

# THE CHURCHILLIAN

SUMMER 2013 | VOLUME 4 | ISSUE 2

THE MAGAZINE OF THE NATIONAL CHURCHILL MUSEUM



CHURCHILL AS ORATOR • SEVEN LESSONS IN SPEECHMAKING  
MEET THE MUSEUM'S NEW ASSISTANT DIRECTOR • YOUNG WINSTON AND PROGRESS



Rob Havers explores a German bunker in Normandy.  
PHOTO BY RICHARD SPLITTER

Greetings from Fulton, I hope the summer is treating you all well. We had what seems, even by our busy standards, an exceptionally eventful springtime. Following the Kemper Lecture we were delighted to move straight into the awarding of the Winston Churchill Medal for Leadership to former Ambassador, successful St. Louis Businessman and Westminster Alumnus, Stephen F. Brauer. This event, with special guest speaker, John Bolton (who also visited our Museum beforehand), was a rip roaring success attracting more than 250 people and raising substantial funds for the Museum's pursuit of its strategic goals. More details of this wonderful event can be found on page 34. In addition, just a week

before this, we were delighted to welcome noted Churchillian Cita Stelzer and her husband Irwin to the Museum. Cita, author of the well-received *Dinner with Churchill*, visited the Museum and signed copies of her book. She was surprised to be greeted with a full recreation of the meal served to Churchill that day in March of 1946. More details of this can be found in the notes page. Another distinguished visitor was Lady Julia Boyd, who journeyed here after an English Speaking Union engagement in St. Louis and enjoyed an evening tour — her very first visit to Fulton. To top off this busy time myself and development director, Kit Freudenberg, left for the UK and Europe for our second Churchill tour, this time beginning in London, ending in Paris and taking in the Normandy landing beaches *en route*.

Given the theme of our Kemper Lecturer, *Churchill as Author*, so ably delivered by Professor Peter Clarke and our latter events and visits of authors and great speakers, it seems only appropriate that this edition of *The Churchillian* explores the topic of oratory and how Churchill himself made wonderful use of his own natural abilities as well as how he honed that god given talent to wondrous effect. As Richard Langworth describes Churchill worked hard at this enterprise with effects we all know well. On page 12 you can read how an early event shaped, forever, Churchill's own response to the art and the science of successful speechmaking.

As always, please keep up to date on events and exhibitions on our new website, [www.nationalchurchillmuseum.org](http://www.nationalchurchillmuseum.org), and join us in Fulton soon. As always thanks to our contributors and to you, our supporters, who continue to keep Churchill's memory, example and legacy alive.

Best wishes,

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Executive Director,  
National Churchill Museum

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Trekking across Omaha Beach, Normandy



Behind the scenes tour at the Churchill Museum & Cabinet War Rooms means standing inside the conference room exhibit at Sir Winston's chair



U.S. Military Cemetery overlooking Omaha Beach, Normandy

The National Churchill Museum is located on the Westminster College campus in Fulton, Missouri, and designated by Congress as America's National Churchill Museum. 573-592-5369, [www.nationalchurchillmuseum.org](http://www.nationalchurchillmuseum.org)

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Cover photo taken March 5, 1946, on the occasion of Sir Winston's Sinews of Peace (Iron Curtain) speech by Scott T. Porter, at age 12 using a Kodak35 camera with Kodachrome 35mm film. Porter is President/CEO of STP & Associates, a consulting firm in Phoenix, Ariz.

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Porter was inducted as a Winston Churchill Fellow in 2005.

# CHURCHILL AS ORATOR



A speech as the danger of war mounted, circa 1939.

BY RICHARD M. LANGWORTH

*Mr. Langworth is editorial consultant to The Churchillian and has been editor of the Churchill Centre's quarterly journal *Finest Hour* since 1982. His latest book is *Churchill in His Own Words* (Ebury Press, 2012).*

A reader asks if Sir Winston Churchill was afraid of speaking extempore, and whether he always spoke from a written text: “An article I read said Churchill admitted, even after giving hundreds of public speeches, that he still had ‘butterflies in the stomach’ whenever he got up to speak.”

I don't think fear was in his inventory, but it is quite true that Churchill avoided speeches without carrying a text. This is an especially timely question, given the two following articles by Churchill on public speaking: “When I ‘Dried Up’” and “Dramatic Days in ‘The House.’”

When he first entered Parliament in 1901, the young Winston jotted notes and committed a few lines to memory. But on 22 April 1904 his memory failed him and, bewildered, he was forced to sit down, amid encouraging cheers from both sides of the aisle. Three decades later he recalled his experiences in two articles never reprinted until this issue.

These two accounts, including some of the great speakers Churchill himself admired, also happen to give us a nostalgic look at politics the way it was once practiced. Alas we have lost much of the collegiality of his time, displayed by members on opposite sides of the issues—and not only in Britain.

The advent of live broadcasts, while shedding welcome light on the workings of government, has also encouraged “playing to the camera.” It is less likely today that, as in 1904, a floundering speaker's opponents would be sympathetic,

## *Churchill was not a great ad libber, and sometimes even stowed away a line for the right moment.*

enduring his lapses “with the greatest patience and kindness.” (Hansard, the parliamentary record, stated of his 1904 breakdown: “The hon. Member here faltered in the conclusion of his speech, and, amid sympathetic cheers, resumed his seat, after thanking the House for having listened to him.”)

Churchill called this experience “disconcerting to the last degree,” and immediately altered his approach. From that point on he always carried the full text of a speech with him—typed out and triple spaced in “Speech Form,” as his secretaries called it, the individual lines broken out and indented as he planned to recite them, like verses in a psalm.

Sir Martin Gilbert, an impressive natural speaker, is always a nervous wreck before any speech; yet once he gets rolling, using only the barest notes scrawled on a sheaf of foolscap, he needs no prompting. Sir Winston had the same pre-speech jitters. The late Lord Soames, addressing a Churchill dinner in 1985, recalled:

*Soon after Winston returned from the Boer War he went up to Liverpool, very much in the thick of things, an aspiring politician...and rode into Liverpool with the Duke of Devonshire, the famous Lord Hartington, who was to deliver the principal speech. Winston was assigned a twelve-minute vote of thanks.*

*Now Winston was very quiet, as nearly everyone is when they are brooding and have a speech awaiting. Devonshire turned to him and asked*

*if he were nervous. Winston assured him that he was as nervous as anything. “Well,” said Devonshire, “I have always found it a good rule when you come before a very large audience to take a good look at them and say to yourself with conviction, ‘I have never seen such a lot of d—d fools in all my life.’”*

Whether or not Churchill adopted that practice we don’t know, but he was certainly unflappable once he was underway.

Thomas Montalbo’s following article focuses on the principles that made Churchill a great communicator, and seven lessons from him that any speaker may profit by. Foremost among Churchill’s qualities was a love of English, which informed his composition. The vast sub-text he depended upon was compiled through extensive reading, led by Shakespeare and the Bible; his capacious, almost photographic memory enabled him to fish up exactly the right quotation to bedizen his points.

But it was all carefully rehearsed. Churchill was not a great ad libber, and sometimes even stowed away a line for the right moment. One evening, after he had fired off a potent retort to some parliamentary critic, the late Lord Mountbatten asked him how he managed to come up with such devastating replies: “Patience, Dickie,” the old man smiled, “I’d been waiting years to get that one off.”

Foreign words were treated very differently. Unlike modern newscasters and some politicians,

he saw no reason to patronize foreigners by overemphasizing their pronunciation. In fact, he tried very hard to Anglicize words that particularly did not appeal to him. He frowned on name changes, like “Iran” for Persia or “Ankara” for Angora, and studiously pronounced the Uruguayan capital as Montyviddy-oh. Perhaps he didn’t notice when China went from Peiping to Peking to Beijing, but we have a fair idea what he would think about it. “Bad luck,” he declared in 1945, “always pursues people who change the name of their cities. Fortune is rightly malignant to those who break with the traditions and customs of the past. If we do not make a stand we shall in a few weeks be asked to call Leghorn Livorno, and the BBC will be pronouncing Paris ‘Paree.’ Foreign names were made for Englishmen, not Englishmen for foreign names. I date this minute from St. George’s Day.”

Churchill’s speech is devoid of faddish expressions and jargon. (Imagine what he would think of such phrases as “reaching out” for “contacting,” or “issues” for “problems.”) He looked diffidently upon the newspapers, and those who wrote for them, although he wrote for them himself, vastly and profitably, over the years. Towards individual journalists he was magnanimous. “Do not be afraid to criticise, young man,” he once told an overawed editor, “I am a professional journalist.”



# SEVEN LESSONS

*in*

# *Speechmaking*

FROM  
ONE OF

*the*

BEST

*By Thomas Montalbo*

## LESSON 1:

*know, respect  
and love  
the English  
language.*

Above:  
Acknowledging  
cheers at the  
Mid-Century  
Conference, M.I.T.,  
Boston, 1949. It was  
here that Churchill  
predicted the  
eventual downfall  
of Communism.

HE WASN'T A NATURAL ORATOR. His voice was raspy. A stammer and a lisp often marred many of his speeches. Nor was his appearance impressive. A snub nose and a jutting lower lip made him look like a bulldog. Short and chunky, he was also stoop-shouldered. Yet he became probably the greatest orator of our time and won the Nobel Prize for his writings and oratory. How did he do it? And what lessons can we learn from him to help us make better speeches?

In school, Winston Churchill was considered by some teachers a backward student. But he wasn't stupid. He later explained: "Where my reason, imagina-

tion or interest were not engaged, I would not or I could not learn." In truth, he was a fine student of English. The historians Macaulay and Gibbon dazzled him with their style, causing him to remark, "What a fine language English is."

A teacher said of the young Winston, "I do not believe that I have ever seen in a boy of fourteen such a veneration for the English language." Churchill called the English sentence "a noble thing" and said the only thing he would punish students for "is not knowing English." Lord Moran, his physician in later years, wrote: "Without that feeling for words, he would have made little enough in life."

## AN AVID LISTENER

The greatest influence in Churchill's early life was his father, the Leader of the House of Commons, where the boy often visited, listening to the speeches. Sitting, watching and listening, he absorbed the oratory as if by osmosis. Devotedly he read and re-read his father's speeches, many of which he knew by heart. He also read and studied the speeches of Cromwell, Pitt, Gladstone and Disraeli.

LESSON 2:  
*Observe good speakers and study their words.*

LESSON 4:  
*Read good books to broaden your mind and stimulate your thinking.*



Then in 1895, the twenty-one-year-old Churchill came to the United States and met **Bourke Cockran**, a New York Congressman whom he described as “a remarkable man... with an enormous head, gleaming eyes and flexible countenance.” Mostly, though, Churchill admired Cockran for the way he spoke: a thundering voice, heroic and rolling phrases. Churchill sought advice; Cockran told him to speak as if he were an organ, to use strong words and to enunciate clearly in wave-like rhythm.

They were fast friends through Cockran's death in 1923. When in the 1950s Adlai Stevenson, on a visit to London, asked Sir Winston who inspired him, Churchill immediately named Cockran: “Winston then to my amazement started to quote long excerpts from Bourke Cockran's speeches of sixty years before. ‘He was my model,’ Churchill said. ‘I learned from him how to hold thousands in thrall.’”

## READING BROADLY

At Sandhurst, the Royal Military Academy, young Winston passed out 20th in a class of 130.

Commissioned as a cavalry lieutenant, he was stationed in India, where he had time on his hands during the long, hot Indian afternoons.

Deciding to make up for his lack of a university education, he spent his leisure hours reading. He asked his mother to send him books by the box. For four to five hours each day he read Macaulay, Gibbon, Shakespeare, Plato, Aristotle, Burke, Darwin, Malthus and *Bartlett's Quotations*. He approached these books “with an empty, hungry mind, and with fairly strong jaws, and what I got I bit.” Nourished in the fertile soil of excellent reading, ideas developed in his enriched mind. His interests widened and matured.

LESSON 3:  
*Endure handicaps and turn them to advantage.*

### OVERCOMING HANDICAPS

Churchill sought a career in politics but worried about his speech impediment: a kind of lisp which prevented him from correctly pronouncing the letter “s.” A throat specialist found no organic defect and told him that only practice and perseverance would help him. Diligently and faithfully, he practiced and persevered. He rehearsed aloud to make sure he wouldn't muff words or stumble over them, particularly words

starting with “s.” While walking on the street he repeated such sentences as, “The Spanish ships I cannot see since they are not in sight.” He never quite lost the lisp that produced “Schpanish schippis I cannot shee,” but he turned it into a kind of prop. His son Randolph was certain that his father exploited the residual lisp to advantage to achieve an individual style of oratory.

In an unpublished essay, “The Scaffolding of Rhetoric,” written when he was twenty-three, Churchill examined the physical attributes of orators. “Sometimes,” he wrote, “a slight and not unpleasing stammer or impediment has been of some assistance in securing the attention of the audience. ...”

## LESSON 5:

*Use rhetorical devices to help your listeners understand and remember what you say, and to stir their feelings.*

### THE POWER OF KINGS

Churchill never published “The Scaffolding of Rhetoric,” but it began to appear two years after his death in 1965. He begins by claiming that oratory gives a speaker “a power more durable than that of a great king,” but “before [the orator] can inspire [audiences] with any emotion he must be swayed by it himself. When he would rouse their indignation his heart is filled with anger. Before he can move their tears his own must flow. To convince them he must himself believe....” He goes on to examine in detail “certain features common to all the finest speeches in the English language.” Here they are:

- **CORRECT DICTION:** “Knowledge of a language is measured by the nice and exact appreciation of words.” Use “the best possible word...”; in general, choose “short, homely words of common usage...so long as such words can fully express the [speaker’s] thoughts and feelings.”
- **RHYTHM:** Sound, cadence, diction and rhythm can “produce a tremendous effect on an audience.” An orator “appeals to his art [with] long, rolling and sonorous” sentences.
- **ACCUMULATION OF ARGUMENT:** Set forth “a series of facts...all pointing in a common direction,” delighting the audience “with the changing scenes [and] the rhythm of the language,” leading the audience to their thunderous assent by the “rapid succession of waves of sound and vivid pictures.”
- **ANALOGY:** “Apt analogies...are among the most formidable weapons of the rhetorician.” Churchill gives several examples, including one from his father: “Our rule in India is, as it were, a sheet of oil spread over and keeping free from storms a vast and profound ocean of humanity.”
- **EXTRAVAGANCE OF LANGUAGE:** “Some expression must be found that will represent all they are feeling.” Churchill’s examples include a slightly misquoted version of the powerful conclusion of William Jennings Bryan’s declamation that electrified the 1896 Democratic political convention: “You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.”

### SELF-PORTRAIT

When Churchill wrote his article on oratory, he also had begun work on his novel *Savrola*, published in 1899. He worked some of his article into the novel and added such techniques as timing, alliteration, repetition and voice modulation. The titular hero of *Savrola* is the author as he saw himself: his thinking, books, methods of preparing and delivering speeches are all clearly laid out. Here Churchill explains how the hero prepares a speech:



*What was there to say? [Savrola] saw a peroration, which would cut deep into the hearts of a crowd; a high thought, a fine simile, expressed in that correct diction which is comprehensible even to the most illiterate, and appeals to the most simple; something to lift their minds from the material cares of life and to awake sentiment. His ideas began to take the form of words, to group themselves into sentences; he murmured to himself; the rhythm of his own language swayed him; instinctively he alliterated.... That was a point; could not tautology accentuate it....The sound would please their ears, the sense improve and stimulate their minds....*

*[Scene]...a gigantic meeting house...capable of holding nearly seven thousand people.... Though he spoke very quietly and slowly, his words reached the furthest ends of the hall....His voice was even and not loud, but his words conveyed an impression of dauntless resolution.... Here and there in his sentences he paused as if searching for a word....His passions, his emotions, his very soul appeared to be communicated....He raised his voice, and in a resonant, powerful, penetrating tone which thrilled the listeners, began the peroration.*

Together, “The Scaffolding of Rhetoric” and *Savrola* describe Churchill’s theory and practice of oratory which he pursued consistently during half a century of speechmaking.



Winston Churchill and President Harry S. Truman stand on the stage at Westminster College for the Sinews of Peace speech.



**LESSON 6:**  
*Carefully prepare your speeches and seize every opportunity to revise and rehearse.*

## REVISING AND REHEARSING

In the army, Churchill maintained his interest in politics and read newspapers avidly to keep abreast of public affairs. After five years, he resigned his commission and, flung into prominence by a dramatic escape from captivity as a Boer War correspondent, he was elected to Parliament at age twenty-five. From his first speech to his last, he always depended on thorough preparation. He worked as hard on speeches in his seventies as he did in his twenties. A speech to him must be a work of art. As such, it demanded much time and effort. “I take the very greatest pains with the style and composition,” he said. “I do not compose quickly. Everything is worked out by hard labour and frequent polishing. I intend to polish till it glitters.”

Early on, Churchill learned the advantage of having a complete text with him at the podium (see following article). First he wrote out his speeches in longhand. Later, he dictated every word to a secretary, who took it in shorthand and typed it up. Like a composer, the cigar in his hand

serving as a baton, he would punctuate the rhythm of his words. He tested words and phrases, muttering to himself, weighing them, striving to balance his thoughts, making sure the sound, rhythm and harmony were to his liking. Then he came out loudly with his choice and his secretary took it all down. He might say, “Scrub that and start again,” or “Gimme!” as he snatched the paper from the typewriter to scan a phrase. Finally, he revised the typewritten draft. It was then in what some secretaries called “Psalm Form,” the pauses and inflections picked out by indented lines.

Next came rehearsals, his speech recited aloud. As he boomed away in his room, his words could be heard along with crashing knocks on the furniture. No opportunity to rehearse was overlooked, even in the bath. His valet once asked, “Were you speaking to me, sir?” “No,” Churchill replied, “I was addressing the House of Commons.” Diligent rehearsing made his speeches so natural that it belied the hard work that had gone into them.

## LESSON 7:

*Let your feelings and personality show in your speeches.*

### EMOTION MUST SHOW

Churchill's speeches occupy eight fat volumes, but written words alone cannot do what he did when he spoke them. Aneurin Bevan, his great Labour Party critic, said of his World War II speeches: "Nobody could have listened and not been moved." Always resolutely assured, Churchill put the stamp of his personality on all his speeches, delivering them in his own distinct style. "What kind of people do they think we are?" he said of Japan, addressing the U.S. Congress after Pearl Harbor. The incisive, intense, affronted tone of his voice caused hardened senators and congressmen to roar their approval. "Is it possible they do not realize that we shall never cease to persevere against them until they have been taught a lesson which they and the world will never forget?" With that the whole Congress, Anglophobes and former isolationists alike, was on its feet cheering.

An important feature of Churchillian delivery was the loaded pause, of which he was a master. He once "made a pause to allow the House to take it in....As this soaked in, there was something like a gasp." He relied on timing to assure heightened effect. It made silence even more eloquent than words and allowed his listeners to digest what they heard and prepare for what would follow. Even his "gar-rumphs" and throat clearings came at the right moments.

Winston Churchill waves to the crowd on the train that took him from Washington, D.C., to Jefferson City, Mo., for his March 5, 1946 Sineus of Peace speech.

## SNARLS AND SCOWLS

Those who saw him frequently said that his facial expressions were important parts of his performance. He snarled as he spoke of "strangling the U-boats" or alliterated, "the deadly, drilled, docile, brutish masses of the Hun soldiery plodding on like a swarm of crawling locusts." He scowled as he spoke of Mussolini, "this whipped jackal...frisking up by the side of the German tiger..." He was stern yet stimulating as he growled, "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat."

Yet, even in his most serious speeches, Churchill sprinkled jokes, quips and asides. During the devastating London Blitz he quipped: "At the present rate it would take them about ten years to burn down one-half of London's buildings. After that, of course, progress would be much slower." Another time he said: "We have a higher standard of living than ever before. We are eating more." Then, gazing down at his ample belly, he added: "And that is very important."

Churchill's voice wasn't naturally appealing, lacking the twang of a Will Rogers or the warmth of a Franklin Roosevelt. But it carried conviction, power and sincerity. He combined flashy oratory with sudden shifts into intimate, conversational speaking. Each change of pace, each dramatic pause, each rhetorical flourish was carefully orchestrated. He could roar or coo, with hand and facial gestures to match.

Effective delivery, however, is more than voice and gestures. It provides listeners with the impact of personality. Although Churchill was always carefully prepared, his delivery never lacked spontaneity. He put feeling into words, making them breathe with life through an exhilarating and forceful personality. His uniqueness as a person made the difference in his speech delivery, and in his effect on the audience.



Throughout his life Churchill aspired to the heights of glory. In spite of, or in some cases because of, natural handicaps, he took infinite pains to develop himself as a great orator. Even if you don't aspire to his lofty goals these lessons from his oratory can make you a better speaker.

Young Winston addresses cheering throngs in Durban after his dramatic escape from captivity in Pretoria during the Anglo-Boer War, 1899.

*Churchill Archives Centre, Churchill Press Photographs, CHPH 1B/11.*



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Thomas Montalbo, whose career was spent as a financial manager for the U.S. Treasury Department, was a longtime member of Toastmasters International and wrote several books on public speaking.



# WHEN I “DRIED UP”

BY WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

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This article (Cohen C437) and the following one (C439) appeared in *Pictorial Weekly* (London) on 26 May and 2 June 1934. Though they included certain lines from earlier articles, they were never reprinted until now. The texts were transcribed retaining the original paragraphing by Ronald I. Cohen; artwork was scanned from originals in the Churchill Collection of the John W. Graham Library, Trinity College, Toronto. Republished by kind permission of the Churchill Literary Estate and Curtis Brown Ltd.



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## MEMORIES OF “THE HOUSE”

It is thirty-four years since Mr. Churchill took his seat in the House of Commons. Looking back over those times of war and peace, when famous figures moved across the political scene and great moments were engraved in the nation’s history, Mr. Churchill has written two vivid articles, the first of which appears below. —*Pictorial Weekly*

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**I**t is sometimes said that the standard of House of Commons speaking has been lowered, that there are no great Parliamentary orators left.

I entered the House in 1900, when I was twenty-five.<sup>1</sup> Before that I had listened from the gallery to a number of big debates, and heard some of the “giants” to whose names the critics of our modern Parliaments appeal. So I am in a position to judge as between the old House of Commons and the new.

There were more men in the old days who could rise to the height of a great occasion, but, on the whole, the conversational manner has always been considered in England the best Parliamentary style.

Those deliberate exhibitions of eloquence which have been and are still so greatly admired in other lands are alien to our House of Commons. The ideal of Parliamentary speaking is a manner a little more formal than good conversation across the dinner table, a little more ceremonious than a committee or business gathering, slightly—but only slightly—more animated or more ornamented than a good discussion in the Cabinet.

To attain to this difficult standard is to secure immediately high Parliamentary distinction; to go beyond it into flights of eloquence, spontaneous or prepared, into displays of passion, real or well simulated, is to run risks which few in modern times may brave with impunity.

## ARGUMENTS BEFORE ELOQUENCE

What the House of Commons likes is a good argument, well thought-out, plainly and simply and, if possible, shortly stated. If the course of this argument can be relieved by happy turns of wit and fancy, and illuminated by flashing episodes of rhetoric, so much the better. But an argument, sound, ingenious or original, would carry a man through even in spite of commonplace language and halting elocution.

“I always liked to hear your father speak,” said an old Member to me when I first entered the House of Commons. “He was always trying to prove something.”

“Unfold your case,” said another. And added: “If you have got one.”

I was not and have never been a naturally fluent speaker. I have always relied on ideas and argument, and trusted to them to command attention. I have often sat amazed in admiration of those who are able to spin out of their heads animated, concise and pungent speeches, without the slightest sign of effort or trace of preparation.

When I first entered Parliament I had a very good memory, and even in those times the power to foresee and imagine, days and even weeks beforehand, the sort of conditions and situations which would arise in the House when particular issues were debated.

Guided by this light I prepared and wrote out my arguments with the greatest care, and then learnt them so thoroughly by heart that I knew them backwards and forwards, as well, for instance, as one knows the Lord's Prayer, and could, within limits, vary the sequence, not only of the arguments, but of the sentences themselves.

Thus, at the very outset and in the first month of my Parliamentary life, I, who could hardly string ten words together spontaneously, managed to engineer and deliver at least three speeches which held the attention and obviously commanded the interest of a none too friendly assembly.

Not many people guessed how little spontaneity of conception, fullness of knowledge, or flow of language there was behind this fairly imposing facade. But these methods are not to be recommended to those more brightly armed with natural gifts.

As the pressure of the times increased, which indeed it did continually through all these years, the extremely careful and laborious preparation, sometimes extending over two months, which I was accustomed to give to speeches, had to be seriously curtailed, and thus the structure on which I depended became very brittle and precarious. I had several very narrow escapes, and on one occasion was led into a complete disaster.

The processes of memory and of composition are entirely separate in the brain, and it is not easy to change from one gear into the other. As long as one is merely composing as one goes along, the output may trickle very thin and poor, but there is hardly any danger of its coming to a complete full stop. But if the speaker is trusting to memory of actual words and sentences, and memory fails, a complete breakdown may well befall.

I was speaking, in the beginning of 1904, in a debate on the Law relating to Trades Disputes. I had my notes. I had considered for some days before exactly what I wanted to say. I had prepared my speech word by word, and had learnt it fairly well. I had spoken for three quarters of an hour

in a good House with a considerable measure of success. I had reached my last sentence for which my note was: "And it rests with those who . . ."

Suddenly my memory failed! I could not for the life of me recall who it was that this important matter rested with. I could not skip or slur over the sentence and go on to the next one, because it was the last. I took another run at it and repeated, "And it rests with those who—" But nothing came.

The House, which had been rather hostile but interested, was obviously puzzled to know what had happened. I repeated the words a third time, but could get absolutely no further. The effort of endeavouring to remember completely excluded from my mind all power of producing something else.

There I stood, searching for the missing word. It never came. There was a long and, to me, ghastly pause. The House suddenly became very sympathetic and cheered encouragingly. Still I stood obstinately searching, and searching in vain.

Finally, after what was at least two or three minutes, endured by the House with the greatest patience and kindness, I had to sit down, faltering out some lame apology.



*Arthur Balfour*

## **BALFOUR — A GREAT SPEAKER**

Lots of people thought I had had a stroke—some lesion in the brain—and was beginning to break up already. These anticipations were, happily, premature. But the experience was disconcerting to the last degree, and it leads me to utter this solemn warning to public speakers: "Never trust your memory without your manuscript."

In these early days Mr. Balfour was the central figure of the House of Commons, as he was its leader.

Superior to the indulgences of a weaker generation, we used to sit till midnight. Every week, or almost every week, there was a full-dress discussion on some great question of politics.

On every occasion, from ten till eleven, one of the Opposition leaders would state the case against

## Not many people guessed how little spontaneity of conception, fullness of knowledge, or flow of language there was behind this fairly imposing facade.

the Government, and on every occasion Mr. Balfour himself, from eleven till twelve, would marshal and unfold the argument upon which his administration relied.

Long Parliamentary practice and natural aptitudes, resting on a great volume of political knowledge, enabled him to maintain a continuous flow of entirely spontaneous speech. A few notes on an envelope, a few figures or quotations from a Blue Book<sup>2</sup>, an occasional prompting from a colleague, were all he required to stimulate an hour's agreeable discourse.

Asked inquisitively in my presence (but not by me) how he prepared his perorations, Mr. Balfour modestly replied: "I just say what comes into my head, and sit down at the end of the first grammatical sentence." All the same, his speeches repeatedly contained epigrams and phrases which must have been the result of previous study.

"The speech of my honourable friend," he said in reply to the criticism of a supporter, "contained some things which were trite and some things which were true. But what was true was trite, and what was not trite was not true."

Statistics were Mr. Balfour's greatest stumbling-block. He never could remember whether they were thousands or millions. He saw the picture of the argument in his mind's eye quite truly and accurately, but he often tripped over the details.

On one of the first occasions when I ever visited the House, long before I was a Member, on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill of 1893, I had the opportunity of hearing Mr. Balfour and Mr. Gladstone in succession.

Mr. Balfour, then Leader of the Opposition, was sailing along magnificently with his argument about the wrong of surrendering the Ulstermen to the clutches of an Irish Parliament, when he came to their numbers.

"Twelve million souls," he said, and then, with a charming smile, corrected himself to twelve thousand. Twelve hundred thousand—the number he was looking for—was eventually supplied by his audience and received gratefully with another disarming smile.

A pitfall awaited Mr. Gladstone, too, that night when his turn came to reply. He was speaking of the great causes for which the Liberal Party had fought, causes of tolerance and enfranchisement all over the world, how often they had been disappointed and set back, how often Liberals had suffered for their constancy, and yet how always in the end they had won through.

"And there is no cause," he said at the culminating point, speaking of Irish Home Rule, "for which the Liberal Party has suffered so much or descended so low."

How the Tories roared! The whole of one side of the House broke into a tumult of shouting figures, and it was some time before the Grand Old Man, waving an imperious hand, could recover control of his audience and proceed: "But we have risen again," and so forth.

There *were* giants in those days, but it was not only in oratory that they excelled. The man who was orator only would never have recovered as Mr. Gladstone did, facing those yelling lines of opponents. And how many times, listening to what passes for debate with certain eminent Front benchers of to-day, whom it would be more tactful not to name, do I long for one hour of Mr. Balfour, or Mr. Gladstone, or Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, of whom I will have something to say next week.

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1. Although elected in October 1900, he took his seat on 14 February 1901 when he was twenty-six.

2. Parliamentary sessions are recorded in "Blue Books," a term dating back to the 15th century.

# DRAMATIC DAYS



BY WINSTON S. CHURCHILL



# “She <sup>in</sup> Flouse”



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Once again our famous contributor turns back the clock, and recalls some great moments in Parliament. He gives some intriguing sidelights on famous men whose names made history, and pays a special tribute to two who helped in his career.

—*Pictorial Weekly*

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**T**wo of the great figures who dominated the political scene during my early years in Parliament I shall always remember with especial gratitude—Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.

Mr. Chamberlain was a most attractive man to meet. It was always the greatest fun sitting next to him or near him at dinner. At the Zoological Gardens you may, with the permission of the keeper, put your hand into the tank where the electric eel resides and obtain a perceptible shock by touching this extraordinary fish. And a similar magnetism, though not physical in its expression, irradiated from Mr. Chamberlain.

His conversation was not only sparkling but pregnant. Nearly everything he said had a snap in it, and at the same time he was so understanding and sympathetic, especially in talking to younger men, even when he differed from them, that nearly all who came in contact with him were captivated.

At times he was frank to the point of cynicism, but one felt that the cynicism was on the surface only. “In politics, if a man is on your side, however black he is, he is an angel, and if he is against you, however white he is, he is a devil,” he said to me once. But there was a twinkle in his eye and a quizzical expression on his face which completely discounted and redeemed this particular pronouncement.

On another occasion, after the Protectionist controversy was launched, he was good enough to talk to me about my future. He strongly advised me to join the Liberal Party.

“If your views on Free Trade are what they are, you will never get on with the Tories. Their hearts are set on Protection. It’s in their blood. You have done a great deal already, and with a very great measure of acceptance. You are quite young enough to change. In your position and with your opinions I should certainly do so.

“You will have to go through an unpleasant experience and face many taunts,” he said with a smile. “You must expect to have the same sort of things said about you that I have had flung at me during all these years. But,” with a wave of the hand, “they make no difference if one is sure of oneself.”

## MR. CHAMBERLAIN’S DEADLY RETORT

In Parliament his retorts were deadly. He was during the latter part of his life in bitter feud with the Irish Nationalists, and it was with them that most of his sharpest encounters took place.

“The Duke of Devonshire,” said an Irish speaker contemptuously; “he hasn’t been in Ireland these ten years.”

“No,” said Mr. Chamberlain in an icy hush. “Not since you murdered his brother.”



*Joseph Chamberlain*

*Joseph Chamberlain to Churchill:*  
**“You must expect to have the same sort of things said about you that I have had flung at me during all these years. But they make no difference if one is sure of oneself.”**

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was the Prime Minister under whom I first had the honour to serve the Crown. His greatest triumph, and the work for which he will be longest remembered, was the conciliation of the Boers by the grant of the South African Constitution. It was in this connection that I saw him most frequently during 1905 and 1907.

He was an extraordinarily generous chief to serve under. It fell to my lot to represent the Colonial Office in the House of Commons during this stormy period, and, seeing that I liked Parliamentary opportunities, he never once himself intervened in a South African debate.

I remember on one occasion hurrying to his room with the news that Mr. Chamberlain (the great “Joe”) was on his feet delivering a vehement and unexpected attack, and urging the Prime Minister himself to come and meet it.

“Not at all,” he said; “you answer him. I will come and see fair play.”

Again, when finally, after many months of wrangling, the Transvaal Constitution was ready to be brought before Parliament, I felt that this historic task could only be discharged by the Prime Minister and author of the policy.

“No,” he said, “you have had the fighting; you shall have the prize.”

Regrets have recently been expressed at the loss Parliament has sustained as a result of the setting up of the Irish Free State and the departure of the Irish Members. The Irish Nationalist Party certainly lent a continuous element of vivacity, colour and variety to the Sessions of the House of Commons; and its leading figures adorned our Parliamentary debates with many resources of eloquence and wit.

Incomparably the most gifted speaker in its ranks was Mr. Tim Healy, who afterwards became the first Governor-General of the Irish Free State. His moving passages of spontaneous rhetoric were equalled by droll sallies which often captivated the House, even in its most hostile mood.

At the opening of the Session of 1901, when the Commons were summoned by Black Rod to the House of Lords to hear the King’s Speech, there was something very like an ugly rush and a great deal of crowded pressure at the doors of the House of Lords, in the course of which an estimable Conservative Member sustained broken ribs.

Loud was the outcry the next day, and the Government was searchingly interrogated about the faulty organisation and arrangements made for the reception of the faithful Commons. After half a dozen angry or

reproachful questions had been fired at Ministers, Mr. Healy rose, and in dulcet tones asked the Speaker “Whether he was not aware that the Irish Nationalist Party were entirely satisfied with the want of accommodation provided.”

The House dissolved in laughter and the incident was at an end.

**WHEN IRELAND WAS IN AFRICA!**

Mr. Healy made a brilliant effort of satire in the earliest days of this same Session. A day when the Nationalists had wished to debate the Irish Land Question and other topics connected with their country had been allotted to the affairs of the Uganda Protectorate in East Africa.

Rising on the spur of the moment, for nearly twenty minutes Mr. Healy delivered a solemn discourse on the subject of the “Forlorn and distressful Island of Uganda,” of which almost every sentence applied directly to Ireland, and yet, through its continuous connection with Uganda, at no point offered a loophole for the Speaker’s intervention on grounds of irrelevancy. As one unexpected phrase followed another, the House, Unionist though it was, saluted the resourceful Irishman with rounds of increasing laughter and applause.

In sharp contrast to this I was a witness of a grim and squalid scene a little later on in the year. A dispute having broken out between the Nationalist Party and the Chair, and no means of combating it being discovered, the whole of the Irishmen were suspended *en bloc*. They refused to leave the Chamber, and defied the formal summons and tap on the shoulder of the Serjeant-at-Arms, a frail, grey, elderly gentleman.

Eventually physical force was invoked. The swing doors leading to the Chamber were flung open, and a stalwart squad of Metropolitan Police marched on to the floor of the House and dragged, or carried, the Irish Members one after another from their seats into the outer lobby, whence they were thrust outside the precincts of the House.

As there were sixty or seventy Irish Members in the House, every one of whom found it a point of honour to go through this absurd, degrading and objectionable process, the spectacle was not only painful but very prolonged.

One of the last to be removed was Mr. Flavin, a gigantic, red-haired ex-policeman, from whose resistance the worst was anticipated. However, when ultimately his turn came, and the minions of the law closed darkly in upon him from every side, he allowed himself to be carried as if in triumph on their shoulders, and his natural indignation was seen to be hard put to it to restrain a broad and boyish grin.

This episode inflicted a lasting injury upon the dignity of the House of Commons, and the prestige of the representatives of the people. It no doubt afforded precedent and encouragement

to the repulsive scenes by which, from time to time, Socialist extremists have expressed their contempt of Parliamentary institutions.

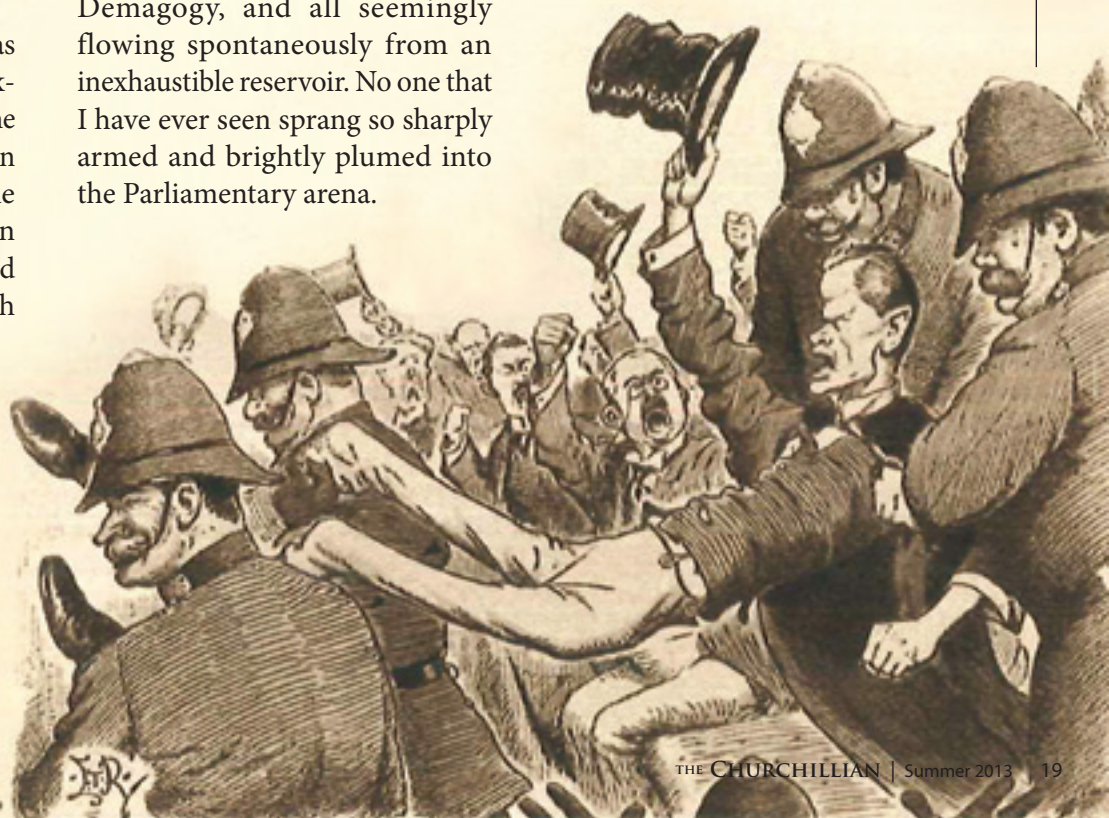
The most successful maiden speech in my recollection was that of Mr. F. E. Smith, afterwards Lord Birkenhead. The Liberals had returned from the General Election of 1906 in overwhelming majority, and scarcely a hundred despondent Tories, crouched in one corner of the Chamber, represented the great Party which for twenty years had ruled the land.

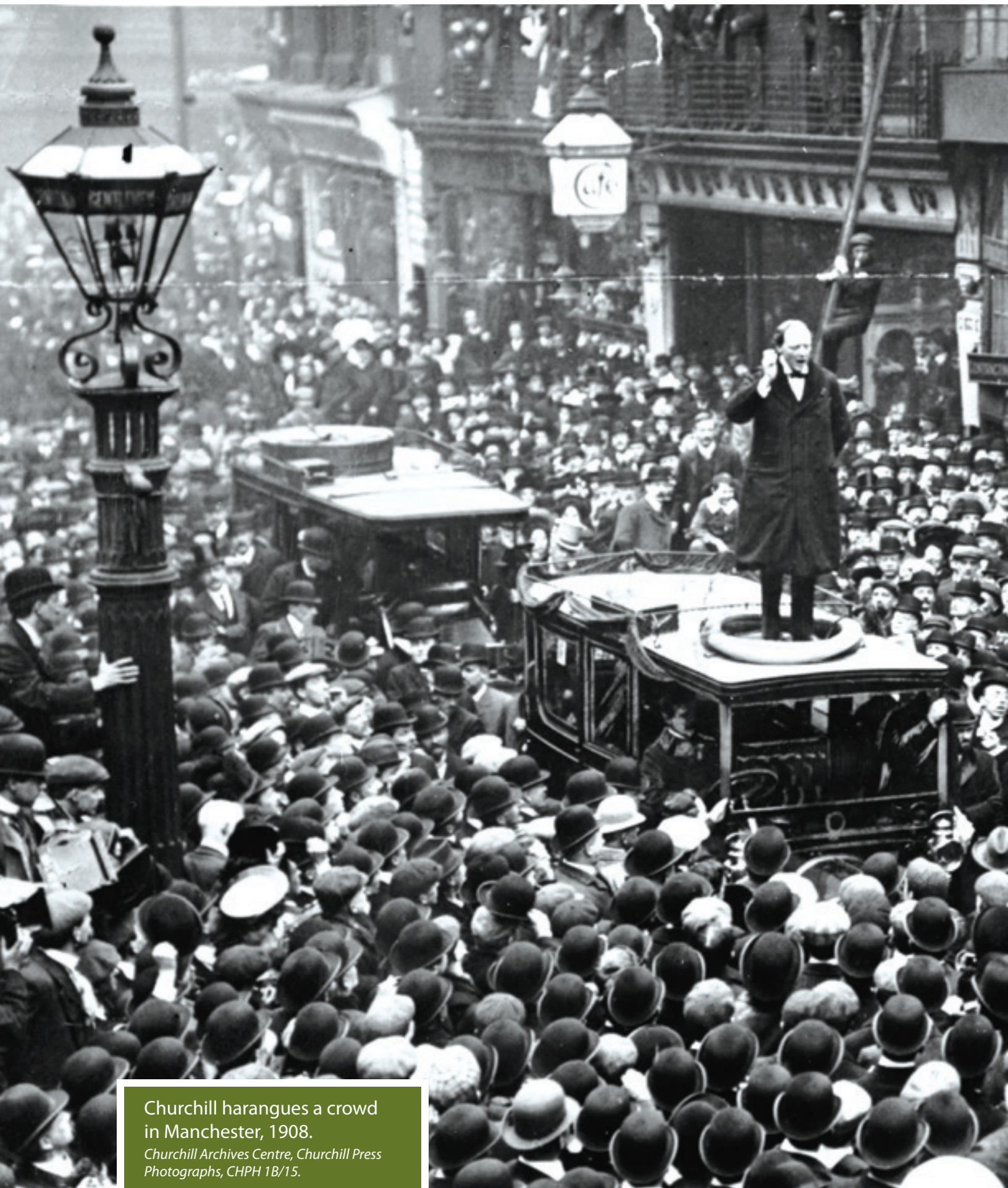
Suddenly, on one of the first nights of the Session, there arose towards ten o'clock, from the bench immediately behind the leaders of the Opposition, a tall, youthful figure who, with unsurpassable composure and in the softest tones, delivered for upwards of an hour at the thronging Government benches, a corrosive stream of taunts and gibes, interspersed with searching and original arguments, all polished and adorned with every resource of scholarship, or Demagogy, and all seemingly flowing spontaneously from an inexhaustible reservoir. No one that I have ever seen sprang so sharply armed and brightly plumed into the Parliamentary arena.

## THE FUTURE OF PARLIAMENT

Reviving the memories of the past leads the mind irresistibly to the present and the future. Is the Parliamentary epoch passing? Has its knell already sounded in this world of transition? To British Parliamentarians, among whom I range myself, the period through which we are moving seems pregnant with anxious responsibility.

Surely every member, not only of the House of Commons but of representative Assemblies in all countries where they still survive, ought to do his utmost during this time to raise the standard and dignity of Parliaments, to give of his best on all occasions, and to make the Assembly in which he has the honour to sit a true expression of the real needs of the times and to vivify its debates by every resource of earnestness and interest.





Churchill harangues a crowd  
in Manchester, 1908.

*Churchill Archives Centre, Churchill Press  
Photographs, CHPH 1B/15.*

# YOUNG WINSTON and *Progress*

At a time when euphoria was still regnant, Churchill saw that “progress,” if it existed at all, generated as many problems as it solved.

By Manfred Weidhorn

**T**he decade of 1929-39 was difficult for Churchill, though less a “wilderness” than frequently portrayed. The Thirties saw the apogee of his writing career, with big, multi-volume books, several collections of essays and speeches, a charming autobiography and numerous articles, from which he derived much pleasure and money. But in politics he was out of power and out of favor. No more able than anyone else to see a political future for himself, he even briefly entertained the idea of retiring to Canada.

Truth to tell, these were not good years for most people. There was the stock market collapse, depression, unemployment, paralysis among democratic governments, a rise of fascism and militarism and the beginning of drawn-out wars—first in East Asia and then, at the end of the decade, in Europe. Other historical periods were, of course, hardly better. According to one estimate, there were only four years in the 17th century when there was no war in Europe, and, according to another estimate, some forty wars concurrently in the 1970s. But for sheer horror in the 20th century, the Thirties were outdone only by the Teens and the early Forties.



Small wonder that Churchill turned, more than ever before, to reflections on the meaning of history and (as we have seen in the foregoing articles) the future of democracy. In 1931 he wrote two essays which (along with his “Shall We All Commit Suicide” of 1924), were considered important enough to be the subject of study by a Churchill Centre conference in 2009. The gist of them (and of passages in his autobiography *My Early Life*) is that the Victorian belief in progress had been strongly challenged by the impact of science on society—and on war.

The temptation to ascribe Churchill’s pessimistic tone in these essays to the dreariness of the Thirties should be resisted. The truth is that these gloomy ideas came to Churchill at the very beginning of his career and were only deepened by the march of events in what was supposed to be a century of progress.

*“Progress may have been all right once, but it went on too long . . . .”*  
—Ogden Nash

The idea of “progress” is relatively new. History was traditionally thought to be going nowhere, or occurring in cycles. Then, in the 17th century, thinkers like Francis Bacon and René Descartes believed that the world, liberated by science from ignorance and superstition, would see improvements in every area of

life. In the Renaissance even before the rise of the new science, free-floating optimism was already in the air. In his classic *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (1532-1552), François Rabelais celebrates a new era of learning and enlightenment: “In my time we have learned by divine inspiration how to produce wonderfully elegant and accurate printed books just as, on the other hand, we have also learned by diabolic suggestion how to make cannon.” Here is one of the first hints of progress—a century before the scientific revolution and two and half centuries before the Industrial Revolution, two movements which spread the belief in this new concept.

But progress is more ambiguous than Rabelais thinks. He celebrates the wonders facilitated by the printing press without realizing that it would spread not only enlightenment but also the Communist Manifesto, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, *Mein Kampf*, the *News of the World* and the *National Enquirer*; he condemns gunpowder without realizing how it would help to remove physical obstacles to the construction of roads, bridges, tunnels and buildings.

The idea of progress dominated Western thought from the 1770s on, with a gradual growth of critics. Throughout his career Churchill gave voice to this concept, as in “the urge and impulse of the ages, that mankind will move forward towards its goal” (13 May 1940). “Goal”? One must ask: what goal? Religious souls have a goal in the next world, Marxists a utopia in this world; but Churchill was neither conventionally religious nor Marxist. The notion of an undefined goal for mankind is the idea of progress full blown—and Churchill subscribes to it.



François Rabelais



Francis Bacon



René Descartes

## *Arms and Their Temptations*

Yet whatever Churchill meant by such sentences, it was occasionally accompanied by doubt. One finds ambivalence very early in his parliamentary career. The occasion was the attempt by St. John Brodrick, Secretary of State for War, permanently to expand the peacetime British Army. That *topic du jour* has long since vanished, but Churchill's speech raised important questions that haunt us still.

The year was 1901. There had not been a major European war for thirty years. There was a sense of spreading civilization and material development. Many thought that the relations between nations had reached what we would today call a new paradigm: peaceful economic rivalry had replaced military rivalry. This view was so widespread that it was held even by Marxists, who were otherwise critical of just about all other assumptions made by the bourgeois world.

This mood was described retrospectively in Churchill's *My Early Life*. Of his military training he found an air of unreality: "It did seem such a pity that [the study of large-scale army maneuvers] had to be make believe, and that the age of wars between civilized nations had come to an end forever....The British Army had never fired on white troops since the Crimea, and now that the world was growing so sensible and *pacifistic*—and so *democratic* too—the great days were over" (italics added).

On 12 May 1901 young Winston went, so to speak, on the offensive. His initial argument was binary. Brodrick could not be serious: Either the European nations would remain peaceful, so no increase in military power was called for; or if trouble was

really ahead (which WSC did not foresee), the increase fell pitifully short of what would be needed. That was because Brodrick (and presumably the military brass) lacked any idea of what war now entailed.

This was a nice segue for Churchill to expound on how little people knew of modern warfare, with a brief meditation on the drift of modern life. He spelled out some of the gory details: wars would not only be grim but would also profoundly affect the civilian population. In making his case, he cited three important reasons for his bleak view. These reasons bear directly on the question of progress.

Most people regard science, democracy and newspapers as central blessings of modern society; to Churchill they harbor unintended consequences. First and most notable is the public's obliviousness to the impact of technological development. When "mighty populations are impelled against each other...the resources of science and civilization will sweep away anything that might mitigate their fury." Here are Rabelais's fears about gunpowder come true. Battles in which hundreds of combatants might be killed in a long day are now, Churchill said, capable of killing tens of thousands in a day, as well as leveling entire cities.

Churchill's point is that scientific progress is morally neutral. It magnifies the capacity to do evil no less than the capacity to do good. Unfortunately, history shows that humans are quicker to do harm than good. That is so because progress in discovering the laws of nature, as well as in machines for manipulating nature, is unaccompanied by progress in the control of emotions. The old vices of immoderate demand for wealth,

power, sex, and revenge remain unaffected by the great improvement in the means of achieving those goals. As Churchill put it in one of those gloomy essays from the Thirties: "Under sufficient stress—starvation, terror, warlike passion, or even cold intellectual frenzy—the modern man we know so well will do the most terrible deeds, and his modern woman will back him up."

## *Progress and Politics*

The case is no different when Churchill turns from science and technology to political progress. "Democracy is more vindictive than Cabinets," he shockingly declared in 1901. "The wars of peoples will be more terrible than those of kings."

There is a terrible irony here. Since the time of the American and the French Revolutions, mankind has striven for something like democracy. Giving the vote to everyone and establishing self-government would do away with the rulers who subordinated the well-being of the citizenry to their own welfare. Tradition, in conjunction with police and military power, made the old rulers relatively unaccountable. Using the masses as pawns, they started wars to enrich themselves, and, win or lose, were hardly affected by the ensuing bloodshed and impoverishment. Wars, therefore, would automatically be lessened or abolished by democracy.

Notice, in the passage from *My Early Life* cited above, how the words "pacifistic" and "democratic" are joined, how the disappearance of wars is connected to the appearance of democracy. Yet, years later in *The Dream*, his imaginary encounter with the ghost of his father, an older Winston sighs: "We

have had nothing but wars since democracy took charge.”

The hope and dream of democracy forestalling war is still held by many people. But Churchill dwells on the great paradox that democracy, instead of diminishing the number and the fierceness of wars, makes them fiercer. A passage by President U. S. Grant clarifies that paradox. In his memoirs, Grant speaks of the superiority of the American army because it is motivated by democratic sentiments. The American soldiers are “better than any European soldiers because they not only worked like a machine but the machine thought. European [i.e., monarchical] armies know very little what they are fighting for, and care less.” European soldiers conscripted or hired by Czar or Kaiser fight only as long as they must; soldiers in a democracy fight to the bitter end for the dignity of their cause—because they think (or are made to think) that the welfare of their nation, not just of that of the rich and powerful, is at stake.

Churchill may have had in mind the American Civil War, which, fought by two democracies (as democracy was then understood), was the bloodiest war in history because each side was convinced of the justness of its cause. They did not think that they were fighting for a king or money but liberty, interpreted differently by each side. Another reason for fighting to the bitter end is that, as Tocqueville noted, the tyranny of a king is dwarfed in a democracy by the tyranny of the majority.

### *In His Time the Press; In Ours the Media*

Turning from politics to popular culture produces more of the same

disillusionment. If scientific development and rising democracy are two aspects of progress with a seamy underside, so is a third phenomenon—the popular press, especially the mass-circulation tabloid newspapers, and in this day mass-circulation websites and social media. Churchill speaks of “popular newspapers, appealing with authority to countless readers...prepared almost every morning to urge us into war against one or other—and sometimes several—of the great Powers of the earth.” In theory, newspapers should be another blessing. Who does not see the virtue of having a well-informed citizenry? Free universal education, an achievement of the 19th century, will make everyone literate, and these citizens will, through daily reading, keep abreast of events and become informed voters.

Alas this development, like the many others, merely opens the way for demagogues. In a democracy, individuals can achieve power only by saying what people want to hear rather than what they need to know. There were demagogues in the ancient Athenian quasi-democracy, but now such men are dangerously enabled by the press. Literacy and universally available media do not at all result in the highly expected political sophistication; in all too many cases, the newly literate public turns first to the sports sections, then the gossip sections, and then to the entertainment sections. So much for literacy.

Churchill consequently wondered about the wisdom of having given an equal vote to everyone, and even briefly questioned universal suffrage: “We have carried the franchise to limits



St. John Brodrick

far beyond those who are interested in politics” (5 March 1931).

Democracy, he observed, does not eliminate elites, but replaces elites based on inheritance, breeding, or education with those based on duplicity and mendacity. Nor can one neglect the principle—advanced by the Nazis but accurate nonetheless—that the bigger the lie and the more often repeated, the more likely is it to be swallowed.

This was not just Churchill’s personal complaint. The power of the nascent press and the poison which it injects into the body politic was seen as a problem as early as 1855. In his novel, *The Warden*, Trollope asserts, “What the Czar is in Russia, or the mob in America, that *The Jupiter* [a fictional stand-in for *The Times*] is in England.” What Trollope implies in this piece of poetic exaggeration (and what deserves underlining) is that no one *elects* an editor. That scientific and social progress would result in an irresponsible press was unforeseen by Bacon and Descartes, or by philosophers of democracy such as Locke.



## *From Isolationism to Alliance*

These three unintended consequences of progress in science, democracy, and newspapers caused young Churchill to warn against taking a European war lightly. They also led him toward isolationism—which, in the light of the rest of his career, is ironic. As he discusses Brodrick's army estimates, he turns to the question of the status of Britain. It lodges in Europe but (in its own eyes) is not quite a part of it. If geography is destiny, then that moat around Britain has meant a thousand years famously without foreign troops on British soil. No other European nation (not even America) can make that statement. For Britain this suggests naïveté in discussions of military strength: "We do not know what war is," he says—meaning war on home territory. Such ignorance leads politicians and the press to think that "with the land forces at our disposal we may safely intermeddle in the European game." Churchill seems not to approve of that.

He did not know, of course, that a decade later at the Admiralty, his incipient isolationism would vanish as quickly as his interest in domestic reform. Nor could he foresee how progress meant a huge acceleration of speed of communication and travel, resulting in globalization (of which Marx was already writing in the mid-19th century) and interconnectedness. Britain would soon be pulled into the European maelstrom out of the need to make alliances, not only for self-preservation but to preserve the balance of power.

It had done these things in the past, of course, but everything was now faster and more consequential—as Churchill warned in 1903: "If by wicked counsels we

are drawn into war with a great European state, we shall fight that war—whatever our forethought—with breaking hearts and straitened means, with hunger in our streets and ruin in our market-places; success will be robbed of all its triumph; and when it is over—whatever the issue—we shall turn in poverty and grief, to find all our most formidable commercial rivals entrenched on all our old vantage-grounds." Churchill could not have been more right.

## *He Saw It All Coming*

The two world wars so depleted British resources and wealth that she was by 1945 close to bankruptcy, and her empire on its way to dissolution. The words, "hunger in our streets and ruin in our market-places," came close to being true, not only during the Blitz but in the years of rationing after the war. Churchill had famously said that he had not become prime minister to preside over the dissolution of the empire, but that was precisely the result of his decision to fight on against Hitler. He could have adhered to his youthful advice to avoid "meddling in the European game" by making a separate peace with Hitler, or backing away from the war with a kind of armed truce.

Some critics are certainly right in arguing that throwing Britain's lot in with the evil Soviet Union and the self-interested U.S. meant that Churchill had assured the rise of the two new superpowers in the east and west (the feared "commercial rival"), as well as the rise of socialism at home and the demise of the British Empire. Where the critics are wrong is in thinking that a peace with Hitler offered a better chance of survival. It might rather have meant the eventual loss not only of the Empire but of British

independence itself. Churchill faced a Hobson's choice: Be slain by a bad man or throw oneself at the mercy of rescuers.

So we can now see that Churchill's pessimism in the 1930s was not just a new response to what T.S. Eliot called the "largely wasted" years and W.H. Auden called "the low dishonest decade"; it had been present in the thoughts of the young politician thirty years earlier. At a time when euphoria was still regnant, Churchill (along with only a few thinkers like Nietzsche) saw that "progress," if it existed at all, generated as many problems as it solved. It was not the melancholy of aging nor the gloom of the Thirties that pushed a wise Churchill into a new pessimism, for he had the intelligence and insight to see the not quite visible defects of progress even as an ambitious, forward-looking young man.

Young Winston's speech of 1901 thus contains the seeds that were to blossom in his thought three decades later. In the 1930s he merely had more leisure for reflection and far more empirical evidence (the Great War, for one) that corroborated his youthful insights.

What he said in 1946 of Nazi aggression he could now also say of that early 1901 speech, "I saw it all coming." Not bad for a twenty-six year old parliamentary novice who, unlike almost all modern prime ministers, never went to college.

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*Dr. Weidhorn is Guterman Professor of English Literature at Yeshiva University in New York and a leading scholar of Churchill's literary heritage. He has written four books on the subject, three of which remain in print. The first was Sword and Pen: A Survey of the Writings of Winston Churchill (1974), still a standard in its field.*

# CHURCHILL AT A GLANCE

BY JAMES MACK

**T**he Churchill Centre has done the world a huge favor with this publication, offering an unprecedented array of facts about Churchill, his life and times, nicely illustrated and designed in vest-pocket format. At just under \$10, it packs more information per dollar than you can buy anywhere else.

Twenty-eight chapters, beginning with an 1873-1974 Timeline of significant events, provide answers and settle arguments on every subject imaginable: Churchill's books, and the best books about him; the offices he held with the precise start and finish dates; wartime broadcasts; election results from 1899 to 1959; his orders, decorations and medals; favorite hotels; military commissions and regiments; London and country residences, including "borrowed" properties and holiday leases. There is even a list of his 38 thoroughbred race horses and his dozen brood mares.

A thumbnail list of "Leading Churchill Myths" is welcome. So is the family tree with all the descendents of Lord and Lady Randolph Churchill, chapter on Sir Winston's funeral (Order of Service, YouTube links to the hymns and attending dignitaries) and the lists of WSC's personal, parliamentary and private secretaries.

World War II is comprehensively covered in the Timeline, and there are lists of summit conferences and Churchill's wartime travels. Also under "Travel" are lists of all his trips to North America and all his sea journeys from the *Etruria* in 1895 through the Admiralty yacht *Enchantress*, to the *Queen Elizabeth*, *Queen Mary* and Onassis yacht *Christina*.

More chapters document Churchill's life and times: pound and dollar values from 1874 to date; Churchill drama for cinema and television from "Young Winston" (1972) to "The King's Speech" (2010); governments, sovereigns and prime ministers from William Gladstone to David Cameron; and British political parties from



**The Churchill Companion, published by The Churchill Centre. Softbound, illus., 124 pages, \$9.95 from Amazon.com.**

Tories to Communists. Other chapters offer recommended articles from the Centre's journal *Finest Hour*; a glossary of British Parliamentary and political terms; and a description of ranks of British nobility.

The book originated with the late David Hatter, a Chartwell guide, who assembled a slim volume of "Churchill Facts" and then donated its contents, mainly the timeline, to the Churchill Centre; Hatter was also involved in analyzing the entries in the Chartwell Visitors Book, which he discusses in a fascinating chapter at the

end of this volume. The other contributors are a *Who's Who* of experts in their fields, such as the bibliographer Ronald Cohen, residence historian Stefan Buczacki, medals researcher Douglas Russell, and Allen Packwood and Katherine Thompson of the Churchill Archives Centre. Professors Paul Addison, John Ramsden and Christopher Sterling contributed important chapters, and the book was assembled by Richard Langworth, who says his only regret is that David Hatter did not live to see the outcome of the work he started.

Given these authorities, errors are few. The Timeline has the wrong date for Mary Soames's marriage (it was 1947 not 1946), misses a few late arrivals to the Family Tree, and omits a week from Churchill's 1952 trip to North America. These are being compiled for the next printing, which will probably occur soon, since the book is selling briskly. An e-book may also be in the making. Indeed these facts almost beg to be digitalized for access, although the booklet itself is very easy to use. You do need a computer to take full advantage of it, since many web locations are provided. Anyone who writes or wants to know about Winston Churchill should own a copy.



## MEET THE NEW ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL CHURCHILL MUSEUM

**Jessica L. Dulle** from Jefferson City, Mo., has assumed duties as the new Assistant Director of the National Churchill Museum on the campus of Westminster College.

“We are pleased to welcome Jessica in her new role as Assistant Director,” said Dr. Rob Havers, Executive Director of the Museum. “She will maintain the continuity of the Museum operations, ensuring it functions efficiently and effectively on a daily basis and assume the necessary duties in my absence.”

Dulle will be involved in the critical areas of the Museum such as operations, maintenance, finance and marketing.

“I’m thrilled to join the ranks of the National Churchill Museum under the direction of Dr. Rob Havers,” said Dulle. “It’s an honor to get the opportunity to work with a highly skilled group of staff, board members and

volunteers to continue the legacy of leadership of Sir Winston Churchill.

Previously, Dulle held the position of Executive Director of the Capital City Council on the Arts in Jefferson City where she oversaw the educational outreach, exhibitions, volunteers and competitions of the organization.

Other positions have included the Interim Development Director of the Abilene Philharmonic Association, the Executive Director/Financial Director for the Center for Contemporary Arts, the Programs and Public Relations Executive Director for the Missouri National Education Association and a Call Center Representative for Steppenwolf Theatre.

She holds an MBA from Stephens College in general management and a B.A. in theater from University of Central Missouri.



*A Day To Remember...*



CONTACT OUR WEDDING REPRESENTATIVE  
AT 573-592-5234 FOR MORE INFORMATION.



Liz Murphy  
National Churchill Museum  
Archivist/Curator

## Keep Calm and Edit On

**A**s Curator my job is to ensure our Collections are maintained in such a manner that they survive in perpetuity. This includes cataloging artifacts into a system that is accessible for both researchers and professional staff, storing artifacts in environments that will protect them, and yes, even dusting and vacuuming regularly! During my tenure as Curator I have uncovered many amazing treasures. As this issue focuses on Churchill as Orator I would like to share with you one of my favorite archival pieces. It is one of the two existing copies of Churchill's *Sinews of Peace* Speech.

Throughout this edition you will learn and/or re-familiarize yourself with Churchill the Orator. He was relentless at planning his speeches. It has been said by members of his inner circle that for every minute of speech he gave he would spend an hour practicing it. This amazing dedication to the spoken word is ever so prevalent in the above mentioned archive.

The 50 page *Sinews of Peace* speech document clearly shows Churchill's desire for perfection with his speeches. The entire document is filled with Churchill's special version of shorthand. Even after the speech had been finalized, typed and presented to Churchill, he was not satisfied. I can picture him during his pre-speech visit with Colonel Frank Clarke in Florida toiling late hours over this speech, hashing and rehashing every word. I can further see him on the train from D.C. with President Truman sitting off in an isolated car putting the final edits onto this speech. We know for a fact Westminster College President Franc McCluer inquired several times about the content of the speech, and in a document from February of 1946. Churchill certainly had a specific point to make when he delivered his address. He had commented to Truman early in the new year of 1946, as John Ramsden notes in his Churchill 'Man of the century' that 'I have a message to deliver to your country and the world.' Truman had responded with an equally emphatic comment: 'I know you have a real message to deliver at Fulton.'

Getting to know Churchill the Orator through the Archives has made the stories in this edition mean that much more to me. They also further reinforce that Churchill was a man who was dedicated to what he said to the point of perfection and therefore, in my eyes that much more of a great leader!



## School and Community Update

*“Though he [Savrola] spoke very quietly and slowly, his words reached the furthest ends of the hall. 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... Loud cheers rose from all parts of the hall. His voice was even and not loud, but his words conveyed an impression of dauntless resolution.” –1900 (SAVROLA, 97-8)*



Mandy Plybon  
Education & Public Programs  
Coordinator

**A**s you reach my education review in this *Churchillian* issue, I imagine you are now familiar with Churchill's talents as a speechmaker. It is hard to deny the expressive, charismatic, and inspiring qualities in his speeches and witty comebacks. We have an entire room in our Museum dedicated to the “Wit and Wisdom of Winston Churchill.” We can get a sense of Churchill's perception of his oratory style by reading the quote above. I do not think anyone would argue his interpretation.

Speech making is something that is daunting to most young people (and older people too). However, it is, for the most part, a requirement in order to graduate secondary schools and most post-secondary schools. It took me years before being comfortable in front of a crowd. Even now, I have moments where I can hear my voice shake and my palms are sweaty. I wish I had an iota of Churchill's oratory skills!

To give students the exposure to Churchill and to provide them with speech giving experiences, the

Museum's Education Department and Board of Governor's Education Committee have begun a new student oratory competition. Students will respond to and to reflect on the meaning of a Churchill quote, both as it applies to them personally, as well as to how it is relevant in the 21st century. The topic for the 2013-2014 competition is “Attitude is a little thing that makes a big difference.”

For our first year, the competition is open to students in grades six through eight. Each school will hold its own local competition in order to advance a select number of students to the zone or regional competition. Finalists from each zone will then compete in the state level competition at the National Churchill Museum on, what other date than, March 5, 2014.

If you would like to help us publicize our competition, please shoot me an email ([mandy.plybon@churchillmemorial.org](mailto:mandy.plybon@churchillmemorial.org)). I am happy to send you save the date information to forward to your contacts.



Kit Freudenberg  
*Director of Development*

## Churchill England to Normandy Tour

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For two weeks, Dr. Rob Havers and I joined an intrepid group of travelers to explore Winston Churchill's leadership and the hard work to prepare for the June 6, 1944, D-Day invasion of Normandy. The tour took us from Great Britain to Paris via select Normandy locations.

A special reception hosted by Westminster College Class of 1987 Philip Boeckman and his wife, Erin, welcomed us to the magnificent Pall Mall Royal Automobile Club. Honored guest and world-renowned author and journalist Sir Max Hastings gave insights into Churchill as a war leader and spoke on the most ambitious amphibious assault in history.

Special moments included:

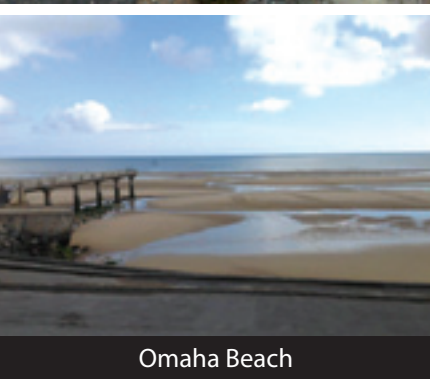
- Behind the scenes tour of the Churchill Museum and Cabinet War Rooms led by its Director Phil Reed who put us in Churchill's chair behind the dispatch box.
- 8th Army Air Corps Museum in Duxford and vintage aircraft.
- Special presentation and display of artifacts and papers at the Churchill Archives at Cambridge University including a sneak peak at the new holdings of the Lady Margaret Thatcher Archives.
- D-Day beaches tour led by the Head of War Studies at Sandhurst Dr. Simon Trew.
- Insights into the French Resistance leader Jean Moulin and the Resistance's leadership.

For me, the tour's best moments came during the three days we spent at the D-Day beaches. Supplied with handouts, maps, and historic photographs, Dr. Trew made the Normandy experience truly incredible. Weaving chain of command charts, order of battle diagrams, and logistics with stories from the combatants, he brought the sites alive as we explored the British, Canadian and American sector battlefields: Pegasus Bridge at Benouville, Arromanches and the Mulberry Harbour, Longues-sur-Mer artillery placements, Port-en-Bessin, Vierville-sur-Mer and Omaha Beach, the cliffs of Pointe du Hoc, Sainte-Mere-Eglise, and the La Fiere Bridgehead.

One morning as we stood on Dog Green Charlie Section of Omaha Beach, I was moved by the broad expanse of sand, treacherous scour holes, massive sea wall, sheer cliffs and narrow ravine that challenged those men who landed there on D-Day. As the tide rushed in, we moved briskly off the beach remembering those who faced such a tide on that day. And we all were deeply moved by the U.S. Military Cemetery that is the final resting place for 10,000 American service men and women above Omaha Beach from that grim struggle during the summer of 1944.



Pointe du Hoc



Omaha Beach



The magnificent Royal Automobile Club, London



Welcome from Sir Max Hasting, Dr. Rob Havers and evening hosts Mr. and Mrs. Philip Boeckman



Churchill Archives special display for tour members



Eiffel Tower from dinner cruise boat

Over 150,000 soldiers, sailors and airmen died in the Normandy campaign. The wounded numbered in the hundreds of thousands. The struggle to secure a beachhead and the following battles over flooded hedgerow country called *bocage* included some of the most savage fighting of World War II. As 82nd Airborne Ranger Robert Murphy said to fellow soldiers to stop the German advance at the Le Fiere Bridge: *(there is) no better place to die.*

Later that day, we walked along Pointe du Hoc and realized the scale of the endeavor that the 225 Rangers overcame to knock out strongholds that threatened the landing craft and naval fleet as far away as Utah Beach. On June 6, 1984, President Ronald W. Reagan gave an eloquent tribute to these brave men that my poor words cannot match.

**Listen to President Reagan's tribute to the Rangers at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eElqdcHbc8I>.**



WWII soldier, D-Day Museum, Portsmouth



PHOTO BY DAK DILLON

The Kingdom at Work Project team received an Exemplary Community Achievement Award from the Missouri Humanities Council for the exhibit *The Way We Worked*. The team poses with Missouri Secretary of State Jason Kander.



In January we were delighted to receive a visit from Rodney Miller and Jann Carl, the former host of *Entertainment Tonight*, and now, with Rodney, the co-host of the television show *Small Town, Big Deal* that airs regularly on the RFD-TV cable channel. They did a wonderful job of promoting the Museum. Their efforts can be viewed on our website, [www.nationalchurchillmuseum.org](http://www.nationalchurchillmuseum.org).

Follow *Small Town, Big Deal* on Facebook at [www.facebook.com/smalltownbigdeal](http://www.facebook.com/smalltownbigdeal)



(l to r) Westminster President Barney Forsythe, Cita Stelzer and Executive Director Rob Havers enjoy Callaway ham of which Churchill famously said: "The pig has reached its highest state of evolution in this ham."

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN THE APRIL 11, 2013, EDITION OF *THE FULTON SUN*. PHOTO BY DEAN ASHER



# LETTERS TO *THE CHURCHILLIAN*

*Do you happen to know if Churchill ever painted in watercolor?  
We see his oils, but did he ever dabble in watercolor, and if so,  
are there any on display in the United States?*

*Thanks,  
James Schmuck*

See his book *Painting as a Pastime*, or his painting essay in *Thoughts and Adventures*. He began at Hoe Farm in 1915 with a child's set of watercolors, but the next day he acquired a full set of oils, and it was oils from there out. He wrote:

"Some experiments one Sunday in the country with the children's paint-box led me to procure the next morning a complete outfit for painting in oils ... I write no word in disparagement of watercolours. But there really is nothing like oils. You have a medium at your disposal which offers real power, if you only can find out how to use it. Moreover, it is easier to get a certain distance along the road by its means than by watercolour. First of all, you can correct mistakes much more easily. One sweep of the palette-knife 'lifts' the blood and tears of a morning from the canvas and enables a fresh start to be made; indeed the canvas is all the better for past impressions. Secondly, you can approach your problem from any direction. You need not build downwards awkwardly from white paper to your darkest dark."

Email us any questions about Winston Churchill under the sun, and we'll get the answer from our panel of experts! Send your questions, comments and general musings to [TheChurchillian@nationalchurchillmuseum.org](mailto:TheChurchillian@nationalchurchillmuseum.org).

# Winston Churchill Medal for Leadership

AWARDED TO MR. STEPHEN F. BRAUER

Stephen F. Brauer, former Ambassador to Belgium, St. Louis businessman and community leader, received the Winston Churchill Medal for Leadership presented on behalf of the Association of Churchill Fellows of the National Churchill Museum by Westminster College President Dr. George B. Forsythe and Deputy Head of Mission Philip Barton CMG OBE, British Embassy. The April 18th St. Louis event — with generous contributions from sponsors, attendees and Museum members — raised \$350,000 for exhibit and education programs and to help realize our ambitious strategic plan.



Churchill Medal and handcrafted humidor presented by Westminster College President Dr. George B. Forsythe and Deputy Ambassador Philip Barton



Mrs. Kimmy Brauer, Ambassador John R. Bolton and Mr. Stephen F. Brauer



Keynote speaker Ambassador John Bolton

John R. Bolton, former Ambassador to the United Nations, provided the keynote address and gave his insights on current international events and the Churchill leadership qualities needed by world leaders to defend democracy and freedom. He made his remarks from the podium that Winston Churchill used in 1946 to predict Soviet aggression, “an Iron Curtain has descended across the continent...”

Only four people have previously received the Churchill Medal which is presented to civic and business leaders who exemplify those leadership qualities demonstrated by Winston Spencer Churchill: Dr. William H. Danforth, Chancellor Emeritus of Washington University; broadcast journalist Walter Cronkite; John Bachmann, retired CEO of Edward Jones; and former British Prime Minister Sir John Major.



Mr. and Mrs. Jim Weddle with Ambassador Bolton

Unstinting contributions to this event ensures that the unique Churchill connection and its most dynamic incarnation, the National Churchill Museum can foster an understanding of the historical significance of what Churchill did and how he did it – as well as providing real inspiration for all who aspire to be a leader in any field and at any level.

Suzanne Richardson and Donna Wilkinson chaired the event steering committee.



Ambassador Bolton and Churchill Fellow Richard Mahoney



Churchill Fellow Suzanne Richardson with Ambassador Bolton



Past Churchill Medal Recipient John Bachmann, Ambassador Bolton and Kay Bachmann



Churchill Fellow Crosby Kemper and Ambassador Bolton

*The Association of Churchill Fellows of the National Churchill Museum wishes to thank the following for their generous support in helping us to continue promoting the legacy of leadership of Winston S. Churchill for our future generations.*

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Mr. and Mrs. August A. Busch III  
Mr. and Mrs. Stephen F. Brauer

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Donna Wilkinson

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Mr. and Mrs. Mahlon B. Wallace III



New Museum acquisition – a humidor from Sir Winston – on display



Mr. August A. Busch, III, with Ambassador Bolton and Mrs. Kimmy Brauer



Friends and family celebrate the award with Stephen Brauer

Mr. Brauer is Chairman and CEO of Hunter Engineering Company which designs, manufactures and sells computer-based automotive equipment worldwide. He began with Hunter Engineering Company in 1971, became Chief Operating Officer in 1978 and President in 1980.

In May of 2001 Mr. Brauer was confirmed by the U.S. Senate, and on June 1, 2001 was sworn in as U.S. Ambassador to Belgium. He returned to the U.S. in September, 2003 to resume the Chief Executive position at Hunter.

Born in St. Louis, Mr. Brauer was educated at St. Louis Country Day School, attended Washington and Lee University and graduated from Westminster College, where he received a B.A. in Economics in 1967. He served to 1st Lt. in the United States Army Corps of Engineers from 1968 to 1970, including a year tour in Vietnam. Mr. Brauer also served as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of the Army from 1991 to 1994.

Mr. Brauer has served on numerous charitable and civic boards, including the St. Louis Area Council of Boy Scouts, the St. Louis Art Museum, and the Missouri Botanical Garden, of which he is a past President of the Board of Trustees. He is a former member of the National Board of the Smithsonian Institution, a past member of Missouri's 21st Judicial District Commission, and was a director of both Boatmen's Trust Company and the Private Client Board of Bank of America. Mr. Brauer is currently a director of Ameren Corporation (NYSE:AEE).

Since 1991 Mr. Brauer has been a trustee of Washington University and was named Chair of the Board on July 1, 2009. From 1996 to 2004 he chaired the School of Engineering and Applied Science Capital Campaign, and is



Timothy O'Leary joins Donna Wilkinson with congratulations to Mr. and Mrs. Brauer and Ambassador Bolton

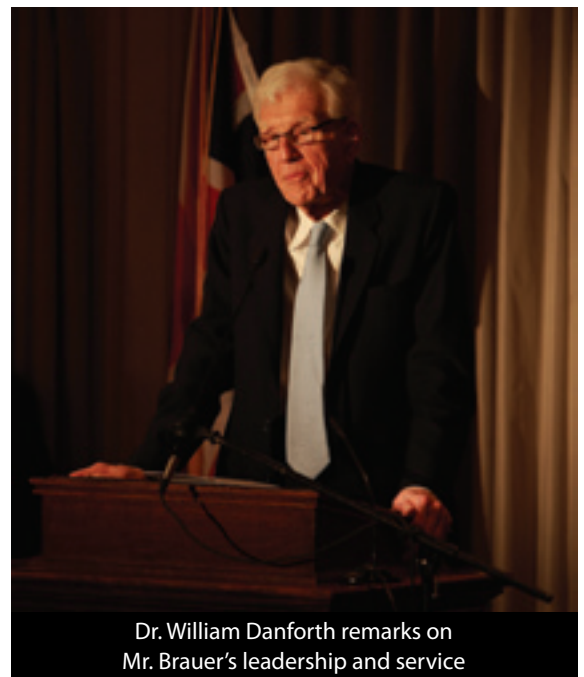
head of the School's National Council. In 1998 he endowed the distinguished professorship held by Dr. Frank Yin, Chairman of the Department of Biomedical Engineering, and in 2008 provided the lead gift for the Stephen F. & Camilla T. Brauer building on the engineering school campus.

Mr. Brauer is a partner in the St. Louis Cardinals Baseball LP and a member of St. Louis Civic Progress. He is a past chapter chairman of the Young Presidents' Organization, and currently a member of World Presidents' Organization and the Chief Executives' Organization. Prior to his appointment as Ambassador, Mr. Brauer was Honorary Consul of Belgium in Missouri and remains a member of the St. Louis Consular Corps.

Married in 1971 to the former Camilla Thompson, Mr. and Mrs. Brauer have three adult children: Blackford, Rebecca and Stephen, Jr.



Mr. Stephen F. Brauer



Dr. William Danforth remarks on Mr. Brauer's leadership and service



Elegance at the Bellerive Country Club



Major General (Ret.) Byron Bagby, Westminster College Board of Trustees member, visits with guests.



Churchill Medal for Leadership keynote address



Mr. and Mrs. Herbert D. Condie with Ambassador Bolton

HONORARY CHAIR

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 Mr. and Mrs. Kevin Whitehead  
 Donna Wilkinson



Ambassador Bolton and David Kemper



Ambassador Bolton and  
Isabelle Montupet



Ambassador Bolton and Andrew Taylor



An enjoyable evening with Event Committee Member Luke Fouke



Generous donors acquired this top hat signed by Winston Churchill, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Joseph Stalin for the Museum



Mr. and Mrs. William H.T. Bush with Ambassador Bolton



Mr. and Mrs. Brauer share a private moment with Ambassador Bolton and Deputy Ambassador Phillip Barton

NATIONAL CHURCHILL MUSEUM  
501 Westminster Avenue  
Fulton, Missouri 65251

NATIONAL  
CHURCHILL  
MUSEUM

# WORLD WAR II NAVY ART: A VISION OF HISTORY



## MUSEUM UPCOMING EVENTS

**August 4 thru  
August 11**

Last week to see  
World War II  
Navy Art: A Vision of  
History exhibit  
*Cost: included in  
price of admission*

**September 17-18**

Westminster  
Symposium  
*Cost: free, the  
general public is  
welcome to attend  
sessions*

**September 19**

Teacher  
Appreciation  
Night  
*Cost: free, open  
to all teachers  
and school  
administrators*

HURRY!  
VISIT  
TODAY!



*Minesweeper Before Corregidor* by Dwight Shepler, Watercolor, February 1945

**JUNE 10, 2013 – AUGUST 11, 2013**

The Navy Art Collection brings its second show to the museum! Commemorating all who served, this exhibit focuses on the Navy Combat Artist Program that sent Navy Artists into action to record military activities. Follow the artists into combat and experience WWII as they did.