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HOW DIPLOMATS MAKE WAR
DUTY TO CIVILIZATION
MAN AT THE CROSSROADS
THE ELEVENTH COMMANDMENT
IN QUEST OF JUSTICE
THE ROOTS OF OUR LEARNING
MODERN MAN AND THE LIBERAL ARTS
THE TRAGEDY OF EUROPE (5 vols.)
MY LIFE IN TWO WORLDS (2 vols.)

THE CHURCHILL LEGEND

Francis Neilson

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FOREWORD

When the author undertook to write this book, at the behest of English friends, he was half way through his eighty-seventh year. He had thought *The Makers of War* was the last contribution he would publish in his long study of the causes of modern wars. At the time of the Agadir crisis in 1911, he began to make notes on the diplomacy of the powers, and these formed the basis of *How Diplomats Make War*, which was published in 1915. It was soon translated into Swedish, German and French, and in part in other languages. It is now in its fifth English edition, and is still called for by budding historians.

When the Second World War began, Francis Neilson started to keep a Diary. Every day for six years he examined the dispatches in American, French, and English papers, and made his comments upon the information they contained. This work was published in five large volumes called *The Tragedy of Europe*. Surely he was entitled to think he had covered the political and diplomatic fields, and that he could now turn his mind to other subjects.

On his visits to England since the Potsdam peace, he has met many men prominent in British politics and in the services, who have known of his long acquaintance-ship with Winston Churchill. They regard him as the only man left, who is capable of reviewing the career of the present Prime Minister, from the time he first appeared upon the political scene. There are still a few people alive, who know that Francis Neilson has studied the political life of the subject of this book for over fifty years.

In 1902, the author became a candidate for the Newport Division of Shropshire. One evening about that time, after a Halle concert in Manchester, he was chatting with a friend at the local hotel when Winston Churchill entered. The friend was an Oldham man, who remarked, after Churchill had passed by, "There's a gentleman that wants watching."

There was much gossip about the member for Oldham during those years, and Mr. Churchill, in his biographical works, gives his readers a candid account of the nature of it. He does not spare himself in telling what many people thought about him. When he crossed the floor of the House in 1904 and joined the Liberal party, the Radical section did not welcome him with approval. Indeed, Henry Labouchere and several other Radicals did not hesitate to call it an opportunist maneuver caused by the unpopularity of the Tories, who were then in disrepute because of the scandals of the South African War and the proposals for colonial preference launched by Joseph Chamberlain. The electoral tide had turned; by-elections were lost, and it was confidently expressed by the pundits that, at a General Election, the Liberals would form a government.

It is important that the reader be acquainted with these now forgotten incidents in the political life of one who has surmounted all difficulties and humiliations, and succeeded in reaching the topmost rung of the political ladder.

In reviewing the files of information gathered since Mr. Churchill went to the Admiralty in 1911, the author is amazed at the abundance of evidence from American and European sources, which reveals the political tactics and the war blunders of Churchill. However, he is too old to deal with it all, and realizes that, in this work, the story is only half told. As the days shorten for him, he is eager to turn his mind to philosophical labors, which have been set back for years, because of

the amount of time he has given to the study of the causes of war.

Several issues which bear re-examination in the career of Winston Churchill have not been referred to in this book. The author's reasons for omitting any mention of such incidents as the sinking of the French fleet at Oran and the attack on Dakar; General de Gaulle's mission in London, as representative of the Free French; the bombardment of open cities; and the ignoble statement of Churchill concerning the surrender of King Leopold of the Belgians are two: (1) this volume would be almost endless; and (2) these matters must be left to the historian of "another generation." Each of these episodes has been treated in his five-volume work, *The Tragedy of Europe*. In the present survey he has limited himself to the most important points only.

However, he does recognize that a mystifying change took place after the General Election of 1950, when the Tories were elected by a small majority, owing to the dearth of Liberal candidates, and the desire of those who did vote to defeat the Socialists. The reason for this change of opinion about Churchill, on the part of a large percentage of the electors, will be a conundrum for the historian of "another generation" to answer. For it must be admitted that there were very few outside his own constituency who would have considered him a "great man."

Francis Neilson intends no discourtesy in not referring to the honors and other distinctions Mr. Churchill has received from the Crown and from institutions of learning. To him, the subject is Churchill, just as William Pitt was the subject of Macaulay's essay.

The works of reference and files that have been examined in putting together this story of the most extraordinary man that ever entered the political arena date from 1899, when the British Government published its *Military Notes* during the South African War. Nearly a hundred works from American, British, French, Ger-

man, Italian, Scandinavian and Japanese sources have been consulted in checking dates, events, and speeches. The greatest care has been taken to verify all stories, even those current before he entered Parliament. In this respect, his own books supply much of the most interesting information.

The author's reviews of Mr. Churchill's six volumes on *The Second World War* are added as an Appendix to this volume. They first appeared in *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, as the Churchill volumes were published, and are printed here in their original form.

PHYLLIS EVANS

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WINSTON CHURCHILL—BIOGRAPHICAL DATES

- 1874 Born at Blenheim palace; elder son of Lord Randolph Churchill
School at Harrow and Sandhurst
- 1895 Entered army;
Went to Cuba and served with Spanish forces
- 1897 Malakand Field Force (Punjab Infantry)
- 1898 Tirah Expeditionary Force;
Orderly officer to Sir W. Lockhart;
21st Lancers, Nile Expeditionary Force;
Battle of Khartoum
- 1899 Lost by-election (July) at Oldham (Tory)
Correspondent *Morning Post*, South Africa
Taken prisoner in South Africa (November 15);
Escaped (December 12)
- 1900 Lieutenant with South African Light Horse
- 1900-06 Elected Member of Parliament for Oldham (Tory)
- 1904 Crossed floor of the House of Commons;
left Tory party and became a Liberal
- 1906-08 Member of Parliament for North-West Manchester (Lib-eral);
Undersecretary of State for Colonies
- 1908-22 Member of Parliament for Dundee (Liberal)
- 1908-10 President of Board of Trade
- 1910-11 Home Secretary
- 1911-16 First Lord of the Admiralty
- 1915 Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster
- 1916 Lt.-Colonel, commanding 6th Royal Scots Fusiliers, France
- 1917 Minister of Munitions
- 1918-21 Secretary of State for War;
Secretary of State for Air
- 1921-22 Secretary of State for Colonies
- 1924-45 Member of Parliament for Epping Div. of Essex (Tory)
- 1924-29 Chancellor of the Exchequer
- 1939-40 First Lord of the Admiralty
- 1940-45 Prime Minister; First Lord of Treasury and Minister of
Defence
- 1945 Member of Parliament for Woodford (Tory); leader of the
Opposition