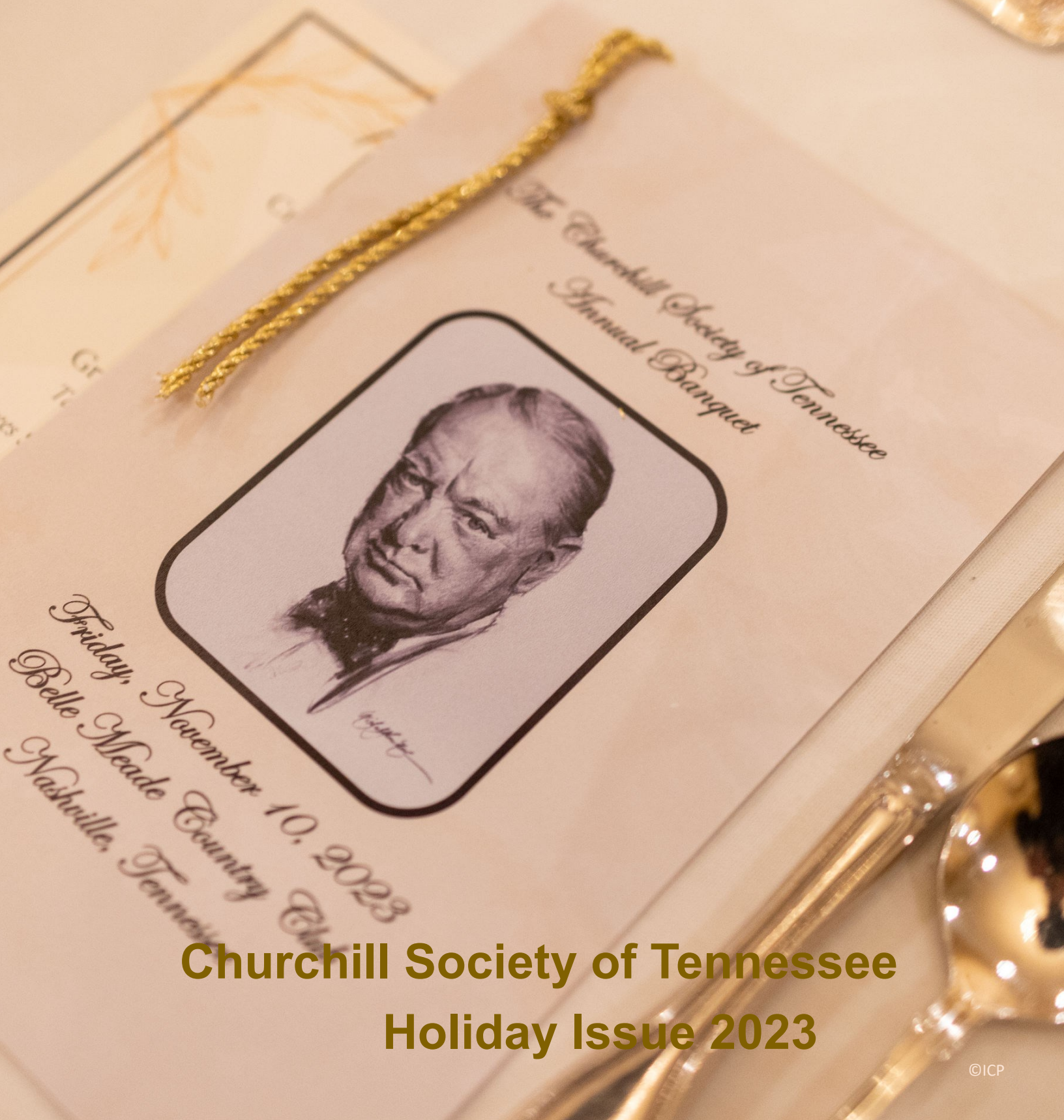


THE CHURCHILLIAN



**Churchill Society of Tennessee
Holiday Issue 2023**

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Inside this Issue of *The Churchillian*



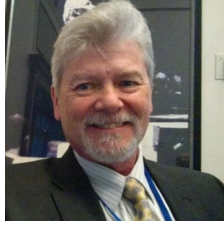
*On the cover: Dinner program from our annual gala
on November 10, 2023*

Churchill artwork by Michael Shane Neal

Contents

- 4. From the President
- 5. Christmas card
- 6. Churchill Society of Tennessee, 2023 Gala Dinner!
- 11. Glow Worms Celebrate Sir Winston Churchill's Birthday
- 12. 40th International Churchill Conference Edinburgh,
Scotland October 5-7, 2023 *Paul Forte*
- 18. Great Contemporaries: John Morley, Giant of Old
Richard Langworth
- 23. Bookshelf Picks

From the President



Greetings fellow Churchillians,

Another year will soon draw to a close. The Churchill Society of Tennessee has had a most productive 2023. We held a symposium at Scarritt Bennett in March, annual garden party in May, summer luncheon in August, gala dinner in November and held many meetings of the 'Glow Worms' throughout the year. We have many exciting events planned for next year so stay tuned.

I wanted to take a moment to thank you for your loyal membership in the CSOT. Without your participation and support we simply would not exist. I am also pleased to announce that our numbers continue to grow with many new members joining in 2023.

I would also like to thank those members who, in addition to paying their membership subscription, made additional financial contributions to CSOT. These generous contributions allow us to put on events and to keep the price of tickets as low as possible. Thank you!

On behalf of the board of directors, I wish all of you a very Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year!

Cheers!
Jim Drury



Members who contributed financially to the Churchill Society of Tennessee in 2023.

Catherine Sinkys Bacon
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Ginna & Carl Campbell
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*Merry Christmas
and a
Happy New Year!*



Christmas is a season not only of rejoicing but of reflection.

- Winston Churchill -



Churchill Society of Tennessee 2023 Gala Dinner!



This year's annual Churchill Society of Tennessee gala dinner was held at the beautiful Belle Meade Country Club in Nashville on Friday, November 10, 2023.

We were pleased to have former Director of the CIA, General David Petraeus as our honored guest.

Also present were US senator Marsha Blackburn, former Ambassador to Northern Ireland Mitchell Reiss, chairman of the International Churchill Society (ICS), Jack

Bovender, former CEO and chairman of Columbia HCA, Justin Reash, ICS executive director, Deborah Lindsey, advisory board member from the National Churchill Museum.

General Petraeus held a book signing during the cocktail reception before dinner. His New York Times best seller, 'Conflict' was co-written with Lord Andrew Roberts. The book has received universal approbation and was a big hit with Churchill Society of Tennessee membership.



Hendersonville H.S. Marine JROTC color guard present the colors.

The dinner was well attended, the grand ballroom being at capacity. Dinner began with a piper piping guests to their tables.

Next, we had the presentation of the colors by the Hendersonville High School Marine JROTC color guard.

Following the pledge of allegiance, Reverend Kew, from St. George's Episcopal

Church, offered a prayer of thanksgiving and blessing.

Dinner consisted of Filet mignon and salmon and was up to Belle Mead's usual high standards.

After dinner, Ambassador Mitchell Reiss delivered remarks and introduced General David Petraeus.



Ambassador Reiss introduces General Petraeus.



Dr Warren Dockter followed an interesting line of questions during the keynote conversation with Davis Petraeus.

General Petraeus was interviewed by fellow CSOT member Warren Dockter PhD. A broad range of topics were discussed. General Petraeus demonstrated his expert understanding and broad experience in world affairs, military history, economics and of course his familiarity with Sir Winston Churchill.

The keynote conversation concluded with a standing ovation and thunderous applause.

Churchill Society of Tennessee President Jim Drury had the honor of escorting General Petraeus throughout the day. General Petraeus attended major events at Belmont University,

meeting with the Tennessee World Affairs Council, and Vanderbilt University speaking at the lecture series “Modern Conflict and Emerging Threats’.

A special thanks must be given to Churchill Society of Tennessee member Jack Bovender who generously allowed the use of his personal jet to transport General Petraeus to Tennessee from New Jersey in the morning and then back to Washington D.C. that evening.

The gala was a resounding success! The Churchill Society of Tennessee looks forward to an exciting 2024, with many wonderful events to come!



General David Petraeus with old friend Senator Marsha Blackburn.



Jack and Barbara Bovender with General Petraeus.



Left to right - Ambassador Mitchell Reiss, Justin Reash and Bob Stewart.



Signing a mountain of books!

[For more photos click here!](#)



**General Petraeus with CSOT
President Jim Drury.**

The Glow Worms

Celebrate Sir Winston Churchill's Birthday!



November 30, 2023, marked the 149th birthday of Sir Winston Churchill. To celebrate the occasion, the Glow Worms gathered at our usual meeting place, Nashville Cigar in Green Hills. We heard some of Churchill's more famous quotes and toasted the great man with champagne.

Any member interested in joining the Glow Worms is most welcome. We normally meet monthly to share in cigars, fine spirits and conversation. Our next gathering will be at Nashville Cigar on January 18, 2024. Send an email to drury55@gmail.com to let us know you are coming.

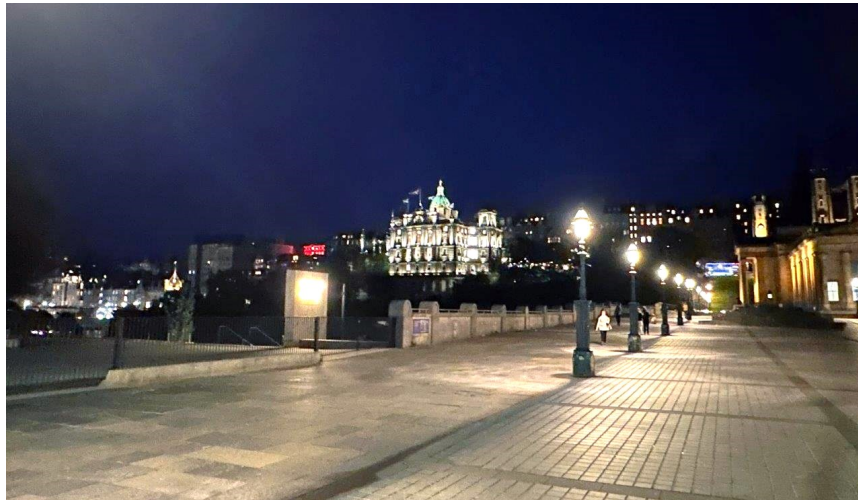
40th International Churchill Conference

Edinburgh, Scotland

October 5-7, 2023

Paul Forte

Paul E. Forte PhD is an independent scholar with an interest in western intellectual, political, religious, and political history, 1500-1800. He is a long-time member of the International Churchill Society and reports on each ICS Conference for *The Churchillian*.



Edinburgh, Scotland's second largest city and its administrative capitol, was the site of the 40th International Churchill Conference and it was well chosen. Like Janus, the Roman god of thresholds, Edinburgh seems to hover on the edge of past and future. It is a city of contrasts: the old town, with cobblestone streets, Gothic cathedrals, and great castle sitting above the heights, resplendently medieval, and the new town with its statues of Adam Smith and David Hume and its uniform neoclassical buildings signifying the secular, scientific, enlightened mindset Scotland ushered into the world. Walking its steep hills and terraces is inspiring, and discoveries

abound. 2023 has been a time of transition for ICS: we look back on the legacy of Sir Winston Churchill but also forward to a future in which that legacy is challenged and so more important perhaps than at any time since the beginning of the Cold War. At the opening reception, Lawrence Geller, ICS's outgoing Chairman, asked that we be mindful of how far ICS has come since its inception as a fledgling and mostly aspirational organization. Four decades of hard work have carried the teachings and example of Churchill forward with strength, as evidenced by the record attendance. Yet there remains much to be done. Geller graciously passed the baton to ICS's new

President, Mitchell Reiss, the former envoy from the United States to Northern Ireland, business leader and 8th CEO of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, and the author of three books and numerous articles on history, international relations, and nuclear weapons. Reiss's international experience has prepared him well to serve ICS and its membership as it considers a Churchillian response to the momentous events now unfolding in eastern Europe, the Middle East, and China. Reiss thanked Geller for his superb leadership. Like Geller, Reiss looks to history as the key to the present, especially with respect to the actions that guide nations. "Study history, study history," said Churchill, "for in history lies all the secrets of statecraft."



With an agenda as rich as Edinburgh's, which included lectures, discussions by expert panelists, and visits to such famous monuments as the Royal Yacht Britannia, Edinburgh Castle, and the 1,500 year-old Scone Palace on the banks of the River Tay, a short distance from Perth, it is hard to do justice to it all. So I will limit my remarks to

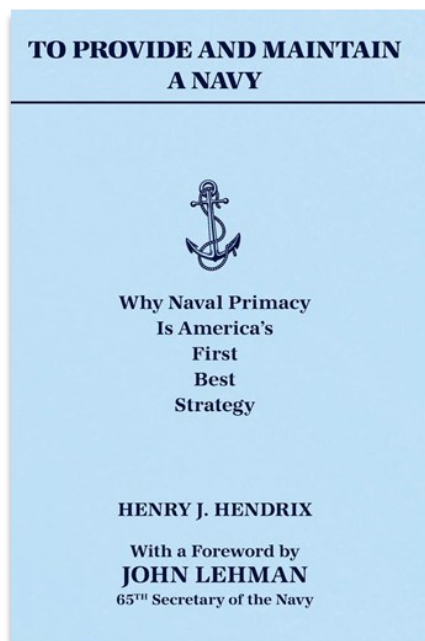
those lectures and panels I personally found the most resonant, both from an historical perspective and as casting light on the present, its tribulations, and its opportunities. Hopefully, my recap will make a useful preamble to the 150th anniversary of Churchill's birth, which ICS will celebrate next year in London.

My apologies for passing over James Holland's fine talk "Churchill in 1943;" Ron Luke's entertaining description of the purpose and contemporary style of the Queen's Royal Hussars (Churchill's own Regiment); and updates by Justin Reash, Churchill Leadership Center Executive Director, and Tim Riley, America's National Churchill Museum Director and Chief Curator. All were excellent.



2023 Stephen & Jane Poss Distinguished Churchill Lecture – This annual lecture was delivered by Henry J. Hendrix, Ph.D., American defense analyst, author, and retired United States Navy Captain and Naval Flight Officer. Hendrix, who earned his doctorate in war studies from King's College, has long been a student of national security with an interest in the role of the navy in national and global affairs. He is the author of *To Provide and Maintain A Navy: Why Naval*

Primacy is America's First Best Strategy (Focsle, 2020). Students of Churchill need no help remembering that Churchill was twice First Lord of the Admiralty (1911, 1939) who believed in the special role the navy had played in the growth and development of the British Empire and who assigned it a critical role in World Wars I and II. Hendrix, like Churchill, looks back through more than 400 years of British and American maritime history as the bulwark of classic western liberalism and the best defense against Nazism, Fascism, Communism, and other forms of authoritarianism. Citing the great Dutch international jurist, Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), whose distinction between *mare liberum* (free sea) and *mare clausum* (sea that is controlled by exclusionary power), he finds still relevant, Hendrix insists that 'it is time for the nation to fully invest in a return to the sea'. This means 'a strategy that assumes American access to and control of movement across global commons such as cyber, space and the world's oceans rather than seeking the means to capture and garrison territory outside the United States.



For Hendrix, the sea presents a boundless periphery against which any land-centered

regime is likely to struggle, effectively limiting its power. Hendrix concedes that maintaining a strong navy does present obstacles that must be overcome with respect to recruiting and training personnel, not to mention current U.S. industrial capacity. His talk was rich in data about tonnage and the number of warships operated by the United States today. That number has been dropping since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Hendrix believes the number needs to be brought up from its present level of under 300 to the range of 450, with substantial additions of frigates, guided missile submarine, and attack submarines. Only in this way can we reverse the decline of the past 75 years and create an effective deterrent to Chinese and Russian expansionism.



Churchill In Scotland – This panel was chaired by Churchill Archivist, Alan Packwood, and included the writer Andrew Liddle, author Sonia Pernell, and the Honorable Colonel Neil McLennan of the 51st Highlanders. The panelists discussed Churchill's complex relationship with Scotland, which some have described as "Love-Hate." The panelists considered the evidence of Churchill's bias against Scots such as his calling in the Black Watch soldiers against striking workers in Glasgow

in 1919 and ordering the 51st Highland Division to stay behind at Dunkirk (an action known as the Battle of St. Valery) to prevent the Germans from overrunning the French and English positions. This caused the Scots heavy losses.

Yet people tend to forget the mitigating facts. Churchill was the MP for Dundee for 14 years. While it is true that he ordered the Highlanders to hold a difficult position, he did not expect of Scots anything that he would not have undertaken himself. And while he engaged in rough politics with the Christian socialist and prohibitionist Edwin Scrymgeour (1866-1947), who advocated Home Rule for both Scotland and Ireland and who defeated him in the 1922 election, this did not prevent Churchill from coming to Scrymgeour's aid on more than one occasion.

Of course Churchill's wife Clementine was half-Scottish and a liberal. Pernell believes that Churchill's election defeat caused him to gain a deeper feeling for poverty and hardship, surprising for a man of his aristocratic background, and made him a better leader, while Clementine pulled him in toward the political center, imbuing him with a finer sense of balance. Pernell observes that Churchill was a great man, but "nuanced and subtle" as well. At least some of the acrimony directed against Churchill in Scotland has been due to nationalism, and may account for his lukewarm reception in some quarters today. For these people, Churchill remains the archetypal English imperialist. The panelists agreed on the desirability of obtaining a better, truer sense of Churchill's relationship with Scotland by means of more critical research, a larger presence of Churchill in the Scottish curriculum, and perhaps the erection of monuments. At present, there is no serious memorial to Churchill in Edinburgh except for the 1920 portrait by Sir

James Guthrie in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.



**THE INTERNATIONAL
CHURCHILL SOCIETY**

ICS and The Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) – This session was a conversation between Mitchell Reiss, ICS's new President, and Dame Mariot Leslie, former British diplomat, and member of RUSI's Advisory Board. RUSI has a long and distinguished history. It is the UK's and the world's oldest think tank. It was founded by the Duke of Wellington in 1831, and chartered by an Act of Parliament under Queen Victoria in 1860, for the express purpose of enhancing defense and security. ICS's new partnership with RUSI is promising. RUSI has long sought to address problems of global security such as organized crime, food insecurity, traffic in strategic minerals, nuclear proliferation and, of course, the role of the armed forces, working with counterparts in NATO and the

European Union. Given the plethora of issues today, from climate change, supply chain interruptions and terrorism, the rise of China and the emergence of artificial intelligence, it is necessary for thought leaders to work together. China is now a massive force in world affairs, its Belt and Road Initiative giving it access to export markets though out central Asia as well access to raw materials. With its growing presence in Africa, where it practices a form of neocolonialism, and its alliances with Iran and North Korea and Russia, which are not integrated into the global economy, the threats are palpable. This would be so even without the war in Ukraine or the conflicts along what has been called the Shiite Crescent, those nations taking their lead from Iran, which has become a major supplier of arms and equipment to rebel forces such as Hamas, Hezbollah, and the Houthi.

Reiss and Leslie noted that trust in internal institutions has fallen, and this breakdown is mirrored in the international scene. More cross-boundary constructive activity, such as joint ventures, is required because, as Leslie noted, "Democracy can't take care of itself."

Reiss and Leslie discussed the importance of nations that have flouted international standards becoming "responsible stakeholders." But this will require consensus, and that has not even been apparent in the United Kingdom or the United States, much less NATO, where the 2% defense goal has never been met. One thing is certain: Russia must not be allowed to win the war in Ukraine. Even if it does not win the war it can accomplish much by not losing it. This can be achieved by wearing down the patience of Ukraine's allies until those allies begin to withdraw. Reiss and Leslie concede that the United States, which used to be the great "normative power," is

now more like a great "disruptive power," making alliances but not sustaining them. That must change, for the consequences will be devastating. The United Kingdom seems stauncher than the United States, but it lacks the resources to maintain its pledges.

Other stimulating topics touched on during this conversation involved the post-war scene for Ukraine (can foreign capital be attracted to rebuild it?), whether Iran and Saudi Arabia will reach a rapprochement in view of the troubles in Israel, and how widespread migration to Europe will be managed where many are concerned about their borders.



Keynote Address by Lord Soames – The final event of the 40th ICS was a gala dinner held at the ballroom of the Grand Sheraton Hotel, and it concluded with a moving address by Nicolas Soames, the grandson of Winston Churchill. Lord Soames's long career includes a commission in the 11th Hussars, positions in business, and serving as Equerry to HRH, The Prince of Wales, now King Charles III.

Soames began by reminding us of Churchill's difference from other politicians. His speeches were delivered in defense of Europe, which he exerted himself to protect, believing a free Europe to be essential for world order. Unlike those of so many politicians today, they were not premeditated for short-term political advantage but based on a sense of what had taken place in the past and tragic events that might unfold without vigilance. Churchill, Soames said, was a "noble spirit," called to war but sustained by a belief in man's ability to live in peace. He had a profound sense of faith in the British people. He believed the greatest thing in life was the freedom to live with honor, which is only possible when one fulfills one's duty. But such duty must be based on principles. These beliefs may strike some today as romantic, if not quixotic, upholding public values at the expense of private life, a quasi-mystical looking backwards to the past rather than a facing forward to the future. But it was precisely Churchill's historical imagination, his ability to grasp the larger patterns of history that enabled him to transmute the dross of the present into something higher and more meaningful, something that summoned forth the courage of his countrymen, courage they did not know they had. This made him great in his time and continues to command attention in ours.

Soames chose to close his talk with a long quotation from Sir Isaiah Berlin, whose essay, "Winston Churchill in 1940," remains

one of the finest statements ever made about Churchill. In this essay the great historian of ideas pays tribute to Churchill's account of his stewardship as set forth in his histories and speeches:

"Like a great actor— perhaps the last of his kind – upon the stage of history, he speaks his memorable lines with a large, unhurried, and stately utterance in a blaze of light, as is appropriate to a man who knows that his work and his person will remain the object of scrutiny and judgement to many generations. His narrative is a great public performance and has the attribute of formal magnificence. The words, the splendid phrases, the sustained quality of feeling, are a unique medium which conveys his vision of himself and of his world, and will inevitably, like all that he has said and done, reinforce the famous public image, which is no longer distinguishable from the inner essence and the true nature of the author: of a man larger than life, composed of bigger and simpler elements than ordinary men, a gigantic historical figure during his own lifetime, superhumanly bold, strong and imaginative, one of the two greatest men of action his nation has produced, an orator of prodigious powers, the saviour of his country, a mythical hero who belongs to legend as much as to reality, the largest human being of our time."

Great Contemporaries: John Morley, Giant of Old

Richard Langworth CBE

Richard Langworth CBE is the author or editor of *A Connoisseur's Guide to the Books of Sir Winston Churchill*, *Churchill in His Own Words*, *Churchill By Himself*, and nine other books about Churchill. He is a former President of the International Churchill Society and was Editor of the *Finest Hour* until 2014. Since 2014, he has been Senior Fellow for the Churchill Project at Hillsdale College.



Winston Churchill and John Morley in Court Dress, after WSC became a Privy Councillor on 1 May 1907 (Hillsdale College Press).

Antonine Age

Recently the columnist George Will quoted a famous plaint by Churchill: "The leadership of the privileged has passed away, but it has not been succeeded by that of the eminent."¹

The rest of Churchill's line is also apposite today: "The pedestals which had for some years been vacant have now been demolished. Nevertheless, the world is moving on, and moving so fast that few have time to ask, 'Whither?' And to these few only a babel responds."² By "privileged" Will presumably referred to the old aristocracy that governed Victorian Britain, not the pampered elites who govern today, who live no less exalted lives than the Victorians.

Churchill too was referring to the former, specifically John Morley. "Such men," he concludes sadly, "are not found to day."³

Morley was born in 1838, during a century of peace, prosperity and progress. This, Churchill tells us, "was the British Antonine Age..."

The French Revolution had subsided into tranquility; the Napoleonic Wars had ended at Waterloo; the British Navy basked in the steady light of Trafalgar, and all the navies of the world together could not rival its sedate strength. The City of London and its Gold Standard dominated the finance of the world. Steam multiplied the power of man; Cottonopolis was fixed in Lancashire;

railroads, inventions, unequalled supplies of superior coal abounded in the island; the population increased; wealth increased; the cost of living diminished; the conditions of the working classes improved with their expanding numbers.⁴



“Men of the Day: John Morley,” by “Spy” in Vanity Fair, 30 November 1878. (Public domain)

Early Morley

John Morley was born in Blackburn, Lancashire, the son of a doctor who wanted him to become a clergyman. Disenchanted with the “High Church” and quarreling with his father, he left Oxford without an honors degree and pursued Law. He was called to the bar by Lincoln’s Inn in 1873. A few years later, to his “long and enduring regret,” he became a journalist.⁵ From 1880 to 1883 he edited the radical-Liberal *Pall Mall Gazette*.

A strong supporter of Gladstone, Morley in Parliament was a fearless opponent of State intervention. Decrying an eight-hours bill for miners, he claimed that mining was too complex for blanket rules. It was wrong

to give “the Legislature, which is ignorant [and] biased in these things...the power of saying how many hours a day a man shall or shall not work.”⁶ (One wonders what he would say today.)

After six years out of power, Gladstone returned in 1892 and made Morley Chief Secretary for Ireland. He strongly backed Home Rule. He also believed the Boers should run South Africa. Churchill, then a Tory supporter of the Second Boer War, nevertheless admired Morley’s “fierce, moving phrases” of indictment:

Thousands of our women have been made widows; thousands of children are fatherless...The expenditure of £150 million has brought material havoc and ruin unspeakable, unquenched and for long unquenchable racial animosity, a task of political reconstruction of incomparable difficulty, and all the other consequences which I need not dwell upon [in a] war of uncompensated mischief and of irreparable wrong.⁷

Morley’s opposition to adventures abroad prefigured his attitude toward a far greater war to come.

Liberal colleagues

In 1904 Churchill “crossed the floor” to the Liberals, who swept into office in January 1906. The new Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, made Morley Secretary of State for India and Churchill Under-Secretary for the Colonies. In harness, they became friends, and WSC was eloquent in his praise:

As a speaker, both in Parliament and on the platform, Morley stood in the front rank of his time. There was a quality about his rhetoric which arrested attention. He loved the pageantry as well as the distinction of words, and many passages in his speeches dwell in my memory.... His gifts of intellect and character were admired on all sides.⁸

In 1921 a scurrilous rumor circulated that Churchill in 1908 had asked Morley to appoint him Viceroy of India. Morley

supposedly “gasped,” saying he would “rather commit suicide on this spot.” Morley immediately defended his friend: “...there was no reason why your appointment should have made either me or any other Secretary of State ‘gasp’.... Anyhow, the thing as alleged is pure invention or hallucination.”⁹ Churchill in 1908 had higher ambitions. Still, there is an affinity between their mutual combination of firmness and magnanimity toward colonial peoples. While opposing lawless rioting, Morley sponsored the 1909 India Councils Act, bringing Indians to his Council and those of Madras and Bombay. This early step toward self-rule mirrored Churchill’s views.



“Awful Scene of Gloom and Dejection”:
The Liberal Cabinet in “Punch” after the House of Lords referred Lloyd George’s 1909 budget to the country (tantamount to passage). Back row L-R: Richard Haldane, Winston Churchill (“Don’t let my feet touch the ground!”), David Lloyd George, H.H. Asquith, John Morley. Front Row L-R: Reginald McKenna, Lord Crewe (“My boy, they are delivered into our hands!”) and Augustine Birrell (Cartoon by Edward Tennyson Reed, public domain).

Fighting for reform

In 1908 the new prime minister, H.H. Asquith, moved Morley to the Lords, where he fought for Liberal reform budgets. He retained

the India Office, but by 1910 yearned for retirement. Churchill pleaded that he be kept in the Cabinet, so Asquith appointed him Lord President of the Council. There he campaigned for the 1911 Parliament Act, limiting the powers of the House of Lords.

Morley linked young Winston to the father he worshipped, while adding qualities of his own. He was solid for “great doctrines”: Free Trade, Irish Home Rule, a social safety net. Churchill saw in him “a master of English prose, a practical scholar, a statesman-author, a repository of vast knowledge.” Despite their 35 years difference in age, they worked together “in the swift succession of formidable and perplexing events.” Eventually, alas, those events would separate them.

Great War and aftermath

Predictably, Morley opposed continental entanglements, distrusting the system of alliances that impelled the world toward Armageddon. He turned 75 in 1914, frail but not unconscious of what Churchill called “the madness sweeping across Europe.” As Germany and France clanked toward battle, the Liberal Cabinet was divided. But Germany’s invasion of Belgium, and the likelihood of a German fleet in the Channel, turned opinion.

Winston tried to assure Morley that events gave them no choice. His pacifist friend was sympathetic but unyielding. “You may be right,” he told Churchill. “But I should be no use in a War Cabinet. I should only hamper you. If we have to fight, we must fight with single-hearted conviction. There is no place for me in such affairs.” There was no turning him. “Gently, gaily almost, he withdrew from among us,” Churchill wrote, “never by word or sign to hinder old friends or add to the nation’s burden.”¹⁰

Morley was 80 when peace returned, but no less doubtful about the so-called “War to End Wars.” Like Churchill, he criticized President Wilson’s naïveté. To young John Morgan, a

contemporary of Churchill's, he wrote in February 1918:

I'm sick of Wilson...He hailed the Russian Revolution six months ago as the new Golden Age, and I said to [U.S. Ambassador] Page, "What does he know of Russia?" to which Page replied, "Nothing." As for his talk about a union of hearts after the war, *the world is not made like that*. One may as well talk of London morality being due to the Archbishop of Canterbury. But take away Scotland Yard!"¹¹

Brave New World

Morley had been a Little Englander, a Home Ruler. He did not object to the new countries created after the war, but he had no faith in a concert of nations to keep the peace. When asked in 1919 about the Covenant of the League of Nations, Morley said: "I have not read it, and I don't intend to read it. It's not worth the paper it's written on. To the end of time it'll always be a case of 'Thy head or my head.' I've no faith in these schemes."¹²

While Churchill had some hope for European powers to keep the peace, Morley remained scornful. When a prominent Liberal praised someone as "a good European," Morley quipped: "When I lay me down at night or rise in the morning, I do not ask myself if I am a good European." Nations, he insisted, would always act in their own interests. If that coincided with the world's, it was a mere lucky coincidence. When Ireland erupted again in 1921 he declared: "If I were an Irishman I should be a Sinn Feiner." When asked, "And a Republican?" Morley said "No." Home Rule within the Empire was as far as he would go.¹³

Predictions

Toward the end, Morley seemed to accept Churchill's view of him as a Victorian eminence, to which modern politicians



Viscount Morley of Blackburn, painting by Walter William Ouless, exhibited 1891 (National Portrait Gallery, public domain).

were no match. In postwar politics, he said, "One man is as good as another—or better."¹⁴ Yet he still had hopes for his young colleague:

I foresee the day when Birkenhead will be prime minister in the Lords with Winston leading the Commons. They will make a formidable pair. Winston tells me Birkenhead has the best brain in England...But I don't like Winston's habit of writing articles, as a Minister, on debatable questions of foreign policy in the newspapers. These allocutions of his are contrary to all Cabinet principles. Mr. Gladstone would never have allowed it.¹⁵

His prediction would have required Churchill to change parties again. He did, but Birkenhead died young, in 1930. Still, Morley was half right: Winston *did* lead the Commons...and the nation, in another war he would have hated and feared. And, contra Mr. Gladstone, Churchill kept writing—fortunately. Some of what he wrote was in tribute to his old friend.

"Wonderful giants of old"

Churchill tells us that John Morley was

“among the four most pleasing and brilliant men to whom I have ever listened...There was a rich and positive quality about Morley’s contributions, and a sparkle of phrase and drama which placed him second to none...”¹⁶

Morley died in 1923, not to be replaced. Churchill mourned his loss: “The tidal wave of democracy and the volcanic explosion of the war have swept the shores bare.” No one better resembled or recalled “the Liberal statesmen of the Victorian epoch.” Morley was not born to privilege; he earned it. He deployed “every intellectual weapon, of the highest personal address, and of all that learning, courtesy, dignity and consistency could bestow.”¹⁷

Churchill wrote: “Each succeeding generation will sing with conviction the Harrow song, ‘There were wonderful giants of old.’ Certainly we must all hope this may prove to be so.”¹⁸ But Morley pronounced the epitaph for his age in May 1923, four months before he died. His words sound more like 2023.

Present party designations have become empty of all contents...Vastly extended State expenditure, vastly increased demands from the taxpayer who has to provide the money, social reform regardless of expense, cash exacted from the taxpayer already at his wits’ end—when were the problems of *plus* and *minus* more desperate?

How are we to measure the use and abuse of industrial organization? Powerful orators find “Liberty” the true keyword. But then I remember hearing from a learned student that of “liberty” he knew well over 200 definitions. Can we be sure that the “haves” and the “have-nots” will agree in their selection of the right one? We can only trust to the growth of responsibility; we may look to circumstances and events to teach their lesson.¹⁹

Endnotes

¹ George F. Will, *American Happiness and Discontents: The Unruly Torrent 2008-2020* (New York: Hachette Books, 2021), 277. Winston S. Churchill, *Great Contemporaries* (1937; London: Leo Cooper, 1990, 61.)

² Churchill, *Great Contemporaries*, 61.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., 57.

⁵ David Hamer, *Liberal Intellectual in Politics* (Oxford University Press, 1968), 1-2.

⁶ Ibid., 257-58.

⁷ Churchill, *Great Contemporaries*, 59.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Martin Gilbert, ed., *The Churchill Documents*, vol. 10, *Conciliation and Reconstruction, April 1921-November 1922* (Hillsdale, Mich.: Hillsdale College Press, 2008), 1470.

¹⁰ Ibid., 65

¹¹ Morley to Morgan, 15 February 1918, in John H. Morgan, *John, Viscount Morley: An Appreciation and Some Reminiscences* (London: John Murray, 1925), 92.

¹² Ibid., 91.

¹³ Ibid., 93, 52.

¹⁴ Churchill, *Great Contemporaries*, 61.

¹⁵ Morley to Morgan, 22 December 1921, in Morgan, *John, Viscount Morley*, 78.

¹⁶ Churchill, *Great Contemporaries*, 58. This begs the question, who were the four? Let readers judge. Young Winston rarely had long conversations with his father, so my guesses are Lord Rosebery, Bourke Cockran and Lloyd George, in addition to Morley.

¹⁷ Ibid., 61.

¹⁸ Ibid., 1.

¹⁹ Morley to Sir Francis Webster, in “Lord Morley on Modern Politics,” *The Times*, 11 May 1923, 12.



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