humorous character. Churchill sets a great example of leadership for every visitor to the Museum and I’m glad I’ve been able to be a part of continuing his legacy.

*Written by Mary Raines Scriber,
William Woods University student,
National Churchill Museum Education Intern*



Students in the St. Louis region competed for a spot at the 1st Annual Winston Churchill Student Speech Contest State Finals.



APRIL 1 – MAY 16, 2014

14th Annual Watercolor Missouri International Exhibition

Anson Cutts Gallery, National Churchill Museum
 Museum general admission
 10:00 am – 4:30 pm daily

Sunday, April 6th – Artists Reception
 1:00 – 3:00 pm with Awards presented
 at 2:00 pm

Sunday, April 13th – Sunday Afternoon Tea
 with Friends
 2:00 pm Tea with Friends of the Museum
 \$15/person includes tea, refreshments and
 gallery talk
 Ticket information at 573-592-5369

Tuesday, April 15th – Canvas and Cocktails
 Event (tentative date)
 6:30 – 8:00 pm
 \$30/person includes supplies and cocktails
 RSVP required; information at 573-592-6242

May 29 – July 20, 2014

D-Day Normandy – Operation Overlord

Anson Cutts Gallery, National Churchill Museum
 Museum general admission
 10:00 am – 4:30 pm daily

Friday, May 29 – Opening Reception
 Special guest Allen Packwood, Director,
 Churchill Archives, Cambridge, United Kingdom
 4:30 – 6:30 pm



NATIONAL CHURCHILL MUSEUM
501 WESTMINSTER AVENUE
FULTON, MISSOURI 65251

NATIONAL
CHURCHILL
MUSEUM

National Churchill Museum presents D-Day Normandy—Operation Overlord



Sea Wall at Utah Beach *Mitchell F. Jamieson*

Navy Art Collection Special Exhibition May 29 – July 20, 2014

64 paintings and drawings from the U.S. Navy Art Collection, Washington, D.C., depict the mighty Allied armada and invasion forces that landed on June 6, 1944.

With Operation Overlord, almost 200,000 Allied soldiers landed on rugged French beaches, code-named Omaha, Utah, Gold, Juno, and Sword. It marked the formidable threshold of the second front, the long-awaited campaign that spelled the end of Hitler's Third Reich and WWII.