# THE CHURCHILLIAN

AUTUMN 2012 | VOLUME 3 | ISSUE 3

THE MAGAZINE OF THE NATIONAL CHURCHILL MUSEUM



Churchill's Use of Kidnapped Phrases • Winstoniana: Churchill Evaluated, 1929 Inspiration: The International Churchill Conference • "Emotional Intelligence"

#### MESSAGE FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR



Greetings from the campus of Westminster College and welcome to another edition of *The Churchillian*.

As ever, in the early weeks of the new academic year, the National Churchill Museum welcomes the latest intake of Westminster freshmen, all of whom tour the Museum and receive an early opportunity to know who Churchill was and why he remains important and relevant today.

These very considerations have been much on my mind in recent weeks as we put together the germ of a new marketing plan that distills the essence of Churchill's ongoing appeal; why is it that this historic figure continues to exert such an influence not only on our present, and future, but more widely still, upon our very imagination? This influence was well captured by Tom Brokaw in his segment screened in the midst of NBC's Olympic coverage here in the USA. Churchill, once again, was center stage in a fashion that few failed to appreciate. As a Briton in the United States I have long been humbled and delighted by the admiration offered, the respect paid, to Winston Churchill on this side of the Atlantic. Contained within this reverence, I believe, are the essential elements that explain how and why Churchill's legacy lives on in such a vibrant, contemporary fashion. A year ago, in the autumn of 2011, I had the pleasure of addressing the International Churchill Society's annual conference in London and on this very subject. Revisiting my thoughts, some 12 months later, within the wider context of the National Museum's planning efforts and also in light of this recent national coverage, it seemed a good time to consider some of this in the pages of *The Churchillian*. I hope that by disseminating these thoughts more widely it will encourage all our readers to think and perhaps to share why it is that we continue to be inspired by the example of Sir Winston Churchill nearly fifty years after his death.

Very much in step with these considerations, this edition of *The Churchillian* features a wide sampling of Churchill's own thoughts on the wider world and the thoughts of that world on him. We're delighted to feature more work from Manfred Weidhorn and other *Churchillian* regulars as well as a piece from Sir Martin Gilbert, Churchill's official biographer. In this edition, too, you will read coverage of new acquisitions to our collection. It is worth reminding our readers that we are still actively looking to broaden and deepen our holdings pertaining directly to Churchill.

Finally, for those of you who have still not visited our new website please take a look: www.nationalchurchillmuseum.org. There you will find all the previous editions of *The Churchillian* and its predecessor, *The Memo*. There is much to interest new and existing Churchillians and more to come!



**Dr. Rob Havers** *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.

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# CHURCHILL'S USE OF KIDNAPPED PHRASES

"To see a world in a grain of sand." —WILLIAM BLAKE

"And if you will allow a remark in parentheses, ladies and gentlemen, do you not sometimes long for someone at the summit of our public life who can think and write at that level?"

—DAVID DILKS



n his maiden speech in Parliament, on 18 February 1901, Winston Churchill began his fifty-five-year career on his feet in the House of Commons—not necessarily in the right way. In the course of commenting on the then current Boer War, with which he had recently had intimate acquaintance and which had brought him early worldwide fame, he said, "If I were a Boer, I hope I should be fighting in the field."

He made other interesting comments in that speech, but they are ancillary to this grain of sand in which one can find many classic Churchillian traits. If physicists presume to explain the universe by studying the first microseconds of the Big Bang, we can, more humbly of course, derive a lot from that simple sentence.

First, it showed that Churchill was from the very beginning a maverick, a loose cannon, a person given to making unpopular statements. Arthur Balfour, one of the party chieftains, immediately muttered, "That's the way to throw away seats." In other words, young Winston had perpetrated what we now call a "gaffe," which is normally defined as an error but further refined to mean a politician's inadvertent blurting out of the truth in a way harmful to his cause. Ahead lay a long record of gaffes, inadvertent or not, on such matters as the House of Lords, Gallipoli, overthrowing the newly-installed Bolsheviks, the General Strike, India, the Abdication, the rise of Hitler, the Labour Party "Gestapo," and the emerging threat of the Soviet Union.

The remark reveals another important aspect of Churchill, that coiner of so many memorable phrases. A study I made years ago, of the famous phrases he uttered during the climactic years 1940-1942, reveals that many of them were in some way derivative. They were less spontaneous eruptions of wit or shooting stars than slowly maturing fruit—less original findings than well-rehearsed, gradually polished verbal legacies.

#### BY MANFRED WEIDHORN

Dr. Weidhorn is Guterman Professor of English Literature at Yeshiva University and a preeminent scholar of Winston Churchill's literary canon. His four books on Churchill include his seminal *Sword and Pen* (1974).

His famous sentence on the Boers, for example, turns out to be an adaptation of what the elder Pitt said at the time of the American Revolution: "If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never! never!"

The borrowing from Pitt is valid because the Boers, like the Americans a century earlier, were trying to break free from the British Empire. If it was not treacherous for "an English worthy" like Pitt daringly to defend the rebels, it surely was good enough for a later Briton, as yet less famous, to do the same. If the shoe fits....

#### "BEAUTIFUL WORDS, BEAUTIFULLY STRUNG TOGETHER"

The power of the famous Churchillian phrases deserves some scrutiny. T.S. Eliot is supposed to have said that minor poets borrow and great poets steal. Well, Churchill did a lot of borrowing *and* stealing, both from others and from himself. One famous example, "blood, toil, tears and sweat" (or its many variants) has been found in John Donne and Lafcadio Hearn, as well as in Churchill's own earlier

writings. Its prelude, "I have nothing to offer but..." also echoes something Garibaldi said.

The famous and still thrilling passage, "We shall fight in fields, and in the streets," was anticipated by Clemenceau, albeit without the evocative survey of the potential scenes of combat: France, the sea and air, beaches, fields, streets and hills. (We might note that, since history famously repeats itself in the form of farce, this passage was recently butchered by Muammar Qaddafi on his inglorious way out.)

The earlier uses of the passages remain obscure, while Churchill's versions are famous. The conclusion to be drawn is

that ringing phrases (at least in the case of Churchill) are not just a matter of beautiful words beautifully strung together but are also a matter of context, of circumstances—of what Churchill periodically called performing at "the level of events." Earlier versions of the phrases were not just inchoate; they did not leave a lasting imprint because the occasion of their utterance was relatively unimportant. Not so in the case of the phrases he used in the early phase of the Second World War.

Let us briefly contemplate "We shall fight in the fields, and in the streets." It is so famous and it had such a happy outcome that we forget the fear and trembling over the prospect of inevitable doom facing Britain and Western, or at least European, civilization. From June 1940 to June 1941, the world held its breath, as one of the greatest dramas in history played itself out.

A solitary, isolated, as yet insufficiently armed, and just defeated Britain confronted the greatest military machine in history, a juggernaut riding a winning streak, an army that had conquered most of Europe in less than a year (one twelfth of the time it took Napoleon), a force that had not known a military defeat or retreat. It was a force that seemed to define "invincibility." Without knowing the happy outcome to be brought about by Hitler's hubris in attacking first Russia and then the United States while the UK was still alive, a Briton could be forgiven for being terminally frightened and depressed.

Indeed, an iconic photo taken after the Dunkirk evacuation shows all the German military brass, including the big enchilada of that period, Goering, gathered on the French

coast, their backs to the camera, staring at the white cliffs of Dover. One imagines two emotions coursing through them: profound irritation with Mother Nature for having provided Britain with a moat—and sure hope that this little obstacle would be overcome by the all-seeing Führer and the all-powerful German war machine.

In retrospect, though, a fitting caption for that photo would be the title of Dr. Johnson's translation of a satire by Juvenal, "The Vanity of Human Wishes," or, more colloquially, "Poor deluded bastards!" Little did they realize that they were soon to meet Britain's knights of the sky: mechanical airborne cavalry, charging amid blinding sun and

muffling clouds. When they made that discovery, Hitler shifted his attention to Russia, and the British Empire's year of splendid but frightful isolation came to a merciful close.

This riveting situation was the stage on which Churchill sent into combat (as Ed Murrow said) many old and refurbished phrases which captured the imagination by perfectly summing up the high drama. Nor was he one to



An iconic photo taken after the Dunkirk evacuation shows all the German military brass, including the big enchilada of that period, Goering, gathered on the French coast and, their backs to the camera, staring at the white cliffs of Dover ... In retrospect a fitting caption for that photo would be the title of Dr. Johnson's translation of a satire by Juvenal, "The Vanity of Human Wishes."

waste any material that could be reused or adapted: We notice in the above quotation from Pitt that on another occasion Churchill also appropriated the "Never! Never!" portion-rather like a factory finding a commercial application for every by-product.

These phrases, moreover, sometimes betray another Churchillism: a weakness for superlatives, hyperbole and intensifiers. "Never...so many... so much...so few." At last, in 1940, history had caught up with his repetitions and superlatives and made them apropos.

The point of this brief detour is to show how the nice sounding, evocative "If I were a Boer" counterfactual, with its lack of originality, looks ahead to the more splashy examples of secondhand phrases aptly applied to the events at hand. One might add, for the sake of "terminological exactitude," that had Churchill indicated he was adapting or leaning on Pitt, it would have been, in Eliot's terms, a borrowing. But by hiding the source, Churchill, it must be conceded, stole.

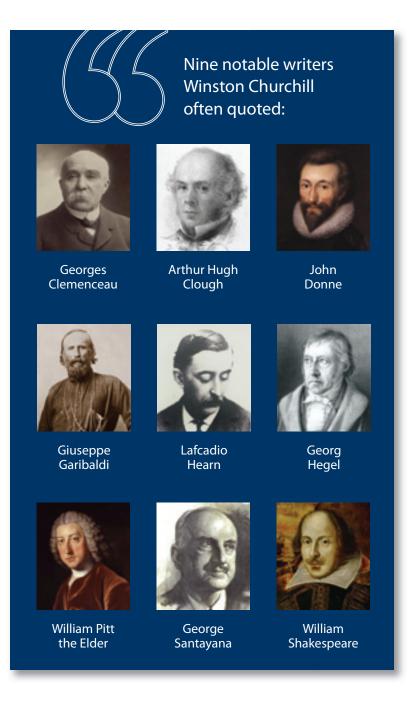
#### VINDICTIVENESS **VS. UNDERSTANDING**

This kidnapped phrase is actually more than just mildly memorable and apposite: It reveals the Churchillian value of magnanimity by celebrating honor and patriotism (another Churchillian trait) even if they be an opponent's. Churchill's countrymen thought of the Boers as traitors to the Empire; he preferred to think of them as patriots to their own community. As a good

Briton, he would still fight them; but he would not allow his own patriotism to neutralize the fact that, as he periodically put it, they have their own (legitimate) story to tell.

The "If I were a Boer" sentence thus reveals youthful maturity. Most politicians, like their constituents, are good at demonizing the opposition. Such a procedure, a symptom of groupthink, of a herd mentality, simplifies things. In lieu of making subtle distinctions, it arouses the warm feelings one gets from being part of a crowd. It substitutes emotion for reason.

What does that mean? In the wake of 9/11, for example, there was talk among policy experts about ascertaining what



could have motivated Osama bin Laden. One non-expert talking head, broadcaster Bill O'Reilly, countered, "I don't care what makes Osama tick; I just want to see him dead!" That feel-good sentiment, surely widespread, was monumentally foolish. More to the point is a statement that has been attributed to both Bismarck and Sun Tzu: In order to defeat an enemy one must first understand him.

We needed to know Osama, and the culture from which he sprang, in order to be able to track him down. More important, we need to understand his Islamofascist cultural bearings in order to know how to prevent future Osamas from arising. Such nuance is beyond the scope of most people, especially most politicians and media demagogues. A sentiment far superior to O'Reilly's barbaric yawp is

Talleyrand's prescription, "surtout pas de zele [above all, no zeal!]"

Striking at someone blindly is a child's game. Vindictiveness feels good and may even be a handy political tool, but, for getting the job done, a leader needs calm calculation in order to understand not only the enemy but when and where is the most politic time to strike at him. Hence the CIA, the FBI and the Mossad have agents spending every day reading Islamist books and tracts.

#### LARGENESS OF SPIRIT

A year before his Boer remark Churchill had expressed himself on the fallen Dervish foe at Omdurman: "...these were as brave men as ever walked the earth. The conviction was borne in on me that their claim beyond the grave in respect of a valiant death was not less good than that which any of our countrymen could make."

That these early expressions of sympathetic identification with a foe, whether gratuitous or cunning, was a firm principle of Churchill's is indicated by the fact that at the other end of his long career, fifty-four years later, he was still enunciating it: "One must always consider the interests of other people when you are facing a particular situation," he said at the brink of his retirement as Prime Minister in March 1955. "Their interests may be the only guide that is available."

In the intervening years, Churchill practiced what he preached. During the Second World War, he praised an enemy general, Erwin Rommel: "We have a very daring and skilful opponent against us, and, may I say across the havoc of war, a great general." In his memoirs, he indicates that this magnanimous remark received "some reproaches from the public." (The same small-mindedness revealed itself in our own time and place when people took umbrage at Louis Farrakhan for calling Hitler an "evil genius." Farrakhan may be unsavory and Hitler the embodiment of evil, but the morally neutral word "genius" surely must be applied to a person who went from being an unschooled homeless bum to the conqueror of Europe.)

A far more important example of Churchill's largeness of spirit and richness of understanding is in a speech of 31 July 1906 on how the conquered Boers were to be treated. He urged that South African Dutch people who wanted to have their children taught in the local *taal* dialect should be granted their wish. The British, he explained, are too confident of the preciousness of their own language and



"Wir fahren gegen Engelland!" (We go against England!) from a German armed forces publication of 1940. In the event they didn't go, despite Churchill baiting them: "We are waiting for the long-promised invasion. So are the fishes."

the treasures it contains to fear any competition. And then, adding psychology and politics to the issue, he shrewdly noted that proscribing the *taal* would encourage the Boers to use it out of spite and malice "as a protest against what they regarded, and would *rightly regard*, as an act of intolerance" (italics mine).

"Rightly regard" is Churchill once again taking an unpopular but insightful position as a result of putting himself in an adversary's shoes. This is not, by the way, a hypothetical or outdated issue: for years the Turkish government, oblivious of Churchill's wisdom, tried to extinguish the Kurdish tongue and culture in eastern Turkey, and for its benighted effort has had to face a violent reactionary movement. For years the Soviets, by shipping Russians in and natives out, tried to eradicate the native languages of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Churchill's approach passes the acid test of a *reductio ad absurdum*, Adolf Hitler. Here is one person who does not need to be demonized, having already turned himself into a demon. Yet when Churchill speaks of "this wicked man"

and his "soul-destroying hatred," he adds, "this monstrous product of former wrongs and shame" (italics mine), meaning the vindictive Versailles treaty which allowed Nazism to be the wrong answer to the right question, and which is a warning to future peacemakers.

Nor is this a chance observation; in the famous anti-Munich agreement speech of 5 October 1938, Churchill uses the phrase "redress [German] grievances" no less than three times and in different sections of the speech. Apparently he meant what he said. "Redress grievances" requires putting oneself in the other's shoes—as in "If I were a Boer."

He was at it again eight years later in the 1946 "Iron Curtain" speech, generally thought to be bellicose toward Russia: "We understand the Russian need to be secure on her western frontiers." In short, electioneering often necessitates demonization, but governing requires negotiating, and negotiating makes understanding the other side an absolute principle.

#### "STUDY HISTORY" — **BUT WHICH HISTORY?**

Not least important, the stealing of the "If I were a Boer" formulation from a historical figure shows yet another secret of Churchill's future successes. From his earliest days in public life, he followed a policy which he later enunciated with simplicity: "Study history, study history!" The daring of Pitt's sentence registered in young Churchill's mind; its appositeness, its sympathetic identification with an adversary, attracted him; and its application to the issues of the day vindicated his avocation of history. Not only was history fascinating in itself, but it also became for him a means of earning a living, as well as of providing guidelines in his political career.

Applying history is, we sometimes forget, a tricky business. History's relevance is based on the assumption that, like events governed by the laws of science, it repeats itself and is therefore predictable. But of course, unlike nature, it never repeats itself in the same way. Two philosophers have wrestled with this problem. Santayana has said—and been quoted ad nauseam—that he who does not learn from history is doomed to repeat it. But the optimism in that assertion—we can learn and consequently improve—is challenged by the pessimism of an earlier thinker, Hegel, who propounded the Socratean paradox that the only thing man learns from history is that he learns nothing from it.

Churchill's "Study history" injunction implicitly puts him in the Santayana camp, but his mind was open enough to

#### **Combating Shakespeare** with Ethelred

"What were you reading on your holiday, Mabel?" - Wm. F. Buckley, Jr., commenting on this speech in 1995

"The Munich Agreement" House of Commons, 5 October 1938 Churchill, Blood Sweat and Tears (New York: Putnam, 1941), 72-73:

In my holiday I thought it was a chance to study the reign of King Ethelred the Unready. The House will remember that that was a period of great misfortune, in which, from the strong position which we had gained under the descendants of King Alfred, we fell very swiftly into chaos. It was the period of Danegeld and of foreign pressure.

I must say that the rugged words of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, written a thousand years ago, seem to me apposite, at least as apposite as those quotations from Shakespeare with which we have been regaled by the last speaker from the Opposition Bench. Here is what the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle said, and I think the words apply very much to our treatment of Germany and our relations with her.

"All these calamities fell upon us because of evil counsel, because tribute was not offered to them at the right time nor yet were they resisted; but when they had done the most evil, then was peace made with them."

That is the wisdom of the past, for all wisdom is not new wisdom.

quote or adapt Hegel's remark. (Given his lack of interest in or capacity for formal philosophy, he probably borrowed his observation from G.B. Shaw, if he did not arrive at it "on his own.") Deploring inaction over Hitler he spoke in 1935 of the "fruitlessness of experience and the confirmed unteachability of mankind…these are the features which constitute the endless repetition of history."

The problem at hand is, of course, which morsel of history to adapt when? That is a puzzle no different from trying to make practical sense out of that golden but impenetrable commercial generalization, "Buy low, sell high"—and is no less futile.

How, for example, is one to apply the 1938 Munich appearement fiasco to Saddam Hussein? Would forceful action result in the quick neutralization of a would-be Hitlerian dictator, a lesson to be learned from the past failure; or would it result in a Vietnam-like quagmire, a different lesson to

be learned from a past error? In 1991, the decision to act resulted in the first, successful outcome; in 2003, it resulted in the second, unsuccessful outcome. Same procedure, different results—as Machiavelli noted is often the case. So then at any future similar juncture, which portion of history does one apply?

#### **NEITHER "DEAD" NOR "PAST"**

Even if Churchill might be as stumped as the rest of us mere mediocre mortals as to the proper use and abuse of history when making important decisions on State policy, he was still free to avail himself of history for polemical purposes. So in 1938, the course of his withering attack on the government officials who had reached the Munich agreement with Hitler, he confronted the fact that one of his opponents had offered quotations from that man for all seasons and all situations, Shakespeare.

But instead of countering with a contrary Shakespearean quotation, which he could easily do and which Shakespeare could easily provide, Churchill trotted out (via a chronicler) King Ethelred the Unready—not exactly a household name.

Pitting a barely literate medieval king against the king of literacy is, at first blush, chutzpah. And Churchill even cheated somewhat: He did not carry around such esoteric lore as a matter of course; rather he was at that time working on his *History of the English-Speaking Peoples* and acted opportunistically; in Falstaff's words, the quotation "lay in his way, and he found it." (See box on Page 9.)

Many persons who pride themselves on being *au courant* would consider a quotation from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to be pedantic and irrelevant, but Churchill sided less with Henry Ford, to whom history was "bunk," or with Joyce, to whom it was a "nightmare" from which one tries to wake, than with Faulkner, who said that it was neither "dead" nor "past."

Yet pitting poor old Ethelred against Shakespeare is small change. A far greater use of history occurred during the year of destiny, 1940. On September 11th (an interesting parallel), from his arsenal of rhetorical weapons, Churchill

Applying history is, we sometimes forget, a tricky business.

selected images of Britannia at bay, and then triumphant: "We must regard the next week or so as a very important period in our

history. It ranks with the days when the Spanish Armada was approaching the Channel, and Drake was finishing his game of bowls; or when Nelson stood between us and Napoleon's grand army at Boulogne. We have read all about this in the history books; but what is happening now is on a far greater scale and of far more consequence to the life and future of the world and its civilization than these brave old days of the past."

This is not esoteric stuff but material every British schoolchild learned (or used to learn). Evoking the heroic past with a roll call of richly resonant names was a reminder to Britons (and no doubt to himself, as well) who were going through a terrible time that they had faced such dire threats before and had come through splendidly. It was part of their heritage. With the faith that they would this time do so again, his implicit message was, "be of good cheer, for all will be well." Nor does it hurt morale to be told that, in the larger span of history, one is present at a grand climacteric. (See box on Page 11.)

And so things did indeed turn out well—perhaps in part because that passage contributed its jot to steeling the will of the people, no less than that of their leader. This is surely a climactic application of history to current events, a procedure he had begun in his maiden speech a long four decades earlier, with the words derived from a historical giant, "If I were a Boer." The American Revolution shed light on the Boer War even as a lot of dramatic history elucidated 1940. There is in that one early stolen sentence (as Shakespeare's Touchstone said of the word "if") "much virtue."

#### "Material every British schoolchild learned (or used to learn) ..."

Why did Churchill so often omit the source of his captured phrases? Was it vanity, miscalculation, defiance? Or had he read and stored so much in his photographic memory that he sometimes forgot the sources, or thought them so well known that attribution was needless?

hurchill often used phrases which had originated with others, e.g., "Democracy is the worst system, except for all the other systems." Sometimes he deployed such favorites with delight, not always with attribution nor even with quotemarks—sometimes with intent, and other times because he assumed his listeners would recognise them instantly as the words of a famous writer. In his time people were simply better read than they are today.

Consider for example his quotation from "Say Not the Struggle Nought Availeth," in his broadcast of 27 April 1941:

"Last time I spoke to you I quoted the lines of Longfellow which President Roosevelt had written out for me in his own hand. I have some other lines which are less well known but which seem apt and appropriate to our fortunes tonight, and I believe they will be so judged wherever the English language is spoken or the flag of freedom flies."

Churchill then regaled his listeners with the last two stanzas of "Say Not the Struggle Nought Availeth," by Arthur Hugh Clough (1819–1861). One of those listeners was Bernard Darwin (grandson of Charles) who recalled the occasion:

"Mr. Roosevelt quoted Longfellow to Mr. Churchill; Mr. Churchill passed on the quotation to us and subsequently quoted Clough on his own account. Thousands of listeners to that

broadcast speech must have experienced the same series of emotions. When the Prime Minister said that there were some lines that he deemed appropriate we sat up rigid, waiting in mingled pleasure and apprehension. How agreeable it would be if we were acquainted with them and approved the choice! How flat and disappointing should they be unknown to us! A moment later we heard:

"For while the tired waves, vainly breaking, Seem here no painful inch to gain, Far back, through creeks and inlets making, Comes silent, flooding in, the main. And not by eastern windows only, When daylight comes, comes in the light; In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly! But westward, look, the land is bright.

"We sank back in a pleasant agony of relief. We whispered the lines affectionately to ourselves, following the speaker, or even kept a word or two ahead of him in order to show our familiarity with the text. We were if possible more sure than ever that Mr. Churchill was the man for our money. He had given his ultimate proofs by flattering our vanity. He had chosen what we knew and what, if we had thought of it, we could have quoted for ourselves."

— Richard M. Langworth, ed., *Churchill By* Himself (amzn.to/churchillquote). Darwin's remarks are from the introduction to the Oxford Dictionary of Quotations (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941), xiii. Darwin signed his introduction "May 1941."



#### BY MARTIN GILBERT

Sir Martin Gilbert CBE has been the official biographer of Sir Winston Churchill since 1968. Winston S. Churchill, already numbering twenty-four biographic and document volumes (the first two by Randolph Churchill), is the longest biography in the English language. Hillsdale College Press has done a public service by reprinting all the volumes and commissioning six remaining document volumes for the years 1942-1965. For books and availability please refer to their website at http://xrl.us/bnh3fo. This excerpt is reprinted by the author's permission from biographic volume 8, "Never Despair" 1945-1965 (London: Heinemann, 1988).







Nuri al-Said

King Feisal

n 15 July 1958, a rebellion in Iraq led to the murder of the King and his family, and of the Prime Minister, Nuri al-Said, whose body was dragged through the streets of Baghdad. In Lebanon, President

Chamoun appealed for support from the United States. Within hours, American carrier-borne troops landed in Beirut. Churchill's immediate response was to support the American action, and to prepare a speech for Parliament. He at once told Prime Minister Harold Macmillan of his intention, and then dictated a few introductory remarks, which read:

I have not troubled the House with any remarks since I left Office three and a half years ago. Nor should I do so now if circumstances did not warrant it. I have a feeling that the events which have recently taken place in the Middle East are of a different order from anything which has occurred, and that they confront us with the need of scanning the whole field with a gravity not unworthy of the moral and material issues which they naturally excite.

There followed four pages of handwritten notes, which began:

Outrage Embassy Bagdad.

What are we going to do?

America and Britain must work together, reach Unity of purpose.

The complications which the problem presents can be cured if, and only if, they are dealt with by united forces and common principles, not merely increase of strength.

When we divide we lose.

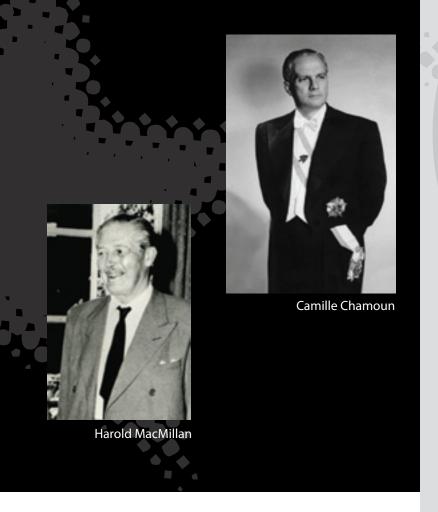
It is not primarily a question of material force. Anthony Eden and Suez. He was right. These recent events prove him so. It may be that his action was premature.

Churchill then intended to speak about the American landings in Lebanon. His notes continued:

It would be too easy to mock USA....We should refrain.

The Lebanon is part of the Middle East Comparisons are often dangerous and still more often futile.

This is no time for our trying to balance a long



account. The accounts are balancing themselves.

I do not want to take points off the US and point the finger of scorn at them.

How easy to say "Look at the US and compare them with us at Suez." We were right.

Chamoun—a good friend to this country. What is really foolish is for two nations like England and USA to search for points of difference. No case for picking a quarrel with USA.

A clear conscience.... We have no need for selfreproach.

Churchill's notes ended: "The Middle East is all one problem. The US have entered the Lebanon. They are in every way justified. They do not need our material or military help. If they did, I am assured they would receive it."

"I spent an hour or two thinking over what I would say," Churchill wrote to Harold Macmillan on July 15th, "and came to the conclusion that I had nothing worth saying. I will turn up to support you in the Lobby. Forgive my change of plan."

"In the Middle East you have arid countries. In East Africa you have dripping countries. There is the greatest difficulty to get anything to grow in the one place, and the greatest difficulty to prevent things smothering and choking you by their hurried growth in the other. In the African Colonies you have a docile, tractable population, who only require to be well and wisely treated to develop great economic capacity and utility; whereas the regions of the Middle East are unduly stocked with peppery, pugnacious, proud politicians and theologians, who happen to be at the same time extremely well armed and extremely hard up." —Winston S. Churchill,

House of Commons, 14 July 1921



# THE WISDOM OF CHURCHILL'S "ALMOST-LAST" SPEECH

"[We seem] compelled to go on pouring armies and treasure into these thankless deserts."

BY RICHARD M. LANGWORTH

ir Winston Churchill, old and increasingly despondent in 1958, underestimated himself. He did indeed have some things that might have added to the debate over what to do, which ring with realism half a century later.

In 1921 as Colonial Secretary he had convened a conference in Cairo to decide what to do with the wreckage of the Ottoman Empire, including all of today's Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Israel. One writer offered a book entitled *Churchill's Folly*, and in a more recent volume ostensibly in praise of Churchill repeated his title. He levels all the blame on Churchill for drawing the boundaries of those countries, the cause of so much subsequent strife.

We must suppose, reading such accusations, that the cadre of forty experts Churchill assembled in Cairo, including key Arabs, and the pro-Arab Gertrude Bell and T.E. Lawrence, had nothing to do with the 1921 boundaries. We must also ignore, in our clear 2012 hindsight of the messes they led to, the fact that those at Cairo were not faced with well-organized, high-tech worldwide terrorism. They simply had to decide what to do with a derelict empire.

Ah, the critics will say, but they wanted the oil! The British had secured their oil supply with the Anglo-Persian Oil Company before the war, and if the French wanted oil, they certainly received short shrift—with the mandates (trusteeships) of Syria and Lebanon.

I do not suggest that Britain's actions in the Middle East were altruistic—but Churchill had no illusions about Iraq: "There is something very sinister to my mind in this Mesopotamian entanglement," he had written Prime Minister Lloyd George the year before. "[We seem] compelled to go on pouring armies and treasure into these thankless deserts." Alas ninety years later, we still are.

A readable and important book on these matters is *A Peace to End All Peace*: *The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*, by David Fromkin. I often quote his reply to a twofold question after lecturing on the subject in 2003: Why did Churchill, at Cairo, believe monarchy was the solution for Iraq? And why did he choose foreign kings, the Hashemites Feisal and Abdullah, as monarchs of Iraq and Trans-Jordan?

"Because," replied Professor Fromkin, "in the world in which Churchill grew up, that is what you did!

"When it was decided, just before the First World War, to create an independent state of Albania, an intrinsic part of the thing was to find it a king....As for Feisal, there was a general feeling at the time that when you brought in a king for a new country, it ought to be somebody who is not from that country—not involved in its internal feuds. You look for an outsider and a unifier....It seemed a very neat solution [but] they immediately repented of it because Feisal, once in office, made many nationalist claims, and Churchill was afraid that Feisal had betrayed him."

We look at history through our "enlightened" lenses, knowing now what the leaders of governments didn't know then—what the outcome would be. Churchill, like every other historical figure, must be judged by what was happening then—not what we know now.

For much of his life Churchill sought to avoid war by diplomacy and negotiation. At Cairo he tried to settle boundaries and create nations that would bring peace and progress to the lands of the former Ottoman Empire.

His hopes were often dashed—yet the Iraq he endorsed at Cairo lasted 36 years, and the same arrangement still exists in Jordan—where the descendant of another "outside king" still reigns. "The Emir Abdullah is in Transjordania, where I put him one Sunday afternoon in Jerusalem," said Churchill in 1936. Credit Churchill—and those Cairo imperialists—for creating what is now the most peaceful Arab state in the Middle East.

Is Churchill then blameless? Not at all. Let us blame him for being too much the optimist, too little the cynic. In 1945 he was hoping (vainly again) that the arrangements reached at Yalta and Potsdam would bring peace and



The Cairo Conference, 1921. For someone alleged to have drawn up the Middle East boundaries himself, Churchill (first row, center) seemed to have a lot of help. Supporting the Arabs' case were Gertrude Bell (second row, second from left) and T.E. Lawrence (second row, fourth from right).

democracy to Eastern Europe. In the nuclear age he worked against tall odds for what he called an "accommodation" or "settlement" with the Soviets. The last great goal of his life was peace itself—still elusive in his last years, and the cause of much personal regret.

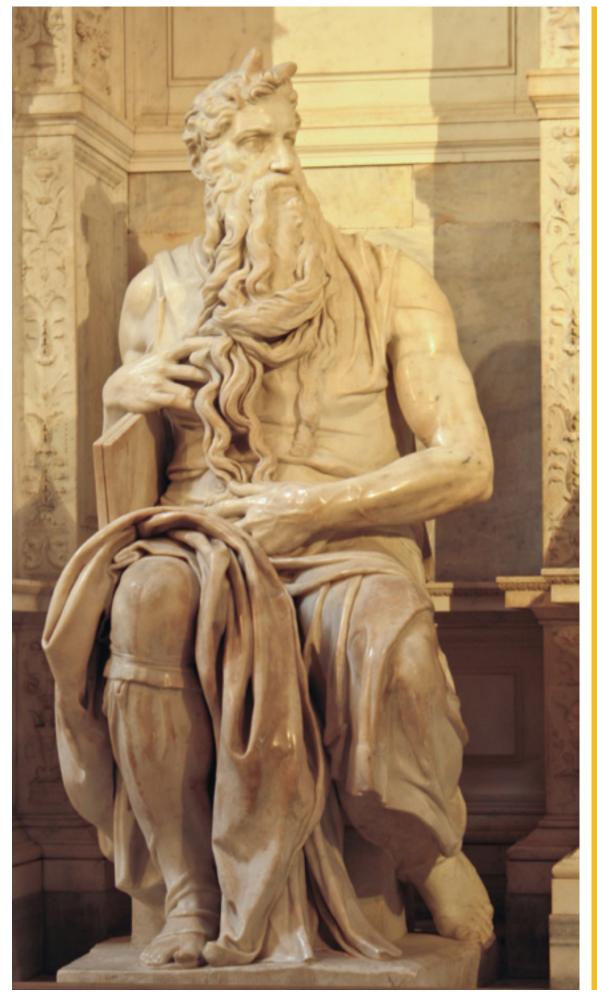
Churchill's views on terrorism are little quoted, because it was not the problem in his time that it later became; but what he thought is not without relevance. A 1935 remark on the Government of India Act, for example, puts us in mind of the election of a Hamas government of the Palestine Authority in 2006:

...there is real danger of dangerous terrorists, persons engaged in the gravest forms of terrorism, standing for the Legislature of Bengal in particular and being elected for the Bengal Assembly....[If they] select dangerous terrorists and send them to the Federal Legislature then all I can say is that I hope this will be noticed by people outside these doors.

No countries are less prepared to deal with terrorism than Western democracies, he said in 1947: "Squalid warfare with terrorists" should be avoided: "and if a warfare with terrorists has broken out, every effort should be made—I exclude no reasonable proposal—to bring it to an end." Parents of the dead in Afghanistan may likely agree with that.

Sir Martin Gilbert is frequently quoted for admiring "the truth of Churchill's assertions, the modernity of his thought...and most remarkable of all, his foresight." Given what is happening in Syria, I was struck by those qualities while reading Churchill's "Almost Last Speech"—and his private remark at that time to his private secretary, Anthony Montague Browne:

"The Middle East is one of the hardest-hearted areas in the world. It has always been fought over, and peace has only reigned when a major power has established firm influence and shown that it would maintain its will. Your friends must be supported with every vigour and if necessary they must be avenged. Force, or perhaps force and bribery, are the only things that will be respected. It is very sad, but we had all better recognise it. At present our friendship is not valued, and our enmity is not feared."



"He [Moses] was
the National hero
who led the Chosen
People out of the
land of bondage
... and brought
them to the very
threshold of the
Promised Land."
— Winston
S. Churchill

Moses watching over the tomb of Pope Julius II in the church of San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome.

# "FMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE"

#### IN CHURCHILL'S VIEW OF **JEWISH NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY**

aniel Goleman, the psychologist and New York Times science writer, describes "Emotional Intelligence" as a quality essential for effective leadership. Goleman argues that emotion plays a much greater role in thought, decisionmaking and individual success than is often acknowledged. The trait of "Emotional Intelligence," he says, cannot be measured solely by IQ tests, but rather by other skills, such as controlling one's impulses, self-motivation, empathy and social competency.1

Churchill's official biographer, Sir Martin Gilbert, tacitly alludes to Goleman's criteria for "Emotional Intelligence" as part of Winston Churchill's character. From his earliest days Churchill deeply empathized with oppressed peoples, from black South Africans in the Boer War to Eastern Europeans in the Cold War. No more broadly and consistently was this demonstrated than in his lifetime support for the Jews and Zionism. Long before the rise of Hitler, he deplored their victimization during the Russian and Polish pogroms; as a historian he wrote of their enslavement under Egypt's pharaoh. Churchill's "Emotional Intelligence" coalesced with his deepseated respect for democracy, liberty and political stability

For over three thousand years the Jewish people were defined by the Hebrew language and an adherence to Biblical tenets which created the *Halacha*, the collective body of Jewish religious law. Together they represented Jewish political tradition. Jewish politics were also marked by the Jews' years in exile, with an absence of sovereignty.

Although not personally very religious, Churchill was deeply versed in the Bible. "For him," as one writer said, it was "the magnum opus of Western Civilization."2 Among the Bible's many stories that moved him was that of Moses, of whom he wrote in 1931.

#### BY JARED FELDSCHRELBER

Mr. Feldschreiber is a journalist and writer specializing in ambassadors, officials and dissidents. He is active in working to protect journalists worldwide.

From left:
Ben-Gurion,
Chaim
Weizmann
and Siegfried
Sassoon







Churchill's depiction of the Jewish prophet and the story of the Exodus was not meant as an allegory. "This is reality," he wrote, "and his identity was a genuine historical event....Moses was the greatest of the prophets who spoke in person to the God of Israel. He was the national hero who led the Chosen People out of the land of bondage, through the perils of the wilderness, and brought them to the very threshold of the Promised Land. He was the supreme law-giver who received from God that remarkable code upon which the religious, moral social life of the nation was so securely fastened."

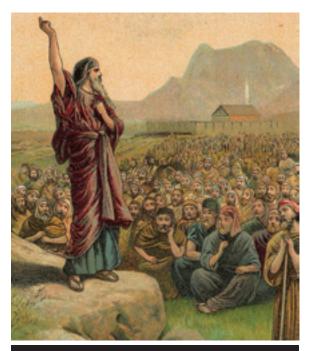
In this and other writings Churchill emphasized his concept of the Jews' destiny and underlined his commitment to the idea of Jewish sovereignty, speaking to their "chosenness." Above all, he believed in the paramount importance of Jewish ethics.

Ten years earlier, Churchill had traveled to Jerusalem, noting the connection between his spiritual Christian beliefs of his own upbringing with the Jewish faith. Around that time he had written: "We owe to the Jews in the Christian revelation a system of ethics which, even if it were entirely separated from the supernatural, would be incomparably the most precious possession of mankind, worth in fact the fruits of all other wisdom and learning put together. On that system and by that faith there has been built out of the wreck of the Roman Empire the whole of our existing civilization."

Sir Martin Gilbert writes that the impetus behind the Jews' drive toward national sovereignty was anti-Semitism. Churchill was compassionate to their plight, speaking out against the pogroms, but he provided practical assistance too, by helping facilitate the creation of a Jewish homeland after World War I-at some political cost to himself. Being supportive of Zionism was not popular in Britain in the 1920s and 1930s, Gilbert wrote: "In a world where Jews were often the objects of scorn, dislike, distrust and hostility, Churchill held them in high esteem, and wanted them to have their rightful place in the world.... Jews should draw a lesson that they do have some friends, but that the friends they have can often be in deep trouble for being their friends....Churchill wasn't a soft, starry-eyed person but a man with a fine head on his shoulders, and he understood this."5

Churchill had lifelong friendships with Jewish leaders, ranging from Lord Rothschild to the Great War poet Siegfried Sassoon to World Zionist Organization President Chaim Weizmann and, late in life, David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first prime minister. These authentic and heartfelt friendships transcended politics and reflected the "social competency" element of Goleman's "Emotional Intelligence." Such friendships certainly were not maintained for political advantage, since Churchill lived during a highly anti-Semitic period, when even close colleagues made derogatory comments about Jews. Their

## MBOVE ALL. CHURCHILL. BELIEVED IN THE PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE OF JEWISH ETHICS.



Moses pleading with Israel

genuineness is illustrated by a charming story from the 1960s. On one of Ben-Gurion's visits to London, Churchill engaged him in debate: Who was the greater man, Moses or Jesus? Ben-Gurion argued for Jesus, Churchill supported Moses!6

Also late in Churchill's life, Chaim Weizmann thanked him for his lifelong commitment to the Jews and their hopes for sovereignty: "[The Jewish People] thank you personally," he said. "Zionists throughout the world deeply appreciate the unfailing sympathy you have consistently shown towards their legitimate aspirations and the great part you have played in securing for the Jewish people the opportunity of rebuilding a national home..."

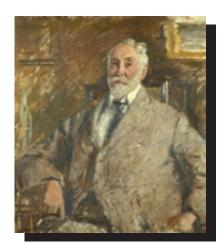
Whether Churchill ever read Theodor Herzl's Der Judenstaat is unknown, but Churchill's Zionism was palpable, and is recognized by scholars as part of his legacy. Churchill like Herzl helped to cultivate the Zionist dream, providing ideas, enthusiasm, and the political motivation which enabled Jewish sovereignty to emerge in 1948. Churchill saw the Jews as a unique group, guided by the Bible, which enabled them to persevere through

centuries of exile. Israel today remains a pluralistic and diverse society, reflecting much of Churchill's optimism, and his personal affinities toward its people.

#### **ENDNOTES**

- 1. Daniel Goleman, "What Makes a Leader?" Harvard Business Review, January 2004 (http://xrl.us/bniqfb).
- 2. Darrell Holley, Churchill's Literary Allusions (Chapel Hill, N.C.: MacFarland, 1987), 7.
- 3. Winston S. Churchill. "Moses: The Leader of a People," Sunday Chronicle. 8 November 1931, 9, under the subhead "Great Bible Stories Retold by the World's Best Writers," Cohen C370. Subsequently collected in Thoughts and Adventures, Cohen A95.
- 4. Winston S. Churchill, "Zionism vs. Bolshevism: A Struggle for the Soul of the Jewish People," Illustrated Sunday Herald, 8 February 1920, 5, Cohen C258a; reprinted in Conspiracy Digest, Spring 1980, Cohen C258b.
- 5. Martin Gilbert Churchill and the Jews (Simon and Schuster Australia Sydney, 2007). 85.
- 6. Richard M. Langworth, ed., Churchill By Himself (London: Ebury Press, 2008), 363.
- 7. Gilbert, Churchill and the Jews, xvi.

# Winstoniana: Churchill Evaluated, 1929



By Viscount D'Abernon

Edgar Vincent, First Viscount D'Abernon (1857-1941) was a politician, diplomat and writer. This remarkable appreciation, at a time when Churchill was not widely admired, is from his book, An Ambassador of Peace, Vol. 1 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1929).

hat are the qualities or defects which make for notoriety? What are the virtues or vices which bring one individual so prominently into public notice and maintain him as a constant subject of discussion, whether in praise or blame?

The characteristics required are unquestionably different from the attributes of greatness: perhaps not incompatible though divergent. Advertisement, however sedulously pursued, is powerless to overcome the absence of original endowment, nor can it be said that fame always comes to those

These reflections rise naturally to the mind in considering the career of Winston

who most ardently seek it.

Churchill, for no one in living recollection has attained notoriety—in the good sense—to an extent comparable with him. Exceptional as are his talents, brilliant as are his achievements, they would not account for the unique place which he holds in the attention of the public but for the possession by him of some gift withheld from others.

This gift is usually described as an outstanding personality. Whether this expression adds much to our comprehension of the matter may be doubted. The fact remains that at any time during the last thirty years, ever since he entered public life, Winston Churchill has been the universal and inevitable subject of discussion in every kind of society. Even in those circles least favourable to him, least in sympathy with his ardent personal ambition, no general conversation lasted long without lapsing into Winstoniana. This fact obtained in mess-rooms, in golf clubs, and in the most philistine resorts, where in earlier years there was more criticism than admiration.

Men and women are led by an obscure but irresistible instinct to discuss Churchill. In insisting upon his unique power of attracting the limelight, much as a lightningconductor attracts lightning, there is some danger of underrating his real ability. Nothing could be further from my intention, for he is not only the best equipped political combatant of his generation, but has a facility in many directions which approaches genius.

As a speaker and debater he is in the front rank; as a coiner of phrases he is unequalled among contemporaries; as a writer he is the rival if not the superior of the best

professionals—in courage undaunted, in openness of mind an example to all.

His mental alertness is astonishing. Perhaps the most picturesque proof of this may be found in his artistic career, Without special interest in art or any theoretical study of it, he one day thought he would like to paint. Unhampered by arduous training or tuition, he seized paint-brushes and a palette, producing in a short time, without outside

"The question is sometimes asked whether meteoric apparitions like Churchill are to be the normal result of Anglo-American unions."

> assistance or guidance, works of such merit that they were sold at fair prices in the open market in competition with the productions of professional men.<sup>1</sup>

Success was so marked that his further development in the direction of artistic achievement was awaited with some trepidation by the fashionable painters of the hour. Happily for them the attempt of well-meaning friends to guide his native genius into the beaten paths of academic correctness so damped his ardour that the artistic impetus petered out, his enthusiasm being later diverted to brick laying.2

The question is sometimes asked whether meteoric apparitions like Churchill are to be the normal result of Anglo-American unions. Such a prospect might. seem portentous. No anxiety, however, should be felt. Winston was not the child of ordinary parents. On both sides there was exceptional intelligence, unusual force of character. His father was reputed to be the most daring politician of his generation, as a speaker the equal of Balfour<sup>3</sup> and Rosebery. 4 His readiness in debate, his unrivalled instinct for the popular mind on any given subject, are brought into clear relief in the brilliant biography which his eldest son has written.

Winston's mother was less well known to the general public, but she was no less remarkable. Born of energetic and enterprising American stock, she won all suffrages on this side of the Atlantic by the peculiar character of her beauty. I have the clearest recollection of seeing her for the first time. It was at the Vice-Regal Lodge at Dublin. She stood on one side to the left of the entrance. The Viceroy was on a dais at the farther end of the room surrounded by a brilliant staff, but eyes were not turned on him or his consort, but on a dark, lithe figure, standing somewhat apart and appearing to be of another texture to those around her, radiant, translucent, intense. A diamond star in her hair, her favourite ornament, its lustre dimmed by the flashing glory of her eyes. More of the panther than of the woman in her look, but with a cultivated intelligence unknown to the jungle. Her courage was not less great

"Still boyish in mind and manner after twenty years of high office, [Winston Churchill] retains a faculty for learning which has not deserted him with increasing years."

than that of her husband—fit mother for descendants of the great Duke. With all these attributes of brilliancy, such kindliness and high spirits that she was universally popular. Her desire to please, her delight in life, and the genuine wish that all should share her joyous faith in it, made her the centre of a devoted circle.

To say of a statesman that he possesses a lively intelligence is to suggest some lightness of mettle. It is impossible to deny liveliness to Winston, but the calibre of the guns he carries is certainly not light. Some of his initiatives may have gone west, notably those with which the public are best acquainted. The defence of Antwerp, the attack on the Dardanelles, <sup>5</sup> injured his reputation for wisdom injured it perhaps unduly. On the other hand, the bold decision to keep the British Fleet together in August 1914 won for him universal approbation. In my opinion his attitude in each of these events, the successful and the unsuccessful alike, was indicative of a powerful mind, untrammelled by official routine, unaffrighted by personal responsibility.

In the cases of Antwerp and the Dardanelles, it was by no means proved that the conception was wrong: half-hearted adoption by colleagues, delay in execution, may have a marred was in itself sound strategy. It is worthy note regarding Antwerp that von Kluck, judging after the event and with full knowledge of all the circumstances, has expressed his adherence to a strategic plan not dissimilar that of Antwerp, viz. a plan in which the British Expeditionary Force would have been sent to Amiens, threatening the flank of the German right in its advance on Paris, a conception broadly analogous to Churchill's. In the case of the

Dardanelles, all German authorities who have written on the subject are agreed that the British attack was within an ace of succeeding. Success would have caused panic in Constantinople:, and would have driven the German Embassy from Pera into the wilds of Asia Minor.

Some critics have held that Churchill's real talent lies in literature and in rhetoric rather than in administration and statesmanship. It has been indicated that there are

reasons for dissenting from the view that there is in him any absence of practical wisdom. Perhaps it is too soon to pass a final verdict. When the time comes for the publication of the very numerous memoranda which he submitted during the War<sup>7</sup> to every Cabinet of which he was a member, judgment can be pronounced. No one has left on paper fuller

material for condemnation or acquittal. While others talked, Churchill both talked and wrote. This is clearly apparent from Asquith's Memoirs. <sup>8</sup> A further impression is derived from them, namely that Winston Churchill had more ideas, more electrical force, and presented political memoranda in greater profusion than any other member of the Cabinet, while in strategic proposals he was hardly less prolific than the entire General Staff.

If a balance is to be struck between literary talent on one side and political ability on the other, the merit of both has to be estimated, and the literary merit of Churchill stands high. In the long course of British history it is doubtful if any minister of the first rank, burdened as all ministers must be by the cares of office, has made a contribution to history and literature superior to Churchill's. He stands the test, whether in volume, range, or quality. So unique a record reveals not only a mind of great fertility, but an extraordinary facility for keeping alive contemporaneously—without mutual injury—interests of different kinds.

It might be expected that such a man, driven forward by a teeming brain, tormented by grandiose conceptions struggling for expression and execution, would have the haggard appearance of the jaded worker, or would suffer in an exaggerated degree from the nervosity of the genus *irritabile vatum*.

Nothing of the kind; Winston is genial, affectionate, humorous—the best of friends, a generous opponent, taking criticism and enduring disappointment with a smile,

#### "Winston Churchill had more ideas, more electrical force, and presented political memoranda in greater profusion than any other member of the Cabinet ..."





#### Winston Churchill's parents, Jennie Jerome and Randolph Churchill

Left: Jennie, Lady Randolph: "a dark, lithe figure ... A diamond star in her hair, her favourite ornament, its lustre dimmed by the flashing glory of her eyes. More of the panther than of the woman in her look ..." Right: Lord Randolph: "the most daring politician of his generation [with] unrivalled instinct for the popular mind ..."

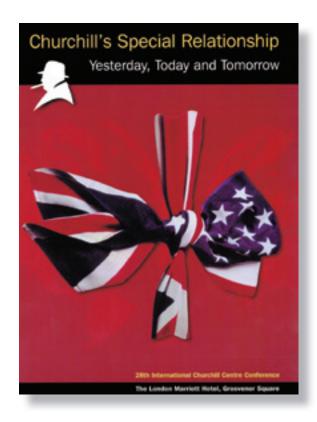
half amused at his own career and half surprised at his astonishing success. Still boyish in mind and manner after twenty years of high office, he retains a faculty for learning which has not deserted him with increasing years.

He might, indeed, without undue assumption, blazon on his escutcheon Goya's noble profession of faith, Aun aprendo (I continue to learn) rather than the less appropriate motto of the Churchills, Fiel pero desdichado (Faithful but Unfortunate).

#### **EDITOR'S NOTES**

- 1. It is not established that Churchill's paintings were commercially sold contemporaneously, or if they were, what they depicted. See David Coombs, "Charles Morin and the Search for Churchill's Nom de Palette," Finest Hour 148, Autumn 2010, Churchill Centre (www. winstonchurchill.org).
- 2. D'Abernon was premature; Churchill continued painting long after he gave up bricklaying, not retiring his brush until 1960 when he was 85.
- 3. Arthur James Balfour, First Earl of Balfour KG OM PC (1848-1930), Conservative MP, Prime Minister 1902-05, First Lord of the Admiralty (Churchill's successor) 1915-16, Foreign Secretary 1916-19.

- 4. Archibald Primrose, Fifth Earl of Rosebery KG PC (1847-1929), Liberal MP, Prime Minister 1894-95, a close friend of both Winston and Lord Randolph. His support for a strong Empire, national defense and social reform, while remaining staunchly anti-Socialist, was reflected in the views of young Winston.
- 5. In October 1914, Churchill went to Belgium to help direct the defense of Antwerp, whence he offered to resign as First Lord of the Admiralty to take a military command. Though his "rashness" found many critics, King Albert of the Belgians wrote that without his leadership Antwerp would have fallen a week sooner, preventing the French and British Armies from moving northwest and allowing the Germans earlier access to the French Channel ports—a calamity that might have altered the course of the war. The Dardanelles/Gallipoli operations in early 1915 again saw WSC broadly criticized. Historians have since tended to conclude that their failure was owed to lack of follow-through by naval and military commanders. Churchill's decision, in early August 1914, to send the Fleet to its battle stations in advance of a declaration of war, won him the approval of such former critics as the army head Lord Kitchener and former President Theodore Roosevelt.
- 6. Alexander Heinrich Rudolf von Kluck (1846-1934), German general during World War I. His memoirs, The March on Paris and The Battle of the Marne, were published in 1920.
- 7. World War I, 1914 to 1918.
- 8. Hebert Henry Asquith KG PC KC (1852-1928), Liberal MP, Prime Minister 1908-15; he published four volumes of memoirs between 1926 and 1928.



# INSPIRATION

Executive Director Rob Havers shares his speech from the 2011 International Churchill Conference.

In the autumn of 2011 I was delighted to be invited to speak at The Churchill Centre's 28th International Churchill Conference held in London 2011 at the excellent London Marriot Hotel, Grovesnor Square in the heart of Mayfair. The theme of that year's conference was Churchill's Special Relationship: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow. Allen Packwood, the Director of the Churchill College Archives Centre and also the Director of the Churchill Centre UK, as well as the conference organizer, asked me to consider the issue of Churchill's

enduring popularity, on the both sides of the Atlantic but particularly in the United States. Below, with awful post-dinner jokes excised, is the text of that speech laid out here as it was delivered. The intent of this publication is to further prompt us all to think about what it is that we find most inspiring — most compelling — about Churchill. Only by articulating this can we hope to pass on that spirit to new generations for whom Churchill is, at worst, unknown, or at best a remote figure from the past.

Allen asked me to speak tonight on the topic of why it is that Winston Churchill seems to retain and attract such a considerable contemporary interest from people.

People on both sides of the Atlantic, but why in particular that should be the case in the United States.

As a transplanted Brit., living in the USA and as the head of a Churchill Museum that topic, that question is one that occupies my time considerably.

I, like many in this room ponder this question on a daily basis. How to bring Churchill to a wider audience? How to bring Churchill to new generations?

The Museum I have the distinct pleasure, indeed honor, to run was founded in 1969 not as the National Churchill Museum that is a recent moniker courtesy of the United States Congress, but rather as the Winston Churchill Memorial and Library.

The main impetus behind its founding was a means to commemorate the fact that some forty years earlier, Churchill had visited Westminster's campus and delivered one the most celebrated and significant speeches of his long and illustrious career.

That speech, formally entitled 'The Sinews of Peace' was delivered in March of 1946

Not even 12 months since VE day.

And with the embers of WWII still aglow in Europe.

Its message, its clarion call, was a warning.

A warning to the west to remain vigilant and strong.

To be wary of the intentions of the Soviet Union, Stalin's Russia- our erstwhile ally.

Churchill's dramatic hand gesture and equally dramatic line that 'an iron curtain has descended across the continent' effectively summed up, as he saw it, the bisection of Europe and gave the wider public its first indication of the true state of the post-war world

And an early preview of the impending Cold War.

And the more permanent division that would characterize the state of International Relations for the next 40 years. Our museum in Fulton marks that event of course, but given that Churchill died in 1965, mid way through the process of transporting a Wren Church from London to Fulton the whole edifice, the whole endeavor took on a new function.

In addition to marking that event, that moment in history, it now marked a life and a legacy.

Many who visit our museum come because they know of the 'Iron Curtain' speech.

but many more come because they want either to reconnect with Churchill or to know who Churchill was often in an unspecific fashion.

When I took this position several friends and others said

too that I was wasting my time: 'No one knows who Churchill is anymore and no one really cares' was a comment I heard, in different ways, on several disparate and dispiriting occasions.

Coming quite soon after the BBC had conducted their extensive public poll to determine, categorically, who exactly was the 'greatest Briton' I obviously felt this was not the whole story.

(The fact that it was Winston Churchill who emerged as the greatest Briton of all time, according to the poll certainly went some way to restoring my own faith in the great British public)

I contended then, as now, that those who don't care about Churchill

Are almost always those who don't know about Churchill. Rarely, in my experience, do those who know of the man, of his life, his works, his example, can they retain an indifference at best.

We all, in this room, believe this I am sure.

I had heard, from friends and acquaintances anecdotally and otherwise, that in the United States Churchill was more admired more revered more considered than in the UK.

I had some inkling of this from my time teaching American students and a year as a visiting professor of history in the US.

What is it about this Englishman born in the nineteenth century, active in the 20th century and yet still, apparently, commanding interest in the resolutely modern 21st century. Truly a man of three centuries.

This is surely a paradox, especially when set against Churchill's own claim that he was most certainly a Victorian 'I was a child of the Victoria era'. By his own assertion, he was old fashioned even by the standards of the day when he lived.

In the immediate aftermath of the terrible events of September 11th, Churchill's name was once again on the lips of many leaders, Mayor Rudy Giuliani and President George W. Bush to name perhaps the two most prominent who invoked the great man;

Invoked his spirit,

Invoked his legacy,

Were inspired by him,

Our own museum in Fulton saw a considerable spike, by its own modest standards, in the numbers of visitors.

They came then not to see where Churchill delivered the Iron Curtain address

But rather to know the man himself.

To be inspired by a figure they thought they knew or thought they should know.

Suddenly, Churchill seemed relevant in a fashion that few could likely have anticipated.

Once again, this year, with myriad crisis's of one type or another, Churchill's name is being mentioned similarly. My several Google alerts and other types of media tracking type counters were feeding me innumerable instances of Churchill's name or deeds being cited in all manner of publications.

What is it that makes this great but historical figure so appealing today

And what is it that makes this great historical British figure so appealing across the Atlantic in the United States in particular?

This appeal quite obviously transcends time ... transcends place.



# I contended then, as now, that those who don't care about Churchill are almost always those who don't know about Churchill.

Churchill of course was a proud half American

But the reasons for his longevity in the popular mind transcend this, also his most enduring qualities, determination, resolution, resilience, his forthright manner, his wit, are most certainly timeless qualities.

But I sometimes wonder whether they seem to exercise such a hold over us today in part because so often, it seems, that contemporary leaders are reluctant to demonstrate them in quite the same uncompromising fashion we think they could or, at the very least, with the frequency with which we believe they should.

All pre-supposing of course that they posses such qualities in the first place.

Churchill then is emblematic of what most of think a leader should be:

Emblematic of those many qualities I have just listed Emblematic of a willingness actually to lead.

but also tempered with this

so very human with all that that TOO implies. Too often, it seems, our leaders today deny this most basic characteristic of actually being human.

If this is true then it is just as true, surely, in the United States as it is in the United Kingdom

How can we account for this enduring legacy of WSC in the USA in particular?

A trite answer might be the well worn cliché that a prophet is always without honor in his own land? But Churchill certainly is not devoid of honor in his own land as this gathering attests to.

Churchill's American heritage surely does come into play

And was most extraordinarily proud of this

When Churchill journey to Fulton in the early spring of 1946 he did via Florida

And did so not by aeroplane, but, more leisurely, he travelled instead by train from Washington DC all the way to Jefferson City, Missouri, the State capitol.

Whilst on this train, the Presidential train, he was accompanied by incumbent President Harry S Truman-Truman who would make the same train famous for his 'whistlestop' campaigning.

It was Truman's hand written post script that likely clinched Churchill's acceptance of the offer to speak.

During the trip both Truman and Churchill and their

respective entourages played incessant games of poker. And during a brief pause in these card games (apparently at around 2:30

Churchill made the following comment:

'If I were to be born again, there

is but one country in which I would want to be born a citizen. There is one country where a man knows he has an unbounded future'.

When Churchill faced the inevitable rejoinder to this statement:

'Where might this country be?' He responded that the country in question was: 'The United States of America'. Churchill, however, qualified this declamation:

Adding: 'even though I deplore some of your customs'.

Prompted still further to elaborate on which customs in particular, he ended with: 'You stop drinking with your meals'. I concur. We are quite obviously NOT in the United States this evening!

Perhaps Churchill's appeal in the United States lies in the fact that he is perceived to be enduringly apolitical he is neither republican nor democrat

his appeal may be broadened in the United States because his both a liberal and a conservative

the notion of him changing parties seems quite quaint when viewed from afar.

It is in many ways curious thing that Winston Churchill seems to be so much more revered in the United States.

Would Sir Winston be dismayed at this turn of events? He might be somewhat dismayed to view how things have turned out on both sides of the Atlantic

But he was above all an optimist as he noted 'it does not seem to be much use being anything else'.

A couple of years ago I remember doing a radio interview for the BBC.

I forget, exactly, the programme but it was something on



Radio 4 about modes of remembrance in the United States in general and about the Winston Churchill Memorial in particular.

At the end of the interview, almost as an aside, the interviewer asked me, in that ever so slightly ironic way that the BBC does so well.

Indeed in the ever so slightly ironic way that the British do so well, whether it was faintly absurd that there should be a museum and a memorial to Churchill in the middle of Missouri and also whether, as I Briton myself, I could imagine there being a commensurate institution dedicated to for example FDR in rural England (Leicestershire was the county, I believe, the interviewer thought most akin to Missouri).

His question, whether this was the original intent or not rather made me think.

The real question that came to my mind was less concerned with the notion of a museum in a remote location but rather and more about how our respective nations consider our past in general and perhaps our heroes in particular. My answer to this question was that I thought that this was somewhat unlikely, the JFK memorial at Runnymeade not withstanding, and even allowing for the fact that the Churchill Museum, while obviously commemorating Churchill's life, owed its existence far more to a desire to commemorate a moment in history as to anything else.

I can't remember what I said precisely but afterwards I speculated less on the considerations of time and place and more on the notion that we, in Britain, rarely seem to give as much due as we might to historical figures, and perhaps far less than we used to, to boot. In Britain, we don't seem to allow ourselves to be inspired by heroes, certainly not publicly anyway. Despite such a rich tapestry of history and historical figures available to inspire, to motivate and to aspire to, too often it seems we don't avail ourselves of that opportunity.

The United States, by contrast, appears to feel no such reticence in taking a public inspiration from historical figures or indeed events.

Some 6 years ago I was in NYC talking with a British friend and he laughingly told me how he'd been invited to an event to commemorate the bi-centennial of the battle of Trafalgar. The subtext being 'these Americans, whatever next'.

At the time, I laughed along.

However, as I have spent more time in the USA, spent more time talking about Churchill I have come to a rather different conclusion.

It seemed to me, as a Briton, and one immensely proud of British history that the main overarching reason why Churchill is so revered in the USA went beyond his leadership, went beyond his optimism, went beyond all the considerations I have alluded to, although they all play a part.

But fundamentally Americans with the exuberance of a still young nation still WANT to be inspired, still want to aspire to something great.

Are still willing to have heroes.

It seemed to me also it was tremendously humbling that, in the land of so many and so varied heroes as George Washington, of Abraham Lincoln, of FDR and JFK, of Martin Luther King, of Ronald Reagan, that more often than mere coincidence or happenstance can account for, in this country where heroes can be heroic,

the hero, the figure to whom many turn is not an American at all, but Winston Churchill.

As an Englishman in the United States I find that both wonderful and humbling and just as Churchill himself could claim that he, were he able, would be born again as an American so too can the legacy and legend of Churchill live on in the United States in a fashion that oftentimes seems, from my perspective, to be easier to perpetuate than here at home.

I would hope however that just as Canning once called upon the new world to help redress the balance of the old so too the spirit of Churchill in the USA can inspire his memory here and

In doing so continue to nurture that unique relationship between our two nations

The relationship that never seemed more special than when Churchill lived.

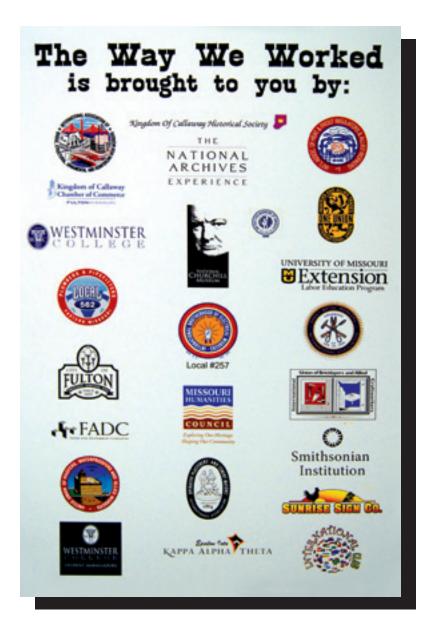
Long may that continue.



Liz Murphy
National Churchill Museum
Archivist/Curator

#### The Way We Worked Exhibit

Though The Way We Worked exhibit left the museum six months ago, its legacy lives on. The Way We Worked was a Smithsonian Exhibit which came to the museum in February and March of 2012. During its short eight-week run the museum saw hundreds of new visitors, logged hundreds of volunteer hours, and formed long lasting partnerships. This exhibit allowed us to reach beyond ourselves and involve ourselves in the community in ways we had not before.



So why revisit this exhibit? The last week of August I was alerted that the exhibit had won a Missouri Humanities Council Award! We were awarded The Exemplary Community Achievement award. After the enormous success of the exhibit opening we were encouraged to apply for this award. All of the organizations involved pulled together to nominate what we called 'The Kingdom at Work Project'. Receiving this nomination is a great feather in not only the museum's cap but also Callaway County's cap. This award, "Recognizes an individual or group who has made a special contribution to a community's understanding of and support for humanities-related endeavors on the local and/or state level."

This project did just that. It pulled key leaders of our community together to showcase to the state what makes Callaway County Work! We are grateful to our numerous partners and look forward to our next endeavor together!



#### New Accessions to the Museum's Collection

he National Churchill Museum has recently acquired several pieces from the son of Winston Churchill's Butler. Mr. Greenshield's father, William Greenshields, served Winston Churchill between 1948 and 1953. During his time of service Winston Churchill rewarded William Greenshields with the gifts, which are now on display at the museum.

We received two cigar humidors — one given to Churchill on the occasion of his brief visit to Cuba in advance of his visit to Fulton in 1946 and the other a gift from FDR — a wooden clothing brush, a small leather bed side clock and a copy of several Time-Life magazine shots of Churchill and William Greenshields together as Churchill paints. These pieces are wonderful additions to our collection.



Mandy Plybon

Education & Public

Programs Coordinator

"It important for the education and public programs department to have its own mission, one that responds and dovetails with the Museum's overarching mission."

#### **School & Community Programs Update**

hilst reflecting on how our school and community programs have progressed over the last five years, I realized that something is missing; a departmental mission statement. I came across a number of institutions whose education departments have their own mission statement that focus singly on departmental tasks but also reflect back on the greater, institutional, mission. Just as the National Churchill Museum has its own mission I think it important for the education and public programs department to have its own mission, one that responds and dovetails with the Museum's overarching mission. The mission and values statement below is something the department can use as a guideline for future planning.

#### MISSION STATEMENT FOR MUSEUM'S EDUCATION & PUBLIC PROGRAMS DEPARTMENT

The mission of National Churchill Museum Education & Public Programs Department is to offer programs, tours, resources, and materials that support the museum's mission to inspire leadership and cultural enrichment through:

- Employing Winston Churchill, his life and times as a gateway to learning; inspiring and cultivating creativity, critical-thinking, and leadership
- Engaging a variety of audiences and becoming a center for community programming
- Equipping educators with strategies and resources to demonstrate the significance of Winston Churchill and his life and times in the classroom
- Educating youth and families in ways that encourage and enrich their own appreciation of Winston Churchill and the Museum
- Position the Museum as a meaningful part of a well-rounded life
- Work with partners who support the community through shared values and interests

#### We want our audiences to

- Be curious and think creatively
- Make meaningful connections
- Learn about and reflect on the culture at large
- Recognize the importance of Winston Churchill and his visit to Fulton
- Engage with history in playful and experimental ways





#### Be curious and think creatively!



Day Camp for Kids, June 2012

#### VALUES STATEMENT FOR THE EDUCATION & PUBLIC PROGRAMS DEPARTMENT

In practice, our values affect action, shaping the Education & Public Programs Department's daily work and decision-making. They also reflect what staff wish to instill among visitors and uphold in working with program leaders.

#### 1. Engagement with past and present

To connect with Winston Churchill and his life and times we look to his leadership and principles, his life, and his times, leading visitors to a deeper understanding and appreciation of Churchill, social history, and the role they both play in our culture.

#### 2. Sustained connections

We aspire to create long-term relationships with our audiences in order to foster a deeper understanding of and love for Winston Churchill and his life and times and a personal connection with the Museum. By working with community partners and through extended programs, we aim to create a lasting impact in the lives of our participants.

#### 3. Experimentation and reflection

We challenge ourselves to be creative and innovative in everything we do. With the inquisitive spirit of our visitors in mind, we test out new ideas and approaches, followed by a thorough practice of inquiry and reflection. It is through this cycle of experimentation that we design, implement, and evaluate our programs.

#### 4. Immersion through creativity and play

We believe the immersive experience allows our visitors to best experience Winston Churchill and our Museum. We strive to create programming that uses hands-on, group-oriented methods allowing participants the opportunity to be in a playful, creative space while learning about Churchill and his life and times.



Kit Freudenberg

Director of Development

**Thomas C. Whitmarsh**, businessman, and **James H. Williams**, Professor of History and Director of The Albert Gore Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University

#### What do these two men have in common?

Both men attended Westminster College (Class of 1922 and Class of 1986) and both pledged Beta Theta Pi. As Churchillians, they began supporting the then-named Winston Churchill Memorial and Library through donations and memberships.

Both men also determined that they would support Churchill's legacy through estate planning.

Today, more than ever before, the National Churchill Museum brings Churchill's legacy and example to new generations through quality publications and exceptional exhibitions and programs.

To do all this, the Museum needs strong endowment and program support that will prove a stable source of income, allow for the Museum to plan for its future in a sustainable fashion. A planned gift becomes a permanent legacy and provides benefits to the Museum year after year, generation after generation, nurturing and supporting the Churchill legacy.

For many members and friends of the Museum, a planned gift demonstrates their appreciation and commitment to Churchill's legacy – and their desire to provide stability and continuity to this nation's only exhibiting and collecting repository of all things Churchill. In addition to supporting the Museum, planned giving can often provide significant financial benefits to the donor. These benefits include substantial tax deductions and income to donors or their loved ones, as well as other benefits available depending on the donor's circumstances and objectives.

A bequest is one of the simplest and most popular ways to make a gift and a great way to help the Museum. By including the Museum in your will, you can help ensure the quality of the Museum's collections and programs for generations to come. Whether you wish to provide general operating income for the Museum or to support specific department or program, your bequest expresses your lasting commitment to Churchill.

We invite you join with Mr. Thomas C. Whitmarsh and Dr. James H. Williams and become part of the tradition of giving that built the National Churchill Museum and has sustained it for over 40 years.

For more information, please call us at 573-592-5022 or email Kit.Freudenberg@churchillmemorial.org



Dr. Rob Havers, Boris Johnson (the Mayor of London), Allen Packwood (Director of the Churchill **College Archives** Centre) and Alice Martin (Chartwell) pose together at the opening of the "Churchill, the Power of Words" exhibition at the Morgan Library in New York City.





### A Day To Remember ...

Contact our Wedding Representative at 573.592.5234 for more information.

#### THE CHURCHILLIAN CROSSWORD

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Crossword designed by Richard J. Mahoney and Brendon Emmett Quigley

Puzzle answers to be published on the Museum's website, www.NationalChurchillMuseum.org, after Oct. 15, 2012.

ACROSS		72	Brief "More than I want	33	"Every day Churchill had ten			
1	Sign of stress		to know!"		, only one of which was			
4	One bite in Bangkok?	73	A dot in the ocean		good, and I did not know which one" (attrib. to Staff			
11	Gray and Candler 74		of a garden hose (FDR characterization		Chief Alan Brooke)			
15	Man-mouse linkup		of "Lend Lease")	34	"The Great Beyond" band			
16	WSC named PM in1940,	75	END OF THE APHORISM	35	Hearty swallows			
	the course of history	79	Nora, once of "SNL"	36	"what is our policy?			
17	In one end and out the other,	80	McCain is one		to war against a monstrous tyranny"			
	for short	81	Blenheim-to-London direction	37	"Quislingswill carry the			
18	START OF AN APHORISM BY WSC	82	Ms. from Cadiz		of mankind" (June, 1941)			
20	Property right	83	"Only learn from mistakes"	38	Life time?			
21	Nautical term		(WSC attribution)	39	Flying dust (Nickname for			
22	French Dadaist	84	Marais Cygnes (river in	40	WW 2 Churchill Tank) League			
23			Missouri)	41	Obama White House			
	Xhosa, for example	DOWN		11	(return of WSC bust to Britain)			
24	APHORISM, PART 2			43	Middle-of-the-card-table			
29	Motor-oil & gasoline additive brand	1	special (menu board heading)		money			
30	WSC injury locale Dec., 1931	2	1950 Isaac Asimov collection	44	HI-strung instrument?			
31	Fish with toxic blood	2	of sci-fi short stories	45	Later name for WSC term "Soviet Russia sphere": Abbr.			
32	APHORISM, PART 3	3	Fence in, as at a zoo	47	Clothing			
		4	Hamas rival grp.	48	Disney's Center			
33 35	Big 3 meeting locale Nov., 1943 Fast fowl	5	FromZ	49	Churchill's head			
		6	Northern Illinois University city	54	On an even (Unlikely state			
38	Went along with	7	Cape Cod resort		to find the peripatetic WSC			
41	Valley, Pakistan (site of WSC book "The Story Of The	8	River horse, for short		duing WW2)			
	Malakand Field Force")	9	Insect WSC said Soviet Russia	55	Vice (Lord Randolph's title once.)			
42	Gateway components		was modeled on	56	" this is not the"			
46	APHORISM, PART 4	10	" to Extremes"		(victory in battle of El Alamein			
50	Singer formerly of the group		(Billy Joel hit)		Nov. 1942 speech)			
	Clannad	11	Words after "attorney"	57	Gives way			
51	" the heathen may	12	Clamber (up), as a mast	58	Playing city-to-city			
	but the author is secure"	13	"Am not!" comeback	59	U.N. successor of Dag Hammarskjöld			
50	(WSC at Authors's Club 1906)	14	Romney advisor John	61	Popular sleep aid			
52	"He's a Right Guy" composer Cole	16	mater (Harrow School for WSC)	62	Like WSC paintings at			
53	Gets around	19	Anatomical bag		Sotheby today			
56	Micro or macro subj.	23	Butcher and policy	63	Mood of WSC when painting			
57	APHORISM, PART 5		(indiscriminate attacks on	64	Carpet fibers			
60			military and civilian targets	66	Hair coloring			
	End of an (Jan. 24, 1965)		used in WSC's time)	67	Little cases Stupefy			
61	Acronym used at Dunbarton Oaks Conf. 1944 by WSC and	25	The "T" of NAFTA	68 69	Nothing, in Nancy			
	FDR for proposed world	26	" many forms of government have been tried and will be tried	70	Lawyer's title: Abbr.			
	governing body		in this world of and woe"	75	It puts you off course			
62	Rock guitarist Steve		(WSC on Democracy)	76	"Either he goes go!"			
65	APHORISM, PART6	27	C&W's Toby	77	Get for effort			
71	Julius Rosenberg's wife	28	Alphabetic run	78	Indian pita relative			

# 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.

#### CHURCHILL ON THE ARTS

Connoisseurs of the Churchillian wit should not miss comparing the way Churchill referred to Neville Chamberlain in his 1938 Royal Academy speech with the way he referred to President Truman in his "Iron Curtain" speech at Fulton.

Churchill chose to acknowledge the presence of both heads of government quite differently. At Fulton in March 1946 he welcomed Truman, "Amid his heavy burdens, duties, and responsibilities—unsought but not recoiled from." At the Royal Academy he welcomed Chamberlain, "Amid his many anxieties." Subtle, but effective!

-Roger LeGoff, Queens, N.Y.

#### PRAISE FOR THE CHURCHILLIAN

The Summer *Churchillian* arrived today and I loved it. I was so taken by the cover that I sat down and read it through. I cannot convey my excitement too strongly as to the quality of this magazine and how it represents our passion for Churchill.

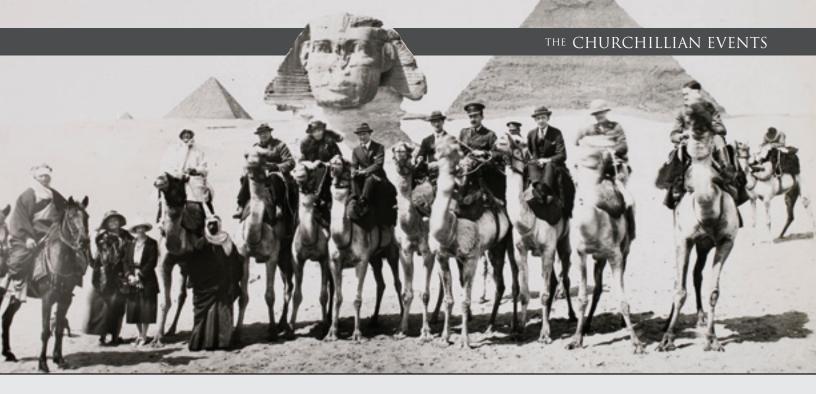
I particularly appreciated our response to the reader who complained about the proper use of race and not being PC. I recall an earlier article somewhere in which I believe that Churchill, himself, warned against that same fault of judging with today's prism the world of yesteryear.

James Schmuck, Wildwood, Misosuri

We were happy to renew our membership. I had intended to write earlier to compliment all involved on the much improved quality of the magazine, which reflects so well the quality of the museum.

You may remember that we met in 2006 when my daughter and I attended the 60th anniversary celebration of the Iron Curtain speech. I was so glad to see the improved museum—most impressive. Things have come a long way since 1969 when, as a senior at the University of Kansas, I skipped my classes to attend the Memorial's dedication!

Clyde W. Toland, Iola, Kansas



#### **OCTOBER**

- 4 Extended Hours Night
  4:30 pm-7:00 pm | Cost of admission
- 8 Annual Holiday Honor Tree begins
  Start sending in photos of your military
  loved ones; Tree goes up November 1

#### **NOVEMBER**

Annual Holiday Honor Tree Goes Up (until January 1)

**Extended Hours Night** 

4:30 pm-7:00 pm | Cost of admission

8 Annual Victorian Christmas Sale Begins
(Runs through December 31)

**Kettledrum Tea** 

10:00 am-4:30 pm | Free | Reservations appreciated

**Evening Shopping** 

4:30 pm-7:00 pm | Free

9 Fall of the Berlin Wall Anniversary

- 10 Victorian Christmas Weekend Celebration
- 11 Veteran's Day

  Free admission for all veterans

#### Wit & Wisdom Speaker Series

Our Supreme Task:
How Winston Churchill's Iron Curtain
Speech Defined The Cold War Alliance
2:00 pm-3:00 pm | Free | Reservations appreciated

- Thanksgiving Day

  Museum closed
- 30 Winston Churchill's Birthday

#### **DECEMBER**

- 5 Extended Hours Night 4:30 pm-7:00 pm | General Admission
- 25 Christmas Day
  Museum closed

NATIONAL CHURCHILL MUSEUM 501 Westminster Avenue Fulton, Missouri 65251

#### **CHURCHILL'S ENGLAND TO NORMANDY TOUR 2013**

TOUR A: MAY 21 - JUNE 1, 2013 | TOUR B: JULY 7 - JULY 18, 2013 | FEATURING PRIVATE EVENTS & BEHIND-THE-SCENE TOURS



#### RELIVE THE EPIC STORY OF THE INVASION OF NORMANDY 1944

A close and personal look into Churchill's leadership of a nation under siege and enormous task ahead for D-Day, June 6, 1944. Experience this epic story as only the National Churchill Museum can tell it with expert guides and behind the scenes access!

Spaces on this tour are limited to 24 travelers per tour. Please register your interest as soon as possible.



#### **TOUR DETAILS**

- Escorted 12-day tour in England and France with Dr. Rob Havers
- Private events with military historians and expert guides
- All breakfasts, welcome event and farewell dinner cruise on the River Seine
- Tour transport includes luxury motor coach and ferry boat to France
- Partal listing of venues: Westminster Abbey, Imperial War Museum Duxford,
   Portsmouth and D-Day Museum,
- D-Day Beaches and Caen Memorial, Musée Memorial d'Omaha, Pointe du Hoc, Cabinet War Rooms, Saint-Mere-Eglise, Musee de L'Armee, Arc de Triomphe and Memorial de Leclerc and Musee Jean Moulin
- Deluxe Hotel Accommodations in London and Paris, all applicable taxes, meal gratuities and baggage handling fees

For additional tour information, contact Kit Freudenberg by calling 573-592-5022 or email kit.freudenberg@churchillmemorial.org.

