

THE CHURCHILLIAN



**Churchill Society of Tennessee
Fall Issue 2025**

CHURCHILL

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Inside this Issue of *The Churchillian*



On the cover: Sir Winston Churchill's Statue in
Parliament Square London, England.
The 12 foot tall statue is the creation of
Ivor Roberts-Jones and was unveiled in 1973.

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42nd International Churchill Conference to be held in Washington, DC.

The International Churchill Society is pleased to announce that the 2025 International Churchill Conference will be held in Washington, DC, on 9-11 October 2025.

Tickets are still available for purchase.

<https://secure.everyaction.com/f5Y2abR4iUagTXERgMKzzw2>



Churchill Society of Tennessee Annual Gala

November 7, 2025

Featuring British Historian

Tim Bouverie

At Belle Meade Country Club, Nashville, TN

Tickets available:

<https://churchillsocietytn.org/upcoming-events>



New cigar shop and Churchill smoking lounge in Franklin, TN.

On June 9th 2025, fellow CSOT member David Elkins delivered a dedication speech at the new 'Mission Franklin Cigar Shop' to a crowd of 50 patrons. They were there to dedicated the new Sir Winston Churchill smoking lounge. David, a staunch Churchillian and avid historian, was the perfect cigar smoking gentleman to deliver these remarks.

If you find yourself in Franklin, TN and are so inclined, drop by and enjoy a fine cigar under the watchful gaze of the great man himself, Sir Winston Churchill.

Mission Cigar Franklin is open daily and located at 121 3rd Ave N, Franklin, TN



David Elkins delivers the Winston Churchill Lounge dedication speech at Mission Cigar.

Sir Winston Churchill: marks of leadership



"Roaring Lion" portrait of Churchill, by Yousef Karsh, Ottawa, 6 April 1955

© Karsh / Camera Press

Paul E. Forte, PhD

This past year marked the 150th anniversary of the birth of Sir Winston Churchill (1874-1965), twice Prime Minister of Great Britain (1940-1945 and 1951-1955), statesman, soldier, author, orator, and artist. For many on the other side of the Atlantic, he is still the greatest Briton. It was Churchill who sounded the alarm in the 1930s before most had awakened to the peril of the Nazi juggernaut; who vowed after the invasions of Czechoslovakia and Poland in 1939 and the fall of France in 1940 that Britain would fight on, if necessary, alone; who crossed oceans and continents to build alliances; who stood undaunted amidst the rubble of British cities bombed by the Luftwaffe; who brought the might of America into the Second World War; and who led his country to victory in 1945.

Here in the United States, we are perhaps more apt to remember Churchill's post-war warnings about the menace of Soviet communism. These famous statements, delivered in Zurich and Fulton, Missouri, in September and October of 1946, respectively, described the descent of an "Iron Curtain" across Eastern Europe, underscoring the plight of millions who had managed to survive the ravages of the Third Reich only to come under a new, even more total form of domination. We are less likely to remember the many statements he made on the importance of a European Union, lest the dark ages return "in all their cruelty and squalor."

Churchill was a controversial figure in his own time, and he remains controversial today,¹ with some arguing that he failed more often than he succeeded, while others are fixated on his imperialism. Yet he remains an iconic figure because of his courage and his wisdom. This essay looks at what I call the "marks" of his leadership, the exceptional qualities that set him apart as a leader. They are given below with examples establishing historical context. But first, a brief sketch of the man.

Vaulting ambition

Churchill was both British and American by birth. His father, Lord Randolph Churchill (1850-1895), served as Secretary of State for India and Chancellor of the Exchequer; his mother, Jennie Jerome (1854-1921), was a New York City heiress and socialite. Winston was the grandson of the 7th Duke of Marlborough, John Winston Spencer-Churchill (1822-1883), and was born at Blenheim



2nd Lieutenant Winston Churchill of the 4th Queen's Own Hussars in 1895. © IWM (ZZZ 5426F)

Palace.² But his father was the third son of the Duke, which meant Winston would have no title and would have to make his own way in the world. Believing he would not live a long life—Randolph had died at the early age of 46—Winston was filled with the desire to make the most of every opportunity that presented itself, and some that did not. He was, in Shakespeare's phrase, a man of "vaulting ambition."

Churchill was not especially studious as a youth. Disinclined to attend university, he applied instead to the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, where he was accepted as a cavalry cadet. He went to Cuba in 1895 as a war correspondent before the Spanish-American war; saw action as a subaltern in Northwest India along the Pashtun frontier; rode in the last cavalry charge of the 19th century with the 21st Lancers at Omdurman during the Mahdist War; and got involved in the second Boer War, first as a journalist and then as a soldier. His daring escape from a Boer prison in December 1899 and subsequent heroic return to London, made him one of the best-known

young men in the English-speaking world; his voluntary return to South Africa to serve with Britain's South African Light Horse Regiment solidified his reputation for bravery. These experiences, recounted in *London to Ladysmith via Pretoria* (1900), gave him an edge over others who chose to play it safe at home. Churchill used them to get himself elected to Parliament in 1901, beginning a 50+ year political career that would take him to important positions like First Lord of the Admiralty and Colonial Secretary before, during, and after WWI, and to No. 10 Downing Street as Prime Minister in 1940 when the *Wehrmacht* was thundering across Europe.

Churchill looked to make the most of his experiences, to attain an Olympian view of the world and its players. While a soldier in India, he used his free time to read the great historians, including Gibbon, Rapin, Macauley, and Ranke. He does not provide much evidence of having read ancient historians, but his belief in the value of history for men of action recalls Polybius, the second-century historian who explained how Rome came to dominate the world. Like Polybius, Churchill approaches his subjects not as a scholar but in the spirit of a Roman senator in search of examples useful for those whose public careers are concerned with war and politics.³ “Study history, study history,” he often intoned, “for in history lie all the secrets of statecraft.”

Evolution of Churchill as leader

In 1904, Churchill left the Conservatives for the Liberals, and more than twenty years later in 1925 went back to the Conservatives. He was roundly criticized for this and called a chameleon. But such flexibility enabled him to gain perspectives he might otherwise have lacked as well as a maneuverability useful in bringing together disparate voices, Liberals and Labourites as well as Conservatives, building effective coalitions. It also enabled him to make connections with European leaders during WWI, serve as Colonial Secretary of Ireland during a tumultuous period of its Civil War and partition, and attain the important position of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Such experiences positioned him as a unique and energetic leader, capable of holding his ground amidst strong opposition, a wit with which it was not wise to tangle, and a person of undoubted military knowledge if sometimes eccentric judgment.⁴

Churchill never formulated a philosophy or theory of leadership. He admired and wished to imitate those who led their nations through dangerous straits, resisting domination by greater powers. One such figure was his own illustrious ancestor, John Churchill (1650-1722), the first Duke of Marlborough, whose biography he wrote in the 1930s while he was out of office. *Marlborough: His Life and Times* showed how John Churchill rose from relatively modest beginnings, developed the arts of generalship, and prevailed in numerous campaigns against the 17th century hegemon, Louis XIV and his French Empire, with the support of smaller principalities of Germany and central Europe. Churchill's own efforts to form and preserve alliances, which he no doubt learned from his study of Marlborough's experience, was a critical success factor in securing victory in Europe in World War II.

Here follows six marks of leadership for which Churchill is rightly distinguished.

Dedication to liberty

Churchill celebrated all of the great milestones of British liberty: Magna Carta, the British Constitution and the Bill of Rights 1689, freedom of speech, *habeas corpus*, trial by jury, and respect for the rule of law. He also celebrated the U.S. Constitution, the concise written document of American freedom. These were undergirded by the values of European Protestantism. Churchill believed, with Macaulay and other Whig writers, that such values underlay Britain's remarkable achievements. For Churchill, they were not only the basis of liberty but the tools of loyal opposition, which ensured that dissenting voices were heard. They were what separated political life in Great Britain and America from life in the Ottoman, Czarist Russian, German, and Japanese empires, closed rather than open societies where failure to agree with the policies of those in power could bring severe reprisals.

Some wonder how Churchill could reconcile his love of liberty with his love of the British Empire. These seem inconsistent, particularly so with respect to Indian independence, which he resisted.⁵ Churchill knew that the origins of the Empire lay with the Elizabethan privateers who preyed on Spanish shipping, that these privateers founded posts or seized colonies, and that over time the colonies were enriched by slaves, a large percentage of whom were transported from Africa on British ships. He did not deny such facts, nor did he ignore the wrongs of the Raj during which he grew up. But neither did he think they defined the British Empire. He believed that the Empire had brought benefits to the developing world that no other vehicle could have bestowed at a critical moment in history, such as the introduction of education, science, medicine, agriculture, mechanical engineering, industrialization, and transportation, together with such cultural norms as protection of private property and religious toleration. Conversely, he believed that refusal to absorb and appreciate these gifts was backward; such refusal would not liberate, but prevent the progress that liberates.

The Churchill of the early 20th century was actually a social reformer, a reader of Dickens and an admirer of the vaudevillian and reformer Charlie Chaplin.⁶ He was impressed with what Bismarck had done for the poorer classes of Germany via social insurance, which he declared, “brought the miracle of averages to the rescue of the masses.”⁷ He worked closely with David Lloyd George (1863-1945), then Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Asquith government, to bypass the libertarianism of William Gladstone (1809-1898), who during his long premiership reduced state intervention and control to the extent possible, letting social conditions look after themselves.⁸ The two pushed through Parliament bills that became the foundation of the modern British welfare state, including the Coal Mines Act of 1908, the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908, the first nationwide compulsory unemployment compensation act, and the National Health Insurance Act.⁹

Knowledge of the past

Churchill was among the first Western politicians to have correctly appraised the true intent of Nazism, with its belief in a glorious future based on a mythical past. This is why he opposed appeasement of Hitler throughout the 1930s. He was also among the first to identify the dangers of Islamic fundamentalism, which was to gain force in the second half of the 20th century and to remain significant in the 21st. He was a supporter of the new state of Israel and counted its first President, Chaim Weizmann (1874-1952), among his friends, insisting that the Jews had a historic right to a home in Palestine. At the same time, he recognized the service of Muslims to the British Empire in various places, and defended Muslim interests in the Middle East. He warned his colleagues after the Ottomans had fallen in 1922 not to side with Greeks, who were then attracted by communism, against the Turks, nor to ignore the rights and claims of Arab tribes newly liberated by his close friend, T E. Lawrence, a.k.a. Lawrence of Arabia. He worked with Lawrence after the French had secured Syria in 1920 to place Arabs in key positions in Iraq and Transjordan.

Failure to study and understand what has gone before means the risk of repeating bad decisions. Conversely, knowledge of what has preceded provides insights into the culture or cultures which have shaped the present. “The longer you can look back,” said Churchill, “the farther you can look forward.”

Readiness for action

Churchill never shied away from taking action, even if it made him misunderstood, unpopular, reviled. As Roy Jenkins has observed, he did not subscribe to the idea that “the main use of an electoral victory should be to do nothing to impair the prospect of another victory at the next election.”¹⁰ He has been roundly criticized for his actions in suppressing the Tonypandy Riots of 1910-1911, which pitted Welsh miners against the government over wage reductions; for the suppression of the rail strike of 1911; for the discipline of suffragettes who physically assaulted government officers; and for suppression of the General Strike of 1926. But he was also instrumental in drafting the Coal Mines Regulation Act of 1910 (which improved the working conditions in mines), the Shop Hours Act of 1911, daylight savings time, the abolishment of lengthy solitary confinement in prison, and other measures geared to improving the lives and health of ordinary people.

As Home Secretary, Churchill was blamed for Ireland’s Civil War (1919-1921), though the war broke out just days after he assumed office. His attempt to restore order in the streets of Belfast by means of the Royal Irish Constabulary, better known as the Black and Tans, ex-WWI army officers and servicemen who were notorious for brutality, earned him much enmity.¹¹ Yet Churchill was an early adherent of Irish Home Rule and signatory to the Anglo-Irish Treaty of December 1921, which created the Irish Free State, which in turn became the Republic of Ireland in 1938.

For Churchill, an executive who shied away from decisions or blamed his failure to act on bureaucracy or circumstances was no leader. Hence, his notepads with the words printed on them, *Action This Day*. They were a reminder to himself as well as to others not to make excuses for inaction, not to lose valuable time, to remember that every day made a difference in the crush of events.

Lawful engagement

For Churchill, no act of leadership was creditable unless it was lawful. Although he made many mistakes in his long public career, he never acted illegally.¹² Of course, he was the consummate Parliamentarian, an acolyte of the Westminster system of government. He had spent the better part of his public career in the House of Commons, the principal legislative body in Britain and the bulwark of British democracy, and so was able to understand and use its procedures to achieve his aims. Nationalism could be an effective tool of the statesman, helping to build a people’s morale in times of crisis, but it should not become an end in itself, for that risks illegality.

Churchill was also above corruption. He never entertained business opportunities while discharging his public duties or attempted to blur the line between personal gain and the public interest. By birth and attainments, he was strongly supportive of individual initiative and private enterprise. He repudiated “Bolshevism”—the centralization of economic systems, nationalization of industries, and requisitioning of private property. However, he never elevated money and moneyed interests above everything else, much toyed with the privatization of government. Failure to respect existing law or to manipulate it to obtain a short-term advantage is not good business, nor is it the best environment for business to flourish.¹³ “To hunt wealth,” said Churchill in 1934, “is not to capture commonwealth.”

Courage

Churchill was a man of courage, conspicuously so, from his early days as a soldier in the British army to the time of the Blitz when he insisted on staying in London vowing to defend 10 Downing Street with his own rifle until the bullets ran out. He had escaped death from war, accidents, and travels full of risk, as with his crossing oceans by ship in which there were German U-boats and flying across continents in aircraft dependent on the stopwatch, navigation charts, and radio signals. But his courage was not merely physical; it was also moral, as when he faced the reproaches of his countrymen in the 1930's over the possibility of another great war when the losses of the previous war were still fresh in memory. Statements like the following echo in the mind:

Never give in. Never, never, never, never—in nothing, great or small, large or petty—never give in, except to convictions of honour and good sense.

Always be on guard against tyranny, whatever shape it may assume.

Withhold no sacrifice, grudge no toil, seek no sordid gain, fear no foe.

Failure is not fatal; it is the courage to continue that counts.

To try to be safe everywhere is to be strong nowhere.

*Improvise and dare.*¹⁴

Resilience

Leaders make mistakes. Many fail to recover from them, their careers ending in shambles. As noted above, Churchill made numerous mistakes in his long public career. But he developed a steel-like resilience to failure, enabling him to bend under pressure and not break. He was aided by a whimsical sense of humor and an ability to unwind.

As First Lord of Admiralty during WWI, Churchill directed the disastrous military campaign in which British, Irish, Australian, and New Zealand troops attempted to gain control of the Gallipoli peninsula via the Dardanelles and so capture Istanbul. The plan, which was to weaken the eastern German and Turkish front by opening up a channel for the Russians to the Mediterranean,¹⁵ resulted in the deaths of thousands of British, Australian, and New Zealand troops. Churchill lost his job in the Admiralty because of it and was virtually blackballed within the government for a decade.¹⁶

Churchill called this period his “wilderness years,” and there is no doubt he took his fall hard. Yet, he carried on, writing his *Marlborough*, mentioned above; *Great Contemporaries* (1936), which studied exemplary statesmen, their insights and blind spots; and the *World Crisis* (1930-1939), his account of WWI. In addition to writing, he spent time with his family, painted landscapes, and made property improvements to his home in Chartwell. Chartwell became an informal think tank in the 1930s, receiving such distinguished foreign visitors as world-famous physicist Albert Einstein, France's Prime Minister Pierre-Etienne Flandin, France's Former Prime Minister Leon Blum, and

the Pan-European activist Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi.¹⁷ By these and other contacts, Churchill obtained valuable intelligence about developments on the Continent, and particularly German rearmament, forbidden under the Treaty of Versailles. This carried him forward, helping him to remain conversant with issues, so that when he was called back to office by the Conservatives in May 1940, he was well prepared for the tasks before him. It also informed his perspective on the European scene as a whole, allowing him to speak confidently after the war about what European statesmen should do for mutual protection and security.

Churchill was not expected to become Prime Minister after the collapse of Neville Chamberlain's government; that place was to be taken by Lord Halifax, widely looked upon as Chamberlain's successor. Churchill was considered erratic, and besides, at age 65, too old for the tasks that lay ahead. Even George VI was against Churchill's taking the job, at least initially. But Churchill's prescient warnings about German rearmament, his determination not to back down under threats from dictators, and his connection to the average Briton, for whom he spoke so well and who followed him loyally, enabled him to take the helm and within a short period of time convince the nay-sayers that he was the right man for the job. Indeed, Churchill not only became Prime Minister but assumed the important role of Minister of Defence, controlling the military and direct war strategy, something which his great predecessor Lloyd George didn't do. This made Churchill more effective as a war leader.

Churchill's enduring relevance

Eighty years have passed since Churchill led Britain, which prompts the question of whether his art of leadership is still relevant. Most current leadership theory stresses teamwork, something in which Churchill did not excel. He was not a developer of junior persons, much less a mentor. He never achieved what business people, borrowing from team sports, call "bench strength." In this, he was not unlike other world leaders of his time, Lloyd George, Georges Clemenceau, Franklin Roosevelt, and Charles de Gaulle, all of whom were charismatic figures accustomed to being the center of attention. Several of Churchill's contemporaries accused him of self-absorption if not downright selfishness. Against such deficits must be weighed his strength of character, his will power, and his determination. Only such qualities could have enabled him to stand up to formidable opponents like Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin.

Churchill looked with dread upon developments in Germany after WWI. He could see the troubling signs of extreme nationalism gaining strength and influence in the Weimar Republic. Few Germans understood the intentions of the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP or Nazi), the *Sturmabteilung* (SA), and *Schutzstaffel* (SS), though they could see their marches in the streets of Berlin and heard about their activities in other major cities.¹⁸ They were swept along by events, thinking they might go on with business as usual, little suspecting that their government was on the verge of collapse. They did not see that Hitler's rise to power in 1933 would change everything, not just for Germany but all of Europe. Churchill saw and grasped that situation and addressed it forcibly with all the tools of mind and body. But then he did not spend a life in business, adding up profit and loss.

Churchill's legacy is found in these and other marks of leadership cited above. But there is something more. When we read his writings or listen to his speeches, we become aware of an uncommon emotional depth, what Aristotle calls "greatness of soul," something not possible without moral nobility.¹⁹ It is the effect of a man in a time of danger speaking truth without fear.



Churchill inspecting the ruins of Coventry Cathedral 1941. © IWM (H 14250)

Were Churchill alive today, he would use his remarkable command of the English language to cut through jargon and evasion, falsehood and magical thinking, to halt the misguided actions of those who think they are changing the world for the better but are, in fact, taking it on the path to ruin. Nor would he be intimidated by any of those opposing him. Ready either for study or for action as the situation might require, willing to work closely with others toward a mutual goal or to carry on alone, complete in himself and therefore incorruptible, Churchill would stand resolute, implacable, a model for all who would become better, stronger leaders, desirous of doing right, taking on the difficult problems of both the present and tomorrow.



Winston Churchill giving the 'V' sign in Downing Street. He had just arrived back in London from Washington where he had discussions with President Roosevelt. © IWM (HU 55521)

Paul E. Forte is a retired executive. His last position was as Chief Executive Officer of FedPoint, a federal government contractor administering large group benefit programs for some 8 million federal civilians and military personnel. Forte is the author of numerous essays on business, history, and politics. A long-time member of the International Churchill Society, Forte's articles and reports on Churchill have appeared regularly in *The Churchillian*.

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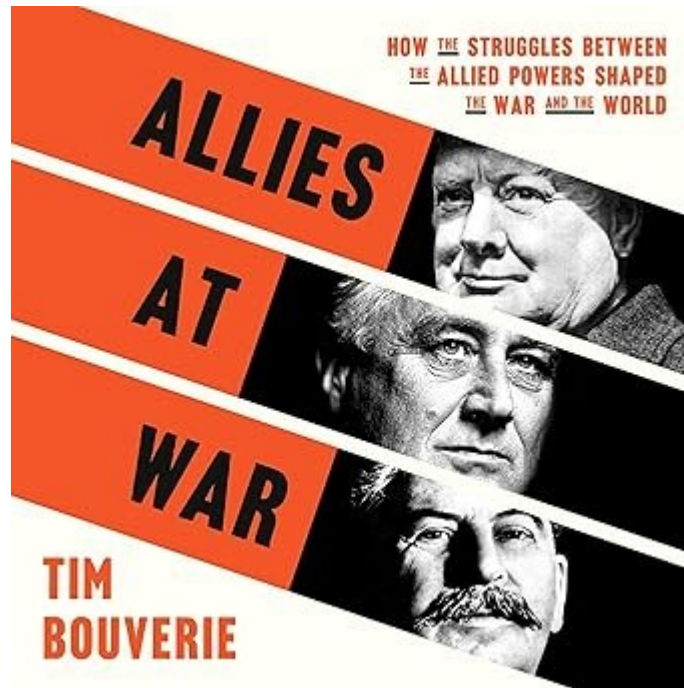
Notes

1. Among the detractors: David Irving, who attempts to turn the favorable post-War view of Churchill on its head in *Hitler's War* (1977) and *Churchill's War* (1987); Primamvada Gopal, whose anti-imperialist perspective charged the British Empire with bringing great evils to India, including massacres, famines, racism, and dispossession (BBC Radio 4 12th June 2006); Geoffrey Wheatcroft, whose *Churchill's Shadow: The Life and Afterlife of Winston Churchill* (2021) is a sustained attack on Churchill's career and character; Tariq Ali's *Winston Churchill: His Times, His Crimes* (2022); and Darryl Cooper, who in a 2024 interview with podcaster Tucker Carlson, maintains that Churchill was the "chief villain of the Second World War," the one who started the conflict, not Hitler.
2. Blenheim is the only non-royal palace in Britain, given by the British people to Churchill's famous ancestor John Churchill (1650-1722), the first Duke of Marlborough, in recognition of his victory in Belgium over the armies of France in the War of the Spanish Succession.
3. See F.W. Walbank, *Polybius* (University of California Press, 1972), pp. 32-46.
4. Churchill's skills as a war strategist have long been debated. In the years following WWII British military commanders such as Sir Alan Brooke (1883-1963), Sir Andrew Cunningham (1883-1963), Sir John Dill (1881-1944) disclosed their vexation with Churchill's meddling in war strategy and general lack of deference. Churchill's decision to unite in himself the offices of Prime Minister and Minister of Defense certainly added to the drama, which often consisted of Churchill's applying common sense to battle exercises and plans and asking numerous questions. Eliot A. Cohen defends Churchill's actions by noting that his insistence of being involved in strategic discussions often resulted in better plans. See *Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesmen, and Leadership in Wartime* (2002). This subject has been covered more recently in Carlo D'este, *Warlord: The Life of Winston Churchill at War, 1874-1945* and Max Hastings, *Winston's War: Churchill, 1940-1945*.
5. Churchill's objection to Indian independence was not personal: he simply did not believe India was ready for self-governance, torn as it was by multiple ethnicities, sectarianism, and a caste system dominated by Brahmins, while the existence of more than one hundred languages within the subcontinent prevented effective government-wide communication. The bloodbath that followed partition of India and Pakistan on January 1, 1947, validated, though it did not justify, his position.
6. This is not to suggest that Churchill was the equal of Lloyd George as a reformer. John Campbell rightly notes that unlike Lloyd George, who "grasped the scale of the national effort required for reform," Churchill took little interest in plans for post-war reconstruction: "[During WWII] he refused to be distracted by the Beveridge Report on welfare reform . . . whereas Lloyd George was always concerned that the immense sacrifices made by ordinary people during the war should be rewarded by improvements in their standard of living when it was over." Campbell also notes, however, that Lloyd George was not a war leader, hated it and entered into its necessity unwillingly, unlike Churchill whose destiny was fulfilled by it. See "Winston and the Welsh Wizard: Churchill and Lloyd George," *Finest Hour*, Third Quarter 2021, no. 193.
7. It is interesting to consider whether Churchill might have picked up statements like this from his father-in-law, Colonel Sir Henry Hozier, who served as Secretary of Lloyd's from 1874-1906. Certainly the two spent time together at both London and Chartwell. For a summary of Hozier's long and successful career in insurance and risk management, see D.E.W. Gibbs, *Lloyd's: A Study in Individualism* (London: MacMillan, 1957), pp. 145-160.
8. I borrow this observation from Roy Jenkins, *Churchill: A Biography*, p. 143. Hereinafter referred to as Jenkins.
9. For a summary of Churchill's reform efforts, see Jenkins, pp. 142-66.
10. Jenkins, p. 147.

11. This unit secretly employed some of the same terrorist tactics that the IRA and Sinn Fein had used in the rural areas of Northern Ireland, which caused the deaths of innocent bystanders, women, and children. See Andrew Roberts, *Churchill: Walking with Destiny* (Viking, 2018), pp. 277-78.
12. The sole exception was his acceptance of a £5,000 fee to facilitate, while still a member of Parliament, a merger between two large oil companies in 1923. However, there was at the time no rule on the books in British Government against such an action. Such conflict of interest was only later viewed as unlawful.
13. This is illustrated by the past forty years in Corporate America, which have been marred by acts of malfeasance. Examples include the collapse of such giants as Executive Life, Enron, WorldCom, and AIG, and the near collapse of GE due to financial engineering; the attempt by Volkswagen to falsify emission results in California; unauthorized creation of thousands of personal bank accounts at Wells Fargo; the failure of Boeing to do adequate testing of the software needed to stabilize its 737 MAX aircraft in flight, resulting in two crashes and a near crash from a failed door; and Purdue Pharma's abuse and diversion of prescription opioids like OxyContin, which fueled addiction and associated mortality.
14. These quotations are cited from *Churchill's Wit: The Definitive Collection*, edited by Richard M. Langworth (Ebury Press, 2009).
15. An alternative plan had been developed for a northern invasion that would have involved landing Russian soldiers near the island of Borkum in the Baltic and then moving down into the Balkans. It was considered too risky and expensive.
16. The soundness of Churchill's plan was acknowledged years later by British military intelligence. The experience helped the British effort in WWII against the Germans in the Balkans. But in its wake Churchill was nearly finished as a politician. He responded to his fall by enlisting in the army, though he was past age 40. He served with the Infantry in Flanders from November 1916 to June 1917, first with the Grenadier Guards and then with the Royal Scots Fusiliers. He would go without a political office until Lloyd George as Prime Minister brought him back as Minister of Munitions in July 1917.
17. Chartwell, Churchill's home in Kent, was "his sanctuary, his keep," as biographer William Manchester put it. "All his forays into London politics are made from this sure base . . . To him the essence of Chartwell is that it is completely utterly, entirely *English*" (*The Last Lion: Winston Spencer Churchill; Alone 1932-1940* (Little, Brown, 1988), p. 6. For a more recent look at Chartwell as a home environment and political base, see Katherine Carter, *Churchill's Citadel: Chartwell and the Gatherings Before the Storm* (Yale University Press, 2024).
18. This may be seen in the case of German insurance executives whose cooperation with Nazi officials led to their companies being commandeered by the Reich. I wish to thank to Nick Latrenta for calling my attention to Gerald D. Feldman's book, *Allianz and the German Insurance Business, 1933-1945* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), an in-depth study of German insurance business in this period based on archival research. Latrenta also kindly allowed me to read a draft of his excellent unpublished summary of Feldman's work.
19. *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. Harris Rackham (1996, Wordsworth Editions Limited), Book IV.

The Bookshelf

New Recommendations:



An “enthraling and authoritative” (The Wall Street Journal) political history of World War II that opens a window onto the difficulties of holding together the coalition that ultimately defeated Hitler—by the acclaimed author of *Appeasement*

“A fine reassessment of Allied politics and diplomacy during the Second World War: impeccably researched, elegantly written and compellingly argued.”—The Times (UK)