

THE CHURCHILLIAN

SUMMER 2014 | VOLUME 5 | ISSUE 2

THE MAGAZINE OF THE NATIONAL CHURCHILL MUSEUM

*The Lady Soames
LG DBE*

*15 September 1922
– 31 May 2014*



CHURCHILL'S *THE WORLD CRISIS* · THE COMING OF THE GREAT WAR
WRITING THE STORIES OF TWO WORLD WARS · "PALESTINE" BY CHURCHILL (AGE 13)



Kit Freudenberg

The future is unknowable, but the past should give us hope.

Winston Churchill's maxim from 1958 is my beacon during these days of change. The Museum's past gives me hope that today's changes bring new opportunities and collaborations.

Dr. Rob Havers has left the Museum after ten years at the helm. He is the new President of the George C. Marshall Foundation in Lexington, VA. A new partnership is in order as Winston Churchill and General Marshall were long-time friends and colleagues who collaborated on many issues.

The past should give us hope:

- The Museum's new exhibit, opened in 2006 by Lady Soames, continues to inspire visitors with its presentation on Churchill's leadership
- Many, many education and outreach programs bring Churchill to new generations and remind others of his triumphs and tragedies
- 2009 recognition by the U.S. Congress as America's National Churchill Museum underscores staff achievements and the leadership of the Board of Trustees, Westminster College and the Board of Governors, Association of Churchill Fellows
- Each year, the Churchill Weekend and Kemper Lectures exceed expectations, increasing attendance and bringing to Westminster College world class speakers such as Sir Martin Gilbert, former Prime Minister Sir John Major, Sir Max Hastings, Sir David Cannadine and Lynne Olson
- *The Churchillian*, the flagship quarterly magazine, presents scholarly articles, sets new standards for excellence – and carries the message across all borders
- Re-design of the Museum plaza with a new Churchill sculpture by Donald Wiegand
- Changing temporary exhibits draw in record crowds, including this summer's blockbuster *D-Day: Operation Overlord* loaned by the U.S. Navy Art Collection

And the knowable future:

- New Archivist/Curator Amy Cantone joins the staff and, with the summer internship program, plans to reconfigure work and collections space
- January 24, 2015 – Memorial service marking the 50th anniversary of Sir Winston's death with special guest Sir Peter Westmacott, British Ambassador to the United States
- March 7 & 8, 2015 – Annual Churchill Weekend with Kemper Lecture to be delivered by Prof. Richard Toyne, University of Exeter

I serve as Interim Executive Director during the new director search and pledge to continue the excellent work of past leaders. ***Come then, let us to the task...each to our part, each to our station.There is not a week, nor a day, nor an hour to lose.*** WSC 27 January 1940

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Interim Executive Director
National Churchill Museum

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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

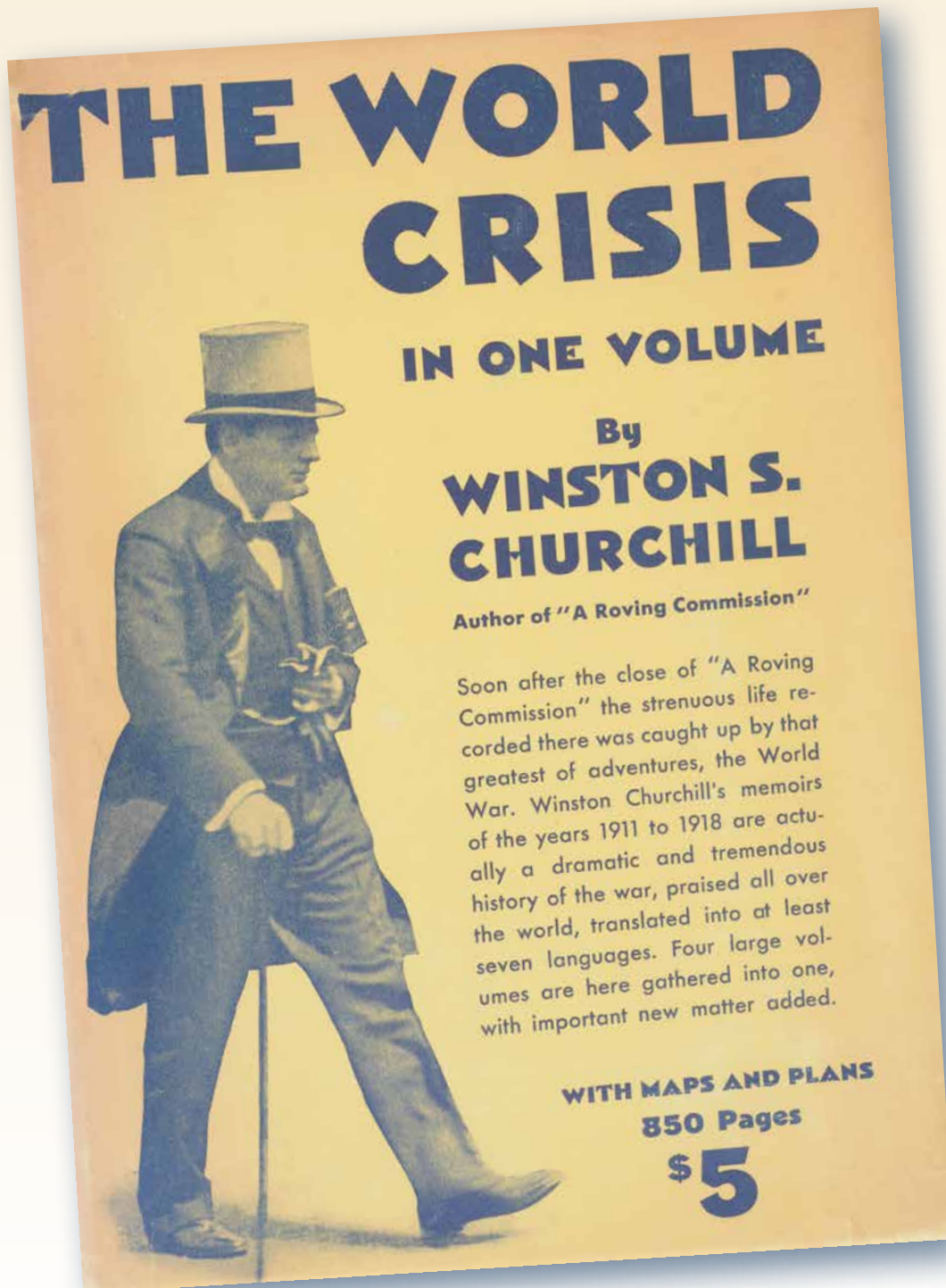
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Cover: Churchill Archives Centre: Baroness Spencer Churchill Papers
Inset: Lady Soames delivers the 1991 Kemper Lecture, Fulton, MO

CENTENARY ^{OF} THE GREAT WAR

CHURCHILL'S *THE WORLD CRISIS* HIS GREATEST MULTI-VOLUME WORK

BY RICHARD M. LANGWORTH

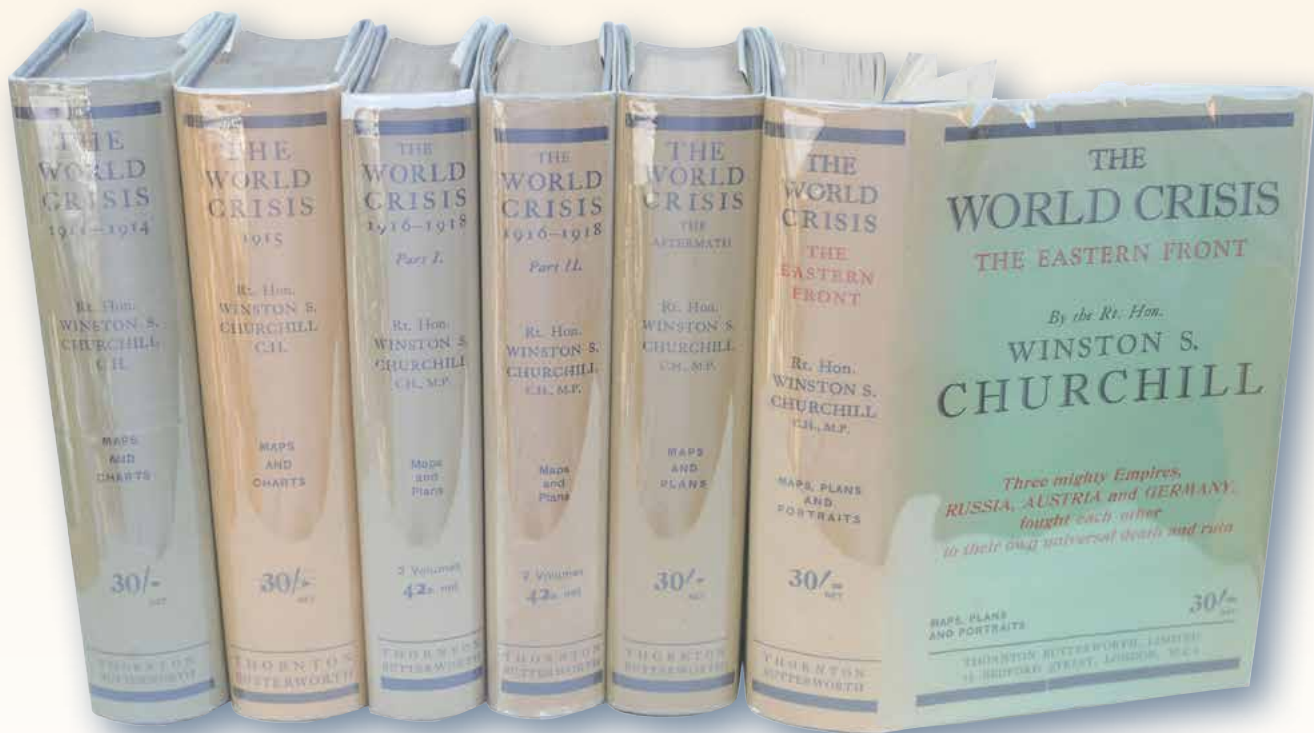


The evocative dust jacket from the American one-volume edition of *The World Crisis* (1931), Churchill's masterful memoir of the events now 100 years ago. His colleague Arthur Balfour amusingly described it as "Winston's magnificent autobiography, disguised as a history of the universe." Unquestionably his point of view, it is nonetheless one of the most dramatic books of the 20th century. (All book photographs courtesy Mark Weber, the Churchill Book Specialist, wscbooks.com)

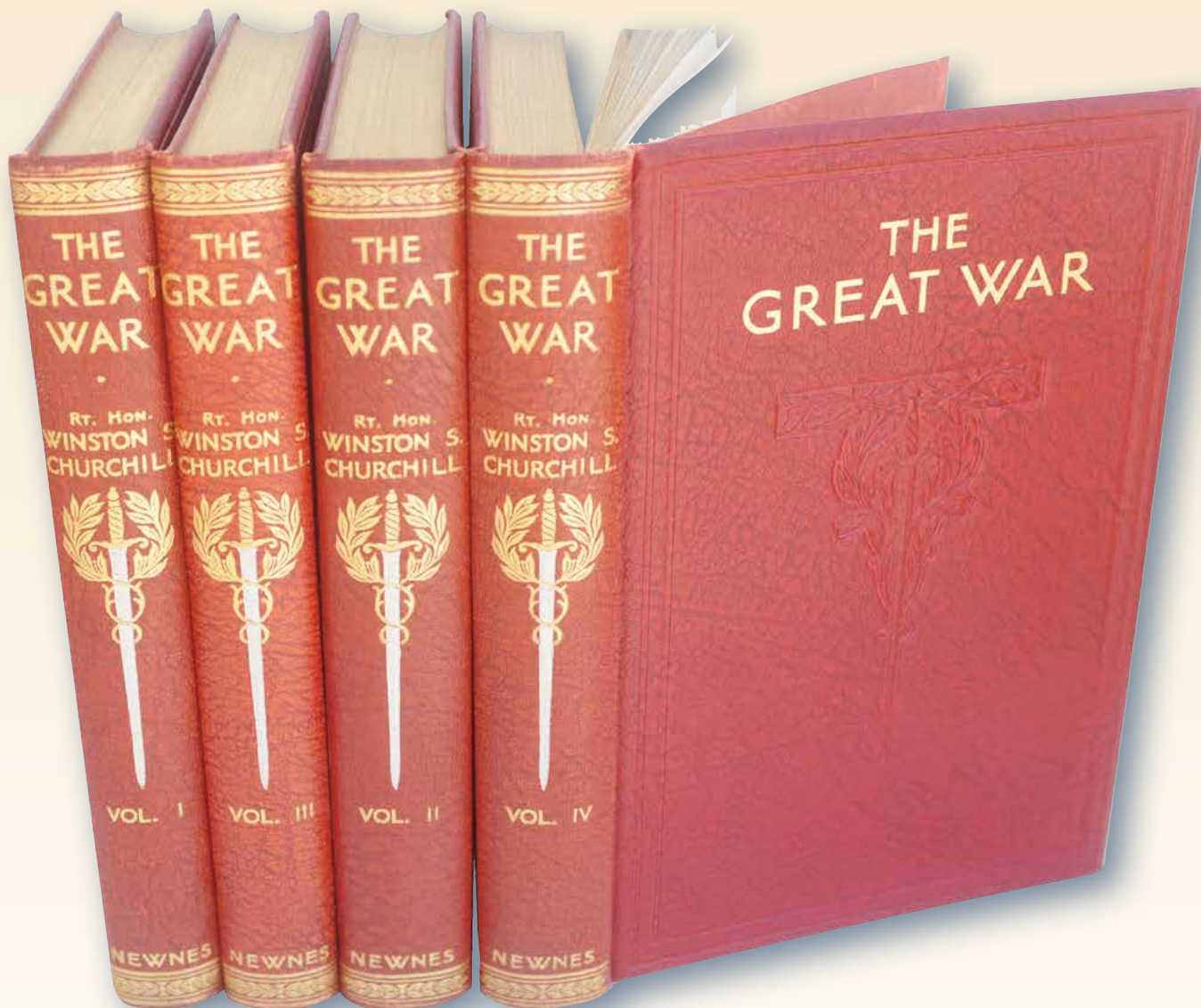
Many connoisseurs of Churchill and the Churchill style, who were introduced to our author through his memoir *The Second World War*, soon found that an even more readable multi-volume work existed. For a long dry spell in the 1970s and 1980s, a complete set of *The World Crisis* was difficult to obtain, except as a pricey first edition or dog-eared reprint. The 1960s Scribners edition had a small press run and has always been hard to find. Efforts by the International Churchill Society produced a limited edition by the Easton Press, and booksellers offered an inexpensive full text by combining two-volume 1939 Odhams edition with bindings from the two 1974 “Collected Works” volumes Odhams did not republish: *The Aftermath* and *The Eastern Front*. The digital age marked a decline in book collecting and advancing age caused attrition among established collectors. Today a decent used set of all six volumes can be had at a modest price, while Amazon and Rosetta Books have combined to offer the full work, both as Kindle and hardback editions

Whenever I am asked to recommend a “big work” by Churchill, I always suggest *The World Crisis*, published piecemeal between 1923 and 1931. Like all of his war books where he was involved, it is highly biased and personal, tending to magnify and defend his own role in affairs. (“Winston has written an enormous book all about himself and calls it ‘The World Crisis,’” quipped a colleague.) One of Churchill’s attractive characteristics was his unabashed honesty. He admitted that *The World Crisis* was “not history, but a contribution to history.” Later, of his World War II memoirs, he would say, “This is not history; this is my case.” There are advantages to this approach from the standpoint of history, though modern historians often deny it (see Justin Lyons’ following article herein).

I cannot think of another 20th Century statesman who not only spent most of the two World Wars in high office but was able to write about them in such eloquent prose. Even those who do not usually read war books will be entranced by the Churchill’s account



The first edition, five volumes in six parts, was published by Thornton Butterworth, London, between 1923 and 1931. Today a fine set in pristine dust jackets, like this one, borders on the priceless; but reading copies are available for more modest amounts.



The most elaborate form of the first illustrated edition, published in four handsome volumes by the Home Library in 1934.

of the awful, unfolding scene, written as if the reader were there, observing over his shoulder the march of events.

For those who might be encouraged to acquire them it is well to explain the arrangement of volumes. Though commonly described as a six-volume work, *The World Crisis* is more accurately five volumes in six books: the middle two volumes, subtitled *1916-1918*, were issued in two parts. They were sold as a pair, actually slipcased together, in the USA and Canada. One usually refers to them as “Volumes 3a and 3b.” The last two volumes, *The Aftermath* and *The Eastern Front*, are correctly Volumes IV and V respectively, and the original set is “5-in-6,” as usually described

by knowledgeable booksellers. The modern Amazon/Rosetta editions are five volumes, the two parts of Volume 3 being combined in one book.

Volume I, *1911-1914*, from which the following excerpt is drawn, goes back to the great power rivalries of the early 20th century to trace the background and dramatic opening of the war, more or less like *The Gathering Storm* traces events leading up to World War II. Churchill's second volume, entitled *1915*, is the most personal, largely devoted to his failed efforts to break the deadlock on the Western Front by sailing a fleet through the Dardanelles and on to the Bosphorus, forcing Turkey out of the war and aiding the Russians. Volume III, *1916-1918* (both parts) covers the carnage

on the Western Front, the German victory over Russia and near-victory over the Allies in 1918, and the final, exhausted end of the war. *The Aftermath* chronicles crucial events during the ten years after victory; *The Eastern Front* (aka *The Unknown War*) deals with the titanic battles between Russia and the German-Austrian armies.

On World War I's centenary, we are concerned initially with Churchill's first volume, which marks the beginning of "the War to End Wars" as it was euphemistically called in its aftermath. In those years it was the "Great War," so named because we could not imagine another conflict so horrendous. Alas the mistakes of its victors shaped the rest of the century—"the century of the Common Man," Churchill mused, which "would witness as its outstanding feature more common men killing each other with greater facilities than any other five centuries put together in the history of the world."

But *The World Crisis* is more than a memoir of Armageddon. It is a work of literature. It is Winston Churchill at his best as a writer. As proof of that claim, we have excerpted the most moving passages of that first volume, which have attracted people to Churchill since they were published over ninety years ago.

It was General Colin Powell who years before brought to my attention his favorite passage, on the Agadir Crisis, a near brush with war in 1911: words loaded with meaning for the General, who had to face the stark choices of peace or war in his own career as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (1989-93) and Secretary of State (2000-04). "They sound so very cautious and correct," Churchill writes of the diplomatic messages between London, Paris and Berlin in 1911. Surely there would not be war: "No one would do such things....Are you quite sure? It would be a pity to be wrong. Such a mistake could only be made once—once for all." Those words have real meaning for Colin Powell.

The spirit of melancholy for a lost world, the world of the hundred years' peace from the 1815 Treaty of Paris to 1914, pervades this book, as it does in several others. Churchill's skill as a writer is nowhere better expressed than his account of how the Austrian note to Serbia, following the murder of Austria's crown prince, brushed aside the relatively petty concerns of Ireland, and how "a strange light began immediately,

but by perceptible gradations, to fall and grow upon the map of Europe."

Churchill's account of how "the Fleet was ready" at the outbreak of war is undoubtedly self-serving, but so beautifully written that even his enemies didn't argue with him. Finally he tells us of how the hopes for a settlement failed one by one, how the last moments of peace ticked away, "like waiting for an election result"; and how, whatever the unknown outcome of this conflict, Britain could be confident of the rightness of her course, and Churchill himself had "done nothing wittingly or willingly to impair the chances of a peaceable solution...." It is interesting to juxtapose this passage with his reflections in a later volume of the scene on 11 November 1918, when the carnage finally ended—and his wondering if it was really the end, or merely "a chapter in a cruel and senseless story? Will a new generation in their turn be immolated to square the black accounts of Teuton and Gaul?"

Writing in *The American Spectator* in 1991, Algis Valiunas, author of the *Churchill's Military Histories* (2002) offered a thoughtful tribute to *The World Crisis*. World War I's chief feature was "carnage on an unprecedented scale," he wrote, "and the writing on that carnage is largely responsible for the modern disgust not only with war but also with politics in general....Churchill knew everything about the war's horror that the other writers knew, but he rejected their conclusions: for him, the war did not mean the death of political life as men had previously known it. In examining the political and military failures that were responsible for the slaughter and in suggesting how prudence might have averted disaster, Churchill reasserted the dignity of the political life, which the war had made men regard as ignominious, unnatural, and mad...."

Churchill is partisan, Valiunas concludes, leaving no doubt about which side was in the right; yet he also provides a withering appraisal of both sides' folly: "The spectacle takes place under a pitiless emotional overcast that is relieved by only the rarest glimmers of magnificence. The virtues that Churchill honors as preeminent are, awfully, those of the men who were smashed in the general wreckage. It is above all to demonstrate how the chronic infirmity of political and military command made them suffer as they did that Churchill writes this history." □

CENTENARY OF THE GREAT WAR

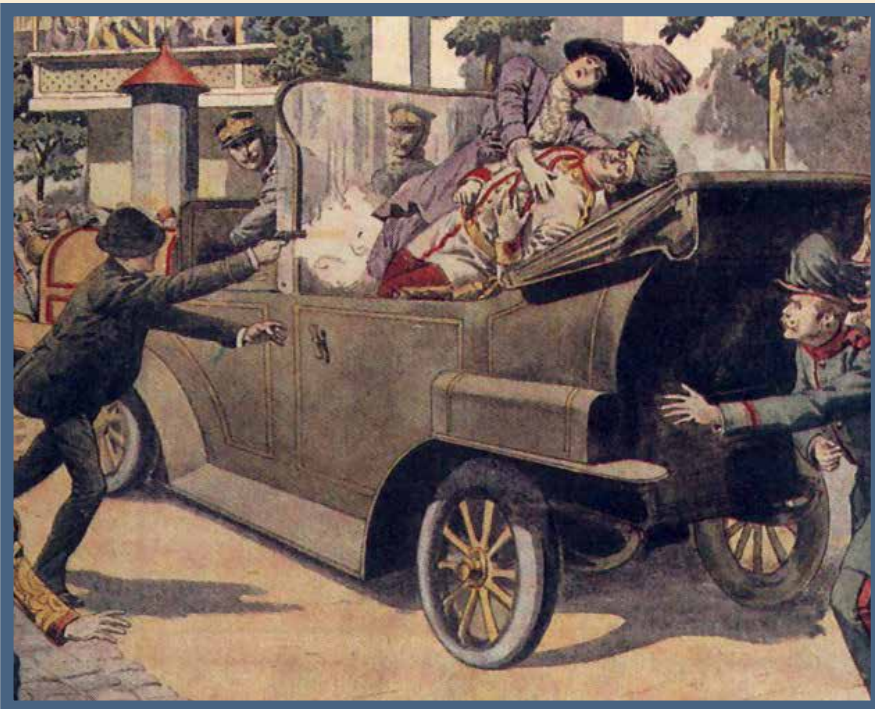
“ALMOST ONE MIGHT THINK THE
WORLD WISHED TO SUFFER”
THE COMING OF THE WORLD CRISIS

by Winston S. Churchill



***PREPARE, PREPARE THE IRON HELM OF WAR,
BRING FORTH THE LOTS, CAST IN THE SPACIOUS ORB;
THE ANGEL OF FATE TURNS THEM WITH MIGHTY HANDS,
AND CASTS THEM OUT UPON THE DARKENED EARTH!
PREPARE, PREPARE!*** —WILLIAM BLAKE (1757-1827)

Excerpted from *The World Crisis*, volume 1, 1911-1914 (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1923), republished by kind permission of the Churchill Literary Estate and Curtis Brown Ltd. Note: the subtitles are ours and minor additional paragraphing is added. The words are Churchill's, except where brackets denote transitional text. The chapters from which the text is drawn are indicated for those who wish to read the book in full.



A contemporary illustration depicting, rather luridly, the murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Duchess Sophie by Gavrilo Princip, 28 June 1914. Princip was one of six assassins, five Serbian and one Bosnian, who hoped the assassination was to break off Austria-Hungary's south-Slav provinces so they could join a Greater Serbia or Yugoslavia. Instead they touched off Armageddon. (Wikimedia Commons)

Preface (from Chapter 1)

It was the custom in the palmy days of Queen Victoria for statesmen to expatiate upon the glories of the British Empire, and to rejoice in that protecting Providence which had preserved us through so many dangers and brought us at length into a secure and prosperous age. Little did they know that the worst perils had still to be encountered and that the greatest triumphs were yet to be won.

The Great War through which we have passed differed from all ancient wars in the immense power of the combatants and their fearful agencies of destruction, and from all modern wars in the utter ruthlessness with which it was fought. All the horrors of all the ages were brought together, and not only armies but whole populations were thrust into the midst of them. The mighty educated States involved

conceived with reason that their very existence was at stake.

Agadir: A Glimpse of Armageddon (from Chapter 3)

In the spring of 1911 a French expedition occupied Fez [Morocco]. This action, added to the growing discontent in Germany over the Moroccan question, tempted the German Government at the beginning of July to an abrupt act.

Suddenly and unexpectedly, on the morning of July 1, without more ado, it was announced that His Imperial Majesty the German Emperor had sent his gunboat the *Panther* to Agadir to maintain and protect German interests. This small ship was already on its way. All the alarm bells throughout Europe began immediately to quiver. France

found herself in the presence of an act which could not be explained, the purpose behind which could not be measured. Great Britain, having consulted the atlas, began to wonder what bearing a German naval base on the Atlantic coast of Africa would have upon her maritime security.

It was difficult to divine from the long strings of telegrams, which day after day flowed in from all the European Chancelleries, what was the real purpose behind the German action. [Speaking a few days later Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, David Lloyd George, declared:] "If a situation were to be forced upon us in which peace could only be preserved by the surrender of the great and beneficent position Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievement...then I say emphatically that peace at that price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure."

Four days later, at about 5.30 in the afternoon, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and I were walking by the fountains of Buckingham Palace. Hot-foot on our track came a messenger. Will the Chancellor of the Exchequer go at once to [Foreign Minister] Sir Edward Grey? He had then read a long complaint about Mr. Lloyd George's speech, "which to say the least could have been interpreted as a warning to Germany's address..." Sir Edward Grey had thought it right to reply that the tone of the communication which had just been read to him, rendered it inconsistent with the dignity of His Majesty's Government to give explanations.

They sound so very cautious and correct, these deadly words. Soft, quiet voices purring, courteous, grave, exactly-measured phrases in large peaceful rooms. But with less warning cannons had opened fire and nations had been struck down by this same Germany. So now the Admiralty

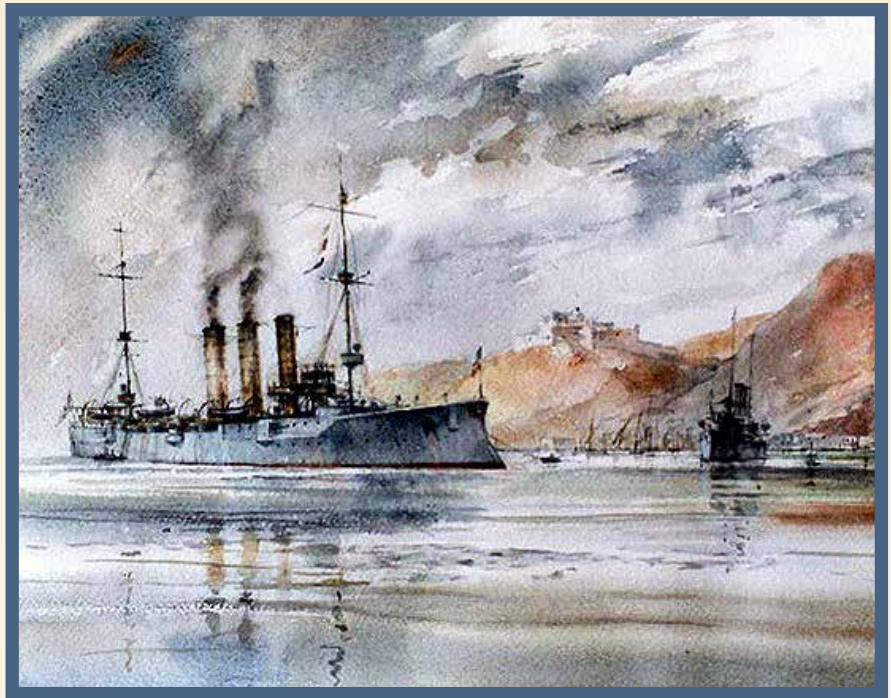
wireless whispers through the ether to the tall masts of ships, and captains pace their decks absorbed in thought. It is nothing. It is less than nothing. It is too foolish, too fantastic to be thought of in the twentieth century. Or is it fire and murder leaping out of the darkness at our throats, torpedoes ripping the bellies of half-awakened ships, a sunrise on a vanished naval supremacy, and an island well-guarded hitherto, at last defenceless?

No, it is nothing. No one would do such things. Civilization has climbed above such perils. The interdependence of nations in trade and traffic, the sense of public law, the Hague Convention, Liberal principles, the Labour Party, high finance, Christian charity, common sense have rendered such nightmares impossible. Are you quite sure? It would be a pity to be wrong. Such a mistake could only be made once—once for all.

The Old World in Its Sunset (from Chapter 8)

On the 28th June arrived the news of the murder of the Archduke [Franz Ferdinand of Austria] at Sarajevo. The [German] Emperor was out sailing when he received it. He came on shore in noticeable agitation, and that same evening, cancelling his other arrangements, quitted Kiel.

Like many others, I often summon up in my memory the impression of those July days. The world on the verge of its catastrophe was very brilliant.... Nations and Empires crowned with princes and potentates rose majestically on every side, lapped in the accumulated treasures of the long peace. All were fitted and fastened—it seemed securely—into an immense cantilever. The two mighty European systems faced each other glittering and clanking in their panoply, but with a tranquil gaze. A polite, discreet, pacific,



The German gunboat *Panther* anchored off Agadir, Morocco—an extension of German naval force that alarmed the French and set Churchill thinking about the possibility of war. (Watercolor by Ian Marshall)

and on the whole sincere diplomacy spread its web of connections over both. A sentence in a despatch, an observation by an ambassador, a cryptic phrase in a Parliament seemed sufficient to adjust from day to day the balance of the prodigious structure. Words counted, and even whispers. A nod could be made to tell.

Were we after all to achieve world security and universal peace by a marvellous system of combinations in equipoise and of armaments in equation, of checks and counter-checks on violent action ever more complex and more delicate? Would Europe thus marshalled, thus grouped, thus related, unite into one universal and glorious organism capable of receiving and enjoying in undreamed of abundance the bounty which nature and science stood hand in hand to give. The old world in its sunset was fair to see.

But there was a strange temper in the air. Unsatisfied by material prosperity the nations turned restlessly

towards strife internal or external. National passions, unduly exalted in the decline of religion, burned beneath the surface of nearly every land with fierce, if shrouded, fires. Almost one might think the world wished to suffer. Certainly men were everywhere eager to dare. On all sides the military preparations, precautions and counter precautions had reached their height. France had her three years' military service; Russia her growing strategic railways. The ancient empire of the Hapsburgs, newly smitten by the bombs of Sarajevo, was a prey to intolerable racial stresses and profound processes of decay. Italy faced Turkey; Turkey confronted Greece; Greece, Serbia and Roumania stood against Bulgaria. Britain was rent by faction and seemed almost negligible. America was three thousand miles away. Germany, her fifty million capital tax expended on munitions, her army increases completed, the Kiel Canal open for Dreadnought battleships that very month, looked fixedly upon the scene and her gaze became suddenly a glare.

A Strange Light (from Chapter 9)

The Cabinet on Friday afternoon July 24th sat long revolving the Irish problem. The Buckingham Palace Conference had broken down. The disagreements and antagonisms seemed as fierce and as hopeless as ever, yet the margin in dispute, upon which such fateful issues hung, was inconceivably petty. The discussion turned principally upon the boundaries of Fermanagh and Tyrone.... Upon the disposition of these clusters of humble parishes turned at that moment the political future of Great Britain. The North would not agree to this, and the South would not agree to that. Both the leaders wished to settle; both had dragged their followers forward to the utmost point they dared. Neither seemed able to give an inch.

The discussion had reached its inconclusive end, and the Cabinet was about to separate, when the quiet grave tones of Sir Edward Grey's voice were heard reading a document which had just been brought to him from the Foreign Office. It was the Austrian note to Serbia. He had been reading or speaking for several minutes before I could disengage my mind from the tedious and bewildering debate which had just closed. We were all very tired, but gradually as the phrases and sentences followed one another, impressions of a wholly different character began to form in my mind.

This note was clearly an ultimatum; but it was an ultimatum such as had never been penned in modern times. As the reading proceeded it seemed absolutely impossible that any State in the world could accept it, or that any acceptance, however abject, would satisfy the aggressor. The parishes of Fermanagh and Tyrone faded back into the mists and squalls of Ireland, and a strange light began immediately, but by

perceptible gradations, to fall and grow upon the map of Europe.

The King's Ships (from Chapter 9)

As early as Tuesday, July 28, I felt that the Fleet should go to its War Station. It must go there at once, and secretly; it must be steaming to the north while every German authority, naval or military, had the greatest possible interest in avoiding a collision with us. If it went thus early it need not go by the Irish Channel and northabout. It could go through the Straits of Dover and through the North Sea, and therefore the island would not be uncovered even for a single day. Moreover, it would arrive sooner and with less expenditure of fuel.

At about 10 o'clock, therefore, on the Tuesday morning I proposed this step to the First Sea Lord [Prince Louis of Battenberg] and the Chief of the Staff and found them whole-heartedly in favour of it. We decided that the Fleet should leave Portland at such an hour on the morning of the 29th as to pass the Straits of Dover during the hours of darkness, that it should traverse these waters at high speed and without lights, and with the utmost precaution proceed to Scapa Flow.

I feared to bring this matter before the Cabinet, the Fleet, lest it should mistakenly be considered a provocative action likely to damage the chances of peace. It would be unusual to bring movements of the British Fleet in Home Waters from one British port



A contemporary cartoon expressing French outrage over the "swimming Kaiser's" reaching out toward French Morocco, published during the 1911 Agadir Crisis.

to another before the Cabinet. I only therefore informed the Prime Minister [H.H. Asquith], who at once gave his approval. Orders were accordingly sent to Sir George Callaghan, who was told incidentally to send the Fleet up under his second-in-command and to travel himself by land through London in order that we might have an opportunity of consultation with him.

Admiralty to Commander-in-Chief Home Fleets. July 28, 1914. Sent 5 pm: Tomorrow, Wednesday, the First Fleet is to leave Portland for Scapa Flow. Destination is to be kept secret except to flag and commanding officers. As you are required at the Admiralty, Vice-Admiral 2nd Battle Squadron is to take command. Course from Portland is to be shaped to southward, then a middle Channel course to the Straits of Dover. The Squadrons are to pass through the Straits without lights during the

night and to pass outside the shoals on their way north. Agamemnon is to remain at Portland, where the Second Fleet will assemble.

We may now picture this great Fleet, with its flotillas and cruisers, steaming slowly out of Portland Harbour, squadron by squadron, scores of gigantic castles of steel wending their way across the misty, shining sea, like giants bowed in anxious thought. We may picture them again as darkness fell, eighteen miles of warships running at high speed and in absolute blackness through the narrow Straits, bearing with them into the broad waters of the North the safeguard of considerable affairs.

The German Ambassador lost no time in complaining of the movement of the Fleet to the Foreign Office. According to the German Official Naval History, he reported to his Government on the evening of the 30th

that Sir Edward Grey had answered him in the following words: "The movements of the Fleet are free of all offensive character, and the Fleet will not approach German waters."

"But," adds the German historian, "the strategic concentration of the Fleet had actually been accomplished with its transfer to Scottish ports." This was true.

We were now in a position, whatever happened, to control events, and it was not easy to see how this advantage could be taken from us. A surprise torpedo attack before or simultaneous with the declaration of war was at any rate one nightmare gone for ever. We could at least see for ten days ahead. If war should come no one would know where to look for the British Fleet. Somewhere in that enormous waste of waters to the north of our islands, cruising now this way, now that, shrouded in storms and



In July 1914, First Lord of the Admiralty Winston Churchill took Sir John French (left) on an inspection visit to naval installations in Scotland, where he would send the Fleet on the eve of war.

mists, dwelt this mighty organization. Yet from the Admiralty building we could speak to them at any moment if need arose. The king's ships were at sea.

The Nation Surging Forward (from Chapter X)

Each day as the telegrams arrived showing the darkening scene of Europe, and the Cabinets ended in growing tension, I pulled over the various levers which successively brought our naval organization into full preparedness. It was always necessary to remember that if Peace was preserved every one of these measures, alarmist in their character and involving much expense, would have to be justified to a Liberal House of Commons. That assembly once delivered from the peril, would certainly proceed upon the assumption that British participation in a continental struggle would have been criminal madness. Yet it was not practicable often to divert the main discussions of the Cabinet into purely technical channels. It was therefore necessary for me to take a peculiar and invidious personal responsibility for many things that had to be done when their turn came. I had also to contemplate a break-up of the governing instrument. Judged by reports and letters from members, the attitude of the House of Commons appeared most uncertain.

Saturday, August 1, 1914. Secretary, First Sea Lord: It seems certain that the order to mobilize will be issued after Cabinet this morning. Have everything in readiness. Examination service should be put into force simultaneously. WSC

At the Cabinet I demanded the immediate calling out of the Fleet Reserves and the completion of our naval preparations. I based this claim on the fact that the German Navy was



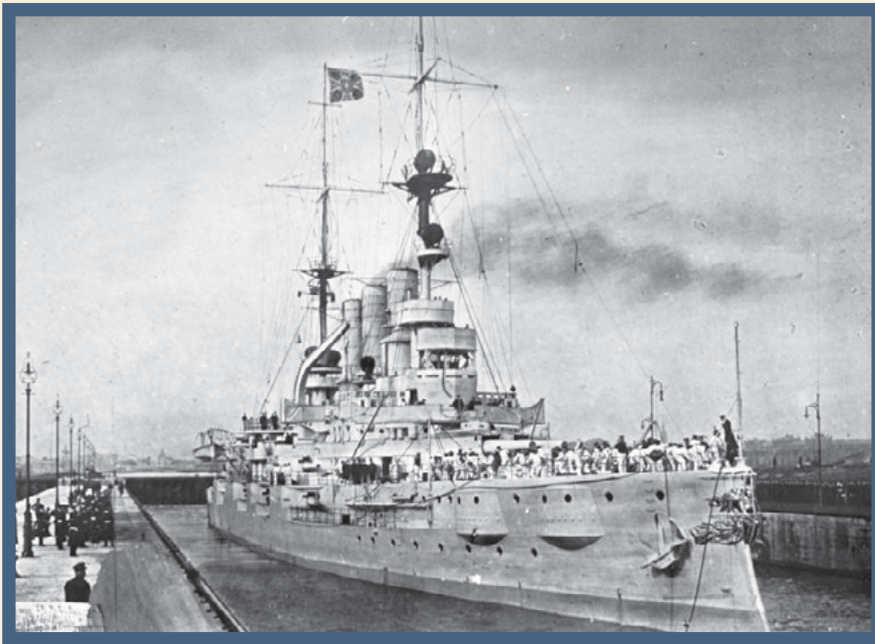
Austria-Hungary broadly commemorated the assassination of the Archduke and Duchess and condemned Serbia for inspiring the massacre, though in reality it had been executed by freelance revolutionaries.

mobilizing, and that we must do the same. The Cabinet, who were by no means ill-informed on matters of naval organization, took the view after a sharp discussion that this step was not necessary to our safety, as mobilization only affected the oldest ships in the Fleet, and that our main naval power was already in full preparedness for war and the Fleet in its war station.

On Saturday evening I dined alone at the Admiralty. The foreign telegrams came in at short intervals in red boxes which already bore the special label "Sub-Committee," denoting the precautionary period. The flow was quite continuous, and the impression produced on my mind after reading for nearly an hour was that there was still a chance of peace. Austria had accepted the conference, and intimate personal appeals were passing between the Tsar and the Kaiser. It seemed to me, from the order in which I read the series of telegrams, that at the very last moment Sir Edward Grey might succeed in saving the situation. So far no shot had been fired between the Great Powers. I wondered whether armies and fleets could remain mobilized for a space

without fighting and then demobilize.

I had hardly achieved this thought when another Foreign Office box came in. I opened it and read "Germany has declared war on Russia." There was no more to be said. I walked across the Horse Guards Parade and entered 10, Downing Street, by the garden gate. I found the Prime Minister upstairs in his drawing-room: with him were Sir Edward Grey, Lord Haldane and Lord Crewe; there may have been other Ministers. I said that I intended instantly to mobilize the Fleet notwithstanding the Cabinet decision, and that I would take full personal responsibility to the Cabinet the next morning. The Prime Minister, who felt himself bound to the Cabinet, said not a single word, but I was clear from his look that he was quite content. As I walked down the steps of Downing Street with Sir Edward Grey, he said to me, "You should know I have just done a very important thing. I have told [French Ambassador] Cambon that we shall not allow the German fleet to come into the Channel." I went back to the Admiralty and gave forthwith the order to mobilize.



The German battleship *Deutschland*, one of five pre-*Dreadnought* battleships built during Germany's first rush of naval construction between 1903 and 1908. Heavily armored, she was quickly outclassed by the British *Dreadnought* class, and the Kriegsmarine began building the new *Nassau*-class battleships to rival the British vessels. (Wikimedia)

War is Inevitable (from Chapter X)

The Cabinet sat almost continuously throughout the Sunday, and up till luncheon-time it looked as if the majority would resign. The grief and horror of so many able colleagues were painful to witness. But what could any one do? In the luncheon interval I saw Mr. Balfour, a veritable rock in times like these, and learned that the Unionist leaders [Conservative opposition] had tendered formally in writing to the Prime Minister their unqualified assurances of support.

I returned to the Admiralty. We telegraphed to our Commanders-in-Chief:

Today, August 2, at 2.20 the following note was handed to the French and German Ambassadors. [Begins] The British Government would not allow the passage of German ships through the English Channel or the North Sea in order

to attack the coasts or shipping of France [ends]. Be prepared to meet surprise attacks.

Meanwhile events were influencing opinion hour by hour. When the Cabinet met on Sunday morning we were in presence of the violation of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg by the German troops. In the evening the German ultimatum to Belgium was delivered. The next day arrived the appeal of the King of the Belgians that the guaranteeing Powers should uphold the sanctity of the Treaty regarding the neutrality of Belgium. This last was decisive. By Monday the majority of Mr. Asquith's colleagues regarded war as inevitable. Discussion was resumed on Monday morning in a different atmosphere, though it seemed certain that there would be numerous resignations.

Some of the Ministers still clung to the hope that Germany would comply with the British ultimatum and would arrest the onrush of her armies upon

Belgium. As well recall the avalanche, as easily suspend in mid-career the great ship that has been launched and is sliding down the ways. Germany was already at war with Russia and France. It was certain that in twenty-four hours she would be at war with the British Empire also.

All through the tense discussions of the Cabinet one had in mind another greater debate which must begin when these were concluded. Parliament, the nation, the Dominions, would have to be convinced. That the cause was good, that the argument was overwhelming, that the response would be worthy, I did not for a moment doubt. But it seemed that an enormous political task awaited us, and I saw in the mind's eye not only the crowded House of Commons, but formidable assemblies of the people throughout the land requiring full and swift justification of the flaming action taken in their name. But such cares were soon dispersed. When the Council doors had opened and ministers had come into the outer air, the British nation was already surging forward in its ancient valour, and the Empire had sprung to arms.

*"Men met each other with erected look,
The steps were higher
that they took,
Friends to congratulate their friends made haste,
And long-inveterate foes saluted as they passed."*

Every Man at His Post (from Chapter X)

Now, after all the stress and convulsion of the preceding ten days, there came to us at the Admiralty a strange interlude of calm. All the decisions had been taken. The ultimatum to Germany had gone: it must certainly be rejected.

War would be declared at midnight. As far as we had been able to foresee the event, all our preparations were made. Mobilization was complete. Every ship was in its station: every man at his post. All over the world, every British captain and admiral was on guard. It only remained to give the signal. What would happen then? It seemed that the next move lay with the enemy. What would he do? Had he some deadly surprise in store? Some awful design, long planned and perfected, ready to explode upon us at any moment NOW?

I had the odd sense that it was like waiting for an election result. The turmoil of the contest seemed finished: the votes were being counted, and in a few hours the announcement would be made. One could only wait; but for what a result! Although the special duties of my office made it imperative that I, of all others, should be vigilant and forward in all that related to preparation for war, I claim, as these pages show, that in my subordinate station I had in these years before the war done nothing wittingly or willingly to impair the chances of a peaceable solution, and had tried my best as opportunity offered to make good relations possible between England and Germany.

I thank God I could feel also in that hour that our country was guiltless of all intended purpose of war. Even if we had made some mistakes in the handling of this awful crisis, though I do not know them, from the bottom of our hearts we could say that we had not willed it. Germany it seemed had rushed with head down and settled resolve to her own undoing. And if this were what she had meant all along, if this was the danger which had really menaced us hour by hour during the last ten years, and would have hung over us hour by hour until the crash eventually came, was it not better that it should happen now: now that she had put herself so hopelessly in the wrong, now that we were ready beyond the

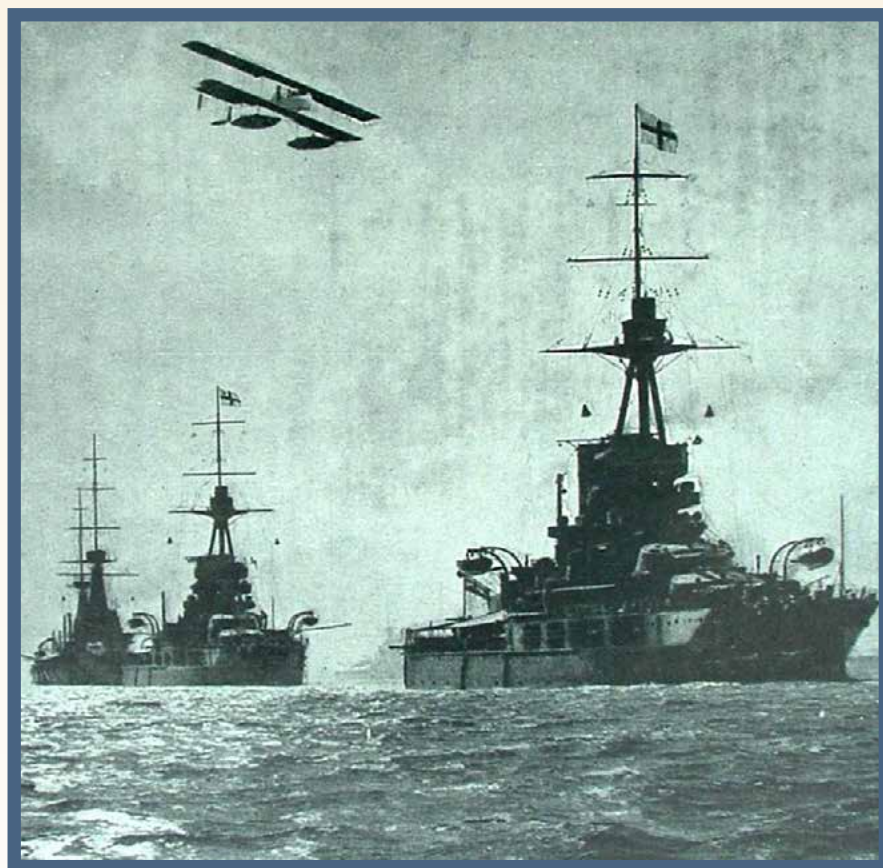
reach of surprise, now that France and Russia and Great Britain were all in the line together?

Once more now in the march of centuries Old England was to stand forth in battle against the mightiest thrones and dominations. Once more in defence of the liberties of Europe and the common right must she enter upon a voyage of great toil and hazard across waters uncharted, towards coasts unknown, guided only by the stars. Once more “the far-off line of storm-beaten ships” was to stand between the Continental Tyrant and the dominion of the world.

It was 11 o'clock at night—12 by German time—when the ultimatum expired. The windows of the Admiralty were thrown wide open in the warm

night air. Under the roof from which Nelson had received his orders were gathered a small group of Admirals and Captains and a cluster of clerks, pencil in hand, waiting. Along the Mall from the direction of the Palace the sound of an immense concourse singing “God save the King” floated in. On this deep wave there broke the chimes of Big Ben; and, as the first stroke of the hour boomed out, a rustle of movement swept across the room. The war telegram, which meant “Commence hostilities against Germany,” was flashed to the ships and establishments under the White Ensign all over the world.

I walked across the Horse Guards Parade to the Cabinet room and reported to the Prime Minister and the Ministers who were assembled there that the deed was done. □



With the barest authority but determined not to be caught napping, Churchill sent the Grand Fleet to its war station at Scapa Flow, Orkney, as the last hours of peace ticked away. Later when he had been temporarily disgraced over the Dardanelles and Gallipoli operations, Lord Kitchener said, “At any rate there is one thing they cannot take from you: the Fleet was ready.” (Wikimedia)

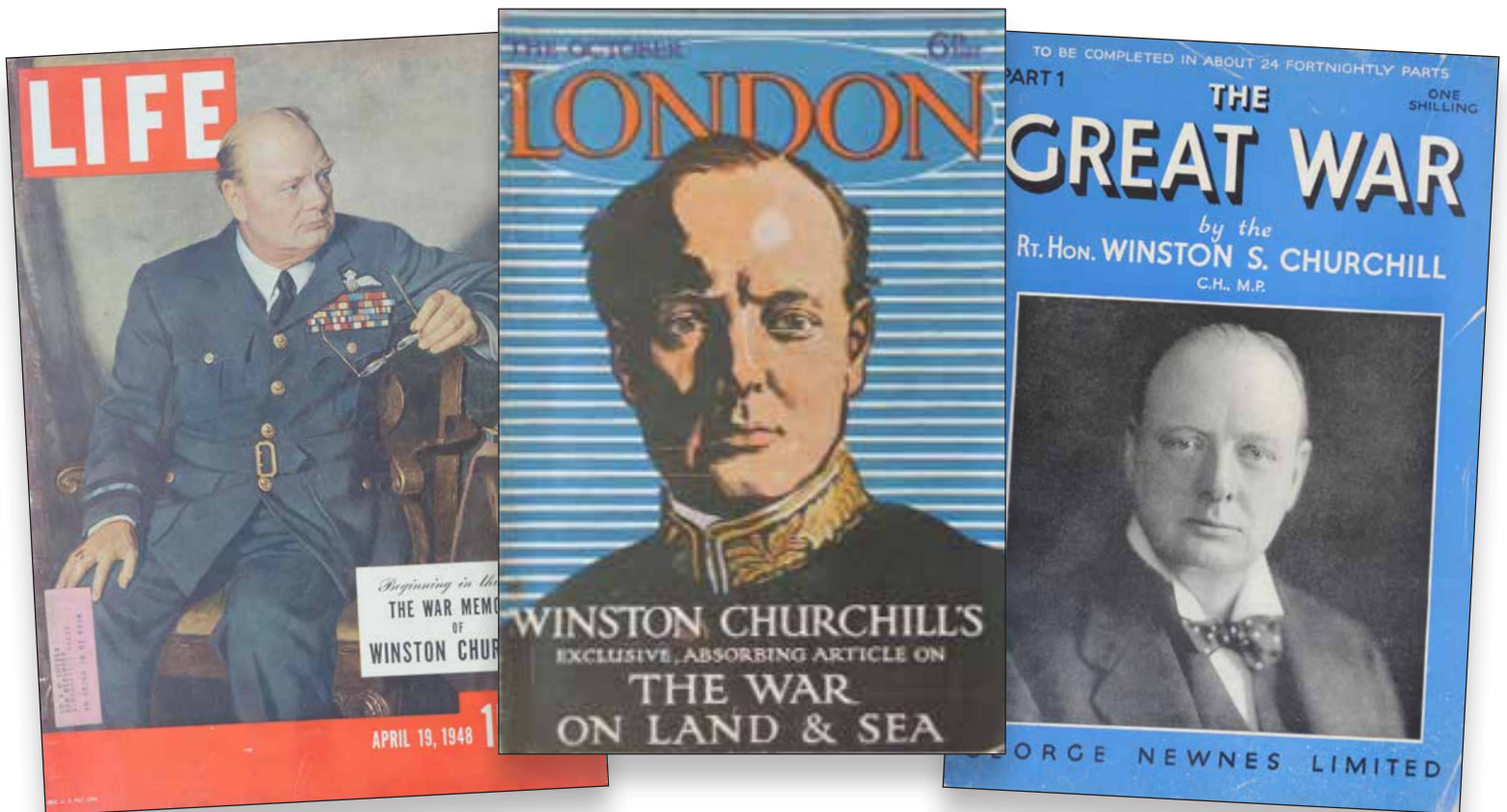
Churchill as Historian

PART ONE

Writing the Stories of Two World Wars

Churchill presents in writing an imitation of human life as experienced, with all of the uncertainties of real choice in place, thus providing a more authentic prudential guide.

JUSTIN D. LYONS



Staying Power: It is remarkable that the same man who wrote of World War I after holding high office was doing the same thing after World War II, over a quarter century later. Churchill's serialized war memoirs, in Newnes's *The Great War* (1933, left) and *Life* magazine (1948-53, right), were prefigured by "The War on Land & Sea," his four-part series in *London Magazine* in 1916-17 (center).

PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY MARK WEBER, THE CHURCHILL BOOKSPECIALIST, WWW.WSCBOOKS.COM

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Over the years, professional historians tend to have had trouble with Churchill's method of writing history. In fact, Maurice Ashley, who worked closely with Churchill as a research assistant on his biography of John Churchill, First Duke of Marlborough, felt compelled to begin his treatment of Churchill's World War I memoir *The World Crisis* not with praise but with a question: "But is it history?"¹

Ashley asked that question primarily because of the personal nature of the reflections contained in Churchill's massive account of World War I, and the judgments of the author on both people and events: "Is the book disqualified as history because of the personal explanations and judgments it contains?"² Ashley concludes that Churchill's volumes remain history—but his asking the question at all reveals something in the conventions of history and historians that is uneasy with Churchill's style.

The unease that historians feel arises from the perception that there are elements of Churchill's writing that simply do not belong in a history. I will call these the personal elements.³ One might begin to examine the most significant of these elements in Churchill's writing under the rough categories of

1) style, 2) concern with character, 3) vantage point, and 4) the explicit passing of judgments.

Style

First, Churchill employs a particular style of writing which is linguistically rich and colorful. Unfortunately, modern sensibilities are often suspicious of colorful history. (More recently this certainly applies to Churchill's biographer William Manchester.) A writer with a penchant for the dramatic and little hesitancy in using his ability with words to support a particular view may neglect events that do not support his style or facts that do not support his rhetorical flow—which, in Churchill's case, could approach torrential force. Considerations of style may trump truth.

And it must be admitted that Churchill's style is unapologetically connected to his viewpoint. Style is in this way connected to structure. The form of a modern history is supposed to conform to certain conventions. If it is thought that the weight of the narrative is not evenly distributed, the reader may feel that he is not getting the whole story. Isaiah Berlin addresses this unease in his essay, "Winston Churchill in 1940," sharply censuring the modern critique of Churchill's narrative and stylistic choices:

To complain that this omits altogether too much

*by assuming that the impersonal, the dull, the undramatic are necessarily also unimportant may well be just; but to lament that this is not contemporary, and therefore in some way less true, less responsive to modern needs, than the noncommittal, neutral glass and plastic of those objective historians who regard facts and only facts as interesting and, worse still, all facts as equally interesting—what is this but craven pedantry and blindness?*⁴

One might first note that Churchill's history is not altogether devoid of the "impersonal, the dull, and the undramatic." His descriptions of air raid procedures and merchant ship losses might very well qualify, for example. But it is certainly true that Churchill does not fit the mold of the noncommittal, objective historian. Churchill enters into the action personally, and the relative weights assigned to events in his narrative reflect his having played a central part in the action of the world wars.

The element of recollection is reflected in the style and structure of his writing. He writes as a man who was there and who belonged to one side rather than the other. Churchill is guided by what professional, objective historians are always attempting to capture—an

assessment of the importance of events as they were experienced. Consider an example of this intersection of stylistic flow and understanding: Churchill's case for *The Second World War* as a teaching moment was based on his contention that the war could have been easily avoided through prudent and resolute action. He makes the assertion in the preface to his first volume: "One day President Roosevelt told me that he was asking publicly for suggestions about what the war should be called. I said at once 'The Unnecessary War.' There never was a war more easy to stop than that which has just wrecked what was left of the world from the previous struggle."⁵

This is a claim that Churchill made repeatedly. Inter-war policies of disarmament and appeasement were deluded, he believed; they had made war more likely.⁶ In his speech at Fulton, he asserted his belief that the war could have been prevented "without the firing of a single shot."⁷

This claim is one of the many "if-lys" that Churchill included in his writing: the "hinges of fate" on which history turned. In *The World Crisis* he wrote of a series of misfortunes: "The terrible 'Ifs' accumulate." If only another course had been pursued (the one Churchill was recommending); if only political leaders had a better grasp of the issues at stake; if only the threat

had been faced with resolution. John Ramsden wonderfully skewers this approach of Churchill's to history:

*Writing in The Gathering Storm of the Rhineland Crisis of 1936, he thundered that if the French had mobilized, 'there is no doubt that Hitler would have been compelled by his own General Staff to withdraw; and a check would have been given to his pretensions which might well have been fatal to his rule.' Note the way in which that sentence slides imperceptibly from a confident 'there is no doubt,' via two hopeful 'would have been[s]' to a suggestive 'might well have been.' It was on such a frail thread of syntax that hung Churchill's oft repeated claim that (as he put it at Fulton), 'there never was a war in all history easier to prevent.'*⁸

Counterfactuals are, of course, problematic for the historian. They are of doubtful propriety in a work of history. But Ramsden suggests something important when he calls Churchill's forays "intuitive counter-factuals." Churchill writes (in his works on the world wars) as a man involved in the events he is narrating—as a man in a position to have a sense of the events and the historical actors not available to future historians. He writes as a statesman in the midst of the flow of politics,

seeking to convey political wisdom gleaned through a lifetime of political reflection. Churchill is less concerned with the rules of historical method than he is with conveying what he sees as fundamental truths about human life and politics that can serve as future guides.

Character

The second of the personal elements is his concern with character, both individual and national. Churchill knew and dealt with the great personalities of his own era. The character assessments he forms, then, are largely his own. Of course, the character of one particular individual must take a central place in considering the horrors of the Second World War. Churchill never met Hitler personally, but through many dark years his mind was bent upon "that man" and his schemes from afar. His assessment of Hitler's character comes as no surprise: "a maniac of ferocious genius, the repository and expression of the most virulent hatreds that have ever corroded the human breast..."⁹

Within Hitler's breast dwelled the black soul of the Nazi regime, yet even Hitler could have been other than he was. In *Great Contemporaries*, Churchill gives a treatment [written in 1935] of Hitler reminiscent of both Plutarch and Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* in which the choices made will reveal the character of the man. Churchill

in 1935 saw Hitler as teetering on the brink of awful choices (although Churchill clearly had his suspicions which way the decision would go); but Hitler could yet choose to turn from the dark path. The same choices were before him as before any man but, because of his position as leader of a nation, the choice was of greater interest to the world.¹⁰

Vantage Point

As Manfred Weidhorn points out: “Churchill is always seeking, and sooner or later obtaining, a vantage point, a good view from the top, a prominent position, whether as an amateur observer of battlefronts, as politician, or as chronicler of his age.”¹¹ The idea that great figures decisively shape the destiny of mankind was nowhere more appealing or more evident to Churchill than in war, yet the modern world moves toward eliminating their role: “We see the modern commander entirely divorced from the heroic aspect by the physical conditions which have overwhelmed his art,” Churchill wrote. “No longer will Hannibal and Caesar, Turenne and Marlborough, Frederick and Napoleon, sit their horses on the battlefield and by their words and gestures direct and dominate between dawn and dusk the course of a supreme event.”¹²

It is this sort of comprehensive view that Churchill sought to recover or emulate in his writing.

During the Second World War, he did approximate, indeed in many ways surpass, the level of direction and control exercised by the great men of the past; this is reflected in his history of that war. Churchill has a special claim of perspective on the events he narrates, for he did in large part direct and dominate events, at least for a time. His history will be a description of the view from his lofty seat:

*I have followed, as in previous volumes, as far as I am able, the method of Defoe’s Memoirs of a Cavalier, in which the author hangs the chronicle and discussion of great military and political events upon the thread of the personal experiences of an individual. I am perhaps the only man who has passed through both the two supreme cataclysms of recorded history in high cabinet office. Whereas, however, in the First World War I filled responsible but subordinate posts, I was for more than five years in this second struggle with Germany the Head of His Majesty’s Government. I write, therefore, from a different standpoint and with more authority than was possible in my earlier books.*¹³

Churchill’s *The Second World War* is built around his own memoranda, directives, personal telegrams and writings issued

during the time he was Prime Minister. He acknowledges that the documents may reflect the limited knowledge of the moment but, far from a failing, this way of proceeding adds to the value of the account.

*These documents, composed from day to day under the stress of events and with the knowledge available at the moment, will no doubt show many shortcomings. Taken together, they nevertheless give a current account of these tremendous events as they were viewed at the time by one who bore the chief responsibility for the war and policy of the British Commonwealth and Empire. I doubt whether any similar record exists or ever has existed of the day-to-day conduct of war and administration.*¹⁴

Indeed, Churchill argues that his method of proceeding presents a truer picture of events than could any account written later: “In this, as in earlier volumes, I have told the story as I knew and experienced it as Prime Minister and Minister of Defence of Great Britain. I have relied, as before, on the documents and speeches composed under the daily ordeal, in the belief that these give a truer picture of what happened at the time than could any afterthoughts.”¹⁵ He claims he is writing something irreplaceable and in important

ways unsurpassable because he was in the position to know; his writing encompasses truths about the events that will not be made clearer by the passage of time.

Judgments

Churchill makes explicit judgments on historical actors. Take, for example, a passage from *The Second World War* on the conduct of the British Government during the appeasement period: “We must regard as deeply blameworthy before history the conduct, not only of the British National and mainly Conservative Government, but of the Labour-Socialist and Liberal parties, both in and out of office, during this fatal period.”¹⁶ One expects such judgments in political speeches, but historical proprieties seem to demand that they be left behind when it comes to writing history.

It is certainly fair to say that the reader of Churchill’s work cannot help but be aware of his opinions. But it is important to recognize the kind of judgments he will and will not make.

No one begrudges Churchill his judgments on the enemy, which struck the sparks of resistance in his nation and the world. Condemning Nazism can stir no sane objectors. But Churchill also passes judgment on the policies pursued by the government of his own country—a practice seemingly more appropriate to political

speeches than to history. Nevertheless, he applies a key rule:

*I have adhered to my rule of never criticising any measure or war policy after the event unless I had before expressed publicly or formally my opinion or warning about it. Indeed in the after-light I have softened many of the severities of contemporary controversy. It has given me pain to record these disagreements with so many men whom I liked or respected; but it would be wrong not to lay the lessons of the past before the future. Let no one look down on those honourable, well-meaning men whose actions are chronicled in these pages, without searching his own heart, reviewing his own discharge of public duty, and applying the lessons of the past to his future conduct.*¹⁷

Thus Churchill will not criticize in hindsight, unless he condemned a policy at the time. Churchill had disagreements with colleagues he liked and he respected. He writes that it has given him pain to record them and there is no reason to disbelieve him. Honest and honorable men can make mistakes, stemming from no defect in character or intention, but from the irreducible uncertainty of political affairs. Churchill points out their missteps for the purpose of

offering guides for the future, while calling his readers to imaginatively put themselves in the place of those who faced difficult choices.

Churchill’s Value

Because we can have no certain knowledge of the future, Churchill tells us, our efforts are not guaranteed success. Politics, therefore, does not deal in certainties: man must make his way in the world with the limited knowledge and influence available to him. Yet choices must be made—by individuals, governments, peoples, and nations. Such choices weigh most heavily on those in positions of political authority, and there is no pre-determined path or guiding mechanism of destiny to lessen their burden. That is why he writes of his series of “directives, telegrams and minutes” regarding the daily conduct of the war...

These are all original documents composed by me as events unfolded. They therefore constitute a more authentic record and give, I believe, a better impression of what happened and how it seemed at the time than any account which I could write now that the course of events is known. Although they contain expressions of opinion and forecasts which did not come true, it is by them as a whole that I wish my own share in the conflict to be judged. Only in this way can the reader

*understand the actual problems we had to face as defined by the knowledge then in our possession.*¹⁸

Finally, it must be noted that, while Churchill does not follow the conventions of modern historiography,

neither does he claim the title of historian: “I do not describe it as history, for that belongs to another generation. But I claim with confidence that it is a contribution to history which will be of service to the future.”¹⁹ In the final volume of *The Second World War*, he

refers to his work as a “personal narrative.”²⁰ But the work is more, rather than less, valuable for being so. The narrative is that of a great man involved in a titanic struggle, a man who now offers his wisdom in order that the mistakes of the past may be avoided. □



Endnotes

1. Maurice Ashley, *Churchill as Historian*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968), 69.

2. Ashley, 72.

3. I am not without precedent in doing so. Consider Ashley's judgment on *The Second World War*: “It is highly personal; and it lacks, I think, the excitement conveyed in some admirably written passages of *The World Crisis*. Still it is indispensable reading for any historian who would understand Churchill's part in this second world war.” (Ashley, 208.) See also John Lukacs, *Churchill: Visionary, Statesman, Historian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 104, who describes Churchill's history as “personal and participatory.”

4. Isaiah Berlin, “Winston Churchill in 1940” in *The Proper Study of Mankind: An Anthology of Essays*, edited by Henry Hardy and Roger Hausheer. Foreword by Noel Annan. Introduction by Roger Hausheer. (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1998), 621.

5. Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, vol. I, *The Gathering Storm* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948), iv.

6. See, for example, “European Dangers,” November 23, 1932 in Robert Rhodes James., ed. *Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches 1897-1963*, 8 vols. (New York: Bowker, 1974), V 5204: “The removal of the just grievances of the vanquished ought to precede the disarmament of the victors. To bring about anything like equality of armaments [between the vanquished and the victor nation] if it were in our power to do so, which it happily is not, while those grievances remain unredressed, would almost be to appoint the day for another European war—to fix it as if it were a prize-fight.”

7. Winston S. Churchill, “The Sinews of Peace,” March 5, 1946 in *Complete Speeches*, VII 7292.

8. John Ramsden, *Man of the Century: Winston Churchill and His Legend Since 1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 206-07. My purpose here is not to determine whether Churchill's claim is correct, but to point to how his account can be problematic for the historian.

9. *The Gathering Storm*, 11.

10. Winston Churchill, “Hitler and His Choice,” in *Great Contemporaries*. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1973). The original essay, “The Truth About Hitler,” was published in *The Strand Magazine*, November 1935. The comparative texts, showing what Churchill changed between his article and his book, is in *Finest Hour* 156, starting at page 33. A .pdf copy is posted on winstonchurchill.org.

11. Manfred Weidhorn, *Churchill's Rhetoric and Political Discourse*. Exxon Education Foundation Series on Rhetoric and Political Discourse, ed. Kenneth W. Thompson, no. 17. The White Burkett Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia. (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1987), 2.

12. Winston S. Churchill, “Mass Effects in Modern Life,” in James W. Muller, ed., *Thoughts and Adventures: Churchill Reflects on Spies, Cartoons, Flying, and the Future* (Wilmington, Del.: ISI Books, 2009), 275-76.

13. *The Gathering Storm*, iii. Churchill followed a similar method in *The World Crisis* (V, vii), but without the same breadth of view: “As in previous volumes, the record and discussion of world-famous events is strung on the thread of personal narrative....Wherever possible I have told the tale in my own words written or spoken at the time. The proper adjustments must be made in pages where this occurs. I tell the tale as I saw it unfold. But others saw it from a different angle, and there was much that I did not see.”

14. *The Gathering Storm*, iii-iv.

15. Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, vol. VI, *Triumph and Tragedy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1953), v.

16. *The Gathering Storm*, 89.

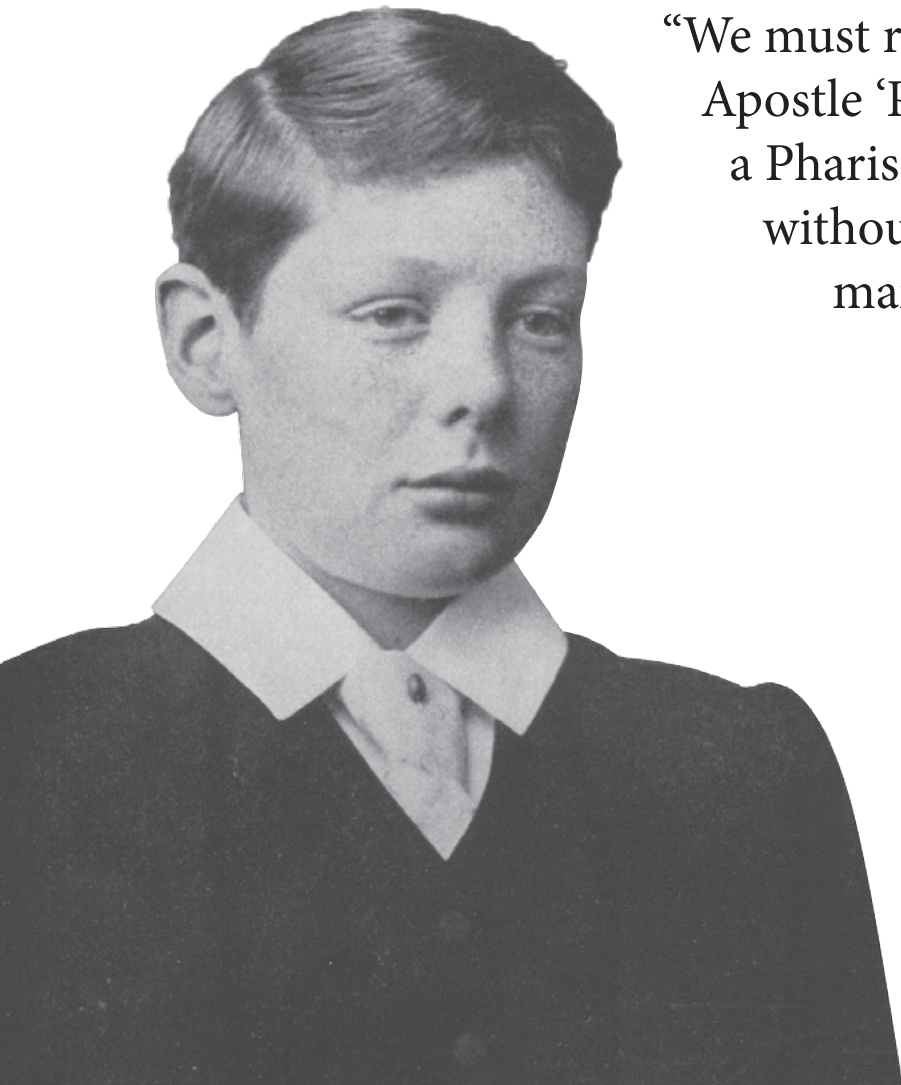
17. *The Gathering Storm*, iv.

18. Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, vol. III, *The Grand Alliance* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950), v.

19. *The Gathering Storm*, iv.

20. *Triumph and Tragedy*, v.

“Palestine” In the Time of John the Baptist



“We must remember that the greatest Apostle ‘Paul’ declared that ‘He was a Pharisee & the son of a Pharisee’ without shame. Their faults were many. Whose faults are few?”

Winston S. Churchill in 1888

The author at the time of this essay.

Churchill was only thirteen when he wrote this essay on Palestine, demonstrating his already-developing mastery of English. The use of “our Lord” would seem to confirm he had not yet come to question his Christian upbringing, which probably began a few years later, when he read the secular philosopher Winwood Reade’s *The Martyrdom of Man* as an officer in India. On the other hand, we might suppose that like any good journalist he was writing for his audience—his Head Master, James Welldon, was an ordained priest, and later became Bishop of Calcutta.

The American poet quoted at the end is Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, with whose works, including *Paul Revere’s Ride* and *The Song of Hiawatha*, young Winston was avidly familiar. It is interesting to note that though he uses the ampersand freely in his own text, our budding journalist correctly quotes Longfellow’s “Ands.” The punctuation is unchanged from his original, which was first published in the official biography, *Companion Volume I, Part 1* (London: Heinemann, 1967). Republished by kind permission of the Churchill Literary Estate — Editors



At the time of John the Baptist Palestine’s physical features were the same as they are now. The even coast line with its only projection of any importance, Mt. Carmel, forms the Eastern boundary of the Levant. A range of mountains running parallel to the coast, East of which the country slopes down to a depth of several hundred feet below the level of the sea. The river Jordan which passes through the Lake of Gennesareth & the Dead Sea. So shall they be till hoary Time be merged in boundless Eternity.

In the time of John the Baptist Palestine lay at the feet of the Roman, who was then at the apex of his glory.

In the N & N.W. were a class of people, always ready for a rebellion, ready to risk their lives, their homes, their all for their country's freedom. These were called "Patriots" a word so familiar in France but used in a different sense. Rebellion after Rebellion broke out, but the stern and splendidly organized legions of Rome crushed and stamped these outbreaks into nothing.

The Sadduces were a class of people whose god was "money" and whose plan was "Let it be - things are just as well as they are - There is no Resurrection - There is no Hereafter - We will try to make the short span of life that we have as happy for us as possible; no matter what happens to our country - our people - and our religion. Money is the vital principal of the world it is the key of happiness & power, there are no heights however great to which it cannot carry you - there is no gulf however deep it cannot bridge you."

With this as a Creed, we may now wonder at the state of the country. They had gained a great deal of money by letting money changer stalls in the temple & also to the sellers of doves.

We have briefly considered two of the important classes which existed in Palestine BC 25—AD 1. The third is by far the most familiar of the three - it was not the worst, but it was not the best - it was termed the "Pharisees" - it embraced the aristocracy of Palestine - Its Creed may have been as follows - "We have sinned - the Messiah is angry - the Law is not properly kept - We believe that one day the Messiah will come. We will sweep away our Roman oppressors, we will then

drive into everlasting everliving fire all those cursed & sinners who do not keep the Law - He will then reign in glory at his City of Jerusalem & subduing to his sway the powers of this earth will preach from the minarets of the Temple of Zion the "Keeping of the Law." That is the Future - For the Present - The Law - The Law - The Law - before man - wife - child - house - limb & life & all will be well. That is the most favourable view of the Pharisees, others, worse than this might be taken - but we must remember that the greatest Apostle "Paul" declared that "He was a Pharisee & the son of a Pharisee" without shame.

Their faults were many. Whose faults are few? For let him with all the advantages of Christianity avouch that they are more wicked than himself, *he* commits the same crime of which he is just denouncing *them*. To sum up their faults *briefly yes briefly* - (we do not wish to dwell upon the failings of others for that is not Christian) we may set the chief down as follows: —

Their hypocrisy

Their idea that all, who were not as *good* as themselves, were cursed for ever more.

Their self-pride & self-Justification. These formed their principle faults.

Now *I* think that having mentioned peoples faults we ought to mention their excuses. When we think that for nearly 800 years their [sic] had been no prophet & consequently they attributed this absence of a protector to the "not keeping of the

Law.” Thereafter they enforced it all the more rigorously, adding & enlarging on it every year until the Public were hemmed in a Perfect network of sinister (?) & worthless laws which to the poorer classes became at once onerous & impossible to obey. Those who did not obey the law were “outcasts” & “sinners” & they were excluded from the pale of religion & Eternal life. We have considered the three classes of people inhabiting Palestine at this period viz.

- Pharisees
- Sadduces
- Patriots

Both our Lord & John the Baptist seem to denounce the former class the most.

Why? Because they hindered poor from coming to the Door of Heaven.

To the creed of the Sadduces there is one answer. Written by a well known American Poet. It runs as follows: —

*“Tell me not in mournful numbers
Life is but an empty dream
And the soul is dead that slumbers
And things are not what they seem.*

*“Life is real, Life is joyous,
And the Grave is not its goal
Dust thou art to dust returneth
Was not spoken of the soul.”*



John the Baptist, a 16th century painting by Bartolomeo Veneto (1470-1531), by courtesy Wikimedia Commons.

“Like opening your first bottle of champagne.”

The Lady Soames
LG DBE

15 September 1922 – 31 May 2014

Last surviving child of Sir Winston Churchill and his wife Clementine, Lady Soames died at her home after a short illness. She had served many years as a Churchill Fellow and on the Board of Governors for the Winston Churchill Memorial and Library, later renamed America’s National Churchill Museum.

Born Mary Churchill, she was the youngest child in the family and grew up surrounded by family, politics, and art at Chartwell in Kent. Dinner and weekend guests included world leaders and movie stars. She served in the Auxiliary Territorial Service in London, Belgium and Germany and held the rank of Junior Commander at end of service. Mary also accompanied her father on several overseas trips, including the final World War II summit meeting at Potsdam with President Harry Truman and Joseph Stalin.

Her late husband Christopher, Baron Soames after 1978, served as a minister under Conservative Party Prime Ministers Anthony Eden, Harold Macmillan, Alec Douglas-Home and Margaret Thatcher. He also served as British Ambassador to France and later as last governor of Southern Rhodesia before that country’s independence in 1980. They had five children: Nicholas, Emma, Jeremy, Charlotte and Rupert.

As a noted author, Lady Soames wrote six books, of which the most recent is her autobiography, *A Daughter’s Tale* (reviewed in *The Churchillian*, Spring 2012). Her first book was *Clementine Churchill*, an acclaimed biography of her mother. She also edited *Speaking for Themselves*, a book of letters between Sir Winston and Lady Churchill, with detailed annotations placing the correspondence in context.

Ever gracious, Lady Soames attended several events that celebrated her father’s historic visit to Westminster College in 1946 to deliver the speech that announced the Cold War: “*an iron curtain has descended across the continent.*” In 1969, she attended with her son Nicholas the dedication of the Winston Churchill Memorial and Library and the consecration of the Church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury. Other noted guests included the Earl Mountbatten of Burma and former Ambassador Averell Harriman. For the 2006 grand opening of the new Museum exhibition, Lady Soames was joined by keynote speaker Chris Matthews and took part in a special interview session with Westminster students.

In 2011, the Museum-led tour *Churchill’s England* included a unique London reception hosted by Mr. and Mrs. Philip Boeckman with Lady Soames as our guest. Here she displayed that engaging personality by which so many people were captivated. Meeting her, as her father said of President Roosevelt, “was like opening your first bottle of champagne.” Her great charm and wit while visiting with us will long be remembered here at the National Churchill Museum.



The Lady Soames



Potsdam, July 1945



**Mrs. Peter Peck and Lady Soames,
May 2011, London**





Mandy Plybon
**Education & Public
 Programs Coordinator**

School and Community Update

This summer sees a new temporary exhibit, *D-Day: Operation Overlord*, in remembrance of the 70th anniversary of D-Day June 6, 1944. Sixty-three original watercolors and drawings line the walls of the Anson Cutts Gallery, documenting, firsthand, the events that took place during the invasion. I try with each new temporary exhibit to include a family learning area, connecting major themes from the exhibits to the Museum's younger audience. For D-Day, I focus on three major themes within World War II: rationing, victory mail, and World War II military equipment.

The rationing game is set up like a grocery store, with play food lining the shelves. Child visitors are to plan a week's worth of meals, but are limited to a certain number of ration tokens. Each food item has its corresponding ration points listed on the container. There is even a reproduced 1943 rationing list for both red tokens (meat, fish, dairy) and blue tokens (canned foods) that children can reference when planning their weekly meals. For our youngest visitors, we ask them to sort the food items by color, size, and container shape.

Something fun for the children is a poster of a 100-pound sack of sugar, in actual size (18 inches x 32 inches). I placed a yardstick beside the poster so children can go up and see how they measure next to the sugar sack. On display are also posters with World War II rationing fun facts: Jell-O Pudding is one of the few boxed foods you can buy. Other boxed foods include Spam, Ritz crackers, and Campbell's tomato soup.

Making connections with our regional community is important to the National Churchill Museum. For this reason, I decided

to ask the family learning participants to write a letter and/or draw a picture cheering up a Veteran. After the exhibit ends and the family learning area closes, I will take all the letters and drawings to a Veteran's hospital or rehabilitation center in the area. If there is enough to go around, I plan to spread the cheer to multiple organizations. What is exciting is the children get to use Victory Mail reproduction paper. There are also posters with Victory Mail fun facts posted in this activity section. One of my favorites is that the Post Office takes pictures of the V-Mail postcards and the post office mails the film overseas, not the postcards. I never would have thought! In the exhibit, I mention that cameras were not digital during World War II, something most children today might not recognize.

Our third family learning section is probably my favorite. I took four common military equipment items (helmet, cargo pack, entrenching tool, and gas mask) and turned them into puzzles. I cut puzzles pieces out of enlarged laminated images. Children are to pick a puzzle basket, put the puzzle together, and then find the corresponding image that is on the wall. Next to each World War II image is an image from present day. There are also family questions posted with each set of images. These questions encourage parents to ask their younger counterparts questions as well as asking them to do different activities with each item. The goal is to spark imagination and critical thinking within the younger child.

For the helmet, children look at the shape of the helmet and think about its strength. They put on bike helmets, imagining they are soldier helmets, and see if they can crawl on their bellies without the helmet getting in the way. With all the items,

children are asked to compare the new item with the old item and to talk about how it looks the same and different. With the gas mask puzzle, children are to imagine what it might feel like to wear a gas mask. While we do not have one for them to try on, we do ask them to cup their hands over their nose and mouth and breathe. They are to think about what they feel and what they hear. Children then can talk to someone with the ‘gas mask’ on, seeing if the other person can hear and understand.

My favorite activity in the World War II puzzle section is the cargo pack puzzle. The family questions for this item have children think about the weight of the packs. Filled packs can weigh up to 70 pounds. In the exhibit, there are two pails filled with 35 pounds of rock each. The family question panel asks children to try to lift one of the

filled pails. They are to think about if the pail is heavy. If the children can lift a pail, they can walk around with it. They are to think about if the pail is hard to lift and if they are tired. At the end of the activity, children are to imagine what soldiers feel when they carry their filled cargo packs for miles.

I am doing a lot of planning this summer. There are a number programs and projects on the horizon. I have some exciting news to announce, but have to wait until I get the official okay in October. I can give you a little teaser – the Museum will be able to do some wonderful programming to help strengthen the Museum’s presence within our local Callaway County community. Watch for the announcement in the next *Churchillian* issue!

-Mandy Plybon, Education & Public Programs Coordinator



A family enjoying the Family Learning Area in the *D-Day: Operation Overlord* temporary exhibition



D-Day family learning area, victory mail section



D-Day family learning area, rationing game



D-Day family learning area, WWII equipment puzzle game



▲ (L to R): Randy Pierce and Rebecca Pierce (Speech Contest Coordinators), Kristine Cho, and Allen Packwood.

◀ Mr. Allen Packwood, Director of the Churchill Archives Centre Cambridge, presents Kristine Cho with her Winston Churchill Student Speech Competition 1st place plaque.

MEET THE NEW PAINTINGS CURATOR

Timothy Riley has been named Paintings Curator at the National Churchill Museum and will lead the Museum's efforts to organize and present a major exhibition of paintings by Winston Churchill in 2015.

"I am pleased to be a part of the impressive team at the National Churchill Museum at Westminster College," said Riley. "Winston Churchill's passion for painting and his considerable accomplishments as a 'pastime painter' are known to devoted Churchillians throughout the world. The painting exhibition scheduled for 2015 is a wonderful opportunity to share this facet of Churchill's remarkable life with a wider audience."

2015 marks the 50th anniversary of Sir Winston's death and the centennial anniversary of when Churchill first started to paint. The National Churchill Museum will join with other organizations and Churchillians throughout the world as a part of the *Churchill 2015* initiative to celebrate the life and legacy of Winston Churchill.

Previously, Riley served as Executive Director of the Trout Museum of Art in Appleton, Wisconsin, where he organized and curated the exhibitions *Before and After Rembrandt*, *Chagall*, *The Art of the Diamond: Baseball*, *Painted Russia*, *Fritz Faiss: A Retrospective*, *the Appleton Compassion Project*, and *the Art of Sir Winston Churchill*. He was named Director Emeritus of the Trout Museum of Art in 2012.



Timothy Riley
Paintings Curator

Excited to be joining the team in Fulton!

Hello, *Churchillian* readers, my name is Amy Cantone and I am the new Archivist/Curator at the National Churchill Museum. I am very excited to be joining the team in Fulton. From working on exhibits to caring for artifacts, I love to get my white-gloved hands on history.

My journey to the National Churchill Museum and Westminster College began a few years ago when I first discovered my passion for the past. While at Skidmore College, I enrolled in multiple British and European history classes. Captivated by twentieth century history, I sought to learn more - and this led to graduate work at Kansas State University. Between classes and assignments, I worked - first as an archival intern, then as a museum technician - at the Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library and Museum, Abilene, KS. This experience changed everything for me, as I loved working at the Museum.

I started at the Eisenhower Museum with inventorying artifacts and enjoyed learning more about my favorite era in history from the very collections I worked with each day. I still remember being completely surprised when I opened a storage box and found one of General Eisenhower's five-star uniforms. I am looking forward to learning the collections at the National Churchill Museum and using those pieces to tell stories, just as I did at the Eisenhower Museum.

Since those Kansas days, I pursued opportunities to continue working in museums and my first stop was in Missouri. In 2013, I worked as a curatorial assistant with the Missouri State Capitol Museum. One weekend, I journeyed to nearby Fulton to visit the National Churchill Museum and had a great time going through each gallery.

I am delighted to be the new Archivist/Curator here and will work to make sure everyone who stops by the Museum enjoys it as much as I did last summer.



Amy Cantone
Curator/Archivist

LETTERS TO *THE CHURCHILLIAN*

Email us any questions about Winston Churchill under the sun, and we'll get the answer from our panel of experts! Send your questions, comments and general musings to TheChurchillian@nationalchurchillmuseum.org.

ART WITHOUT TRADITION

I am a Cultural Management student writing my bachelor thesis. In my introduction, I'd like to quote Winston Churchill's statement, "Without tradition, art is a flock of sheep without a shepherd, without innovation, it is a corpse." Unfortunately, I lack a resource where this quote is cited. I could only find that it was mentioned in The Times (London) on May 11, 1954, an article I could not access.

—Laura Noll, Germany, via email

The Times's entry is a good clue. We took up Churchill's book, *The Unwritten Alliance: Speeches 1953-1959*, began in May 1954 and leafed backwards, looking for a speech about the Arts. We found it on April 3, 1953 and your quotation is in the second paragraph:

"The arts are essential to any complete national life. The nation owes it to itself to sustain and encourage them. The country possesses in the Royal Academy an institution of power and reputation for the purpose of encouraging the arts of painting and sculpture. It would be disastrous if the control of this machine fell into the hands of any particular school of artistic thought, which like a dog in a manger would have little pleasure itself but would exclude all others.

"The function of such an institution as the Royal Academy is to hold a middle course between tradition and innovation. Without tradition art is a flock of sheep without a shepherd. Without innovation it is a corpse. Innovation of course involves experiment."

THE SIDNEY STREET PHOTO

In the famous photograph of Churchill at the siege of Sidney Street (Autumn issue, page 21), do we know if the person behind Churchill is Lord Knutsford? I ask because Churchill writes, in his account of the event in his Thoughts and Adventures:

“I saw now that I should have done much better to have remained quietly in my office. On the other hand, it was impossible to get into one's car and drive away while matters stood in such great uncertainty and moreover were extremely interesting. Being anxious to have a direct view of the besieged house, I now crossed the street and took shelter in the doorway of a warehouse on the opposite side. Here I found Lord Knutsford, the Chairman of the London Hospital, and together we watched the closing scenes of the drama.”

I believe the first person in the topper is Churchill—it looks like him, and it is where he would have been. The one behind him is the man in question. Some captions identify him as Churchill's secretary, Eddie Marsh, but I had thought it was probably Lord Knutsford. I don't know if Marsh was really there, but I believe what Churchill writes about Knutsford. It is possible, of course, that Marsh was right behind Churchill and Knutsford was out of the photo.

—James W. Muller, Anchorage Alaska

Sir Martin Gilbert's *Churchill: A Life in Photographs*, image 81, identifies the second person as Eddie Marsh. Alas we are unable to query Sir Martin, so we must believe that Lord Knutsford, though reported present by Churchill, is not in this photo. (There is a third civilian pictured, in a cloth cap, but his dress and appearance do not suggest Knutsford.)

Sydney Holland, Second Viscount Knutsford (1855-1931) was a barrister active in hospital work. At the time of Sidney Street, he was Chairman of Poplar Hospital and Chairman of the London Hospital House Committee. He succeeded his father as Viscount Knutsford in 1914



Churchill (first top hat) at the Siege of Sidney Street, January 1911.

“I DO BELIEVE I AM A GLOW-WORM”

I would like some context to Churchill's remark, “but I believe I am a glow-worm.” When did he say this? There is a Bible verse about, “a worm such as I,” and Hitler referred to Chamberlain as, “a little worm.” Was Churchill's remark in response to either of these?

—Mark Lasbury, via email

The correct quotation is: “We are all worms. But I do believe I am glow-worm.” It was said to his lifelong friend, Violet Bonham-Carter, daughter of Prime Minister H.H. Asquith, quite early on, before 1910 according to her book, *Winston Churchill as I Knew Him* (1966).

As to Hitler and the British, your impression is borne out by Anthony Eden, who wrote in his memoir, *The Reckoning*: “A disastrous result of Chamberlain's policy was that Hitler and Mussolini could believe we were weak enough to acquiesce in their designs. The Fuehrer was wont to talk disparagingly of his enemies as the little worms he saw at Munich; they would be too cowardly to attack.”

Please look for this special Winston Churchill page
on



2014- 15 WINSTON CHURCHILL WORLD WAR II FILM SERIES

In commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the Invasion of Normandy, this year-long series features monthly screenings of motion pictures set during World War II, and includes discussion that put each film in historical context. Screenings are in the St. Louis Downtown Central Auditorium at 1:15 PM. Presented by the St. Louis Public Library and the National Churchill Museum.

a few of the titles featured will be...



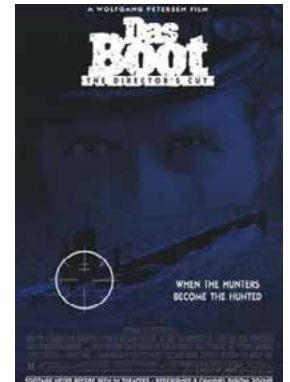
February 1, 2015- In 1940, the British Royal Air Force fights a desperate battle vs. the Nazi Germany Air Force for control of British air space to prevent a Nazi invasion of Britain. Director: Guy Hamilton. Stars: Michael Caine, Trevor Howard, and Harry Andrews.



October 5, 2014 - The events of D-Day, told on a grand scale from both the Allied and German points of view. Directors: Ken Annakin and Andrew Marton. Stars: John Wayne, Robert Ryan, and Richard Burton.



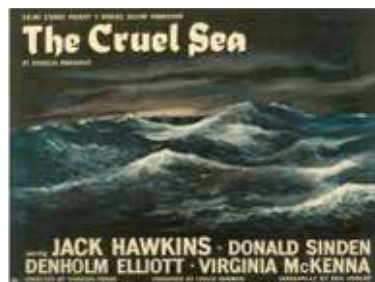
May 3, 2015- A dramatization of Nazi Germany's final Western Front counterattack of World War II. Director: Ken Annakin. Stars: Henry Fonda, Robert Shaw, and Robert Ryan.



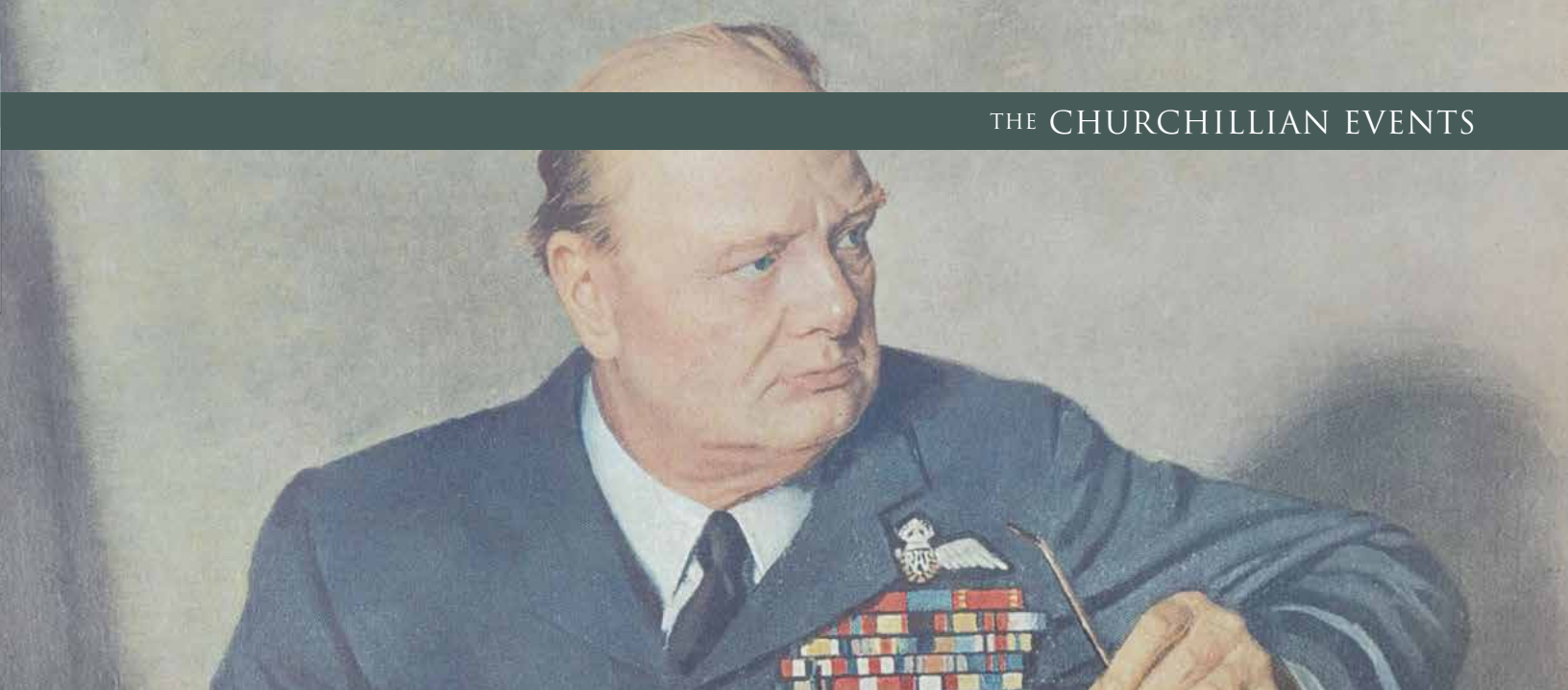
March 1, 2015 -The claustrophobic world of a WWII German U-boat; boredom, filth, and sheer terror. Director: Wolfgang Petersen. Stars: Jürgen Prochnow, Herbert Grönemeyer, and Klaus Wennemann.



December 7, 2014 - An English village is occupied by disguised German paratroopers as an advance post for a planned invasion.



April 12, 2015- The Cruel Sea is a 1953 British film from Ealing Studios starring Jack Hawkins and Donald Sinden, with Denholm Elliott, Stanley Baker, Liam Redmond, Virginia McKenna and Moira Lister. It was directed by Charles Frend and produced by Leslie Norman. It was based on the best selling novel "The Cruel Sea" by Nicholas Monsarrat.



May 30, 2014-August 3, 2014
 Exhibit: D-Day Normandy-Operation Overlord
 Anson Cutts Gallery
 National Churchill Museum
 Price of general admission
 Open daily 10:00am-4:30pm

July 13, 2014
 The Great Escape (1963)
 Downtown Central St. Louis Library
 Free admission
 1:15pm film

August 9, 2014 – October 19, 2014
 Exhibit: Mail Call
 Anson Cutts Gallery
 National Churchill Museum
 Price of general admission
 Open daily 10:00am-4:30pm

August 17, 2014
 Downfall (2004)
 Downtown Central St. Louis Library
 Free admission
 1:15pm film

September 7, 2014
 The Dambusters (1955)
 Downtown Central St. Louis Library
 Free admission
 1:15pm film

September 10, 2014
 Museum Open House
 Meet new staff and tour Museum
 Free admission
 Light refreshments
 4:00pm-6:00pm

September 13, 2014
 Color Run
 Fundraising event
 Westminster College
 9 am start

October 8, 2014
 Homeschool Day
 National Churchill Museum
 Price of general admission
 9am-4pm

November 2, 2014
 The Memphis Belle (1990)
 Downtown Central St. Louis Library
 Free admission
 1:15pm film

November 4, 2014 – January 3, 2015
 6th Annual Holiday Honor Tree on display
 National Churchill Museum
 Free viewing
 Open daily 10am-4:30pm

November 9, 2014
 25th Anniversary of the Fall of the Berlin Wall

November 11, 2014
 Veteran's Day
 Free admission!
 Open 10am-4:30pm

November 13-December 31, 2014
 31st Annual Victorian Christmas Fundraiser
 Anson Cutts Gallery
 National Churchill Museum
 Free to shop
 10am-4:30pm

November 13, 2014
 31st Annual Kettledrum Tea
 Free admission
 10am-2pm
 31st Annual Evening Open House
 Free admission
 5pm-7pm

November 14, 2014
 "Rockin the Wall" film screening & Panel discussion
 Coulter Lecture Hall
 Westminster College
 Free admission
 6:30pm-8:30pm

November 30, 2014
 Winston Churchill's 140th birthday

December 1, 2014
 Annual Holiday Open House & Tree Lighting
 National Churchill Museum
 Free admission
 4pm-6pm: family activities & refreshments
 6pm: tree lighting ceremony

December 6, 2014
 Fulton Christmas Parade
 Come see the Museum staff walk in the Parade!
 Fulton
 1 pm

December 7, 2014
 Went the Day Well? (1942)
 Downtown Central St. Louis Library
 Free admission
 1:15pm film

January 2015-March 2015
 After-School Community Arts Program
 National Churchill Museum

January 24, 2015
 50th Anniversary of Winston Churchill's Death



NATIONAL CHURCHILL MUSEUM
501 WESTMINSTER AVENUE
FULTON, MISSOURI 65251

Celebrate Churchill 2015 with a special tour to visit the country life of Winston and Clementine Churchill



Blenheim Palace

Tentative tour dates: 22 May – 5 June 2015
Tour will include the 26 – 29 May 2015 Churchill Conference at Heythrop Park and Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire

Churchill: Celebrating A Life

Featured speakers (provisional acceptances)

Boris Johnson, Mayor of London; Robert Hardy, actor; Lord (Michael) Dobbs, House of Cards author; Jonathan Dimbleby, distinguished broadcaster and son of Richard Dimbleby, BBC commentator, Churchill's State Funeral; Sir David Cannadine, author and historian

Special guests (provisional acceptances)

The Duke of Marlborough

Celia Sandys

Randolph Churchill

Planned venues include Ditchley Park, Heythrop Park, Blenheim Palace, Bladon, Oxford, the Cotswolds, Chartwell and estates and gardens in Kent.

Tour group is limited to 26 participants. For additional details and reservations, contact Kit Freudenberg at 572-592-5234.