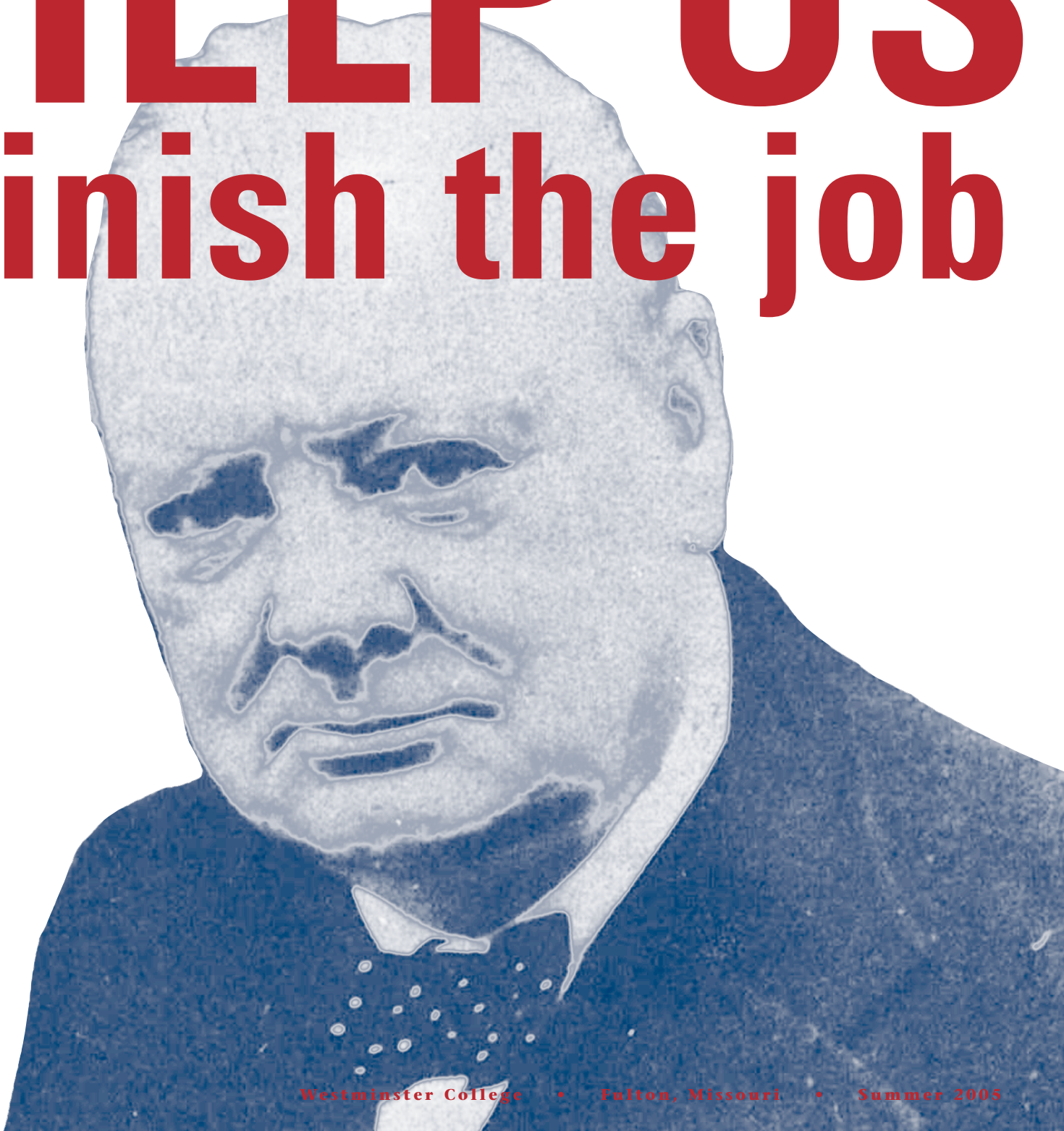


The Winston Churchill Memorial and Library in the United States



MEMO

HELP US
finish the job



A Message from the Executive Director!

Table of Contents	
A Message from the Executive Director	2
3	A Message from the Senior Churchill Fellow
Memo Notes	4
6	Winston and Iraq
Churchill's Relationship with the Celts	10
14	Giving Online
Making the Particular Universal	16

Dear Friend,

Welcome to the Spring/ Summer 2005 edition of *The Memo*. As always we have been busy here at the Memorial, hosting a very interesting Kemper lecture, delivered by Professor John Ramsden entitled Winston Churchill and the Germans as well holding an exciting fundraising event in St. Louis. Both events are covered in this edition. Needless to say we are working flat out on the Capital Campaign which is progressing well. We now have a date for the opening of the completely new Museum! This will be the weekend of 4/5 March 2006- the anniversary of Churchill's 'Sinews of Peace' address and, of course, the reason why we are here today! We are also planning an opening event of commensurate significance and hope to hold this as close as is practicable to the March anniversary. What this means of course, in practical terms, is that the undercroft museum will be closed from 1 September until the opening day. The Church of St. Mary, however, will remain open. Similarly, the Memo will still be produced and the all important Victorian Christmas will also go ahead- venue to be announced! While we have a definite opening date for the new exhibition, additional money still needs to be raised in order to ensure that everything continues to advance on schedule and this fact is of course what this edition's excellent cover is addressing!! With this in mind I hope you received a copy of your Churchill Memorial DVD- please watch it and contribute to our campaign if you can. If you have already given toward the campaign (and many of you have) let me say a personal thank you- we could do nothing without your support!



While obviously being busy raising funds we have also been busy recruiting new Friends of the Memorial. In a week-long recruitment drive the Mid- Missouri chapter of the Friends of the Memorial succeeded in bring in 54 new Friends- a very commendable effort! We have also been occupied thinking about the extent to which Churchill (and his life) have a degree of relevancy today. I have spoken at several events on 'Churchill and the Creation of Modern Iraq' and, appropriately enough, the theme of this edition of *The Memo* is 'Churchill's influence today'. While we are all familiar with Churchill's role in World War Two, and the way in which his actions shaped the post-war world, many people are probably less clear about the impact that his pre-war career had on other areas of the globe. Incredibly, we still live with the impact of many of his pre-war decisions, to say nothing of his wartime and post-war achievements. In this issue Professor Raymond Callahan examines Churchill's role in the formation of the state of Iraq while Professor Kurt Jefferson explores Churchill's relationship with the 'Celtic' fringe, the non-English peoples of the United Kingdom.

Additionally, it is necessary to raise the cost of our basic 'Friends of the Churchill Memorial' from \$35 up to \$50. This decision has been taken only after considerable thought and I hope that you can all support this. The cost of producing better quality Memo together with other events and initiatives has necessitated this move but you should all see the benefits in terms of a regular *Memo* and more substantial content.

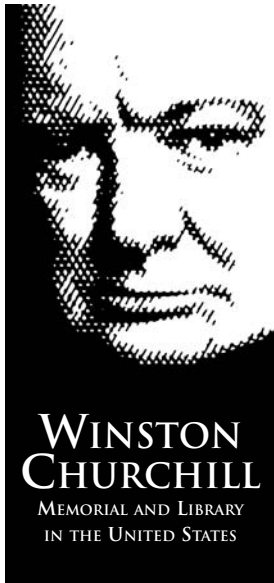
As always, please feel free to telephone: (573) 592-5233 or email me: haversr@westminster-mo.edu with any comments/ thoughts on this edition of *The Memo* or with any suggestions for future Memos.

Best wishes,



Dr Rob Havers

Executive Director, Winston Churchill Memorial & Library in the United States



A Message from the Senior Fellow

In March, Executive Director Rob Havers gave a wonderful talk at the Bellerive Country Club in St. Louis entitled "Churchill and Iraq." The talk was given after a dinner hosted by former Ambassador to Belgium and Westminster graduate, Stephen Brauer, and former Monsanto CEO, Richard Mahoney.

The talk examined Churchill's role in the establishment of borders in the Middle East during the period after World War I. A lively after-talk discussion took place, led, in part, by former Senator Thomas Eagleton.

This well-attended dinner, which was one of a series of fund raising events for the renovation of the Memorial, again showed the current relevance of Sir Winston Churchill some 40 years after his death. In April I heard Jon Meacham, editor of Newsweek and author of the wonderful book, *Franklin and Winston*, compare the funeral of Pope John XXIII to that of Winston Churchill. A few weeks later, I read that Prince Harry will attend Sandhurst where Winston Churchill was a cadet (and where Rob Havers taught).

Churchill – Iraq; Churchill – Pope John XXIII; Churchill – Prince Harry; Churchill is still so now!

On April 17, author John Ramsden delivered the Kemper Lecture at the Memorial to an audience that included a large number of students. Before the lecture, a small brunch was held in which a group of interested students listened intently to Churchill anecdotes and asked many excellent questions about the life of Sir Winston and his influence around the world.

There is no doubt that Winston Churchill is still very much in the public awareness today. This relevance reinforces the importance of the renovation of the Winston Churchill Memorial and Library. It is vital that we continue to educate future generations about the leadership and courage exhibited by Sir Winston. Nearby in these pages you will read about the plans which are being developed by our nationally renowned design team.

The work is on schedule for an opening by March 5, 2006. This date, by design, coincides with the 60th anniversary of Sir Winston's prophetic "Iron Curtain" speech which was given just a few steps from the Memorial.

At this point, the only thing that could delay the work would be a shortfall in our fund-raising efforts. Your help is vital! Several naming opportunities are still available, but any amount that you can give will be greatly and enthusiastically appreciated.

Thanks to all of you who have already helped get us to where we are today, and thanks to those of you who will be helping this important effort in the next few months.



Suzanne Richardson

Suzanne Richardson
Senior Fellow

Credits

On the cover:

The inspiration for this issue's cover comes from a 1945 Churchill campaign poster. Yes, we know he lost that election, but we liked the idea... besides he was back in 1951.



Special thanks to:

The Mid-Missouri Friends of the Memorial for their generous donation which helped fund this edition.

Ashton Ellet, *Memorial Intern*

Dr. Judith Schwartz, *Past President Mid-Missouri Friends of the Memorial*

Dan Diedrich, *Vice President for Institutional Advancement, Westminster College*

Submit suggestions and comments to:
memo@westminster-mo.edu or

The Winston Churchill Memorial and Library
501 Westminster Avenue
Fulton, MO 65251

Visit our website at
www.churchillmemorial.org


For more information on the Churchill Memorial and Library please call **(573) 592-5369**.

Since its founding in 1969, the Memorial has created and sustained a strong tradition and commitment to formal and informal educational excellence within the context of its mission, serving a diverse set of communities of learners – students, visitors, members, alumni, and scholars among them -- at Westminster College and in Fulton, Mid-Missouri, and the world. One of the ways the Memorial serves its many constituents is to present programs that focus on the historical events in which Churchill loomed so large, and also on Churchill's legacy – including his relevance to, and influence on, the contemporary world. In March and April, the Memorial undertook two major events that served this role.



Above and right: Friends and sponsors of the Memorial enjoy each others' company before Dr. Havers' talk at the Bellerive Country Club.

On March 2, the Memorial's Executive Director, Dr. Rob Havers, presented a talk at a dinner attended by Friends and sponsors of the Memorial, and others interested in Churchill's influence on contemporary events. The event was held at the Bellerive Country Club in Creve Coeur, Missouri, and was cosponsored by Stephen Brauer and Richard J. Mahoney, along with Earle Harbison, Dolph Bridgewater, William Danforth and Thomas Eagleton. Dr. Haver's presentation was entitled "Churchill and the Origins of Modern Iraq – Historical Insights Into a Contemporary Problem." He also described the exciting renovation of the Memorial.

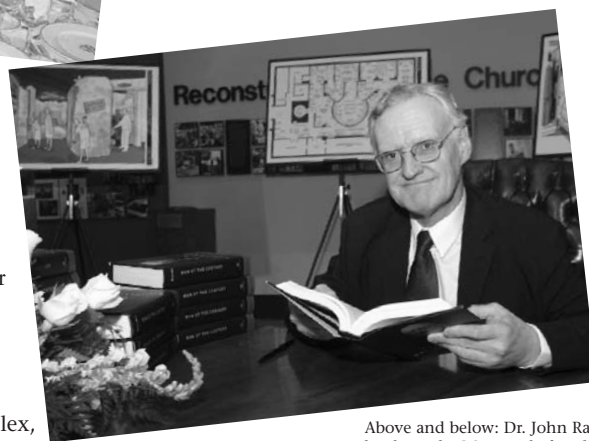


**WINSTON
CHURCHILL**
MEMORIAL AND LIBRARY
IN THE UNITED STATES



Since 1979, when the Crosby Kemper Lectureship was founded by the Crosby Kemper Foundation, the Memorial has hosted many outstanding scholars and other authorities on British History and Winston Churchill, including Sir Martin Gilbert, Churchill's official biographer, the Lady Soames, Churchill's daughter, and the Rt. Hon. Lord Jenkins, a towering figure in twentieth-century British politics. The Kemper Lectures have added much to our understanding of Churchill's personality, and his life and legacy as one of the greatest statesmen in history. This year's Kemper Lecture at the Memorial was another in that great tradition.

Dr. John Ramsden presented this year's Kemper Lecture, "Churchill and the Germans", on April 17 in the Church of St. Mary. The lecture was preceded by a dinner at the Memorial on Saturday evening. A reception followed the lecture, where Professor Ramsden signed copies of his books. Dr. Ramsden is professor of Modern History and Director of the Humanities Graduate School at Queen Mary, University of London. Professor Ramsden has been at Queen Mary since 1972, where he has been Head of History in 1988-90 and 1998-2000 and Dean of the Faculty of Arts in 1990-1993. He also taught at Westminster College during the 1995-1996 academic year, when he was the Fulbright-Robertson Visiting Professor of History. Ramsden is perhaps best known among Churchill aficionados for his book *Man of the Century: Winston Churchill and His Legend Since 1945*, about Churchill's post-war image and reputation among English-speaking people. Professor Ramsden is currently working on a book on the historical relationships between Germany and United Kingdom. His lecture focused on Churchill's complex, often ambiguous, ever-evolving attitudes and perceptions of Germany.



Above and below: Dr. John Ramsden signs books at the Memorial after delivering the Kemper Lecture.





Campaign for Memorial Presses On

Those who believe in the enduring nature of Winston Churchill's legacy continue to support the project for the renovation of the Churchill Memorial and Library in the United States. To date, dozens of individuals and businesses have contributed a total of \$2.2 million toward the \$3.5 million project.

Donations range from a few dollars to gifts in excess of \$100,000. Major contributors are honored to have their names associated with one of the many naming opportunities in the Memorial.

Numerous naming opportunities remain. If you would like to associate your name with the greatest statesman in modern history, please contact Dr. Havers at (573) 592-5233 or email haversr@westminster-mo.edu for additional information.

IN THE MAIL...

We hope you received a copy of the Winston Churchill Memorial's very own DVD! (If you didn't receive one or you'd prefer to get a VHS version then please call Dr. Rob Havers at (573) 592-5233 and we'll send one to you).

This DVD was created as a convenient way to reach our many Friends and to ask them, once again, to consider making a gift that will help us finish our capital campaign and build the new Churchill exhibit.



Winston and Iraq

Iraq has been one of our obsessions for several years now, and in the flood of words about it, the phrase “*created by the British after World War I*”

surfaces from time to time, as does the observation that Winston Churchill was deeply involved. Quickie books have been rushed into print purporting to explain what the British did in 1918-21 and what part Churchill played. What has been missing is any serious, new examination of Churchill’s role in calling into being the chronically unstable, highly artificial state whose fate and future is now so closely entwined with our own. This brief essay cannot be that study, but it can perhaps suggest some aspects of the story that make it worth studying in detail.



One of the constants in history is the play of contingency and accident. Few episodes illustrate this so well as British involvement in Turkish Mesopotamia, out of which grew Iraq. In 1914, there were no plans for a major campaign there. The Government of India sent a small force to Basra, to cover the oil terminals of the Gulf and to encourage the local tribes to abandon such loyalty as they had to the creaking Ottoman state. Then, in a perfectly classic example of what today is called "mission creep," the local commanders, particularly the ambitious commander of the 6th Indian Division, Major General Charles Townshend, saw an opportunity to push onward. This lamentable initiative turned into an attempt to take Baghdad with inadequate forces. Townshend almost succeeded, but, in war, almost is not enough. Stopped just short of his goal, Townshend's badly over-extended division was quickly forced to retreat and was then bottled up and besieged at Kut, about halfway back to Basra on the Tigris River. After months of inexorably dwindling rations, mounting casualties and failed attempts at relief, he surrendered in April 1916.

Embarrassing as the debacle at Kut was, it was a mere sideshow compared to the gigantic clashes and massive losses on the Western Front. Nothing vital to Britain was really at stake in "Mespot." Britain was, however, a great imperial power east of Suez, and embarrassing defeats could not go unredeemed – or so conventional wisdom decreed – lest that vital commodity, "imperial prestige," suffer. A royal commission duly sat to examine the Mesopotamian campaign, and, as the evidence of mismanagement by the Indian military authorities mounted, heads rolled. The theater was then drastically reorganized, and under the much more competent Lieutenant General Sir Stanley Maude, Baghdad was taken in March 1917. Maude died shortly thereafter of cholera, but the campaign now had momentum of its own. By the time the Turks sought an armistice in October 1918, British and Indian troops were in possession of most of what is now Iraq.

The campaign that no one had ever really intended to wage had given the British, at a very considerable cost in blood, treasure, and embarrassment, control of a vast tract of territory, including what were suspected to be considerable, if as yet undeveloped, oil fields in the Kirkuk-Mosul area. What now to do with it? This thorny question was one of dozens confronting the Coalition Government of David Lloyd George, returned with a decisive majority by the newly enlarged British electorate in the December 1918 general election – the first in which women voted. At this point, enter Winston Churchill.

Dropped from the Cabinet during (and partially because of) the Dardanelles-Gallipoli operations, Churchill had served a stint on the Western Front and then returned to political life. Lloyd George, in the teeth of Conservative Party opposition, brought him back into the Cabinet in 1917 as Minister of Munitions, where he did solid work for the remainder of the war. After the December 1918 general election, Lloyd George moved him to the War Office, with the added responsibility for the infant Royal Air Force, not yet a year old as a separate service. Churchill's career and the aftermath of the Mesopotamian campaign now intersect. His interests at this point were not the political future of Iraq, as it was coming to be called, but the costs and problems of garrisoning it. The bulk of the forces that had conquered and now policed it were drawn from the Indian Army (two of the greatest commanders this storied force ever produced, future field marshals Claude Auchinleck and "Bill" Slim, learned much of their trade fighting there). There were, however, British units attached to Indian Army formations. As Churchill presided over the rapid demobilization of Britain's wartime conscript force and the reconstruction of the shrunken army on a regular basis, all the while under continuous pressure for "economy," the British units in Iraq posed two problems: they represented heavy costs and they might incur politically embarrassing casualties. The costs soared and the casualties became all too real when a revolt broke out in July 1920 in what is now called the "Sunni triangle" of central Iraq. Although suppressed relatively quickly, the episode made the War Office anxious for a political settlement that would limit the British Army's exposure to the problems of insurrection and pacification there; it had quite enough along these lines to do in Ireland.



Churchill's concurrent responsibility for the RAF made him aware of currents of thought in the service which would leave a deep imprint on his, and Britain's, subsequent Iraq policy. Created in the spring of 1918 by merging the Royal Naval Air Service and the army's Royal Flying Corps, the infant Royal Air Force faced, in the chilly atmosphere of postwar demobilization and retrenchment, the bitter hostility of the two older services. (This hostility would persist throughout the interwar years and deep into World War II.) To survive attempts to dismantle it, the RAF needed a mission – preferably several – that would give it unique and cost-effective roles not available to the older services. Strategic bombing in future, major wars was one such way (and the RAF's founding father, Air Chief Marshal Sir Hugh Trenchard, has a better claim to be the fons et origo of that particular fixation than either Giulio Douhet or Billy Mitchell). But strategic bombing was, absent a major war, only a theoretical conception. "Air control," the RAF's other brainchild, had immediate practical applicability wherever the British Empire faced restless tribesmen who would otherwise require the expensive attentions of the British or Indian armies. The RAF also claimed to be better able to handle the defense of the new Singapore naval base than army-manned coastal batteries – but that is another story. Candidates for air control abounded: the always turbulent Northwest Frontier of India, Aden, British Somaliland – and Iraq.

Churchill's quest for ways to cut the costs of garrisoning Iraq had made him aware of the incoherent state of affairs in the vast Middle Eastern territories Britain had occupied during the war, and where the War Office, Foreign Office, and India Office were all attempting to make policy. Being Winston Churchill and prone to manage other departments as well as his own, he urged Lloyd George to put the whole area under a single department located in the Colonial Office. In February 1921, Lloyd George took up the idea and simultaneously made Churchill Colonial Secretary. Churchill kept the management of the RAF, however, for another two crucial months.






So much of the popular image of Churchill revolves around his colorful and eccentric

Ethno-religious Groups

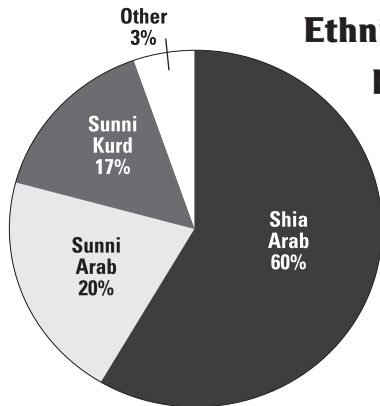
persona – cigars, brandy, dictation while bathing, apparently endless "one liners" – that it has cast into an undeserved shade his very considerable administrative and managerial skills. Even though he was very familiar with the military and air dimensions of the Iraq problem, it was a remarkable feat to take control of his new office, establish a new unit – the Middle East Department – within it, and simultaneously prepare for a major conference on the future of the new British domain in the Middle East. Yet, that is what Churchill did in February and March 1921. Even more remarkable is the fact that, nearly one hundred tumultuous years later, the territorial arrangements he finalized are still largely in place.

The Iraq problem Churchill and his assembled military and political advisors confronted at Cairo in March 1921 was how to achieve the degree of political stability that would in turn allow the British military presence in Iraq (and its no longer politically acceptable costs) to be reduced. In 1919-20 there had been a bitter bureaucratic argument in Baghdad over the future of Iraq. The "Indian solution," represented in Baghdad by Lieutenant Colonel A. T. Wilson, an officer of the Indian Political Service, was Raj-style direct rule; the "Arab solution," advocated by another imperial administrator, Sir Percy Cox, and his principal assistant, the remarkable Gertrude Bell, held that direct rule was unworkable, but British interests could be secured by "indirect rule," using a suitable Arab prince. (Those interests, incidentally, were not exclusively oil, but also secure air links with India, which required bases.) Cox and Bell had a prince in mind: the Emir Feisal, son of the Sherif of Mecca, titular head of the wartime "Arab Revolt" against the Turks. Recently expelled from Damascus, where he had established himself in 1918, Feisal was available and, Cox and Bell felt, manageable. The Iraqi uprising in the summer of 1920 had caught Wilson and his Indian-style administration by surprise, and that, plus the cost of suppressing it, ended the argument over how Iraq was to be ruled.



	Sunni Kurd
	Sunni Arab/Sunni Kurd
	Sunni Arab
	Shia Arab/Sunni Arab
	Shia Arab
T	Turkoman
Y	Yezidi

When Churchill considered the matter at Cairo, therefore, he did not have to craft his own Iraq policy. Cox, Bell, and events had determined that indirect rule using the Hashemite Prince Feisal was the only viable solution. It was a solution, moreover, that was strongly supported by one of Churchill's most valued advisors on the Middle East, T. E. Lawrence, whom Churchill had persuaded to temporarily leave his sanctuary at Oxford (where he was working on what became Seven Pillars of Wisdom). Churchill, therefore, did not so much "create" Iraq, as sign off on the solution pushed (for different reasons) by Lawrence and the advocates of indirect rule. However, there was an element of the policy that owed nothing to Cox, Bell, and Lawrence but everything to Churchill and Trenchard.



Ethnic and religious groups by percent of population

Iraq would be managed through Feisal (whose election as King of Iraq was quickly stage-managed by Cox and Bell) assisted by a corps of British advisors. But how would the new ruler be supported or, if necessary, controlled? Churchill gave the RAF the opportunity to make Iraq the showpiece for air control and, therefore, a lifeline for the struggling service. From two virtually sovereign base areas, at Habbaniya near Baghdad and Shaiba near Basra, RAF squadrons would bring dissident tribes to heel – and remind the new ruler of where the real power lay. The fact that their efforts had to be supplemented by RAF armored car units and the locally raised, British-officered and evocatively named "Assyrian Levies" rather belied the idea of an exclusively "air" solution. (The charge that Churchill had authorized the use of gas by the RAF in Iraq and thus, critics implied, prefigured Saddam Hussein and "Chemical Ali" is both literally true and totally misleading. The gas in question was tear gas.)

In addition to Iraq, a great many other issues presented themselves during and after the Cairo conference. Churchill, a strong supporter of Zionism, visited Jerusalem, where the British mandate was in its early, optimistic phase. Today's Kingdom of Jordan took shape as an emirate, created out of the desert for yet another Hashemite prince and one-time associate of Lawrence, and had given both British advisors and a British subsidy. Churchill even found time to visit the pyramids with his wife and Lawrence, all perched atop camels for one of the odder Churchill pictures. The striking thing about it all, from our perspective, is how rapidly it was done. Churchill was confronted with a problem for which Lloyd George (on whose favor his career at that moment depended) required a solution. The "men on the spot" – one of whom was a woman – offered him a solution and he accepted it, adding "air control" as a step

toward solving another pressing post-war problem, the future of the RAF. He then moved on, as busy policymakers do, to the next problem, and in 1921, there was no lack of those – Ireland, Russia, India, Egypt, and Turkey. There is no sense that anyone in Cairo thought the solution to the Iraq problem arrived at was any more, or less, significant than anything else they did there. Churchill, always a very careful chronicler of his own career, did not even discuss it in the text of *The Aftermath*, the fifth and concluding volume of his World War I memoir, *The World Crisis*. He, instead, relegated it to a brief appendix, in which he highlighted the decline in British military expenditure from £20 million in 1921-22 to £1.6 million in 1927-28 "without a hitch and without any resultant disturbance in Iraq." To Churchill, writing in the late Twenties, Iraq was a success story: stable, with British interests safeguarded cheaply.

But the story did not, of course, end there. Iraq's Sunni Hashemite monarchy rested on a minority of the population. The more numerous Shia had opted out of local politics – a course of action they have carefully not repeated recently. The Kurds were never happy in the Hashemite kingdom and only the RAF kept them in it. British power sustained the monarchy it had created, and when that power crumbled in the Middle East in the aftermath of World War II, the Iraqi Hashemites crumbled with it. While it lasted, the 1921 settlement did what it was supposed to do – protect British interests without inconveniencing the British taxpayer. One of Churchill's successors at Number Ten, Harold Wilson, once memorably said that a week was a long time in politics. Churchill's Iraq policy, which lasted twenty-five years, was, by that standard, quite remarkably durable. What followed the end of the British/Hashemite era in Iraq was disastrous for Iraqis and others, and some, but by no means had all the roots of that development lain in the work of Bell, Cox, Lawrence, and Churchill. But, to blame today's Iraq on "the British" in general or Churchill in particular, is both to misunderstand history and to demand a degree of foresight that even Churchill was denied.

*Raymond Callahan
University of Delaware*

Churchill's Relationship with the Celts

By Kurt W. Jefferson, PhD

Professor of Political Science and Chair, Social Sciences Division, Westminster College



Dr. Kurt W. Jefferson

Much has been written about Sir Winston Churchill, the great leader who has been characterized as an un-modern man in a modern world. From his youth to young adulthood to his rise to fame prior to the Great War to his wilderness years to his first premiership to the latter days of his 90 long years on earth, Churchill's legacy is well recorded. But, one area that is not well known was Churchill's links to the Celts in the United Kingdom (UK). Only recently has my colleague, the former Visiting Fulbright-Robertson Professor of British History at Westminster College, historian Dr. John Ramsden (of Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London) written on the subject in a chapter in his new book, *Man of the Century: Winston Churchill and His Legend Since 1945*. Churchill was a thoroughly Anglo-Saxon warrior. He was proud of England, its historical monarchs, its struggle with external nations, her race of people, and he wrote history so that it venerated the accomplishments of the Anglo-Saxons: common law (created by the Anglo-Saxons after 450 AD), Alfred the Great's moral and strategic leadership in the ninth century, Henry II's great centralization of authority after 1154, Henry VIII's creation of the Church of England in the early sixteenth century, Oliver Cromwell's piety and commitment to political reform after the English Civil War, and so on. Yet, given the English experience with various peoples of the British Isles, what did Sir Winston think of the Scots, the Irish, and the Welsh? How did his policies affect the Celtic fringe in British national life? Did Churchill's Englishness and love of the Anglo-American relationship (he was half American) undermine his ability to interact with Celts? These are all important questions and given the devolution of political power in the UK in 1921 to Ireland—in which Churchill played an important role—and the subsequent home rule for Northern Ireland until 1972, and the changes seen after Churchill's death in both Scotland and Wales (with nationalism ascendant by 1966-67 and devolved legislatures set up in 1999), Churchill's ties to the Celtic fringe are perhaps more pronounced than most contemporary observers of "The Man of the Century" may realize.

Churchill and the Scots

Sir Winston's ties to the Scots started with his wife, Clementine Hozier Churchill whom he married in 1912. Clementine was a thoroughly English maiden, raised in England, a part of the patrician class in that part of the island, yet her ancestry was at least partially Scottish. She was the granddaughter of the Earl of Airlie from her mother's lineage and her father was from a Glasgow brewing family and attended Edinburgh Academy. Sir Winston himself was born on November 30, 1874. As he remarked in receiving the freedom of Edinburgh from its Lord Provost during the Second World War in 1942, he was proud to have been born on Scotland's national day—St. Andrew's day. In receiving the award, Sir Winston said, "The old quarrels, the age-old feuds which rent our island, have been ended centuries ago by the Union of the Crowns and by the happy fulfillment of the prophecy that wherever the Stone of Scone shall rest the Scottish race shall reign." He then went on to talk about the greatness of the monarchy and lauded King George VI and his wife. Queen Mary, Churchill reminded the Scots, was Scottish herself. Given the fact that the Stone of Scone was returned to Scotland in 1996 by the soon-to-be ousted Tory government, Churchill's unionist orientation would no doubt today be concerned at the seeming erosion (via devolution) of the unitary UK. From 1908 to 1922, he held the parliamentary seat at Dundee. He had lost the seat at Manchester and having been offered up to eight safe Liberal seats, he chose Dundee and proclaimed it his "life seat." Of course, this was not for the love of the Scots, but rather for political expediency, given Scotland's liberal political culture that was even then starting to move leftward toward Labour. Despite his upward mobility in the Liberal party and his prominence as a Liberal government frontbench minister by 1908 as President of the Board of Trade, by 1910 he was Home Secretary, the next year, First Lord of the Admiralty, and then after the Gallipoli disaster in the Dardenelles fighting the Ottomans, he was relegated to the non-portfolio post of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He then resigned from the government and went as a sitting MP to the Western front and led the Royal Scots Fusiliers into battle. Thus, fighting for a Scottish regiment, he grew fond of the Scottish fighting man and would say during the Second World War that the Gordon Highlanders (of which my great-grandfather John Wallace was a medic in 1890-91 prior to his immigration to America in 1893 to Ellis Island) from Aberdeen and the Grampian Highlands were the finest regiment in the British army. In 1942, after the British defeated the German General Rommel at El Alamein, Sir Winston flew to Italy to conduct his first victory parade on foreign soil and the first unit that greeted him in Sicily on the parade ground replete with blaring bagpipes were the kilted Scotsmen of the Royal Gordon Highlanders as they triumphantly marched past the British premier to the Scottish regimental march, "The Black Bear." To Churchill, the Scots were an important people who made the Britons a people that represented unity and strength in his Anglo-Saxon-led, yet multi-national Britain.

To Churchill, the Scots were an important people who made the Britons a people that represented unity and strength in his Anglo-Saxon-led, yet multi-national Britain.

Churchill and the Irish

Churchill's relationship with the Irish was always a delicate one. His commitment to Empire and unionism was inherited from his father, Lord Randolph Churchill, who as a staunch, one nation, Disraelian Tory was chronicled by his son in Lord Randolph's biography. But, Sir Winston was a bit equivocal on Ireland. His original Tory orientation toward Ireland changed somewhat as he joined the Liberals in 1908 and he espoused a more complex policy of home rule for Ireland, but not separating Ulster from Britain. This fuzzy policy would later become the law of the land in 1921 with the home rule treaty offered by Prime Minister David Lloyd George, himself a Celt (a Welshman), and Churchill as home secretary. It was Churchill, who many historians think was responsible for the loyalty to the British crown that was part of the deal that the Irish nationalists had to agree to in order to get devolution. Some say it was voluntary, others say Churchill essentially threatened force and a resumption of the war that the Black and Tans had engaged in with Michael Collins' Irish Republican Army. Arthur Griffith, one of Sinn Fein's founders, and Collins signed off much to the dismay of Eamon de Valera, the nationalist leader. Of course, Churchill lost his parliamentary seat immediately after working out the home rule deal for Ireland. In 1922, the Irish civil war saw 4000 deaths, including Collins who was ambushed by followers of the Sinn Fein leader and one-time comrade, de Valera, who would become the George Washington of the Republic of Ireland (much to Churchill's chagrin). The beleaguered Emerald Isle was to continue to capture his interest. With Neville Chamberlain allowing de Valera to promulgate a new constitution and the Free State Treaty signed in 1937, Ireland's southern Republic moved closer to independence by the eve of the Second World War. Given his staunch support for Ulster (the six counties of the north under UK control), Churchill hated to see imperial territory go. But, his feelings toward de Valera grew icy as Ireland proclaimed neutrality during the war and Churchill referred to de Valera as a "murderer and perjurer" in 1941 (according to Ramsden) and de Valera signed the condolence book in 1945 at the German consulate in Dublin when hearing of the apparent suicide of the Fuehrer. Éire (as the Irish call Ireland) went its own way finally in 1949.

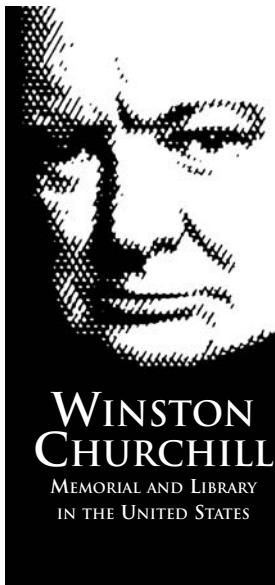
Conclusion

Churchill's views toward the Celts were somewhat equivocal. As an Anglo-Saxon, he saw the world through English (qua British) eyes. He was fond of referring to her "race" (which he knew well was a race of mongrels—Angles, Saxons, Danes, Celts, and Vikings and even by the early twentieth century a growing multi-cultural milieu of natives of the Empire from Asia and Africa) which simplified his worldview and focused his public commentary on unity rather than division. To the minority Celts, Churchillian rhetoric was inspiring in terms of the defense of the Isles, but may have rung hollow in terms of particularisms facing each region and nation. However, Churchill was keenly aware of the importance of regional issues governed from London. He grew up in an age that saw the emergence of Irish and Welsh nationalism (in the late nineteenth century). His Tory centralizing tendencies allowed him to view each as essentially British and especially Wales as an outpost of English control. To this day, you can find large Welsh Diasporas in most major English cities: thus, making it difficult for the Welsh and English to tell each other apart. Yet, his Liberal interregnum did give him pause to try to find even awkward political solutions that would work from a realist perspective, such as the partition of Ireland in 1921. Some argue that we can thank him for the division of Ireland to these many years hence. But, ultimately, his interest in the Celts was secondary to his interest in the British nation and her Empire that he saw as the overriding concern to any ethnic or cultural particularism in his beloved country. Perhaps, Sir Winston's unitary vision of Britons as one nation (borrowed from Disraeli) was out of touch with the people and features of the Celtic fringe. However, he certainly showed that to manage the UK one must play unity off regional considerations in order to succeed in keeping the country united and moving forward.

I would like to take this time to thank Dr. Paul Ward, 2004-2005 Fulbright-Robertson Visiting Professor of British History at Westminster College, for his insights and comments on this piece. His suggestions were very helpful in the completion of this piece.

Churchill and the Welsh

Of the various Celtic peoples of the UK, Churchill did not have the relationship with the Welsh that he had with the Scots or Ulsterpersons. He rarely traveled to Wales and given his Anglo-centric weltanschauung, he did not see the Welsh as different from the English given the years of absorption of the Welsh by the English beginning in 1283 with Edward I's conquest of Wales. Yet, as Dr. Ramsden reminds us, Churchill did attend party meetings and rallies in Cardiff and a few other Welsh towns, and Welsh Labourites always reminded him of a fuzzy event of 1910 that had largely become fictionalized regarding his actions as home secretary when Welsh miners went on strike in the Rhondda valley (where most of the major coal seams of south Wales were located) at Tonypany. Churchill allowed a military brigade to enter Wales and restore order, but fighting did not involve British soldiers, only coal miners and the local police. One person was killed. Churchill showed great restraint, yet the legend of his authoritarian home secretaryship grew and was used against him on the hustings in Wales in the 1940s and 1950s. Ramsden notes that Churchill's only usage of the Welsh language was when commenting on Welsh devolution in the House of Commons in 1951; he was not only resistant to the claims of Liberals and others who wanted some self-governance for Wales, but said in Welsh, "nothing doing." Churchill's ambivalence toward the Welsh reflected the time-honored English view that Wales, after 1283, was essentially a part of England. So, with Henry VIII officially putting all of Wales within the geo-political domain of England in 1536, Churchill saw the Welsh as essentially fellow British travelers who were all but English in their ways and means. Thus, his difficulty in accepting rising Welsh nationalism in the 1920s and 1930s, such as the famous event at Pen-y-berth in 1936 in which Welsh nationalists attempted to burn a Royal Air Force station, must have angered him given his belief in the unity of the peoples of Great Britain.



Sources:

William Manchester. *The Last Lion: Winston Spencer Churchill: Visions of Glory, 1874-1932* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1983).

"The Right Honourable Winston Spencer Churchill, C.H. M.P.: Given the Freedom of the City of Edinburgh: 12th October, 1942" <www2.ebs.hw.ac.uk>.

John Ramsden. *The Man of the Century: Winston Churchill and His Legend Since 1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

Professor David Stafford, University of Edinburgh, May 21, 1994 "A Lifelong Engagement: Churchill and the Secret Service" Proceedings of the International Churchill Society, 1994-1995. The Churchill Center <winstonchurchill.org>.

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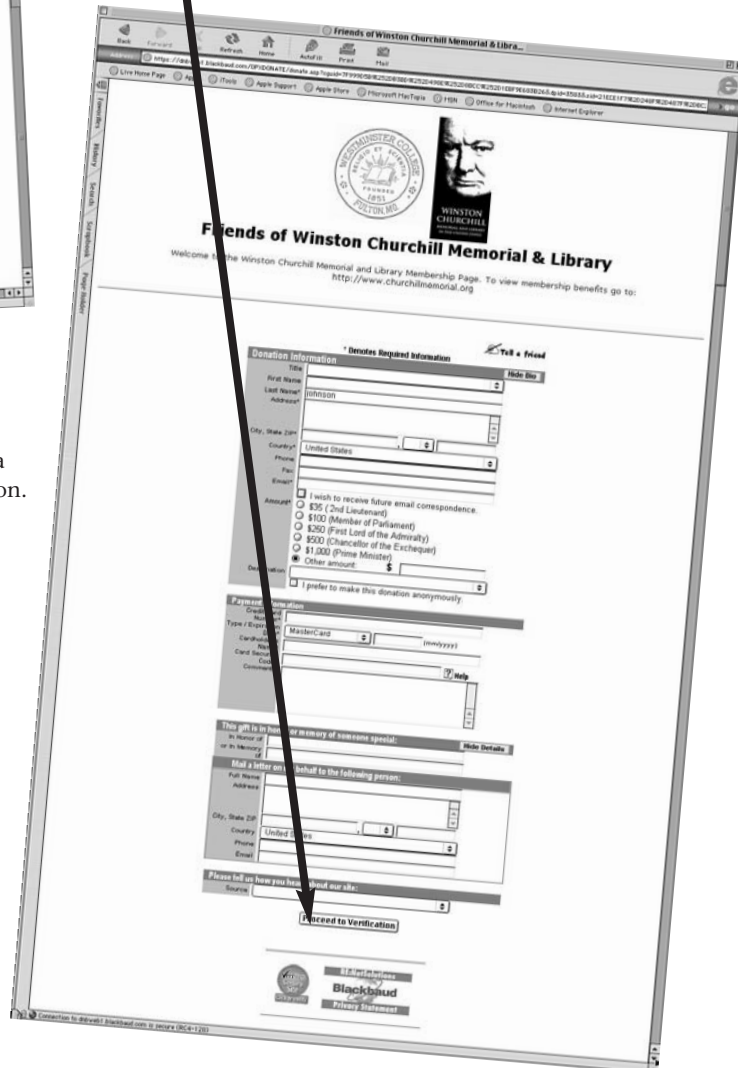
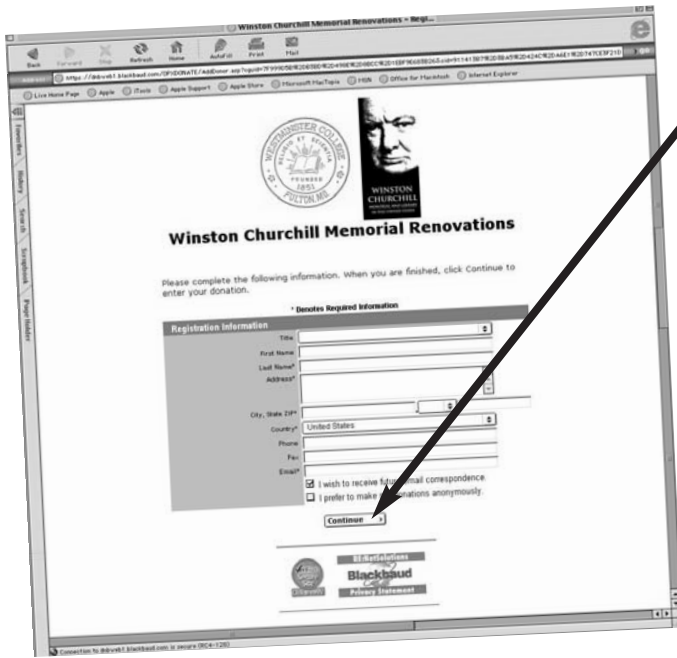
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Making the Particular Universal Winston Churchill in American and British Fiction

One of the most interesting and compelling aspects of Winston Churchill, the particular historical person, is that representations of his accomplishments and his personality have so often been employed by many different people to do "cultural work" – to "signify," or produce or to be the occasion for the production of universal meanings.

Last semester, Jacqui Burgoyne, an exchange student from the University of East Anglia whose article "Coming to America" appeared in the last issue of *The Memo*, completed a research internship at the Memorial. Ms. Burgoyne's research on representations of Churchill in American and British fiction, which will inform her required dissertation, was extraordinarily fruitful and productive, adding much to our understanding of Churchill's life and legacy.

John Hensley
Curator-Archivist

American Fictional Portrayals

These novels tend to fall under the 'genre fiction' category. None of them are particularly well-recognized texts. Their portrayals of Churchill are, as a whole, positive, although with differing levels of realism. Usually, where criticism of Churchill is included, it is mediated by either making a disliked character mouth the criticism, or by simply admitting Churchill's faults but portraying them as endearing. One interesting point is that traits of Churchill that the British writers, and British historical figures, tended to strongly criticize – such as his stubbornness or his wild ideas – are often shown as positive by American writers.

- Dickson, Carter. *The Plague Court Murders*. New York: International Polygonics, Ltd., 1990.
- Dickson, Carter. *The Curse of the Bronze Lamp*. New York: Carroll & Graf, 1984.

John Dickson Carr, writing here, under the pen-name of Carter Dickson, was an American expatriate who lived in Britain for many years. While he claimed that he did not, in the pre-1939 years, know of Winston Churchill, many people have noticed the similarities between Churchill and one of Carr's fictional heroes, Sir Henry Merrivale, the non-professional 'detective' character in one of Carr's series of detective fiction. Carr did admit that once the Second World War began, he noticed the similarities himself and began to play on them, and tailor his character to resemble Churchill even more. These two texts – *The Plague Court Murders* written in 1934 and *The Curse of the Bronze Lamp* written in 1945 – are useful for looking at the changes that occurred in Sir Henry Merrivale as Carr became more aware of Winston Churchill.



PRIME MINISTER VISITS AMERICAN TROOPS. The Prime Minister engaged in a shooting match with General Eisenhower (left) and General Bradley. They were using .30 carbines. 2nd Armd. Division (US) Salisbury Plain area. March 1944.*

- Garfield, Brian. *The Paladin*. London: Macmillan, 1980.
This novel is also set during World War Two. Churchill, nicknamed 'Tigger', befriends a young boy, who then becomes a vitally important spy for the war effort. This spy, Christopher Creighton, is fanatically loyal to and trusting of Churchill. When criticisms of Churchill are put forward, they are done through 'Owl', a character portrayed negatively, and so, because they are seen in contrast with the protagonist's hero-worship of Churchill, Garfield manages to almost entirely negate the criticisms of Churchill that he voices.
- Ignatow, David. *Against the Evidence: Selected Poems 1934-1994*. Hanover and London: UP New England, 1993.

This anthology of poetry contains one that relates to Churchill. Entitled, "On the Death of Winston Churchill," it begins with the line "Now should great men die," and links the death of Churchill to the end of an era. There is a sense of loss at this era ending, but also of relief, and a desire to forget the problems of the past in order to obtain peace in the present: "as each man's death sustains a peace".

*Original wire service captions.



Winston Churchill has a winning pat for his horse COLONIST II which won the Victor Wild Stakes at Kempton Park today. T. Gosling rode the winner. May 1950.*

Nonetheless, these dying men are “great” and their sacrifice, in dying, is a noble one.

- Lewis, Sinclair and Scharj, Dore. *Storm in the West*. New York: Stein and Day, 1963.

This screenplay, actually written in 1943, is a particularly interesting portrayal of Churchill. This text takes the buildup to World War Two and the first years of the war (with an imagined, but fairly accurate, conclusion to the war) and transcribes them to the American West. Hitler becomes Arnold Hygatt and Churchill becomes Wally Chancel. This text is uniformly praising of Churchill, and it very definitely Americanizes Churchill.

- Roosevelt, Elliott. *Murder in the Lincoln Bedroom*. New York: St. Martin's Minotaur, 2000.
- Roosevelt, Elliott. *The White House Pantry Murders*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.

These two texts, the second published posthumously, are also murder mysteries. Set during World War Two, both texts take occasions when Churchill was visiting the White House during the war and make this the backdrop for murders. Churchill is, however, a peripheral figure – included more for interest than being part of the story. Instead, the key figure is Eleanor Roosevelt, who ‘plays detective’, and helps solve the murders. The portrayal of Churchill in both these texts is ambiguous but generally positive. In general, Churchill’s ‘negative’ traits are shown as endearing quirks.

- Wharton, Edith. *The Buccaneers*. New York: Viking, 1993.

This novel, begun in 1938, and completed posthumously by Marion Mainwaring, is included in the Winston Churchill Memorial Library; however there are no direct or even indirect references to Winston Churchill. Rather, this novel is included in the Memorial’s collection due to its discussion of the ‘marriage market’ that occurred in the late nineteenth century, where rich American heiresses would marry penniless British noblemen. It is likely that Churchill’s mother was such a ‘Buccaneer’.

- Woods, John G. *The Boer Conspiracy: A Tale of Winston Churchill and Sherlock Holmes*. USA: International Churchill Society of the United States Inc., 1992.

This is a very positive portrayal of Churchill. Once again, traits of his such as his energy and impatience are shown in a good light. In the novel, Churchill arrives home a celebrity having escaped from the Boers, and then his life is threatened by what is supposedly a Boer group, but is actually a set of British politicians. Holmes and Watson are engaged to protect Churchill and to find the perpetrators; however in the end Churchill has to save his own life by shooting his assailant.



NEW GRANDSON FOR WINSTON LONDON: Sir Winston Churchill kisses his newest grandson, Rupert Christopher, who is held by his mother, Mary Soames, at a Christening ceremony here, July 20th. Mrs. Soames is Churchill’s youngest daughter. At right is the boy’s father, Capt. Christopher Soames. In foreground is another son, Jeremy Soames. July 1959.*

British Fictional Portrayals

All save one (the most modern) of these British portrayals of Churchill are political satires. They are also all, excepting the most modern – the Dobbs book – all negative portrayals of Churchill.

- Bennett, Arnold. *Lord Raingo*. London, Toronto, Melbourne and Sydney: Cassell and Company, Ltd, 1926.

Churchill appears as Tommy Hogarth in this novel. The novel charts the life of Lord Raingo, a businessman who manages to be appointed to the government during World War One to deal with wartime public relations. In this novel, Churchill is criticized as a hothead and as a jealous politician, although, as with all the portrayals of Churchill, his intelligence is not denied; in the British texts, however, this intelligence is seen as dangerous unless controlled, and Churchill is shown as very hard to control.

- Brenton, Howard. *The Churchill Play*. London: Eyre Methuen, 1974.

This play is a biting satire. It strongly criticizes Churchill. As the cover states, Brenton’s view seems to have been that Churchill was the wrong man for the job in World War Two. The play imagines an almost apocalyptic vision of a Britain where Churchill had remained in power. This Britain is a police state where anybody that disagrees with the government is put into army prison camps and runs a high risk of being shot. The main characters in this play, who are some prisoners in one of the camps, put on a play for some visiting British politicians. This play that the prisoners write is harshly critical of Churchill, showing him as vain, selfish, and a hypochondriac. In particular it criticizes Churchill’s treatment of the Irish and of the working class. It also shows Churchill having a bath with Stalin at one point.

- Dobbs, Michael. *Churchill’s Hour*. London: HarperCollins, 2004.

This novel describes, using an interesting mix of fact and fiction, Churchill’s long struggle to get the United States to come into the Second World War. It also, simultaneously, describes the romance between Pamela Churchill (later divorced from Randolph) and Averell Harriman. Churchill in this novel is generally portrayed positively. While he is shown to have outbursts of temper, and patches of depression, as well as on occasion (as a result of his temper) making seeming diplomatic faux-pas, these failings are portrayed largely as an understandable result of the pressure that Churchill was under at this time and as Churchill succeeded in his objective, his diplomatic mistakes do not seem, in this novel, to have been too serious.

- Wells, H.G. *Meanwhile: The Picture of a Lady*. London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1927.
- Wells, H.G. *Men Like Gods*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923.
- Wells, H.G. *The Autocracy of Mr. Parham*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Company Inc., 1930.

H.G. Wells and Winston Churchill had a career of mutual respect and disagreement, with occasional flarings of anger. Wells's portrayal of Churchill reflects this, and also reflects, in its criticisms, the opinions of many politicians and other figures of the time.

Meanwhile: The Picture of a Lady. This novel charts the mental development of the heroine, Cynthia Rylands, and her husband. Churchill features very little in this novel. He is merely mentioned a couple of times by the husband. The husband is shown to be a very intelligent person, and he strongly criticizes Churchill's harsh methods in putting down the General Strike of 1926.



View snapped in United States Senate Chamber as British Prime Minister Winston Churchill made his historic address to a joint session of Congress. Dec 1941.*

Men Like Gods. In this novel, Wells explores the possible reactions of his contemporaries to being transported to a socialistic/communist-style utopia. This land is portrayed as one where rationalism and science have triumphed over all ills – there is no more disease, no more overpopulation, no more poverty or crime, and people are able to do the jobs they want, etc. In this novel, Churchill takes of form of Rupert Catskill. Rupert Catskill is shown to be clever, but dangerously so, and his reaction to this utopia is to persuade his fellow Earthlings (excepting the protagonist Mr. Barnstaple, who supports Wells's viewpoint) to attempt warfare despite being hopelessly outnumbered, and despite the peaceful kindness of their hosts/captors.



Prime Minister Winston Churchill though engaged in the "Battle of Britain" takes a time out to light the inevitable cigar during a visit to a Royal Air Force station where he inspected English and American bombers. He was accompanied on his tour by Harry Hopkins, US Ambassador - at large. Aug 1941.*

The Autocracy of Mr. Parham. This novel involves a séance that ends up causing the protagonist to be possessed by an alien, who then takes control of Britain, and leads it into a war against the United States. Sir Bussy Woodcock is the key character who is seen to resemble a combination of Churchill and Beaverbrook.

Useful Related Articles and Books

These texts have useful information regarding some of the above authors and texts, as well as on the subject of Churchill's fictional representation in general.

- Amos, William. *The Originals: Who's Really Who in Fiction*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1985.

This was a useful reference source for looking up which characters in certain novels were intended to be Churchill, for example Catskill in H.G. Wells's *Men Like Gods*.

- Daniels, Janet. "WSC as Fictional Character," The Churchill Centre – Winston Churchill: Bibliomania, <http://www.winstonchurchill.org/i4a/pages/index.cfm?pageid=505>, 18/11/04.

This is a good starting point for looking at fictional representations of Churchill. It lists many of the relevant texts, including some that are not included here.

- Greene, Douglass G. *John Dickson Carr: The Man Who Explained Miracles*. New York: Otto Penzler, 1995.

This text contains a useful, although short, reference to the question of whether Sir Henry Merrivale was based upon Winston Churchill or not.

- Ramsden, John. *Man of the Century: Winston Churchill and His Legend Since 1945*. London: HarperCollins, 2003.

This text charts the development of the Churchill myth, and the rises and falls in his popularity. It is

very useful in contextualizing the fictional texts with the era – seeing how well they correspond with the general attitude of the times. This text also has many useful quotations and cartoons that show what politicians and papers thought of Churchill.

- Smith, David C. "Winston Churchill and H.G. Wells: Edwardians in the Twentieth Century", *Cahiers Victorians and Aedourdiens*, 30 (Oct 1989), Montpellier, France, 93-116.

This article describes Churchill and Wells's relationship in good detail, plus it addresses Wells's fictional representations of Churchill in *Men Like Gods*, *Meanwhile*, and *The Autocracy of Mr. Parham*.



SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL pictured this afternoon (Tuesday) leaving his Hyde Park Gate London, home by motor-car to take his seat in the House of Commons for the first time since he broke his thigh in Monte Carlo nearly a year ago. Sir Winston, who is 88, recently announced he would not seek re-election to the Commons at the next General Elections. May 1963.*

While visiting a parachute factory Churchill absentmindedly reached for a cigar, prompting the fire officer to admonish him not to smoke: "Oh, don't worry, dear boy," Churchill responded. "I don't inhale."

Coming Attraction...

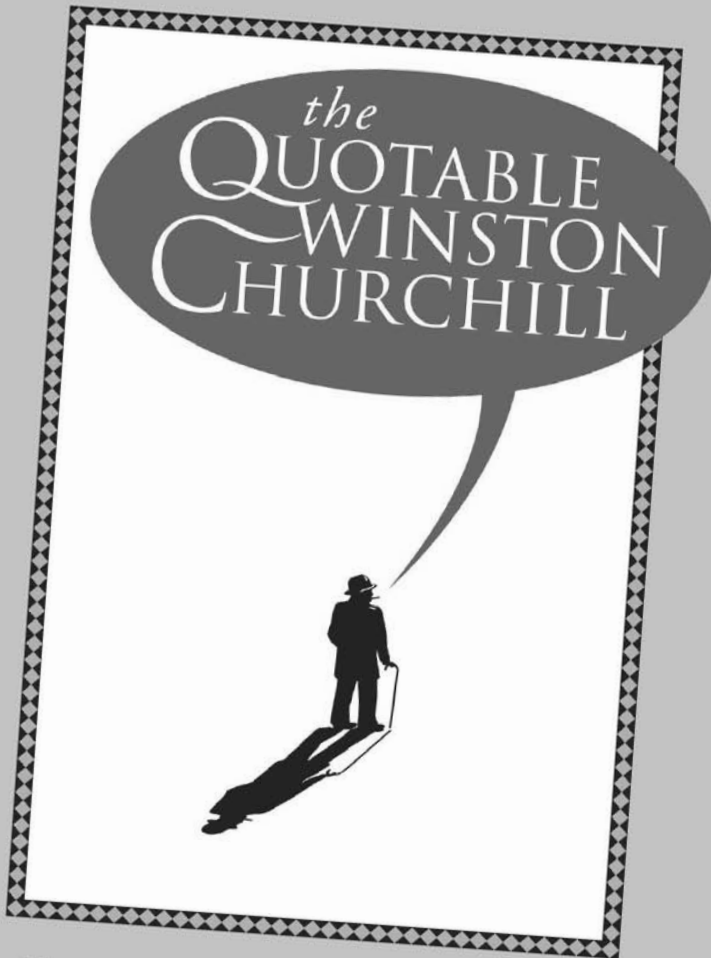
Many books have been published in the past few decades that focus on the immense storehouse of quotes and sayings attributed to Winston S. Churchill. *The Quotable Winston Churchill*, edited by Richard J. Mahoney with Shera Dalin and with a remembrance by former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, is now available in the Memorial's gift shop for \$14.95. This book will be of particular interest to the Memorial's Friends and members, and to anyone interested in Churchill's enormously instructive and inspiring -- and entertaining -- life and times, personality and legacy. Mahoney is former Chairman of the Board and C.E.O. of the Monsanto Company in St. Louis. He is also a Churchill Fellow, a member of the Memorial's Board of Governors and a generous Memorial supporter. With the publication of *The Quotable Winston Churchill*, Mahoney has provided one of the most comprehensive and intelligent compilations of Churchill quotes available today. In addition, Mahoney's diligent and creative contributions to the development of the new Winston S. Churchill: A Life of Leadership exhibit. *The Quotable Winston Churchill* will be, no doubt, extremely popular with Memorial visitors and Churchillians all over the world for years to come.

During a long speech by a Labor MP, Churchill rested his head on his chest and closed his eyes. The action sparked an accusation from the speaker that Churchill was asleep. "I wish to God I were!" Churchill replied.

"Winston, you are drunk, and what's more, you are disgustingly drunk," accused Liverpool Labourite member Bessie Braddock one evening in the House of Commons.

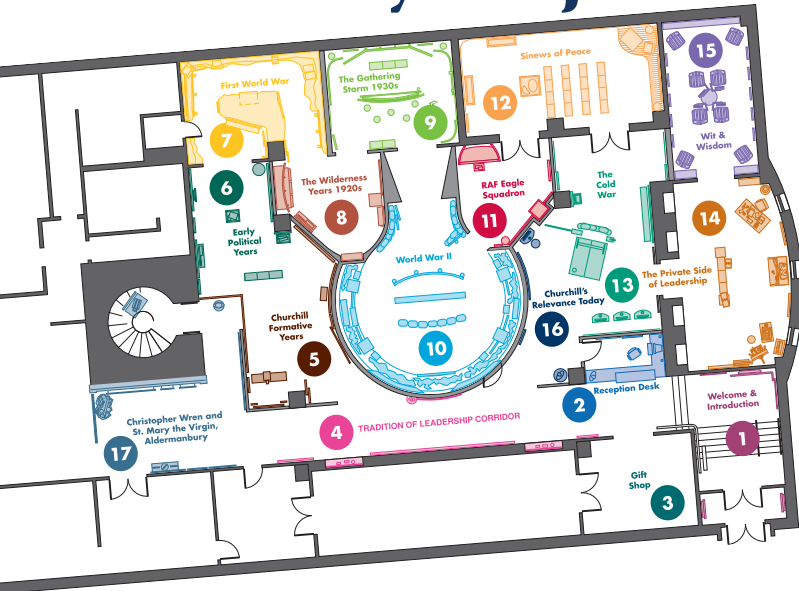
"And might I say, Mrs. Braddock," Churchill replied, "you are ugly and what's more, disgustingly ugly. But tomorrow, I shall be sober."

"You are afraid to eat your words; there is no need to be. I have eaten a great many of mine in my time and on the whole I have found them a most wholesome diet."



Edited by Richard J. Mahoney with Shera Dalin
With a Remembrance by Margaret Thatcher

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