Warm greetings from the National Churchill Museum here at Westminster College, where we have had a busy summer — following hard on the heels of a busy spring!

I’m delighted to tell you all that we have secured next year’s Enid and R. Crosby Kemper lecturer already — an astonishing feat — and that the Kemper Lecture will be delivered by Mr. Paul Reid. To most Churchillians Paul needs no introduction. A close friend of the legendary William Manchester, Paul, a journalist by profession, was selected by Manchester to finish his series of books on Churchill, *The Last Lion*. Paul’s book, and the journey he went through to complete it, will be the subject of his lecture. Given that Manchester’s account is, in many ways, the definitive American portrait of WSC, Paul’s continuation of this series is a fascinating exposition of Churchill and, indeed, of Manchester’s original works as well. More details on dates can be found on page 23.

By the time you receive this edition of *The Churchillian* our documentary film, *Winston Churchill’s Epic “Iron Curtain Speech”: History Alive Today*, will have received two screenings on public television in St. Louis, Missouri, with more plans for such showings across the country. Stay tuned for more details.

As always, we seek constantly to improve our physical offerings here at the National Churchill Museum and, over the summer, finally completed a long-held ambition to improve our HVAC provision throughout the temporary exhibition space. This now allows us to maintain an ambient temperature far more precisely than previously and to bring in exhibitions of far greater significance, value and interest. This major strategic step forward was made possible by the funds raised during our Churchill medal event in the spring. Thanks once again to all who made that evening a most wonderful success.

With that all said, it is great to present another tremendous edition of *The Churchillian*, bursting with insights and scholarship on WSC, his life and times. We welcome, for his first contribution, Phil White, author of “Our Supreme Task” who discusses Churchillian leadership — a most timely topic given the current global situation. Justin Lyons returns with a fascinating discussion that interweaves the personal and the public sides of Churchill, and Professor James Muller joins us for a review of Michael Shelden’s new book, *Young Titan*. As ever, *The Churchillian* is full of additional updates and tidbits about the man himself, the National Churchill Museum and the wider Churchill world.

For those of you interested in reading more in the vein of the offerings of *The Churchillian*, we have started a regular blog on our website which will feature pieces from myself and others. Please join us there and I encourage you all to share the blog content as widely as you can.

As ever, I thank you for your support and look forward to seeing you here soon.

Dr. Rob Havers  
Executive Director  
National Churchill Museum
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Paintings and Politics</td>
<td>by Justin D. Lyons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Three Lessons in Leadership</td>
<td>by Philip White</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Book Review: How Churchill Got His Start, in Politics and in Love</td>
<td>by James W. Muller</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>A Moment in History</td>
<td>by Scott Porter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Save the Date for the 2014 Enid and R. Crosby Kemper Lecture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Message from the Director of Development: DeFer Family Celebrates with a Gift to the Museum</td>
<td>by Kit Freudenberg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>From the Archives: A Churchillian Trip</td>
<td>by Liz Murphy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Educational and Public Programming: School and Community Update</td>
<td>by Mandy Plybon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Letters to the Editor</td>
<td>by Dr. Rob Havers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Calendar of Events</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At issue today—as it was then—is a fundamental question: what is the proper relationship between the individual and the community? Churchill detested all political forms that would absolutely subordinate the individual to the state, and he never ceased to combat them in word and deed.

Opposite page:
Oblivious of everything but his subject, Churchill frequently set up his easel in public places. Here he paints in Italy during his holiday of September, 1945, attracting the usual gaggle of onlookers. A detective appears to be shooing away the photographer, who was likely in a boat!

BY JUSTIN D. LYONS
Justin Lyons is an Associate Professor of Political Science and History at Ashland University, Ashland, Ohio

Photographs reproduced with permission of Curtis Brown, London on behalf of the Broadwater Collection
Paintings copyright Churchill Heritage
We may be sure that Churchill’s view of the subject was colored by his own experiences, and we have the advantage of a rich supply of his reflections and deeds on which to draw. Did Churchill intend all that I see in his essay? While I suspect he did, I cannot prove it; but that does not extinguish the value of seeking the broader suggestions of the work. When all is said, my experiment in reading, like Churchill’s foray into painting, is “at any rate not violently harmful to man or beast.”

**SETTING THE SCENE**

Note first that the context of Churchill’s essay is military and political. Churchill relates how, when he left the Admiralty in the wake of the Dardanelles disaster, he was in the painful position of being completely powerless to direct events:

> I had long hours of utterly unwonted leisure in which to contemplate the frightful unfolding of the War. At a moment when every fibre of my being was inflamed to action, I was forced to remain a spectator of the tragedy, placed cruelly in a front seat. And then it was that the Muse of Painting came to my rescue….

Painting provided a diversion; but, despite what he writes about painting being “complete as a distraction,” it is difficult to believe that other concerns ever passed entirely from his mental screen. Painting was a new friend, but war and politics were old loves. Indeed, these preoccupations emerge even as he describes the new diversionary pastime: “painting a picture is like fighting a battle.” As First Lord of the Admiralty, he had inhabited an office at the apex and intersection of politics and war. He had laid plans he deemed crucial to success—and had seen them go awry. Painting helped him recover from the shock and disappointment, but it did not turn him from contemplation of what ought to be done about the war. While the surface of Churchill’s mind was completely absorbed in the activity of painting, its main currents plunged forward inexorably nonetheless.

The purpose of a pastime is to refresh the mind so that the tools of our main trade may be more energetically grasped when the holiday is ended. Painting was to be Churchill’s welcome companion throughout the remainder of his life, but its siren call was intermittent. Always he plunged back into the realm of action.

**AUDACITY**

Churchill’s first efforts at painting were uncertain. Some experiments with his children’s paint box spurred him to attempt it on an adult scale. Yet he quickly found that having the tools was one thing and employing them was another: “Having bought the colours, an easel, and a canvas, the next step was to begin. But what a step to take!” He was saved from his hesitancy by the arrival of Lady Lavery who, like an incarnation of the Muse, seized the brush and vanquished with fierce strokes his awe of the canvas. “The spell was broken,” Churchill writes. “The sickly inhibitions rolled away.
English artist J.M.W. Turner, whose massive canvases exhibit such a unity of conception that “we must feel in presence of an intellectual manifestation the equal in quality and intensity of the finest achievements of war-like action, of forensic argument, or of scientific or philosophical adjudication.”

These remarks are made in the context of the central and explicit analogy that Churchill employs in this essay comparing painting to warfare:

One begins to see, for instance, that painting a picture is like fighting a battle; and trying to paint a picture is, I suppose, like trying to fight a battle….It is the same kind of problem, as unfolding a long, sustained, interlocked argument. It is a proposition which, whether of a few or numberless parts, is commanded by a single unity of conception.

There was an intimate connection in Churchill’s mind between war and politics—demonstrated in his uniting of the offices of prime minister and minister of defence, allowing him to command the military and political spheres. The decision to do so arose from his experience of the First World War. The lack of decisive leadership, meaningless slaughters, and bungled execution of the one really strategically imaginative idea that might have broken the stalemate (the Dardanelles) convinced him that responsibility must be combined with authority.

Churchill was determined that in the Second World War the unity
of conception would be supplied by himself, the numberless parts of the war effort following the paths that he set for them. He believed in his ability to preside over such a massive effort because his firmly rooted understanding united with experience would create consistency in plan and action.

“Those who are possessed of a definite body of doctrine and of deeply rooted convictions upon it,” he wrote in The Gathering Storm, “will be in a much better position to deal with the shifts and surprises of daily affairs than those who are merely taking short views, and indulging their natural impulses as they are evoked by what they read from day to day.” He then adds, by way of advice, “The first thing is to decide where you want to go.”

Once the goal is established, the means of achieving it must be laid down. Victory must be pursued intelligently: “In all battles two things are usually required of the Commander-in-Chief: to make a good plan for his army and, secondly, to keep a strong reserve.”

A battle plan must take into account the landscape on which it is to be fought just as the painter must carefully observe the scene to formulate a plan of composition. But a good plan is never formed in complete isolation; it is shaped in the context of what has gone before: “But in order to make his plan, the General must not only reconnoitre the battle-ground, he must also study the achievements of the great Captains of the past. He must bring the observations he has collected in the field into comparison with the treatment of similar incidents by famous chiefs.”

Art galleries now add to their enchantments the offer of practical guidance. “Not only is your observation of Nature sensibly improved and developed, but you look at the masterpieces of art with an analyzing and a comprehending eye.”

A good plan is also required in politics. In the inter-war period, Churchill protested against the shuffling descent toward the approaching cataclysm, striving to combat the unwillingness among the Western democracies to deal prudently with the dangers they faced. The misguided policies of disarmament and appeasement only brought them closer to that which they feared most — yet they could not exert the discipline necessary to halt the slide: “How was it,” the historians of the future will ask, “that these vast, fairly intelligent, educated, and on the whole virtuous communities were so helpless and futile as to allow themselves to become the victims of their own processes, and of what they most abhorred?” The answer will be, “They had no plan.”

…“it is no use espousing a cause,” he argued, “without also having a method and a plan by which that cause may be made to win.”

Churchill’s plans were formed through observation of present events combined with reflection on past events. He ever looked to history as a source of practical wisdom, believing that the past could serve as a treasury of experience from which one could draw counsel for present decisions. “Study history, study history. In history lie all the secrets of statecraft,” he advised an admirer at Westminster Hall in 1953. It was thus that he had always taken counsel with “the great Captains of the past.” Once formed, a plan must be executed. Successful
Victory must be pursued intelligently: “In all battles two things are usually required of the Commander-in-Chief: to make a good plan for his army and, secondly, to keep a strong reserve.” A battle plan must take into account the landscape on which the battle is to be fought, just as the painter must carefully observe the scene to formulate a plan of composition.

Churchill wrote in praise of oils over watercolors as a medium “which offers real power, if you only can find out how to use it.” The first reason for his preference is that mistakes can be corrected 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....” Secondly, one can approach the problem from any direction: “You need not build downwards awkwardly from white paper to your darkest dark. You may strike where you please....” Lastly, oils allow for continued experimentation. Layer can be added upon layer until the desired effect is achieved. Power combined with flexibility creates Churchill’s attachment to oils. “You can change your plan to meet the exigencies of time or weather,” he writes. “And always remember you can scrape it all away.”

Such freedom of action must have played as great part in his attraction to painting as it did to his war leadership. Dalliance in a realm where one’s plans are unopposed and mistakes can be easily retrieved would be attractive to anyone who had undergone the frustrations of high office. Yet, as he enters more deeply into his military analogy, the carefree description of easy alteration begins to wane. “In the absence of high direction,” no number of troops will salvage the effort. They are “apt to get into sad confusion, all mixed together in a nasty mess, without order or plan—and consequently without effect.” The defeats thus suffered cannot simply be lifted from the canvas.

Reserves in war consist of additional troops and equipment. Reserves in painting “consist in Proportion or Relation.” The true artist produces every effect of light and shade, distance and nearness, “by expressing justly the relations between the different planes and surfaces with which he is dealing.” This ability is also present in other high activities of the human intellect. The subtleties of reality can never be captured by extremes: “And it is here that the art of the painter marches along the road which is traversed by all the greatest harmonies in thought. At one side of the palette there is white, at the other black; and neither is ever used ‘neat.’ Between these two rigid limits all the action must lie, all the power required must be generated.”

Churchill points to a similar blending between politics and strategy:

"Right strategy comprises right politics, and vice versa. But in practice problems rarely present themselves in a simple form allowing of a perfect and harmonious solution. The decision is hardly ever between black and white but between competing shades of grey, and to decide truly one must look to the realities in each case."

The true direction is to be found by correctly perceiving the relationships between political and military purposes.

**BRIGHT COLORS**

The correct perception of relationships is the key to healthy domestic politics as well. Churchill has described the process of painting, how (in terms of his analogy) to win victory. But victory is not an end in itself. Victory is for something. Ultimately, it is to protect a way of life from destruction—that certainly defined for him the meaning of victory and the consequence of defeat in the Second World War:

“You ask, what is our aim? I can answer in one word: It is victory.
victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory, however long and hard the road may be; for without victory, there is no survival. Let that be realized; no survival for the British Empire, no survival for all that the British Empire has stood for….

Churchill had definite ideas of what kind of way of life is worthy of such effort and sacrifice. They are to be found in his wartime speeches and, after the conflict, in his call to the world to pursue healthy political principles. “But we must never cease to proclaim in fearless tones,” he said at Fulton in 1946, “the great principles of freedom and the rights of man which are the joint inheritance of the English-speaking world and which through Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus, trial by jury, and the English common law find their most famous expression in the American Declaration of Independence.”

At issue is the answer given to the fundamental political question: what is the proper relationship between the individual and the community? Churchill detested all political forms that would absolutely subordinate the individual to the state, and he never ceased to combat them in word and deed.

This love of personal freedom may find expression in his remarks about the use of color in painting. “I must say I like bright colours,” he writes. “I agree with Ruskin in his denunciation of that school of painting who ‘eat slate-pencil and chalk, and assure everybody that they are nicer and purer than strawberries and plums.’” Yet, every color, every individual, has its part to play, and this mixing of individual colors varying in character and intensity into a harmonious whole is the key both to successful painting and to healthy politics.

Introduced to the methods of the modern French school, Churchill was fascinated by an approach that emphasized light and color over forms and surfaces and captivated by the difficult task of depicting the innumerable colors that play across even the most commonplace objects. “Nature presents itself to the eye through the agency of these individual points of light,” he writes, “each of which sets up the vibrations peculiar to its colour.”

Yet the mere presentation of individual colors is not enough; they must be portrayed in context: “The brilliancy of a picture must therefore depend partly upon the frequency with which these points are found on any given area of the canvas, and partly on their just relation to one another.” He again points to Turner who, even in his largest pictures employs very small spots of color in combination to produce the over-all effect. He finds Turner superior to the French post-Impressionists in presenting a “just relation”: “But the gradations of Turner differ from those of the modern French school by being gently and almost imperceptibly evolved one from another instead of being bodily and even roughly separated….”

This view of Marrakech, showing the Tower of the Katoubia Mosque on the right, was painted by Churchill in 1943 after the Casablanca Conference. It was the only picture he felt able to paint during the Second World War when he was otherwise totally absorbed – physically, mentally and emotionally. Churchill gave this painting to President Roosevelt whom he insisted on taking to Marrakech after the Conference for them both to enjoy the spectacle of the sun setting on the snow of the Atlas Mountains. The picture was painted, after the President’s departure, from the tower of the Villa Taylor, from which both had viewed the scene the previous evening.
apprehending not only the colors but also their connection evokes Churchill’s remarks about avoiding political extremes:

“It is not possible to draw a hard-and-fast line between individualism and collectivism. You cannot draw it either in theory or in practice. That is where the Socialist makes a mistake. Let us not imitate that mistake. No man can be a collectivist alone or an individualist alone. He must be both an individualist and a collectivist. The nature of man is a dual nature.”

**LOVE AND LANDSCAPES**

The last topic Churchill raises is painting as a spur to travel, noting that different settings offer diverse charms and challenges to the painter: “Every country where the sun shines and every district in it has a theme of its own. The lights, the atmosphere, the aspect, the spirit, are all different; but each has its native charm.” Politically, the comparative approach examines how other peoples conduct themselves so that lessons may be applied to one’s own country. Yet, while the statesman must possess the capacity to observe other regimes objectively, he cannot be indifferent to his own. As with the painter, he will find the greatest beauties in his own land: “But after all, if only the sun will shine, one does not need to go beyond one’s own country. There is nothing more intense than the burnished steel and gold of a Highland stream; and at the beginning and close of almost every day the Thames displays to the citizens of London glories and delights which one must travel far to rival.”

Churchill loved Britain. That love is what gave the deep, rolling power to his rhetorical call to action; that love sent the thrill through the hearts of his countrymen; that love conjured a spirit of defiant resolution that endured the trial.
THREE LESSONS IN LEADERSHIP

THE CONTINUED RELEVANCE OF THE FULTON SPEECH

BY PHILIP WHITE

Photos compliments of the National Churchill Museum’s Photographic Collection
On an unseasonably warm March afternoon in 1946, Winston Churchill stood at a hardwood podium in a packed gymnasium at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri. With President Harry Truman seated behind him—issuing tacit support by his presence—Britain’s charismatic wartime leader illustrated the divisions of the Cold War with the evocative term “iron curtain.” Churchill called for a “special relationship” between America and Britain, and gave an eloquent exhortation of democratic principles that he warned were under threat from Communism.

What lessons do the words of Churchill’s “Sinews of Peace” address (commonly known as “Iron Curtain speech”) have for us today, now that the Berlin Wall has long since fallen and the Cold War is no more? More importantly, what can they teach us about the leadership of the orator who uttered them, a man considered by many to be the greatest British prime minister and the preeminent statesmen in the half century when freedom and liberty were challenged three times—by World War I, Nazism and Communism? Here are three key leadership traits evident in this pivotal address that are crucial to understanding Churchill and his legacy.

VISION
Churchill has perhaps made too much of his prescience, not least in his memoirs of World War II. Nonetheless, he had a gift for seeing what was next when the picture seemed clouded to those around him. This was certainly true of how he viewed Communism and how he spoke about it at Fulton.

In the years following the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, many were disenchanted with capitalism, pointing to the “Great War” as evidence that the system was failing. Some in the West thought Communism might be a viable alternative. Even those who were skeptical believed that the product of Marx, Engels and Lenin would be a short-lived experiment in a far-flung country that had little impact on their daily lives. How wrong they would all be.

In contrast, Churchill had loathed Communism from the beginning, calling Lenin and his ilk “those fiendish criminals,” branding their philosophy a disease and vowing to “strangle Bolshevism in its cradle.” As War Minister during World War I, he had sent troops to aid anti-Boshevik forces, but his effort was soon squashed by Prime Minister David Lloyd George and President Woodrow Wilson, who said the cause was hopeless. The British and American public, they said, wanted their boys back home, not tilting at windmills in the frozen expanses of Russia.

Churchill continued to write scathingly of Communism in influential Anglo-American periodicals, like the Daily Telegraph and Collier’s, throughout the 1920s and 1930s, convinced that Communism was a very real danger to the tenets of liberal democracy that he had devoted his career to protecting. On balance, however, he saw Nazism as the greater or at least more immediate threat, since it seemed likely to consume more democratic nations than the Bolsheviks’ expansionism.

Thus, when Germany turned on Soviet Russia in that fateful summer of 1941, Churchill the pragmatist overcame Churchill the idealist, and he recognized Stalin as a necessary, if perhaps somewhat uncomfortable, ally against Nazi Germany. So it proved, and the Soviet Union joined the battle against fascism.

After Hitler was vanquished, Churchill knew, Communism would be the West’s next great challenge. Many critics hold him culpable in Stalin’s land grab in Eastern Europe, citing the “Percentages Agreement” he made with Stalin at the “Tolstoy” talks in October 1944. But by then the Red Army had advanced and Soviet influence was already a fait accompli. And the deal with Stalin, followed later by Marshall Plan aid, did save Greece from Communist domination.

The invitation to speak at Fulton gave Churchill a chance to tell the world about Russia’s true intentions and actions, and to describe the chasm between democracy and Communism that had riven Europe in two. He did so dramatically by declaring, “an iron curtain has descended across the Continent.” This highly visual image was not his invention (it originated as a fireproofing device in theaters). Churchill had used the term in a 1945 letter to Harry Truman, and it had first been applied to Bolshevized lands by an English writer in 1920. But Churchill did popularize it as a vivid description of the lasting division in Europe.

Events proved him correct about the “expansive and proselytizing tendencies” of the Communists, which...
went beyond simply securing hegemony in Eastern Europe. Just as he had over Hitler in the 1930s, Churchill provided the lasting rhetorical appraisal of the early Cold War—and a visionary forecast of what was to come.

**COURAGE**

It is true that Churchill had first thought he and Roosevelt could deal with Stalin—“Uncle Joe,” as they called him in their fonder moments. But the three leaders’ mutual admiration only went so far. Churchill may have shared endless toasts with Stalin at the wartime conferences, but he was among the first to understand the full import of Stalin’s plans and to foresee the consequences if Russia went unchecked and unchallenged in the postwar world.

Newspapers, radio shows and magazines in Britain and America remained pro-Stalin long after Churchill, praising the heroism of Russian soldiers and the sacrifices of the nation that had lost so much holding off the Nazi war machine. Most Britons and Americans in 1946 still viewed the Soviet Union as an ally. Popping that bubble would risk unpopularity among war-weary populations, loath to expend yet more lives and treasure. Yet, in his typical, dauntless style, Churchill marched straight ahead.

Speaking about the Soviet leadership, he said, “I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness.” If Britain, American and their English-speaking partners did not pursue active diplomacy backed by military strength, Churchill said, they would be headed back to “a school of war” for a third time in less than fifty years.\(^6\)

Reaction to “The Sinews of Peace” speech was predictably negative. In Britain, Labour Members of Parliament called for the House of Commons to censure the former Prime Minister.\(^7\) Stalin went further, branding his former partner a warmonger.\(^8\) Commentary in America was little kinder. Prominent newspapers published critical editorials; Democratic Senators Harley Kilgore, Glen Taylor and Claude Pepper issued a statement accusing Churchill of imperialism. Columnist Walter Lippmann labeled the speech “an almost catastrophic blunder.”\(^9\)

Churchill was nothing if not courageous. Speaking in New York shortly after Fulton, after hundreds of protesters had chanted outside his hotel, “GI Joe is home to stay” and “Winnie go away,” Churchill stood his ground. “I do not,” he said, “wish to withdraw or modify a single word.”\(^10\)

**STATESMANSHIP**

When Westminster College President Franc McCluer, with President Truman’s endorsement, invited him to speak, Churchill was no longer prime minister. He had been the embodiment of defiance in the late war, but the British electorate had opted for change and new directions after so many years of hardship. While Churchill’s Conservative Party had largely campaigned on his war leadership, Clement Attlee’s Labour Party had captured the public’s imagination with a bold platform promising broad social reforms and nationalization of industry. Churchill was himself handily reelected, but his party lost big—the second worst defeat in its history. Certain that he would never lead again, Churchill had accepted the will of the people graciously, as the democrat he was. But after a few weeks of inertia, he was retapping his formidable energies as Leader of the Opposition, focusing not on “the art of the possible.”

A few others—the U.S. diplomat George Kennan, Attlee’s foreign secretary Ernest Bevin and, eventually, Harry Truman, squarely understood the Soviet challenge. But none of them had Churchill’s powers of speech or preeminence on the world stage. It was left to Churchill to convince people of the reality unfolding in Europe. So Churchill went to the American heartland to speak not only as a “private citizen” but also for his country and the principles of liberal democracy that underpinned Britain, America, Canada and their democratic allies.

Historian Justin Lyons wrote that “statesmanship is revealed in the joining of political skill with profound political knowledge.”\(^11\) Churchill at Fulton exemplified this conjunction. Not only did he know what was happening in what he called “the Soviet sphere”; he better than anyone could articulate the situation and what should be done about it.
What Churchill said at Fulton did nothing to advance his chances of recapturing 10 Downing Street. Quite the contrary—in the short term at least, it galvanized his critics and ideological enemies. But a craving to regain power was not his motivation that day. His aim was to express the hard and unpopular truths; he believed it his “duty” to convey to the 2800 in that hot gymnasium and to the wider world. Contrary to those who called him an imperialist and warmonger, he wished not for another war but a lasting peace.

“Blood, Toil, Tears and Sweat” and “Their Finest Hour” are perhaps better known and more celebrated exhortations, but what Churchill said in “The Sinews of Peace” was at least as influential. Churchill himself declared it the most important of his career.12 The strategic and geopolitical value of what he said has diminished since the end of the Cold War, but not the enduring, immutable principles of leadership it represents. Today’s leaders would do well to study “The Sinews of Peace” for its lessons in leadership—as necessary as ever in today’s “anxious and baffling times.”13


Footnotes
5. Churchill in His Own Words, 64.
6. The Sinews of Peace, 103.
Churchill frequently said (not entirely in jest), that history would look favorably upon him since he intended to write it himself (and he did). He also shared a fatalistic attitude about the writers of history, which some might judge cynical. Let the reader decide!

*Origins of Phrases: The Verdict of History — and Who Would Write It*

*By Richard M. Langworth*
WSC to Caesar: “We have both made history and we have both written it. Let us exchange headgear.” — Leonard Ravenhill in Punch, 14 February 1923.

The first volume of Churchill’s *The World Crisis* was due to be published in April.
We could not find those exact words, but we believe Churchill expressed them in different ways on many occasions.

Definitely on the record is Churchill in the House of Commons on January 23, 1948. The subject was appeasement, and Labour Members, warning against its renewal, began quoting Churchill’s own critiques of appeasement from the 1930s. WSC responded: “For my part, I consider that it will be found much better by all Parties to leave the past to history — especially as I propose to write that history.” (“Churchill in His Own Words, London, 2012, 64.)

The verdict of history was the subject of Churchill aphorisms almost to the end of his life. Out of office, retired and despondent on November 22, 1956, when the Suez Crisis threatened to rupture the Anglo-American relationship he held dear, Churchill wrote privately to President Eisenhower: “There is not much left for me to do in this world and I have neither the wish nor the strength to involve myself in the political stress and turmoil….We should leave it to the historians to argue the rights and wrongs of all that has happened during the past year.”

His attitude toward history and historians had prevailed for many years. Mr. O’Keefe supplied two more variations of his famous phrase from David Reynolds’ book, In Command of History: Churchill Fighting and Writing the Second World War (New York, 2005).

In the opening paragraph of his introduction Reynolds writes: “As [Churchill] liked to say when locked in wartime controversy, ‘I shall leave it to history, but remember that I shall be one of the historians.’”

Reynolds adds on page 39 a Churchill riposte to Prime Minister Baldwin in a mid-1930s debate over Britain’s rearmament: “‘History will say that the Right Honourable Gentleman was wrong in this matter.’ Pause. Broad grin. ‘I know it will, because I shall write that history.’” (Reynolds references Malcolm MacDonald, Titans and Others, London, 1972, 89.)

“He adopted a similar line to Stalin in January 1944,” Reynolds continues, “after a vigorous exchange of telegrams about whether Britain could have secured a separate peace in 1940. ‘I agree that we had better leave the past to history,’ he wrote in a draft reply, ‘but remember if I live long enough I may be one of the historians.’ Churchill’s sense of the fickleness of fame—expressed in his tribute to Chamberlain and revived by the events of July 1945—impelled him to be his own historian.” (Unsent draft, January 21, 1944, Premier Papers 3/396/11, folio 320.)

David Reynolds kindly provided two further references to Churchill’s aphorism also cited in his book:
I could not track this quotation, or anything resembling it, to Churchill’s canon in the online archive. I suspect it stems to a time long before Churchill. Although he is often gets credit for it, some sources say it is an old Latin proverb.

More to the point, however, is what he did say along these lines, to his wartime military advisor General Hastings Ismay in 1946, referring to the Nuremberg trials (Langworth, *Churchill in His Own Words*, 306; Ismay, *Memoirs*, 157): “It shows that if you get into a war, it is supremely important to win it. You and I would be in a pretty pickle if we had lost.”

Some related quotations: Professor Warren Kimball, author of *Forged in War: Roosevelt, Churchill and the Second World War* (New York, 1997), draws our attention to Churchill’s tribute to “The Few” in the House of Commons on August 20, 1940: “The right to guide the course of history is the noblest prize of victory.”

Two and one-half years later, addressing the Eighth Army in Tripoli on February 3, 1943, Churchill said: “when history is written and all the facts are known, your feats will gleam and glow, and will be a source of song and story long after we who are gathered here have passed away.”

Finally, Professor L.S. Namier of the University of Manchester sent this to Churchill on February 14, 1934, after reviewing volume 1 of WSC’s *Marlborough*: “Too much history is written by don-bred dons with no knowledge or understanding of the practical problems of statecraft.” This was something that undoubtedly appealed to Winston Churchill.
How Churchill Got His Start, in Politics and in Love

BY JAMES W. MULLER

What more can we say about Winston Churchill? He is such a great man that we have not plumbed all of his depths, but, after hundreds of biographies and other books, a new book must break new ground. Many recent writers have been contrarian, poking Churchill in the eye rather than recognizing him as a great man, delving into private matters that were once out of bounds, or treating incidents of slight importance, just to say something original.

We may therefore forgive the reader who greets another new study with a skeptical eye, but Michael Shelden’s Young Titan mostly escapes these pitfalls. The author, described on the dust jacket as an “historian,” is a journalist who has written biographies of Mark Twain, Graham Greene, George Orwell and Cyril Connolly; he is now an English professor at Indiana State University.

Shelden diverts our attention from the statesman’s famous image at the height of his career, standing in the ruins of the House of Commons after it was bombed by the Luftwaffe in the Blitz. His Churchill is a younger man of towering but unrealized ambition, twenty-five to forty, who climbs a long political ladder, pulling it up after himself, but then suffers a disastrous fall which deepens his character. Young Titan focuses on Churchill’s life from February 1901, when he takes his seat in the House of Commons, to his resignation from H. H. Asquith’s government in November 1915. This story has been told before, but Shelden’s account has the virtues one would expect from a skilled journalist. He writes well, and his research makes Young Titan rich in anecdote and explanation that illuminate British political life a century ago.

Sketches of Churchill’s political colleagues and rivals bring them back to life. Shelden explains how Churchill left the Conservative Party in 1904 after picking a fight with Joseph Chamberlain (the father of Neville) over Chamberlain’s abandonment of Free Trade. As colonial undersecretary, Churchill revised Chamberlain’s policy so as to recognize rights of native subjects. Shelden echoes a judgment of Beatrice Webb, concluding that in 1909 Churchill was “the greatest—and most effective—Liberal figure in Britain.” He argues that, while David Lloyd George rose higher in Asquith’s cabinet, Churchill was more imaginative, instituting a job placement scheme, a minimum wage and unemployment assistance; the Welshman let Churchill do the work and then took credit himself. Later Churchill wrote of Lloyd George in Thoughts and Adventures that “at his best he could almost talk a bird out of a tree.” Young Churchill was sometimes that gullible bird, whose colleagues used his talents but failed to give him his due.

Young Titan refutes common criticisms that Churchill was too bloody-minded. Shelden emphasizes Churchill’s consistent rejection of violence in domestic politics. Churchill rejoiced when Chamberlain’s supporters failed to prevent Lloyd George from speaking in Birmingham. He favored votes for women but opposed violent tactics by suffragettes who attacked him with a horsewhip or tried to push him into an oncoming train. When coal miners rioted in the Welsh town of Tonyandy, Churchill kept soldiers away, leaving the conflict to the police. Although he was criticized for going in person to the siege of Sidney Street, where murderous anarchists were cornered, his resolute action prevented further loss of innocent life. When a Unionist MP hurled a heavy book at him during a debate over home

rule for Ireland, hitting him in the face and drawing blood, Churchill accepted his apology graciously.

Shelden makes too much of Churchill as “a Byronic romantic.” He claims that “Churchill’s romanticism was not confined to affairs of state,” and many readers will be intrigued by his denial that Churchill was “a young man who was awkward around women.” Shelden describes Churchill’s youthful speech defending ladies of the night at London’s Empire Theatre, claiming that “he started a riot” there. Seizing on a story that Churchill took home a music hall girl from the Gaiety Theatre, Shelden admits he did nothing more than talk about himself. He reminds us that Churchill proposed to, and was rejected by, three women before he married Clementine Hozier: Pamela Plowden, daughter of a colonial official in India; Ethel Barrymore, the American actress; and Muriel Wilson, daughter of a man who owned steamships. Shelden’s journalistic longing for sensation—which has given rise to lurid publicity for his book that should not eclipse its merits—has led him to make doubtful or exaggerated claims about these romances: that Churchill’s dispute with his North American lecture agent Major Pond spoiled his wooing of Pamela Plowden, or that Churchill had supper at Claridge’s “every night,” hoping to meet Ethel Barrymore there.

Shelden’s most serious effort to achieve a scoop, bearing on his friendship with the prime minister’s daughter, Violet Asquith, is doubtful and exaggerated too. Curiously, Shelden writes that her memoir, *Winston Churchill as I Knew Him* (Winston Churchill: An Intimate Portrait in U.S.), one of the most discerning books about Churchill, which has appeared in many editions over the years, “didn’t make much of an impression and was soon pushed aside by bigger books....” *Young Titan* claims that Violet was in love with Churchill. Shelden recounts how Churchill went to Scotland in August 1908 to tell Violet of his engagement, leaving Clementine behind. Yet Churchill had reasons to visit Violet’s father as well. Shelden borrows from an earlier biography a remark by Churchill, related second-hand, that he treated Violet badly “because I was practically engaged to her,” but what Churchill said might simply reflect close friendship, without romantic entanglement on his side. Shelden hints that, devastated by his engagement to Clementine, Violet threw herself off a Scottish cliff and nearly died. But *Young Titan* never explicitly claims that Violet tried to take her own life: there may be less here than meets the eye. Still, setting aside his unwonted eagerness to offer new revelations about Churchill’s romances, Shelden tells his story well, and these lapses must be balanced against the real virtues of his book.

— James W. Muller, who teaches political science at the University of Alaska, Anchorage, is academic chairman of the Churchill Centre and editor of annotated editions of Churchill’s *Thoughts and Adventures* (2009) and *Great Contemporaries* (2012), published by ISI Books.
Why was that 12-year old with the camera running around Fulton on March 5, 1946?

Many have asked that question. The answer is my father, the Rev. G. Scott Porter, Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Rolla, MO, received one ticket to the upcoming “Sinews of Peace” by Sir Winston, as did all Presbyterian ministers in Missouri. He asked if I wanted to go with him—even though I would only be able to hear the speech over the public address system, outside the gymnasium.

I did not hesitate in saying “yes” and took my dad’s Kodak 35 camera, loaded with 35 mm Kodachrome film. It had been raining the day before, but it was bright and clear when we reached Fulton. After arrival in Fulton, we agreed to meet at the gymnasium and hand the camera over so my dad could take it with him for the speech. Until then I was on my own.

I first made my way to the downtown area which was covered with red, white, and blue bunting and had a crowd standing everywhere, waiting for the motorcade that would bring President Truman and Sir Winston to Westminster. I decided there were too many people to get a good shot of the motorcade. I was limiting taking pictures to conserve film to make sure I didn’t run out and have to change a roll at the wrong time. I took one picture and then worked my way towards the college.

It was easy to follow the parade route. I ended up on Westminster Avenue, where the motorcade would turn onto the campus. A kind National Guardsman allowed me to squeeze in behind him to take my pictures. It was also close to the Gymnasium so I could get the camera back to my father.

The camera had a split-field range finder that you had to focus yourself. It did not have a built-in light meter, either. It did not have an auto-wind; you had to wind the film after each picture. With all this in mind I waited for the motorcade to arrive.

The first picture I took was when the car with Sir Winston and President Truman was less than a block away. The Guardsman was on my right and another amateur photographer to my left, the car with Truman and Churchill was headed directly towards me, as the lead motorcyclist started his turn onto the campus.

Quickly I wound the film and was able to take a full side view of the car with President Truman and Sir Winston standing in the back. Seated (l-r) were Phil M. Donnelly, Missouri Governor; Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy, Chief of Staff to the Commander in Chief; and Franc L. “Bullet” McCluer, President, Westminster College.

The brick building in the background is the Old West School that stood at the site near where the Christopher Wren Church that houses the National Churchill Museum now stands. Although the day was bright and clear you can see some residual wetness from the rain on the street.
The 2014 Enid and R. Crosby Kemper Lecture

Paul Reid, author of the final installment of William Manchester’s unfinished trilogy on Winston Churchill, will deliver the Kemper lecture on the Churchill weekend, March 1 – 2, 2014.

Please mark your calendars early for this great Churchillian event!
Defer Family Celebrates with a Gift to the Museum

What do you give to your father who happens to be a Churchill Fellow and is passionate about history and the National Churchill Museum?

Bob Defer’s children celebrated his 80th birthday with a very special gift: an internship for archival and collections study during the 2014 Summer. The surprise left Mr. Defer speechless when the extended family gathered in St. Louis.

The Robert Defer Archives/Collections Intern will delve into Churchill history with Archivist/Curator Liz Murphy and learn archival materials handling, and basic collections care and management.

The Museum’s Collections are a jewel for scholars and researchers. Historians could not find a better place in the United States to conduct their studies and, indeed, include a host of world-class scholars. Carlo D’Este began his research for Warlord: A Life of Winston Churchill at War, 1874-1945 in the Library. David Reynolds used materials for In Command of History: Churchill Fighting and Writing the Second World War. Most recently, Philip White, author of Our Supreme Task: How Winston Churchill’s Iron Curtain Speech Defined the Cold War Alliance, used the Archives to gain in-depth information about Winston Churchill’s visit here as well as his speech.

Thank you to the Defer Family – Julie, William, Robert and Thomas – for this tribute to your father.
Gift Opportunities to Honor Family and Friends

Looking for the perfect gift for the holidays? Is your gift giving stymied by “they have everything” thoughts? Consider a gift that connects you and the recipient with history. Your gift will include a card and program description suitable for any occasion and holiday.

$50  Gift Subaltern Museum membership and give *The Churchillian* quarterly magazine, unlimited free admission to the Museum and invitations to events.

$100  Gift Member of Parliament Museum membership with reciprocal membership privileges at over 700 museum across the United States and Canada – and includes *The Churchillian* and other member benefits.

$250  Museum Outreach Programs - To grasp more fully the story of Churchill’s vision and leadership, the Museum’s outreach program presents film, hands-on materials and experiences to new generations at with schools, libraries and community groups.

$500  Children’s Learning Center - Hands-on learning station materials to engage younger children and visitors.

$1,000  Acquisition Fund for the Archives and Collections - The interest in Sir Winston has never been so keen. Donations to this fund will assist with purchase of papers, photographs and artifacts for the Museum’s Archives and Collections.

$1,000  Refresh the Church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury - To refurbish and renew the wooden structures and furnishing within the magnificent 17th century Christopher Wren church – Church of St. Mary, the Virgin, Aldermanbury.

$5,000  Churchill Archives Portal - To connect the National Churchill Museum’s Archives and Collections with the Churchill Archives at Cambridge, this internet portal opens the Churchill Archives to researchers, writers and students of all ages.

$10,000  Exhibits Program - To bring new exhibits to the Museum and engage audiences throughout the world through on-line exhibits.

For gift purchases and limitless possibilities, please contact Kit Freudenberg at 573-592-5022 or Kit.Freudenberg@churchillmemorial.org.
This August Dr. Rob Havers and I traveled to the UK for a visit to various Churchillian sites. It was a great experience for me in particular because I had an opportunity to meet with professional coworkers whom I had been corresponding with for the past three years. Rob and I started our journey at Chartwell, and under the care of then curator Alice Martin, we discussed future partnership opportunities between our two facilities with Mr. Randolph Churchill. Meeting Randolph and his wife, Catherine, in the backdrop of Chartwell was almost surreal; they are looking forward to our future partnership efforts.

We continued on to Cambridge where we were greeted by Mr. Allen Packwood of the Churchill Centre Archives at Churchill College. We toured their facility, which is incredibly impressive. Again I met with colleagues with whom I had corresponded over the years. We even had a chance for a photo op by the tree that Churchill himself planted at Churchill College before the college was there!

When we left Mr. Packwood we headed to Bletchley Park to visit with Mr. Jack Darrah and his daughter, Carol. Over the years Mr. Darrah has collected an impressive amount of Churchill memorabilia. This memorabilia ranges from books to paintings to objects. Both showed us around Bletchley, and Carol regaled us with tales from her childhood of reenactments and festivals the park has held over the years.

All and all the trip was a great success! We enjoyed the opportunity to network with old colleagues and make connections with new ones.
EDUCATIONAL AND PUBLIC PROGRAMMING

School and Community Update

The Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS) recently completed a research project that studied the role of museums and libraries in helping citizens build 21st century skills such as information, communications and technology literacy, critical thinking, problem solving, creativity, civic literacy, and global awareness. Their goal with this project is to provide information on how museums and libraries can build on their current strengths and introduce new approaches to their operation. The chart below shows the difference in approach between 20th century museums and libraries and 21st century museums and libraries.

IMLS’s project supports museums and libraries in envisioning and defining their roles as institutions of learning in the 21st century and looks to increase policymakers’ understanding about the role of such cultural sites in creating an engaged citizenship and workforce.

How does the National Churchill Museum embrace this new programming style to meet national education goals? We begin by marketing our educational programs. We focus on highlighting four 21st century skills: thinking critically, communication, collaboration, and being creative. Our “Walking in Churchill’s Shoes” onsite and outreach activity is a great example of all four skills. During a museum experience, students work together to create a definition of leadership, looking to Churchill and the exhibit for guidance. We remain diligent in adapting current programs and curricula and creating new opportunities to fit this new model.
Churchill on education

Do we know if Churchill said “The most important thing about education is appetite”? —Mandy Plybon, Education & Public Programs Coordinator, National Churchill Museum

He did indeed—in an amusing animal analogy, speaking to students at Bristol University, where he served as Chancellor. From Robert Rhodes James, ed., Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches 1897-1963, 8 vols. (New York: Bowker, 1974), V 4674-75:

ADVICE TO STUDENTS
December 14, 1929, Bristol University [Extract]

“I never myself had the advantage of a university education. I was not thought clever enough to profit by it to the full. I was put to be trained in technical matters of a military college, and almost immediately afterwards things opened out very quickly into action and adventure. In those days England had a lot of jolly little wars against barbarous peoples that we were endeavouring to help forward to higher things, and I found myself scurrying about the world from one exciting scene to another.

“During years appropriate to study and the accumulation of knowledge, I was a pack-horse that had to nibble and browse such grass as grew by the roadside in the brief halts of long and wearying marches. But see how very lucky you all are. You are a most fortunate crowd of quadrupeds, to use a neutral term. (Laughter.) You are admitted to a spacious paddock with the very best herbage growing in profusion. You are pressed to eat your fill. I hope you are going to take advantage of that.

“The most important thing about education is appetite. Education does not begin with the university, and it certainly ought not to end there. I have seen a lot of people who got cleverer until about 21 or 22 years of age, then seemed to shut down altogether and never made any further progress....Take full advantage of these years when the wisdom of the world is placed at your disposal, but do not spend too much time in buckling on your armour in the tent. The battle is going on in every walk and sphere of life.”

PRAISE FOR THE MUSEUM

We have just returned from a visit to the wonderful National Churchill Museum at Westminster College and, thanks to Rob Havers, were very cordially greeted and taken on a tour by the assistant director Jessica Dulle. She kindly offered to meet us at the museum on Sunday, May 26, which I am sure was one of her days off. She is an enthusiastic and very good advocate for the work of the museum.

Our trip included a World War II reunion of the 73rd Wing of the 20th Air Force at Kansas City, a visit to the Truman Library and home at Independence. I could not overstate the importance to our family of my brother’s military service, and the leadership of President Truman and Prime Minister Churchill.

My oldest brother, Roy Bennett, Jr., joined the Army in 1943 and, after a battery of tests during basic training, volunteered for the Army Air Corps. He became a B-29 pilot and was sent to the 73rd Wing at Saipan, where he flew eight missions over Japan before the end of the war. I remember as if it were yesterday when he returned to our home in Kingsville, Texas, in the spring of 1946. Aged eight, I was sitting on our front porch when he strode up the sidewalk in full uniform, carrying two bags with all of his possessions.

Finally, I purchased a copy of Richard Langworth’s book of quotations, Churchill by Himself, which was waiting for us at the post office when we returned from our trip. It adds a greater dimension to Mr. Churchill’s very plain speaking, and to his sterling leadership during the war.

—Max Bennett, via email
FACSIMILE HOLOGRAPH LETTERS

I am hoping to find out the worth of a Churchill letter I came across. [Undated without salutation on 10 Downing Street letterhead: “I am deeply touched by your kind contribution to my birthday present & grateful for your good wishes. Winston S. Churchill.”]

—Tami Curtis, via email

We regret to say only about $50 on eBay. The reason: it is not an original but one of thousands of facsimiles produced by Churchill’s Private Office to thank the well-wishers on his birthdays and other occasions.

At least nine variations of replica printed holograph notes were reproduced by the thousands by to thank well-wishers, whose congratulations poured in on important dates such as Churchill’s birthday. They are very nicely produced and appear original. Some appear actually to be color separations, since they are printed in blue-black rather than all-black ink. But they are not originals and were not signed by Churchill personally. Every so often, his Private Office would have him write one out, and then reproduce it for their use. The original was then destroyed.

The key is that all these letters lack a salutation. Secretaries would simply place them in envelopes and mail them by the hundreds to anyone who sent him a greeting. Occasionally they would type the name of the recipient on the bottom of the note, but the volume was too great to allow much of this. The value of these facsimiles on the market is therefore incidental. A true autograph letter by Churchill is, of course, worth much more.


“I was delighted to read your speech in the Canadian House of Commons on February 17. You are quite right to prepare men’s minds for a coming shock of extreme severity. It is a comfort to think how much better prepared we are than in the autumn. Let me also tell you how encouraged everyone here was by the strong array of facts which you brought together when broadcasting on February 2nd. Your ships and planes are doing great work here. The air training scheme is one of the major factors, and possibly the decisive factor, in the war. Your plans for the Army are of enormous help. I lunched with McNaughton* last week, and had very good talks with him and his principal officers about the Canadian Corps. They lie in the key positions of our National Defence. The Secretary of State for War who is with me now, wishes to endorse all this, and sends his kindest regards. What a pleasure it is to see the whole Empire pulling as one man, and believe me, my friend, I understand the reasons for your success in marshalling the great war effort of Canada.”

* General Andrew G.L. McNaughton (1887-1966), Canadian scientist, army officer, cabinet minister and diplomat. He began the war in command of the First Canadian Division, part of VII Corps, later the Canadian Corps itself, which was reorganized as an army in 1942.

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.
AirSystems and Fischer Environmental Controls is installing an updated HVAC system into the museum's temporary gallery space. The new HVAC system will allow the museum to book high-caliber exhibitions, as well as ensure our guests' comfort while viewing them.

**PLEASE JOIN US FOR THE**

**Tree Lighting**

*at The Museum*

**December 2 at 7 p.m.**

Holiday Kids Crafts 4 to 7 p.m.

Refreshments will be served.

---

**A BREATH OF FRESH AIR**

Contact our Wedding Representative for Details!

573-592-5234
**SEPTEMBER 9 – OCTOBER 14**

**Churchillian Photo Exhibition**  
The Museum explores different collections that depict Churchill at various stages of his life. There will be a mixture of photographs, lithographs, and archival materials on display. Cost of general admission.

**OCTOBER**

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| 9    | **Homeschool Day**  
9:00 am – 4:00 pm  
Open to homeschool families. Activities throughout the day. Cost of general admission.  
http://www.nationalchurchillmuseum.org/homeschool-days.html |
| 14   | **Victorian Christmas Celebration**  
10:00 am to 7:00 pm  
Join us for the traditional English Kettledrum Tea from 10 am to 2 pm and an evening celebration from 5 to 7 pm. All day shopping. Free admission to all Museum exhibits and the magnificent 17th century Church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury. |

**NOVEMBER**

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| 28   | **Thanksgiving Day**  
Museum Closed |
| 29   | **Winston Churchill's Birthday Celebration**  
Visit the Museum today and celebrate Churchill's birthday with us. Cake and punch will be served. *Actual birthday is November 30.* |

**DECEMBER**

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| 25   | **Christmas Day**  
Museum Closed |

**THE CHURCHILLIAN EVENTS**

**Photo courtesy of Churchill Heritage**
Victorian Christmas

November 14 – December 31

We are proud to host the 30th Annual Holiday Fundraiser. Visit the Museum and Church decorated for the holidays. Purchase gifts for all seasons. All proceeds benefit the Museum.

Kick off

Victorian Christmas

November 14 • 10 am to 7 pm

Kick off our Victorian Christmas fundraiser with a traditional English Kettledrum Tea from 10 am to 2 pm and an evening celebration from 5 to 7 pm. All day shopping. Free admission to see the exhibits.