

ADDITIONS, INTEGRATIONS, CORRECTIONS AND SUPPLEMENTS
TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARNOLD JOSEPH TOYNBEE*

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Addition to Part I,
Works by Arnold J. Toynbee

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402) Arnold Toynbee's reactions to Winston Churchill's 1940 war speeches, in *Sir Winston Churchill*, «Truth», November 26, 1954, p. IV. A message sent by Toynbee to the newspaper on occasion of Churchill's eightieth birthday (November 30, 1954). Text below.

REMEMBERING CHURCHILL'S 1940 WAR SPEECHES (1940)

* *A Bibliography of Arnold J. Toynbee*, compiled by S. Fiona Morton, with a Foreword by Veronica M. Toynbee, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1980.

By A.J. Toynbee

Sir Winston Churchill's speeches after the fall of France had an effect on me which is as clear now, in my memory, as it was when I was listening then to the Prime Minister's voice. My first feeling was one of immense relief: he is telling us what we are going to do; it is the only thing that we could bear to do, and now we know for certain that we are going to do it. My second feeling, instantly following, was a humbler one: Yes, but, if Mr. Churchill had not told us what our intentions were, are we sure that we should have risen to the occasion? He has brought out something in the rest of us that might have been beyond us if he had not been here, at this fateful moment, to speak for us. This is leadership; thank Heaven we now have it. And then I had a feeling of trust in him. He is promising us nothing but the trials and tribulations that, obviously, are coming to us. There is no wishful thinking in what he is saying; he is not even promising us victory at the end of it. But he does promise to lead us in "going all out" to win, as far as this is within human power. Then I felt confidence. This national decision of ours, that Mr. Churchill is telling us about, isn't an heroic act of folly, like the Charge of the Light Brigade; and it isn't a brilliant gamble, as his critics once accused the Dardenelles Expedition of being. That was a quarter of a century ago. Today he still has all the vision and fire of a young man, with an older man's judgment to balance them. The adventure on which we are starting under his leadership is not just splendid; it is sensible too; we can take it from him that his professional military advisers do consider that we have a reasonable chance of winning. So all is well, however it may be going to turn out. We are not being cowards, and we are not being fools either. We have the green light. So, now, go to it.