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A BANTAM EXTRA

CHURCHILL

IN MEMORIAM



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HIS LIFE
HIS DEATH
HIS DEEDS AND WISDOM
EDITED BY THE STAFF OF
New York Times

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

THE MAN OF THE CENTURY—

A MEMORIAL IN WORDS AND PICTURES

IN DEATH—THE WORLD REMEMBERS AND PAYS TRIBUTE

Including a historic account of the circumstances surrounding Churchill's death and a summary of the reactions of a mourning world, with statements by famous world figures on the greatness of Churchill.

HIS LIFE AND TIMES

From his birth at Blenheim Palace to leadership of Britain during the dark days of the Second World War and his final years—a special commemorative biography prepared by *The New York Times*.

HIS WIT AND WISDOM

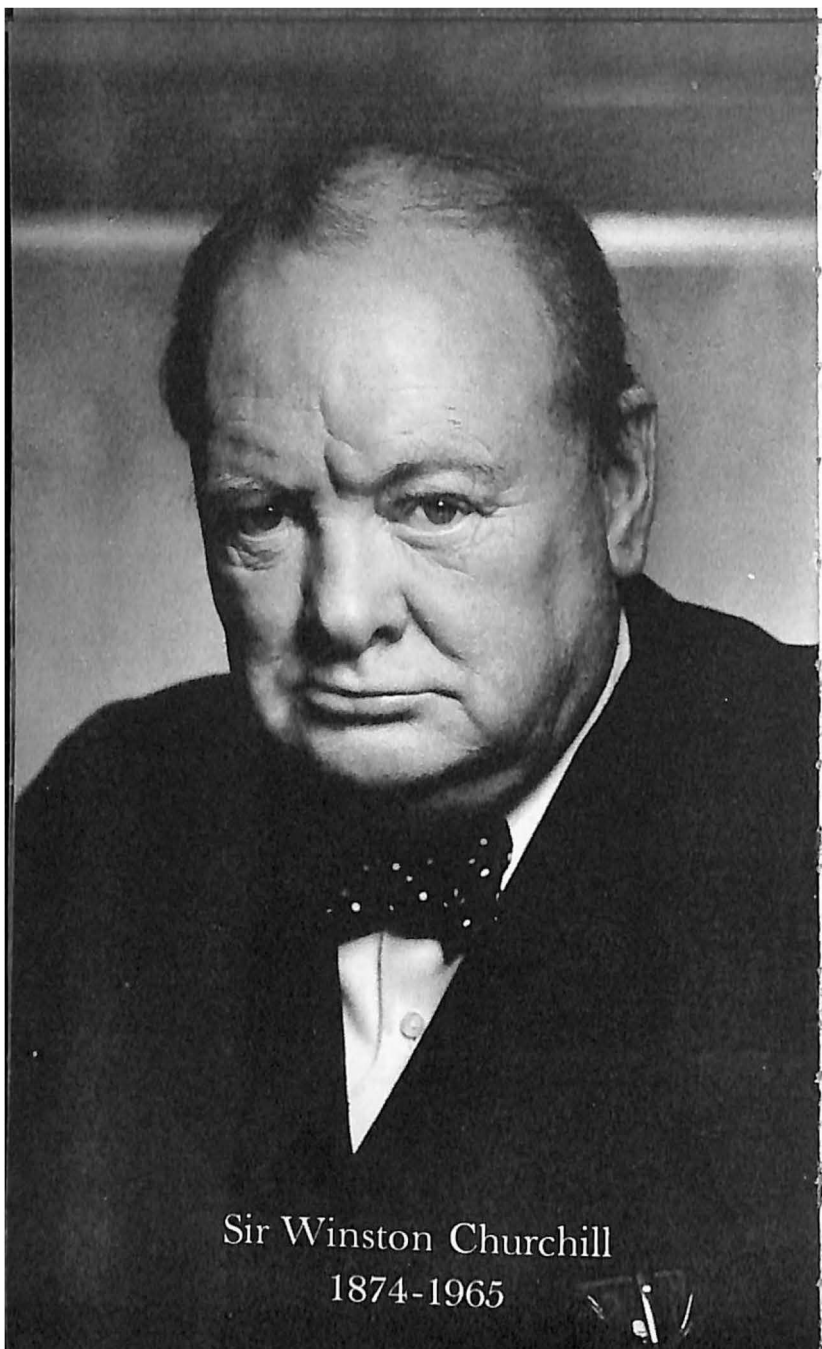
Excerpts from Churchill's immortal speeches and writings illustrating the inspiration, the humor and the power which won him a permanent place in the hearts of all men.

IN MEMORIAM
A HISTORIC TRIBUTE—A LASTING MEMORIAL TO

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

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Sir Winston Churchill
1874-1965

CHURCHILL

Written and Edited by the Staff of
THE NEW YORK TIMES

Illustrated with photographs





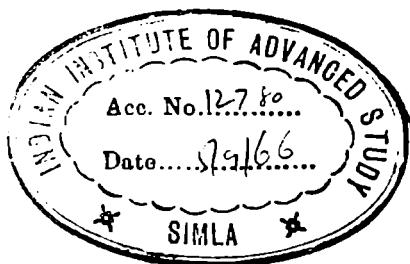
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CHURCHILL

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ABOUT THIS BOOK

The text for this book was prepared by members of *The New York Times* under the direction of Harrison E. Salisbury and Alden Whitman. The Part entitled "His Life and Times" was written by Raymond Daniell and Kenneth Campbell.

The portrait on the cover (a detail from a larger study) is the work of the uniquely gifted photographer Yousuf Karsh of Ottawa. The photograph was taken in 1955 on the occasion of a ceremonial dinner at which Sir Winston was given the Williamsburg Award. The frontispiece of the book, also the work of Yousuf Karsh, was taken in Ottawa in 1941 when Churchill addressed the Canadian Parliament. Karsh says of this portrait, "Instinctively I removed the cigar. At this the Churchillian scowl deepened, the head was thrust forward belligerently and the hand placed on the hip in an attitude of anger. So he stands in my portrait in what has always seemed to me the image of England in those years, defiant and unconquerable."

The coat-of-arms on the back of the book is that of the family of the Duke of Marlborough (Spencer-Churchill). Sir Winston Churchill was a cousin of the present Duke of Marlborough. The first Churchill was made Duke of Marlborough in 1702 as a reward for his brilliant military feats on the Continent. The two wyvern (serpents) supporting the shield are symbolic of the Duke's loyal supporters in battle. The shield itself with its Cross of St. George and three Golden Lilies of France commemorates his great victory at Blenheim (on the Danube) which also gave the family seat its name. The motto below reads "Faithful, though unfortunate." (This coat-of-arms is used by permission of His Grace the Duke of Marlborough.)

PART I

HIS DEATH

LINES WRITTEN
 IN HONOR OF
 SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL

By John Masefield, Poet Laureate of England

*The Divine Fortune watching Life's affairs,
justly endowed him with what Fortune may,
with sense of Storm and where the Centre lay,
with tact of deed, in some wise witty way,*

*fortune of parents came in equal shares,
with England's wisest mingling with the West,
a startling newness, making better best,
a newness putting old things to a test . . .*

*So, when convulsion came, and direst need,
when, in a mess of Nations overthrown,
this England stood at bay, and stood alone,
his figure, then commanding, stood as stone,*

*or, speaking, uttered like the very breed
of Francis Drake, disaster being near,
one solemn watchword, to have done with fear.
Thence, without other drum-beat, all took cheer,
content with such a Captain, such a Creed.*

(The following material was compiled by The New York Times on January 24, 1965, the day of Sir Winston Churchill's death.)

CHURCHILL DIES AT NINETY

By Anthony Lewis

Sir Winston Churchill's struggle for life ended this morning.

He died just after 8 a.m., Sunday, January 24, in the tenth day of grave illness after a stroke. He was in his 91st year.

The people he cherished and inspired and led through darkness mourned him as they have no other in this age.

Britons small and great—village curate, Prime Minister and Queen—paid him tribute through the day and this evening. Statesmen around the world joined in homage to one they recognize as the greatest of their age.

Parliament will meet tomorrow to authorize a state funeral, the first held for a commoner in this century. And for the rest of this week public affairs will be slowed almost to a stop in deference to the ceremonies.

The body will lie in state Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, in Westminster Hall, the lofty medieval chamber adjoining Sir Winston's real home, Parliament. Then, on Saturday, will come the state funeral.

World leaders will walk two miles from Westminster to St. Paul's Cathedral. There, under the magnificent Christopher Wren dome, whose dark outlines against a reddened sky was a symbol of wartime London, the services will be held.

After the funeral services the body is expected to be taken down to the Thames, placed on a barge and moved to the south bank of the river near Waterloo Station. It will go by train to Blenheim Palace, the ancestral home where Sir Winston was born.

He will be buried in the nearby country churchyard at Bladon Village. There also are the graves of his mother and his father, Lord Randolph Churchill, who died 70 years ago today.

President Johnson, who is now in the hospital with a chest

ailment, is expected to fly here for the funeral if his doctors permit. If not, he will probably send either Vice President Humphrey or Chief Justice Earl Warren.

President de Gaulle of France, who so often clashed with Sir Winston as his wartime colleague, will almost certainly be here for the funeral. So will many other heads of governments.

British politics, which had just come to a point of fierce tension, will be frozen through this week.

Conservatives, emboldened by their by-election gains, had expected to move to the attack in the House of Commons. A Gallup Poll today showing them exactly even with Labor gave them more encouragement.

But all that is off for the moment. Parliament is expected to adjourn for the week or deal only with non-partisan matters.

Perhaps the most remarkable tribute to Sir Winston was paid tonight by *The Times* of London. It broke, for him, its deeply established rule of carrying classified advertisements, not news, on page one.

Monday's editions had pictures and news of Sir Winston's death on the front page. The classifieds were moved to page three—for the first time since World War I.

At St. Paul's this morning the State Bell, "Great Tom," was tolled. It is usually rung only for death of Royalty, certain clergy or the Lord Mayor of London.

Tonight the lights in Piccadilly Circus were out. The advertisers, whose garish signs are a symbol of London for so many, decided to pay their respects with darkness tonight and again on Saturday after the funeral.

Londoners, during this last long struggle, had come to accept Sir Winston's death as inevitable. There was little here today of the shock and horror of the reaction to President Kennedy's death.

Nevertheless, even those who consider themselves unsentimental found they had difficult moments as they were reminded of the great Churchillian days.

The radio followed the announcement of his death this morning with Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, whose opening theme evoked memories of Sir Winston's "V for Victory" signal. No one who had lived through World War II was unaffected at the music today.

Then there came the sound of Sir Winston's voice—recordings of some of the speeches that aroused a whole people to deeds of valor in World War II.

"We shall never surrender." It was such Churchillian words as these—and the conviction they carried when he spoke them

—that many believe saved Britain, and other great nations, from defeat and subjection to Hitler.

The weekly journal, *The Spectator*, put it this weekend:

"We are a free people because a man called Winston Churchill lived."

It is as the great war Prime Minister that he will above all be recorded. But those who mourned him today, in his own country and around the world, were moved by much more than that.

He was a great personality, not just a great statesman. He was human—more than other beings—with emotions and desires and faults. "A lovable fallible man," *The Spectator* said.

Conformity was his enemy. He loved to break rules. He drank wine for breakfast when it pleased him to do so, and champagne and brandy and whisky in quantities through the rest of the day. He smoked cigars continuously. He never exercised, and his health was amazing.

He lived on controversy. The adjectives often applied to him are pugnacious and combative. He was famous for ridicule and invective in parliamentary debate—for witticisms such as the one he applied to the Puritan figure of Stafford Cripps:

"There, but for the grace of God, goes God."

"His obstinacy was exhausting," Harold Macmillan, the former Prime Minister said on a television program tonight. But he went on to say that the other side of that coin was "undefeatable determination."

Mr. Macmillan touched also on another aspect of Sir Winston's character: "His puckish sense of humor, his tremendous sense of fun, his quick alternation between grave and gay."

It was in 1906 that he invented a term to get around a House of Commons ban on the word "lie." He spoke of another member's "terminological inexactitude."

He was this age's nearest equivalent to a Renaissance man.

He was soldier, escaped war prisoner, historian, novelist orator, journalist, as well as politician.

He spent 60 years in the House of Commons but found time to write more than two dozen books. He was a lover of good food and drink and pretty women.

"Ah, well he had a good life," a workingman said today on the steps of St. Paul's.

In the midst of war and grand strategy, as he himself recorded in his history of World War II, he had time to note the pleasures of the flesh in Marrakech in Morocco, and the plumbing in Yalta. He had a passion for detail.

It was the life force burning within him that Londoners remember above all today.

"His power seemed to be turned on all the time," a wartime colleague, General Sir Ian Jacob, has written.

Even his diction was a triumph of will. He overcame a severe stammer and a lisp; indeed the traces of those disabilities made his voice the more compelling.

This weekend the *Economist* disclosed an episode revealing Sir Winston's attitude toward the prospect of defeat and death.

At the end of the war, before the 1945 election that he lost, *The Times* of London prepared an editorial suggesting that he campaign as a non-partisan world leader and retire gracefully rather soon afterward. The editor first informed Sir Winston he was going to make these two points:

"Mr. Editor," he said to the first, "I fight for my corner." And, as to the second:

"Mr. Editor, I leave when the pub closes."

The end was signaled this morning when Sir Winston's doctor and old friend, Lord Moran, arrived at the house at 7:18. He gave the death announcement to the Press Association at 8:35, after informing Queen Elizabeth and the Prime Minister Harold Wilson.

A spokesman said:

"Sir Winston died in peace and without pain."

At the bedside when death came were Lady Churchill and their three living children—Randolph, Sarah and Mary, Mrs. Christopher Soames.

Other survivors include ten grandchildren: Randolph's children, Winston and Arabella; five of the Soameses, Nicholas, Jeremy, Emma, Charlotte and Rupert Christopher; and three by his late daughter, Diana, Mrs. Duncan Sandys: Julian, Celia and Edwina, Mrs. Piers Dixon.

There are also three great-grandchildren. Two are Mrs. Dixon's children, Mark and Hugo. The third still unnamed, was a boy born to young Winston Churchill's wife last Friday evening.

Sir Winston had been failing for some years. His last public appearance came last November 30, his 90th birthday, when he waved to a crowd from the window of his town house. He seemed in good spirits but feeble.

A few years earlier he had been visited by a *New York Times* columnist, Cyrus Sulzberger, at his beloved country home in Chartwell, Kent, where he liked to putter about in the gardens and lay bricks. Mr. Sulzberger recorded this incident as they walked through the garden:

"On his path lay the corpse of a baby bird. Churchill

stopped, pointed with his cane, tried unsuccessfully to speak. One small tear trickled down his cheek. The old pirate was looking at death—as it comes to others, weak beings, not himself.”

He was irreverent about death as about life. On his 75th birthday he was asked if he had any fear of death.

“I am ready to meet my maker,” he replied. “Whether my maker is prepared for the great ordeal of meeting me is another matter.”

THE LAST DAYS

For ten days, from the first crisp announcement just after noon on Friday, January 15, that Sir Winston Churchill was “unwell,” the man who was the legend of his own lifetime fought a stubborn losing battle with death.

Three hours after the world learned that Sir Winston was ailing, a bulletin signed by Lord Moran, his old friend and personal physician, and by Lord Brain, a neurologist, said that the 90-year-old former Prime Minister, after coming down with a cold, had suffered a cerebral thrombosis; in layman’s terms a stroke.

Surgery was ruled out as a way of relieving the clotted artery carrying blood to his brain, because of Sir Winston’s advanced age.

It was also decided by Sir Winston’s doctors that it was unnecessary, or perhaps futile, to attempt to move him from his home in Kensington to a hospital.

Through the ten-day vigil, anxious crowds gathered first before the home at 28 Hyde Park Gate and finally, at Lady Churchill’s request, at the entrance to the secluded cul-de-sac.

Whatever hope there may have been, it seemed to lie mainly in the stamina of the great man himself. But Sir Winston’s strength had been severely taxed in his last dozen years.

In 1953 he fell ill, and canceled a planned trip to Bermuda for talks with President Eisenhower. The precise nature of the illness was not disclosed, but it was presumed to be a cerebral thrombosis; later Sir Winston said in the House of Commons that it “paralyzed me completely physically.”

In 1958, while vacationing in the south of France, he got pneumonia and developed pleurisy; he also slowed his re-

covery by persistently getting up to paint at his bedside.

Two years later, when he was nearly 86, Sir Winston fell at his home in London and fractured a bone in his back.

In 1962, in Monte Carlo, he fell again and fractured his left thigh. He was operated on there, and in London; he developed phlebitis, an inflammation of a vein, and then a bronchial infection during his long convalescence. He was in Middlesex Hospital for 54 days.

Sir Winston went occasionally after that to the House of Commons, but he did not appear there after last July 27. Since then an infrequent reference to a "slight indisposition" had been the only official mention of his health until it was learned January 15 that he had been brought down by a stroke.

There was a further medical bulletin that day which said ominously:

"He is slipping into deeper sleep and is not conscious of pain or discomfort."

When Lord Moran left the house that night he was asked if Sir Winston was conscious. "I don't think I am going to answer that," he replied.

Nor did he, for the bulletins that followed regularly never contained more definite references than "peaceful," "restful," "restless," "slept through the day," or "slept peacefully."

But the bulletins, usually at midday and evening, never more than a sentence or two long, carried their terrible impact in their brevity.

By the end of the second day, Sir Winston was reported to be "a little weaker."

On Sunday a bulletin said:

". . . Sir Winston has had a peaceful day but he has lost ground."

On Monday:

". . . he is a little weaker, but otherwise there is nothing to report."

At 2 A.M. on Tuesday, Lord Moran was called to Sir Winston's home. He stayed five and a half hours, and then read this bulletin:

"Sir Winston has had a very restless night, and his condition has deteriorated."

That night there was no appreciable change in his condition, and while the nation watched and waited, much of its normal political life seemed to have come to a halt.

Political trips and speeches were postponed. A strike was

called off. On Wednesday Parliament was to have celebrated its 700th anniversary, and that was called off.

That night, after his third visit of the day, Lord Moran issued another ominous bulletin:

"The weakness of Sir Winston's circulation is more marked. There is nothing else to report."

On Thursday there was again "no change" in Sir Winston's condition, and to an anxious nation it seemed that the great warrior would not be brought down without defying to the last those laws that apply to ordinary men.

But on Friday night there was again "some deterioration." A British Medical Association spokesman said:

"I think it is inconceivable that he can recover from this. I still believe it is a great tribute to his will and character."

Last night the bulletin said:

"The deterioration in Sir Winston's condition is more marked."

Just after 7 o'clock Sunday morning Sir Winston's son Randolph, and his son Winston, drove up to the house in the early morning drizzle. Lord Moran arrived a quarter of an hour later. Then other members of the family began to arrive, and a crowd gathered silently at Hyde Park Gate.

The news of Sir Winston's death came in an 18-word bulletin signed by Lord Moran:

"Shortly after 8 A.M. Sunday, 24th January, Sir Winston Churchill died at his London home."

THE WORLD PAYS TRIBUTE

From London by James Feron

News of Sir Winston Churchill's death came to millions of Britons today through the familiar wartime theme of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony.

The opening bars, with their recurrent three short and one long notes, had become the "V for Victory" theme of World War II.

When the British Broadcasting Corporation interrupted its morning schedule to play the Symphony, its stirring melody told as much to an expectant nation as the somber preceding announcement.

A railroad porter at a suburban station heard of Sir Winston's death from a commuter. "Ah, well," he said, "he'd had a good life."

A woman passing Westminster Hall, where Sir Winston will lie in state, noticed flags at half mast and asked a newsdealer, "Is he dead?" The newsdealer said he was and the woman, nodding with brisk finality, walked on.

At the entrance of Hyde Park Gate, the short and fashionable dead end street where the former Prime Minister lived at Number 28, a woman speaking to a French radio reporter soon was in tears.

Neighbors joined the knot of reporters and photographers there when they heard the news on the radio. Some were elderly persons who could remember Sir Winston's early years. There were children, too, brought by their parents to share a moment of history. The crowd grew as the day wore on until it numbered about 500 by evening.

To most Britons who spoke of Sir Winston, there was little hint of tragedy in the solemn day. A number of Londoners spoke of him affectionately as "Mr." Churchill, recalling his exploits with a zeal unmarked by his passing.

At Hyde Park Corner, a bearded Scotsman carrying a banner with photographs of the late President Kennedy and President Johnson, referred to "Winnie" as only one of the many "rich men who seem to end up leading us."

The Churchill name was an ingredient of the argument and yet there seemed to be no disrespect.

In the little Kent village of Westerham, near Chartwell, Sir Winston's country home, Canon A. A. Chapman struck a familiar note in referring puckishly to the late statesman.

Canon Chapman said that, even in death, Sir Winston was "quite unconquered." Recalling that Sir Winston had been a journalist, the Canon pointed out that the final news had come when the London papers had gone to press and were published.

"I feel that with an impish smile, and the twinkling school-boy humor, he knows quite well what he has done," Canon Chapman said.

The casual and familiar feeling that Britons expressed for their former Prime Minister in quiet conversation served as a backdrop to the more somber expressions of public mourning.

Piccadilly Circus, London's Times Square, will remain unlit tonight and again on Saturday, the day of the funeral as a mark of respect. Flags throughout the nation will remain at half mast tomorrow and on Saturday.

The boys of Harrow School, where Sir Winston was a spectacularly unsuccessful pupil, held a special dedication service tonight. Harrow's most famous pupil enjoyed returning to the school each year where he would weep unashamedly during the singing of the school song, "40 Years On."

Britons heard many of Sir Winston's most famous speeches on special radio programs and watched television tributes to his long and varied career.

Among the stirring speeches he made, one was recalled as being particularly fitting on the day of his death. It was a tribute he made 13 years ago on the death of King George VI.

In it, Sir Winston tried to comfort Britons with the thought that their monarch had lived a full and glorious life, and that death had not come as an enemy. In words that foretold the manner of his own passing, Sir Winston said:

"... The King walked with death as if death were a companion, an acquaintance which he recognized and did not fear. In the end, death came as a friend . . . he fell asleep as every man or woman who strives to fear God and nothing else in the world, may hope to do."

From Paris by Drew Middleton

France mourned Sir Winston Churchill tonight as though he had been one of her sons. To the French he was the Father of Victory in World War II.

General de Gaulle who will attend the funeral of his old comrade-in-arms set the tone for France's sorrow with a stately and moving tribute.

"France feels profoundly the grief which has stricken Britain," the President said in a message to Queen Elizabeth II.

"For all in my country and for myself, Sir Winston is, and will forever remain, the one who, in directing to final victory the admirable effort of Great Britain, contributed powerfully to the salvation of the French people and to the liberty of the world.

"In the great drama, he was the greatest.

"I pray that Your Majesty will accept my very respectful and very saddened homage."

To Lady Churchill the General sent a message "From the bottom of the heart" telling her that news of Sir Winston's death had aroused the greatest sorrow in France.

"For myself," de Gaulle said, "I see the departure in the person of so great a man, my wartime companion and my friend."

At de Gaulle's order, the French flag will fly at half mast for twenty-four hours to honor the memory of Sir Winston.

From every quarter of France and from every political party, except the communists, came tributes to this most English of Englishmen who had been France's friend, counsellor, and ally in two World Wars.

One of the most poignant came from another celebrated Englishman, W. Somerset Maugham, who will celebrate his ninety-first birthday tomorrow.

"We have lost the greatest man of our time and personally I have lost an old, old friend—and I'm extremely unhappy."

Paul Reynaud, premier of France and ally of Sir Winston in the dark days of 1940, said flatly:

"Churchill was the greatest man of our time.

"During the terrible hours when the Germans poured into Northern France, the most tragic hours for France, there was never a reproachful word between us," Reynaud recalled.

French radio and television devoted long programs to reviews of Sir Winston's life and to tributes by French leaders. The former were weighted rather heavily to show that General de Gaulle and the British Prime Minister were close and friendly collaborators during the war, a description that would surprise most historians of the period.

The permanent council of North Atlantic Treaty Organization will meet tomorrow to pay tribute to Sir Winston.

The most spontaneous and moving grief came from the people of Paris, mostly those now in their forties and older; these were the men and women who had crouched in cold rooms over erratic radios to hear at the risk of their freedom that firm voice promise victory in halting defiant French.

An American in Auteuil heard the first news from the woman at the newspaper kiosk.

"He's dead," she said and there was no need to ask who "he" was. "What a man that was. Poor England."

In the quiet little bars in the side streets this rainy night, they were talking about him as though he could not die.

Frenchmen had seen him in North Africa striding across the sand with field marshals trotting at his heels. Many remembered him driving up the Champs Élysées on Armistice Day 1944, vital and confident.

Winston Churchill seems to have entered into the life of the French people as perhaps no other foreigner ever has.

An elderly lawyer explained it.

"Churchill offered us all that was best in the English, fortitude, loyalty, courage, perhaps that touch of ruthlessness that

is necessary in war. We always knew he was a friend, a harsh friend at times, but a friend."

From World Leaders

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, *President of the United States*: When there was darkness in the world and hope was low in the hearts of men, a generous Providence gave us Winston Churchill. As long as men tell of that time of terrible danger and of the men who won the victory, the name of Churchill will live. Let us give thanks that we knew him. With our grief let there be gratitude for a life so fully lived, for services so splendid, and for the joy he gave, by the joy he took in all he did. The People of the United States—his cousins and his fellow-citizens—will pray with his British countrymen for God's eternal blessing on this man, and for comfort to his family. He is history's child, and what he said, and what he did will never die.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, *former President of the United States*: "His loss will be felt in the United States as deeply as it will be in the British Commonwealth. For Sir Winston—in time of war and in time of peace—captured the imagination of all Americans. His indomitable courage, his indestructible faith in the society of Free Nations and in the dignity of free men typified our way of life. From him, America and all free lands gained added inspiration and determination to protect and to work for the maintenance of a just and enduring peace."

HARRY S. TRUMAN, *former President of the United States*: "Winston Churchill's mortal remains have passed on, but his spirit will live on for centuries. He typified man's resolution to be free and man's courage to face and overcome those who would threaten his liberties and free institutions. I was privileged to work with Sir Winston and to know him at a critical time in history, when providentially his intrepid spirit came to the fore and proved decisive in defeating the forces of evil and darkness. He was my very good friend."

ELIZABETH II, *Queen of England*: The whole world is poorer by the loss of his many-sided genius, while the survival of this country and the sister nations of the Commonwealth in the face of the greatest danger that has ever threatened them will be a perpetual memorial to his leadership, his vision and his indomitable courage.

HAROLD WILSON, *Prime Minister of England*: "He will be mourned all over the world by all who owe so much to him.

He is now at peace after a life in which he created history and it will be remembered as long as history is read."

ALEKSEI N. KOSYGIN, *Premier of the Soviet Union*: In a message to Prime Minister Harold Wilson "Please accept the Soviet Government's and my own personal condolences on the passing of Sir Winston Churchill, outstanding British statesman. The tireless efforts of Sir Winston during the war against Hitlerite Germany are remembered in the Soviet Union and the grief of the British people in this bereavement is shared here."

PRESIDENT AND MME. CHIANG KAI-SHEK, *Nationalist China*: "We realize that the passing of Sir Winston leaves a void which no words of sympathy can fill, but the knowledge of the respect, admiration and affection with which he is universally held will in time assuage your sorrow. History will record him as a dedicated patriot who saved his country in its darkest hours during World War II, and also as one of the outstanding world leaders, for indeed his was a life resplendent with courage, resourcefulness and resoluteness. We salute the memory of a great statesman and a valiant warrior. To you, his life companion who contributed so much and so long, to his happiness and success, to all members of your family, we would like to express our heartfelt condolences."

TITO, *President of Yugoslavia*: "I deeply believe that the people of the countries who were members of the anti-Fascist coalition will always remember with thanks his fighting spirit, steady work and huge contribution to the victory of the Allies in the Second World War."

LUDWIG ERHARD, *Chancellor of West Germany*: In a message to Lady Churchill, "The death of your husband has filled the Federal Government and me with great sorrow. We sincerely share your grief on the death of this great man and statesman. His services to his Fatherland and to the Free World will assure him a high rank in world history after his long, strenuous life, richly blessed with success."

GIUSEPPE SARAGAT, *President of Italy*: "The glory which surrounded him in life will continue to shine from him even after death and so long as there is a free man on this earth his name will be remembered with gratitude."

POPE PAUL VI, *in a message to Lady Churchill*: We offer our profound sympathy on the passing of your beloved husband, Sir Winston Churchill, great statesman and indefatigable champion of freedom, independence, and peace."

U. THANT, *Secretary General of the United Nations*: In a message to Prime Minister Harold Wilson, "We at the United

Nations feel a particular grief at the death of one who played such a vital role in the formation of our organization, from its conception in the Atlantic Charter to its realization in San Francisco. This achievement takes its place alongside countless others and together with his inspiring leadership and his own late historical works will always remain as a memorial to him."

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL

An Editorial from the New York Times
January 25, 1965

The power and the glory are gone, the soaring oratory, the eloquent pen, the cherubic face, the impish twinkle in his eyes, the jaunty cigar, the vitality that sparked a world.

One measure of Churchill's greatness is that no one today, now that the blaze of his genius has subsided into dust and ashes, need explain or describe or grope for words. He is one of those rare figures in history who stand like skyscrapers above the merely great. Usually history waits to recognize its supreme leaders, but there is no need to wait in Churchill's case.

He was Britain's glory in a special way, for he somehow managed to personify what is magnificent in the English race, and what is most appealing—John Bull with imperfections and eccentricities, but with the courage, the doggedness, the loyalty, the strength. Many who sought to isolate the essential quality of his greatness fastened upon his astonishing vitality. Never was there a man so durable, so indefatigable, so indomitable. It is almost incredible that there was a man among us yesterday who rode in the charge of the Twenty-First Lancers at Omdurman and was a member of Parliament under Queen Victoria, but who served as his nation's Prime Minister as late as 1955.

Yet durability and vitality are not in themselves a guarantee of greatness. They only assured him life and dominance at a moment of history when all his gifts and those of his people could combine to produce the miracle of Britain in the Second World War.

There was some quality of anticlimax about the rest. When the great war was won, Winston Churchill was rejected as his

nation's leader. A few of his military commanders were critical in their memoirs of some of his wartime decisions—as an earlier generation had been critical of his Gallipoli Campaign in 1915-16.

A decade ago his work was done, in the sense that he no longer had the strength to carry on in his beloved House of Commons, although he remained an M. P. almost to the end. In some ways the whole of his life was devoted to the House of Commons. He did go on writing and, in fact, the fourth and last volume of his monumental *History of the English-Speaking Peoples* was only published in 1958. Writing for him was always an avocation although for years he had to make a living out of it and he wrote superbly.

He was, too, an orator whose speeches were never dull and sometimes reached the most inspiring heights of which our language is capable. Like Shakespeare, he will be "full of quotations" so long as the English language lives. But no one in later generations will ever recapture the thrill that came to us, listening over the radio in moments of glory and agony, as we heard Winston Churchill speak of "blood, toil, tears and sweat," of "their finest hour," of "fighting on the beaches, in the fields, in the streets," of "so much being owed by so many to so few."

In the sweet, sad process of looking back we have the consolation of these memories. A man like Winston Churchill makes everyone a part of his life, as if a little of that greatness were shared by each of us. That he should have been half-American as well as "all English" was a special source of pleasure to Americans. Nowhere beyond his native land will he be more sincerely mourned than throughout the length and breadth of these United States.

Winston Churchill was the glory of a tremendous era in history encompassed by two World Wars. He leaves one feeling that an age has gone into history with him. Years ago he wrote that he gave "sincere thanks to the High Gods for the gift of existence." We, too, have reason to be thankful for that gift.

One would like to think of his passing in terms jotted down in a notebook by another supremely great human being, Leonardo Da Vinci:

"Just as a day well spent brings happy sleep, so a life well spent brings happy death."

PART II

HIS LIFE AND TIMES

by
Raymond Daniell
and
Kenneth Campbell

CHAPTER ONE

"You have sat here too long for any good you have been doing. Depart, I say, and let us have done with you. In the name of God, go!" The date was May 8, 1940. The words were those Oliver Cromwell used in dismissing the Long Parliament in 1653. The man who repeated them, with an accusatory finger pointed at Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, was a fellow Conservative, Leopold Amery. The occasion was a bitter debate in Commons over Britain's mounting peril in the faltering, bumbling conduct of the war with Hitler's Germany.

Amery's harsh injunction echoed the country's gloomy frustrations, its demand for vigorous war leadership. For two days Chamberlain, the man who had returned from Munich in 1938 after the rape of Czechoslovakia clutching an umbrella and a piece of paper that he said guaranteed "peace in our time," tried to stave off the inevitable. But events forced his hand.

At dawn May 10, Hitler flung his proud and unbeaten forces against the Low Countries and toward France and the Channel ports. At that moment Mussolini joined his Axis partner in the war. The hour of Britain's greatest peril since the Spanish Armada loomed.

Chamberlain stepped down, and King George VI called upon Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill, 66-year-old First Lord of the Admiralty, to prosecute the war he had for so long foreseen, and for which his life, up to that point, might be said to have been but a prelude to the greatness of leadership that carried Britain and her allies to triumph in 1945.

He struck the note of his leadership in his first report to Commons May 13 as the Nazi Panzer divisions were heading into France. It was a note he sustained with his countrymen throughout the war—candor that kindled national unity, inspired the faltering, inspired the brave, forged the will to fight, fashioned the certainty of victory.

What Is Our Policy?

His theme was, as he put it later, "No one can guarantee success in war, but only deserve it.

"I would say to the House, as I said to those who have joined this Government: 'I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat.'

"We have before us an ordeal of the most grievous kind. We have before us many, many long months of struggle and of suffering.

"You ask, what is our policy? I will say: It is to wage war, by sea, land and air, with all our might and with all the strength that God can give us: to wage war against a monstrous tyranny, never surpassed in the dark, lamentable catalogue of human crime. That is our policy.

"You ask, what is our aim? I can answer in one word; Victory, victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory, however long and hard the road may be; for without victory, there is no survival. Let that be realized; no survival for the British Empire; no survival for all that the British Empire has stood for, no survival for the urge and impulse of the ages, that mankind will move forward towards its goal.

"But I take up my task with buoyancy and hope. I feel sure that our cause will not be suffered to fail among men. At this time I feel entitled to claim the aid of all, and I say, 'Come, then, let us go forward together.'"

For Britain and for Churchill that was the beginning of "their finest hour."

Churchill described his own feelings on becoming Prime Minister in the first volume of his history of the war:

"During these last crowded days of the political crisis my pulse had not quickened at any moment. I took it all as it came. But I cannot conceal from the reader in this truthful account that as I went to bed about 3 A.M. I was conscious of a profound sense of relief.

"At last I had the authority to give directions over the whole scene. I felt as if I were walking with Destiny, and that all my past life had been but a preparation for this hour and for this trial. Eleven years in the political wilderness had freed me from ordinary party antagonisms. My warnings over the last six years had been so numerous, so detailed, and were now so terribly vindicated, that no one could gainsay me. I could not be reproached either for making the war or with want of preparation for it. I thought I knew a good deal about it all, and I was sure I should not

fail. Therefore, although impatient for the morning, I slept soundly and had no need for cheering dreams. Facts are better than dreams."

The man through whose mind these confident thoughts flowed knew also that his nation now stood virtually alone and at the mercy of Germany and Italy. Indeed, Britain was not to win her first solid victory until the Battle of El Alamein ended November 4, 1942. But to his Herculean tasks he brought Herculean energy, Herculean determination, Herculean tact. With them he fashioned the Grand Alliance of twenty-six nations. With them he became a giant of his epoch.

To his tasks, too, he brought all his imposing gifts as a master of the language of Shakespeare, Milton, Gibbon and Macaulay, his skill and wit as an orator. As the late President Kennedy said, "He mobilized the English language and sent it into battle."

Sometimes in a business suit but more often in black jacket and gray striped trousers, he made an imposing figure whether seated on the Treasury bench in Commons with his chin resting on his chest or standing, gripping the upper lapels of his jacket to address the House.

Portly and solid in appearance, he often seemed like a kindly aging schoolmaster peering over his half-spectacles.

His voice lacked volume and he had trouble with the letter s, but this gave style to his delivery. He was a master of the tempting pause before the utterance of a noble phrase. Emphasis was added by a rising inflection and a half-growl at the end of his most truculent challenges, which produced a cadenced speech of transcendent rhetorical effect.

Churchill was an aristocrat, an imperialist and a royalist who at the same time trusted the people. It is no contradiction to describe him as a Tory democrat. To the multitudes he was "Winnie."

He was both arrogant and humble, courteous and rude. None could question his courage, yet he was unashamed of tears when deeply moved. He was resourceful, inventive, a master at improvisation, a genius at handling detail.

His many hats, the bow tie, the cigar clenched tightly between his teeth, his walking stick and the V sign became a personification of Britain.

"It was the British that had the lion's heart," he said on his eightieth birthday. "I had the luck to be called upon to give the roar." He was too modest: his personality kept the heart beating.

Nonetheless, until he reached the pinnacle of power he had been regarded by some as too clever, too daring to be trusted. The disaster of the Dardanelles, the costly futile attempt to break the deadlock in World War I, dogged his career.

On becoming Prime Minister, Churchill brought Liberal and Labor members into his Cabinet to create a national government. He created a War Council of five. With Parliament's approval he established a Ministry of Defense with himself as its head. He brought in General Hastings Ismay to advise him. In effect, Churchill became commander in chief.

Nation's Mood Rises

There was a mood of relief among the British people that now at last they could "get on with it" under a leader who knew his goal and who was determined to attain it. No one but themselves could let them down. The long weekend vanished. People called for harder tasks, greater sacrifices.

Only sixteen days after speaking to Parliament, Churchill was confronted by Dunkirk. The British Expeditionary Force in France, faced with envelopment by the Wehrmacht and dive-bombed by the Luftwaffe, was being driven into the sea.

On May 28 Churchill informed the House that King Leopold of the Belgians had surrendered. This melancholy news was followed a week later by his announcement that the bulk of the British Expeditionary Force, driven into the sea, had been brought safely home. Many hailed this as a miracle.

More than one thousand ships from small to large, he told the House, "carried over 335,000 men, French and British, out of the jaws of death and shame, to their native land and to the tasks which lie ahead.

"We must be very careful not to assign to this deliverance the attributes of a victory," he cautioned. "Wars are not won by evacuations."

The ships were protected by the Royal Air Force, which engaged the main force of the Luftwaffe, inflicting losses of 4 to 1.

To the British, the escape of so many husbands and fathers called for thanksgiving, if not for cheers.

Nevertheless, 30,000 were left behind, dead, wounded or prisoners. The cost in material was great.

Indomitable as ever in adversity, Churchill closed his Dunkirk report with these words:

"We shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender, and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God's good time, the new world, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old."

Churchill now realized that Britain alone could never win the war. He aimed at getting help from the most likely source, the United States. It was Roosevelt, however, who took the initiative. Although the country was neutral, he was willing to give all aid short of war. He thus made available to Britain an array of light and heavy weapons, all that could be spared from the leftovers of World War I. There followed the exchange of fifty over-aged destroyers for ninety-nine-year leases on British bases in the Western Hemisphere.

Roosevelt wrote to Churchill first on September 11, 1939, eight days after the war broke out, while Churchill was First Lord of the Admiralty. The President had been Assistant Secretary of the Navy in World War I and he urged Churchill in the friendliest terms to feel free to write him about the progress of the war.

Churchill replied with alacrity, using the signature "Naval Person." Thus began a correspondence that continued until Roosevelt's death in 1945. These communications were couched in terms of the greatest friendship and intimacy.

Churchill's first letter to Roosevelt after becoming Prime Minister was written May 15 and, to preserve the continuity of the correspondence, he signed it "Former Naval Person." In it he described the peril that confronted Britain and made his first request for what Roosevelt finally was able to give him, over-aged destroyers and almost unlimited access to "the arsenal of democracy."

In his letter Churchill said:

"The small countries are simply smashed up one by one,

like matchwood. We must expect though it is not certain that Mussolini will hurry in to share the loot of civilization. We expect to be attacked here ourselves, both from the air and by parachute and airborne troops in the near future, and are getting ready for them. If necessary we shall continue the war alone and we are not afraid of that.

"But I trust you realize, Mr. President, that the voice and force of the United States may count for nothing if they are withheld too long. You may have a completely subjugated, Nazified Europe established with astonishing swiftness, and the weight may be more than we can bear.

"All I ask now is that you should proclaim nonbelligerency, which would mean that you would help us, with everything short of engaging armed forces. Immediate needs are:

"First of all the loan of forty or fifty of your older destroyers to bridge the gap between what we have now and the large new construction we put in hand at the beginning of the war."

He asked also for aircraft available in the United States, to be paid for with delivery of those being built there for Britain later on, for antiaircraft guns and ammunition and steel.

"We shall go on paying dollars for as long as we can, but I should like to feel reasonably sure that when we can pay no more you will give us the stuff all the same."

Roosevelt replied that Congressional approval would be required for any loan of destroyers and that the time was not propitious. He said he would do his best to facilitate Britain's getting aircraft, antiaircraft equipment and steel. He also said he would consider sending a naval squadron to visit Irish ports, as Churchill had also requested, in view of reports that German parachute landings might take place there.

At the war's outbreak the United States' official policy was governed by the Neutrality Act, which obliged Roosevelt to embargo arms shipments to any of the belligerents. At the same time American public opinion was strongly against involvement in what was then regarded as a European conflict.

The American attitude had its roots in the disillusionment and isolationism that followed World War I, which was reinforced by preoccupation with domestic problems arising from the Depression. One part of this attitude came to be expressed by the America First Committee, largely a con-



glomerate of conservatives with connections in big business circles. Some of them viewed the war as a splendid opportunity for the United States to benefit from European exhaustion after the war. Others were suspected of being covertly pro-German and perhaps even anti-Semitic.

Another current contribution to isolationist opinion came from the trade unions and from the then influential Communist party and its front groups. These considered the war as a struggle between "imperialist" powers, and their "Yanks stay home" campaign was not without its effect.

Countering both the America First Committee and the left-wing opposition to the war were organizations such as Bundles for Britain and other pressure groups that sought to associate the United States with the British struggle, if not by entry into the war at least by supplying Britain with its sinews.

Roosevelt was thus obliged to play a cautious game right up to the time of Pearl Harbor. Indeed, one of his themes in the Presidential campaign of 1940 was his hatred of war, coupled with a pledge not to send American soldiers overseas. Nonetheless, Roosevelt did want to help the British and he did want to see Hitler and Mussolini crushed. Thus, in November, 1939, he succeeded in getting Congress to adopt a cash-and-carry arms export policy that permitted Britain to purchase, in the following year, about \$4 billion in munitions.

Roosevelt moved further ahead in 1940 with a promise "to give all material aid to the nations which still resist aggression across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans."

At one point, Roosevelt explained his plan to "eliminate the dollar sign" with a homespun illustration.

"Suppose my neighbor's house catches fire and I have a length of garden hose four or five hundred feet away. If he can take my garden hose and connect it up with his hydrant, I may help him to put out the fire.

"Now what do I do? I don't say to him before that operation, 'Neighbor, my garden hose cost me fifteen dollars; you have to pay me fifteen dollars for it.' No! What is the transaction that goes on? I don't want the fifteen dollars. I want my garden hose back after the fire."

He went on to say that he thought the fire that Britain was trying to put out endangered the security of the United States.

This policy culminated in the Lend-Lease Act of 1941 which permitted a further expansion of help to Britain. "Give

us the tools and we will finish the job," Churchill said at the time.

"The most unsordid act in the history of any nation" was how he later described the Act to Parliament.

"Once it was accepted by Congress, it transformed immediately the whole position. It made us free to shape by agreement long-term plans of vast extent for all our needs. There was no provision for repayment. There was not even to be a formal account kept in dollars or sterling. What we had was lent or leased to us because our continued resistance to the Hitler tyranny was deemed to be of vital interest to the great Republic. According to President Roosevelt, the defense of the United States and not dollars was henceforth to determine where American weapons were to go."

After Dunkirk, disaster followed disaster. Churchill made a desperate attempt to keep France in the war by offering a Franco-British union with common citizenship, a joint Parliament and a shared military command. It was too late. France surrendered June 21.

Before France finally capitulated, however, Churchill made several visits to that stricken country vainly trying to persuade her leaders to continue the war from North Africa or at least to prevent the ships of her powerful navy from falling into enemy hands.

It was at one such meeting with French leaders at their temporary headquarters in Tours that Churchill first met Charles de Gaulle, who, he had been told, was one of the few French generals who was unprepared to yield to the Nazis. Describing the encounter later, Churchill wrote:

"As we went down the crowded passage into the courtyard, I saw General de Gaulle standing stolid and expressionless at the doorway. Greeting him, I said in a low tone, in French: *'L'homme du destin.'* He remained silent."

Actually it was at de Gaulle's later suggestion that Churchill made his dramatic but futile offer of an Act of Union with France. Also later with British connivance de Gaulle made his escape from France to London where he established the Free French movement.

"De Gaulle carried with him in this small airplane the honor of France," Churchill said.

However much Churchill sought to keep the French in the war, he realized with what leadership he had to deal. Anticipating the surrender, he told Britons, four days before the event:

"We have become the sole champions now in arms to de-

fend the world cause. We shall do our best to be worthy of this high honor. We shall defend our island home and with the British Empire we shall fight on unconquerable until the curse of Hitler is lifted from the brows of mankind."

Churchill faced a bitter choice. By his order commanders of the French naval vessels were given the option of coming over to the British, sailing to ports safe from the enemy, or being sunk by British guns.

The commanders hesitated. So, in an action at the French naval base near Oran, in North Africa, one of two French battle cruisers was damaged and beached and one battleship was sunk. Another was badly damaged and two destroyers and an aircraft carrier were sunk or burned.

As the summer, bright and warm, advanced, fears of invasion rose. Businessmen drilled with wooden guns and pikestaves. The beaches and coasts bristled with improvised obstacles and antique weapons.

Churchill warned of the coming ordeal:

"I expect that the battle of Britain is about to begin. Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilization. Upon it depends our own British life, and the long continuity of our institutions and our Empire. The whole fury and might of the enemy must very soon be turned on us.

"Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this island or lose the war. If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be free and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new dark age made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted science.

"Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will say, 'This was their finest hour.'"

The "finest hour" became the agony of the Battle of Britain, waged in the splendor of the September skies. Although Churchill neither planned nor supervised the battle, he invoked the nation's fortitude that inspired the airmen to their magnificent and sleepless struggle that eventually saved the island kingdom.

In the early days of the battle hundreds of Hurricanes and Spitfires were put out of action; a fourth of the fighter pilots were killed or wounded; thousands of civilians perished.

The raids went on day and night. The banshee howls of the sirens sent people scuttling in and out of shelters. The terror that struck by night was the worst. Finally, as youngsters in flight training took the place of their dead comrades, the Germans found daylight raids too costly, even on the foggiest days of autumn. Thenceforth the bombers came and went at dusk and dawn.

For days and weeks there was a late afternoon march of weary men, women and children, carrying their bedclothes, trundling baby carriages, heading for the underground stations where thousands slept nightly. But there was no real safety.

Tribute to Airmen

For the first nights there was no reply to the rain of bombs. Then, all at once, the antiaircraft batteries in the parks and on the outskirts opened up with a resounding and reassuring roar. Bursts even rattled from a Bofors gun atop the Admiralty Arch.

The fire from the ground did little damage to the Germans. The ammunition could hardly be spared. But it did much good for morale to see a bomber pinpointed by searchlights diving and squirming to avoid, not always successfully, bursts of flak.

The tribute Churchill paid to the Royal Air Force just before the bombardment of London began took on a deeper meaning.

"Never in the field of human conflict," he said, "was so much owed by so many to so few."

The people had been told that the ringing of church bells would signal a German invasion. On September 11, Churchill said in a broadcast that if the invasion were going to be tried at all it would not be long delayed.

But British bombers attacked the invasion fleet gathered in ports from Boulogne to Antwerp. On the seventeenth Hitler postponed and later canceled Operation Sea Lion, his invasion plan.

During those days Churchill spent much time at 10 Downing Street, or the underground war room, usually in what he called his siren suit, the zipper front of which delighted him. On weekends he went to Chequers, the country home of Prime Ministers.

It was his custom to awaken at 8 o'clock. For the next couple of hours he read dispatches and sent off memos in

all directions, usually beginning with "Pray see to it . . ." or "Pray find out . . ." to his generals or colleagues. By midmorning he was working full blast in his office.

Luncheon, for which he usually had guests, was followed by an hour's nap. Then came more work. In the evening there were generally dinner guests. The meal was followed by a session of idea swapping that often went far into the early morning, with Churchill pouring out an endless flow of suggestions. His constant companions were General Ismay and Brendan Bracken, Minister of Information, who were said to be the only ones who could stay the course.

One of Churchill's first minutes to his military adviser, General Ismay, was to the effect that he would assume no responsibility for decisions on matters of national defense "unless they are recorded in writing."

There followed sheaves of written minutes dispatched in every direction on almost every conceivable subject. His own questions were usually brief and he wanted brief answers.

"Let me see a list of prominent persons you have arrested," he asked the Home Secretary in June, 1940, when a roundup of suspected Fifth Columnists was in progress as the invasion scare grew. His concerns were also more farseeing. On August 30, as the blitz on London was approaching, he sent this minute to Ismay:

"We must expect that many windows will be broken in the bombing raids, and during the winter glass may become scarce with serious resultant damage to buildings if not replaced."

To the Postmaster General:

"There are considerable complaints about the Post Office service during air raids. Perhaps you will give me a report on what you are doing."

To the Minister of Transport:

"Let me know what progress has been made in breaking up the queues and in bringing vehicles into service. With the earlier blackout it must be very hard on many."

Churchill was insistent on brevity and clarity. He had no patience with the jargon of Whitehall or the circumlocutions of officials in the Civil Service or the Diplomatic Corps. This minute to Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, is typical:

"Please draw attention again to Mr. Eden's injunctions against the length of telegrams sent to the Foreign Office by their representatives abroad.



"The zeal and efficiency of diplomatic representatives is measured by the quality and not by the quantity of the information he supplies. He is expected to do a good deal of filtering himself and not simply to pour out upon us over these congested wires all the contradictory gossip he hears. So much is sent that no true picture can be obtained. One cannot see the wood for the trees. There is no harm in sending background on by 'bag' [the diplomatic pouch]."

Some of the minutes were wryly humorous, as this one to Lord Woolton, Minister of Food:

"I hope the term 'Communal Feeding Centers' is not going to be adopted. It is an odious expression, suggestive of Communism and the workhouse. I suggest you call them 'British Restaurants.' Everybody associates the word 'restaurant' with a good meal, and they may as well have the name if they cannot get anything else."

After the Axis gains on the Continent, London became the seat of eight governments-in-exile—Belgium, the Netherlands, Free France, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Greece and Yugoslavia. The Government of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg was in Canada.

With these governments, Churchill busied himself welding the Grand Alliance, often putting the damper on petty squabbles and adjudicating trivial rivalries and smoothing the easily ruffled feathers of Charles de Gaulle, the Free French leader.

"We all have our crosses to bear," he once said. "Mine was the Cross of Lorraine."

Always On the Go

As the war became global after the entry of the Soviet Union and the United States, China and Japan, Churchill's travels in keeping the Alliance glued together were ceaseless. He journeyed to Newfoundland, three times to Washington, twice to Quebec, twice to Moscow, once to Ottawa, to Athens, to Casablanca, to Cairo (to confer with Roosevelt and Chiang Kai-shek), to Teheran and to Yalta (for conferences with Roosevelt and Stalin) and to Potsdam (to meet with Truman and Stalin). In all, he saw Roosevelt nine times and exchanged 1,700 communications with him.

On August 9, 1941, Churchill and Roosevelt had their first rendezvous in Placentia Bay, Newfoundland, the President having arrived aboard the cruiser *Augusta* and the Prime Minister on the battleship *Prince of Wales*.

Supported by the arm of his son, Elliott, the President

received Churchill aboard the *Augusta* while the national anthems of the United States and Britain were played. The next day, Sunday, the President returned Churchill's visit and attended divine services on the battleship's quarter-deck.

The Atlantic Charter

Churchill described the scene later:

"This service was felt by all of us to be a deeply moving expression of the unity of faith of our two peoples and none who took part in it will forget the spectacle presented that sunlit morning on the crowded quarter-deck—the symbolism of the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes draped side by side on the pulpit; the American and British chaplains sharing in the reading of the prayers; the highest military and naval officers of Britain grouped in one body behind the President and me; the close-packed ranks of British and American sailors completely intermingled, sharing the same books and joining fervently together in the prayers and hymns familiar to both."

Out of that meeting at sea came the Atlantic Charter, a statement of principles that was later, in substance, to be incorporated in the aims of the United Nations.

The idea for a statement of principles was Roosevelt's but the first draft was Churchill's. It went through several revisions. The British Cabinet had reservations about the proposed inclusion of a clause for equal access of all nations to trade and raw materials because of Britain's special relations with the Commonwealth. The Labor insisted that reference be made to social security.

The charter's final text emerged this way:

"The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together deem it right to make certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

"First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.

"Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

"Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

"Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment of all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

"Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security.

"Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

"Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

"Eighth, they believe that all the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained, if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments."

Churchill was certain that the insertion of the phrase "with due respect for their existing obligations" would allay any misgivings his Cabinet might have about the fourth paragraph; and as a supporter of unemployment insurance he had no compunction about including the reference to social security.

"The profound and far-reaching importance of this Joint Declaration was apparent," Churchill wrote later. "The fact alone of the United States, still technically neutral, joining with a belligerent power in making such a declaration was astonishing. The inclusion in it of a reference to 'the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny' (this was based on a phrase appearing in my original draft) amounted to a challenge which in ordinary times would have implied warlike action.

"Finally not the least striking feature was the realism of the last paragraph, where there was a bold intimation that

after the war the United States would join with us in policing the world until the establishment of a better order."

Of importance, too, at Placentia Bay were the Anglo-American staff talks that took place and the concord reached on the division of supplies from the United States between the Soviet Union and Britain.

Although the United States was still neutral, Roosevelt also agreed that the American Navy would take over patrol of the American-Iceland segment of the Atlantic, thus relieving the hard-pressed British of some of their convoy duties.

Held to a standstill against Britain, Hitler turned eastward, striking in June, 1941, at the Soviet Union, his partner in the nonaggression pact of August, 1939. Churchill had warned Stalin that Hitler was about to strike. Now he pledged aid to the Soviet cause.

In a radio broadcast June 22, 1941, he said:

"At four o'clock this morning Hitler attacked and invaded Russia. All his usual formalities of perfidy were observed with scrupulous technique. A nonaggression treaty had been solemnly signed and was in force between the two countries. No complaint had been made by Germany of its nonfulfillment. Under its cloak of false confidence, the German armies drew up in immense strength along a line which stretches from the White Sea to the Black Sea; and their air fleets and armored divisions slowly and methodically took their stations. Then, suddenly, without declaration of war, without even an ultimatum, German bombs rained down from the air upon the Russian cities, the German troops violated the frontiers; and an hour later the German Ambassador, who till the night before was lavishing his assurances of friendship, almost of alliance, upon the Russians, called upon the Russian Foreign Minister to tell him that a state of war existed between Germany and Russia."

Churchill heaped invective on Hitler—"a monster of wickedness," "a bloodthirsty guttersnipe"—and upon his "accomplice and jackal Mussolini."

"But," he said, "all this fades away before the spectacle which is now unfolding. Any man or State who fights on against Nazidom will have our aid. Any man or State who marches with Hitler is our foe."

Throughout the life of the Grand Alliance Churchill's relationships with Roosevelt remained on a high plane of trust in each other's good faith, although Churchill was some-

times inclined to question the President's judgment. He was impatient, for instance, with Roosevelt's confidence that Chiang Kai-shek would emerge from the war as the leader of a great power entitled to sit with Britain, Russia and the United States at the councils of the world organization they planned.

He was concerned, too, with what seemed to him Roosevelt's preoccupation with military victory and lack of sufficient regard for the political consequences. Churchill was also put out at times by the suspicion that Roosevelt thought his strategic concepts were motivated by colonialist interests.

Relations between Churchill and Stalin were mercurial. There were times when the Marshal's aspersions on British intentions verging almost on accusations of treachery enraged Churchill. He knew, however, that if he were to keep the alliance in one piece he must restrain himself, and most of the time he did.

At conferences of the Big Three Churchill managed to hold his anger in check but there were two occasions in between when his temper boiled. Once was in October, 1943, when Stalin wrote Churchill implying that Britain was preparing to renege on an agreement to send four convoys to Murmansk in November, December, January and February and complaining that there had been a decrease in the supplies sent in 1943 compared with 1942.

Churchill informed Roosevelt that he had "received a telegram from Uncle Joe which I think you will feel is not exactly all one might hope for from a gentleman for whose sake we are to make an inconvenient, extreme and costly exertion."

Churchill also summoned the Soviet Ambassador and on his arrival handed him Stalin's letter in an envelope. He said it had caused him "great pain," that any answer he could send "would only make matters worse" and that "therefore I did not wish to receive the message." The Ambassador replied he had been instructed to deliver the message. "I then said, 'I am not prepared to receive it,' and without giving the Ambassador a chance to recur to the subject, bowed him out."

Churchill also shared Roosevelt's indignation when the President informed him that Stalin had written him virtually accusing the West of trying to make a deal with Field Marshal Kesselring in Switzerland behind the back of the



Soviet Union. This was in April, 1945, about a month before Germany's unconditional surrender.

Stalin said in his letter to Roosevelt that he had been informed that an agreement had been reached with Kesselring to "open the front and permit the Anglo-American troops to advance to the east, and the Anglo-Americans have promised in return to ease for the Germans the peace terms."

Throughout the war Churchill held strong suspicions of Soviet expansionist aims in Europe; and by September, 1944, with many other weighty matters on his mind, the question of how to hold the Red Armies as far to the east as possible became an overriding concern.

"Another matter lay heavy on my mind," he wrote afterward. "I was very anxious to forestall the Russians in certain areas of Central Europe."

He hoped, for instance, that the forces under Field Marshal Alexander, might be "enabled to make his amphibious thrust across the Adriatic, seize and occupy the Istrian Peninsula and try to reach Vienna before the Russians."

Churchill's warnings went largely unheeded, as he lamented in his war history. "As a war waged by a coalition draws to its end political aspects have a mounting importance.

"It is true that American thought was at least disinterested in matters which seem to relate to territorial acquisitions, but when wolves are about the shepherd must guard his mutton."

By this time Churchill had concluded:

"First: Soviet Russia had become a mortal danger to the free world.

"Second: that a new front must be immediately created against her onward sweep.

"Third: that this front in Europe should be as far east as possible.

"Fourth: that Berlin was the prime and true objective of the Anglo-American armies.

"Fifth: that the liberation of Czechoslovakia and the entry into Prague of American troops was of high consequence.

"Sixth: that Vienna, and indeed Austria, must be regulated by the Western powers, at least upon an equality with the Russians."

Before Roosevelt's death Churchill had sent him an urgent letter proposing that "we join hands with the Russian armies as far to the east as possible, and if circumstances allow, enter Berlin."

As if to justify his fears of Soviet intentions, the Russians had not been long in Austria in the spring of 1945 before they announced that a provisional Austrian government had been set up. Churchill now addressed himself to convincing Truman that no reduction in Western forces should be permitted in Europe before a political settlement with Stalin had been reached.

Upon learning that half the American Air Force in Europe had begun to move to the Pacific, Churchill wrote Truman saying he was "profoundly concerned." The Canadians were withdrawing, too, and the French were weak. Soon, Churchill warned, "our armed power on the Continent will have vanished except for moderate forces to hold down Germany."

"Meanwhile, what is to happen about Russia?" he asked Truman. "I have always worked for the friendship of Russia, but, like you, I feel deep anxiety because of their misinterpretation of the Yalta decisions, their attitude toward Poland, their overwhelming influence in the Balkans, excepting Greece, the difficulties they make about Vienna, the combination of Russian power and the territories under their control or occupied, coupled with the Communist technique in so many other countries, and above all their ability to maintain very large armies in the field for a very long time."

As an immediate step, Churchill issued orders to his own commanders against any weakening of their forces and any demolition of captured German aircraft.

But this was all far in the future in 1941. With the Germans then gaining in Russia, battering at the gates of Moscow and Leningrad and thrusting into southern Russia, Japan, Hitler's Axis partner in the Far East, entered the war with an attack on United States air and naval bases at Pearl Harbor December 7, 1941. This brought the United States into the war in Europe, too, for Germany and Italy, as part of the Axis pact, declared war on the United States. Churchill was quick to see that Pearl Harbor was the beginning of the end for Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito. As he wrote in his memoirs:

"Once again in our long island history we should emerge, however mauled or mutilated, safe and victorious. We should not be wiped out. Our history would not come to an end. We might not even have to die as individuals. Hitler's fate was sealed. As for the Japanese, they would be ground to powder."

True to a promise given Roosevelt earlier, to declare war "within the hour" if Japan attacked, Churchill called his

Cabinet and then notified the Japanese Ambassador that a state of war existed between his country and Britain.

On the day of Pearl Harbor, the Japanese also landed on the Malayan coast and bombed Singapore and Hong Kong. And before they were driven back, they were to sink the *Prince of Wales* and the *Repulse*, to overrun Malaya, Thailand and Burma and to cost Churchill challenges in Parliament to his leadership.

Visit with Roosevelt

At the outset Churchill went to the United States to concert with Roosevelt on the conduct of the war. He had fears, later disclosed, over these conferences.

"We feared lest the true proportion of the war as a whole might not be understood. We were conscious of a serious danger that the United States might pursue the war against Japan in the Pacific and leave us to fight Germany and Italy in Europe, Africa and in the Middle East.

"Hitherto, as a nonbelligerent, the President had been able and willing to divert large supplies of equipment from the American armed forces, since these were not engaged. Should we be able to persuade the President and the American Service chiefs that the defeat of Japan would not spell the defeat of Hitler, but that the defeat of Hitler made the finishing-off of Japan merely a matter of time and trouble?"

On the voyage from Britain, Churchill in company with military advisers drew up three papers that he presented to Roosevelt setting forth his ideas on the conduct of the war in Europe and the Far East.

In them he proposed a North African campaign by Britain and the United States in 1942 to clear the whole southern Mediterranean coast of the enemy and from there to gain a foothold in Italy. In the Pacific, Churchill said the Allies must wrest naval and air superiority from the Japanese. In the interim he urged a policy of stubborn resistance at each point attacked, declaring that the resources of Japan were a wasting factor because her economy was overstrained by her long campaigns in China.

In his talks with the President Churchill made it clear that he was convinced that the war could not be won save by a massive assault on Hitler's Fortress Europa and the destruction of the German army. It was folly, he said, to count upon an internal collapse in Germany. Similarly, he recognized that the Pacific war could not be won merely by driving the Japanese back into their home islands.

"So many tales have been published of my mooted aversion from large-scale operations on the Continent," Churchill wrote later, "that it is important that the truth should be emphasized.

"I always considered that a decisive assault upon the German-occupied countries of Europe on the largest possible scale was the only way in which the war could be won and that the summer of 1943 should be chosen as the target date. [Events forced its postponement until June, 1944.]

"It will be seen that the scale of the operation contemplated by me was already before the end of 1941 set at forty armored divisions and a million other troops as essential for the opening phase."

In his talks at the White House Churchill asked Roosevelt to send a substantial force of United States troops to Northern Ireland at once. This the President agreed to do. One of the most significant accomplishments of the visit was establishment of the Combined Chiefs of Staff of Britain and the United States for joint planning of operations in all war theaters.

After Christmas at the White House Churchill journeyed to Ottawa where he addressed the Canadian Parliament. On his return to Washington he found that all was ready for the signing of the United Nations pact after the exchange of many cablegrams among Washington, Moscow and London.

Churchill credits Roosevelt with winning over Litvinov, the Soviet Ambassador in the United States, to the inclusion of a clause providing for religious freedom. A luncheon in the President's room had at first failed to gain his assent.

"Later on," Churchill relates, "the President had a long talk with him alone about his soul and the dangers of hell fire. The accounts which Mr. Roosevelt gave us on several occasions of what he said to the Russian were impressive. Indeed, on one occasion I promised Mr. Roosevelt to recommend him for the position of Archbishop of Canterbury if he should lose the next Presidential election."

On New Year's Day Roosevelt, Churchill, Litvinov and Ambassador Soong of China signed the United Nations Declaration. It was left to the State Department to get the signatures of the twenty-two other countries aligned against Germany and Japan.

"The Declaration could not by itself win battles but it set forth who we were and what we were fighting for," Churchill commented later.

He carried away warm memories of his White House visit, the thoughtful hospitality of Mrs. Roosevelt and the strong bonds of friendship forged between him and the President and with Harry Hopkins, his trusted adviser and emissary.

Churchill tells the story of arriving at Washington airport after flying from Hampton Roads, Va., where the *Duke of York* had docked.

"There was the President waiting in his car. I clasped his strong right hand with comfort and pleasure. We soon reached the White House, which was to be our home in every sense for the next three weeks. Here we were welcomed by Mrs. Roosevelt, who thought of everything that could make our stay agreeable."

Churchill had arrived tired and preoccupied with the weighty matters awaiting decision and he confessed later that he was somewhat befuddled about the order of events in the first day or so.

"The outstanding feature was, of course, my contacts with the President. We saw each other for several hours every day and lunched together, always with Harry Hopkins as a third. We talked of nothing but business and reached a great measure of agreement on many points, both large and small.

"Dinner was a more social occasion but equally intimate and friendly. The President punctiliously made the preliminary cocktails himself and I wheeled him in his chair from the drawing room to the lift as a mark of respect, and thinking also of Sir Walter Raleigh spreading his cloak before Queen Elizabeth.

"I formed a very strong affection which grew with our years of comradeship, for this formidable politician who had imposed his will for nearly ten years upon the American scene, and whose heart seemed to respond to many of the impulses that stirred my own. As we both, by need or habit, were forced to do much of our work in bed, he visited me in my room whenever he felt inclined and encouraged me to do the same to him."

On Christmas Eve, Churchill addressed a crowd from the White House. He spent a good deal of Christmas Day working on the speech he was to deliver the next day to a joint session of Congress. This was the one in which his question, "What kind of people do they think we are?" drew roars of applause from members of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Meantime, Churchill learned with gratification that the

British Field Marshal Sir A. P. Wavell, who had won some outstanding desert victories, was favored by the President for the Supreme Allied Command in Southeast Asia. At the same time, he feared that the theater in which he would act would soon be overrun.

"I was fortunate," Churchill recalled, "in the timing of those two speeches in Washington and Ottawa. They came at a moment when we could all rejoice at the creation of the Grand Alliance with its overwhelming potential force, and before the cataract of ruin fell upon us from the long marvelously prepared assault of Japan.

"Even while I spoke in confident tones I could feel in anticipation the lashes which were soon to score our naked flesh. Fearful forfeits had to be paid not only by Britain and Holland but by the United States in the Pacific and Indian Oceans and in all the Asiatic lands and islands they lap with their waves.

"An indefinite period of military disaster lay certainly before us. Many dark and weary months of defeat and loss must be endured before the light would come again."

When Churchill delivered his second wartime address to Congress May 19, 1943, the outlook was much brighter and he could assert that the plans formulated on his earlier visit soon after Pearl Harbor were bearing fruit and that "history will acclaim this great enterprise as a classic example of the way to make war."

"We recovered the initiative. All this gives the lie to the Nazi and Fascist taunt that parliamentary democracies are incapable of waging effective war," he said.

At the time of his first speech, however, things were going badly for the British in North Africa. In a decision, the wisdom of which was later criticized, troops were shifted from Africa to Crete and Greece when Germany struck into the Balkans. It was seemingly as a consequence of this step that Rommel and his Afrika Corps were able, in the summer of 1942, to capture Tobruk. This victory, although preceded by severe British reverses in desert fighting, came as a shock. In Commons, it brought on a no-confidence vote, but Churchill survived it, 575 to 25.

The loss of Tobruk was softened somewhat when Roosevelt offered American tanks for the African front. The tide was eventually reversed and Rommel humbled at El Alamein, but that was not until November, 1942. Although winning the Battle of Britain had been a strategic victory of great significance, it was at El Alamein that there was tangible

military victory, and that was what, in a dark hour, showed the British people the glimmer on the horizon.

The Soviet Union, too, in this period suffered badly, and in May, 1942, Molotov visited London with an urgent request for an Anglo-American second front on the Continent to draw off some of the German forces from the east.

The project, at first suggested by Roosevelt, was postponed for a large-scale operation in Africa.

It was Churchill's lot to break the news to Stalin in Moscow. He asked Roosevelt to let W. Averell Harriman accompany him because "I have a somewhat raw job."

Talks with Stalin

On his way to Moscow, after halting at Cairo where he reorganized Britain's Middle East Command by putting Field Marshals Alexander and Montgomery in command, Churchill recalled his somber thoughts as he approached his first meeting with Stalin.

"I pondered on my mission to this sullen, sinister, Bolshevik state I had once tried so hard to strangle at its birth and which, until Hitler appeared, I had regarded as the mortal foe of civilized freedom. What was it my duty to say to them now?"

Wavell, who was with Churchill and who had some literary pretensions, suggested that he recite a poem of several stanzas that the general had composed, the last line of which was "No second front in 1942."

"Still," Churchill wrote later, "I was sure it was my duty to tell them the facts personally and have it all out face to face with Stalin rather than trust to telegrams and intermediaries. At least it showed that one cared for their fortunes and understood what their struggle meant to the general war.

"We had always hated their wicked regime and, till the German flail beat upon them, they would have watched us being swept out of existence with indifference and gleefully divided with Hitler our Empire in the East."

Churchill and Harriman were met at the Moscow airport by Molotov, high Soviet officials, members of the Diplomatic Corps and a guard of honor. Harriman stayed at the United States Embassy but Churchill was driven to State Villa No. 7 eight miles outside the capital. On the way Churchill lowered the limousine window for a breath of air and noticed the glass was more than two inches thick. He commented that this "surpassed all records in my experience."



"The Minister says it is more prudent," Molotov's interpreter said. Churchill noticed, too, that the streets were virtually empty.

At the villa they were received with "totalitarian lavishness." A long table in the dining room was "laden with every delicacy and stimulant that supreme power can command." He was conducted to a bedroom and a bathroom of almost equal size.

"After all necessary immersions and ablutions, we were regaled in the dining room with every form of choice food and liquor, including of course caviar and vodka, but with many other dishes and wines from France and Germany, far beyond our mood or consuming powers."

As Churchill outlined the change in plans Stalin "looked very glum and seemed unconvinced." He said there was "not a single German division in France that was of any value."

Churchill replied that there were twenty-five, of which nine were of the first line. He agreed that it would be possible to land six divisions but that it could be more harmful to future operations than helpful for the present.

Stalin, now restless and impatient, declared that "a man who was not prepared to take risks could not win a war."

But he became somewhat mollified as Churchill unfolded the North African plan to "threaten the belly of Hitler's Europe."

"To illustrate my point," Churchill recalled, "I had meanwhile drawn a picture of a crocodile and explained to Stalin with the help of this picture how it was our intention to attack the soft belly of the crocodile as he attacked his hard snout."

Stalin seemed to grasp the idea, but the next day, with Stalin and Molotov, there "began a most unpleasant discussion."

"We argued for about two hours during which he [Stalin] said a great many disagreeable things, especially about our being too much afraid of fighting the Germans and if we tried it like the Russians we should not find it so bad."

Stalin also complained that Britain and the United States had broken another promise in failing to deliver supplies as agreed.

"I repulsed all his contentions squarely but without taunts of any kind. I suppose he is not used to being contradicted repeatedly but he did not become at all angry, or even animated," Churchill wrote.

The grumpiness that marked Stalin's behavior came as something of a surprise to Churchill because of the relatively friendly parting of the night before. In reporting to his Cabinet, Churchill wrote:

"We asked ourselves what was the explanation of this performance and transformation from the good ground we had reached the night before. I think the most probable is that his Council of Commissars did not take the news I brought as well as he did. They may have more power than we suppose and less knowledge. Perhaps he was putting himself on the record for future purposes and for their benefit, and also letting off steam for his own."

On August 13 Stalin sent Churchill an aide-memoire still arguing that a second front in 1942 had been promised and holding that conditions were favorable for its undertaking.

Churchill replied in writing the next day that the best second front and the only large-scale operation from the Atlantic was Torch, the proposed Anglo-American landing in North Africa. It would also, he argued, prepare the way for a full assault on the Continent, then planned for 1943.

Further, he contended, an attack by six or eight Anglo-American divisions on the Cherbourg Peninsula and the Channel Islands "would be a hazardous and futile operation" that the Germans could easily turn into a disaster.

That evening Churchill with his military advisers and Harriman attended the official dinner at the Kremlin at which members of the Politburo were present. The dinner was lengthy with endless toasts and responses.

"Silly tales have been told of how these Soviet dinners became drinking bouts," Churchill reminisced. "There is no truth whatever in this. The Marshal and his colleagues invariably drank their toasts from tiny glasses, taking only a sip on each occasion. I had been well brought up."

At the dinner Stalin engaged Churchill in a discussion of his part in the intervention by Britain and the United States in the Russian civil war following the Revolution. Churchill affirmed that he was "very active in the intervention and do not wish you to think otherwise." Smiling amicably, Churchill asked:

"Have you forgiven me?"

Stalin's translated reply was:

"Premier Stalin, he say, all that is past, and the past belongs to God."

On the night before he was to depart Churchill had a

long talk with the Soviet ruler, who suggested that they adjourn to his apartments for drinks.

"I said that I was always in principle in favor of such a policy," Churchill remarked.

Stalin led the way through many passages and rooms and crossed a roadway to the part of the Kremlin where he lived.

"He showed me his own rooms which were of moderate size, simple, dignified and four in number—a dining room, working room, bedroom and a large bathroom.

"Presently there appeared, first a very aged housekeeper and later a handsome red-haired girl, who kissed her father dutifully. He looked at me with a twinkle in his eye, as if, so I thought, to convey 'You see, even we Bolsheviks have family life.'

"Stalin's daughter began laying the table, and in a short time the housekeeper appeared with a few dishes."

Meanwhile, Stalin had been uncorking various bottles. Molotov was sent for and joined them and they sat around the table from 8:30 that evening until 2:30 in the morning.

All was going merrily until Stalin made "a rough and rude remark" about the almost total destruction of an Arctic convoy escorted by British vessels in June.

"Mr. Stalin asks," the interpreter said, "has the British Navy no sense of glory?"

With some restraint, Churchill said he thought the naval action was correct and added that he knew something of naval affairs.

"Meaning," Stalin said, "that I know nothing."

"Russia is a land animal; the British are sea animals," Churchill responded, voicing a truth that was demonstrated throughout the war by the Russians' inability to comprehend the problems and requirements in shipping vast amounts of materiel and huge numbers of men across the seas for amphibious operations.

About one o'clock Sir Alexander Cadogan arrived with a draft of the communiqué, and he and Molotov with some assistance from Churchill and Stalin began to put it into form.

It said little more than that the two governments were determined to "carry on with all their power and energy until the complete destruction of Hitlerism and any similar tyranny has been achieved."

Churchill and his party left Moscow at 5:30 A.M.

Concluding his report to the Cabinet on the talks, Churchill said:

"On the whole, I am definitely encouraged by my visit to Moscow. I am sure that the disappointing news I brought could not have been imparted except by me personally, without leading to really serious drifting apart. It was my duty to go.

"Now that they know the worst and, having made their protest, are entirely friendly; this in spite of the fact that this is their most anxious and agonizing time. Moreover M. Stalin is entirely convinced of the great advantages of Torch and I do trust that it is being driven forward with superhuman energy on both sides of the ocean."

Upon his arrival home, Churchill received a message from the King congratulating him on the skill with which he had carried out his difficult and unpleasant mission and expressing the hope that he was not too tired and would now be able to take things more easily.

It was a good example of the King's keen interest in the progress and conduct of the war and of the close relationship between the Sovereign and his First Minister.

On the African front things began to move according to plan. Montgomery delivered a crushing defeat to the Axis forces at El Alamein and on November 7, 1942, Operation Torch—the Anglo-American landing in French North Africa—was a brilliant success under Eisenhower's command.

The desert army began fighting its way west to join Eisenhower's forces that had landed at Casablanca, Algiers and Oran.

A jubilant but cautious Churchill proclaimed the good news at the Mansion House, November 10. "We have victory—a remarkable and definite victory. The bright gleam has caught the helmets of our soldiers, and warmed and cheered all our hearts. Now this is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning."

Victory in Africa

Looking back, Churchill said that before El Alamein "we never had a victory. After Alamein we never had a defeat."

Before that Britain had sustained an almost unbroken series of military reverses. She had survived the collapse of France and the air attack on her cities. Her hold on Egypt had been tenuous.

"We were alive and at bay; but that was all," Churchill

noted after twenty-eight months as head of the Government. "What a cataract of disasters had fallen upon us."

In the Pacific, Hong Kong and Singapore had been lost and Japan had conquered Burma. But within days of victory at El Alamein the Anglo-American forces arrived in North Africa.

The operation had been carefully planned as a prelude to the final assault on occupied Europe, which it was still hoped might be mounted in 1943. The objective was for the forces under Eisenhower to fight their way east to meet Montgomery's Eighth Army now moving westward across the desert.

The operation had been beset by differences between the British and American chiefs of staffs. It was the British contention that landings should be made at Algiers, Oran and other Mediterranean ports. The American military chiefs were reluctant, however, to commit forces that might be cut off if, as some feared, Franco put Spain into the war on the Axis side.

Anticipating that General George C. Marshall would command the major invasion across the British Channel, the British had proposed that Eisenhower become Supreme Commander of Torch and serve as the forerunner and deputy of Marshall when the major operation took place. Roosevelt approved the selection of Eisenhower and Montgomery was named his deputy only to be snatched away in the midst of planning Torch to take command of the British Eighth Army in the desert.

All plans were finally concerted after Churchill had bombarded Roosevelt with messages insisting that "nothing is more vital than acceleration of the date for Torch" and urging that "superhuman efforts" should be made to put it into operation, as "every day counts."

When differences of American and British military opinion had been resolved Roosevelt cabled: "Hurrah."

To this Churchill replied:

"O.K. full blast ahead."

Eisenhower set the landing date for November 8 and just before that moved his headquarters to Gibraltar, the British bastion at the western entrance to the Mediterranean. Troopships and landing craft passed into the Mediterranean and another armada in miniature made for Casablanca on the Atlantic Coast. The Germans believed the expedition was meant for the relief of Malta, then under heavy siege and bombardment. Thus surprise was achieved.



It was believed that the French garrisons in Northwest French Africa would welcome United States forces but might react violently to the presence of British troops because of the memories of the British shelling of French warships in 1940. Thus it was decided that the first wave of troops ashore would be American, although Churchill offered to let British troops go into battle in United States uniforms if necessary. They provided, as it turned out, the second wave in their own uniforms.

In one of his messages to Roosevelt, Churchill said that the first aim should be to avoid a battle but the second was to win it if one developed. In fact, the invading forces met little resistance but Eisenhower and General Mark Clark soon found themselves entangled in French politics.

In the Allied planning, high hopes had been placed on the cooperation of the French war hero General Henri Giraud in obtaining the help of civilian authorities. He proved, however, to be without much influence and Clark turned to Admiral Jean François Darlan, who had been somewhat tarred as a Vichy collaborationist.

Meanwhile, de Gaulle, who had been excluded from participation in the landings or even from advance knowledge of them, sent an envoy to Eisenhower's headquarters, now at Algiers, to offer Free French cooperation. While he was there Darlan was assassinated the day before Christmas, 1942, thus relieving the Allies of the embarrassment of relying on his cooperation and clearing the way for Free French sympathizers to rally around de Gaulle.

"Although these events were political," Churchill wrote in his recollections of the war years, "they were as much a part of the battle as the movement of troops or ships. General Clark dealt with Darlan in the only way which would accord with the prime theme of the enterprise, namely, the procuring of the utmost French support and the avoidance of bloodshed between the French and the Allies."

Churchill still hoped that French Northwest Africa, including Tunisia, would fall under Allied control after a few months of fighting. But this was not to be. Heavy rains, muddy roads and inadequate rail transportation slowed the advance. Churchill's expectations for a speedy end to the campaign, which would enable the cross-channel operation to take place in the summer of 1943, were dashed.

Writing of these events later, Churchill said:

"No one could foresee at this time that Hitler would make his immense effort to reinforce the Tunisian tip by sending

thither by land and sea, in spite of heavy losses, nearly 100,000 of his best troops. This was, on his part, a grave strategic error. It certainly delayed for several months our victory in Africa. If he had held the forces which were captured or destroyed there in May he might either have reinforced his retreating front in Russia, or have gathered the strength in Normandy, which would have deterred us, even if we were so resolved, from trying Roundup [the code name for the D-Day invasion, later changed to Overlord] in 1943.

"Hardly anyone now disputes the wisdom of the decision to wait until 1944. My conscience is clear that I did not deceive or mislead Stalin. I tried my best."

The junction of Eisenhower's Army with Montgomery's took place in May, 1943.

From this point on, Allied pressure on the Axis was relentlessly applied on land and sea and in the air. By May 13, 1943, Alexander reported that the Tunisian campaign was over and that "we are masters of the North African shores." One continent had been freed of the enemy.

Churchill thereupon decided the time had arrived for stock-taking and a review of strategy. Casablanca was selected as the site for a tripartite meeting of the Allied leaders. Stalin was invited but said he could not leave his country at that time; so it was Churchill and Roosevelt who conferred.

Churchill arrived first and found the arrangements good. There was a large hotel for the Combined Chiefs of Staff, surrounded by villas for himself, Roosevelt, General Giraud and de Gaulle if he were to sit in. Churchill's son Randolph joined him. There were two days of staff talks before Roosevelt arrived January 14, 1943. Eisenhower arrived the following day.

Although Giraud was a tough soldier, he had no political experience. De Gaulle suspected that the two war leaders preferred to deal with Giraud rather than with him, and at first he refused an invitation to attend the conference. Churchill cabled Eden in London to tell the Free French leader in London that if he did not go to Casablanca the British Government might have to withdraw support from his movement if he remained as leader.

"For his own sake," Churchill cabled his Foreign Minister, "you ought to knock him about pretty hard."

De Gaulle arrived January 22, but he refused to call upon

Giraud, who occupied the villa next door, and at first declined even to meet him.

"I had a very stony interview with de Gaulle," Churchill recalled, "making it clear that if he continued to be an obstacle we would not hesitate to break with him finally."

At this point, an exasperated Churchill, interrupting the translator, bluntly told de Gaulle:

"Si vous m'obstruerez, je vous liquidatera."

"He was very formal, and stalked out of the villa and down the little garden with his head high in the air," Churchill wrote. "Eventually he was prevailed upon to have a talk with Giraud, which lasted for two or three hours and must have been extremely pleasant for both of them. In the afternoon he went to see the President and to my relief they got on unexpectedly well. The President was attracted by 'the spiritual look in his eyes,' but very little could be done to bring them into accord."

Churchill said he realized that de Gaulle was "no friend of England," but that he always "recognized in him the spirit and conception, which across the pages of history the word 'France' would ever proclaim. I understood and admired, while I resented, his arrogant demeanor."

It was said of de Gaulle "in mockery" that he thought of himself as the living representative of Joan of Arc, with whom, it was said, one of his ancestors served as a faithful adherent.

"This," said Churchill, "did not seem to me to be as absurd as it looked."

One of the most important issues resolved at Casablanca was that Sicily rather than Sardinia would be the next target for Anglo-American assault. Realizing that skeptics in the United States feared that Britain would pull out of the war after Germany's defeat, Churchill offered a formal treaty on this point but Roosevelt "brushed aside the idea," observing, however, that it might be desirable to get "a definite engagement from Russia" that she would join Britain and the United States in the conflict in Asia, once Germany was out of the war.

It was at this conference that the unconditional surrender of Germany and Japan was proclaimed the price of peace. Churchill informed his Cabinet that Italy was deliberately omitted so as to encourage the internal overthrow of Mussolini, whose Caesar pose was showing every sign of sawdust.

"There is a school of thought," Churchill wrote retrospectively, "both in England and America, which argues that the phrase [unconditional surrender] prolonged the war and played into the dictators' hands, in driving their peoples and armies to desperation."

Churchill recalled that Roosevelt used the words at the final dinner and said that the President's son Elliott asserted that later Churchill adopted them in proposing a toast.

"I have no recollection of doing so," he wrote in his memoirs.

Finally, on January 24, after ten days of strategic planning by the Combined Chiefs of Staff, the conference came to an end. At a news conference "de Gaulle and Giraud were made to sit in a row of chairs alternating with the President and me, and we forced them to shake hands in public before all the reporters and photographers," Churchill wrote, adding:

"They did so and the pictures of this event cannot be viewed, even in the setting of these tragic times, without a laugh."

Roosevelt prepared to depart for home by way of Lagos, Dakar and Brazil, but Churchill persuaded him that, having come this far, he might as well enjoy the sights, smells and sounds of Marrakech, the famous oasis 150 miles across the desert from Casablanca. Roosevelt consented and they drove there together talking "a great deal of shop," and "other lighter matters."

At Marrakech Churchill and the President stayed at a villa lent them by an American and Churchill took the President up to its tower.

"He was carried in a chair, and sat enjoying the wonderful sunset on the snows of the Atlas," Churchill said.

Roosevelt departed January 25 just after dawn. He and Churchill had said their good-bys the night before, but in the morning the President, before going to the airport, came around for a final leavetaking.

"I was in bed, but would not hear of letting him go to the airfield alone, so I jumped up and put on my zip, and nothing else except slippers and in this informal garb, I drove with him to the airfield and went on the plane and saw him comfortably settled down, greatly admiring his courage under all his physical disabilities and feeling very anxious about the hazards he had to take."

Thenceforth Allied fortunes improved. There was the land-

ing on Sicily that was projected as a stepping-stone to Italy and that country's liberation. But before that was concluded—in fact barely four months after Casablanca—Churchill was a guest of Roosevelt at the White House “to settle further exploitation of Europe and to discourage undue bias toward the Pacific, and further to deal with the problem of the Indian Ocean and the offensive against Japan there.”

Aided by their chiefs of staff, the President and Churchill sought to decide “where do we go from Sicily,” and laid plans for the defeat of Japan. Churchill argued that since the cross-channel assault against occupied Europe could not be undertaken before 1944 it seemed imperative to him to use the Anglo-American forces to attack Italy, although he did not consider occupation of the whole country necessary. An Italian Government could control Italy under Allied supervision, he believed.

Churchill was again back in North America in August, 1943, for the Quebec Conference. He was accompanied by his wife and their daughter Mary. Roosevelt had invited them to visit him at Hyde Park before the opening of the conference but Mrs. Churchill, tired after the voyage, was unable to accept. With his daughter, Churchill visited Niagara Falls, which he had first seen in 1900. A reporter asked him if the cataract still looked the same and Churchill replied:

“Well, the principle seems the same. The water still keeps falling over.”

At about the time he arrived in Canada Churchill learned of Italy's willingness to surrender. The question of whether to attempt to occupy the country above its narrow waist was discussed and Churchill expressed his opposition in view of the great demands that would result from the cross-channel invasion, then tentatively set for May, 1944. A shortage of landing craft worried the planners.

At Quebec, Roosevelt and Churchill heard encouraging progress reports on the atomic bomb project then well under way, but the proposed assault on Hitler's Europe dominated the discussions. It was agreed that an American general would command the operation, whose code name now was Overlord, but Churchill was still under the impression that General Marshall would lead the landings.

The conference ended August 24 but Churchill tarried for further talks with Roosevelt until September 14, when he sailed for Britain from Halifax. In his visit to Washington

Churchill again was a White House guest and when the President left for Hyde Park September 10 he urged Churchill to stay there and regard it as his home.

As 1943 drew to its close Churchill and Roosevelt decided to meet at Cairo prior to a conference at Teheran with Stalin.

On this journey to the Mediterranean, Churchill was accompanied by his daughter Sarah, who was in the air force and who went as her father's aide de camp. It was a journey prolonged by illness that kept him from Britain for nearly three months.

En route to the rendezvous with Roosevelt he received word from the President that his security officers had advised him that in their opinion Cairo was too vulnerable to German air attack from Crete and Rhodes. But, having received assurances from the military that there was adequate air protection in Cairo, Churchill cryptically radioed Roosevelt aboard the *Iowa*:

"See St. John chapter xiv verses 1 to 4."

The verses read:

"Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me.

"In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you.

"And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also.

"And whither I go ye know, and the way ye know."

Chiang Kai-shek and his wife had been invited to the conference, which opened November 23. At the first session Admiral Mountbatten, who had flown from India with his officers, outlined military plans for Southeast Asia in 1944. These had been agreed upon by the Combined Chiefs of Staff at Quebec.

The time not spent discussing the Far East with Chiang, Churchill used to try to concert his views with Roosevelt's before their meeting with Stalin. Although Churchill recognized that Overlord must have priority, he believed that sufficient troops and landing craft could be kept in the Mediterranean long enough at least to take Rhodes.

Churchill became impatient at Roosevelt's preoccupation with India and China and the amount of time he spent with Chiang and Mme. Chiang. As he recalled:

"What we had apprehended from Chiang Kai-shek's presence now in fact occurred. The talks of the British and American staffs were sadly distracted by the Chinese story, which was lengthy, complicated and minor. Moreover, the President, who took an exaggerated view of the Indian-Chinese sphere, was soon closeted in long conferences with the Generalissimo.

"All hope of persuading Chiang and his wife to go and see the Pyramids, and enjoy themselves till we returned from Teheran fell to the ground with the result that Chinese business occupied first instead of last place."

It was Churchill's first meeting with Chiang who made a sharp impression on him.

"I was impressed by his calm, reserved and efficient personality. At this moment he stood at the height of his power and fame. To American eyes he was one of the dominant forces in the world. He was the champion of 'the New Asia.'

"He was certainly a steadfast anti-Communist. The accepted belief in American circles was that he would be the head of the great 'Fourth Power' in the world after the victory had been won.

"All these views and values have since been cast aside by many of those who held them. I, who did not in those days share the excessive estimates of Chiang Kai-shek's power or of the future helpfulness of China, may record the fact that the Generalissimo is still serving the same causes which at this time had gained him such wide renown. He has, however, since been beaten by the Communists in his own country, which is a very bad thing to be."

What bothered Churchill most was that Roosevelt over his objections promised Chiang "a considerable amphibious operation" across the Bay of Bengal in the next few months. Such an operation, Churchill declared, would have "cramped 'Overlord' for landing and tank landing craft which had now become the bottleneck" and would have hampered operations in Italy. Churchill was persistent, but it was not until after the Teheran meeting that he prevailed upon the President to retract his pledge.

Thanksgiving Day fell while the conference was in progress, and Roosevelt invited Churchill and Sarah to join him, his son Elliott and his son-in-law John Boettiger at "a family dinner," also attended by Harry Hopkins and his son Robert.

"We had a pleasant and peaceful feast," Churchill wrote



afterward. "Two enormous turkeys were brought in with all ceremony. The President, propped up high in his chair, carved for all with masterly, indefatigable skill."

There were speeches and "for a couple of hours we cast care aside." There was also music from phonograph records and the men took turns dancing with Sarah, the only woman present.

"This jolly evening and the spectacle of the President carving up the turkeys stand out in my mind among the most agreeable features of the halt at Cairo."

Churchill and Roosevelt left for Teheran November 27 in different planes and by different routes. The sore throat that had been nagging him almost steadily since he left London was no better. He was displeased immediately with the security arrangements in Teheran.

Crowds lined the route his car traversed and a police car a hundred yards ahead heralded someone important. So did the cavalrymen stationed at intervals.

To make matters worse he discovered that whereas the Soviet Legation was close by its Embassy, the United States Legation was about a half-mile away, which meant that either he, the President or Stalin would have to travel through the narrow downtown streets two or three times a day.

On top of this, Molotov confided to him soon after his arrival that Soviet intelligence officers had unearthed a plot to kill one or more of the war leaders. The matter was partly solved when Roosevelt was prevailed upon to stay in the spacious Soviet Embassy rather than in the United States Legation.

By the time the conference opened Churchill's throat affliction had turned to laryngitis and he could hardly speak, but thanks to his physician he was "able to say what I had to say and that was a lot."

At the conference Churchill presented Stalin with "the Sword of Stalingrad, which King George VI had had designed" to commemorate the Red Army's victory there. Stalin kissed the blade, Churchill reported.

The main conference business was to decide which of several plans ancillary to the major operation of Overlord to adopt.

Churchill said he was not opposed to an Allied landing at Marseilles or Toulon to coincide with the cross-channel invasion but he preferred a "right-hand move from the north

of Italy using the Istrian Peninsula and the Ljublyana Gap in a thrust toward Vienna."

Still toying with the hope that Turkey could be prevailed upon to open the Dardanelles for shipment of supplies to Russia's Black Sea ports, he also wanted to use such forces as could not be usefully employed elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean for a Balkan thrust.

Stalin, according to Churchill, would have agreed, but the President drifted to and fro, "with the result that the whole of these subsidiary but gleaming opportunities were cast aside unused."

Along with Overlord, Stalin sought a simultaneous landing in southern France with all available forces after the capture of Rome.

What he wanted to know was when the Allies were prepared to commence their assault on northern France. He said he thought it was high time that a Supreme Commander was chosen so that existing plans could be refined by the man who was to carry them out. This question was left in abeyance, but Churchill assured the Soviet leader that the attack across the Channel would come in May, or at the latest in July, 1944.

Churchill assured Stalin that it was planned to use thirty-five divisions—sixteen British and nineteen from the United States. The British would be able to maintain, but not increase, their contribution, he said, but it was understood that the United States would continue to "pump in further troops until there were fifty to sixty divisions on Germany's western front."

At a Sunday dinner with Roosevelt as host Stalin declared he feared that even though Germany were decisively defeated she might revive and become a threat to peace again in fifteen to twenty years.

"It all comes back to the question whether Britain, the United States and the U.S.S.R. can keep a close friendship and supervise Germany in their mutual interest," Churchill told him.

"We are the trustees for the peace of the world. If we fail there will be perhaps 100 years of chaos," he said.

Later there was a spiritual exchange at a dinner with Stalin as host. This came about when Stalin asserted that the whole force of Hitler's Wehrmacht rested upon some 50,000 officers and technicians. If these officers and specialists were rounded up and shot at the end of the war, German militarism would be extirpated, he insisted.

"The British public and Parliament," Churchill replied, "will never tolerate such mass executions. Even if in war passion they allowed them to begin they would turn violently against those responsible after the first butchery had taken place."

"Fifty thousand must be shot," Stalin unbudgingly responded.

"I would rather," Churchill rejoined, "be taken out into the garden here and now and be shot myself than sully my own and my country's honor by such infamy."

Roosevelt and Eden tried to turn the exchange aside but the President's son Elliott, who had joined the diners over the coffee, arose uninvited and said he thoroughly agreed and believed the American army would support the executions.

This was too much, and Churchill got up angrily from the table and stalked out of the room. Molotov and Stalin followed him out, smiling and assuring him that the Premier had been speaking in jest.

Churchill also began to worry because Roosevelt was in private communication with Stalin while living in the Soviet Embassy and because "he had avoided ever seeing me alone since we left Cairo, in spite of our hitherto intimate relations and the way in which our vital affairs were interwoven."

He therefore saw Stalin privately to reassure him that the British were just as determined as the Americans to carry out their commitments in the West. Stalin, on his part, warned that if no big change came in the European Theater in 1944 "it would be difficult for the Russians to carry on alone," for they were "war weary." At lunch that day Roosevelt assured Stalin that he and Churchill were in agreement that Overlord should be launched some time in May. Later the time was changed to June 5, 6 or 7.

Problems about the boundaries of Poland and what disposition to make of Germany came up. Roosevelt wanted to split Germany into five self-governing states and two territories, while Churchill proposed the isolation of Prussia and the constitution of a Danubian Confederation including South Germany. Stalin preferred Roosevelt's idea, Churchill thought, but it was all still in the nature of a preliminary survey, the details to be worked out later.

After Teheran, Churchill and Roosevelt met again in Cairo in early December and it was on the day before Churchill left Cairo that Roosevelt told him for the first time that

Eisenhower would be the supreme commander of Overlord.

"He then said, almost casually," Churchill wrote, "that he could not spare General Marshall whose great influence at the head of military affairs and of the war direction, under the President, was invaluable, and indispensable to the successful conduct of the war. He therefore proposed to nominate Eisenhower to Overlord, and asked me for my opinion. I said it was for him to decide, but that we had also the warmest regard for General Eisenhower and would trust our fortunes to his direction with hearty goodwill."

Churchill finally departed Tunis, intending to spend a night at Eisenhower's headquarters, but he found himself suffering from pneumonia. His illness caused considerable alarm. Sarah was with him, but Mrs. Churchill flew to Africa to be with him.

"My love to Clemmie," Roosevelt cabled. "I feel relieved that she is with you as your superior officer."

Despite his illness, Churchill continued sending messages and orders and conferring with generals. Churchill's doctor decided it was safe for him to leave Tunis after Christmas Day but insisted on a three-week convalescence. "Where else could be better than the lovely villa at Marrakesh, where President Roosevelt and I had stayed after Casablanca a year before."

Roosevelt, who was himself suffering from influenza, cabled Churchill there to congratulate him on his recovery. Churchill, in thanking him, mentioned that he had received felicitations from Tito and Franco the same day. "So what?"

Roosevelt replied:

"I suggest that on New Year's Day you invite the two gents who congratulated you, then lock them in the top of the tower where we saw the sunset and tell them you will stay at the bottom to see whether the black or the red throws the other over the battlements."

The following June the supreme effort, the culmination of all the planning that had gone before, came when the greatest amphibious force ever assembled swarmed ashore on the Normandy beaches and began the long, slow march through France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany to the Elbe, where it met the Soviet Army advancing from the east.

As that climactic event neared, Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin met for the last time at Yalta in the Crimea. It was February, 1945, and the most urgent problems were not

the war in Europe but the peace. Chief among them were Poland's future frontiers and the occupation of Germany.

The occupation zones had been tentatively fixed at the second Quebec Conference in 1944 and now they were delineated. It was now also agreed that Poland's eastern frontiers should be fixed along the Curzon Line with minor modifications, but the big question was how far west they should be extended to recompense Poland for the loss of her eastern territories.

Churchill fought hard against giving her too much German territory because he questioned whether what was left of Hitler's Reich was capable of absorbing and feeding the Germans who would be displaced.

"It would be a great pity," he said, "to stuff the Polish goose so full of food that it died of indigestion."

Earlier discussions at Dumbarton Oaks in the United States failed to resolve the question of voting rights in the world organization that was to become the United Nations. Now, at Yalta, the principle of the veto in the Security Council was accepted.

In his war history Churchill wrote:

"On December 5, 1944, the President had made new suggestions to Stalin and myself. They were as follows: Each member of the Council should have one vote. Before any decision could be carried out seven members must vote in favor of it. This would suffice for details of procedure. All large matters, such as expelling states from the organization, suppressing and settling disputes, regulating armaments and providing armed forces, would need the concurring vote of all the permanent members.

"In other words, unless the 'Big Four' were unanimous the Security Council was virtually powerless. If the United States, the U.S.S.R., Britain or China disagreed, then the country disagreeing could refuse its assent and stop the Council doing anything. Here was the veto."

Stalin accepted this formula. The principle of one vote for one country in the General Assembly regardless of size or population was accepted and it was agreed that two Soviet republics would sit in the Assembly. The Far East played no part in the formal discussions but Roosevelt made a secret compact with Russia concerning her entry into the war against Japan.

This provided for the return of Sakhalin and the adjacent islands lost to Russia in her war with Japan in 1904. It



also provided for internationalization of the port of Dairen, the restoration of Port Arthur as a naval base for Russia, and acquisition and joint operation by the Soviet Union and China of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

As usual at these conferences there was at least one unpleasant incident. This came when Roosevelt, at a luncheon with Stalin, disclosed that he and Churchill always referred to the Marshal in secret telegrams as "Uncle Joe." Stalin took offense.

"When can I leave this table?" he asked in anger.

He was mollified, however, when he was assured that the Americans had no objection to "Uncle Sam" and that "Uncle Joe" had been used in a friendly and affectionate way.

The conference ended February 11, and Churchill notes that "as usual at these meetings many grave issues were left unsettled."

Roosevelt and Churchill had a brief reunion aboard the cruiser *Quincy* at Alexandria. Churchill went aboard for what was to be his last talk with the President.

"The President," he wrote, "seemed placid and frail. I felt that he had a slender contact with life. I was not to see him again. We bade affectionate farewells."

Roosevelt died at Warm Springs, Ga., April 12.

On May 8 Churchill broadcast the news of Germany's unconditional surrender, but warned that Japan "remains unsubdued."

Churchill recalled that night in his memoirs:

"The unconditional surrender of our enemies was the signal for the greatest outburst of joy in the history of mankind. The Second World War had indeed been fought to the bitter end in Europe. The vanquished as well as the victors felt inexpressible relief.

"But for us in Britain and the British Empire, who had alone been in the struggle from the first day to the last and staked our existence on the result, there was a meaning beyond what even our most powerful and valiant Allies could feel. Weary and worn, impoverished but undaunted and now triumphant, we had a moment that was sublime. We gave thanks to God for the noblest of all His blessings, the sense that we had done our duty."

The Potsdam Meeting

Unconditional surrender insisted upon by Roosevelt at Casablanca and reluctantly accepted by Churchill was regarded by some in Britain as an obstacle to an early end

of the war. After Roosevelt's death the concept caused some heart searching at the Potsdam conference when Stalin disclosed that he had received an offer of surrender from the Emperor of Japan through his Ambassador in Moscow.

The message indicated that Japan could not accept unconditional surrender but might be prepared to settle on softer terms.

Churchill, in talks with Truman, dwelt upon the enormous loss of life that might be entailed if nothing less than complete surrender was required. He suggested giving the Japanese "some way of saving their military honor and some assurance of their national existence." To this Truman replied that he did not believe the Japanese "had any military honor after Pearl Harbor."

On July 17, the day the Potsdam conference opened, Churchill received "world-shaking news." Stimson, the United States Secretary of War, showed him a cablegram that read "Babies satisfactorily born." He explained that the cryptic message meant that an atomic device had been detonated in the New Mexico desert.

Churchill's first thought was that Britain and the United States no longer needed the Russian army to help finish off Japan. The price Russia had demanded, and that Roosevelt had agreed to at Yalta, began to seem exorbitant. According to Alexander Werth, in his *Russia at War*, the objective now became not how to get Russia to join in the Far Eastern war but how to keep her out.

In a minute to Eden, Churchill said:

"It is quite clear that the United States do not, at the present time, desire Russian participation in the war against Japan."

He was convinced, he says in his war history, that the bomb would and should be used to end the war quickly and without the sacrifice of as many as a million British and American lives.

If that could be done before Russia entered the war, it would not be necessary to make good the promise to restore to the Soviet Union the southern half of Sakhalin Island, to internationalize the port of Dairen, lease Port Arthur as a Russian naval base and give the Russians the Kurile Islands and joint control with the Chinese of the Chinese Eastern Railroad.

Early in the conference Stalin had informed Churchill that just before he left Moscow his government had received surrender feelers from Japanese provided the rights of the

Emperor were recognized. Stalin said the terms were not specific and that he had given no answer. Churchill records that at that time the Japanese navy had been all but destroyed and "the homeland was in chaos and on the verge of collapse."

The question then arose of how and under what circumstances to tell Stalin of the atomic bomb. Churchill notes that Stalin had been a "magnificent ally" in the European war and that both he and Truman agreed that something must be told him "but not with any particulars."

The President pondered whether the information should be conveyed to Stalin at a special meeting, in the course of a regular session, in writing or by word of mouth during an interval in the conference. Truman decided on the latter course.

"I think," Churchill quoted him as saying, "I had best just tell him after one of our meetings that we have an entirely novel form of bomb, something quite out of the ordinary, which we think will have decisive effects upon the Japanese will to continue the war."

Churchill then sent a note to his Cabinet that he had advised the President that "if he were resolved to tell it might well be better to hang it on the experiment, which was a new fact on which he and we had only just had knowledge. Therefore he would have a good answer to any question, 'Why did you not tell us this before?'"

Not until July 24, however, did Truman carry out his decision. After a plenary session that day, Churchill saw Truman go up to Stalin "and the two conversed alone," with only their interpreters.

"I was perhaps five yards away, and I watched with the closest attention the momentous talk. I knew what the President was going to do. What was vital was its effect on Stalin. I can see it all as if it were yesterday. He seemed to be delighted. A new bomb! Of extraordinary power! Probably decisive on the whole Japanese war! What a bit of luck!

"This was my impression at the moment, and I was sure that he had no idea of the significance of what he was being told. Evidently in his intense toils and stresses the atomic bomb had played no part. If he had the slightest idea of the revolution in world affairs which was in progress his reactions would have been obvious.

"Nothing would have been easier for him to say. 'Thank you so much for telling me about your new bomb. I of course have no technical knowledge. May I send my expert

in these nuclear sciences to see your expert tomorrow morning?' But his face remained gay and genial and the talk between these two potentates soon came to an end.

"As we were waiting for our cars, I found myself near Truman. 'How did it go?' I asked.

"'He never asked a question,' he replied."

This convinced Churchill that at that time Stalin had no inkling of the nature of new force that had been harnessed.

Churchill left Potsdam for London the next day. Clement Attlee, the new Prime Minister, and Ernest Bevin, his Foreign Secretary, took over on Churchill's electoral defeat.

"I take no responsibility beyond what is here set forth for any of the conclusions reached at Potsdam," Churchill said.

Among these conclusions was the establishment of the Curzon Line, with some minor deviations, as Poland's eastern boundary, with the western frontier to run from just west of Swinemunde to the Oder River, then to the estuary of the Neisse and thence along its course to Czechoslovakia.

An ultimatum in the names of the President of the United States, Chiang Kai-shek, President of the Republic of China, and the Prime Minister of Britain was issued July 26. It called upon the Japanese to surrender immediately or face destruction, but it did not specify the awesome new weapon that was to be employed.

With the ultimate weapon at hand, Churchill wrote in his memoirs, he had never any doubt that Truman would use it, "nor have I ever doubted since that he was right."

Defends Atom Bomb

"To quell the Japanese resistance man by man and conquer the country yard by yard might well require the loss of a million American lives and half that number of British—or more if we could get them there: for we were resolved to share the agony. Now all this nightmare picture vanished."

Just before Potsdam an election had been scheduled. Churchill hoped to keep his Government in power at least until Japan had been defeated, but the Labor party, now that the peril in Europe was over, was impatient for a test of domestic strength.

The campaign was not Churchill's most admirable, filled as it was with invective against his Laborite wartime colleagues. This dismayed many of his admirers.

On election day, July 25, he returned to London for the

results, satisfied that "the British people would wish me to continue my work."

"However, just before dawn [of the 26th]," he recalls in his memoirs, "I awoke suddenly with a sudden sharp stab of almost physical pain. A hitherto unconscious conviction that we were beaten broke forth and dominated my mind. All the pressure of great events on and against which I had mentally so long maintained by 'flying speed' would cease and I should fall. The power to shape the future would be denied me."

So it was for almost six years.



CHAPTER TWO

Winston Churchill descended from John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough (1650–1722), a great captain of history who never fought a battle he did not win nor besieged a city he did not take.

In his four-volume biography of Marlborough, Churchill drew a brilliant portrait of this great but devious character. The statesman and moral man of the world of the twentieth century cast a keen but understanding eye on the statesman and amoral man of the world of the eighteenth century.

Churchill's Marlborough was first of all a military genius and a skillful diplomat. He was handsome, charming, courageous and self-possessed; a loving and dutiful husband after rakish earlier years; a man capable of humanity and kindness. He was also politically treacherous, avaricious; a solicitor and taker of bribes, large and small, who peculated his soldiers' supplies.

Churchill showed him against the background of his times. For example, he took some of the sting out of the story that John Churchill got his start in the army because his sister, Arabella, was a mistress of the Duke of York.

"In those youthful days," he wrote "John gained no office or promotion that might not have come to any young gentleman accepted at court. Nor shall we join the meretricious disputing about whether John received his commission before or after Arabella became the Duke's mistress. The Guards gained a good recruit officer in normal course."

Marlborough's most celebrated military victory was over the French at Blenheim, Bavaria, August 13, 1704. A grateful Queen Anne had built for him a residence at Woodstock, near Oxford.

Gloomy Blenheim

This ponderous and gloomy pile, Blenheim Palace, eight miles from Oxford, depressed a long succession of women who lived there, including Winston Churchill's mother. John

Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough (pronounced Maulbro) left no male heir. His title passed through the female line, first to Henrietta, wife of the Earl of Godolphin, and second to Anne, wife of Charles, Lord Spencer. The family took the name of Spencer-Churchill, sometimes written with a hyphen and sometimes not.

About twelve years before the death of the first Duke of Marlborough, Timothy Jerome, who was of French Huguenot blood, came to America from Britain's Isle of Wight off the coast of France and settled in Meriden, Conn. Before he left Wight he must have heard the jingle that the victories of Marlborough over the French had put among French folk-songs:

Mallbrouck s'en va-t-en-guerre,
Miron-ton; miron-ton; miron-taine . . .

The Spencer-Churchill family of the Marlboroughs and that of Timothy Jerome joined to produce Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill.

Timothy Jerome's son Samuel moved to Stockbridge, Mass. A son, Aaron, married Betsy Ball, said to have been a distant relative of George Washington. The eldest of Aaron Jerome's sons, Isaac, was born in 1786. He moved with his family to a farm near Palmyra, N.Y., and here a son, Leonard Walter Jerome, was born in 1818. He was the fifth child among nine boys and a girl and he was the maternal grandfather of Winston Churchill.

Leonard and his brothers did the farm chores and Leonard learned to understand and love horses.

It wasn't an ordinary family of "movers," the name given to families that constantly moved West to take up new land. The four oldest boys managed to wring a little money from their dear father and went to the College of New Jersey, which was not yet called Princeton. They liked to handle money and speculate and one of them, Aaron, quit his theological studies to stake every penny he could raise in a silkworm project. It failed and Aaron was cleaned out.

Leonard entered what is now Princeton in 1836 and did well enough for two years. In his junior year a combination of scholastic difficulties and shortage of money led him to transfer to Union College at Schenectady, from which he was graduated in 1839. He studied law and hung out his shingle successively in several upstate New York cities, including Rochester.

Leonard Jerome was a big, handsome young man who had a mustache of such formidable proportions that it could be seen from behind.

His brother Lawrence married Catherine Hall, who had a younger sister Clara, a dark and smoldering beauty, who was courted and won by Leonard.

A. L. Rowse, a British historian and Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, wrote of the marriage:

"Tall, good-looking, abounding in vitality, he [Leonard Jerome] married Clara Hall, who was one-quarter Iroquois. So that her eldest grandson, Sir Winston, in the middle of some wartime dispute with the Americans, was able to claim in his own right, 'Tell them I was there before they were.'"

The Jerome boys were active and energetic and the more enterprising went to New York. Leonard arrived in 1850. Already deep in speculation and stock-market gambling, he was well on his way to his first fortune. Three or four fortunes totaling at least \$10 million were to pass through his hands.

New York then was slower paced but it was nonetheless full of color and excitement. The rich were a well-defined handful and their wives and daughters often made themselves visible to an awed and admiring public in some such center of the beau monde as Madison Square at Twenty-third Street and Fifth Avenue. The stock market, politics, opera, the theater, the turf and yachting shaped the lives of the upper classes. The brothers Leonard, Addison and Lawrence Jerome were bright and luminous fixtures in this life.

Their money came through the stock market and, if it did not disappear through the same instrument, it helped to finance the turf and yachting. Some of it also found its way to the ladies of the opera and theater, for neither Leonard nor his brothers were homebodies.

The stock-market operator of that day was unencumbered by anything resembling today's Securities and Exchange Commission; and he was also without such protection as today's laws afford him. In the early 1850's Leonard Jerome's brokerage house, Fitch, McNeal & Jerome, failed for several hundreds of thousands of dollars.

The big Wall Street names of the day included Vanderbilt, Gould, Drew and Belmont. Leonard Jerome knew them and dealt with them, but he and his family were not usually regarded as members of the top stratum of the money society. This was merely a matter of luck with money. A Jerome might have \$2 million at one time whereas a Vanderbilt would have \$100 million.

Leonard Jerome was, however, among the leaders of the New York turf. In 1865 he bought the incomparable Kentucky for \$40,000. Kentucky was one of the greatest horses of the time. Soon after entering Jerome's stable it won the Inauguration Stakes, the first race ever run at Saratoga.

The moving spirit in Jerome Park, a race course in the Bronx, Leonard Jerome learned one day that the avenue leading to it was to be named Murphy Boulevard after a Tammany alderman. He bought a number of sturdy street signs designating the thoroughfare Jerome Avenue and had them put up. They remained and the street was eventually named for him.

The year he came to New York Leonard Jerome and his wife and their first child, Clara, moved in with his brother Addison and Addison's wife at 292 Henry Street, Brooklyn. There the couple's second child, Jennie, mother of Winston Churchill, was born in 1850. The house stands today as 426 Henry Street and bears a plaque noting Jennie's birth there.

In an especially opulent moment Leonard Jerome managed, through his political connections, to get himself appointed United States Consul at Trieste, then a city of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The year was 1852.

Long afterward in her somewhat breathless memoirs Jennie recalled Trieste: "Italian skies gave me my love of heat and of the sun, and a smiling, dark-eyed peasant nurse tuned my baby ears to the harmony of the most melodious of all languages. Until the age of 6 I spoke hardly anything but Italian."

Her father held the Trieste post for three years and then brought his family home.

In 1858 he purchased an interest in *The New York Times* and his holdings during the Civil War ran to around fifteen to twenty percent of the newspaper's 100 shares, each of \$1,000 value. *The Times* was then on the southeast corner of Beekman and Nassau Streets. During the Draft Riots of 1863, when offices of all kinds were being sacked, Jerome borrowed two multiple-fire weapons from the army. These breech-loading antecedents of machine guns showered bullets from a number of barrels when they could be induced to work.

Jerome mounted the weapons in windows of *The Times's* office. Their appearance turned the rioters' attention elsewhere.

Jerome's stock-market luck varied but he was always able

to pick up enough of the remnants of the last fortune to assure that his wife and daughters were able to mingle in smart society in Europe. A third daughter, Leonie (the French feminine of Leonard), was born in Paris.

Clara Jerome and her daughters were seen at the parvenu court of the Emperor Napoleon III where they waltzed to the strains of Offenbach in gowns made by Worth, the first great house of French haute couture. When the Second Empire collapsed after the French defeats in the Franco-Prussian War, Clara Jerome was entrusted with smuggling out of the country the Emperor's best China dinner set. It may be seen today in Churchill's country home at Chartwell.

Meanwhile, back at Blenheim Palace, the Spencer-Churchill family had been making certain contributions to their country's history while the family of Timothy Jerome, the Isle of Wight immigrant to America, was laboring and multiplying in the New World.

Almost the first Churchill since the First Duke of Marlborough to make a strong impact on his country's political life was Lord Randolph Churchill (1849–1895). He was the second surviving son of the Seventh Duke of Marlborough and the father of Winston Churchill.

Lord Randolph was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1886 and seemed on his way to becoming Prime Minister. He possessed intuitive knowledge of politics but his wit left scars.

Lord Randolph was a rugged debater in Commons. There he led a small Conservative party "ginger group." His specialty was baiting the somber Gladstone, leader of the Liberal party opposition and sometimes Prime Minister.

When Lord Randolph became Chancellor of the Exchequer, it was evident that his views were considerably more advanced in social reform than those of Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister.

"The final collision occurred over a comparatively trivial point [the budget's military and naval estimates]. He resigned on the eve of Christmas 1886 at the wrong time, on the wrong issue, and he made no attempt to rally support," his son wrote of the end of his father's political career.

Brunette Jennie

Lord Randolph's political career lay far ahead of him at the moment when at the age of 24 he met the future mother of Winston Churchill. A scintillating member of London's

society (despite one or two disapproving frowns from Queen Victoria and a quarrel with the Prince of Wales) Lord Randolph missed few of the occasions of his day.

He was attending the Royal Yacht Squadron regatta at Cowes in August, 1873, when he first saw Jennie Jerome, a brunette beauty in the first blush of womanhood, and managed to be presented to her and her mother. She, Clara and their mother were making the fashionable rounds of Europe and had followed society to Cowes Week.

Randolph proposed a day or two after the meeting. He was accepted. To his father he wrote, that "she is nice, as lovable, and amiable and charming in every way as she is beautiful, and by her education and bringing-up she is in every way qualified to fill any position."

The Duke reacted brusquely:

"From what you tell me & what I have heard this Mr. J. seems to be a sporting, and I should think, vulgar sort of man. I hear he & his two brothers are stockbrokers, one of them bears a *bad* reputation in commercial judgment in *this* county. I do not know, but it is evident that he is in a class of speculators; he has been bankrupt once, & may be so again."

Randolph finally won over his father and mother. He agreed to meet his father's stipulation that he would settle down and stand for Parliament. There was a bit of a fuss over the dowry. Although Jerome had run into hard luck on the market, he settled £50,000, about \$250,000, on the couple. All the income was to go to Randolph, who promised to give his wife £1,000 a year.

Winston Churchill wrote in his biography of his father:

"On April 15, 1874, the marriage was celebrated at the British Embassy in Paris and after a tour—not too prolonged—upon the Continent, Lord Randolph returned in triumph with his bride to receive the dutiful laudations of the Borough of Woodstock and enjoy the leafy glories of Blenheim in the spring."

On December 3, 1874, *The Times* of London printed the following among its birth announcements:

"On 30th November at Blenheim Palace, the Lady Randolph Churchill, prematurely, of a son."

Born in a Palace

Winston Churchill was already a young man in a hurry. A ball (presumably attended by his mother) was held at

Blenheim November 30 and Winston was born in a first floor room of the palace called Dean Jones's Room, in use at the time as a ladies' cloakroom.

At Blenheim, the child played soldier in the vast and drafty halls. He was undersized, sometimes shy, sometimes overassertive. He seemed to be able to learn nothing at school. He adored his brilliant father, who, however, was convinced by his son's school failures that the boy was retarded.

Few homes of the British aristocracy are child-oriented and Winston saw little of his mother.

"My mother made a brilliant impression upon my childhood life," he said in his memoirs. "She shone for me like the evening star. I loved her dearly but at a distance. She always seemed to me like a fairy princess."

Winston's father died in 1895. In 1901 Lady Randolph married Captain George Frederick Myddleton Cornwallis-West and this marriage was terminated by divorce in 1913. Churchill's mother then married Montague Phippin Porch, of the Nigerian Civil Service, who died in 1964. Lady Randolph died in 1921.

The boy became deeply attached to his nanny, Mrs. Everest. As he put it, "My nurse was my confidante and nearest and most intimate friend."

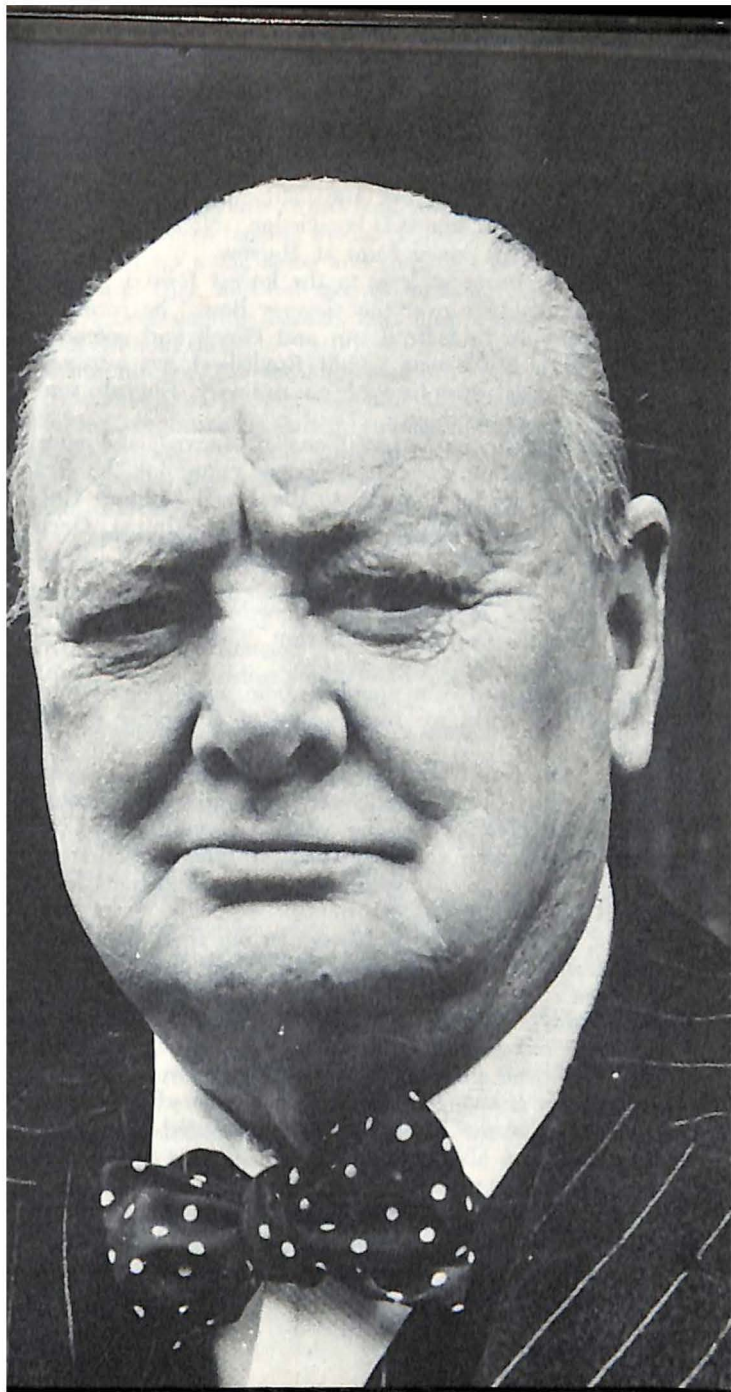
When he became one of the grand figures of his age, it was Mrs. Everest's picture that was over his desk.

Churchill's brother, John Strange Spencer-Churchill (the form of the Churchill name that he used) was born in February, 1880. He was an amiable figure often known as Jack Churchill. He served with some distinction in South Africa and in World War I.

In 1908 he married Lady Gwendoline Theresa Mary Bertie, daughter of the first Earl of Abingdon. A daughter, Anne Clarissa, was married to Sir Anthony Eden. Spencer-Churchill died in 1947.

At 7 Winston was sent to a school at Ascot. He was a sore trial to his masters. He would neither learn nor behave and he was caned regularly. Caught stealing sugar from the pantry, he received the usual birching. This was repeated when, in revenge, he kicked the headmaster's straw hat to pieces. Sent to another school at Brighton, he discovered books and read everything he could get his hands on.

In 1888 he entered Harrow. When the boys filed past the headmaster in order of their academic standing, he was often at the end of the line. He became used to hearing



visitors exclaim, "Why that's Randolph Churchill's boy and he's last!"

Gradually the more perceptive of his teachers began to sense that Winston was far from stupid. He could not come to grips with Latin and Greek and mathematics but he was the school's star in general knowledge. Nonetheless, he never got out of the lower form at Harrow.

"However, by being so long in the lowest form I gained an immense advantage over the cleverer boys," he recalled. "They all went on to learn Latin and Greek and splendid things like that. But I was taught English. I got into my bones the essential structure of an ordinary English sentence—which is a noble thing."

Winston was four and a half years at Harrow, and after three examination failures and prodigious cramming, he was finally admitted, in June, 1893, to the Royal Military College, now the Royal Military Academy, at Sandhurst. Once there, he did well. He stood eighth in his class of 150 at the end of the courses.

Two years later he was commissioned a lieutenant and joined the Fourth Hussars at Aldershot. There seemed little immediate prospect of active service.

"All my money had been spent on polo ponies," he wrote. "I searched the world for some scene of adventure or excitement."

His eye lighted on Cuba and the fighting between the independence forces and the Spanish. Family connections helped him get clearance of the Spanish Government. Lord Randolph had written for *The Daily Graphic* and his son made use of this to get an assignment to report on the Cuban fighting. He was to get £5 an article.

In Cuba, near Trocham, on November 29, 1895, the eve of his 21st birthday, Winston Churchill came under fire for the first time.

"On this day when we halted for breakfast every man sat by his horse and ate what he had in his pocket," he wrote later. "I had been provided with half a skinny chicken. I was engaged in gnawing the drumstick when suddenly, close at hand, almost in our faces it seemed, a ragged volley rang out from the edge of the forest. So at any rate I had been under fire. That was something."

After he returned to Britain his regiment was ordered to India and he went into garrison at Bangalore. He played polo and read seriously, stocking his mind by memorizing large sections of Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations*.

But he became restless. Through General Sir Bindon Blood, a family friend, he found his way to the headquarters of the Malakand Field Force on the Northwest Frontier. There was action there, and he wrote of an encounter with a Pathan:

"I wore my cavalry sword well sharpened. After all, I had the public school fencing medal. The savage saw me coming. He picked up a big stone and hurled it at me with his left hand, and then awaited me, brandishing his sword. There were others waiting behind him and I changed my mind about the cold steel."

Churchill fired his pistol and took off.

A contemporary described him as "a slight, red-headed, freckled snub-nosed young subaltern, vehement, moody, quickly responsive, easily hurt, taciturn at times and at times quite opinionative with a tumbling flow of argument, confident to the point of complacency, but capable of generous self-sacrifice, proud but no snob."

After writing a book—it was his first—that was less than gently critical of the expedition's management, he turned to fiction. The result was his only novel, *Savrola. A Tale of the Revolution in Laurania*.

Savrola is a dashing young man—an understanding liberal who is nonetheless a traditionalist at heart. He bears a striking resemblance to Churchill's conception of himself.

Novelist Sees Himself

"Would you rise in the world?" said Savrola. "You must work while others amuse themselves. Are you desirous of a reputation for courage? You must risk your life. Would you be strong morally or physically? You must resist temptations. All this is paying in advance; that is prospective finance. Observe the other side of the picture; the bad things are paid for afterward!"

The novel, issued in 1900, was a moderate success and it was reprinted in 1956. The author had second thoughts about its literary merit, however. "I have consistently urged friends not to read it," he wrote later.

Having acquired a taste for battle, Churchill sought more, this time in Egypt where Kitchener was leading a British force slowly up the Nile into the Sudan. Churchill's reputation for aiming journalistic barbs at generals had preceded him and Kitchener would have none of him.

Churchill invoked his mother's influence in London. "Many were the pleasant luncheons and dinners attended by

the powers in those days which occupied two months of strenuous negotiations."

Finally, Prime Minister Salisbury yielded and asked Kitchener to let Churchill join his force. He was classed as a supernumerary officer and he was also a correspondent for *The Morning Post*.

In Cavalry Charge

Having agreed to foot his own hospital and burial expenses, he was assigned to the Twenty-first Lancers in time for the Battle of Omdurman on September 2, 1898. He was up early that day.

"Talk of fun! Where will you beat this! On horseback at daybreak, within shot of an advancing enemy and seeing everything."

He charged with his Lancers, pistol in hand (a shoulder injury prevented his wielding a saber), and went through the slashing, stabbing struggle. The British victory virtually ended the war.

At loose ends after Sudan, Churchill considered going to Oxford, but he lacked sufficient Latin and Greek. Instead, he opted for India, where he served briefly. In 1899, he resigned his commission and determined to enter politics.

The year was 1899. When he applied to the Conservative party for a Commons seat to contest, he was not widely known and had only about enough spare money to pay his election expenses.

He was assigned to contest a vacancy in Oldham, a dreary Manchester industrial suburb. He lost—the first of five defeats as against nineteen victories—but he was not disheartened.

"Live and learn!" he wrote later. "I think I might say without conceit that I was in those days a pretty good candidate. However, when the votes were counted, we were well beaten."

It took another war, however, for Churchill to fix himself firmly in British politics. This was the Boer War, brought on when the Boers in South Africa ordered British troops away from their frontiers and the British refused.

"The Boer ultimatum had not ticked out on the tape machine for an hour when Oliver Borthwick [editor of *The Morning Post*] came to offer me an appointment as principal War Correspondent. £250 a month, all expenses paid," he wrote.

Churchill had scarcely reached Natal when he suffered the ignominy of being captured on an armored train and put, a prisoner of war, in the State Model Schools in Pretoria. After four weeks, however, he escaped by climbing a wall.

"I said to myself," he recalled, "*'toujours de l'audace,'* put my hat on my head, strode into the middle of the garden, walked past the windows of the house without any attempt at concealment, and so went through the gate. I passed the sentry at less than five yards."

Free with £74 in his pocket and four slabs of chocolate, he hopped a freight train without any notion of where it was heading. In the morning he left it (and the coal sacks on which he had slept) at Witbank, in the Transvaal, to seek food and shelter. To a householder at whose door he knocked, he said he was a Boer lost from his command, but the tale didn't wash, "so I took the plunge and threw all I had upon the board."

Wanted at £25

"I am Winston Churchill, war correspondent of *The Morning Post*," he confessed. "I escaped last night from Pretoria. I have plenty of money. Will you help me?"

Fortunately, the man, Frank Howard, manager of the Transvaal Collieries, proved sympathetic. He took Churchill down into a coal mine, leaving him with some candles, a bottle of whisky and a box of cigars.

Meanwhile, his Pretoria escape was discovered, and the Boers sent out a circular offering £25 for his apprehension. He had, the notice said, "a small, hardly noticeable mustache, talks through his nose and cannot pronounce the letter *s* properly."

After a couple of days in the mine, Howard got the bedraggled correspondent onto another freight train where he hid between two bales of wool until it reached neutral Portuguese East Africa and the city of Lourenço Marques, whence, after getting help from the British consul, he went to Durban.

An astonishing acclaim greeted him. "I reached Durban to find myself a popular hero. I was received as if I had won a great victory. I was nearly torn to pieces by enthusiastic kindness. Sheaves of telegrams from all parts of the world poured in on me."

However, it was with reluctance that the British military

permitted him to continue as a correspondent as well as a temporary lieutenant in the South African Light Horse, an irregular force. He was thus on hand for the relief of Ladysmith, the battles in the Orange Free State and hard skirmishing in the Transvaal. He returned to London in the late summer of 1900.

His plan was to re-enter politics, but first there was a quick lecture trip in the United States under the sponsorship of Mark Twain. Churchill and Mark Twain had never met and it was suggested that they should confer in private for an hour or so before dinner to become acquainted. Both men would rather talk than listen and each liked to dominate the conversation. Friends waiting for the Churchill-Mark Twain causerie to end were making bets on who would outtalk the other.

Mark Twain Bemused

Mark Twain was the first to emerge. He looked bemused and beaten and Churchill was at his heels with, "As I was saying, sir . . ."

Before Churchill and Mark Twain parted Mark Twain gave him several of his books, each bearing the inscription:

"To do good is noble; to teach others to do good is nobler, and no trouble."

Churchill's tour had certain exciting moments. There was a considerable amount of sympathy for the Boers, but Churchill handled this skillfully. The moment that he mentioned the Boers in his first New York lecture, the hall rang with cheers for the South Africans.

"I'm glad to hear those cheers, gentlemen," Churchill said. "You are quite right to cheer the Boers. They are a brave people, and they deserve all the cheers you can give them."

Churchill also met numbers of Irishmen in his audiences and they delighted in twisting the lion's tale. He parried their shafts with good humor and changed the subject by talking about pleasant experiences he had had with Irish military units in the Boer War.

On a subsequent lecture tour in 1931 his lectures dealt with British-American relations and the great common inheritance of the two people. He did a bit of skillful name dropping—nobody had any better names to drop—and he did not forget to include a few accounts of his various deeds of derring-do, always told with a modest twist that made them go down well.



He usually drew full houses as much for his fame as his platform delivery. An appearance in Symphony Hall, Boston, was typical. From behind a lectern, he appeared squat, but his voice was resonant and easily reached the far reaches of the hall. As his lecture on the special Anglo-American responsibility for world order progressed, he stood beside the lectern rather than behind it and used his left arm to gesture ever so slightly.

He was then, as later, the master of the artful pause before the climax of a sentence or thought that he wanted to emphasize.

Although his remarks gave the impression of spontaneity because he spoke from only a few notes, his speech had been carefully prepared. To the applause that frequently interrupted it, he was modest, even deferential.

Churchill made \$10,000 and expenses on his first tour. He gave most of it to his banker friend, Sir Ernest Cassell, to invest for him. He took in considerably more in 1931.

In the election of 1900 a total of eleven Parliamentary constituencies offered Churchill a chance to contest them, but with typical stubbornness he chose Oldham, the scene of his earlier defeat. He was asked by many leaders of his party to speak in their districts.

The campaign in Oldham became so raucous that it attracted national attention. Churchill's Boer War adventures were told and retold. "Soldiers of the Queen" had been a popular song and it became Churchill's theme song. The bands played either this or "See, the Conquering Hero Comes!" Girls wore blue sashes emblazoned "God Bless Churchill, England's Noblest Hero."

T. E. Dunville, the music-hall comedian, reminded audiences:

You've heard of Winston Churchill:
That is all I need to say—
He's the latest and the greatest
Correspondent of the day.

However, despite Churchill's martial allure, he just scraped in; and at the age of 26 he entered the House of Commons, January 23, 1901, part of the 134-vote majority of the Conservative party.

Great interest centered on the new M.P. His father was well remembered and everyone wondered what his son would do. A fellow M.P. said that "Churchill had not been

in the Commons for five minutes until he was seen to lean back, tip his top hat over his forehead, cross his legs, bury his hands in his pockets and survey the scene as if he were the oldest, not the youngest member."

New members were not supposed to speak until they had been on hand at least a month but Churchill got the Speaker's eye and was on his feet four days after he had been sworn in. The Boer War was still on—it was not to end until June, 1902—and reference to it in debate gave Churchill a chance to speak.

His Maiden Speech

He stood, lean and red-haired in a long frock coat with satin lapels. Whether by design or naturally, his gestures recalled his father's. Like his hero, Savrola, "he showed or perhaps he feigned, some nervousness at first, and here and there in his sentences he paused as if searching for a word."

However, he had prepared his speech and had memorized it.

Early in his speech he made a gallant reference to the men he had fought in South Africa by saying, "If I were a Boer fighting in the field—and if I were a Boer I hope I should be fighting in the field— . . ."

Then he went on:

"I earnestly hope that the Colonial Secretary will leave nothing undone to bring home to those brave and unhappy men who are still fighting in the field that whenever they are prepared to recognize that their small independence must be merged in the larger liberties of the British Empire, there will be a full guarantee for the security of their property and religion."

The brisk give-and-take of Commons was the breath of life to Churchill. He once called Aneurin Bevan a "squalid nuisance" and referred to the politically supple Ramsay MacDonald as "the boneless wonder."

One of Churchill's most vigorous and durable feuds was with the American-born Viscountess Astor, the first woman to sit in Commons. Lady Astor represented the Sutton Division of Plymouth as a Conservative from 1919 to 1945. She was a handsome woman with a strong chin who usually wore a small tricorne hat in the House. Her appearance there as an M.P. was a national event and many members regretted her presence.

In her first speech she thanked Commons for her courteous reception and quoted Henry James's phrase about the

"dauntless decency of the English." Although Churchill had known her for many years, he chose to ignore her when she first entered Commons. One day she confronted him and asked why.

He replied that he found a woman's intrusion into the House of Commons as embarrassing as if she burst into his bathroom when he had nothing to defend himself with but a sponge. Her reply was: "You are not handsome enough to have worries of that kind."

Lady Astor constantly sought more stringent laws controlling Britain's liquor trade. In the House on more than one occasion Churchill called her attention to the failure of prohibition in the United States. She in turn gloated in the House when Churchill was defeated in Dundee in 1922 by Edwin Scrymgeour, a militant Prohibitionist.

Her trip to Moscow with Bernard Shaw and others in 1931 gave Churchill a gambit that he could not but exploit. In a magazine article he wrote of Bernard Shaw and Lady Astor's trip.

After advertising "the nimble antics of this double-headed chameleon," as he called Shaw, Churchill wrote:

"Similar, though different contradictions are now observed in Lady Astor. She reigns in the old world and the new, at once a leader of smart society and of advanced feminist democracy. She accepts Communist hospitality and remains Conservative member for Plymouth."

Visualizing the reception of the Shaw-Astor party at the Kremlin, Churchill went on:

"So the crowds are marshaled, thousands are served out their red scarves and flags. Commissar Litvinov, unmindful of the food queues in the back streets, prepares a sumptuous banquet, and the Arch-Commissar Stalin, the man of steel, throwing open the closely guarded sanctuary of the Kremlin and pushing aside his morning budget of death warrants and *lettres de cachet*, received his guests with smiles of unaffected comradeship."

Probably the most celebrated exchange between Churchill and Lady Astor occurred when she said to him:

"If I were your wife I'd put poison in your coffee."

To this he replied:

"If I was your husband I'd drink it."

Before Lady Astor was a member of the Commons Churchill was a guest on several occasions at the Astor estate, Cliveden, at Taplow in Buckinghamshire. Here the wealthy

Astors dispensed a superior brand of hospitality on a large assortment of people. Churchill was first a guest there in 1907.

In the period before World War II Lady Astor was accused of gathering around her at this country estate persons who favored the appeasement of Hitler and Mussolini and this group came to be known as the Cliveden Set. The existence of such a group was denied by Lady Astor. Naturally, Churchill did not visit Cliveden at this time. Lady Astor died in 1964.

Churchill's speeches in Parliament and elsewhere seemed to many to have been delivered extemporaneously. However, according to Lord Birkenhead, Churchill "spent the best years of his life writing his impromptu speeches."

Never a blind follower, Churchill progressively became a problem to his party leaders. His views were somewhat advanced on social reform, and he was soon a leading light in a "ginger group," called the Hughlighans, after one of their number, Lord Hugh Cecil. He began to take pot shots at Balfour, the Prime Minister, and his position as a Conservative grew untenable.

In a dramatic scene May 31, 1903, Churchill entered the House, glanced at the Conservative bench, bowed to the Speaker and "crossed the floor" amid Tory catcalls to join the Liberal party amid their cheers.

His reward came in the election of 1905, when the Liberals swept into power with a 356-seat majority and he was appointed Under Secretary for the Colonies. Two years later, at the age of 32, he was made a Privy Councillor.

Characteristically, the new Under Secretary toured the colonies, arranging to write magazine articles about his travels. Lacking a private fortune, he supported himself by such articles and by lecturing. Indeed, he needed the money, for he liked London's social life, good food, the best brandy and cigars, polo and the turf.

Standing for the first time as Liberal in the election of 1906, Churchill ran in Manchester Northwest and won, although assailed as a Conservative turncoat. Two years later, however, things went badly for him over the issue of woman suffrage. He opposed it; his opponent was for it. With the lusty help of the suffragettes, including, naturally, Sylvia Pankhurst, Churchill lost.

This was by no means his last encounter with that determined band of women. Later in 1910, when he was Home Secretary with general supervision of the London po-

lice, he was involved in the suffragette "Black Friday" when a riotous group of women surrounded Prime Minister Asquith near 10 Downing Street, and the police, only with difficulty, hustled him to safety in a taxicab.

Wins Dundee Election

Churchill was stationed nearby, watching the fray and ordering the police, at one point, to drive a woman away. On several occasions thereafter he was attacked by women wielding umbrellas, but he managed to escape unscathed, except politically, for the Tories taunted him in the House over "Black Friday."

Meanwhile, after his defeat in Manchester Northwest, Churchill bounced back by winning a by-election in Dundee, which caused his colleagues in Commons to greet him with the cry of "Marmalade!"—the well-known product of that constituency.

Under Asquith, Churchill received a full Cabinet post, President of the Board of Trade.

It so happened that the Countess of Airlie who had made herself useful to Churchill in Dundee had a very attractive granddaughter, Clementine Ogilvy Hozier. Miss Hozier was a daughter of Sir Henry Montague Hozier and Lady Henrietta Blanche Hozier, daughter of the seventh Earl of Airlie.

Churchill and Miss Hozier were married at St. Margaret's, Westminster, September 12, 1908. He had been a full Cabinet minister since April and the wedding was a considerable social event. King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra and members of the Cabinet sent presents. Lord Hugh Cecil, Churchill's colleague in the Hughlighans, was his best man.

After a few days at Blenheim and a brief trip to Lake Maggiore, the Churchills took up residence in a house in Queens Gate, London. Churchill called his wife Clemmie and she was standing at his side at the window of their home on his ninetieth birthday.

In October, 1910, Asquith offered Churchill the post of Secretary for Ireland, but as more than one politician had ended his career in this job, Churchill neatly side-stepped. Asquith made him Home Secretary instead. This was one of the key Cabinet offices—often a step toward the Prime Ministership.

A coal miners' strike in Wales posed difficulties. After several incidents Churchill had troops sent before local authorities requested for them, a move for which he was

widely criticized, although the intervention restored order without casualties.

At this time bomb-throwing anarchists were spreading terror in Europe, and some of them were known to be in London.

Sidney Street Battle

On the morning of January 3, 1911, Churchill was summoned to the telephone from his bath. Girt with a towel, he heard that suspected anarchists were exchanging shots with the police from a house in Sidney Street.

After ordering a battalion of the Scots Guards and two field guns to the scene, Churchill dressed and appeared in Sidney Street in a silk hat and fur-collared overcoat. Several photographers recorded the scene. A desultory exchange of shots ended when the building caught fire. Two bodies, one of a man killed by bullet wounds and the other of a man who had suffocated, were found inside.

The episode produced laughter from the Opposition in Commons. It was charged that the Home Secretary had turned a simple police action into something resembling war.

In later years, Churchill gained so exalted a position in the admiration and affection of his countrymen that it is hard to remember that he was not always so regarded. At various times in his career, he was widely suspected and disliked. When he was a war correspondent and soldier, for instance, he was called a medal-snatcher and glory hunter.

The vigor of Churchill's assault on fame and fortune, particularly early in his career, got on the nerves of some of his countrymen. He was referred to in *The Daily Chronicle* as "Pushful, the Younger."

It may be presumed that his bold and dashing father, Lord Randolph Churchill, was "Pushful, the Elder!"

When Winston was a war correspondent-cavalry officer, a newspaper referred to him as one of a band of "disconsolate young gentlemen endeavoring to fight their country's battles disguised as journalists!"

In politics, the Conservatives considered him an opportunist for deserting the party of his father. Some of the Liberals regarded him as a Johnny-come-lately in the cause of social reform. He was thought, too, as too facile and glib. Stanley Baldwin once referred to "Winston's 100-horsepower mind."

On October 22, 1911, Churchill became First Lord of the Admiralty, the Cabinet head of the navy. Having been

acquainted with Britain's naval problems, he took steps to spur the modernization of her ships and organization. His prescience was responsible for the fact that naval units were at their posts and battle-ready when World War I opened. Recalling the war's beginning, Churchill wrote:

"It was eleven o'clock at night—twelve by German time [August 4, 1914] when the [British] ultimatum expired. The windows of the Admiralty were thrown wide open in the warm night air. Under the roof from which Nelson had received his orders were gathered a small group of admirals and captains and a cluster of clerks, pencils in hand, waiting.

"Along the Mall from the direction of [Buckingham] palace the sound of an immense concourse singing 'God Save the King' floated in. On this deep wave there broke the chimes of Big Ben and, as the first stroke of the hour boomed out, a rustle of movement swept across the room. The war telegram, which meant 'Commence hostilities against Germany,' was flashed to the ships and establishments under the White Ensign all over the world.

Rupert Brooke Poem

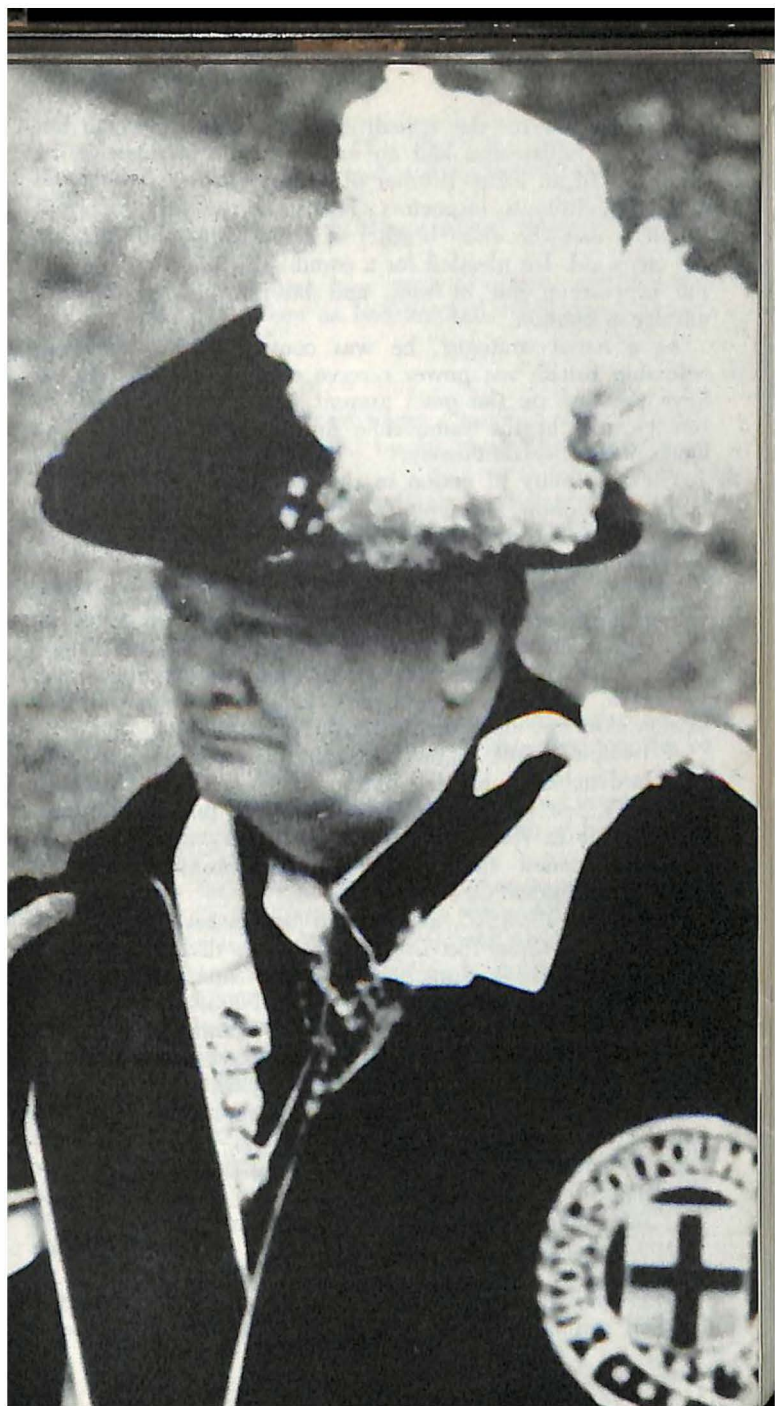
"I walked across the Horse Guards Parade to the Cabinet Room and reported to the Prime Minister and the Ministers who were assembled there that the deed was done."

When the war began Churchill was besieged by friends or friends of friends who wanted commissions in the Naval Division. Bernard Freyberg who had been a dental mechanic in San Francisco told Churchill a tall tale about having fought in Mexico with Pancho Villa and got a commission. He became one of the best natural military commanders of his day, won a Victoria Cross, became a full general and was elevated to the peerage as Baron Freyberg for his World War II services.

The young Cambridge poet, Rupert Brooke, was also a friend and he was commissioned in the Naval Division. He wrote "The Soldier," which so well summed up British feeling in 1914. It begins:

If I should die, think only this of me:
That there's some corner of a foreign field
That is forever England. . . .

When the bugles of battle sounded it was agony for Churchill to be out of the fighting. He accompanied the



Naval Division on the expedition to relieve Antwerp, but he was a civilian and had no military uniform. Instead, he wore that of an Elder Brother of Trinity House, a venerable guild of lighthouse inspectors. This gave rise to a report in Antwerp that the elder brother of the Trinity had come to the city's aid. He pleaded for a commission and to command the expedition, but in vain, and he returned to the Admiralty in London.

As a naval strategist, he was convinced that the considerable British sea power reserve could be utilized to relieve pressure on the main ground war fronts on the Continent while at the same time finding and exploiting the flanks of the Central Powers.

The possibility of action in the Mediterranean, so stimulating to Nelson and Napoleon, caught Churchill's imagination, too. The operation that seemed to offer the greatest possibilities was the forcing of the Dardanelles.

The Strait of the Dardanelles unites the Aegean with the Sea of Marmora and controls the approaches to Istanbul, then called Constantinople, and entrance into the Black Sea. The European side of the strait is formed by the Gallipoli Peninsula, a tongue of land sixty-three miles long. Its possession assures control of the Dardanelles.

A twofold result might be gained from the opening of the Dardanelles. A helping hand could be extended through the Black Sea to Russia and it might be possible to raise the Balkans in the rear of Austria-Hungary and Germany. As it happened though, the Dardanelles nearly ended Churchill's political career.

On March 18, 1915, a combined British and French fleet attempted to force the Dardanelles with disastrous results and heavy losses in ships and lives. The first infantry units fought their way onto the Gallipoli Peninsula April 25. Other landings followed and there were months of desperate fighting. Incompetence and ill luck dogged the British efforts. A British general got his men ashore and instead of moving immediately to seize commanding heights overlooking the beach, let his men go swimming. The Turks managed to get men on the heights during the night and the British attack the next day failed.

It was moments like this that were anguish to Churchill in the London Admiralty headquarters. He knew he was right, but the atmosphere about him began to cool.

Soon the Dardanelles campaign reached a sort of befuddled standstill. "From this slough I was not able to lift

the operation. All the negative forces began to band themselves together," he wrote. "The 'No' principle had become established in men's minds and nothing could ever eradicate it."

Churchill recalled that a War Council meeting May 14, 1915, was "sulphurous."

"Lord Kitchener began in a strain of solemn and formidable complaint . . . when he had finished, the Council turned to me—almost on me."

Resigns Cabinet Post

The ground was cut from under Churchill on the Dardanelles when he was deserted by his chief technical adviser, Admiral Lord Fisher.

A munitions shortage and general dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war forced Asquith to form a coalition Government a few days later. Churchill was succeeded at the Admiralty by Arthur Balfour, a Conservative. It was probably the lowest point in his career. He was subsequently cleared by a board of inquiry of sole responsibility for the Dardanelles failure but that was much later and the damage had been done.

Churchill remained in the Government as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, a sinecure. Within five months he resigned from the Cabinet.

He thereupon got a major's commission and went to the front in France for a refresher course with a battalion of the Grenadier Guards.

There was little or no fighting in that sector and after he got his battalion smartened up, Churchill spent some time in his dugout in France in an old blue civilian rain-coat listening to classical records on a gramophone.

Meantime, Lloyd George managed to bring down the Asquith Government and became Prime Minister December 6, 1916. He wanted Churchill in his Cabinet but dared not include him because of the uproar over the Dardanelles. However, he did manage to get him in as Minister of Munitions in July, 1917.

Churchill brought his customary energy and organizing skill to this new job. It was essential that Britain and her Allies control the trade in nitrate, a major component of explosives, and it was through maneuvers to this end that he came in contact with Bernard M. Baruch who was to become one of his closest American friends. Churchill called him "one of the best friends I ever had."

Baruch was on the War Production Board in Washington and he and Churchill worked a number of extremely shrewd angles to control Chile's nitrate production. Baruch referred to Churchill as the "Nitrate King." The two did not meet until the Peace Conference in Paris and Versailles after World War I.

On a day when the German reply to the peace terms was made public Baruch was so agitated that he rushed to Churchill's hotel and entered his room at a moment when Churchill was carefully adjusting a black satin necktie and could not immediately be diverted from this task. Churchill had been sent to the Peace Conference by Lloyd George, but he saw political pitfalls in the proposed settlements and kept somewhat to the rear of the picture.

The excited Baruch said:

"We are going to discuss the treaty. I want us [the United States and Britain] to be united and not bust up in front of 'em."

In the ensuing conversation Churchill remarked:

"In war I was for war; in peace I am for peace."

The discussion was inconclusive, but the two men who had corresponded so frequently during the war had now met.

More often than not Churchill and Baruch disagreed on public policy. Early in the first Administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Churchill published a sharp and lengthy criticism of the New Deal. Baruch had explained to him that it was part of a worldwide demand for a more equal distribution of the good things of life.

Despite political differences, Churchill seldom visited New York without seeing Baruch and often stayed at his home. The Baruch residence was often the headquarters of visiting Churchills and Churchill and members of his family were frequent visitors at Baruch's South Carolina estate, Hobcaw Barony. Baruch was often Churchill's guest in England and gave him many good tips on the stock market. After one of these pleasant stock transactions Churchill said, "How good your judgment was!"

Another lifelong friend—one of American origin—was Mrs. Jacques Balsan, the former Consuelo Vanderbilt who had married Winston Churchill's cousin, the ninth Duke of Marlborough. The marriage ended in divorce and papal annulment. When Consuelo Duchess first came as a bride to Blenheim in 1895 she found the solemn formality a bore. She wrote in her memoirs.

"I was glad to turn to Winston, a young red-headed boy a few years older than I. He struck me as ardent and vital and seemed to have every interest in getting the most out of life."

Of her chilly meeting with her mother-in-law, the Dowager Duchess, Mrs. Balsan wrote:

"Then fixing her cold gray eyes upon me she continued, 'Your first duty is to have a child and it must be a son, because it would be intolerable to have little upstart Winston become duke.'"

Winston was heir presumptive to the dukedom of Marlborough until the birth of a son to the Duke and Duchess in 1897.

The Duchess of Marlborough who so admired Churchill was also a close friend of his mother, Lady Randolph Churchill, of whom she wrote:

"Her gray eyes sparkled with the joy of living and when, as was often the case, her anecdotes were *risqué*, it was in her eyes as well as her words that one could read the implications."

The Duchess of Marlborough became Mrs. Balsan after the end of her marriage to the duke. Churchill often visited her at her villa in the south of France and when she was in New York during one of his visits, he seldom failed to call on her at her Sutton Place home. Mrs. Balsan died in 1964.

Of all of Churchill's contacts in America, none gave him more amusement than his correspondence with an American namesake, but no relation. He wrote:

"In the Spring of 1899 I became conscious of the fact that there was another Winston Churchill who also wrote books; apparently he wrote novels, and very good novels, too, which achieved an enormous circulation in the United States. I received from many quarters congratulations on my skill as a writer of fiction. I thought at first these were due to a belated appreciation of the merits of *Savrola*. Gradually I realized that there was 'another Richmond in the field,' luckily on the other side of the Atlantic."

The British Churchill produced his correspondence with his American counterpart.

"London, June 7, 1899. Mr. Winston Churchill presents his compliments to Mr. Winston Churchill, and begs to draw his attention to a matter which concerns them both . . ."

The future Prime Minister humorously outlined the complication that could arise from a confusion between the

author of a military chronicle of the fighting in the Sudan and the author of the novel, *The Crisis*.

He also promised in the future to sign his writings Winston Spencer Churchill.

A reply came from Windsor, Vt. dated June 21, 1899.

"Mr. Winston Churchill is extremely grateful to Mr. Winston Churchill for bringing forward a subject which has given Mr. Winston Churchill much anxiety. Mr. Winston Churchill appreciates the courtesy of Mr. Winston Churchill in adopting the name of Winston Spencer Churchill in his books, articles, etc. Mr. Winston Churchill makes haste to add that, had he possessed any other names, he would have certainly adopted one of them."

The two became good friends.

Winston Spencer Churchill recalled in his memoirs:

"When a year later I visited Boston, Mr. Winston Churchill was the first to welcome me. He entertained me at a very gay banquet of young men, and we made each other complimentary speeches. Some confusion persisted; all my mails were sent to his address and the bill for the dinner came in to me. I need not say that both these errors were speedily redressed."

Winston Spencer Churchill signed himself in that fashion for some time and then used Winston S. Churchill. Winston Churchill, the American novelist, died in 1947.

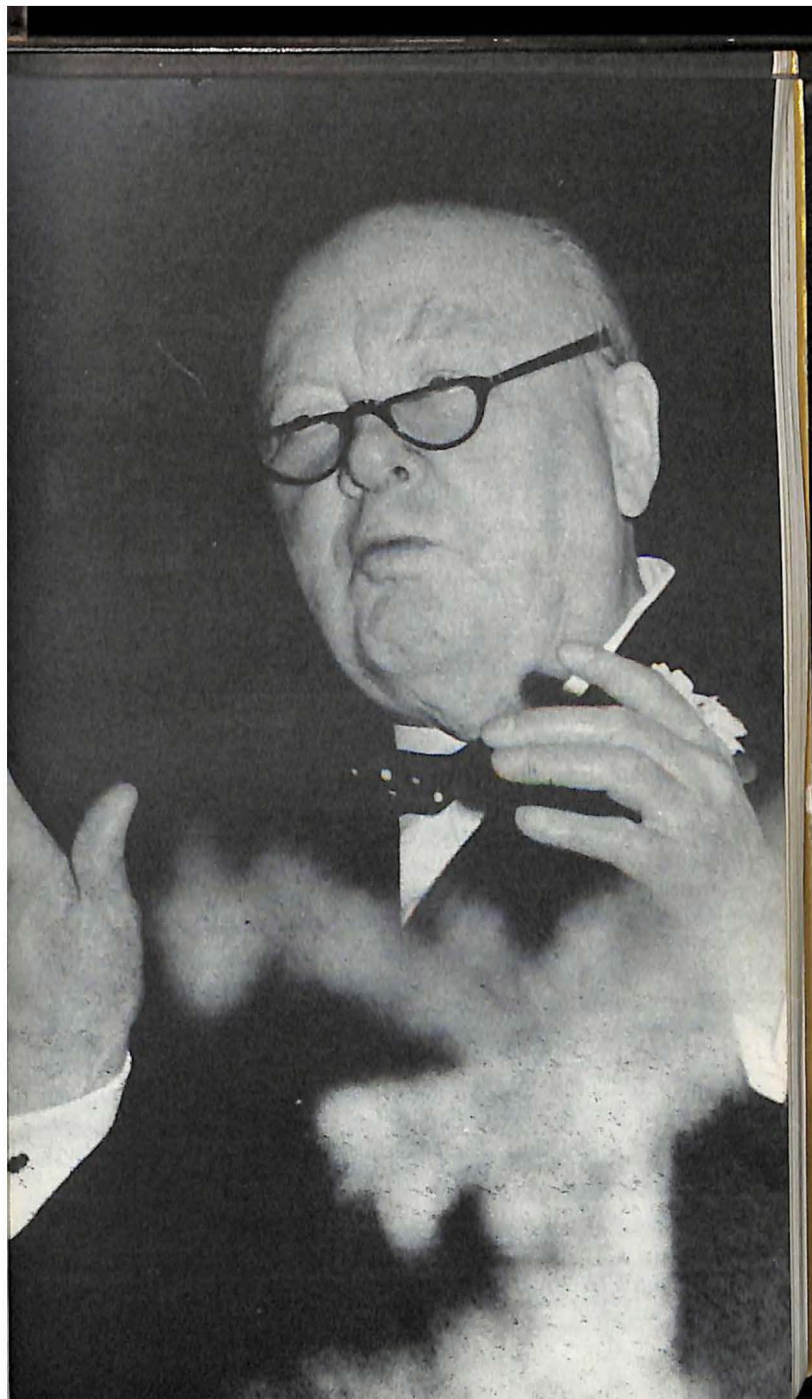
The relationship between Churchill and Lloyd George was what might be expected between two strong, self-willed personalities. Lloyd George was the first to hold out his hand when Churchill "crossed the floor" to join the Liberals in 1904, and the two worked together to obtain important liberal legislation. While it was Lloyd George who headed the fight to break the power of the House of Lords over the budget, Churchill was his able lieutenant.

Churchill was criticized when he deserted Asquith in 1916 and accepted a Cabinet post under Lloyd George, who had toppled Asquith's Government.

He was fond of the wily Welshman to the end. Indeed, in his last speech in the House of Commons, March 28, 1955, there was a motion to erect a public monument to his old friend and collaborator.

In World War I their cooperation had been close, and Churchill was Minister of Munitions when the Armistice ended the fighting November 11, 1918.

"On the night of the Armistice I dined with the Prime Minister at Downing Street," Churchill wrote. "We were



alone in the large room from whose walls the portraits of Pitt and Fox, of Nelson and Wellington, and—perhaps somewhat incongruously—of Washington then looked down. My own mood was divided between anxiety for the future and desire to help the fallen foe. From outside the songs and cheers of the multitudes could be remotely heard like the surf on the shore."

After the general election of 1918 Lloyd George reorganized his Cabinet and Churchill became Secretary for War. No more thankless task could have been given to anybody at that moment.

There were mutinies in France and Britain. Riding in Hyde Park, King George V was surrounded by a disorderly crowd of soldiers and an attempt was made to pull him from his horse. Churchill had to use detachments of Guards to restore order among the more than 3,000 soldiers on the Horse Guards Parade.

Meantime, the specter that had been haunting Europe since 1848 materialized in Imperial Russia when Lenin's Communists seized power in November, 1917. Once the outlines of the new regime became evident, Churchill grew alarmed. Trustful of the common man though he was, he was not prepared to trust Lenin's version of the same abstraction. Of the Russian Revolution, he wrote:

"Meanwhile the German hammer broke down the front and Lenin blew up the rear. Could any man have made head at once against this double assault? All broke, all collapsed, all liquefied in the universal bubble and approaching cannonade, and out of this anarchy emerged the one coherent, frightful entity and fact—the Bolshevik punch!"

Churchill was convinced of the need for armed intervention to aid the White Russian counter-revolutionaries. Small forces under British command, composed chiefly of British and American troops, did occupy Murmansk and Archangel, but the Red Army in the end prevailed. These expeditions, and Churchill's role in them, were still sharp in the memories of Soviet leaders twenty years afterward, and they contributed to Russian suspicions of Churchill in World War II.

Liberals Defended

Politics gave Churchill a breathing spell in 1922. Lloyd George was toppled by the Conservatives under Bonar Law. For the first time since 1900 Churchill was without a seat in Commons.

Vastly annoyed, he contested the Leicester West Division in 1923, but lost.

A bitter moment in Churchill's career came in 1924. He had been twice beaten for a Commons seat. He then posed his candidature in the Abbey Division of Westminster, in which the Houses of Parliament are situated, and one considered safely Conservative.

Churchill ran as an Independent and exerted himself to the utmost to win. Many of his Tory friends helped him. But when the votes were counted he had lost by forty-three votes out of 22,778 cast.

Meantime, he was edging the way back toward the Conservative party and he had run as an Independent.

By 1924 Churchill believed that the Liberal party had become so infiltrated by Socialists that it could no longer afford him a spiritual home. Moreover, it was going into eclipse because of factional strife.

The same year Churchill stood in the general election from the Epping Division of Essex as a Constitutionalist. There was a Conservative sweep and Churchill won. He did not expect to be asked to join the Baldwin Government. However, Baldwin called him to his office and said:

"Will you take the Chancellor?"

Thinking it was the general utility post of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Churchill said:

"Of the Duchy?"

"No," Baldwin replied, "Chancellor of the Exchequer."

Churchill was well and truly out of the political wilderness.

He went home and dug out the robes of office worn by his father as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1886. They did him very well on the rare occasions that he had to wear them.

Churchill obtained the backing of Baldwin in restoring the pound to its prewar value. Britain had gone off the gold standard as a war measure. Churchill's act temporarily strengthened Britain's credit but it hurt the country's export trade.

In the coal mining industry the return to the gold standard threatened to price coal out of the export market. Prices had to be cut and the mine owners, in turn, cut wages.

Editor in the Strike

This was one of the chief causes of the great General Strike of 1926. It was touched off when printers of *The*

Daily Mail refused to set an editorial headed "For King and Country" condemning the threatened strike. Three million British workers quit their jobs May 3 to protest pay cuts for the miners.

Many of the newspapers were shut down. Churchill was assigned to put out an emergency newspaper, *The British Gazette*. He took over the building of the old *Morning Post* just off the Strand, installed himself as editor and laid hands on as much newsprint as he could find.

It became the fashionable thing to do late at night to go down to the Post building and watch and listen to Churchill put out *The British Gazette*. It made no pretense of printing anything but the Government's side of the strike.

The British Gazette ran for seven issues before the General Strike was ended. Its circulation reached 1,801,400 before it was discontinued.

The most highly publicized duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is to present, or "open," the budget in Commons. Churchill presented five budgets in all. The advice that he followed was from highly orthodox financial and economic sources.

In 1924, Churchill ran and won in Epping as a Conservative. He held to his seat in the same constituency in 1929, 1931 and 1935.

He was never again without a Commons seat until his retirement in 1964. After the election of 1935 he was returned from the nearby Woodford Division in 1945, 1950, 1951, 1955 and 1959.

In his leisure in those years he spent much of his time at Chartwell laying bricks and playing the country squire. His thoughts, however, were never very far from politics. For instance, when Churchill was talking to himself in angry tones in his bathtub one morning, Norman McGowan, his valet, thought his master had called him.

"I wasn't calling you, Norman," Churchill said. "I was addressing the House of Commons."

He seldom rose to speak in Commons unless he had carefully rehearsed his speech—in the bathtub or elsewhere.

Churchill's habits were closely observed by McGowan over a period of years. The valet recalled that soon after he came into Churchill's bedroom with the daily breakfast tray, Churchill would get up, put on a dressing gown, go to the window and look at the weather.

"If it was raining he would curse the weather for several minutes while I remade his bed," McGowan said.

Churchill spent most of a morning in bed writing or reading the newspapers. He had an ash tray larger than those found in hotel lobbies, but he frequently put cigar butts in the wastebasket and McGowan recalled that he frequently had to douse the smoldering waste paper with a soda siphon.

According to McGowan, Churchill smoked only about half of the cigars he lighted. Near the end of the cigar he would place a piece of gummed brown paper that he called a "bellyband." The paper prevented the cigar from becoming too wet when he chewed it. The butts of his expensive cigars usually wound up in the pipe of one of the gardeners.

Churchill and Baldwin reached the parting of the ways in 1929, and in June Churchill resigned from the Cabinet. Baldwin was riding along with what was believed to be the country's mood of pacifism, but this was not Churchill's. His political luck held. If he had stayed with Baldwin, he would have had to share some of the criticism of Baldwin's failure to seek rearmament in the face of the rising Hitler threat.

"But I was neither surprised nor unhappy when I was left out of it," Churchill recalled. "What I should have done if I had been asked to stay I cannot tell. It is superfluous to discuss doubtful temptations that have never existed."

In the Churchill of the early 1930's—portly, middle-aged and at times somewhat pugnacious—dignity joined with a youthful spirit to mold the figure the world was to know in World War II. Someone said of him then that he was "Half Pitt and half Puck."

Churchill could make himself at home with all sorts of people but he seemed to prefer the successful. For many years one of his most intimate friends was F. E. Smith, a brilliant and convivial barrister who became the Earl of Birkenhead. They were much about in the fashionable life of London and consumed considerable quantities of spirits and champagne together.

It was Lord Birkenhead who said of his luxury-loving friend, "Winston Churchill is easily satisfied with the best of everything."

Sir Ernest Cassell, the German-born banker who had made a fortune from scratch in London, was a friend both of Lord Randolph Churchill and his son. He acted as Churchill's banker and invested his money for him, a role also performed by Baruch in the United States.

Probably the most tumultuous and noisy of all Churchill's friendships was the one he had for years with the ebullient

Canadian, Max Aitken, Lord Beaverbrook. He and Churchill served together in the Cabinet in both World War I and World War II. They quarreled, made up and quarreled again; each seemed at times unable to get along without the other. Beaverbrook died in 1964. He left a sharp word portrait of his friend:

"His conversation was pleasing, his companionship was exciting. He had no rancor and few hatreds.

"He was in every sense a professional politician, having trained himself for his vocation. Impetuous in action, he was determined when resisting opposition.

"He sang popular music-hall melodies in a raucous voice, and without any instinct for tune. His bridge, which he played occasionally, was exceedingly careless, and his card sense was almost nonexistent.

"He lived well, and ate everything. He exaggerated his drinking habits by his own remarks in praise of wine and brandy. He appeared to smoke cigars incessantly. Not at all. He smoked very little, although relighting a cigar frequently. His use of matches outstripped his consumption of cigars.

"Critics frequently found fault with him through prejudice and without reason. He had no friends in the Tory party. Many Liberals believed he had betrayed Asquith, and were therefore displeased with him. The Lloyd George Liberals were none too friendly."

King Edward VIII ascended the throne on January 30, 1936, on the death of his father, George V. It soon became known that Edward wished to marry Mrs. Wallis Warfield Simpson, a divorced American with one former husband living and a second divorce in prospect. Baldwin told the King that attempts to obtain Parliamentary consent to a marriage might result in a general election, with the monarch's private life the main issue. Edward was dismayed and confused.

Churchill had always held the monarchy in great esteem and he had besides a personal affection for Edward whom he had known as a boy. He was not in the Government at the time but he decided to make an effort to obtain more time for the King to decide what to do and to permit public feeling to coalesce. He believed that the Executive, as represented by Baldwin, should not put pressure upon the King to abdicate without consulting Parliament.

Churchill was one of several dinner guests of the King a day or two before he was expected to plead the King's cause in the House of Commons.

"Although I had long admired Mr. Churchill, I saw him that evening in his true stature," Edward wrote in his memoirs. "As usual Mr. Churchill had a practical plan behind fine words. If the Prime Minister persisted in his importunities, he suggested that I might claim respite from the strain, adding half whimsically that I retire to Windsor Castle and close the gate. His parting words, as he left us well after midnight, were: 'Sir, it is time for reflection. You must allow time for the battalions to march.'"

When Churchill pleaded for the time for the King to form an estimate of the situation, he was shouted down in Commons. It was one of the few times this occurred to him. Writing of this later, Edward, who abdicated on December 10, 1936 and became the Duke of Windsor, said:

"I have always regretted this incident, and would give much for the power to erase it from the records of that ancient assembly that owes him so much. Yet I am proud also that of all Englishmen it was Mr. Churchill who spoke up to the last for the King, his friend."

After the King's abdication Churchill recalled that as Home Secretary he had proclaimed Edward's title as Prince of Wales.

"I should have been ashamed if, in my independent and unofficial position, I had not cast about for every lawful means, even the most forlorn, to keep him on the throne of his fathers."

Churchill's loyalty to the monarchy had about it something at once warm-hearted and august. He became a member of Commons when Queen Victoria had been sixty-four years on the throne and in the eleventh year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth II, her great-great-granddaughter, he was still a member of Parliament. He served under six monarchs and was a personal friend of three.

If he had any personal contacts with Queen Victoria he did not mention them. They might have been tinged by the fact that the austere Victoria had not entirely approved of his parents, Lord and Lady Randolph Churchill.

Lord Randolph had the temerity to take the side of his brother, the Marquess of Blandford, in a quarrel with the Prince of Wales in which the name of a woman was involved. He had been obliged to make a humble apology to remain in the Prince's social circle. There was, therefore, little warmth in the relationship between Churchill and the stout and convivial Prince and King, Edward VII.

Churchill was First Lord of the Admiralty in the second

year of the reign of Edward's successor, George V. George had been trained as a naval officer. He helped Churchill as much as he could in the political struggles in which he was involved.

An early meeting between Churchill and Albert, Duke of York, who was to become George VI occurred when Churchill came to Portsmouth on the Admiralty yacht and invited a few naval cadets including Albert to come aboard. Mrs. Churchill got out a deck of cards and taught Albert how to play Coon Can, a then fashionable game.

Albert succeeded his brother, Edward VIII, as King George VI December 10, 1936. When Chamberlain faced a Cabinet crisis in 1939 it was not Churchill who was favored by the King to succeed him. After he found it advisable to ask Churchill to form a Government, George wrote in his diary on May 11, 1940, two days after receiving Churchill:

"I cannot yet think of Winston as P.M. I met Halifax [Lord Halifax] in the garden and I told him I was sorry not to have him as P.M."

But by the new year he had changed his mind about Churchill and confided to his diary:

"I could not have a better Prime Minister [than Churchill]."

Churchill wrote of his relations with George during World War II, particularly during the blitz:

"In those days we viewed with stern and tranquil gaze the idea of going down fighting amid the ruins of Whitehall. His Majesty had a shooting-range made in Buckingham Palace garden, at which he and other members of his family and his equerries practiced assiduously with pistols and tommy-guns. Presently I brought the King an American short-range carbine, from a number which had been sent to me. This was a very good weapon.

"About this time the King changed his practice of receiving me in a formal weekly audience at about five o'clock, which had prevailed during my first two months in office. It was now arranged that I should lunch with him every Tuesday. This was certainly a very agreeable method of transacting state business, and sometimes the Queen was present. On several occasions we all had to take our plates and glasses in our hands and go down to the [bomb] shelter, which was making progress, to finish our meal.

"The weekly luncheons became a regular institution. After the first few months His Majesty decided that all servants should be excluded, and that we should help ourselves and



help each other. I valued as a signal honor the gracious intimacy with which I, as First Minister, was treated, for which, I suppose there had been no precedent since the days of Queen Anne and Marlborough during his years of power."

On Victory in Europe Day Churchill stood on the balcony at Buckingham Palace with the King and Queen to receive the applause of all London.

Churchill was Prime Minister on February 6, 1952, when George VI died and was succeeded by his eldest daughter, Elizabeth. While he was Prime Minister Churchill called on her at least once a week to discuss matters of state.

In the years immediately after the Churchill-Baldwin break, in the 1930's, it was generally assumed that Britain would not be menaced by a major war for years to come. By 1932, however, Hitler was a rising power in Germany, calling for rearmament to reverse the terms of the Versailles Treaty. In that year Churchill told Commons:

"The demand is that Germany should be allowed to rearm. Do not let the Government delude themselves by supposing that which Germany is asking for is equal status. All these bands of splendid Teutonic youth marching to and fro in Germany, with the light of desire to suffer for their fatherland in their eyes, are not looking for status. They are looking for weapons."

In a Commons speech in May, 1932, Churchill uttered his first formal warning of the approaching war, saying:

"I should very much regret to see any approximation in military strength between Germany and France. Those who speak of that as though it were right, or even a question of fair dealing, altogether underrate the gravity of the European situation.

"I would say to those who would like to see Germany and France on an equal footing in armaments: 'Do you wish for war?' For my part, I earnestly hope that no such approximation will take place during my lifetime or that of my children.

"To say that is not in the least to imply any want of regard or admiration for the great qualities of the German people, but I am sure that the thesis that they should be placed in an equal military position with France is one which, if it ever emerged in fact, would bring us within practical distance of almost measureless calamity."

Churchill also wrote that the British estimates of what was needed in the way of air forces betrayed a lack of comprehension of the situation by both the leaders of the

Opposition and those of the Government. And on March 14, 1933, he said in the House:

"I regretted to hear the Under Secretary say that we were only the fifth air power, and that the ten-year program was suspended for another year. I am sorry to hear him boast that the Air Ministry had not laid down a single new unit this year. All these ideas are being increasingly stultified by the march of events, and we should be well advised to concentrate on air defenses with greater vigor."

The next month he was telling Commons:

"The Germans demand equality of weapons and equality in the organization of armies and fleets, and we have been told: 'You cannot keep so great a nation in an inferior position. What others have, they must have.' I have never agreed. It is a most dangerous demand to make."

"Nothing in life is eternal, but as surely as Germany acquires full military equality with her neighbors while her own grievances are unredressed and while she is in the temper which we have unhappily seen, so surely should we see ourselves within measurable distance of the renewal of general European war."

A year later he returned to this theme by criticizing the limited funds budgeted for stepping up Britain's air power.

"We are, it is admitted, the fifth air power only—if that. Germany is arming fast and no one is going to stop her. She is going to arm; she is doing it. I dread the day when the means of threatening the heart of the British Empire should pass into the hands of the present rulers of Germany."

On May 3, 1935, Commons was told that Germany had reached at least theoretical air parity with Britain. Soon after this the Baldwin Government proposed increases in the country's air capability. Churchill regarded the proposal as inadequate, and asked:

"Why, then, not fight for something that will give us safety? Why, then, not insist that the provision for the air force should be adequate?"

Describing his attitude, he recalled:

"Although the House listened to me with close attention, I felt a sensation of despair. To be so entirely convinced and vindicated in a matter of life and death to one's country, and not to be able to make Parliament and the nation heed the warning, or bow to the proof by taking action was an experience most painful."

Nor did he confine his warnings to his countrymen. In 1937 he had an interview with Ribbentrop, the German Am-

bassador to the Court of St. James's. Ribbentrop told him that Germany wanted a free hand in eastern Europe. She must have living space for her increasing population. All that Germany asked of the British Commonwealth and Empire was not to interfere. Churchill made clear his belief that Britain would give no such assurances. To this Ribbentrop replied:

"In that case, war is inevitable."

Ribbentrop Told Off

Churchill retorted:

"When you talk of war, which, no doubt, would be a general war, you must not underrate England. She is a curious country and few foreigners can understand her mind. Do not judge by the attitude of the present Administration. Once a great cause is presented to the people, all kinds of unexpected actions might be taken by this very Government and by the British nation.

"Do not underrate England. She is very clever. If you plunge us all into another great war, she will bring the whole world against you like the last time."

Meanwhile, Hitler reoccupied the Rhineland in March, 1936, and two years later to the month took over Austria.

To Churchill the peril to his country was never more real.

"All this time the vast degeneration of the forces of Parliamentary democracy will be proceeding throughout Europe. Every six weeks another corps will be added to the German army. All this time important countries, great rail and river communications will pass under the control of the German General Staff.

"All this time populations will be continually reduced to the rigors of Nazi domination and assimilated to that system. All this time the forces of conquest and intimidation will be consolidated, towering up soon in real and not make-believe strength and superiority.

"For five years I have talked to the House on these matters—not with very great success. I have watched this famous island descending incontinently, fecklessly, the stairway which leads to a dark gulf. It is a fine broad stairway at the beginning, but after a bit the carpet ends. A little farther on there are only flagstones, and a little farther on still these break under your feet.

Punic Wars Recalled

"Look back upon the last five years—since, that is to say,

Germany began to rearm in earnest and openly to seek revenge. If we study the history of Rome and Carthage, we can understand what happened and why. It is not difficult to understand and form an intelligent view about the three Punic Wars; but if mortal catastrophe should overtake the British nation and the British Empire, historians a thousand years hence will still be baffled by the mystery of our affairs.

"They will never understand how it was that a victorious nation, with everything in hand, suffered themselves to be brought low, and to cast away all they had gained by measureless sacrifice and absolute victory—'gone with the wind!'

"Now the victors are the vanquished, and those who threw down their arms in the field and sued for an armistice are striding on to world mastery. That is the position—that is the terrible transformation that has taken place bit by bit."

In 1938 British and French appeasement of Hitler resulted in the partition of Czechoslovakia. Churchill was distraught, seeing with frightening clarity the war in its chrysalis:

"The partition of Czechoslovakia under pressure from England and France amounts to the complete surrender of the Western democracies to the Nazi threat of force. Such a collapse will bring peace or security neither to England nor to France. On the contrary it will place these two nations in an ever-weaker and more dangerous situation.

"The belief that security can be obtained by throwing a small state to the wolves is a fatal delusion."

Again in April, 1939, with Europe on the brink of war, he sounded one of his final and most eloquent warnings.

"The danger is now very near. A great part of Europe is to a very large extent mobilized. Millions of men are being prepared for war. Everywhere the frontier defenses are manned. Everywhere it is felt that some new stroke is impending. If it should fall, can there be any doubt but that we shall be involved? We are no longer where we were two or three months ago. We have committed ourselves in every direction, rightly in my opinion, having regard to all that has happened.

"Surely then, when we aspire to lead all Europe back from the verge of the abyss on to the uplands of law and peace, we must ourselves set the highest example. We must keep nothing back. How can we bear to continue to lead our comfortable easy life here at home, unwilling even to pronounce the word 'compulsion,' unwilling even to take the necessary

measure by which the armies that we have promised can alone be recruited?

"How can we continue—let me say it with particular frankness and sincerity—with less than the full force of the nation incorporated in the governing instrument?"

'Winston Is Back'

The World War began September 1, 1939. After some light prodding by Churchill, Chamberlain named him First Lord of the Admiralty, a post he assumed on September 3.

"I therefore sent word to the Admiralty that I would take charge forthwith. On this, the board were kind enough to signal to the Fleet, 'Winston is back.'

"So it was that I came again to the room I had quitted in pain and sorrow almost exactly a quarter of a century."

His removal from the Admiralty in 1915 over the Gallipoli incident had left such scars that when he was First Lord once more, he had passing moments of self-doubt and fear. Such a moment came when he was returning to London after a visit to the fleet in Scotland. He had just learned that the navy had lost the aircraft carrier *Courageous*.

"We had a picnic lunch on the way by a stream," he wrote later. "I felt oppressed with my memories.

"No one had ever been over such a terrible course twice with such an interval between. No one had felt its dangers and responsibilities from the summit as I had or, to descend to a small point, understood how First Lords of the Admiralty are treated when great ships are sunk and things go wrong. If we were in fact going over the same cycle a second time, should I once again have to endure the pangs of dismissal?"

Chamberlain Resigns

As First Lord he had the responsibility for dispatching sea and land forces to check the German thrust into Norway. The British undertaking was unsuccessful, a fact made all the more galling because at its beginning Chamberlain had assured the nation that "Hitler has missed the bus."

When the early passive phases of the war ended in the spring of 1940, and the Germans invaded the Netherlands, Belgium and France, Chamberlain submitted his resignation.

In his recollections of May 10, Churchill wrote:

"Presently a message arrived summoning me to [Buckingham] Palace. It only takes two minutes to drive from the Admiralty along the Mall. Although I suppose the evening

papers must have been full of the terrific news from the Continent, nothing had been mentioned about a Cabinet crisis. The public had not had time to take in what was happening either abroad or at home, and there was no crowd about the Palace gate.

"I was taken immediately to the King. His Majesty received me most graciously and bade me sit down. He looked at me searchingly and quizzically for some moments, and then said: 'I suppose you don't know why I have sent for you?' Adopting his mood, I replied: 'Sir, I simply couldn't imagine why.' He laughed and said: 'I want to ask you to form a Government.' I said I would certainly do so."

That is how Churchill became Prime Minister.

CHAPTER THREE

"In defeat: defiance." This apothegm of his own devising Churchill put to practice when war-weary British voters turned him out of the Prime Ministership within eighty days of the apotheosis of his career, the surrender of Germany.

Stunned, unbelieving at first, the 71-year-old war leader toyed with retirement from politics to bask as an elder statesman, to paint, to write, to live benignly with his wife at Chartwell, his estate in his beloved Kent. At first, too, he took his defeat with ill humor, declining King George VI's offer of the Order of the Garter and peevishly denouncing Labor's victory as "one of the greatest disasters that has smitten us in our long and checkered history."

To quit the combat and sulk, however, had never been his characteristic, nor was it now; and in October he was telling his fellow Conservatives:

"I have naturally considered very carefully what is my own duty in these times. It would be easy for me to retire gracefully in an odor of civic freedom, and this plan crossed my mind frequently some months ago. I feel now, however, that the situation is so serious and what may have to come so grave that I am resolved to go forward carrying the flag as long as I have the necessary strength and energy and have your confidence."

Domestic politics aside, there was another, and perhaps weightier, reason that impelled him to carry on. Explaining it in 1951, he said:

"If I remain in public life at this juncture, it is because, rightly or wrongly, but sincerely, I believe that I may be able to make an important contribution to the prevention of a third world war and to bring nearer that lasting peace settlement which the masses of people of every race and in every land so fervently desire."

Thus, Churchill was soon back in the political fray he loved so much, combating Socialism at home and Communism

in the world with an energy scarce diminished by the toll of his wartime exertions.

The Fulton Speech

Less than a year after he became Leader of the Opposition, he appeared, as the guest of Truman, at obscure Westminster College in an even obscurer Fulton, Mo., "to give true and faithful counsel" to the West. His words on that budding March 5 spring day exploded around the world, heralding the arctic chill of the cold war.

Speaking as the war's Grand Alliance, so painfully car-pentered, lay virtually shattered by recrudescant Soviet ambitions and by the unleashing of the universe's basic force at Hiroshima, Churchill's words resembled those of a sibylline oracle.

"From Stettin on the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe—Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia—all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere and are all subject in one form or another not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and in many cases increasing measure of control from Moscow.

"On the other hand I repulse the idea that a new war is inevitable; still more that it is imminent. It is because I am sure that our fortunes are still in our own hands and that we hold the power to save the future that I feel the duty to speak out now that I have the occasion and the opportunity to do so. I do not believe that Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines.

"Our difficulties and dangers will not be removed by closing our eyes to them. They will not be removed by mere waiting to see what happens, nor will they be removed by a policy of appeasement. What is needed is a settlement, and the longer this is delayed, the more difficult it will be, and the greater our dangers will become.

"From what I have seen of our Russian friends and allies during the war, I am convinced there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness."

In place of a "quivering, precarious balance of power to

offer its temptation to ambition or adventure," he proposed a partnership of the English-speaking peoples in the United States and the British Commonwealth that would be "an overwhelming assurance of security." If the English-speaking peoples and the European democracies stood together in adherence to the principles of the United Nations, no one was likely to molest them. If they failed or faltered "catastrophe may overwhelm us all."

"Last time I saw it all coming and cried aloud to my own fellow countrymen and to the world, but no one paid any attention. Up till the year 1933 or even 1935 Germany might have been saved from the awful fate which has overtaken her and we might all have been spared the miseries Hitler let loose upon mankind. There never was a war in all history easier to prevent by timely action than the one which has just desolated such great areas of the globe."

The Soviet drive for expansion of Communist power and doctrines that Churchill divined soon came to pass. There was strife in Greece, but she was saved for the West, as was Turkey, by timely American aid. The West began to coalesce, to shape a policy of help for freedom-loving nations, to draw the lines of containment, to concert military plans for the common defense.

Before these were consolidated, however, Czechoslovakia passed into the Muscovite orbit and the teeming millions of China came under Communist rule. The French were tumbled from Indochina, and Korea was only half saved. In less than ten years after the war the world was riven—East and West. Where peace should have dwelt, armies patrolled; where victory's harmony had hinted goodwill among men, emotions of Armageddon prevailed.

Churchill echoed the fears and feelings of many in the West in those years in a speech in 1949.

"We are now confronted with something quite as wicked but in some ways more formidable than Hitler because Hitler had only the Herrenvolk pride and the anti-Semitic hatred to exploit. He had no fundamental theme. But these thirteen men in the Kremlin have their hierarchy and a church of Communist adepts, whose missionaries are in every country as a fifth column, obscure people, but awaiting the day when they hope to be absolute masters of their fellow countrymen and pay off old scores.

"They have their anti-God religion and their Communist doctrine of the absolute subjugation of the individual to the state, and behind this stands the largest army in the world



in the hands of a government pursuing imperialist aggression as no Czar or Kaiser has ever done."

Earlier, Churchill placed the force of his prestige behind the creation of a new European unity, with Franco-German amity its cornerstone and with a leading role for Britain. His wartime hate had cooled with the surrender of the Nazis, and, indeed, he chose for the motto of his war memoirs an inscription he once proposed for a monument in France. It was:

In War: Resolution
In Defeat: Defiance
In Victory: Magnanimity
In Peace: Goodwill.

A "kind of United States of Europe" aligned with the English-speaking people—Churchill's proposed "sovereign remedy" for the containment of Soviet power—did not come off, save in the form of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

In these years, Churchill gave appearance of youthful vigor. Bald save for a thatch of hair on the back of his head, his rotund, cherubic face was still well fleshed and hardly wrinkled. With his seldom smiling, mostly solemn mien, he moved slowly, like an elephant pushing through underbrush, his massive head with its lowering eyebrows almost resting on his chest from his strong, short neck. Only his natural stoop was more marked.

Voters who turned out to hear him noticed that he often let tears roll down his ruddy cheeks when political meetings wound up with the singing of "Land of Hope and Glory."

He went about as always wearing a bow tie and (mostly) a double-breasted suit and a squarish crowned derby or a homburg. Stretched across his ample middle was a heavy gold watch chain and in his right hand a walking stick, which he shifted to his left on occasion to give his victory sign—the first two fingers of his right hand spread in a V.

All the while, Churchill was busy with his private enterprises, pursuits and amusements. Chartwell was enlarged by 500 acres and he became a gentleman farmer. In 1948 he started a stable of horses, to his profit unlike so many others.

One of his horses, a gray three-year-old named Colonist II, romped in a winner at Ascot in 1949 and in 1950 ran

up a string of thirteen victories. In all *Colonist II* won £ 13,000 for his owner.

He spent much of his time at Chartwell puttering, laying bricks and painting. He painted whenever he had an idle moment; while these were few, canvases were many. Hundreds of his landscapes piled up in spare rooms.

Dominating all of his activities was his writing. In this period he worked on his four-volume *History of the English Speaking Peoples*.

Even more astounding was his compilation of a six-volume history of World War II as seen through his eyes and recorded in memorandums, letters, cables, diaries and official records.

These volumes were *The Gathering Storm*, *Their Finest Hour*, *The Grand Alliance*, *The Hinge of Fate*, *Closing the Ring*, and *Triumph and Tragedy*. All were published between 1948 and 1954.

For this Gargantuan task, Churchill gathered an assemblage of scholars, historians, technical experts, researchers and, of course, enough secretaries to keep up with the endless torrent of words that Churchill poured into recording machines. Sometimes the secretaries worked in shifts so that they could keep going while Churchill slept. He often dictated eight thousand words in a day.

The sorting, selection, the rejection of material, the endless winnowing and typing sometimes went on through the night. The words and the choice of phrases were Churchill's; and, despite the committee method of production of a work of more than 1,500,000 words, the style is unmistakably, majestically Churchillian.

Literary Output

This was the crown of his literary achievements. His other books included *The Story of the Malakand Field Force* (1898); *The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan* (two volumes, 1899); *Savrola* (1900); *Ian Hamilton's March* (1900); *Mr. Broderick's Army* (1903); *Lord Randolph Churchill* (two volumes, 1906); *My African Journey* (1908); *The World Crisis* (five volumes, 1923-1931); *My Early Life* (1930); *Thoughts and Adventures* (1932); *Marlborough: His Life and Times* (four volumes, 1933-1938); *Great Contemporaries* (1937); *Painting as a Pastime* (1948); and *A History of the English Speaking Peoples* (four volumes, 1956-1958).

Churchill's role as a definitive historian has been questioned, but as a documented commentary on events in which he took part, his work cannot be questioned. His war books were filled with the thunder and rumble of battles and he was matchless in describing the tensions of suspense, the loneliness of the commander in, say, the Admiralty War Room when the British and German squadrons were locked in battle off Coronel or at the Falkland Islands in World War I or when the *Graf Spee* was being run to earth at Montevideo in World War II.

He could put an organ roll into his prose when it was appropriate. He could also write with sparkling wit and charm about some event of his youth or some pretentious person he had encountered. Thus, he described his feelings when he completed his first speech in the House of Commons:

"Everyone was very kind. The usual restoratives were applied, and I sat in a comfortable coma till I was strong enough to go home. The general verdict was not unfavorable. Although many guessed that I had learnt it all by heart, this was pardoned because of the pains I had taken."

Churchill's first book, *The Story of the Malakand Field Force*, was a neat, readable account of an expedition on India's Northwest Frontier and it contained criticism of the planning and execution of the expedition's mission. It was sarcastically referred to as "A Subaltern's Advice to Generals."

After two books, *Ian Hamilton's March* and *Mr. Broderick's Army*, Churchill turned to a labor of love, the biography of his father. It is a warm and intimate story of his father's life and a complete apologia for his political career.

The five volumes of *The World Crisis* depict the events leading up to World War I, the war itself and its aftermath. His viewpoint is essentially conservative and he has words and kindness and pity for all fighting men under any flag.

Oddly, one of Churchill's greatest books was one in which he described events in which he had no direct part. This was *The Unknown War*, describing World War I on the Eastern Front. In his opening chapter he wrote:

"It is also the most mournful conflict of which there is a record. All three empires, both sides, victors and vanquished, were ruined. All the Emperors or their successors were slain or deposed. The Houses of Romanov, Hapsburg and Hohenzollern woven over centuries of renown into the texture of Europe were shattered and extirpated. The struc-

ture of the three mighty organisms, built up by generations of patience and valor and representing the traditional groupings of noble branches of the European family, was changed beyond all semblance. These pages recount dazzling victories and defeats stoutly made good. They record the toils, perils, sufferings and passions of millions of men. Their sweat, their tears, their blood bedewed the endless plain. Ten million homes awaited the return of the warriors. A hundred cities prepared to acclaim their triumphs. But all were defeated; all were stricken; everything they had given was given in vain."

In *The Aftermath* Churchill recounted the events in Europe in the near-chaos that followed World War I. Since he had played an active role in many of the events that he described, the world of that day is seen through Churchillian eyes. He liked the personal touch in history.

When King Alexander of Greece died in 1920 from an infected monkey bite, Churchill noted that the dynastic and political upheavals in the eastern Mediterranean that followed Alexander's death were of the utmost importance.

"A million people died as a result of that monkey bite," he wrote.

Between 1948 and 1954 Churchill was engaged in the monumental task of recording the origins of World War II, its history and its end. These six volumes tell much of the inside story of his part in the war, but perhaps not all of it. Churchill was a restrained and mature writer by then and the story that he unfolded was fascinating in its detail. This time the issues were more terrifying and Churchill lost some of his help-your-enemy-to-his-feet attitude that had appeared in his World War I books.

For many years Churchill had given thought to a series of books about Britain and the United States. These appeared in four volumes beginning in 1956. In them Churchill tells of the cultural and political development of Britain and the merging of this development in America. Some critics found that the field to be covered was so great that the books could provide only a superficial, if highly personalized, survey of the scenes involved.

The series, *A History of the English Speaking Peoples* contained *The Birth of Britain* (1956), *The New World* (1956), *The Age of Revolution* (1957) and *The Great Democracies* (1958).

Churchill's publishers and literary representatives produced many books of his speeches, and condensed and

sometimes combined his books. From first to last, he made a fortune out of his writings.

Throughout the years he was in Opposition, Churchill, while continuing to stress the menace of Communism, found time to give the Socialists little peace at home. He attacked them constantly for policies toward the Empire, the precarious economic situation in Britain and for nationalization policies in coal mining, railroads, and especially steel.

In 1947 and 1948 Churchill delivered fifty-two major speeches on a variety of subjects from Indian independence—he was against it—to nationalization, to devaluation of the pound from its pegged rate of \$4.82 to \$2.80. He was also against that.

"When I was abroad I always make it a rule never to criticize or attack the Government of my own country," he told the House in April, 1947. "I make up for lost time when I come home."

In July, 1949, Churchill made a pronouncement of Conservative intentions before 40,000 at an outdoor gathering in Wolverhampton. It was based largely on policy devised by R. A. Butler, who had been entrusted with formulating a campaign program after the Conservative defeat of 1945. It conceded that the Welfare State—Churchill had been one of its early authors, with Lloyd George—had come to stay.

Churchill almost made his comeback in the election of 1950, pinning his campaign on opposition to Labor's Socialism, but Attlee squeaked by. Labor maintained its precarious hold until October, 1951. In this period, the Conservatives' war of attrition in Parliament harried the Laborites; troubles mounted for the Government at home as living costs rose and consumer goods grew scarcer; abroad, the situation was sticky, especially in the ever-troublesome Middle East where traditional British influence was dwindling with the rise of Nasser of Egypt; and in Africa the colonies were restive, not always beneath the surface.

The campaign was venomous. "Vote Tory and Reach for a Rifle," one handbill read. Weakness and vacillation, retorted the Conservatives. From this Churchill's party emerged with a small but workable majority in Commons.

In the early evening of October 26, 1951, Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill, a month from his seventy-seventh birthday, was invested by King George VI with the seals of office. Doughty still, he undertook the onerous duties of Prime Minister for a second time.

CHAPTER FOUR

Back in power after six years in Opposition, Winston Churchill gave himself with his old-time vigor to the three great tasks he had set himself after the victory in World War II.

These were to remove the shadow of a new tyranny by reaching an accord with the Soviet Union for a just and lasting peace, security of the West through the closest association of a united Europe with the British Commonwealth and the United States, and, at home, an unscrambling of the Socialist omelet.

It is a measure of the stature he had attained throughout the world that even when he was merely the leader of a minority in the House his pronouncements on world affairs had been received with the attention reserved usually for the head of a government. Now he spoke as the leader of the British nation not so great as in the Victorian Age of his youth but still a major power.

This time he had not been called to leadership at a time of crisis and cataclysm but through the deliberate choice of voters who, having given Socialism a six-year trial, had decided they wanted a change in the hope of a better and richer life. In four years Churchill sought to give it to them.

India Independent

They were years mixed with success and failure, of satisfaction mixed with sorrow and disappointment. He who had said he did not "become the King's First Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire" had to watch the beginning of its disintegration from the sidelines and its further weakening by events which even he could not control.

India was gone but Churchill found a measure of satisfaction that in granting independence to the great sub-continent, the communal massacres he had feared were averted by a provision for a Muslim Pakistan separate from

India. He never had believed that independence was itself a cure for social injustice but the tides of nationalism were stronger than any man could breast.

His hopes for a United States of Europe—never precisely or clearly defined—did not materialize. A stroke of fate prevented his hoped-for confrontation of Malenkov in the brief period he led the Soviet Union after Stalin's death.

Although he lost no time in attacking Socialism in calling for the repeal of the act nationalizing the steel industry in his first session of Parliament, he never succeeded in entirely undoing the work of the Labor party. Indeed, in the thirteen years the Conservatives remained in power after 1951 they embraced the basic principles of the Welfare State.

Retained His Wit

The wit and wry humor that spiced so many of the grimmest of his wartime speeches was still with him through this Indian summer of his life.

Speaking at the rebuilt Guildhall, which had been partly destroyed by German bombs, Churchill said:

"When I should have been here as Prime Minister [the first time] the Guildhall was blown up and before it was repaired I was blown out."

Churchill's durability and continued capacity to work hard and relax zestfully was the wonder of his friends. He had not been a robust youth and he had had pneumonia several times but he recovered quickly from these bouts of illness as he did from his accidents.

He once told Pearson, the Prime Minister of Canada, that one of his secrets was "never stand when you can sit down and never sit if you can lie down."

In one of his books he wrote that he "always went to bed at least for one hour as early as possible in the afternoon and exploited to the full my happy gift of falling almost immediately into deep sleep." By "this means I was able to press a day and a half's work into one."

The first Parliamentary sessions after Churchill's return to power were not notable for legislative achievements. It was a time for conciliation of party strife and a consolidation of a new Government. Nevertheless the Government was blessed by an end of the conflict in Korea and a truce in Indochina. Vietnam was partitioned and Laos and Cambodia neutralized. Britain's economic position began to improve.

Call for a Summit

In a progress report to Parliament he asked that his Government's achievements be seen in relation to its inheritance from Labor's "six-year record of extravagance and waste, of overspending and living upon American money."

He declared that at the time of the election Britain was spending £800 million a year more than it was earning from exports. If drastic measures had not been taken by his Government and followed by the Commonwealth, he said, "the whole reserve of gold and dollars would have been exhausted by the summer's end." These measures, he noted, had reduced purchases abroad by £600 million.

In that speech he also referred to his call in 1950 for a conference between the heads of government and declared that he and Eden still held to "the idea of a supreme effort to bridge the gulf between the two worlds so that each can live its life, if not in friendship at least without the fear, the hatreds and the frightful waste of the 'cold war.'"

On February 6, 1952, a grief-stricken nation learned that King George VI, who survived an operation for lung cancer some months before had died in his sleep at Sandringham, a royal country residence. Churchill, devoted to the Crown as a symbol and to King George as a friend and collaborator, delivered one of his most moving tributes to the institution of monarchy and the King himself in a radio broadcast the next day.

"The last few months of King George's life with all the pain and physical stresses that he endured—his life hanging by a thread from day to day—and he all the time cheerful and undaunted—stricken in body but quite undisturbed and even unaffected in spirit—these have made a profound and enduring impression and should be a help to all.

"During these last months the King walked with death, as if death were a companion, an acquaintance whom he recognized and did not fear. In the end death came as a friend, and after a happy day of sunshine and sport, and after a 'good night' to those who loved him best, he fell asleep, as every man or woman who strives to fear God and nothing else in the world may do."

He concluded with a tribute to the Queens of England, now about to have another.

"Famous have been the reigns of our queens. Some of the great periods in our history have unfolded under their scepters. Now that we have the second Queen Elizabeth

also ascending the throne in her 26th year our thoughts are carried back nearly 400 years to the magnificent figures who presided over and in many ways embodied and inspired the grandeur and genius of the Elizabethan age.

"I, whose youth was passed in the august, unchallenged and tranquil glories of the Victorian era may well feel a thrill in invoking once more, the prayer and anthem:

"God Save the Queen."

Death of Stalin

On March 5, 1953, the day that Stalin died, Churchill thought the time propitious to repeat his call for a "summit meeting." He wanted to "take the measure of the new man in the Kremlin," he told a friend.

The sole survivor of the three who led the Grand Alliance sent no personal message of condolence when Stalin died. This was in marked contrast to his action when Roosevelt died April 12, 1945, when he mourned the ending of "a dear and cherished friendship forged in the fires of war."

A spokesman for the Prime Minister explained that the British Government had expressed sympathy "and that is all that is required under normal diplomatic procedure."

"Mr. Churchill will do no more and no less," the spokesman said.

On first learning that Stalin was ill, Churchill had sent a secretary to the Soviet Embassy to ask to be kept informed of Stalin's condition.

It was not until 1955 that Churchill, who had always maintained that successful negotiations with Russia could be held only by those with equal or superior strength, explained why the opportunity of 1953 for high-level talks had been allowed to pass.

It came with the announcement to a stilled House that the Government had decided to proceed with the manufacture of a hydrogen bomb.

Before Russia caught up with the United States in atomic weapons he had believed that the secret of this dreadful "deterrent" was best left to the United States.

Now, he informed the House of his conviction that only possession of the hydrogen bomb, the means of its delivery and a determination to use it, if necessary, was the prerequisite to a "conference where these matters can be put plainly and bluntly."

He would have liked to have arranged such a conference



after Malenkov took power, he said, and intended to try to convince Eisenhower of the desirability of such a meeting.

"However, I was struck down by a very sudden illness which paralyzed me completely physically and I had to put it all off and it was not found possible to persuade President Eisenhower to join in the process."

The German Problem

He was referring to June 10, 1953, when he, then in his 77th year, suffered a paralytic stroke that incapacitated him to some extent for several months.

A month previously, he had spoken of the change of attitude and mood in the Kremlin.

"The dominant problem is, of course, Germany. If our advice had been taken by the United States after the Armistice with Germany the Western Allies would not have withdrawn from the line which their armies had reached to the agreed occupation lines until and unless agreement had been reached with Soviet Russia on the many points of difference about the occupation of enemy territories, of which the occupation of Germany was, of course, only a part. Our view was not accepted and a wide area of Germany was handed over to the Soviet occupation without any general settlement among the three victorious powers."

On April 24 of that year, the Queen made Churchill a Knight Companion of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, the highest order of chivalry to which a Briton can attain and still be eligible to sit in the House of Commons. Thus, the child of the House of Commons, who always said that the letters he cherished most after his name were M.P., became Sir Winston.

The same year the Nobel Prize for Literature was awarded him. With it went a citation for his oratory.

Churchill was the first statesman and the seventh of his countrymen to receive the world's highest award for literature.

After expressing the hope that the judges had not erred in their assessment, he said:

"I notice that the first Englishman to receive the Nobel Prize was Rudyard Kipling and that another equally rewarded was Mr. Bernard Shaw. I certainly cannot attempt to compete with either of those. I knew them both quite well and my thought was much more in accord with Mr. Rudyard Kipling than with Mr. Bernard Shaw. On the other hand, Mr. Rudyard Kipling never thought much of me,

whereas Mr. Bernard Shaw often expressed himself in most flattering terms."

Churchill was primarily a historian. He tried his hand at fiction only once in the novel *Savrola*. He wrote most often about events he had witnessed or in which he had participated.

His early style was strongly influenced by Gibbon, Johnson and Macaulay, but as he grew in experience he evolved a distinctive mode of expression. It is often marked by archaisms, rolling ponderous phrases, short Anglo-Saxon words and vivid phrases, but nonetheless lucid, poignantly simple and unforgettable.

Critics of his early work, recoiling from the pomposities of the Edwardian era, found Churchill too elegant. However, Sir Isaiah Berlin, in *Mr. Churchill in 1940* published in 1964 described his style as "an inspired, if unconscious, attempt at a revival" that went "against the stream of contemporary thought and feeling only because it was a return to a formal mode of English utterance. [It is] a composite weapon created by Mr. Churchill in order to convey his particular vision."

"Mr. Churchill," Sir Isaiah went on, "sees history—and life—as a great Renaissance pageant; when he thinks of France or Italy, Germany or the Low Countries, Russia, India, Africa, the Arab lands, he sees vivid historical images—something between Victorian illustrations in a child's book of history and the great procession painted by Benozzo Gozzoli in the Riccardi Palace.

"Mr. Churchill is fully conscious of this; the style should adequately respond to the demands which history makes upon the actors from moment to moment.

"His own narrative [*Their Finest Hour*] consciously mounts and swells until it reaches the great climax of the Battle of Britain. The texture and the tension are those of a tragic opera, where the very artificiality of the medium, both in the recitative and in the arias, serves to eliminate the irrelevant dead level of normal existence and to set off in high relief the deeds and sufferings of the principal characters."

At the Coronation

London in April was already aflutter with bunting, flags and decorations in preparation for the coronation ceremony of June 2. It was a time of jubilation in a city long immersed in the gloom of war and an austere peace. Newspapers

picked up the theme of the dawn of a new Elizabethan age and spirits rose higher than they had been at any time since the German surrender.

When the great day came, however, it was pouring rain and the temperature was in the lower forties. In the old Abbey transformed for the ritual, half religious and half secular, Churchill sat in his robes as a Knight of the Garter among the crowned heads of many lands, the peers in their robes trimmed with ermine and their ladies wearing glittering tiaras. He who had served as a soldier of the Queen in Victoria's reign saw the Archbishop of Canterbury place the old imperial crown upon the girlish head of her great granddaughter.

After his stroke there were rumors that he was preparing to retire. He scotched them at a party conference.

"If I stay on for the time being, bearing the burden at my age, it is not because of love of power or office. I have had an ample feast of both. If I stay it is because I have the feeling that I may, through things that have happened, have an influence on what I care about above all else—the building of a sure and lasting peace."

By December, Churchill was well enough to journey to Washington to see Eisenhower just before the latter's inauguration. Again in the summer of 1954 he was in Washington to sign the Potomac Charter reaffirming the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

To a question at a news conference here about when he planned to retire, he replied:

"Not until I am a great deal worse and the Empire is a great deal better."

His Step Less Firm

He was asked whether death held any terror for him, and he replied:

"I am prepared to meet my Maker. Whether my Maker is prepared for the great ordeal of meeting me is another matter."

Meanwhile, in Commons it was noticed that Churchill showed signs of slowing down. He walked with a more pronounced stoop. His step was less firm. He appeared tired and sometimes did not seem able to follow the proceedings. This was perhaps due to increasing deafness, for he wore his hearing aid only sporadically and reluctantly in public.

Churchill passed his 80th birthday on November 30, 1954, still Prime Minister and still the master of Britain's destiny.

Only Palmerston and Gladstone had held that office beyond that age. To mark the occasion, members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords gathered in Westminster Hall to do him honor.

There were messages of goodwill from the great and lesser peoples of his own and many other lands. Churchill's acknowledgment was perfunctory and brief.

The speech on Britain's nuclear plans was delivered March 1, 1955. Just a month later he and Lady Churchill entertained Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip at 10 Downing Street. As it turned out, it was the Prime Minister's farewell to the sixth monarch he served.

On April 5 he resigned. Ironically, there was a newspaper strike in London and the event that marked the end of a noble era of British statesmanship went unrecorded immediately in London, but it was carried to people across the land and throughout the world by radio.

CHAPTER FIVE

Freed of the burdens of office, Churchill now entered the twilight of his life, illumined, however, with honors and distinctions that continued to fall upon him.

Even so, he was not ready to relinquish his membership in that most exclusive club, the House of Commons, of which he had been a member more than half a century. He stood for his old constituency of Woodford and won in the election of 1955 and again in 1959.

No longer was he seated on the front bench as he had been for years with the members of the Government and as Leader of the Opposition. Instead, he sat among the back benchers as a private member.

Serenely benign, and for long periods aloof and withdrawn, he took little part in the debates and none in the thrust and parry of Parliamentary procedures. His appearances in the House and his presence in his favorite corner of the Members Lounge became less and less frequent.

Churchill had made two visits to the United States after his retirement as Prime Minister, one in May, 1959, when he visited Eisenhower at the White House and again in April, 1961, when he sailed to Miami and New York aboard a friend's yacht.

His sense of humor did not desert him as the years marched on. On his 82nd birthday, when a photographer expressed the hope that he might take another picture of him at the age of 90, Churchill regarded him solemnly and said:

"I see no reason why you shouldn't, young man. You look hale and hearty enough."

He spent more and more time at Chartwell surrounded by his family, his grandchildren, his dogs, his racing stable. He puttered and lived the life of a country squire. Much time was spent in painting.

To Paint, Be Daring

As a painter—mostly in oils—he favored landscapes and interiors rather than the portraits that Eisenhower seemed to prefer. Hitler had tried to paint, too, but his work was marked by the hard straight line whereas Churchill's style was softer. His work was characterized by bold colors and an impressionist approach that sought to convey a mood or feeling as well as a pictorial representation. An exhibition of sixty-two of his paintings at Burlington House in 1959 drew more than 140,000 persons.

"Audacity," he said, "is a very great part of the art of painting."

He wrote a book, *Painting as a Pastime*, that contained this passage revelatory of the man and his work:

"Just to paint is great fun. The colors are lovely to look at and delicious to squeeze out. Matching them, however crudely, with what you see is fascinating and absolutely absorbing. Try it if you have not done so—before you die.

"As one slowly begins to escape from the difficulties of choosing the right colors and laying them in the right places and in the right way, wider considerations come into view.

"One begins to see, for instance, that painting a picture is like fighting a battle; and trying to paint a picture is, I suppose, like trying to fight a battle. It is, if anything, more exciting than fighting it successfully. But the principle is the same.

"When we look at the larger Turners—canvases yards wide and tall—and observe that they are all done in one piece and represent one single second of time, and that every innumerable detail, however small, however distant, however subordinate, is set forth naturally and in its true proportion and relation, without effort, without failure, we must feel in the presence of an intellectual manifestation the equal in quality and intensity of the finest achievements of warlike action, of forensic argument or of scientific or philosophical adjudication."

Even in retirement he could not repress the will to speak on world affairs when occasion offered. One such presented itself a year after his resignation as Prime Minister when he went to Aachen in Germany to receive the Charlemagne Prize for services to Europe. There he reverted to his theme of a united Europe in which Russia must play a part as a guarantor of peace. Thus, he said, the reunification of Ger-

many might be accomplished more easily—a statement not well-received by the Bonn Government.

He never relinquished the idea that at the moment of peace victory was lost and for this he felt that Roosevelt's confidence that he could "handle" Stalin was at fault. In the last volume of his memoirs he wrote:

"The United States stood on the scene of victory, master of world fortunes, but without a true and coherent design. Britain, though still very powerful, could not act decisively alone. I could at this stage only warn and plead.

"I moved through cheering crowds or sat at a table adorned with congratulations and blessings with an aching heart and a mind oppressed by forebodings."

As a Knight Companion of the Garter, he was a member along with those of royal blood and the peerage of the highest order of chivalry his Queen could bestow upon him. It had been offered him in 1945 by King George VI but he declined. At that time selections for membership in the order were made by the sovereign on the recommendation of the Prime Minister. The fact that Attlee was Prime Minister may have had something to do with Churchill's decision. Subsequently, the older system was restored, making selection the prerogative of the sovereign.

Most Prized Honor

He also held the Order of Merit, which is limited to twenty-four members at any one time and which is awarded for outstanding excellence in the arts, letters and sciences. He was the first non-American to be given the Freedom Award. De Gaulle decorated him with the Cross of Liberation in 1958.

He was a Freeman of more than fifty towns and cities in his own country and abroad and the holder of honorary degrees from more than twenty universities.

Of all his foreign honors, including the Nobel Prize, Churchill prized most highly his honorary citizenship of the United States conferred upon him by Kennedy on April 9, 1963. The proposal to do what Congress had never done for a foreign national was first offered by Representative Francis B. Walter, Democrat of Pennsylvania, April 1, 1958.

At that time Churchill informed Mr. Walter that "after most careful consideration, I think that I should decline it rather than have an official seal put on the affection and high regard in which I hold your country."

Mr. Walter renewed his proposal in 1963 and, on Janu-

ary 24, Kennedy told a news conference that he believed that a declaration of honorary citizenship or high esteem for Churchill "would be a gracious act."

Churchill then informed Mr. Walter through the British Embassy that "due to the changed situation from 1958" he would "be delighted to be so honored." He did not elaborate on the cryptic "the changed situation."

H.R. 4374, the bill to confer citizenship on the Briton whose mother was American-born, was passed by the House of Representatives March 12, 1964, and by the Senate April 2.

The conferral ceremony was held in the White House Rose Garden April 9. Unable to be present, Churchill was represented by his son, Randolph, but he watched and heard it all on a television broadcast carried across the Atlantic by a communications satellite. He was deeply moved.

In remarks before reading the proclamation he had signed, Kennedy said:

"We gather today at a moment unique in the history of the United States.

"This is the first time that the United States Congress has solemnly resolved that the President of the United States shall proclaim an honorary citizenship for the citizen of another country and in joining me to perform this happy duty the Congress gives Sir Winston Churchill a distinction shared only with the Marquis de Lafayette.

"In proclaiming him an honorary citizen, I only propose a formal recognition of the place he has long since won in the history of freedom and in the affections of my—and now his—fellow countrymen.

"Whenever and wherever tyranny threatened, he has always championed liberty. Facing firmly toward the future, he has never forgotten the past. Serving six monarchs of his native Great Britain, he has served all men's freedom and dignity.

"In the dark days and darker nights when England stood alone—and most men save Englishmen despaired of England's life—he mobilized the English language and sent it into battle. The incandescent quality of his words illuminated the courage of his countrymen.

"Indifferent himself to danger, he wept over the sorrows of others. A child of the House of Commons, he became its father. Accustomed to the hardships of battle, he had no distaste for pleasure.

"Now his stately ship of life, having weathered the

severest storms of a troubled century is anchored in tranquil waters, proof that courage and faith and zest for freedom are truly indestructible. The record of his triumphant passage will inspire free hearts all over the globe.

"By adding his name to our rolls, we mean to honor him—but his acceptance honors us far more. For no statement or proclamation can enrich his name now—the name Sir Winston Churchill is already legend."

Then Kennedy read this proclamation to the Rose Garden assemblage of dignitaries:

"WHEREAS Sir Winston Churchill, a son of America though a subject of Britain, has been throughout his life a firm and steadfast friend of the American people and the American nation; and

"WHEREAS he has freely offered his hand and his faith in days of adversity as well as triumph; and

"WHEREAS his bravery, charity and valor, both in war and in peace, have been a flame of inspiration in freedom's darkest hour; and

"WHEREAS his life has shown that no adversary can overcome, and no fear can deter, free men in the defense of their freedom; and

"WHEREAS he has expressed with unsurpassed power and splendor the aspirations of peoples everywhere for dignity and freedom; and

"WHEREAS he has by his art as an historian and his judgment as a statesman made the past the servant of the future;

"NOW, THEREFORE, I, JOHN F. KENNEDY, President of the United States of America, under the authority contained in an Act of the 88th Congress, do hereby declare Sir Winston Churchill an honorary citizen of the United States of America.

"IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

"DONE at the City of Washington this ninth day of April, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-seventh."

In the response read by his son Churchill said:

"Mr. President, I have been informed by Mr. David Bruce that it is your intention to sign a Bill conferring upon me Honorary Citizenship of the United States.



"I have received many kindnesses from the United States of America, but the honor which you now accord me is without parallel. I accept it with deep gratitude and affection.

"I am also most sensible of the warmhearted action of the individual States who accorded me the great compliment of their own honorary citizenships as a prelude to this Act of Congress.

"It is a remarkable comment on our affairs that the former Prime Minister of a great sovereign state should thus be received as an honorary citizen of another. I say 'great sovereign state' with design and emphasis, for I reject the view that Britain and the Commonwealth should now be relegated to a tame and minor role in the world. Our past is the key to our future, which I firmly trust and believe will be no less fertile and glorious. Let no man underrate our energies, our potentialities and our abiding power for good.

"I am, as you know, half American by blood, and the story of my association with that mighty and benevolent nation goes back nearly ninety years to the day of my Father's marriage. In this century of storm and tragedy I contemplate with high satisfaction the constant factor of the interwoven and upward progress of our peoples. Our comradeship and our brotherhood in war were unexampled. We stood together, and because of that fact the free world now stands. Nor has our partnership any exclusive nature: the Atlantic community is a dream that can well be fulfilled to the detriment of none and to the enduring benefit and honor of the great democracies.

"Mr. President, your action illuminates the theme of unity of the English-speaking peoples, to which I have devoted a large part of my life. I would ask you to accept yourself, and to convey to both Houses of Congress, and through them to the American people, my solemn and heartfelt thanks for this unique distinction, which will always be proudly remembered by my descendants."

Churchill was first and last a Briton but he was also a good European and a world citizen. It was a conviction of a lifetime that the whole English-speaking world should unite and this belief grew stronger in his later life. A co-operative union between the United States, Britain and her Commonwealth as a dominant force for peace was the theme of his speech at Fulton, Mo.

Later, at Zurich, he called for a United States of Europe in which the liberated countries could join in alliance with the English-speaking peoples as another bulwark of freedom. He was also an advocate of a Franco-German rapprochement.

He seemed to have no clear idea of whether the European association he sought to build should become a political or economic unit or to remain a philosophic body for the discussion of common problems with power to recommend to member legislatures and governments, or whether it should exercise power on its own initiative.

Churchill believed in a specific world order that could be attained only through great states and alliances. He never allowed his hatred for Hitler's Nazi tyranny and Mussolini's Fascism to extend toward their countries or their peoples. He looked upon Russia, however, as a half-Asian land-mass alien to Europe.

Overshadowing all else was his conviction that in a commonality of the British Isles and Commonwealth with the American democracy lay the best hope for peace and freedom.

With his election to Parliament in 1959 he had contested twenty elections and been successful in fifteen of them. He had held every cabinet post except that of Foreign Minister. Having represented Woodford successively since 1924, he was the "Father of the House of Commons" from 1959 until the dissolution of Parliament for the election of 1964 when, nearing 90, he announced that he would not stand again for Parliament.

On July 28, just before dissolution, the House adopted a motion putting on record "its unbounded admiration and gratitude for his services to Parliament, to the nation and to the world."

As his 90th birthday drew near, Churchill disengaged himself completely from public affairs and lived at Chartwell and at Hyde Park Gate with his wife. His mind remained clear but his health was frail and he tired easily. He saw only such old and close friends as Gen. Hastings Ismay and Lord Montgomery of Alamein.

Sir Winston and his "Clemmie" were very close. They complemented each other perfectly. She ran their home with aplomb and efficiency, aiming only at his comfort and meeting the unusual domestic requirements of an unusual and temperamental man with quiet resignation mixed with affectionate concern.

In the days of the bombardment of Britain she often accompanied her husband on his visits to bombed areas in London and to such stricken cities as Bristol. Once when he went on an inspection tour of the fleet she accompanied him and, as he wrote, "excelled all others in the nimbleness of skipping and scrambling from one destroyer to another."

In the war she felt deeply the inability of Britain to give more military assistance to the Soviet Union and she devoted herself to raising funds for the relief of the Russian people.

She assumed the leadership of a drive for Russian aid begun by the British Red Cross and the St. John's Ambulance Brigade.

In March, 1945, she set forth by air for an extended visit to Russia. By that time, Churchill noted, Russian suspicions of Allied attempts to negotiate a separate peace were so strong that he was tempted to postpone her trip. However, she took off on March 30, and Roosevelt cabled his hope that her "long flying trip will be safe and next be productive of good, which I am sure it will be."

During many of his illnesses Lady Churchill nursed her husband and sought unsuccessfully to get him to obey his doctor's orders and slough off some of his work on others. In 1943, after one of his journeys, Churchill was stricken by an inflammation of the lung. Despite his doctor's orders and his wife's pleas, he insisted on working from his bed.

Roosevelt, who had just recovered from a bout of influenza, wrote him to "tell Clemmie that when I was laid up I was a model patient and that I hope you will live down the reputation in our press of having been 'the world's worst patient.'"

Sir Winston and Lady Churchill had five children. The third child, Marigold, died in childhood. Diana, who was the wife of Duncan Sandys, was born in 1909 and died in 1963.

Three of their children are living. Randolph, his son, is a journalist who has edited and published several volumes of his father's speeches. He is working on the collected papers and preparing a biography.

Sarah Churchill is an actress and Mary, the youngest, is the wife of Christopher Soames.

His hand, at 90, was too unsteady to paint but he could still light his own cigars. He was permitted an occasional nip of brandy.

He lived expansively, however, and insisted on surrounding

himself with a retinue of retainers and a larger secretariat than he needed.

In the final period Churchill became more and more withdrawn and uninterested in public affairs. He showed little curiosity, for example, over the outcome of the election of 1964 in which Labor returned to power after thirteen years.

Like many other elderly folk, he loved to reminisce about his youth, and this he did with his few visitors and with members of his family.

He had outlived most of his contemporaries and he had seen the world change vastly from the horse-and-carriage era to the age of space vehicles. The old great empires of his youth had fallen and the new world that was emerging could hardly have been attractive to the constitutional traditionalist he was.

Although during the war Churchill held the powers of a dictator with the approval of Parliament, he never forgot, or let others forget, that it was in the province of Parliament to dismiss him at its pleasure. Recalling one of his meetings with Stalin and Roosevelt, he wrote:

"It was with some pride that I reminded my two great comrades on more than one occasion that I was the only one of our trinity who could at any moment be dismissed from power by the vote of a House of Commons freely elected on universal franchise, or could be controlled from day to day by the opinion of a war cabinet representing all parties in the State.

"The President's term of office was fixed and his powers not only as President but as Commander in Chief were almost absolute under the American Constitution. Stalin appeared to be, and at this moment certainly was, all-powerful in Russia. They could order; I had to convince and persuade. I was glad that this should be so. The process was laborious, but I had no reason to complain of the way it worked."

At 90 he was photographed with his wife of fifty-six happy years. He was standing at the window of his home at Hyde Park Gate looking wistfully out and evidently near tears at the crowd gathered to cheer the man who had so gallantly led them with the powers of a wartime autocrat and who had then stepped down leaving them free citizens of a democratic nation. That itself was not the least of his contributions to his times and to his fellow Britons.

PART III

HIS WIT AND WISDOM

"Everyone has his day, and some days last longer than others."

"During my life I have often had to eat my own words and I have found them a wholesome diet."

"There is only one answer to defeat, and that is victory."

"We cannot say 'the past is past' without surrendering the future."

"A fanatic is one who can't change his mind and won't change the subject."

"I never had the advantage of a university education. But it is a great privilege and the more widely extended, the better for any country. It should not be looked upon as something to end with youth but as a key to open many doors of thought and knowledge. A university education ought to be a guide to the reading of a lifetime. One who has profited from a university education has a wide choice. He need never be idle or bored. He is free from that vice of the modern age which requires something new not only every day but every two or three hours of the day. The first duty of a university is to teach wisdom, not a trade. We want a lot of engineers in the modern world but we do not want a world of engineers."

"War is a game with a good deal of chance in it, and, from the little I have seen of it, I should say that nothing in war ever goes right except by accident."

"There is only one thing certain about war, that it is full of disappointments and also full of mistakes."

"I have been brought up and trained to have the utmost contempt for people who get drunk."

"I neither want it [brandy] nor need it but I should think it pretty hazardous to interfere with the ineradicable habit of a lifetime."

"There is a good saying to the effect that when a new book appears one should read an old one. As an author, I would not recommend too strict an adherence to this saying."

"Certainly I have been fully qualified as far as the writing of books about wars is concerned; in fact, already in 1900 I could boast to have written as many books as Moses, and I have not stopped writing them since, except when, momentarily interrupted by war, in all the intervening period."

"My mother was American and my ancestors were officers in Washington's army. I am myself an English Speaking Union."

"I have always made myself the spokesman for the greatest possible freedom of debate even if it should lead to sharp encounters and hard words."

"There are no people in the world who are so slow to develop hostile feelings against a foreign country as the Americans and there are no people who, once estranged, are more difficult to win back. The American eagle sits on his perch, a large strong bird with formidable beak and claws."

"I have no intention of passing my remaining years in explaining or withdrawing anything I have said in the past, still less in apologizing for it."

"I believe that, generally speaking, given free institutions on a fair basis, the best side of men's nature will in the end surely come uppermost. But this doctrine has its limits."

"Great wars come when both sides believe they are more or less equal, when each thinks it has a good chance of victory."

"In a long and varied life I have constantly watched and tried to measure the moods and inspirations of the British people. There is no foe they will not face. There is no hardship they cannot endure. Whether the test be short or long and wearisome, they can take it. What they do not forgive is false promises and vain boastings."

"Politics is not a game. It is an earnest business."

"We have no assurance that anyone else is going to keep the British Lion as a pet."

"Let us stick to our heroes John Bull and Uncle Sam."

"Where does a family start? It starts with a young man falling in love with a girl—no superior alternative has yet been found."

"Power, for the sake of lording it over fellow creatures or adding to personal pomp, is rightly judged base. But power in a national crisis, when a man believes he knows what orders should be given, is a blessing. In the sphere of action there can be no comparison between the positions of number one and number two, three or four."

"Wars are not won by heroic militias."

"I do think unpunctuality is a vile habit, and all my life I have been trying to break myself of it. The only straightforward course is to cut out one of two of the appointments and so catch up. But few men have the strength of mind to do this. It is better that one notability should be turned away expostulating from the doorstep, than that nine just deputations should each fume for ten minutes in a stuffy anteroom."

"One voyage to India is enough; the others are merely repletion."

"Let me counsel my younger readers to beware of dislocated shoulders. I had sustained an injury that was to last me my life; which was to cripple me at polo, prevent me from ever playing tennis, and to be a grave embarrassment in moments of peril, violence and effort. Once it nearly went out through a too expansive gesture in the House of Commons."

"My various readings led me to ask myself questions about religion. Hitherto I had dutifully accepted everything I had been told. I had always had to go to Church once a week. All this was very good. I accumulated in those years so fine a surplus in the Bank of Observance that I have been drawing confidently upon it ever since."

"Great quarrels, it has been said, often arise from small occasions but never from small causes."

"Let us learn our lessons. Never, never, never believe any war will be smooth and easy, or that anyone who embarks on the strange voyage [of war] can measure the tides and hurricanes he will encounter. The statesman who yields to war fever must realize that, once the signal is given, he is no longer the master of policy but the slave of unforeseeable and uncontrollable events."

"As it is, those who can win a war well can rarely make a good peace, and those who could make a good peace would never have won the war."

"Revenge is, of all satisfactions, the most costly and long drawn-out; retributive persecution is, of all policies, the most pernicious."

"Laws, just or unjust, may govern men's actions. Tyrannies may restrain or regulate their words. The machinery of propaganda may pack their minds with falsehoods. But the soul of man thus held in trance or frozen in a long night can be awakened by a spark coming from God knows where. People in bondage need not despair."

"As long as you are generous and true, and also fierce, you cannot hurt the world or even seriously distress her. She was made to be wooed and won by youth. She has lived and thrived only by repeated subjugations."

"The inherent vice of Capitalism is the unequal sharing of blessings; the inherent virtue of Socialism is the equal sharing of miseries."

"Socialism is the philosophy of failure, the creed of ignorance and the gospel of envy."

"The problems of victory are more agreeable than those of defeat, but they are no less difficult."

"Writing a book was an adventure. To begin with it was a toy, an amusement; then it became a mistress, and then a master, and then a tyrant."

"I hope you have all mastered the official Socialist jargon which our masters, as they call themselves, wish us to learn. You must not use the word 'poor'; they are described as 'lower income group.' When it comes to a question of freezing a workman's wages the Chancellor of the Exchequer speaks of 'arresting increases in personal income.' The idea is that formerly income taxpayers used to be well-to-do, and that therefore it will be popular and safe to hit at them. There is a lovely one about houses and homes. They are in future to be called 'accommodation units.' I don't know how we are going to sing our old song, 'Home Sweet Home.' 'Accommodation Unit, Sweet Accommodation Unit, there's no place like our Accommodation Unit.' I hope to live to see the British Democracy spit all this rubbish from their lips."

"The zeal and efficiency of a diplomatic representative is measured by the quality and not the quantity of the information he supplies."

"I have fought more elections than anyone here, and on

the whole they are great fun. But there ought to be interludes of tolerance, hard work and study of social problems between them. Having rows for the sake of having rows between politicians might be good from time to time, but it is not a good habit of political life."

"Let there be sunshine on both sides of the Iron Curtain; and if ever the sunshine be equal on both sides, the Curtain will be no more."

"In wartime truth is so precious that she should always be attended by a bodyguard of lies."

"We realize that success cannot be guaranteed. There are no safe battles."

"In war what you don't dislike is not usually what the enemy does."

"Any clever person can make plans for winning a war if he has no responsibility for carrying them out."

"I would make all boys learn English; and then I would let the clever ones learn Latin as an honor and Greek as a treat. But the only thing I would whip them for is not knowing English. I would whip them hard for that."

"I tell you—it's no use arguing with a Communist. It's no good trying to convert a Communist, or persuade him. You can only deal with them on the following basis. You can only do it by having superior force on your side on the matter in question—and they must also be convinced that you will use—you will not hesitate to use—these forces if necessary, and in the most ruthless manner. You have not only to convince the Soviet Government that you have superior force—that they are confronted by superior force—but that you are not restrained by any moral consideration if the case arose from using that force with complete material ruthlessness. And that is the greatest chance of peace, the surest road to peace."

"I always avoid prophesying beforehand, because it is much better policy to prophesy after the event has already taken place."

"My views are a harmonious process which keeps them in relation to the current movement of events."

"I have a tendency, against which I should, perhaps, be on my guard, to swim against the stream. At all times, according to my mights and throughout the changing scenes through which we are all hurried, I have always faithfully served two public causes which, I think, stand supreme—the maintenance of the enduring greatness of Britain and her Empire and the historic continuity of our island life."

"People who are not prepared to do unpopular things and to defy clamor are not fit to be Ministers in times of stress."

"War, which used to be cruel and magnificent, is now cruel and squalid."

"In one respect a cavalry charge is very like ordinary life. So long as you are all right, firmly in your saddle, your horse in hand, and well armed, lots of enemies will give you a wide berth. But as soon as you have lost a stirrup, have a rein cut, have dropped your weapon, are wounded or your horse is wounded, then is the moment when from all quarters enemies rush upon you."

"It is an error to believe that the world began when any particular party or statesman got into office. It has all been going on quite a long time."

"I entirely agree that civil authority has supreme authority over the military men."

"I admire men who stand up for their country in defeat, even though I am on the other side."

"History with its flickering lamp stumbles along the trail of the past, trying to reconstruct its scenes, to revive its echoes, and kindle with pale gleams the passion of former days."

"The only guide to a man is his conscience; the only shield to his memory is the rectitude and sincerity of his actions. It is very imprudent to walk through life without this shield, because we are so often mocked by the failure of our hopes; but with this shield, however the Fates may play, we march always in the ranks of honor."

"I cannot undertake to be impartial as between the Fire Brigade and the fire."

"The fortunes of mankind in its tremendous journeys are principally decided for good or ill—but mainly for good, for the path is upward—by its greatest men and its greatest episodes."

"After all, when you have to kill a man it costs nothing to be polite."

"Hate is a bad guide. I have never considered myself at all a good hater—although I recognize that from moment to moment [hate] has added stimulus to pugnacity."

"Elderly people and those in authority cannot always be relied upon to make enlightened and comprehending views of what they call the indiscretions of youth."

"Personally I think that private property has a right to be defended. Our civilization is built up on private property, and can only be defended by private property."

"Science, which now offers us a golden age with one hand, offers at the same time with the other the doom of all that we have built up inch by inch since the Stone Age and the

dawn of any human annals. My faith is in the high progressive destiny of man. I do not believe that we are to be flung back into abysmal darkness by those fiercesome discoveries which human genius has made. Let us make sure that they are our servants, not our masters."

"Nothing can be more abhorrent to democracy than to imprison a person or keep him in prison because he is unpopular. This is really the test of civilization."

"Democracy is not a caucus, obtaining a fixed term of office by promises and then doing what it likes with the people. Government of the people, by the people, for the people, still remains the sovereign definition of democracy."

"It would be a great reform in politics if wisdom could be made to spread as easily and as rapidly as folly."

"The human story does not always unfold like a mathematical calculation on the principle that two and two make four. Sometimes in life they make five or minus three; and sometimes the blackboard topples down in the middle of the sum and leaves the class in disorder and the pedagogue with a black eye."

"One of the disadvantages of dictatorship is that the dictator is often dictated to by others, and what he did to others may often be done back again to him."

"Do not let spacious plans for a new world divert your energies from saving what is left of the old."

"Peace will not be preserved by pious sentiments expressed in terms of platitudes or by official grimaces and diplomatic correctitude."

"A hopeful disposition is not the sole qualification to be a prophet."

"Although always prepared for martyrdom, I preferred that it should be postponed."

"The truth is incontrovertible. Panic may resent it; ignorance may deride it; malice may distort it, but there it is."

"In the problems which the Almighty sets his humble servants things hardly ever happen the same way twice over, or, if they seem to do so, there is some variant which stultifies generalizations. The human mind, except when guided by extraordinary genius, cannot surmount the established conclusions amid which it has been reared."

"Personally I am always ready to learn, although I do not always like being taught."

"It is a fine thing to be honest, but it is also very important to be right."

"Short words are best and the old words when short are best of all."

"The argument is now put forward that we must never use the atomic bomb until, or unless, it has been used against us first. In other words, you must never fire until you have been shot dead. That seems to me a silly thing to say."

"It is hard, if not impossible, to snub a beautiful woman—they remain beautiful and the rebuke recoils."

"Only faith in a life after death in a brighter world where dear ones will meet again—only that and the measured tramp of time can give consolation."



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